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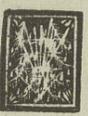
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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
TENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION
OF THE
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SPIRITUALISTS,
Held at Grow's Opera Hall, Chicago, on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, Sept. 16, 17 and 18.

SECOND DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Chairman called the Convention to order at 2 o'clock. Judge Carter, of Missouri—I rise to a question of privilege. I wish to record my vote in favor of the champion of all the principles here discussed, Mrs. Woodhull, for president of this Association. [Cheers.]

Dr. O. J. Howard, of Illinois—I ask the same privilege, sir?

The Chairman—If there is no objection the request will be granted; there being none, the request is so granted.

The Chairman—We will now take up this report on the organization, with Judge Holbrook's amendment.

Mr. Batesall, of Ohio—I wish to make a personal explanation. I am not a conservative; I am called very radical; but when I am beside these extreme radicals you may think me a little conservative. I am opposed to the passage of this plan of organization, as proposed. The first objection and the main one that I have, is that it proposes to establish a creed to which every person must subscribe before he can become a member of even a primary council. If this Association determines to make a creed, it matters very little to me what they may do, for I am opposed to all creeds, and will never vote or consider myself bound by any one. Here for two days we have been continually preaching about the doctrine of freedom; to every word of which I have assented, so far as freedom of belief and action was taught; I am here now as an advocate of the same doctrine of freedom, and I am very sorry to see an attempt made in the plan of organization to do just that to which we have objected, namely: The enforcement on every person of a creed.

Col. Blood—Will you permit me to ask you a question?

Mr. Batesall—Yes.

Col. Blood—If these propositions discussed yesterday were propositions of freedom, how can they have the effect of limiting freedom?

Mr. Batesall—That is a question foreign to our object here. The second objection that I have to the adoption of a creed is that as we know a great number of Free Spiritualists, free thinkers scattered throughout this country will refuse to be bound by any creed, and they will prefer to remain outside of any organization rather than be bound. This is a practical matter, and for the interests of our organization I think we should consider it carefully. We should pause before adopting a plan of organization which as delegates we cannot go home and ask our own fellow Spiritualists to enter as we know they are opposed to. As a delegate from the society of Toledo, I know, for the question has been before our people, that I cannot go home and ask them to adopt this plan of organization in place of the one they already have. They would laugh me to scorn if I undertook to do it. They have always advocated freedom, and I could not take them back this plan of organization and ask them to put a chain around their necks. But my chief and specific ground of complaint is that it will be impossible to organize under the proposed scheme. I am therefore opposed to its adoption.

Mr. Pope—I wish to say a few words in favor of this resolution. The time has come when we are called upon by the spirit of the hour to determine between principle and creed, and if we have spirit illumination and intelligence we can do so rightly. If we have not, we shall probably refuse to subscribe to the principle which we advocate here as the true foundation of the kingdom of God. I deny that this is a proposition to continue the life of creeds. I say the distinctive feature of these resolutions that have been passed is that they are based on the divine law, and that they are invulnerable to all the creeds of the past; that they are rather an encouragement for humanity to come up to the standard of perfect obedience. Man is superior to society, and society has no rights that the sovereign individual in his inspired moments, and with the peculiar illuminations given him from the spirit world, is bound to respect at the sacrifice of principle. These resolutions, as I read them, are based on the fundamental principles of the constitution of human nature,

and I subscribe for them as a whole, as a revelation from God to me individually as a law for my future. I ask none to subscribe to them who are not in harmony with them. Those who have not grown up to them, individuals and organizations, will not receive them. This is the order of the day. This question of social freedom is the only live question in existence, from the fact that it is at this hour affecting the disintegration of society that we behold. It is the day of judgment, it is the morning of the resurrection, it is the restitution of all things; it is the coming of the new heaven and of the new earth. There are many grades in the spiritual condition. Here and there are individuals, coming up from these organizations who form a glorious nucleus. Subscribing to this advanced order of nature, we do not expect everybody to patronize it; but the few that do show their character by subscribing to the desire that they shall go down to posterity as one of those who, by illumination, could see uninterruptedly the divine order of nature, and knew that the resolutions heading beautifully this organization showed it to be the nucleus of the everlasting kingdom of God. [Cheers.]

Mr. Todd—I want to say just a few words with regard to the plan of organization here. There are a great many individuals in the world at the present day who are so very much afraid that a creed of some kind will be adopted, that they dare not take the necessary measures to make their faith effective throughout the world. I will grant that I felt somewhat that way myself, once; it is the natural result of the reaction from the fetters of old orthodoxy. It seems to me that the time has come when Spiritualists should look at this question in a different light from what they have done in the past. You talk about this being a creed. What is there that looks like a creed in this business? Yesterday you voted almost unanimously to adopt these resolutions which we have made the basic foundation of our declaration of principles. We are striving to make a practical application of our views.

I, for one, am tired of depending altogether upon theories which we are afraid to make practical. We ask you now to take hold of your old faith, make it practical, and do not be afraid of it. What we want is a plan of organization which is thoroughly democratic. Look at the plan we submit: You go right from the national council to the State councils, from the State to the district, and from them all the way down until every single act that is performed in any one of the several branches, having reference to the general interests of the organization, must come before the people and be ratified by them before it can be made any part of their work. Can you find anything more democratic than that? Suppose Congress sent every important question affecting the interest of the nation brought before it, back to the people to decide upon, would they not hold a better opinion of them than they do to-day? In making this organization so thoroughly democratic as we have done, do you not see that you hold in your right hands the reins of government, that it will be impossible even for those who are in the habit of asserting their authority and usurping the position and rights of others, to interfere in any way whatsoever, so long as the people are the foundation of power—so long as they shall decide all questions?

Said one delegate, "I cannot go back to my society at Toledo and carry this thing." He sees a bugbear which has no existence, except in his own imagination, which is very frightful. Not that I wonder at it; it is the result of his coming out from the old institutions of darkness. There is no self-glorification in this matter. It has been too much the practice of Spiritualists to get together in convention and make self-laudatory remarks and assert our glorious religion, and so on. Then the world has demanded to see the fruits of our religion, and we were powerless to set forth anything. We were powerless, apparently, but we have come together in this Association and have determined to take hold of this matter; that we mean to do something; that we intend to work for the education of the young and of the old; that we are going to work for the amelioration of mankind, and that by means of every door by which we can reach humanity; and that where we find evil entrenched, we shall break in, even if it be in the Christian Church; and if it is necessary—like Samson—for us to grasp the pillars of the temple, and in the destruction of the wicked, we, too, shall give up our lives. We intend to penetrate through the miseries of life until we are able to cry out, "Behold the emancipation of the enslaved wife!" [Cheers.] Mr. Chairman, I move the previous question.

The Chairman—I hope that will not be done, for I wish to ask the privilege of saying a few words to you myself on this matter. I trust they are important at the present time. I have been a close observer of the movements of one of the most prominent evidences of future progress in the direction of organization. And what is that? Never before in ten years have I seen so great a desire manifested in every quarter to balance their local arrangements so that they can become a part of this national organization. Then another point. Let me state to you, by the returns of the census of 1870, we have the status of Spiritualism, and a measure of comparison afforded with other institutions of the country. We find that the Catholics, who are generally very close in these things, say that three years ago there were 11,000,000 Spiritualists in the United States. I know the figures are disputed, but these they are. The number returned by the government officials on the religious census showed only 6,000 Spiritualists in the whole country. [A laugh.] Then, property belonging to the denomination is estimated at \$100,000 value. How many places of worship? According to the government census, 14. [A laugh.] This is, you perceive, just where we stand. Now, it seems to me that the plan of organization proposed, starting away down with its ramifications through all the people, cannot fail to be appreciated among the people. It is time we were at work on this matter. [Cheers.]

Mr. Crocker—Do you embody the propositions in the organization?

The Chairman—No; they are added as a kind of preamble. Are you ready for the question?

The proposition incorporating the platform and adopting the plan of organization as reported by the committee was then carried.

The Chairman—We are now ready for any other business. The next order of business is fifteen-minute speeches, and the first speaker on the list is Mrs. Sadie Bailey.

Mr. Kates—I ask privilege of recording my vote "No" on the question just disposed of. I was speaking to a friend at the time it was put, and did not have a chance to vote.

The Chairman—If there is no objection, permission will be granted. There is no objection. The vote will be recorded.

The Chairman, in introducing Mrs. Bailey, said—You all know that J. K. Bailey who had that row with this organization. This is one of his wives—

Mrs. Bailey (that was)—When I arose for the purpose of talking to you for a little time, the thought came to me that a number of individuals here asked themselves this question. Is that woman, like all the others that preceded her, about to give us a discussion on free love instead of Spiritualism? Brothers and sisters, I would love to talk to you of the glories and beauties of the glad summer-land. I would love to give to you some of the beautiful visions that I have had from time to time, from the age of a little child, of the beautiful sons and daughters of our spirit home. But I must pass by these and ask you a question. What would you think of a parent who said: "My child I am going to take you to a beautiful garden to-day;" and the child is delighted, and enters through the open gate. His father stands there exulting upon the beauties of the scene to the mother, but the child cries out: "Father how can I correctly view this scene with these great death goggles on my eyes?"

Now, there is a vast mass of humanity that is born and conceived in false and unnatural conditions, and these conditions are like unto the goggles of the child; and the Spiritualists say to the world, to the children of humanity: Come with us and we will talk with you of the grandeur, the beauties of the spirit life; we will expound to you the truth of joining Spiritualism. And because we the free-love Spiritualists, first take the goggles from the eyes of humanity, forsooth, we are reviled and persecuted. Do you understand? I will further explain: We know that only as children are born in love can they receive harmonious organizations, be capable of unfolding the spiritual faculties; we know that children can be born in love only as love is free, because there is no love but what is free.

Therefore, my friends, do you not understand that the free-love question, that free love in all its purity, as much as it can be pure, until at last it shall be made into pure Spiritualism, and be understood and do its work, explains the reason why we are holding these free-love conventions, if you choose to call them so, and are making these free-love speeches. And you, conservatives, must remember that if this is a free-love convention, it is also the tenth annual convention of the National Association of Spiritualists. You must know that it proves that no organization of Spiritualists all the world over can live unless it be founded on free love, and has the approval of the angel hosts of heaven. To-day the free-love flag shall be unfolded, never again to be furled through the ages of all coming time. In days past, we have heard of the times that tried men's souls, and they are not over yet; but the present days are those in which are the times that try the souls of women. [Cheers.] These are the times I prophesied when but a girl—a school girl; my spirit angels sent me forth to preach the gospel of health and true generation to all nations.

I was but a mere child when I first arose on the public platform in one of our lyceums and made the declaration that love alone constituted marriage; that the study of sexuality was a grand but beautiful study; that our sexual organism and its functions should only be looked at and thought of with the dearest and most beautiful thoughts and feelings. And through many a country-place I wandered to preach these truths. I have often felt disgusted with Spiritualists because they were not practical reformers. I have studied the different organizations in the different localities, but you cannot succeed where there is not freedom. And I blush to say that, while I have been a poor lone woman, struggling to be a true mother to my children, the cruelest neglect and persecution which I have ever received has been at the hands of would-be respectable Spiritualists; and it seemed to me that I had shed tears of blood in crying out to heaven to send us a woman noble and brave enough to redeem us. Do you think I was surprised when Victoria Woodhull came to our rescue? I never feared that she was our destroyer; I knew that she was to become the saviour of Spiritualism. [Cheers.]

And here is one of the most beautiful effects of Free Love; for if Mrs. Woodhull had never met her soul's counterpart she never could have succeeded and done the work that she has done, without that true and brave and steady, unflinching worker at her side—Col. Blood. [Cheers.] And when, on the first day of the Convention, I grasped their hands, it seemed to me the brightest moment of my life. As she gave me a warm, loving embrace, and a kiss, she said to me, "Sadie, there is a work which we have been looking for you to do, and that you have not done;" and I said, "Victoria, suffer me until I am competent to the task." With a prophetic eye, she replied, "You may have it to do in this Convention." I trembled, because one word of reproof from her lips is more to me than the condemnation of all the world besides. If this was an experience meeting I might give you a history of my soul for twenty-four years; but I have rebelled against the work which the angels have told me to do. I cannot do all my work to-day, but I will undertake to do it all before my time is up. Then if I can be excused to Victoria, to whom I gave the promise to relate the circumstances of a little history, I will tell the tale in the columns of the WEEKLY. I will try to boil it down into one

column, and so, if you will allow me, I will close by repeating the poem entitled "Freedom."

Mr. S. J. Dickson, of Eau Claire, Wis., said:

Ladies and Gentlemen of this Convention—I appear before you as the monitor of the North-West. One who has in the past, and one who intends in the future, to shout abroad the truth regardless of the Mrs. Grundies and the power of the satanic majesty combined. I came here for the purpose of being taught. From circumstances I am compelled to give forth a few secrets which are alone known within my heart. I come here and appear before you as an advocate of free love, and as such advocate I am in duty bound to the eternal principles of truth and justice to defend that lady who has so nobly represented this body during the last two years. I have listened to the speeches which have been made upon this platform, during which time the Beecher-Tilton Scandal has been referred to. Now I know something about the Beecher-Tilton Scandal. When I first read the articles that came from Mrs. Woodhull's pen, in the midst of many friends and foes, I stated that the internal evidences of the truth of that article were so apparent that it was destined to convict Henry Ward Beecher. I made an allusion to Mrs. Woodhull in a city where I lectured, proclaiming my belief in the truth of her charges.

I think that it was some time in December last that I met Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton at the home of Martin Daniels, now deceased, of this city, at which time and place she informed me in the presence of several others, that your statements pertaining to Henry Ward Beecher and the wife of Theodore Tilton were correct—correct from the fact that she received the facts from the lips of Theodore himself. And furthermore, she stated that Miss Susan B. Anthony told her that she received the same from the lips of Mrs. Tilton.

And, furthermore, she, Mrs. Stanton, at the same time and place, affirmed that Mrs. Anthony wrote to Mrs. S. inquiring if she was not to be at the then pending trial of Mrs. Woodhull. She (Miss A.) stating in said letter, that she intended to be present that justice might be done.

When I started to this Convention, many of my so-called friends affirmed that if I attended the Woodhull Convention they would withdraw from my society. I turned and said to them, that, by the living God, I would attend that Convention, although, upon my return, I found my pews empty for evermore. Let me, in closing, say to you that I have ever supported the doctrines of Mrs. Woodhull. Finally, I will say that I come here as a delegate to vote for her as our next President, and to affirm to you that, notwithstanding all my past falling-short, for I have been found wanting sometimes, I have never been guilty of bowling a stone at that pure woman, Mrs. Woodhull. If there is one thing of which I am proud—one thing of which I shall always boast, it is that I have never been guilty of letting my influence be a bar in the way of progress—of one of the most beneficent things on earth. Thank God, that in his infinite mercy, He has thought well to raise Mrs. Woodhull up for the welfare of suffering humanity. [Cheers.]

Mr. W. F. Jamieson said:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen—My subject will be rather a singular one: it is "The Cowardice of the Press." It is a notable fact, that the average editor, however much of a man he may be as an editor, is a natural born coward—afraid to say that his soul is his own. I say the average editor, and by this, of course, I mean many honorable exceptions. Ten years ago, in this city, Spiritualism was all belimed by the local press, with scarcely an exception; and to-day, after the passage of a decade, we find the men and women of this Convention slandered, without the least pretext, by the press of this city. There are some exceptions; but cannot you see that the American press of this day is subsidized by the terrible monster called Christianity? And this is the reason why these editors are made the cowards they are. It is called policy for the editor to write one thing while he believes another. What is called dishonesty in other men is policy with him.

But this scrofula of deception and hypocrisy and dishonesty permeates the entire press of this country, so much so that a man who wishes to read the truth generally has to read a paper the wrong way. [Cheers.] The Chicago press have repeated, with some honorable exceptions, the infamous slanders they told of us ten years ago. The *Inter-ocean* gave by far the best report, and the *Times* came next; but the *Tribune*, the organ of the Christian sentiment of the country, is the most lying and deceptive of them all.

Mr. Jamieson here read from the report of the *Tribune*, making comments upon the different remarks of the writer.

He proceeded to say—So much for the secular press; I have a rod in pickle also for some of our spiritual papers. I propose to come home. You know there is a paper published in this city that makes a pseudo pretension of representing Spiritualism. The editor of this almost unpronounceable name, *Religio-Philosophical Journal* [Laughter], has emitted the worst and most foul odors. But ten years ago the *Journal* told us all about Spiritualism, as a pure and true representation of it was found in its own columns. But if the *Journal* presented a fair representation of modern Spiritualism, I would be ashamed of it, and would not be able to sleep over one night with the conviction upon my mind that I was a Spiritualist. I would recede from the movement at once. You recollect how, a short time ago, the paper took a spite against one of the best and truest men in our ranks—Dr. Henry Slade, of New York—and denounced him as an imposter; when he found that it was all a mistake, the editor of the *Journal* had not the manliness or courage to come out and say so. Only a short time ago this *Journal* came out and slandered one of the most eloquent women orators in our ranks, Cora L. V. Tappan, and then when it was found to be a gross libel, would not retract. Of course none of your exemplary sheets in Chicago would have described a convention

of ladies and gentlemen in the loathsome and beggarly way in which we have been described.

But we are surprised at nothing we may read. Look at the way in which they describe even myself in the *Tribune*. W. F. Jamieson, they say, made a long excuse for being an infidel. Why, I always gloried in being an infidel. Other points in the sketch were also referred to. Spiritualists that are making heavy bids for the approval of Mother Grundy, say that we Spiritualists that believe in a free platform are selling Spiritualism out to free-loveism. I have challenged one of our opponents in the State of Michigan to meet me in my own town, and I will challenge him as a debater to any discussion of the theory he may like to make, and I will make good this proposition, that for ten years preceding the advance of Mrs. Woodhull among us there were just as coarse and immoral doctrines taught by the leading writers of Spiritualism as have ever been promulgated since. Now, here is a chance for them. Take, for instance, the *Banner of Light*, the paper of which we are so universally proud. It is charged with this by a clergyman, and in this connection I may say there is not a single original feature in the attacks of the so-called respectable Spiritualists that is not stolen from the thunders of abuse that the clergy are now ashamed of. We find this published in 1868, Sept. 26: "We would allow all parties making bad bargains by marriage, in which no other parties were interested, to dissolve them as they made them, by mutual consent, before the same authority that sanctioned them and for as little compensation."

There is Woodhullism for you by the editor of the *Banner of Light*. Take up the *R. P. Journal* and what do we find it say. Listen:

Neither priest, court or jury can make or break a relation so intimate as that of marriage. As society now is, we sanction and legalize marriages without scarcely an inquiry regarding the parties so bound, and refuse to divorce them, or rather to recognize a divorce that nature has already made, without giving to greedy scandal-mongers the undoubted prerogative of impugning the motives and assailing the character of those seeking to dissolve such relation. Marriage is made honorable; divorce dishonorable.

Judged by the sentiments and life of this editor, marriage must be dishonorable and divorce may be made honorable. This sanctified, clarified editor of one of the only pure papers published in the United States is going to bring back purity to the world and teach lessons of purity to Spiritualists.

Farther, we can quote without limit from the various publications of the Spiritualists, from Andrew Jackson Davis and others.

From the *Banner of Light*, Oct. 3, 1868, we find these sentiments advocated: "The time is coming when you will understand that that marriage which is not of the soul is no marriage at all; that that which is brought about by external conditions is altogether unlawful. That which God hath joined together none can put asunder; but that which is joined together by the conditions of human life almost any man can put asunder, and it is lawful that they should, because the parties are unlawfully bound together." This is just what Mrs. Woodhull says. Take the "light from the spirit world," and we find it laid down that we see more unfortunate results from legalized marriage than we shall disclose. And I can go on quoting from spiritualistic writers everything which is as bad as these men who form a little insignificant minority in the Convention—are striving to make us believe it will sink Spiritualism out of sight. For twenty years Spiritualism has stood this kind of attack; and can it be possible that a little woman in the form of Mrs. Woodhull can sink Spiritualism, when one hundred writers and lecturers could not do it in all the years that have passed? Listen to what Andrew Jackson Davis and Henry C. Wright have to say about this question. Mr. Wright, in his work on the relation of husband and wife, says: "Should a man or woman, after entering into the relation of husband and wife, become convinced, by various means, that each does not embody the other's ideal, then they are not truly married. They are divorced; and both have a natural right to seek further of the heart's ideal associate. If either wishes separation, there is no longer true marriage." Just what Mrs. Woodhull says. What is the secret mainspring of the wonderful power of this woman, that taking up the scattered ranks of Spiritualists she has brought them into one gigantic array? [Cheers.] And we discover that the *R. P. Journal*, which as a matter of fact has joined hands with the Young Men's Christian Association, is carrying on the same work in which it was engaged years ago. Now it seems to have awakened through the slumber and become suddenly virtuous and respectable. Andrew Jackson Davis, in page 348 of his "Great Harmonia," says: "Marriage is pure, proper and chaste only when it is sought to satisfy the soul's deepest, purest, highest attractions." With such a motive any degree of marriage will prove a benefit, although merely circumstantial and transient.

And on page 331 of the same work he says: "Transient marriages are good in themselves considered, and should be made useful to the world. It is a law of nature that all the lower temperaments, without implying impurity, will suggest and demand transient marriages, because, manifestly, they are essentially bigamic, polygamic and omnigamic in their attractions." Why don't these pure, sanctified, regenerated Spiritualists protest against Andrew Jackson Davis? Why do they still buy his "Harmonia," and never think of gagging it while they are ready to vomit over themselves and everybody else when Mrs. Woodhull says the same things?

This, in short, is what they propose to do. They propose to deprive Spiritualists, liberals and infidels of the right of suffrage if they can get the power. Christianity has always wielded all the powers she could gain in this way, and now these sanctified, white-turned-up-eye, white-chokered gentlemen who want to save us from ruin are swooping down upon us. I know of no class in this world that can be more easily spared than these white-chokered clerical professors. We have 40,000 professors in this country, and if they were all to die off, we would not be any worse off morally than we are now. They are going to wash everybody clean in the blood of the lamb, which vicarious atonement these men

have been hawking around for many centuries. Why, Protestantism itself originated because Henry VIII. of England, with his many wives, wanted to be his own pope. It was born in lust, conceived in iniquity, and will die a death of disgrace. [Cheers and a hiss.] Yes, there is one goose in this audience.

Let me give you an instance of a clerical rascal, taken from the *Detroit Free Press*. Of course, all the parties moved in the most respectable society—that kind of society which our respectable Spiritualists so much want to get into. They want to get into that company, oh, so bad. They want to be so pure—so good. As for myself, I have no desire to be an angel, and with the angels stand. I don't want to be a saint, for the very good and sufficient reason that if I was I would be the loneliest and saddest individual you ever looked at. The clerical rascal wrote to his bosom friend to the effect that he had resumed preaching in the far West; that he would be an exemplary character in the future, as if he had not been in the past, finishing the epistle with the ejaculation "Bless Jesus." [Loud laughter.]

These are the men that are going to save us. We should all remember that this Christian power in the land is setting on these reporters and cowardly editors to belittle and besmear us all over. I remember a revivalist—one Moffat—who went down among the congregation, and seeing a beautiful young lady in tears, said to her, "Sister, do you feel that you love Christ? Are you sure that you love Jesus?" "Yes, I am sure." "Well," said the minister of the Gospel, "kiss me for Christ's sake!" [Cheers.]

Mrs. Benjamin Todd, of Michigan, said:

This fight in which we are engaged is a battle of freedom against tyranny. There is no middle step between the two. You must be for one or for the other; for until freedom reigns, despotism reigns, and until the last act of despotism is done away with, freedom does not exist. My friends, we are in slavery to-day. We have abolished African slavery, and we wish to abolish the slavery of American women [Cheers], because of the oppression that still holds its head up among us and runs its course. We may never hope to arrive at the brightest period of civilization so long as women are yet enchained, and present the most hideous of all spectacles—an imprisoned soul and body; so long as the doctrine is taught to women, "Submit yourselves to your husbands, you have no rights as against him." You may have intelligence and ability, but thou art a woman, and that alone condemns thee.

But the eternal laws of nature demand progress, and the elevation of woman from her degraded position into which she has been thrust by her slave holders will be accomplished by the ripening and increasing purity of civilization. It may take ages, but it must and will be done. Flowers will cease to bloom and rivers to flow, the highest mountains may crumble even with the level plain, but the long fight for freedom will at last triumph, for God is just and his laws are active, impartial and progressive. We must be either for freedom or despotism. I ask you what you are here for. Many of you even to fight against your own freedom, although I am ashamed to use so barbarous an expression. Spiritualism knows no personal god or devil other than one incarnated in the flesh and worshiped 1800 years ago. It honors no particular Jesus and falls at the shrine of no saint. More devoutly we may worship them, but no more devoutly and under like circumstances than do the poor and unfortunate Marys of to-day worship their fatherless Christ. Submit yourselves to your husbands will never be heard fifty years from to-day.

Mrs. Lois Waisbrooker then addressed the Convention:

[Copy lost—See pamphlet copy of proceedings and *Our Age* for Mrs. Waisbrooker's remarks.—Ed.]

Mr. P. B. Randolph said:

Ladies and Gentlemen—I am here to fill a gap, and I would not endeavor to fill it only that P. B. Randolph always does the best that he can do under all circumstances. In the first place, let me say to you that I am taking to-night my last and final farewell of conservatism. [Cheers.] I have launched my bark on a broad sea. They have sometimes said that I was not a Spiritualist; that I had denounced Spiritualism. I happen to have in my pocket a copy of the *New York Tribune* containing my somewhat noted recantation speech, and in that you will find these words: There are two kinds of Spiritualism—an orderly one and a disorderly one, and I repudiate the one and accept the other, and only after a lapse of eighteen or nineteen years have I found out my mistake in designating which was the orderly and which the disorderly part of Spiritualism. What I supposed was disorderly turns out to be orderly, simply because it is the Spiritualism of progress. [Cheers.] Spiritualism means advancement, so far as the conservative side of Spiritualism is concerned. They wire in and they wire out, and no one counts their coming or their going. But such is not the fate of the live Spiritualism that we have inaugurated here for the first time during these last two or three days. There is no chance to misunderstand where the direction of Spiritualism is at present. Some of our friends have paid their respects to the Young Men's Christian Assassination Association Society—a band of brothers who wear white chokers and best of clothes; and when one of our sisters goes for them, this Association, coming up to the rescue, takes a stand which it is impossible for any one to misunderstand. Its watchword is the rise of man and the rise of woman. [Cheers.] I know there is a considerable amount of misapprehension on the part of some as to the position assumed by the radical party to-day, who think that chaos, riot and destruction are going to be let loose upon the world. But they forget the fundamental principles of the nature that surrounds us; they forget that God Almighty never created a perfect thing, but that his plan necessitated that we should always begin at the bottom and advance step by step upward. Every man and woman who has right in their hearts feels the divine influx taken in from the universe, which keeps them going on a little longer. The man who has come out and declared himself to be a mouth-piece of the eternal god, was crucified as we have been cruci-

fied in the past and in the present. But at last the glorious resurrection comes, for the world is based on the law of advancement; revolutions never go backward; a truth once turned out into the world must go on forever, it can never die. Why? Because it is the hidden nature of truth to spring from the bosom of the infinite father and incarnate itself in human brains, in human hearts, in human souls, in human conscience. It follows that when the Almighty sends this mighty torch in its elliptic course around the universe that truth is bound to come, transforming the animal to the man, taking him out from the lower hell of animalism as you call it, and gradually bringing him back to his father's house. God Almighty who stands there, is saying: "Come back, my children, come home, my child;" and we are all going home on the bosom of freedom, liberty and Spiritualism, as God Almighty understands it, and as the angels of the heavens proclaim it to every receptive soul on the surface of the soil we tread. [Cheers.] How grand, how noble a thing it is to be a human being to know that wherever you may abide, you sprang from the infinite, and to the infinite you will return. It is good and grand and true; they crucified Jesus Christ, they sawed asunder some of his prophets, they boiled others in hot oil, and the land was marked with gibbets; how much better are we than those that have gone before? What a grand thing it is to be a martyr in a cause so grand as this? What a grand thought it is that all the illimitable hosts that have crossed the dark river are waiting for us, of whose myriad ranks death has transported them all to the spirit land; which no matter whether you be a conservative or a Christian in your life, five months after you are dead every one of you become a spirit. How easy it is in view of the grand aim which God has in store for us all to bear the little indignities of this world. Spiritualism has once again come to the front, and now lifts up its head beyond the power of its enemies to crush it. Like the Chamomile, the more you tread upon it the better it grows, the more luxurious it becomes. There seems to be a principle connected with Spiritualism which seems to be scarcely understood. I refer to the principle of individuality. I do not think much of the men and women who follow the lead of any leader without inquiring the reason or being able to explain the cause. I have gazed into the spiritual world. I have been familiar—and I say it without egotism, God knows—with the spirit world. I see them there now—mothers, fathers, sisters, brothers, even to the child that was murdered by its mother five or six weeks before its earthly birth—I have seen them all. And I know of a truth that up there is still the principle of individuality, and here let me say that I find the principle of individuality sustaining the human race. What I mean by that is, that every discipline, every experience, every educational step you take, in whatever line or direction it may be, is intended for the purpose of making you do your own thinking, your own aspirations, your own learning, is rounding out your own souls, independent of what Mrs. Grundy may say, or what a half-fledged society may demand of you. There is another thought that lies back of this, and that is the continual advancement right on forever and ever, not as a great many Spiritualists believe—as a great many Christians believe—that when you arrive on the other side of the gates of death, you are in boundless space it is true, but must always be what you were when you left this mortal life for all eternity. But a greater mistake was never made; can never be made. The spiritual world is the realm of action, thought, perpetuation and generation of power and the ultimate destiny of the soul as the child of an infinite father. It is said that Nature is our mother and God is our father, which I thoroughly and most assuredly do believe. If that be so, all that Spiritualism asks and demands of you is to be worthy of your parentage, worthy of the destiny that awaits you, be worthy of the high calling to which you have been appointed. For in the time that is rapidly approaching, a few short years at the most, you will be launched into the great eternal Spiritual kingdom, where you will meet your father and mother, your husband or wife, and there will be the end of it, so far as that stage is concerned. When you meet there on that other side you are going to find towns and cities, lakes and rivers, labor and rest, sleep and sweet dreams. Some of you do not know much about your spirit; you hold it to be after death an unsubstantial, airy nothing, but a greater mistake cannot be made. The spirit is as solid matter as you or I, only it is of a higher plane. What do I mean by solid matter? I mean to say that the spirit of a human being is a being of solid thought, of eyes and digestion. Everything on the Spiritualist plane is mere air. What do I mean by Spiritualists' plane? What is this that I have in my hand? that is nothing more nor less than, say a piece of ice, and now it has melted and has become liquid water; put it over the fire and it becomes steam, and apply heat and it becomes incandescent, and the next step it has all apparently melted away into thin air. But yet it is matter still, although the substance may be spiritualized. And so it goes on. No principle, no system of religion can make you happy on the other side if you have not done your duty on this. Thus the body is nothing more than a mere machine, elaborate in its details, but complete in itself. Cut my hand or my arm off, Mr. Surgeon, and what is left? Thus the body is nothing more than a machine. The hand is gone; the blood and bone, the nervous blood is all buried in the grave, but somehow or other I can still close my hand, still feel my fingers itch. What is the matter with that soldier? There, see, he is stretching his cork leg. And so, I say, you cannot disarm the spiritual body; but here I take my finger, and you see it and feel it, and I hold it over the flame and it does not burn. Why? because of the soul within. The mind or the thing that thinks, feels, knows, as the chemist who elaborates from all matter its very essence. When you come to the spiritual world you shall die no more, and if you cannot die what are you going to do? Are you going to the other world unprepared for it and blindfolded? Let me go on even for five minutes. I shall boil over on this subject if you do not. A great many people are going to

the eternal world with their eyes tight shut, and some won't allow their eyes to be opened. But what do we see here? For the first time in the history of Spiritualism, for the first time in twenty-five years, we see Spiritualism is an organization, bold enough in resources, bold enough in spirit to make the world listen to the child just born. This Jesus who has come out of the new Nazareth, this Jesus which does not seek to save souls by the blood of the Lamb, by the crucifixion on the cross, but which seeks to save and build up manhood and womanhood, and true civilization, by revealing the spiritual fact that though a man is born of, woman, he can never die again. It teaches that awful fact of your individuality, namely, that upon the evidence of your soul, of your spirit, of your bodies, of that law written upon every particle of your substance depends your weal or woe. You cannot hide when you get into the spiritual world; you cannot run away in the spiritual world. I may do a bad act here; I may kill and murder you; but so long as I escape the law, if I have no conscience, I may be comparatively happy. Spiritualism teaches this eternal truth, that whatever you do is a witness against you; and when you pass into the spiritual world to be met by A., or B., or C., the question that will be asked you, not only by others but by yourselves will be, "How have you used the talents given you? Have you improved the time? Have you cherished your individuality and become a strong and noble and true man or woman?" Oh, the Christs that are crucified for Spiritualism, for this grandest of all truths. Oh, the Calvaries that are strewn with bones of those who suffered! The oceans that have run deep—knee deep—with tears of blood from the eyes of those who have suffered. What for? That they might gain a place in your esteem? No; but that they tell you the road that leads to the endless glories of the spirit world. Oh, yet a little longer and I too shall be with you! Oh, great God, spare me yet that I may go down into those hells among my would-be foes, among those that are lost and ruined, physically and mentally, by Christianity, and lead them all into the bright clear light of Spiritualism. My God, can you reject it—will you reject it? Rather, does it not fill your souls until you are ready to be sacrificed under that terrible Juggernaut of Christianity, in order that men may be saved and the world redeemed. [Cheers.] Each one of us is poor; not a man in the world has been made rich by Spiritualism. There is not a woman who has embraced it but has had the finger of scorn pointed at her; not a man who has espoused it but has been called fool, lunatic, insane. Obloquy and contempt have been heaped upon them, and they have been ground down even beneath the heels of harlots. I do not mean the female harlots, but he or she who sells their souls for the thing called Christianity. It is not your hands nor your heels that I come to talk to; it is your souls—the divine part of you. I may talk in barbaric fashion; but I tell you that away down in our hearts there rests a diamond pure as ever fell from the infinite heavens. It is the human soul; it is the spark which fell from deity, and if it came from heaven it is going home again, and you are going home with it. [Cheers.] They say to me, "Randolph, you are a fool; why don't you go out and become a Christian; why don't you leave these people who have despised you?" "Why," I have said, "I cannot go out, for it is one of the fruits of Spiritualism, that, like a man stung by an adder or bitten by a mad dog, it is in his blood—in his nervous system, and so the man that has ever believed in a single rap can never disbelieve. [Cheers.] I said to myself once, Spiritualism is an infernal humbug, and that very night a hand was placed upon my head. Then again, in England, in 1864, I said, "Oh, it is all a delusion; they are demons and devils to lure our souls to destruction." And then I went to sleep, and in the silence of the night there was a rumbling and roaring in my room, and right there, beneath an arch, stood the sainted form of her who bore me. We march on. I have this day taken my stand by the side of Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull, because she is the champion of her sex. My mother said to me, "My son, let the world go back on you; let them crush you down. You are fearful and miserable. Well, work, labor, go through sin, hate, storm, obloquy, contempt, slander, persecution, of it be even for three score and ten years; it will be a very cheap way to purchase eternal glory." [Cheers.] "How is that for high?" [Laughter.] And the pith of the story is not yet told. What I want to say is this: What is this I have here? Why, it is a great, big cocoon. That is good to eat. No, I cannot eat it. But cut the outside; there is something underneath. But I cannot eat it as it is now. Christianity is indigestible; but underneath it lies Spiritualism, and underneath Spiritualism lies Individuality—the innate goodness of the soul in all its transcendent and glorious majesty. Where lies the blame for so much misery and wrong-doing? The cause is undoubtedly to be found in the bad conditions which grow out of the present state of marriage, under the Christian system which sanctifies it; perverting the human soul from the objects for which God intended it; making robbers instead of honest men. Let us see to it that we do all that in us lies to lift the world from that thralldom which has grown out of, Calvary. Aye, to-night it is again buried, and this is its grave, and I have preached its funeral sermon. [Cheers.]

Mr. Cotton said:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen—I desire your attention for a few moments; not that I can command your attention by my eloquence; but "hear me for my cause, and hear me that you may hear." I have longed for this moment, first of all that I might put myself right before this people; and I want to say, in the first place, that I stand upon this free platform, and whatever is, is true to the cause that produces it. I lay this down as a basic fact, that an individual cannot believe unless the knowledge that he or she may have, does prove the thing; and when approved, they have no other way than to yield and believe, so that we are not the arbiter of our own fate. Secondly, I have no curses or abuses to heap upon individuals, because of their faith or because of their want of faith. The whole world is my church, all humanity the brotherhood, and to do good my religion. Having said this much with regard to my position,

I want to say that from the first, since Mrs. Woodhull has been President of this Association, I have fought her battles according to the little ability that I have possessed. And as I have traveled nearly all the time in various sections of the country, and come into contact with people who abused her, I have stood up in defense of her, so far as I agree with her principles. And when she went to prison for declaring through her paper what seems to me to be a fact, I sympathized with her, and denounced the institution which virtually put her in that position; and I, with brother O. P. Kellogg, were attempting to inaugurate something to release her from jail, when, before the scheme was fully matured and carried into operation, help came to her, for which I am very grateful. And I want to say to you that it has been said to me time and again, "Mrs. Woodhull is not a good woman." I had said to such, "She and we all are as good as we can be under the circumstances." We, none of us, have the right to boast under this fact; but I will say this, that because a person is guilty of what the world calls a crime, it shall never cause me, like the priest, to elevate my eyes and pass by on the other side. I will stretch out the hand of sympathy, although Mrs. Grundy may say, You will lose your respectability by so doing. I well remember a story told by Mr. C. B. Wilson of a lady who was passing over from New York to Brooklyn in a ferry. There came along an individual whom the world terms a prostitute, and sat down by her side. And another individual came along, and said to the lady, "Do you know who you are sitting by the side of?" And the lady replied, "She looks as if she was a woman." "Do you know that she is a prostitute, and do you dare to sit by her side?" And the lady replied, "All right; it is not catching in our family." I think that we may feel all right that all these things that are said to be improper are not catching in our family. But I want to say that I have not been magnetized, nor mesmerized, nor sociologized, as some have called it, and that to-day I believe with Mrs. Woodhull, up to a certain point, on this marriage question; beyond that point, I differ. I will tell you how I believe with her that marriage is not a sacrament, as believed by the Catholics; secondly, that it is not a divine institution, as believed by the Protestants. But I do believe that it is a divine institution between soul and soul, as I believe the Bible recognizes Christ in man, which is the good principle, and that this is the saving power which is come to redeem the world. So that there is a golden thread of truth in the old theology that Christ was the Saviour of the world. And that Saviour of the world is in humanity, and has come to redeem the world to God and to people earth with angels. Now I would say to you that I believe this soul relation is the true marriage, and that marriage should be a civil contract, and the law should be passed to that effect, so that they can come together, and in some way arrange the matter. I believe also that if they shall diverge from each other, from any cause, so that they cannot live in harmony together, that they should be able to separate. But here is the point to which I wish to call your attention, and as I have but a few moments, I may not be able to make myself perfectly understood. As I understand Mrs. Woodhull said, in a conversation which I heard her have in the room, as well as introducing Moses Hull, that she used the term love for sexual embrace. Now, I believe that while we have one true love, we must of necessity be true to that true love; if we go outside of it for a new love for a day, to me that is promiscuity, and I do not know how to call it anything else. Now, she says, that "if Col. Blood should love you, speaking to Mrs. Hardy to-night"—speaking of sexual embrace and using the word love and it is with her consent that I tell you this—"I could love you the better because I love him." Now, there I diverge, I cannot see it. There is just the point where I am not able to follow. If you have one true love it must be a true love, and a true heaven-born relation between souls; and when, from any cause, you have outlived it, go where you can find it, but this going out after it every night I do not understand. I want to say also that it has come to me, that it is right, as she has promised to give us what she calls the "Elixir of Life," that in connection with that she shall give us the history of her life. Not believing it to be right to be a hypocrite, I think she ought to come out like Moses Hull and divulge the whole thing; and in connection with uncovering individuals from Butler down, she was going to tell you that she, not for love nor lust, but for power to carry on this glorious work, had prostituted herself sexually to do it. Now I said I was going to put myself in a position to tell her story to-day, whether she puts in practice what she preaches. Now I say, in face of all this, I fight for her, for she is doing a work that no other woman could do. I will sustain her in her glorious work of redeeming the world in this direction, for she has gone down to the sinks of iniquity to do a work for humanity. Why, in God's name, let us sustain her. If she is doing a good work which, though some of us may feel that she has done some things for which we might wish to condemn her, yet I say verily, nay, let us do as the Apostle Paul instructs us—I quote him because I believe it to be the truth—he says: "Why, judge ye for yourselves what is right, but judge no man," and I am going to add "no woman." [Cheers.] I stand for myself, and live in my position, and allow everybody else to do it. And I do not see why I should be compelled to take the same path to the Holy of Holies as others, since my path is my own as that of others is theirs. I am open to conviction, but this idea I shall fight for until I see the right, and then I will acknowledge it, but not by psychological influences, for I am not susceptible to them. [Uproar.] And now I say to those dear friends that have heard this statement—

The Chairman—Time.

Mr. Cotton—Shall I finish this sentence? That I love humanity with all my heart and soul, and I will work with this woman who has labored as she best understands the way, for the good of humanity, whether we agree upon all these points or not.

There were loud cries for Mrs. Woodhull.

Mrs. Woodhull, on coming forward, was received with cheers. She said:

Mr. Cotton has been coming to these things for some time, and I suppose he wants a reply. Not being able to make an impression by assailing the principles of social freedom, he now descends to assail the personality of their advocate. First of all, I want to know what it is he is trying to get at. Now, Mr. Cotton, will you please tell me? I want to fully understand you to know what you want me to do? What is it that you want me explain? I believe I was talking in the room when you came in, and was saying something like that which you said. But tell me what do you want?

Mr. Cotton—I would say that I wanted fifteen minutes, and I have had them. [Laughter.]

Mrs. Woodhull—I am a little confused. I am thinking whether I shall lose any of my womanly dignity if I stoop to answer this man. I am really considering whether I shall. A man questioning my virtue! Have I any right as a woman to answer him?

The Chairman—I hardly think it necessary.

Mr. Cotton—I do not think I am worth the powder to shoot at. I have only told what I can prove. [Hisses.]

Mrs. Woodhull—I hardly know if it is necessary for me to answer this man. If this Convention wants to know anything special about my sexual organs let us have it understood.

Mr. Shaw—Did he tell the truth?

Mrs. Woodhull—Suppose he did tell the truth. Has Mr. Cotton ever had sexual intercourse with Mrs. Woodhull?

Mr. Cotton—No.

Mrs. Woodhull—Do you know of any man that has?

Mr. Cotton—No.

Mrs. Woodhull—Then, what in the name of heaven can you prove? Have you in your eagerness to do something for the public weal, which, I suppose you consider in danger, caught up the uncomprehended sayings of some busybody who thinks he knows more about my business than I do myself and better how to manage it, that you come before this Convention and arraign me for hypocrisy? I hurl the intention back in your face, sir, and stand boldly before you and this Convention, and declare that I never had sexual intercourse with any man of whom I am ashamed to stand side by side before the world with the act. I am not ashamed of any act of my life. At the time, it was the best I knew. Nor am I ashamed of any desire that has been gratified or of any passion alluded to. Every one of them are a part of my own soul's life, for which, thank God, I am not accountable to you. Therefore, sir, I have nothing to offer up on the altar of the confessional. If others have, I have no objections. I had intended to put these things before the world in my own time and way; but I shall not be forced to explain anything, by any job put up, to compel me to take a position that does not belong to me to assume.

may, however, be a fit time for this issue when a man, and such a man, feels called upon in the name of virtue to come before this Convention and arraign me for my sexual virtue, when you are compelled to say you do not know of any man with whom I ever had sexual intercourse. I think it is a fitting time—a fitting ending to this Convention—when it brings the question down to just this: Of what does virtue consist? But I fear I may lose myself and say things I am not yet quite ready to say. It is not, however, from cowardice I hesitate; but out of respect to some of my friends who, thinking to do the cause a service, have forced this issued at this time. I am full cognizant of it all, but it has assumed a form for which they did not provide, and has passed from their control to that of the opposition, which having failed to crush out the doctrine of social freedom, now at this late stage of the Convention, think to do something by springing this issue. They are welcome to all the comfort it will afford them. But I am not yet entirely satisfied as to how far I ought, indeed how far I can, indulge them and maintain my womanly dignity. A woman questioned on the public platform, and that too by a man at this stage of agitation for freedom!

But what is it that this man is after? He wants me, because I claim that Moses and Elvira Hull had a right to do what they have done, that I shall divulge the private history of my life, and whether I have prostituted myself to carry on this work. Did this man or did any other person even hear me make any pretensions to any special line of sexual life? I am an advocate of freedom. I have openly declared that I had the right to change my love every day of my life if I wanted to and could. What more does he want? Does he want me to say I have the right to change love oftener than that? Is that sufficient for the man? Is that freedom enough to satisfy his longing? Can I say anything more to assuage his desires? Or is it that he would make me an inconsistent advocate of sexual freedom by the acknowledgment that, when questioned, I have a right to stoop to explain? I should really like to know at what it is he is driving—

Voices—Tell us to-night.

Mrs. Woodhull—I have my own proper business to attend to to-night. I want to know why people congregate in this Convention and make me their president. Is it because I have shown any cowardice during the last two years? Or is it because I have gone through the very depths of hell to give you freedom? I want to know. Is it because I have been a coward, or is it because I have braved the penitentiary and every other damnable thing that could be put up to hinder me giving you the truth? [Cheers.] Well, now, when I came out of my prison I came out of it a beggar. I appealed to the Spiritualists, to the reformers of the country, to send in their money that I might send you my paper. But did you do it? No; you left me to starve in the streets; you left my paper to die; you sent in a few paltry dollars, but not enough to meet the necessary payments. I knew my paper

had to live, or I should assuredly be sent to Sing Sing. Hence, I went to the world's people. I went to your bankers, presidents of railroads, gamblers, prostitutes, and got the money that has sent you the paper you have been reading, and I do not think that any of you are the worse for handling it. [Cheers.] I used whatever influence I had to get that money, and that's my own business, and none of yours; and if I devoted my body to my work and my soul to God, that is my business and not yours. I have gone before the world devoting heart and soul to this cause. I have been willing and still am willing to yield up my life, if need be, to further its interests. [Cheers.] All my mind; all my might; all my strength; all my faculties are engaged in this labor, and when any of them are demanded, they are not withheld. It would be no glad thing for me to have to yield my life that the world may gain freedom. Jesus of Nazareth, whom Christians worship to-day as God, even he prayed that the drinking of such a cup might pass from him. And so do I. [Cheers.] But I would drink it if the spirits, whose servant I am, present it to my lips. They have intrusted me with a mission, and I have done and shall do everything and anything that is necessary to accomplish it. And more than this; I am proud to say that whatever that has been or may be I am not, nor shall be ashamed to proclaim it to the world, standing side by side with my lover [cheers] who stands by me now, as he has stood for nine years, manfully holding up my hands and encouraging my weary, sometimes almost fainting heart when deserted by everybody else. [Cheers.] Hence I say, suppose I have been obliged to crucify my body in whatsoever way to fulfill my duty, what business is that of Mr. Cotton? I prostituted my body by speaking to you last night when I was scarcely able to stand alone. I shall do the same to-night, in order to advance a great truth to the world that shall prove its salvation. And you prostituted me by the failure to come to my support when I needed you. I have racked my brain, my body, my strength, my health, my all that this cause might live; aye, even that this Convention might meet under the favorable auspices under which it has met. [Cheers.] And now this man stands up to demand of me if I have sold my body to help this on, just as if there was no other prostitution except that of sexuality. [Cheers.] Bah! such cant and from men.

I am ashamed of the Spiritualists and Reformers of the country who profess an interest in the cause, that they have left me all alone to prostitute myself in whatever way to maintain their interests. Did they stop to ask if I should have to crucify my body to obtain the needed means? [Cheers.] I doubt if one of you ever did, and yet I besought you earnestly all the time of my needs, and forgetting all this I am placed on the stool of confession by a man from Vineland [cheers], who, if he has ever given a dollar to the cause, I don't know it. But let me tell you quite a different story. Suppose I had not done what I have, let that be whatever it may, and that the WEEKLY had died and the Y. M. C. Assassination Association had succeeded in sending me to Sing Sing, where would have been your cause? Where this Convention to-day? Can any one answer me that? Are there any of you, you here I mean, who would have come forward and put your bodies in the gap? If there are I hope they will now come forward and relieve me. My body has been crucified until I am almost unable to use it any more. I am weak, faint and want rest. Will you give it to me? If you will not, don't put me before you as needing to confess anything that in your self-sanctified spirits you may conceive to be prostitution.

Suppose that I had permitted the WEEKLY to die and the cause of freedom to sink, and I had come before this Convention, and as you would in that case have had a right to do, because I had received some of your money, you had asked for an explanation. And suppose I had arisen and said: Ladies and gentlemen, I did all I could to keep up the cause and to issue the WEEKLY, but there did not money enough come in, and one week I was short of the amount that was needed to purchase the white paper, and as I did not feel disposed to make any extra exertion, and was not willing to crucify myself in any way to get it, we had to stop. What would you have said? Would you have elected me your President? I don't believe it. And yet I am asked if I do this and this or this and that to aid on the cause. Once and for all time, let me assure the highly respectable male citizen from Vineland that I have done whatever was necessary to perform what I conceived to be my duty, and so long as I live I shall continue to do whatever is necessary, even to giving my life, but that shall be the last resort. Everything else before that, even if it be the crucifixion of my body in the manner for which I am now arraigned. If you do not want one to be forced to that extreme, come to my rescue as you ought to have done before, and not let me fight the battle all alone, and be subjected even to the possibility of a thing so utterly abhorrent to me as to submit sexually for money to a man I do not love. If Mr. Cotton, or if any of you are so terribly alarmed lest I may have been obliged to do this, let him and you manifest your alarm by rallying to my support so as to insure that no such exigency shall ever again arise. I hope Mr. Cotton and you are answered. But perhaps he may desire to tell you what he knows about sexuality.

Mr. Cotton—Give me five minutes and I'll tell.

The Chairman—I will give you one minute and a-half.

Mrs. Woodhull—I do not know whether you are a virgin or not, having by that virtue had the right to cast your stone at me. [Laughter.]

Mr. Cotton—So far as outside the marriage relation, I am.

[Cheers.] Mrs. Woodhull—He is a virgin. What have I always said? That you have the right to love one woman or forty women, and nobody has the right to say no. And no one has the right to exercise any tyranny over my sexual organs any more than they have over the processes of thought in my brain. I know none are without sin, which I call virtue. Without sexual desire you are not men and women. You

are the result of men and women copulating before you. You are the result of that act; and that act is my religion, and by that act the world is moved to-day. And I shall love it and admire it, and pray God that my sexual desires may become so purified and intensified that I may be able to enjoy them as I do any other desire or passion of my soul; and if I want sexual intercourse with one hundred men I shall have it. This question is up for discussion, and we may as well have it out with these people who are so terribly alarmed about their virtue. I am sick and disgusted with their cant; and I repeat here, as I said yesterday to Mrs. Hardy, in that room, that if Col. Blood surely loved her—because I know nobody can know except himself—it would be my courtesy to mind my own business. And I hold that this would be true courtesy. I do not propose to be mortified. And if I or you wanted intercourse fifty times a week, or but once in a lifetime, or at any other time, when feeling disposed nobody has a right to interfere. And this sexual intercourse business may just as well be discussed now, and discussed until you are become so familiar with your sexual organs that a reference to them will no longer make the blush mount to your face any more than a reference to any other part of your body. Have I not done my work? Have I not done everything that was demanded of me? Have I not carried this important work on through every state? And I shall do so still. I shall push forward this great question of sexual adaptation, for I am the result of a sexual abortion, and my first child is a sexual abortion; and I have it on the brain, and I propose to keep it on the brain until the brain rules the sexual relationship. I do not propose to have any blush on my face for any act of my life. My life has been my own; I have nothing to apologize for. I do not ask you to accept any of my sexual relations; but I ask you to be happy, and then you will be virtuous; and then I think we will have no more of this blackguardism and discussion about anybody else's sexual organs; for if you knew how contemptible it is, you would mind your own business, and permit everybody else to do the same.

Hon. Warren Chase said:

I have not troubled this Convention very much, and I do not propose to do so now. You need not be very much alarmed, for I do not think I shall hurt any one with what I have to say. I am very glad to have a few minutes to speak before the dissolution of this body, because I have a few things I wish to say: One thing is to thank the reporters of the *Times* and the *Inter-ocean* for the fair and candid reports that have appeared in their papers, so far as I have read them, up to this time. I have not anything to say with regard to the *Tribune*; your Secretary has attended to that. Now I want to say to you all, to any foes if I have any, and I ought not to have—that you need not be alarmed. Spiritualism in the last quarter of the century has been killed at least fifty times, and I have been killed myself almost as many times in the estimation of my friends; and yet I am still alive, and so is Spiritualism, and it is likely to be. You need have no fears; I want to say to my friend Judge Holbrook, that he need not be alarmed. Spiritualism is not going to suffer from anything that is said here or elsewhere. This platform is broad enough, for we want to take hold of all subjects, and to find room for all persons. After what we have had attached to Spiritualism for the last twenty years, if you think anything can kill it, you are very much mistaken. There is no danger of its being killed by the discussion of these questions upon it. These are vital questions and they must be discussed, and there is no other platform but the spiritual platform on which it can be done, and here it will be done, until the great public mind has settled them. The great popular will, which is the glory of this country, will settle this marriage question, and you need not be alarmed. Never will it separate these families which are bound together by the ties of love and affection; under it children will not be respected while mothers are interested in the making of laws as they will be. Therefore I will say to Judge Holbrook, and his *fidus achates* from Iowa, to this young lawyer I say, that when he has been through the world as I have, and knows as much of life as I know, and has had the experience that I had before he commenced to study law, he will be wiser than he is now. I assure him that he need not be alarmed, that this Convention need not be alarmed, because it has some, who like the prancing ponies on the old stage line, seem ready to dash into the river; but it is safe enough in the hands of the old heads. I say let us therefore have room on our platform, let us have free speech and free debate on every subject that members may desire to bring forward. Let everything be spoken freely, but use decent language. Be courteous, kind and civil. Speak your thought freely, then let us canvass it, let us discuss it, let us hear it, and see what is best for us to do as a community. We do know that in the past some institutions have been failures. The thousands of voices that come up to us from the congregation of married ones, proves that there is something wrong in that institution, and every soul of you know it. You all know that it must be removed from some causes and that cause must be removed. There should be harmony in the social life, and these people who are engaged in the movement are endeavoring to bring it about. Do you think that these are the patrons of the houses of prostitution? Do you know that every one of these people have been urging the adoption of the law that recognizes the female prostitutes, but would also provide for the registration of the names of the men who visit these houses, and have them published? Do you know that? Whose names do you think will be on the register? These people who advocate Free Love, as you call it? Do you think that their names will be registered as patrons of these houses? No; it will be those who applauded so loudly when my Iowa friend was on the platform. [Cheers.] It would be that class of persons who throughout the country are defending the institution as it is, because it guards, guides and covers them with the sacredness of the name of membership in a church. These are the kind of people that we want registered—the hypocrites who are damning themselves by claiming one thing and practicing another, and who endeavor to keep institu-

tions as they are, in order that they may keep on practicing one thing and preaching another. Do you ask, do you want the repeal of the whole marriage system? I say I do, and not that alone—I want to repeal the divorce law also. And then you will have none of these causes dragged into court, to become a scandal to the community, and your newspapers unfit to be read, and with particulars of it for Comstock to prosecute. Your simple law of love will be sufficient. When woman is secure in her own right—is secure in her share of the prosperity of the country—when a civil law contract shall cover the whole question of marriage, and shall be all that shall be required—then we may expect to see a reformed state of society. That is what we mean. And yet you ask us whether we advocate promiscuity. Do you know that every speaker of yesterday emphatically condemned promiscuity, and that a resolution was unanimously passed in this assembly to the same effect? It is not promiscuity that we are advocating. It is the civil rights of woman—the right to take care of her own. She has not the right to protect her body now; but we propose that she shall have the right, and that the law shall sustain her. Is this promiscuity? Is this legalizing prostitution? Take care, then, that you do not do anything that you do not like to have talked about on the platform. Take care of your life; take care of your spirit; take care that you do not do that to your fellow which shall make you fear to meet him face to face in the eternal world. [Cheers.] Be sure that you injure nobody, and that nobody will be able to charge you with injuring them in the world to come. Look you to it, that you may meet those whom you have made happier, purer, better—whom you have strengthened in the newer nature, the higher life; that you have made the world purer and happier for your children, that they may take no fear in doing the work set before them, and the angel world will bless you, and you will go in and out of that beautiful kingdom of which my brother Randolph speaks, for I indorse his sentiments, every one of them. [Cheers.] So that, with your own conscience clear, you can enter the kingdom of light and love. [Cheers.]

Mr. Todd then announced the list of speakers for the evening session.

Judge Holbrook—Mr. President, as I said, I have a protest, which is signed by ten or twenty delegates, which I wish to read.

The Chairman—Will the Convention hear the protest?
Voices—"Yes."

Judge Holbrook—The protest is as follows:

To the American Association of Spiritualists, to our Constituents and the Public:

The undersigned, members of said Association, now in Convention at Chicago, Ill., deem it proper to withdraw therefrom.

The principal reasons that induce this action (omitting many others for the sake of brevity) are as follow:

Before the Troy Convention, which was two years ago, we believe the society could not boast of much vitality or usefulness, and hence it attracted but little attention. At that Convention, which was quite thinly attended, by some sudden movement and questionable proceedings, Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull, a person not before then widely known as a Spiritualist, but rather as a leader in the Woman Suffrage movement, and in some way a nominal candidate for the office of President of the United States, was elected president of the Association.

Immediately thereafter the new president treated this election as an indorsement of her former position, and seemed to degrade the society into the place of use merely to her political aspirations; and if the officers of the society consented thereto, which we believe is a fact, so much greater was the wrong then, and the cause of complaint now.

Falling in the consummation of her pretences and aspirations in the political line, and being abandoned by her associates in the woman suffrage movement, she became the most bold and unscrupulous advocate of free love in its worst extremes. And now in turn she proposed to convert this association, in reality weak, and only seemingly strong, and of any importance, in the fact that it was nominally a representative of the Spiritualists of the whole country, into a subordinate aid to her chief and all-absorbing theme. To effectuate this in a seemingly lawful manner, it is insisted that the platform is absolutely free, without any limitations whatever as to subject, and perhaps not as to persons and method of advocacy; and this, too, on the further plea that Spiritualism is in some way connected with every reform, actual or self-styled, merely projected or imaginary, in the wide world.

Under such a construction, free love, now called social freedom, is brought upon the platform, and every effort is made by her and her coadjutors (and surely with great success) to make this the central figure, and to give it nearly all the attention and time in and out of convention.

We protest against this as a great wrong. It is not according to the design of the framers of the association, nor within the purview of those who since then maintained a so-called free platform; nor in accordance, as we verily believe, with the proper constituency of such association, that fair would have sent delegates to convention, had not the association so lost character by such proceedings, that a very great many have thought that the effort to regain and repair is not worth the cost, and hence have not sent them. It is a wrong in that it changes the character and office of the association! Everything else as well as Spiritualism can be advocated upon its platform by the same means and to the same extent, and hence it is no longer a "Spiritualistic Association," in any especial sense—nothing but the name is left, and that now is a misnomer. It is a wrong to whatever of a minority there may be opposed to such action, as they have a right to the normal action and use of the society.

This is a wrong when any foreign element is introduced, however right it may be and worthy of advocacy in itself at another time and place; but when the foreign element is in itself a master evil, erroneous in principle, most essentially vicious in practice, abhorrent to the views, sentiments and sensibilities of a very large portion of cultivated and refined society, and highly detrimental to the advancement of the cause of true Spiritualism—then the wrong is infinitely increased.

According to our views, then, we are called upon to protest against such a use of the Association, and we feel the more called upon to do so in that now the evils of such dogmas are widespread, are enhanced and strengthened by the position under such a rule and such a management of their national association.

But not to be restrictive and tenacious in our own views, and being desirous of preserving the national association to true Spiritualism, to works and a name worthy of her high origin, and to future years of usefulness, we have endeavored to save it from disunion and decay, and to prevent a division in our ranks by presenting honorable terms of compromise of extreme views and action, and reducing them to practical terms of harmony. It is for such a purpose that some of us have attended this Convention, being persuaded to make such a venture quite

against our better judgment as to its success; that if successful, well; if not, that there should be no wrong judgment made in haste, and that there should be no fault on our part and no opportunity to charge any against us by the majority managers of the Convention or their sympathizers. We have proposed, as a rule for the platform, that it should not be in order to speak in advocacy of, nor in opposition to those subjects which are remote from Spiritualism, and in no special degree based upon and connected with its facts, theories, demonstrations and philosophy; among which are enumerated the general questions of politics and government, the Woman Suffrage movement and Social Freedom; but persons might be especially invited to speak on specified subjects by a vote of two-thirds the members of the association represented in convention. This rule, as we think, would preserve the special character of the association, while a reasonable opportunity would be afforded for a diversion for specified objects where there were an unanimity of sentiment sufficient to justify it.

But no concessions have been made to meet this proposition; but, on the contrary, a rather more rabid extremism has been exhibited, as well as promised for the future, so that but very little attention has been paid to any other question than Free Love, and it seems to have been determined that there shall not be, at least in the immediate future.

According to our best judgment, then, we must surrender this association; and as we must deem that it is desirable to have a national spiritual association, we recommend that a call be made for a national convention to form such an association, limited, for the sake of harmony and efficiency, in the first instance, to those who are willing to restrict the action of their society to Spiritualism proper, at least within the confines of the rule above referred to as offered to this convention:

Edward S. Holbrook, Chicago, Ill.; George W. Kates, Cincinnati, O.; W. J. Shaw, Iowa; Ed. T. H. Stewart, Indiana; G. L. Jenifer, Lawrence, Kansas; Mrs. Dr. S. Avery, Chicago; Mr. Chas. W. Mills; W. R. Hill, Detroit; A. S. Waterman, Waukegan, Ill.; R. Hoyt Winslow, Akron, O.; Dr. W. H. Bancroft, Wisconsin; Jos. H. Longshore, M. D., Philadelphia, Pa.; Wm. H. Hicks, Delaware; John W. Cochran, Joliet, Ill.; Dr. B. P. Barnum, Michigan; W. L. Thornton; S. C. Bliss Riley, Clinton County, Michigan.

EVENING SESSION.

The Convention was called to order at half-past seven o'clock.

The Chairman—We will have to listen to a few preliminary speeches before Mrs. Woodhull comes on to the platform, and I would announce that after the other speakers have done, and before she commences, Mrs. Moore will sing a song.

Mr. J. O. Barrett, of Wisconsin, said—

My reticence at this Convention is owing to the condition of my lungs. I have congestion of the lungs, which prevents my speaking. I have just recovered from a severe sickness, and I shall have to decline speaking. I thank the committee for having assigned me to this honorable position. My heart is deeply in earnest in this work. I believe that from it there will outgrow something that shall be of great value and salutary influence to our country and to the world. [Cheers.] I decline speaking in favor of Bro. Lynn.

Mr. Cephas R. Lynn, of Massachusetts, said:

I am perfectly astonished to see that some of our good friends who have come in here, and who have never attended a Spiritualists' Convention before, are so remarkably interested in the proceedings. When a man stands up and asks a question of this audience, when an individual demands an answer to a certain interrogation and another individual stands up to answer it, why those very liberal gentlemen in the gallery may cry "Put that individual out." Now, we hold that the individual is in order who answers to the vile insults of the speaker. I tell you what it is, we are not such fanatics as not to know what constitutes order, and we propose to run this Convention ourselves, notwithstanding that you paid half a dollar to come in. You just let us alone and we will show you that we are not just such fellows as you take us to be. [Hisses.] To-night I want to remark to you is the concluding session of the grandest Convention that has ever assembled in the United States of America. [Cheers.] I want to tell you that the tenth annual Convention of Spiritualists of America has set its foot down, has talked in plain language, and that we of the radical party are perfectly willing to stand up to the record that is here laid down; and let me tell you that the opponents of Mrs. Woodhull in this Convention conceded the propositions of the radical party when they declared to us that were we all angels of light, that then the Woodhull doctrine would do to be preached to the world. [Cheers.] I say that they have conceded the fundamental principle of the radical party when they made that declaration. But I am sorry to say that at this stage of the game, as the poker player would say, it has come to pass that when I or anybody else stands upon this platform and speaks for liberty, when we ask that the devil himself, if it were possible to restore him from hell, should have fair hearing here, that some of the virtuously sanctimonious say that we have allied ourselves to animalism. And this simply because we say that we are not afraid of anything that is wrapped in pantaloons or in petticoats. [Cheers.] And it is because of this fact that we have come upon this platform and have declared that the minority should have an equal chance with the majority, but the minority have lost the game, and having lost it have not the moral courage to bolt. We say to the minority bolt and organize a new society, just as Ben Butler ought to have done the other day. [Cheers.] Why do we say this? Because we are content to let the world see what are the ideas of the majority and what are the ideas of the minority. I hold, therefore, that the minority have a right to bolt, and while, ladies and gentlemen, I voted with the minority so far as the publication of their statements was concerned, yet, at the same time, I want to make another declaration, and that is, that if we are to be true to the genius of the spiritual platform, there never can be a schism in radicalism. Why? Because we have taught, for the last quarter of a century, that the convictions of the individual did not compromise anybody. Remember that. [Cheers.] We have taught that, no matter what Tenny C. Clafin might say, no matter what Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull might say, no matter what Col. Blood might say, no matter what our respected Chairman might say, their individual utterances did not com-

promise the great mass of the people, who stand to-day on the platform of liberalism and Spiritualism. And so I say that I am glad the time has at last come when we have discovered the fact that we do not anchor ourselves to any crystallized definition of the theology of antiquity, or to the words of anybody on earth, be they Woodhull, Clafin—I mean Victoria—or anybody else. [Cheers.] And I want the ladies and gentlemen of this congregation to understand that those of the majority in this Convention, because they have stood by it, because they have fought for it, have not necessarily given up their individuality to the New York ring, if there should be such ring, which I deny. I do not wear the shoulder-straps of the Woodhull party. What do I see? I see the Woodhull party on the one hand, which is striking out for liberty and progress; and I see on the other the conservative party, which is shivering and quivering as if it was wearing paper overcoats in the middle of winter. [A laugh.] And as between the two, between paper overcoats and Mother Grundy, give me the other side and I will stand by it. Why do I say that? Because I am thoroughly convinced that there is no such thing as chaos in God's spiritual universe. You talk about regulating a human soul. I tell you that you cannot do it. I tell you that God Almighty made us and he takes care of us all the time, as he takes care of the birds of the air, the beasts on the land, the fishes in the sea, as he takes care of the worlds that roll majestically through the heavens above us, as the law enzones the world beneath our feet. Do you suppose that he is going to let a human being, which is the grandest part of his creation, come to nothing? Not a bit of it. [Cheers.] We need not fear. The fact is, we have credited the bugbears which have been set up to startle us; the bugbears of the books which are set afloat by the men—these virtuous, sanctimonious men who have always been true to their wives—over the left. [Cheers.] They are afraid chaos is coming on in this big Chicago of the nineteenth century. [Cheers.] They say when we are crying for freedom that we are going to break into their houses and violate the persons of their wives and daughters. But when they say that we say that they lie about us. If they understood the radical idea they would understand that reciprocity was the cardinal idea of the whole system. And then there is something else. Now don't you fret, who want Mrs. Woodhull to come forward. I am a necessary evil on one crutch to-night. [Great laughter.] I want to say something else. I want to say that among the many grand things that have emanated from the Tenth Annual Convention of American Spiritualists, is a clear cut, a gigantic statement of the encroachments of the Young Men's Christian Association upon the liberties of the citizens of the American Republic. [Cheers.] Now, I am going to tell you something confidentially. Y. M. C. A.—what do they mean? [Hisses.] Don't hiss; I am simply telling you what Comstock has permitted to pass through the mails. The letters Y. M. C. A., according to George Francis Train, mean, the "Young Mule's Concubine Association" [a laugh]; according to the Christian, they mean, the "Young Men's Christian Association." Brick Pomeroy says they mean the "Young Men Christian Asses." [A hiss.] Don't hiss me; it is not me that says so. Victoria Woodhull says they mean "Young Men's Christian Assassination Association." [Cheers.] Now, what do we discover? Why, that this so-called Young Men's Christian Association have subsidized the United States Government to protect the man who stands behind the orthodox pulpit to-day. You cannot get rid of it. It was the Y. M. C. A. that turned the key of Ludlow-street jail upon our President, and when that key turned, and we heard the click, we swore by the living God that that click struck the key-note of a new declaration of independence which should be greater than the first. [Cheers.] Why, you men who come to this Convention and slander us—you reporters of the press—I tell you that Mrs. Woodhull went on the cross for you as well as for us. Talk about the coming man and the coming woman! I tell you I want you to look after something else. I am looking for the coming individual—the coming reporter—that dare say what is true. [Cheers.] I tell you that this cutting-down of the manuscript of local reporters—of which Mrs. Woodhull spoke in her lecture—has got into the religious press; and we who stand on the spiritual platform have sworn by the holy God that we won't write another letter to the *Banner* without placing every word above our names, and not be afraid of Mrs. Grundy. Talk about delay—of slow legislation! The history of the world shows that when the individual has exerted himself against the law, that the law has gradually receded. I am confident that I have but a very few more minutes. [Cries of "Go ahead!"]

Mr. Lynn—I want to make another point, and that is that I believe the citizens of the United States of America are sleeping to-day on a volcano. Why, suppose we had been members of Congress when our soldiers were falling by thousands, and had said in answer to the cries of the people, "War? there is no war," we should have been called ignoramuses. But from this platform we can point to several instances which go to show that the government of the United States in 1870 and 1873 has given the lie to what it said in the days of Washington. It was because Mrs. Woodhull made declarations which were disastrous to the doctrine of salvation through the blood of Christ, that the officers of the United States government cast her into Ludlow-street jail, and I am very happy to say that we found a friend not among the philosophers, so-called, not among scientists, so-called; not among reformers, so-called, but the man who vindicated American liberty was the man that we all had laughed at, and that man's name was George Francis Train. [Cheers.] When they arrested George Francis Train they had an elephant on their hands, and they did not know what to do with him. Why did they refuse to try George Francis Train? Ladies and gentlemen, dearly beloved friends in the gallery, have you ever thought this matter over? I will tell you all about it; they refused to try George Francis Train because the words that he had quoted in his paper, and on which he

[Continued on page 12.]

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The diseases of society can, no more than corporeal maladies, be prevented or cured without being spoken about in plain language.—JOHN STUART MILL.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCT. 25, 1873.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS.

Hereafter all communications for the paper, whether business or otherwise, should be addressed to WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY, box 3,791 New York City. Postal orders should also be made payable to Woodhull & Claflin.

AT COOPER INSTITUTE AGAIN!

Again are the halls of New York—closed against us for nine months—now open, and again we shall lift up our voices to advocate the rights of the "Lower Million" as against the "Upper Ten." Victoria C. Woodhull and Tennie C. Claflin will both speak in the large hall of Cooper Institute, on Friday evening, October 17, at 8 o'clock, upon

REFORMATION OR REVOLUTION, WHICH?
OR, BEHIND THE POLITICAL SCENES.

We shall undertake to show that the system of government under which, for the last century, we have lived, has been proven to be a failure; and that even now we are upon the verge of revolution, which probably will not be averted.

We shall also show that the political, financial, commercial, industrial, intellectual, moral, religious and educational conditions; that the monopolies which starve the laboring masses; that the Christian attempt to establish a religious despotism; that the frauds, the corruptions and the general demoralization on all sides evident, and every day coming more generally to the surface, are—first and last, one and all—the legitimate fruits of a government that has been mistaken for a republic.

We shall not war upon Credit Mobiliers, revenue defrauders, bank embezzlers, Treasury thieves, dividend smugglers, interest takers; upon stock, gold, cotton, corn, pork, flour, coal and oil speculators and land grabbers, as individuals. We shall, instead, show that they have been naturally evolved by the system; that the system being faulty, they naturally follow; and, finally, that the only way to mend the ills under which the country now groans is to change the system; and, in conclusion, to show of what this change should consist.

The crisis is upon us. It cannot be ignored. It should be calmly considered, and wise provisions for its exigencies provided.

PERSONAL.

Everybody who knows anything of me, knows also that I am not given to noticing any calumnies that may be put afloat for the purpose of defaming me; but I have a copy of a letter lying before me which is of such a character, and the original of which is from such a source, that I am not altogether certain that I ought not to notice it. If the letter referred wholly to me personally, if it did not attempt to impeach my integrity and honesty of purpose as a reformer; if, indeed, it were not evidently intended to damage the cause to which I am devoted still more than it is to injure me, I should pass it by with the contempt it merits; but it is so clearly intended to blacken the white cause of freedom, and, emanating from whence it did, is so well calculated to stagger friends who have not the means of judging justly between its author and me, and withal is so revolting to my soul, that I feel it may be my duty, though I do it with a great deal of hesitation, to show who their author is.

Nearly a year ago a lonely and confessedly unfortunate and wretched man came to me, and excited my sympathy by the story of his life. I gave him all the aid I could, partially, at least, feeding and nourishing him, and permitting him to sleep in my office, sometimes at personal inconvenience to myself. I introduced him to all my friends in the city and to those who visited the office from abroad; permitted him free access to the columns of the WEEKLY to get before the public (of which he took advantage to write the most fulsome things of me personally); in short, did everything a person in my condition could do that was kind and comforting, and that a sister should do for a suffering and needy brother. I admired his talent and pitied his condition.

This is the man who has busied himself writing these vile letters to my friends all over the country. Having been warmed into life and into the power to do harm by me, he takes advantage of the knowledge he has obtained in the guise of a friend to send his envenomed shafts where he thinks he can do me injury, and create prejudice that will damage the interests of freedom as advocated by the WEEKLY.

I do not write this for those who know me personally; I would not insult them by the supposition that any explanation is needed; but there are very many who may have been favored by him who are warm friends to the cause but not personally so to me. These may be poisoned by these things coming from a man who they know has had my respect. To them I would say that the revolting substance of these letters could have been penned only by a man thoroughly bad at heart. I hope he may still have manhood enough left to do himself, not less than me, the justice demanded of him, by acknowledging the wrong he has done.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

THE CHICAGO CONVENTION STILL AGAIN.

There is considerable murmuring among the constitutional grumblers about the principles adopted by the recent Convention at Chicago. These objections assume various forms; but they principally relate to the principles involved rather than to the fact that they have been systematically reduced to forms and made the basis of the New Universal Association of Spiritualists until amended as provided by the new constitution.

It is affirmed by some that these propositions are really a creed in substance; but in our judgment they have none of the elements of a creed. For example, a mathematical proposition can never be a creed. According to Webster a creed is: "Belief; a summary of articles of faith." In these propositions there are none of the elements of belief, or of articles of faith. On the contrary, they are self-evident propositions, and the opposition made to their adoption in the Convention did not proceed from any disposition to dispute their truth, but rather to their having any relation to Spiritualistic organization.

Now, any valid objection to these propositions being made the object for which Spiritualists should organize, would have held as against the constitution of the American Association of Spiritualists with equal force. The preamble to this involved everything contained in the principles of the Chicago Convention, and was as follows:

Believing that the truths of the Spiritual philosophy (not merely the facts of Spiritualism) rightly interpreted and applied to the improvement (social culture) and regulation (government) of human society, tend to the highest welfare of our race, and that great good may be accomplished by a general co-operation of Spiritualists throughout the Continent, for the promulgation and propagation of these truths (all that the Chicago proposition involved), the undersigned unite for the specific purposes hereafter named:

The difference between this preamble and the recently adopted principles is that the latter defines what the improvement of human society consists of, and also what its regulation should be; while the former merely declares that great good may be accomplished by Spiritualists in these directions if they will organize. Now, the organization of a body of people having no purpose in view is an absurdity. If there is nothing to do but to talk and witness spiritual manifestations then there is no need for organization. In fact, to organize for these would be a useless expenditure of force. But the recent Convention at Chicago was composed of no such star-gazing people as

such a proposition would indicate its admirers to be. They were earnest, able and active laborers in the field of reform, and they delved down into the deepest miseries of humanity and sought its moving causes, and finding them to be in these very questions of the improvement and regulation of human society, they boldly announced that they proposed to organize to forward these reforms.

The analysis of what the improvement of human society requires, is found in chapter 1; the propositions of which we claim are a self-evident statement of principles, which cannot be disproved, and they say that the improvement of human society means better men and women, depending originally or primarily upon perfect conditions of generation, gestation and growth. Dare any one of the conservative grumblers deny this proposition? And if they dare not why do they object that it should be made the fundamental to "any true spiritual science?" Will they please answer that? Or are we to understand that they object to having, in the next generation "an improved humanity?" or is it to the effort involved to obtain it that they object? In their fright at their own interpretation of free love we trust that they may not make themselves utterly ridiculous.

But the Convention having, after mature, deliberative and exhaustive discussion, in which both sides had ample time to present their arguments, decided that the improvement of society was the basic work of Spiritualists, went straight to the means to accomplish it, and said that it could not be done except through organization; and also finding that human improvement could not be attained while women are compelled to bear children against their own wish and will, and under any and all conditions, they claimed that one of the purposes for which Spiritualists should organize, should be to secure social freedom with religious and political freedom to complete the social trinity.

Now what does social freedom mean? Why, simply that each individual has the natural right to the disposition of his or her own body as against all other power; and that this cannot rightfully be alienated. Put this proposition to any individual man or woman and they will at once agree that they have the right to the control of the body; but when this is made into a general declaration of rights for all people, they forget that what they claim for themselves is equally a right of every body else, and deny it.

The propositions as to organization also reach far out in other directions; they claim that equality of education for all children, in industry as well as intellect, and take up the demands of the workingmen, claiming universal justice for all mankind. Indeed, carried to logical sequence, if the Spiritualists of the country should organize under this constitution they would become the government of the country when they should be in the majority of citizens.

We imagine, however, that the propositions of Chapter 3 are what is really the cause of the opposition. They probably convict of prostitution many who claim to be respectable. Love is defined as the basis of intercourse, and where there is intercourse without love it is named prostitution; and so, in the eyes of nature, it is. Now, if there are any legally married Spiritualists who do not love and who still maintain the relations that should only follow love, they will undoubtedly object to the principles put forth at Chicago declaring them prostitutes. But we ask every candid person to carefully read over those statements, and not to enter a hasty condemnation unless his judgment tells him they are false in principle.

But they say that "it will keep out many who would otherwise come in." Now the Universal Association of Spiritualists propose to do a certain work. They propose to improve and regulate human society, and they do not care for any associates who are opposed to this movement. Indeed, they want no member to be a dead weight upon the Association. They want only those who are in sympathy and cordial unity with the expressed purpose of the Association. Let all those who see no higher purpose in Spiritualism than its phenomena remain in that sphere until they convince themselves that manifestations, if continued to all eternity, will not of themselves save a single soul from a single earthly misery. This Association desires only those who feel that Spiritualism should now begin to do something to better the condition of the human race, and who are willing to consecrate their lives to the work. Let the self-sufficient, the time-serving and the indolent go their own way, and not hinder those in their labors who are practical reformers.

Nor does any one pretend that these principles commit any Spiritualist to their acceptance except those who agree with them, and who believe in their efficacy. Such will join the Universal Association of Spiritualists, and then they will stand committed to the principles. A Spiritualist is not necessarily a member of the Universal Association, and it is this Association only that is committed to the principles of the Chicago Convention.

But there is another light in which these principles are to be received. They maintain inviolably the individuality of every human being, and can therefore in no proper sense be said in any manner whatever to limit the individual or to bind him or her in any such manner as do Christian creeds. They declare freedom. That is all—the whole. In this regard alone, the doings of the Chicago Convention challenge the admiration of the world, and we believe that the future will demonstrate that, as a general declaration of principles and purposes, they are the wisest that have ever been made.

HAND IN HAND.

Our advices from the West show that mechanical and agricultural labor, so long divided, are about to be united under the banners of the Unions and the Granges. Of course, politicians and monopolists will make every effort to defeat this movement, which, if consummated, will certainly prove the death-warrant of the pious Jeremy Diddlers, land-grabbers and railroad manipulators in Congress. That we have some reason for the faith that is in us, warranting the heading of this article, the following extract is given from a three-column leader on the subject in the *Workingman's Advocate* of Chicago, of the 27th ult.:

"We notice with pleasure the extension of invitations by the speakers, as well as in the resolutions adopted by the Granges and other organizations among our farmer friends, to the workingmen's associations, to unite with them in a common effort for the vindication and maintenance of the natural rights of those who produce and distribute the wealth.

"We believe that we express the almost unanimous sentiments of the members of the workingmen's organizations of the nation, when we say to our agricultural friends that, in so far as we can, without the surrender of well-founded convictions, we are ready to join with them, heart and hand, for the abrogation of all grants of special privileges and advantages to individual classes or corporations, and for the enactment of such wise and just laws as will protect all in their natural rights, which we believe to be the true object of all good government."

Six long resolutions follow the above statement, informing the Grangers of the desires of the Unionists of the cities. For ourselves (remembering that it is necessary to kill the bear before you can obtain his skin), we beg to omit mention of the same, presenting the combined labor interests with one in their stead, which we deem to be more important to their present interests. It is:

"Resolved, That it is eminently fitting and proper that laborers should represent laborers; and, furthermore, that it is the duty and interest of all toilers to remember and carry into effect this resolution at the polls."

At present, the lawyer representatives of the one hundred and fifty thousand lawyers in the country, fill about three-fourths of the Houses of Congress; while the men who represent seven millions of toilers, you can readily count on the fingers of one hand. It is a pity that this is so; but the workers are now, and indeed always have been, in power to amend it if they please. Let us hope that the time has come in which they will use their power by striking this first blow against monopoly and corruption.

Surely, there is reason to hope that the workers will not again be cajoled out of their votes by the mealy-mouthed scoundrels of the Credit Mobilier type. Every one knows it has long been the custom of these pious villains to praise and extol their victims—the toilers—on every opportunity. Of course, all thinking workingmen (and they are many) know the worthlessness of such balderdash. The statement of the *Nation*, that "the material producers are really inferior to the intellectual workers in society," if not truthful, was honest, and merits more attention from toilers than the frothy gammon of politicians. Although at the same time it is also true that such belittling of manual laborers came with an ill grace from brains presented to the writer by the toils of ill-paid agriculturists.

The real position that the wealth-producers have a right to occupy is one well stated by themselves in a platform presented by the National Union Labor Reformers to Tammany Hall for ratification. It reads as follows:

"Resolved—That the producing classes, agricultural, mining, mechanical, intellectual and moral, are the most important section of all communities; and that distributors, financiers and politicians, together with their aids, civil and military, are of secondary consequence, being simply created by the former to disseminate wealth, maintain order, conserve justice and keep intact the integrity of the nation."

Nothing is more certain than that, under our present system, the welfare of the great masses of the community is barbarously sacrificed. A few financiers, railroad directors, factory owners and distributors, by our false money and industrial systems, are made enormously rich, at the expense of the millions of their neighbors around them. What makes this fact more objectionable is that the above-mentioned parties never return to humanity a *quid pro quo* for their accumulations. They are merely a grievous burden upon the people, without whom the millions would find themselves in a superior condition, inasmuch as the latter would be able to reserve a larger part of the results of their labors for the benefit of themselves and their families.

The apathy of the working classes and their neglect of duty are the true reasons why this is the case. They should be in power here, but they will not consolidate, and know not how to use their power. If they did, they would not now be represented by lawyers in Washington. In the labor revolution, which, we trust, is now about to be inaugurated under the banners of the Granges and Unions, although other nations may be reduced to the "shedding of blood," here the battle may be easily gained by the "shedding of ballots." At any time the workers of this country can obtain political power if they please to unite their forces for that purpose, and, in the fact of thus ruling themselves, they will best manifest their right to rule this republic.

THE TRUE TRINITY.

Although we cannot recognize a trinity in the Deity, or comprehend one particle of the great Father and Mother of the Universe, we can perceive in man a three-fold nature, viz.: animal, intellectual and spiritual. Of these the animal portion forms the ground-work. In other words, man may be compared to a Corinthian column, the base representing his animal, the shaft his intellectual, and the capital his moral nature. In a perfectly formed human being, if ever there was one, these powers would be in exact equilibrium, neither unduly expanding over its fellows, but all being fully developed. At present the world is filled with abortions rather than with men and women, because we have failed to recognize and adapt our lives to suit this three-fold nature of mankind.

Those who have to perform hard toil for even eight hours per day, and that continuously, develop their animal natures, it is true, but at the expense of their intellectual and often of their moral natures; on the contrary, the earnest and close application to study demanded of professional men, or of our youths in our colleges, not unfrequently expands their intellectual at the expense of their animal powers. As to the development of our purely spiritual natures, manifestly the last growth, or the crowning glory of our race, although it has been partially exhibited in all climes and in all ages, it is only in the present era that man has been able in the least to comprehend it, or to hope to advance his knowledge of it to the dignity of a science.

This being the case, it is evident that, in a well ordered state of society, in which legislation is adapted to secure the true public weal in the advancement of the people, these anomalies, if they cannot be entirely eradicated, must certainly be greatly diminished. In spite of the pratings of so-called political economists, there was profound wisdom in the assertion of Benjamin Franklin that four hours' manual labor per day was enough; and so it certainly would be, did all human beings labor; and individual as well as the general good demands that all human beings should so exert their muscular powers for the purpose of developing their physical structures. So with regard to professionals. It is a crime against the body to overwork the brain day after day without relaxing it with the play of the muscles in toil. If our clergy and our lawyers devoted a certain portion of their time daily to such toil, it is believed it would by no means injure their efficiency, but that we should obtain from them, in consequence, sounder law and probably purer morality.

Let us hope that, in the near future, when the teachings of Spiritualism are better appreciated, government will be instructed by the peoples that their first duty is toward them, rather than toward the works of their hands. Indeed, a true economist will easily perceive that material advancement is a necessary consequent upon the physical, intellectual and moral development of mankind. At present in this matter, following British example, we buy our manufactures often with human lives and always with human degradation. This is paying too dear for our whistle. The great Nazarene said: "Seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all things else shall be added unto you." We, being more modest, and not being of absolutely divine parentage, paraphrase the text thus: "Seek first the welfare of man and his development, and all things else shall be added unto you." This advice we respectfully present to the rulers of the world, gratis. Let us hope that their common sense will induce them to heed it.

HULL'S CRUCIBLE.

As has been announced in these columns, the Hull Brothers—Moses and Daniel—have resumed the publication of the *Crucible*, in greatly enlarged form and improved in every way. The special reason for resuming the *Crucible* at this particular time, is clearly shown in the contents of this the first number. They undoubtedly feel they have a stern battle to fight, and that it can best be contested in the columns of a paper over which they have absolute control. Some uncommonly shrewd persons suspect that "The Experience" was the calculated forerunner for the *Crucible*, over the excitement and interest of which it was hoped to float the issues on the popular tide of discussion.

But let this be as it may, the number before us is a bold and judicious defense of the recent cause of demoralization in the ranks of Spiritualists. Many prominent persons among them who have heretofore made no special attempt to conceal the "irregularities" of their lives, are now put on the "respectable" position, fearing lest the way opened by Moses and Elvira Hull may be so generally followed as to involve themselves; while prominently among his denouncers are the "lights" of the cause whose business it is to provide spiritual food for the needy flock. These privileged persons do not hesitate to break engagements that have been made in good faith with speakers who have had the courage to say their souls and bodies are their own, and to permit Moses Hull to regulate his own life as best suits its needs. We say these eminently virtuous persons do not hesitate to break their faith, and to show that whatever may be their sexual morality, their dishonesty and base faith is prominently published to the world; just as if good faith were not as much to be prized as a given standard of sexuality.

This system of ostracism is carried so far by the would-be-considered virtuous representatives of Spiritualism, that

any one who is known to be in sympathy with the movement for social freedom, is made the subject of it; but these conservators of Spiritualistic morality will find, ere long, that they have taken the wrong way. They may attempt to stay the tide, but they will not be able to stem the torrent that is rising in the mountains of thought and wisdom, to rush down upon and inundate the valleys where the filth of ages has accumulated.

The leading article in the *Crucible* is entitled "The General Judgment," in which Moses asks for Spiritualistic teachers to throw off their masks of hypocrisy and preach to the world by their practices. "I am blowing the trumpet and calling upon individuals to come to judgment and bring their theories and practices for comparison," says Moses. He believes that the lives that many "ladies and gentlemen of talent and education" have found good for themselves as individuals, may be beneficial to the world, either as examples of warning or for copy, and he says: "Show the world that you believe in your practices by giving it the results of your experiences."

He says: "The man who is most bitter in his denunciation of my position and arguments is one who, besides having a wife has a concubine and illegitimate offspring; the female who is more bitter than any other was the wife of a man who became jealous of the intimacy of another man with her and shot him. Her present husband has at least two other living wives, one at least of whom obtained a divorce from him on the ground of adultery. They could not be married in the State where he resides on account of the crimes which released his wife from him. The president of a Spiritual Society who urged me to join in the general denunciation of Mrs. Woodhull, acknowledged that he kept one concubine and had to make arrangements with another."

"Those who have no experiences," says Moses, "have no right to say a word; those who have, are invited to produce them for the benefit of others. So far as the charge of licentiousness and promiscuity is concerned, I have given them both an emphatic denial. I do not publicly or privately advocate or practice either. I advise all to live, as I know I would all the days of my life, a celibate, before I would demand of another what was not willingly given, and that not for money nor because the law had given her to me, but from a desire that our lives might mingle." "I am not more firmly convinced of my existence than I am that no two should ever approach each other sexually (whether in marriage or out of it) when there is not a perfect soul-blending."

We should be glad to make further extracts from *Hull's Crucible*, but space forbids. Every one who desires to know more of it can obtain it on application to Hull Brothers, 27 Milford street, Boston, Mass. The subscription price is \$2.50 for fifty-two numbers. It is not promised that it will be published regularly, but that for every subscription there will be fifty-two numbers issued.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION

Are now complete. The type upon which they were printed in the *WEEKLY* has been stereotyped in pamphlet form, making, together with Mrs. Woodhull's speech the last evening of the Convention, entitled "The Elixir of Life; or, Why do we Die?" which, on account of its great length and the want of space in which to use the large type in which it is set, will not be printed in the *WEEKLY*, but will form a part of the pamphlet—a book of 250 pages. The speech, on account of its subject-matter and the new and high direction which it gives to sexuality, is worth double the price of the whole pamphlet, which is fifty cents, single copy, post-paid, \$4.50 a dozen, or \$30 per hundred; or either the proceedings without the Speech, or the Speech without the proceedings, one half these rates.

THE LOGIC OF CONSERVATIVE SPIRITUALISM.

The logical deduction to be drawn from the action of a certain class of Spiritualistic Societies is that they deny the fact that speakers are ever influenced by spirits to speak, by the efforts they are making to exclude from their platforms the discussion of Free Love. How can a speaker who speaks under influence or even inspiration, tell in advance what the spirits may induce or compel him to say; and the fact that those who wish to engage speakers under the provision that they shall not treat "distinctive subjects," is proof complete either that they do not believe in spirit control or influence, or that they do not believe in the speaker's honesty in professing them. Remember, speakers! every one of you who accept invitations to speak with a muzzle upon your tongues, that you deny the very power upon which you profess to base your teachings.

WERE there no Methodists present at the Evangelical Alliance when the colored minister was refused admission? It is believed that the Methodists are at work among the negroes of the South. If they are not willing here to defend their rights, they cannot complain if their Catholic brethren go ahead. As regards ourselves, we care for neither; but we believe in fair play. If the negro is not good enough company here, it is certain that he cannot be elsewhere.

LECTURE ENGAGEMENTS.

Those who desire to secure the services of Mrs. Woodhull at any time during the coming lecture season, should make early application. She expects to make a trip during the fall reaching as far West, probably, as Salt Lake City.

INDIVIDUAL SOVEREIGNTY.

The *Index*, of Boston, in its issue of October 2, thus discusses that most important of all questions, without which all other liberties are comparatively vain and ephemeral:

"Poor Dr. Holland gets pitifully bewildered in *Scribner* in his endeavor to prove 'man's ownership in woman.' But the tangled skein of his ideas is deftly set to rights by Col. Higginson in the *Boston Journal*. Did it ever occur to the Doctor that woman has any ownership in herself? Shall we never get over this nonsense of owning somebody else? It is true that too many people carry 'for sale' written on their features; but we notice that the majority of them are men. The day is coming when every man and every woman will covet the dignity of exclusive proprietorship in self, and learn that each of us has something that ought never to be bought or sold, given or accepted, stolen or received. In that day the marriage question and the woman question will be very near solution; and we doubt if they are solved much earlier. The woman suffrage reform derives all its weight from the ideas of free religion, though some 'woman suffragists' are very slow in discovering the fact."

The end and aim of the Free Love movement is to develop and establish the right of all men and all women to Individual or personal sovereignty, at all times, in all places, and under all circumstances. We hold it to be a fundamental right, pertaining to all human beings; and as our present monogamic marriage system conflicts with the expression of that right, we condemn it.

"This is the head and front of our offending!"

and no more. We are glad to welcome the *Index* as a defender of our doctrines.

MISCELLANEOUS.

MRS. ELVIRA HULL.

An intense feeling of sorrow pervades the minds of Spiritualists, that Mrs. Elvira Hull, wife of Rev. Moses Hull, has seen fit to promulgate to the world her confession that she, too, like her husband, practices promiscuous sexual indulgence. What a sad spectacle! Oh! how her daughters will feel in after years to know that she who bore them had stepped aside from the paths of female virtue, to practice such a soul-destroying doctrine! She is following in the Woodhull trail, within which are as sad spectacles as the human eyes ever rested upon—wrecks of women, families torn asunder, children left without paternal care, foul disease, and anarchy such as make the angels weep! Well, treat her kindly. Led astray by the psychological influence of promiscuous fornicators, let all true Spiritualists pray that she may be able soon to break the chains that bind her, and proclaim to the world her abhorrence of such lustful practices as are taught by Moses and Victoria.

Dear Victoria—No doubt many of my friends, and enemies as well, have seen the above production. I feel myself called upon to say something concerning it.

While I am always thankful for real sympathy whenever there is a call for its manifestation, I can but feel that the above expression is intended more for a direct insult than from any other motive, especially as it starts out with a lie in its mouth.

How any person or set of persons can twist or extort from my article in the WEEKLY a confession that I practice "promiscuous sexual indulgence" is beyond my power of comprehension. What did I say on this point? Plainly the following: "Lust, libertinism, licentiousness and lewdness I detest."

Possibly some person may ask what I understand by the above-named phrase. Most emphatically do I understand "promiscuous sexual indulgence" to constitute this class of abhorrences. I may not understand the meaning of the terms "lust, licentiousness, lewdness," etc., but I will tell you what they mean to me when I hear them used. "Lust," to crave the sexual relations with almost every one of the opposite sex with whom we may come in contact in the every day relations of life. "Libertinism," the practice of enticing men or women into the sexual embrace without regard to state, circumstances or age. "Licentiousness," the fact of the animal function being so largely developed as to overbalance the moral faculties and to drive the possessor into promiscuous indulgence. "Lewdness," bold, daring, reckless, practicing lust, licentiousness and libertinism.

Now, am I right? I have not looked into "Webster," "Worcester" or "Brown" to get my definitions, but taken the interpretation from the impression the words make upon my own mind. Thus, you see, I have not set those things upon a choice seat in my domicile, nor have I any worship to offer them. I not only do not believe in "promiscuous sexual indulgence," but would, with my present and past convictions, die of sexual starvation before I would or could practice it. I do not like anything promiscuous. To me the word means inharmony. Inharmonious relations have compelled me to see the beauties in the principles taught in "social freedom."

I believe, as I said in substance in my so much misunderstood article, that where two souls come together in love, where there is a more strong attraction to them for each other than for any other person, they have a right to express that love in the way best suited to themselves. Now, will Bro. Jones deny that fact? If he loves a woman, and "Mother Grundy" accuses him of loving one very intensely, has he not a perfect right to tell her so? And have they not also the right to manifest that love in the way most pleasing to themselves? Way down in his heart Jones says yes! and does yes too, or "modern rumor" lies. And S. S. J. trusts too implicitly when she talks to him about other folks, to deny that she tells the truth when she talks to others about him.

Now my impressions are that in his case she can be trusted. But now comes the richest part of all, the "lamentations," it is almost equal to some of Jeremiah's.

First, "What a sad spectacle! How her daughters will feel in after years to know that she who bore them had stepped aside on the path of female virtue." My daughters will never

know such a thing of their mother, if they allow their own common sense to be the judge, or even trust to those who know their mother best to tell them, and they certainly will not take the word of such a cowardly villain as S. S. Jones has shown himself to be on the subject. My daughters are old enough to understand these things now, and will not wait till after-years to make up their minds with regard to it.

Second, "She is following in the Woodhull trail." So are you, only you are so far behind that by the time you come up to the hunting-ground, the brave warriors will all have gone on and Jones will have to take up his weary march alone.

Third, "Within which are as sad spectacles, as the eye ever rested upon."

Granted; but from whence come these sad spectacles? I will tell you: from among the victims of the present and past marriage system and false social relations, not as a rule a result of the social freedom doctrines as taught by Victoria Woodhull and her adherents.

Fourth, "Wrecks of woman." True again, but the answer to the above will answer this; deny it who can?

Fifth, "Families torn asunder." Will S. S. Jones or any one else show us a family who have been "torn asunder," who were not worn threadbare before Victoria come upon the public stage?

Families who are harmonious are not in danger of being hurt by the principles of truth, honesty and harmony, these are being taught by the new doctrine.

Sixth, "Children left without parental care." Oh bosh! show me one family of children in the whole universe who are left without parental care who ever had any care bestowed on them by their parents, before Woodhullism or Hullism either were born.

Seventh, "Foul disease and anarchy such as make angels weep." Now, if there was one atom of truth in that pitiful wail, it would be very touching indeed. Bro. Jones, madam rumor says: "There is a grave somewhere and a tomb that you know of, where sleeps one who never proclaimed Social Freedom, but who practiced promiscuous sexual intercourse until death came and spread a pall over the foul remains of a debauched and wrecked life, and hid the body from curious, prying eyes."

I fear no such doom for my children. The principles of Social Freedom will shield them from such creatures. I do not like to revile the dead, but there are times when nothing less will make human beings of the living.

And now comes his exhortation, "Treat her kindly." *

* * * "Pray for her." Well, well. Now let Gabriel blow his trumpet. Now let Jesus come. Let Bro. Jones be translated at once. He has got his white robe on, is out on the housetop. He has confessed his sins to his wife, and— and is praying. No doubt all heaven is interested in that prayer. God himself must certainly cause to cease the whole heavenly brass band, and stop the drummers on Sinai. He must request the attending angels of the north, south, east and west to lift up the canopy of the heavens in order that he may see Bro. Jones at prayer, and more distinctly hear the fervent words offered up in my behalf. Now am I not honored above women? Am I not to be envied? Stand back the rest of you Woodhullites, Hullites and Social Freedomists, while I alone approach the steps of the sanctuary, while our high priest and intercessor takes hold of the very horns of the altar in his fervent earnestness in my behalf. Surely God will make his face to shine in the holy of holies in answer and benediction.

Now, do you know what all this reminds me of? The old adage of "Satan preaching righteousness."

One little incident I must relate. One of the behind-the-door practicing class of Social Freedomites was talking with a friend of mine, and introduced this same theme. She asked some leading questions of my friend concerning a mutual friend. Not receiving the answer she evidently desired, she asked plainly, "What would you do were he to make propositions to you of a sexual nature?" My friend replied evasively, "Why, I cannot tell; I am sure those questions are supposed to bring their own answer. But why do you ask?" "Oh, I wanted to know if it would affect you, as I know it would me. Why, mercy me! I know I should almost go into convulsions; I certainly should have a chill at least!" Now the fun of the whole thing is right here. The gentleman in question had given my friend distinctly to understand previously to that conversation that this same lady had had frequent occasion for just such chills.

Now, I surmise that is the situation of our friend Jones, he has seen the "chilly" side of the question, and is afraid some one else will trespass upon some of his rights, and so hangs out his scarecrow, hoping thus to secure a clear field for himself. This is merely an old shoe, and if Bro. Jones don't want it to pinch him he will not put it on.

Now, I hope this will enable the "friends" who are so deeply interested in my behalf, to distinctly understand that Elvira L. Hull neither believes, teaches nor practices "promiscuous sexual intercourse." I expect there are those who are so morally weak and intellectually dwarfed that they cannot understand how I can believe and teach that "it is none of your business what your neighbor does, so long as he does not trespass upon your rights," and not, at the same time, throw away all decency and moral obligation to myself, and become just what they themselves would be were they thus to become a law unto themselves.

The mistake is here: They cannot understand the difference between liberty and license. To them, liberty does not add dignity and moral responsibility, but exactly the opposite. To them I will say once more, I would die of sexual starvation before I could or would practice promiscuity. So, Bro. Jones, please reserve your prayers for those who desire them.

Yours for the truth, ELVIRA L. HULL.
VINELAND, September 22, 1873.

A WOMAN SLAVE.

The attention of the goodly people of the Nutmeg State, who are terribly shocked at the words "social freedom," and who pretend to think, themselves, and endeavor to

make other people think, that wives are not married slaves, and that they may not be returned, like a strayed horse, to their legal masters, is called to the following extract from one of their own papers, the *Hartford Times*:

"The wife of John Way, of East Haddam, absconded about two months ago. She was found in East Thompson and returned to her husband, Tuesday, by Deputy-Sheriff Niles."

For our part we think it about time to have a rebellion, to wipe such freedom as this out of existence.

THE MANIAC'S LAST HOUR.

Dead! dead! And away from me!
My darling cannot be dead!
Let me tear up this marble slab,
And see if it cover her head.

Dead! And is God dead too,
That he heard not the cry of my heart,
To spare the dear life of my love,
And to let not her spirit depart?

Dead! And the sun is blood
To my life, and the moon is out;
The stars are like serpent's eyes
That look on a heart of doubt.

Mad! Who said I was mad?
Why dare they to pinion me so?
Do they think to divide us by death?
No; I'll sunder the earth but I'll go.

Fiends! back again to your den,
And bring me the soul that has fled;
Or tear out my own heart and fling
In the waves of the sea of the dead.

Ha! ha! She is coming at last;
She beckons me over the reef!
Just one leap into the dark,
Down walls! and give me relief.

Ha! so! now the crimson tide
From my veins in a torrent starts.
Ah! where are the bolts and bars
That can pinion such broken hearts?

I'm coming, my love, to you,
On a wildered and tempest-tossed wave;
A moment, how dark it grows;
Ah! dying? God pity and save!

ADDIE L. BALLOU.

A FEW SUGGESTIONS.

HYDE PARK, Mass., Sept. 13, 1873.

By far the greatest portion of married persons live in a state utterly at variance with the laws of physical welfare. To live in pleasure and in peace is the desire of many who know but little of either. It has been the common custom in civilized communities for man and wife to sleep together continually, as though that were a part of the marriage contract. Now, such a custom is very injurious to health. Eminent physicians say that no two persons can habitually sleep in the same bed and be in perfect health. This is, no doubt, true; but the universal custom continues, sacrificing the health and comfort of every married couple in a greater or less degree. Not only is this habit deleterious to health, but it also has a powerful effect upon the feelings of young married persons, who, being in each other's company in every condition possible, dressed and undressed, asleep and awake, are apt to become tired of each other, sooner or later; whereas were they to sleep in separate apartments, and be in the same bed, say, once in ten days, the affections would be less likely to grow cold. There can be no doubt but that too close a friendship is most liable to become monotonous and distasteful, and for the reasons I have assigned, viz.: that the persons see each other too often, and under adverse circumstances. A man should not be so impolite as to treat his fair companion with the rudeness of appearing before her with unclean person and slovenly dress. Such breaches of good taste tend to lower the tone of loveliness which should pervade every well-regulated family. Some men are so familiar with their wives that they are careless as to how they appear or act when they come before them. Indeed, the more familiar we become in this respect, the nearer we approach the vulgar, and the greater becomes the danger of domestic discord. The same motive which actuates us to be polite and courteous in the company of strangers, should impel us to amiability in our own homes.

Sleeping together often causes irritability and feverishness in families where there need be none, if persons would sleep alone. A man who will not sleep anywhere but with his wife is too selfish to be moved by considerations of health. When free love becomes universal, men will do as the women desire; there will be no commanding then. Woman can sleep alone if she chooses, and run no risk of being abandoned.

Let us suppose a case of a young couple living together; they have separate bed-rooms, and meet when dressed and in good spirits. There is no jar or impatience in the home, and each individual moves as an individual. When the desire is mutual they meet in the sexual act, and it is far more enjoyable than if it were a common, every-day occurrence. Under such a system, love will retain its hold and never grow irksome. On the other hand, take the barbarous custom of to-day, and put two young persons of opposite sex together under it; they see and feel one another at all times; they breathe the same air over and over again; they awake in the morning, and, with blears in their eyes, and dishevelled hair, watch one another's movements. This in time causes the usual coolness which follows the brief honeymoon. After that, loving words and kind caresses are few and far between. The woman comes to be regarded then as a mere convenience to her husband, a household horse, who does the drudge's work, and gets bed and clothing in return.

These are a few of the causes of unhappy marriages; can it be wondered that there are so many worn-out women whose lives are as living deaths to them?

Bright will be the day when marriage—that unnatural

band which binds the woman to her husband—shall be forever abolished, and when human nature shall be left to take care of itself, then deception and tyranny over woman shall die. Meanwhile, let those who are within the fold do the best they can to make life bearable; but above all, let us never forget that our women, our brothers and sisters are under the heel of a damnable social slavery, far worse than that which the African has ever endured. Let us honor those who are sacrificing ease and position to fight the battles of freedom.

W. B. WRIGHT.

PROGRESS IN SOCIAL FREEDOM.

My Dear Mrs. Woodhull—You must be gratified to witness the progress of that liberty in love, of which you have been the conspicuous advocate, exemplar, and in some sense the martyr. How widely this subject is getting to be considered few fully understand. George Darwin goes to the opposite extreme. Instead of removing existing restrictions on the formation and dissolution of marital unions, he suggests, in the *Contemporary Review*, three additional legal restrictions upon marriage: (1). Divorce on the appearance of certain diseases. (2). The passing of a medical examination for this same class of diseases; and (3) the production of an untainted pedigree—restrictions, one would have thought, sufficiently impossible of enforcement for anybody not a lunatic.

The *London Examiner* would not, like Mr. Darwin, prohibit persons afflicted with disease from marrying, but would prohibit them from having children! Could anything be more absurd, and more monstrous, than to permit sexual intercourse between any two parties by law, but to forbid, by law, the natural consequences of such intercourse, and punish the parents for having given birth to the child? Why not punish the child, too, for the atrocious crime of being born! Out upon such absurdities.

If the *Examiner* were not too serious to be satirical, we should suspect that its utterances on this subject were intended to be sarcastic. The writer in that journal is capable of better things; for he is bold enough to suggest further on, that natural dislike should be a legal ground for divorce, and what is much more to the purpose, that the extreme position of absence of all legal bonds of matrimony would not be so productive of evil as people imagine. So the spectre of Free-loveism, Wolstoncroftism, Fanny Wrightism and Woodhullism has appeared in the sanctum of the *London Examiner*.

WILLIAM FRIAR.

LOVE.

She said, "You offer me love—but what kind—ah, what kind?" And answered, "Love all truly human."—From "Zuleika," a Tragedy.

BY P. B. RANDOLPH.

I will love thee as the flowers love,
That in the summer weather—
Each standing in its own place—
Lean rosy lips together,
And pour their sweet confession
Through a petal's folded palm,
With a breath that only deepens
The azure-lidded calm
Of the heavens bending o'er them,
And the blue bells hung before them,
All whose odor in the silence is a psalm.

I will love thee as the dew's love,
In chambers of a lily;
Hung orb-like and unmeeting,
With their flashes blending stilly;
By the white shield of the petals
Held a little way apart,
While all the air is sweeter
For the yearning of each heart—
That yet keep cool and crystal
Their globed spheres celestial,
While to and fro their glimmers ever dart.

I will love thee as the stars love,
In sanctity enfolden;
That tune in constellations
Their harps divine and golden—
Across the heavens greeting
Their sisters from afar;
The Pleiades to Mazzaroth—
Star answering to star
With a love as high and holy,
And apart from all that's lowly—
Swaying to thee like the planets without jar.

I will love thee as the spirits love,
Who, free of earth and heaven,
Wreath white and pale-blue flowers
For the brows of the forgiven;
And are dear to one another
For the blessings they bestow
On the weary and the wasted,
In our wilderness of woe;
By thy good name with the angels,
And thy human heart's evangels,
Shall my love from holy silence to thee go.

LEAVENWORTH, Kansas, Oct. 8, 1873.

Dear Weekly—I have just finished reading the report of the doings of the Chicago Convention contained in the numbers of the WEEKLY for Oct. 4th and 11th.

Grand thoughts, more sublime doctrines never came from mortal lips, not even from the Mount of Olives. Who would not be content to wrestle in the great social Gethsemane with such principles to sustain the weary flesh and spirit.

Who can candidly read these papers and not at least give all those eloquent speakers upon the great vital question of the hour—the social question—credit for a mighty sincerity of purpose? And who can fail to see that love, deep-laid for humanity, is the ruling motive? Surely none but a fool or a bigot.

However the honest reader may differ from the principles enunciated, he or she must feel impressed that Victoria Woodhull and her followers are terribly in earnest. And when the generous soul admits that, though not indorsing, it has not the temerity to condemn.

Can any righteous thinker, any careful reasoner, look over the columns of the *R. P. Journal* of recent dates and the columns of the WEEKLY at the same time, and fail to be disgusted with the former, while the true dignity and majesty of the latter must appear in contrast. "Look first upon this picture, and on this! And canst thou this fair mountain leave to feed and batten on this moor?"

What is it Victoria Woodhull wants? Answer me that, ye rank opposers. Do you say she wants freedom to be sexually promiscuous?

Thou fool! That liberty you have all had since this old world was young. 'Tis an open field, where one needs not to fight to conquer. That you know! Do you think if she merely wanted liberty for a selfish gratification, which all her opponents don't deny themselves if they desire it, do you think she would go thrice through the world's hottest fires to get it? Reckon with your host ere you assume to be right on that point!

Then what does she want? She wants the emancipation of souls from the last and damndest of all the slaveries! She wants to give each little helpless immortal that comes into existence through the liberty the world takes to be promiscuous, the right to live and breathe God's pure air and drink in heaven's pure sunlight. She wants to have those helpless little ones ushered into existence under pure conditions, which you know, and all the world knows, are far from being pure now. She wants women to learn the first and grandest truth of nature; that they should never permit their sacred bodies to perform the work of generation without the seal of nature stamps it. She would ring into woman's ears, as from the great bell, Roland, that there is no law of God and nature which sanctifies the sacrifice of womanhood to lust, in wedlock or out.

So she would put the married prostitute exactly on the level with the midnight street-walker, for the married prostitute is no better, though clothed in all the purple and fine linen of a rotten respectability. She would bring the keepers of brothels and the women who inhabit them to take their true positions beside the men who frequent them. She would have the pure in heart—where are they?—mete out equal justice to male and female free-lusters.

Is there a chance in all this, O ye immaculates, for throwing filth at Victoria Woodhull? Did Jesus of Nazareth ever teach purer truths? The difference between Him and her is simply this: He taught in parables and never defined His position; she tells the truth and shames the devil.

Jesus left things unsaid that He evidently would have uttered. But He was timid lest the disciples could not bear it, yet He promised that one should come who would reveal all He dared not then.

O, if Christ had but told the people what adultery is, what sin and misery he could have prevented! In his day adultery knew no definition but in the interpretation of the common law. Christ kept to himself the very corner-stone of the world's regeneration, because he feared the people could not bear it. Hence his mission has been a misrepresentation and a cheat, leading souls, like an *ignis fatuus*, into a mire of doubt and darkness, only teaching us to dream dull dreams of a vague hereafter, not enlightening us of the simplest truths of every-day life.

If women could be made to understand that adultery is bargaining their bodies, either at the altar for one man's use or on the street for the use of any man, one none the less in degree than the other, because one man can as much abuse his bought and paid-for chattel as many men can abuse the one woman who hunts them on the street—if this truth could but strike fire in the souls of women, there could be no such thing as adultery.

For with such truth for a sacred incentive, woman would never yield her body to man without the sanction of nature. And, with such sanction, there is no law of Church or State can defile the act or the result. Without that sanction, Church nor State can ever wipe out the deep stain upon a woman's purity, or save her helpless offspring from the sure and fatal consequences.

O for a rebuking Saviour to confront all the married women who carry about a preventive to conception, that they may the more securely minister to the sexual demands of their husbands!

Would that Christ himself would rise before such prostituted womanhood, though legalized by all the laws of the Medes and Persians, when such women retire behind their marital sanctity to stone to death the young girl for her first offense, when she is fighting, single-handed and alone, the battle with nature and Mrs. Grundy.

I care not where I hit. These things are true and powerful to strike home, for there live few married women who have not some time given their bodies a tortured sacrifice to their husbands. 'Tis damnable prostitution! Worse does not exist!

Fix the fact home in women's souls, though it go with a sharp pang of agony: Cursed is a system that holds a woman submissive to her husband, when all her soul rebels, when all her womanhood is wounded!

And the system is cursed of God, for the mark of His displeasure is set upon the unfortunate offspring. Gods! how I wish women could comprehend what it is to be pure! I would hold them up a mirror wherein they can see what a ghastly, spotted rag their virtue is, and make them hide their heads for shame and cry, "My God! my God! why hast thou forsaken me?"

Do ye think, O ye sticklers for the sanctity of an institution that has made ye all one-sided, that if woman had her way in sexual matters, there would ever be an unwelcome child born into existence, or an innocent murdered in its mother's womb? Do ye think if sexual intercourse depended upon the pure inspiration of a woman's nature—adultery could follow? Ye reason crooked if ye do.

Those who are promiscuous would be promiscuous still; but true conditions would weed their souls of abnormal desires, implanted by an enslaved mother.

Those who are monogamic would be monogamic still; but the pure monogamic relation is little understood.

That is not monogamy where one man sates a promiscuous nature upon one woman who is not responsive. What is it then? Give it a name, ye sanctified! I cannot.

Moses Hull has had the courage to own himself of a promiscuous nature; and all the cowards who are in the same boat with him, cry "Crucify him!" with a loud voice. The world knows that most men are promiscuous. Moses Hull sees that it is infinitely better to supply promiscuous demand in a promiscuous way, than to hold one woman subject to inordinate use. His wife stands bravely by his side; and in my eye they both look a great deal nobler than all the pack of snarling curs their course has set snapping at their heels.

Now, don't jump at a conclusion because I speak a word in defense of Moses Hull. I do not believe promiscuity is the highest plane of sexual life, but I tell you sticklers to your faces, it is the common plane. There's the fact—draw your deductions. Where a couple live purely on the monogamic plane, thousands abuse it.

Thousands of promiscuous men are yoked to monogamic women, yet other thousands are yoked to women in whom is no touch of amative nature. God have mercy on such wretched pairs, for there is no prostitution equal to theirs! because, if the husband does not stray into "fresh fields and pastures new"—as in such a case he has a clear right to do—he makes a nameless thing of himself and her who is subject to his uses.

I do not think promiscuity would suit me, still I'd not consider it anything to boast of, if I could say, with the unctious of many women, "Man delights not me." When women came to that barren pass they had better take Lord Chesterfield's advice and go hang themselves.

Till woman learns that she can commit no sin equal in magnitude or as fatal in consequences as falsely employing her sexual functions, till pure nature is taught as religiously as Christ and Him crucified to the little ones there can be no such thing as sexual purity.

O it were amusing, were it not so sad, to see unsexed women made barren of a single amative impulse by the drain of marriage, going about, hugging to their bosom a hideous ulcer, which they call their virtue!

No wonder Victoria wanted it done up in a napkin for public dissection. But I'd not care to be in the dissecting room, when the rotten mass of social corruption and hypocrisy, mawkishness and ignorance, called virtue, is ventilated; I'd choose a purer atmosphere.

Hit or miss, friend or foe, father or mother, brother or sister, these truths are in me and they must come out. I'll not flinch though all the dogs of war are let loose upon me.

"Come weel, come weel,
This rock shall fly
From its firm base
As soon as I."

Yours for the strife,

HELEN NASH.

[From the Springfield Republican.]

WARRINGTON ON BEECHER'S LECTURE AT BOSTON.

"It was the flattest thing in the Boston papers of Friday; but, flat as it was, the impudence of charging two or three hundred dollars for it, and so helping to keep up the factitious value of such platform parade, is a good deal worse. Such performances deserve to be classed with the worst kind of those speculations—criticism of which formed the staple of his cheap and shoddy declamations."

REFORMATORY LECTURERS.

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

- C. Fannie Allyn, Stoneham, Mass.
- J. I. Arnold, Clyde, O.
- J. O. Barrett, Battle Creek, Mich.
- Mrs. M. F. M. Brown, National City, Cal.
- Addie L. Ballou, Terra Haute, Ind.
- Warren Chase, St. Louis, Mo.
- Mrs. Jennette J. Clark, Montpelier, Vt.
- Prof. J. H. Cook, Columbus, Kan.
- A. Briggs Davis, Clinton, Mass.
- Miss Nellie L. Davis, North Billerica, Mass.
- Lizzie Doten, Pavilion, 57 Tremont street, Boston, Mass.
- Mrs. L. E. Drake, Plainwell, Mich.
- R. G. Eccles, Andover, Ohio.
- James Foran, M. D., Waverly, N. Y.
- I. P. Greenleaf, 27 Milford street, Boston, Mass.
- Anthony Higgins, Jersey City, N. J.
- E. Annie Hinman, West Winsted, Ct.
- D. W. Hull, Hobart, Ind.
- Charles Holt, Warren, Pa.
- Mrs. Elvira Hull, Vineland, N. J.
- Moses Hull, Vineland, N. J.
- R. W. Hume, Hunter's Point, L. I.
- W. F. Jamieson, 139 Monroe street, Chicago, Ill.
- Miss Jennie Leys, 4 Tremont Temple, Boston, Mass.
- Cephas B. Lynn, Sturgis, Mich.
- Mrs. F. A. Logan, Buffalo, N. Y.
- Anna M. Middlebrook, Bridgeport, Ct.
- Dr. Geo. Newcomer, Jackson, Mich.
- Mrs. L. H. Perkins, Kansas City, Mo.
- J. H. Randall, Clyde, O.
- A. C. Robinson, Lynn, Mass.
- Wm. Rose, M. D., 102 Murison street, Cleveland,
- Elvira Wheelock Ruggles, Havana, Ill.
- Julia A. B. Seiver, Houston, Florida.
- Mrs. J. H. Severance, Milwaukee, Wis.
- Laura Cuppy Smith, Daily Union Office, Detroit, Mich.
- M. L. Sherman, Adrian, Mich.
- John Brown Smith, 812 N. 10th st, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Mrs. H. T. Stearns, Corry, Pa.
- Dr. I. D. Seely, 635 West Lake street, Chicago.
- Mrs. R. Fell Seely, 635 West Lake street, Chicago.
- Mrs. C. M. Stowe, San Jose, Cal.

[Continued from page 7.]

had been indicted for obscenity, were quoted from the immaculate, the divine book, the bible of Christianity. [Cheers.] And they knew very well that if they forced George Francis Train to the test, that Christianity itself would be brought into the Court-room. They knew that it would be convicted and sent to jail. The Y. M. C. A. have felt the inspiration of the nineteenth century; they have discovered that the Star of Empire leads to the West. They struck the Toledo Sun, and here is the young editor who has been arrested for obscenity, because what he allowed to be inserted in his paper struck the gospel of salvation through Jesus' blood to the heart. [Cheers.] I am happy to say that here is an editor who dared speak the truth while 6,000 journals in America were wondering how many subscribers they would lose if they put in the paragraph.

Voices—Let him come forward.

The Chairman—It is the pleasure of the audience that the gentleman stand up that he may be seen. I propose that we give him three cheers.

Mr. Lant, the gentleman in question, stood forward and was received with cheers. He said: Thank you, I will only say that we intend to do it again if we have an opportunity. [Cheers.]

Mr. Lynn—I want to show you that this is not a religious meeting. [Laughter.] It's a grand thing to stand up on the pulpit and say "We will sing hymn 86, and after reading the words, sit down." Oh it is a wonderful thing; but we say let the contemptible conventionality of the clergymen give place to the ringing eloquence of the orator of the nineteenth century. Spiritualists should remember that their platform is upon this broad basis. Now, before I sit down, let me call your attention to simply one thought; let me tell you I am glad to-day to think that we have had our Convention in Chicago; that I am glad to think that while the minority have stood up here and insulted us—shall I say it? I say that the minority have insulted us, the majority of this Convention. They have argued that because we outvoted them we are the most contemptible fellows that ever walked. I respectfully raise my voice at this time in opposition to this declaration. Mark what I say to you before I sit down, and after I do, Benjamin Todd, one of our finest orators, will give you a few truths, and then you will have the pleasure of listening to the bravest woman that lives on the American continent, and her name is Mrs. Woodhull. [Cheers.] The woman that subsidized reporters and cowardly editors have tried to bury, but could not; for she has terrified the mock professors, and has capsized Christian rottenness and frightened some of the elect half to death; and because it is so I will bring my remarks to a close. The closing point that I make is this: The idea of friendship. I tell you what it is, this talking about friendship is all perfect nonsense. There is one spiritual lecturer, Moses Hull, who has stood up and told all that he has done, and these spiritualists say: "Let us excommunicate him." What do we say? We say: "We won't excommunicate the devil?" [Cheers.] We say we have no right to put anybody up or down; we say that the individual who is in the wrong needs your friendship and your love more than anybody. Take them up and do not cast off anybody; and if you are so pure, so holy, so immaculate you will win, so that you need not borrow any trouble. [Cheers.] I will tell you an illustration which I had of this, and which came to my mind but a few days ago. The last time I came to the city of Chicago my visit was interrupted by the receipt of a telegram announcing the death of my mother—the mother who bore me, the mother whose mind grasped Spiritualism when I was like a great many other young persons, turning up my nose at it and claiming that I knew everything. But my mother talked with me and took me out of that darkness. When I got that telegram there was with me a man well known in the West, a man who is known as a great, mighty worker, a man who put his hand into his pocket and said: "Here, Lynn, is \$50 it'll carry you home." [Cheers.] And that was Dr. Dimont C. Dake [Cheers]; and he did not ask me if I was a Woodhullite or not. On that day he was a Christ to me. So we must remember this, and do unto others as we would they should do unto us. What we are looking for is liberty, and we know that you cannot point to a single instance where, in the order of the universe, freedom is synonymous with anarchy [Cheers.]

Mr. Benjamin Todd—In coming before you to-night, although I may take the strongest ground of our principles, yet I am uttering no sentiments that are new to me. They are the sentiments which I uttered when traveling over this North-west as spiritual lecturer for something like twenty years, commencing not less than eighteen or nineteen years ago. I have as long ago as that said the very thing in regard to the marriage law and the marriage relation in its influence upon women, that has been said upon this platform. I have lectured upon woman's rights, upon physiognomy and other subjects. I gave a course of lectures in San Francisco, and my opponents were aroused so that they warned me to leave, and, in the event of my not doing so, threatened to shoot me. But I unbuttoned my coat and said, "Shoot me; I would just as lief die here now as not, if I cannot have the privilege of expressing the utter horror and contempt with which I look upon the marriage law—that law which binds man to woman; that so-called sacred altar, upon which women's hearts are bleeding and groaning every day; that altar that once blushed in the sun, but now so deeply saturated with human blood that the rains of centuries have not washed out the stains." And that is just the place where I stand to-night. It matters not to me who knows it, or who entertains these opinions. I am not one of those who are accustomed to feel afraid; and years ago, when I was advocating these sentiments, whether of social or political science, I felt as I do now. Then they appealed to me to be silent, but I said, "Get thee behind me, Satan." I never sold my birthright for a mess of pottage, and what is more, I swear by the eternal God that rules above, and by all the devils that rule in hell below, that while I stand here on

this earth I am going to exercise the right to declare my sentiments before the world, and it is not in the power of press or the people to put me down. I am well aware that S. S. Jones, of the *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, here in the city of Chicago, has left undone nothing during the last six months which a bad man could conceive; and you may rake hell over and not find any one meaner than this spiritual editor. He has done nothing but slime and slander; and let me tell you that he has enough slime and slander in his heart to cover up the whole world if he would only let it out. And yet there are Spiritualists who take his paper, and pay money for it. I ask you where you can find a paper that will compare in filth with the copy of the *Journal* issued two weeks since? An individual wrote to him a little while ago—one of these poor sisters troubled with so much virtue—"S. S. Jones, do in Heaven's name send us a list of the speakers that are not Woodhullites." They are so afraid that speakers may get down there who are Woodhullites. He says the number of advocates of Woodhullism is so small and the number of those that are opposed to it so large. But four is the full number of those that were opposed to Woodhullism, and what is more, I will give S. S. Jones \$5 a piece if he can name four in all this North-west. [Cheers.] He cannot do it. I say, then, down with such a man, down with such an editor. He is one of those virgins, one of those immaculate individuals, one of those Christians that never did a wrong, and yet he has lived with a woman here in Chicago, not being married to her, for the last seventeen or eighteen years [Laughter], and has children by her, and has them there to-day. And all this I hold myself responsible to prove if the gentleman will come forward and ask for the proof and the testimony. And that is the pure, immaculate individual that deals out such grand spiritualistic fodder for the people. Oh, shame! Let Jones and his *Religio-Philosophical Journal* go, for they are on the road to hell just as fast as they can go, and I do not need to kick them any more.

A Voice—May I ask you a question? Are you a liberalist? Mr. Todd—I am, sir.

The Voice—You show yourself to be one.

Another Voice—Did you marry in San Francisco or California?

Mr. Todd—I did, but not in San Francisco.

The Voice—Have you your wife yet?

Mr. Todd—Here she is. Do you want to see her?

Mrs. Todd—Happy to own him for my husband. [Great cheering.]

Mr. Todd—Any more questions of that kind? Have them out. I am ready to reply to them.

The Voice—Are you a free lover?

Mr. Todd—Do I understand you to ask if I am a free lover? You do. Then I say I am. [Cheers.]

Mrs. Todd—I am a free lover, thank God. [Renewed cheering.]

Mr. Todd—Now let me have order. I am going to talk to you for a little while longer. Now the conservatives have gone out from this Convention, they have put their virtue in a napkin and come to this assembly, they now very plainly say that they are going to withdraw from the Convention. Oh, what a tremendous thrill went through my soul when I heard that; I thought then, certainly, our freedom and our Convention had all gone to ruin, but they withdrew. The parturition pains were suffered, and the child was born; and what does it prove to be? I tell you that it is not going to affect our position at all—we are just as strong to-night as if we had them with us, and we may be stronger. I wish to answer some of the charges which were made by Judge Holbrook, when he read that report. He charged Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull, with perverting the institution to her own political purposes. Did Mrs. Woodhull ever ask a single soul to sustain her? Has she ever done it? Is there a man or a woman that will come forward and say that Mrs. Woodhull has ever asked them individually to support her? Or had asked them collectively to support her? No. I claim she has not done it in any way. Why, then, do we come out in her support? Not because of mere friendship, but we come out to support her because she has had the courage to step a little further than any of the rest; and what is more, she has been shrewd enough to keep a little head. That is the reason why. [Cheers.] And all this cry about making a radical change in the institution is nonsense. Did our forefathers think they were legislating for all time? No; for they provided the means whereby the Constitution could be amended from time and time; and so much have the people taken hold of this idea, that our Constitution stands to-day with fifteen amendments tacked on to it. But is that Constitution changed? The United States Government is just the same. How then shall our opponents say that we have destroyed this organization? Now, with regard to this Spiritualism which is so much abused, let us see why it came into the world and what it is? The fact of it is, the angel world saw years ago, the fact that no reform could be introduced into the world on any basis that then existed, because there were no religious institutions existing except those that never changed—that would not admit of any improvement. And what is more, I tell you that there has never been a single moral reform introduced into this world by any religious society whatever. What, then, was necessary? That a new religion should be sent into the world, and that happened to the Spiritualists coming with unhesitating power and strength in itself, that it could become the basis for all reforms. Hence we claim that every reform in the world has Spiritualism for its basic foundation and rests thereon. And if Spiritualism is not strong enough to meet the wants of the people, or of the reform movement in any way, let Spiritualism go down to-night, even though everything in God's almighty world goes down with it. I am not afraid of this; let every sham in the world go down, and what have you left? God and humanity, and that is enough for me. Hence Spiritualism

claims that it is the base of every reform, and this social freedom is one of the grand reforms which is based upon it. [Cheers and calls for Mrs. Woodhull.]

The Chairman—You will have to wait eight minutes before she appears.

Mr. Todd—I will not detain you. I say, then, that social freedom is the grand crowning apex of all these institutions. It is spreading; it is abroad in all its beauty in the world; it is madness for people to undertake to wipe these principles out. I believe that you cannot do it. Gentlemen, you may try with your puny arm to throw back the waters of Niagara, you may just as well try to blot out the force of the sun at noonday as to try and destroy the principles of freedom.

The rest of Mr. Todd's speech was lost in the uproar consequent on the impatience of the audience to hear Mrs. Woodhull. At length

Mrs. Woodhull came forward and was received with great applause.

[For explanations about Mrs. Woodhull's speech, see editorial on the proceedings of the Chicago Convention.—ED.]

Mrs. Woodhull concluded:

And now a word to the Spiritualists. Another year has rolled away, and to-night another of our conventions will close. We have had a three-days' session at which all questions have been brought up and fully and freely discussed from all sides. We have put out to the world a platform or a set of propositions which, when they are properly understood by the human race, will bring about such a complete harmony that we shall never hereafter meet to quarrel. I want to say this: I have been accepted by you to-day as your President. I thank you for the courtesy and for the honor conferred upon the great principles of eternal life, equity and justice to the human race, through a little woman, whom you have made President to-day. [Cheers.] So far as the woman is concerned it matters not, but the principles will live. No matter whether she lives to meet you in convention again or not, the principles will go on. This platform will be before the world, and will take captive the souls of every man and woman, and free love, equity, financial, religious, political and social freedom will be the rallying cry; and whether in the form or out of it, Victoria C. Woodhull will be the first that will greet you as you meet at your Eleventh Annual Convention of Spiritualists. I am certain that you are going to your homes with a freedom burning in each of your souls such as you never knew before. I am certain that you will go away with a conception of the social question that you never thought of before. Imagine for a moment; a few years ago, and Theodore Parker was mobbed in the great city of Boston because he dared assert religious freedom; and you men and women to-night receive a little woman who dares come forward and in the earnestness of her soul assert the divine principle of social freedom. [Cheers.] I think we owe you a resolution of thanks for the attention and courtesy that you have paid us, and I hope some of our friends will not forget to offer it, in all due respect. I thank you for the sympathy you have extended to me. I hope to meet you again, and that when I do there will not be a hiss or dissenting voice heard. You know my belief in humanity is very great. I believe that the seed that has been sown here will fructify and grow out into your churches, into your homes and everywhere, and that social religion will become the grand religion of the future. [Loud cheers.]

Mrs. Laura Cuppy Smith—I move that the thanks of this Convention be tendered to the citizens of Chicago for the cordial and courteous reception they have extended to the delegates sent to this Convention.

Dr. Jamieson—I beg to second that.

The resolution was unanimously carried.

The Chairman—The President will now dismiss the Convention.

Mrs. Woodhull—Our Convention will now adjourn *sine die*.

PLAN OF ORGANIZATION AS ADOPTED BY THE CONVENTION.

CONSTITUTION.

CHAPTER I.

ON ORGANIZATION.

This Association shall be known as "The Universal Association of Spiritualists," and shall consist of the following divisions and sub-divisions, to wit:

- 1st. The Primary Councils, consisting of the various primary organized bodies of Spiritualists everywhere.
- 2d. The State or District Councils, consisting of delegates from the several primary councils within the limits of different States, Departments, or Districts.
- 3d. The National Councils, consisting of delegates from the several District Councils of the several Nations; and
- 4th. The Universal Congress, consisting of representatives from the several National Councils.

CHAPTER II.

ON MEMBERSHIP.

ARTICLE I. Any person eighteen years of age may become a member of any Primary Council of The Universal Association of Spiritualists by subscribing to the principles of the Association, and paying the regular initiatory fee.

ART. 2. Membership shall continue during the pleasure of the member, unless the name be dropped from the rolls by the order of a majority of the Council to which the member belongs, for the non-payment of dues, the member having first had a month's notice of such intended action; and no member shall be expelled from this Association for any other cause.

CHAPTER III.

ON PRIMARY COUNCILS.

ARTICLE 1. A Primary Council may consist of not less than fifteen regularly initiated members.

ART. 2. Each Primary Council, upon perfecting its organization by choosing a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer, and sending the same, with a list of its members to the Council of the District in which it is located, shall be recognized as a regularly organized Council, and allotted a designation by number.

ART. 3. The Primary Councils shall hold regular weekly meetings for the discussion of, or lectures upon, the principles of the Association; and, whenever possible, shall organize, maintain and conduct a Children's Progressive Lyceum as a model system of education, in which ultimately to merge all other systems of education.

ART. 4. The Primary Councils shall make regular quarterly reports to District Councils, setting forth their progress, condition and prospects, accompanied by the quarterly dues and fees hereinafter provided.

ART. 5. Primary Councils shall exercise control over all matters which specially relate to themselves; always providing that the principles of the Association shall not be transcended or infringed.

ART. 6. Primary Councils may make propositions to District Councils relating to matters concerning the District, and to the National Councils or Universal Congress upon subjects of a more general application.

CHAPTER IV.

ON STATE OR DISTRICT COUNCILS.

ARTICLE 1. District Councils shall consist of delegates chosen by the Primary Councils from among themselves, each Primary Council of two hundred and fifty members or less being entitled to one delegate, and to an additional delegate for every fractional two hundred and fifty members, who shall hold their offices for one year, and until their successors are duly chosen, unless sooner recalled by the Primary Councils.

ART. 2. District Councils shall hold regular quarterly sessions at the largest cities within the Districts, beginning on the second Mondays in January, April, July and October. And upon perfecting their organizations by electing Recording Secretaries, Corresponding Secretaries and Treasurers, who shall reside in the said cities and constitute the Executive Committees, and such other officers as may be necessary to conduct the affairs of the Association within the Districts, and forwarding the same to the National Councils, together with a consolidated report of the Primary Councils within their several jurisdictions; they shall be recognized as regularly organized District Councils, with full authority to administer the affairs of the Association within their several jurisdictions.

ART. 3. District Councils shall make regular quarterly reports to the National Councils of the progress, condition and prospects of the Association within their several limits, together with the dues and fees hereinafter provided; and shall keep such records of Primary Councils and the members of each as shall show the condition of the Association.

ART. 4. All propositions received by District Councils upon matters relating to their respective Districts, shall be referred by them to the several Primary Councils within their limits, each of which shall make a return of the number of affirmative and negative votes; and if it be found that a majority of the members voting favor the proposition, it shall be considered as adopted, otherwise it shall be considered as rejected, and the proposition in the same or other form shall not again receive consideration during the current year.

ART. 5. All propositions received by District Councils, having a National or universal application, shall, if approved by the Council, be forwarded to the National Council.

ART. 6. District Councils may take the initiative in any matters relating to the Association, and forward their propositions to the National Councils.

CHAPTER V.

ON NATIONAL COUNCILS.

ARTICLE 1. National Councils shall consist of delegates chosen from among themselves by the District Councils of the several nations, each District Council of fifty members or less be entitled to one delegate, and to an additional delegate for every fractional fifty members, who shall hold their offices for one year and until their successors are duly appointed, unless sooner recalled by the District Council.

ART. 2. National Councils shall hold annual sessions beginning on the third Tuesday of September, at such place as shall be deemed for the best interests of the Association; and shall remain in session until all business is disposed of.

ART. 3. The permanent organizations of National Councils shall consist of Presidents, who shall be known as President of the — Division of The Universal Association of Spiritualists, Vice-Presidents, Recording Secretaries, Corresponding Secretaries and Treasurers, who, with the Presidents and six members of the Councils to be appointed by the Councils shall form the Executive Committees, which shall hold regular quarterly meetings to conduct the affairs of the Association; and such other additional officers as shall be necessary to administer the affairs of the Association within their respective jurisdictions.

ART. 4. All propositions received by National Councils from District Councils, and all propositions originating in the Councils, shall be referred through the District Councils to the Primary Councils for approval or disapproval; and if it be found that a majority of members voting approve, then the proposition shall be considered as adopted, otherwise it shall be considered as rejected; and the proposition in the same or any other form shall not again receive consideration within the current year.

ART. 5. The National Councils shall, on the receipt of lists of members with the initiatory fees from District Councils, return blank cards of membership, signed by the President and Treasurer, which shall, by the District Councils, be

forwarded to the several Primary Councils for distribution to the members.

ART. 6. When members are dropped from the rolls, cards of membership held by them shall be returned to the Primary Councils.

ART. 7. Any person holding a card of membership shall be entitled to visit and speak in any Primary Council, and to vote on propositions relating to the District, when in his or her District; and on propositions relating to the nation when outside of the District; and on universal propositions when outside of the nation.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE UNIVERSAL CONGRESS.

ARTICLE 1. The Universal Congress shall consist of twenty-five representatives, chosen by the several National Councils, the number from each bearing the same proportion to the whole number as the number of members of the Association in each nation bear to the whole number of members in all nations.

ART. 2. The Universal Congress shall convene in the country entitled to the largest number of members, by the concerted action of the National Councils of the several nations; and shall originate propositions regarding its own duties, which, when approved by the majority of all the members of the Association voting, shall be held to be adopted.

CHAPTER VII.

ON PROPAGANDA.

ARTICLE 1. The National Councils shall call National Mass Conventions, to meet at the same places at which the several Councils shall assemble, which shall make their own organizations, but at which the Executive Committees shall report the proceedings of their Councils at the last sessions, which reports shall be open for discussion as the first proceedings of the Conventions after their organizations, after which the Conventions shall proceed with their own orders of business.

ART. 2. In like manner to the National Councils, State or District Councils shall hold regular quarterly Mass Conventions, at such places within their several Districts as shall best promote the interests of the Association.

ART. 3. The National Councils, as soon as it is possible, shall, at the national capitals, at the expense of the Association, publish newspapers, which shall be official organs of the Association, including the Children's Progressive Lyceums; and for this purpose may appoint editors and publishers to conduct the same, who shall hold their office during the pleasure of the Councils. These papers shall be, editorially, impersonal, and their columns open to the impartial discussion of all subjects, the editing of which shall be prescriptive to no subject or writer.

ART. 4. The said organs shall be made regular weekly issues at the earliest possible time, and shall be furnished in bulk to the several State or District Councils or to their order, in proportion to the respective numbers of their members. The paper shall also be issued at a fixed price to persons not members of the Association, and to the news companies for general sale.

ART. 5. The National Councils shall, as soon as possible, establish a General Publishing Department for the publication of such books, pamphlets and documents upon the principles of the Association as shall be approved by the Councils.

ART. 6. The National Convention shall also organize a Lecture Bureau as soon as the finances of the Association shall permit, and shall keep before the public as many of the best speakers as possible, endeavoring to make it a source of profit, instead of an expense, to the cause; and shall make such provisions as are necessary for such speakers and mediums as become aged, infirm or indigent in the service of the Association.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON FINANCE.

ARTICLE 1. Each person before becoming a member of this Association shall pay to the Treasurer of the Primary Council, for the use of the National Councils, an initiatory fee of one dollar, and regularly thereafter quarterly dues of twenty-five cents, which fees and dues shall be regularly forwarded through the Treasurers of the District Councils to the Treasurers of the National Councils, at the end of each quarter at the time of making their respective quarterly reports, as heretofore provided.

ART. 2. The Primary Councils shall, as bodies, be responsible to the State or District Councils, and the District Councils to the National Councils for the full and regular payment of the above-provided fees and dues.

ART. 3. The Treasurers of National Councils shall make regular official exhibits of all receipts and expenditures of money, which, for the information of the Association, shall be published weekly in the organs of the Association.

ART. 4. The Treasurers of this Association shall make no payment of any demand for money unless it shall first have been duly audited as provided by the several Councils.

CHAPTER IX.

ON JURISDICTION AND ADMINISTRATION.

Each Council of this Association shall, within its limit, have full jurisdiction over all matters relating to the Association; and any question which may arise as to the administration of its affairs shall be decided by Councils without referring them to the members of the Primary Councils, and may make such rules and regulations, for government and order, as may be best adapted to the local conditions; always providing that the principles of the Association shall be preserved intact.

CHAPTER X.

ON HONORARY MEMBERSHIP.

As it is impossible under our present arbitrary and unequal distributions of wealth to conduct the material affairs of this Association upon the principal of individual pecuniary equality, resort may be made to methods for raising revenues, other than the equal assessment of all members;

such as the conferment of Honorary Membership in such manner as may be devised by the Councils, the issue of Certificates of Indebtedness or Bonds, or such other methods as may be deemed expedient and possible under the various local conditions. But all distinctions thus conferred shall cease when the principles of the Association shall become practically formulated through the organizations of the peoples rendering further aid of that kind unnecessary.

CHAPTER XI.

ARTICLE 1. The President of the American Association of Spiritualists, by and with the consent of the Board of Trustees, shall appoint an Advisory Council of twenty-five members, which, together with the Trustees, shall constitute a Provisional National Council, which shall have the powers and functions and perform the duties provided for the National Councils, and which shall hold their offices until the regular National Councils shall have been duly organized as hereinafter provided.

ART. 2. Until the regular State or District Councils shall be organized (which they may do whenever there shall be ten or more Primary Councils within the limits of a State or District), the Primary Councils shall make their reports, as herein provided, to the Secretary of the Provisional National Council.

CHAPTER XII.

The Association, within the limits of the United States of North America, shall be known as "The American Division of the Universal Association of Spiritualists."

ARTICLE XIII.

ON AMENDMENTS.

The Constitution may be amended as proposed by any member or Council of the Association, when the amendment shall have received the approval of a majority of all members of the Association voting.

[The Committee of Arrangements assigned a portion of the last evening of the Convention to J. O. Barrett, who was unable to speak on account of ill-health. We have therefore deemed it but just that his manuscript lecture should appear with these reports, as it was prepared for the occasion, with a time set for it, and has a special bearing upon the objects of the movement. Here follows his speech on reforms.—Ed.]

Man can have no absolute isolation anywhere or in anything. Note his governments. Human populations involve diversity of loves and interest; hence the demand and construction of laws and institutions as supplies. If his religion, even, contains but one single idea, he has to defend it by sacred books, creeds, logic, ordinance and interpreters of the revealed law.

Is there any possibility of separating ourselves from these multiform dependencies? Can prison cells, or caves or exile exclude us from each other or from social "responsibility?" *An e pluribus unum* in make-up, ever will our relations and institutions be so. Fast as we abide here and work here in the social, so shall we thrive as nature orders and is sure to bless.

But there is a class—even some unfledged Spiritualists—who, in their contemplation of spiritual beauties, seem to forget this law of association, and so neglect the reforms that will make them the imagery of those beauties. They are so exquisitely spiritual they dislike coarseness, roughness, crudity, and spit on such as beneath their notice; and so fall into a dainty phariseism, chilling every noble feeling of the soul. The divine motherhood of nature made the old gray rocks and tangled briars and wild glens and mountains, all so rough, and these prudish idealists call it vulgar. By and by the husbandman comes along with cruel ax, grubbing hoe and plow, slashes down the trees, burns up the brush, drags out the rocks and roots, turns up the soil, fences it round, cultivates it, and lo, a beautiful field! And you admire it now. Oh, yes! but do you pause to think it first needed all this wild and rough out of which to develop the field?

And what do you say of our Spiritualism? Are you shocked at it? It is rough, yet somewhat æsthetic, undevout, undisciplined, ungoverned, scattered, dissonant, combative, iconoclastic, not even church or christened. It has its wierd raps and tips, hallucinations, rhapsodies, prophecies, arts, inventions, literature progressing, but all in a jumble yet. "Can any good come out of Nazareth? Come and see?"

We are the more hopeful for Spiritualism, because crude, rough and positive; because it touches all planes of life with its inspirations, low in the haunts of vices as in the high courts of refinement, grading all up to one grand level; because it brings to its free platform all kinds of thought, and hears all to learn the most of truth, because it is represented by converts from all religions and races, and governments and sciences under the sun.

Crude as it is, it evolves out of its chaos and disciplines a most beautiful ideal of life. What so charming as intercourse with angels, with the wise and good of other ages, with the loved and gone before? What so magnificent as spiritual character? Yes, yes; but when we try the law of growth on; when we enter the court of angelic action; how are we thrown back on the facts that there is harder work, fiercer battles, greater sacrifice than even in our old relations of life. The sublime heaven we dreamed of and expected, disappoints us; it first appears a hill of jars and alienations; and our disappointment will reach into a yet sadder feeling than ever before, if we do not here comprehend the situation in all its bearings of reform; if we are not willing to institute reform, producing the heaven we seek.

You say you love Spiritualism—love its blessed oracles, its sweet communings, its lofty inspirations. How much do you love it? Enough to let go one single pleasure? Enough to part with reputation, ease and self-gratification? Enough to bring hither a cross of crucifixion and be thereon virtually slain to vindicate the saving virtue of angels' forgiving love?

Reform is the watchword of the hour. It is the body of pure Spiritualism, its life, its food, its drink, its home, its

industry, its work of promise. It is in human growth what the root, stalk and leaves are to the flower thence developed. You love the flower itself, it is so beautiful and sweet; but would it ever be beautiful and sweet without its appendages—without dirt, and rain, and root, and stalk and leaf? Suppose you remove these instrumentalities, what have you left? Where is your flower? Where is your beauty to admire and fragrance to inhale? If we neglect the means, we attain no ends. If we refuse the aids of Spiritualism, we have nothing but a dead, dry name. If we do not bestir ourselves here our oracles are silenced, and our places of worship in groves and halls are desolate, and the world goes back by our neglect into its former gloom and doubt.

Like Nature in her rough estate, man needs pruning and culture. He is organized to make everything serviceable to his improvement. If he becomes indifferent, fancying all will be well because a good God reigns and immortality is in store, what is he but a shiftless appendage in this universe? The idea that high altitudes are attainable in easy chariots is defeat of it all. There is no rising except by subduing, bringing all our forces into order of wise and loving superintendence. Growth comes from below upward, and the primal spring is from above, descending to enfold us. Be it remembered, too, that not a force of ours is to be ignored, not a passion left out. All is divine in fundamental principles of human life; and this divine is revealed when bloomed out into beauty of life by re-forming.

And do you not know that the price we pay for liberty—our whole self denied—is the method of growth? that every soul-pang is a forcing process? that every excess of habit curtailed is gain in morality? that every passionate feeling spiritualized is an open door to holy angelhood? that every popular oppression that, chaining us, is broken up, is building better? that all our struggles and victories in changing public sentiment for higher type of private and public character reverts in sequential good to the actors, making us brave, moral, noble, companionable with all before us who have whitened their robes in the waving waters of affliction?

The true line of reform is from within outward, as roots to flowers, as springs to rivers, as sunbeams to earth. It is not my neighbor first to reform; it is *me*, and then my neighbor. Is my body in order—lungs sound, heart full-pulsed, head level, thought clear, passion pure, motive benevolent, action moral? That's the first question. When, with careful search, watch and culture, all feeding, inspiring, rounding-out, beautifying, till full of genuine affections of soul, courtesies and sweet attractions; when truthful, sincere, forgiving, with a reasonable share of common sense; when spiritually-minded, self-denying, faithful, sunny in sphere of life; when angelized so in all departments of our being—then are we Spiritualists indeed qualified to reform others and be their saviours.

Where responsibilities are involved is apprenticeship served and demanded. In building a house, fence, railroad, anything, we ask first for skill and trustworthiness. So in reforms; it begins at home and advertises itself by its works.

Qualifications considered, look out now and comprehend what must be done in public sentiment and law to open the way of actualizing our new religion from the individual to the collective whole. We are hedged in on every side. The statute law is against us, because it does not measure our new thought as angels have inspired it. The civil courts are against us, because the law is old and unadaptable to our needs; because popular theology, stamped upon the law, has artificial standards of authority, while ours are natural. The church is against us, because it caters to the false respectabilities which we fight; because its theology is dead, while ours is alive; its belief is in creed, while ours is un-stereotyped and free; because its teachings are from the records of inspiration, while ours are from *inspiration itself*; because it crystallizes, while we grow as plants; because it disdains the cast-off and unfortunate, while we make them the reformed exponents of our religion; because it would deaden God in the National Constitution, while we would translate *him* and *hers*—"Our Father and our Mother, too"—the orific soul of the living universe into our own soul, and make *that* our constitutional law.

The press is against us. It has with all these other antagonisms fought us for twenty-five years—here and there a happy exception, and the exception is growing. The press is generally in the interest of capitalists, mainly supported thereby. It bribes with legislators, truckles to church theologians which it secretly scorns, panders to a low sensationalism, conspires against innovations, black-mails the public agitators who expose popular anointed evils, pays its reporters for writing even false statements of us for the sake of a sensation, more eager to report faults than to correct them, the abettors of condign punishment upon the unfortunate, instead of reforming them; fills its daily and weekly columns with reports of murders, steals, rapine, seductions by sensational words and pictures, thus keeping the usual vices in the foreground, which in turn psychologizes the masses into a low debasing ideal of human life, and so breeding and augmenting our dark catalogue of criminalities. If any one paper or reporter questions the bravery or fidelity of such writers, or exposes the inside corruptions of our social machinery with a view to retrenchment, the press cries out obscenity; while in its sensuous advertisements and emblazoned records of vice, it is the very quintessence of obscenity itself. Where is the independence of integrity? It ought to be, and must be for the sake of averting a very rotting down of the nation, the stern and incorruptible defender of human rights, the herald of life's virtues more than its vices, the uncompromised guardian of public morals, the honest reporter of facts unvarnished by lucre, the palladium of liberty, the emancipator of the oppressed, the leader in all reforms, the voice of justice, the house of refuge to the fallen, the merciful benefactor of our race. Happy the day when our public press shall assume and actualize such responsibilities, and star-crowned shall we be if we aid in accomplishing such a reform.

Consider, for a moment, how we are hedged in from other quarters. It is not only the Church and press that forge the

chains around us, but it is a gigantic oppression upon the hard-working people that is always crushing out their very vitals. We are under bonds, under the rulership of specially favored capitalists, under the orders of the unlaboring laws of the markets, under a system of servile time-cheaters to rebuild a worse than English aristocracy upon these shores. But there is a more damnable oppression than all this, which supports all this, which in turn is supported by all this. It is our social system—a system of masculine usurpation, of betrothed betrayal, of feticides, of enforced lusts, of unwelcome children, of diseased bodies, of blasted hopes, of hypocritical slanderers of morality, set up queenly in our wholesale Vanity Fairs, with orders for us to worship and perpetuate queenly debauchees of Christian civilization. It hedges us in; it stares us in the face at every corner of the street—the polluted stare of the libertine—the pale and sickly stare of woman's ruined virtue! As the seers of heaven and earth look down, down, down through the murky cloud and stench of so-called respectable society, and see how the official representatives of the people manage, how they bribe woman's virtue; and see how some of our business men, in high repute and power, secretly run their own institutions, and, for a pretense, join the church; how they cohort together with some popular ministers, preaching piety, practicing lust; teaching purity, covertly defaming the beautiful law of self-denial, but persecuting and even imprisoning the truth-tellers, and cry out, "Obscenity!" when the righteous indignation of the very angels is aroused to stir this hitherto quiet lake of social leprosy, as the true should see and feel all this—it were criminality itself to be silent.

The task of American reformers is greater than the Seven Tasks of Hercules. But there is no escaping the responsibility. We must act or be slaves! We must agitate or nationally rot! We must arouse the masses to serious thoughtfulness and retrenchment, or meet the next issues of an internal war right at our doors! This is no idle tale, no mere sensation, no unnecessary alarm; deep in the convictions of the seers is it pondered, and the machinations of liberty's enemies fearfully measured. All the seething elements portend it. The God-in-the-Constitution movement is but one of its outward signs; the under-wave is the social struggle for freedom, and this is deep as the great heaven of love. This is pushing out, out-swelling higher, circling wider, destructive to marital claims and honored institutions, when at some coming hour we shall be tried as never mortals were in human revolution. If by means of our agitation the battle breaks upon us, it is fate, and we must meet it. If, by agitation, we can stir the masses and enlighten them in the righteous principles of human government, and avert wars, it is the providence of our fidelity still. Move on we must, or be hurled from the Tarpeian Rock.

BUSINESS EDITORIALS.

NOTICE.

Our respected friend and coadjutor, Laura Cuppy Smith, the able exponent of all true reforms, has just gone West to Detroit to enter upon a new field of labor in the editorial department of the *Daily Union*, of Detroit, Mich. We feel that we cannot part from her without thus recording our best wishes for her success, and that also of the journal with which she is now connected. A braver, wiser, more capable and more eloquent advocate of the home truths now agitating society we have never listened to, and trust that we shall find her as potent with her pen as she has been with her voice. Bacon says, "Reading makes a full man, speaking a ready man, and writing an exact man." Laura Cuppy Smith will prove, we have no doubt, that all these aphorisms of the great philosopher refer also to woman.

FOSTER PAMPHLET.

This new book will be ready for distribution on the 15th inst. It will be more interesting than any history, and more exciting than any novel. Each article in it is from an eminent source, representing the cultured reformatory brains of the country. Every Spiritualist should read it; and if he have a doubting friend, a perusal of its pages can scarcely fail to dispel his skepticism. Price of this pamphlet, single copy, fifty cents. Address, Charles H. Foster, No. 19 West Twenty-second street, until November 28, where he may be consulted for tests until that date. Mr. Foster is well known throughout the civilized world as one of the oldest and most reliable and remarkable mediums.

THOMAS COOK.

This noted Spiritualistic speaker designs spending the next two months in the East and the winter in the South. For engagements, address him at Berlin Heights, Ohio, care of A. F. Page.

A CARD.

Applications having repeatedly been made to us by many different parties on the subject of securing for them rational amusement for private entertainments, we beg to notify the public that we have with us an able elocutionist who is desirous of giving evening readings from the poets. We know he has an almost unlimited repertoire of recitations (without book), comprising selections from the first English and American classics, together with translations from Swedish, Moorish, Spanish, French, German, and even Persian and Turkish authors. Proprietors and proprietresses of houses of amusement and recreation can arrange for evening readings and recitations by applying to J. F., office of WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY, 113 Nassau street, New York.

KURTZ' RESTAURANTS.

Among the many permanent institutions of the city are the several restaurants of Mr. Fred. Kurtz, located at 28 New street, 60 Broadway, 76 Maiden lane and at the corner of Fifth avenue and Ninetieth street. Undoubtedly Kurtz excels all competitors in the conduct of a first-class eating-house. Besides being thoroughly versed in stocking his store-rooms, he understands just how to please the general palate in the preparation of his dishes. Success is the best test of merit, especially in this business; and if Kurtz' merit is to be so tested, he stands pre-eminent over all other caterers. Each of the above places will accommodate from one to two hundred persons, and all of them, at almost any hour of the day, are filled. Strangers, visitors and residents will find Kurtz' the most satisfactory, as well as cheapest, first-class eating establishments in the city; while those who visit Central Park should not fail to call at the new and elegant retreat at the corner of Ninetieth street.

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YEARLY CONVENTION.

The seventh annual Convention of the State Association of Kansas Spiritualists will convene at Leavenworth, on Friday, October 10, at 2 o'clock P. M., and continue three days. Prof. Wm. Denton, Hon. Warren Chase, Mrs. Mattie Hullett Parry and others are expected to be present.

Friends from Missouri are cordially invited.
Per order, H. L. CRANE, President.
G. B. REED, Secretary.

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Address, care of *Daily Union*, Detroit, Mich.
LAURA CUPPY SMITH.

DR. L. K. COONLEY.

This active, able, zealous and practical reformer intends to return again to the open field. He will answer calls to speak anywhere in the country. No word of ours is needed with the people in regard to this worker. He has been before the Spiritualistic public for twenty years, and returns to it now refreshed and reinvigorated by two years of fruit growing in Vineland, N. J., at which place he may for the present be addressed.

FLOWERS AND RUSTIC WORK.

Flowers are one of the few things in life that bring us unmixed pleasure. They are the most innocent tribute of courtesy or affection as acceptable in the day of feasting as in the house of mourning.

Of all the ornaments now devised for beautifying gentlemen's grounds, there are none that can surpass rustic work, either in grandeur, beauty, utility or durability. It may be introduced almost anywhere if the surroundings are in the least rural; in many cases it can be placed where nothing else could be, oftentimes converting an eyesore into a place of great beauty, and yet ornamental and useful.

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8:30 P. M., Pacific Express, Daily, with sleeping cars from Rochester, Buffalo and Niagara Falls; also for Chicago, via both L. S. and M. C. Railroads.

11:00 P. M., Express, with sleeping cars for Troy and Albany.

2:00 P. M., Hudson train.

7:00 A. M., and 5:30 P. M., Poughkeepsie trains.

9:10 A. M., 4:15, 6:2 and 7:45 P. M., Peekskill train.

5:00 P. M., Sing Sing train.

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Change of hour. Commencing Sunday, Oct. 27, 1873. For West Philadelphia, 8 and 9:30 a. m., 12:30, 4, 5, 6, *8:30 p. m., 12 Night.

For Philadelphia via Camden, 7 a. m., 2 p. m. THROUGH TRAINS.

9:00 a. m., Great Southern Morning Express, for Baltimore and Washington; for the West, via West Philadelphia, Baltimore, and for the South, via Baltimore, and via Washington, with Drawing Room Car attached.

9:30 a. m., Western Express for West Philadelphia, Pittsburg and the West, with Pullman's Palace Cars, through from New York to Pittsburg, Fort Wayne and Chicago, Columbus, Cincinnati and Louisville, and with Parlor Cars from New York to Pittsburg.

1:00 p. m., Express for Baltimore and Washington, and for the West, via Baltimore, with Drawing Room Car attached.

*5:00 p. m., Daily Western Express, for Pittsburg and the West, with Pullman's Palace Car, through from New York to Pittsburg, Indianapolis, Louisville and St. Louis, to Columbus, Cincinnati and Chicago.

*7:00 p. m., Daily Western Express, for Pittsburg and the West, with Pullman's Palace Cars, for Pittsburg, Cincinnati and Indianapolis.

*8:30 p. m., Daily Western Express, for West Philadelphia, Pittsburg and the West, with Pullman's Palace Cars, through without change, to Pittsburg, Crestline, Fort Wayne and Chicago.

9:00 p. m., Daily Great Southern Evening Express for Baltimore and Washington, with Reclining Chair Cars, and with Pullman's Palace Cars through from New York to Washington.

Tickets for sale at Ticket Offices, foot of Desbrosses and Cortlandt streets, and in Depot, Jersey City; and at New York Transfer Co.'s offices (Dodd's Express), No. 944 Broadway, New York, and No. 1 Court street, Brooklyn. Passengers, by leaving suitable notices at these offices, can have their baggage called for at residence or hotel, and carried through to destination.

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ERIE RAILWAY.—SUMMER AR.

angement of trains, taking effect June 23, 1873. From Chambers Street depot (for Twenty-third street see note below.)

9 A. M.—Cincinnati and Chicago Day Express. Drawing-room Coaches to Buffalo and sleeping coaches to destination.

1 A. M.—Express mail for Buffalo and Niagara Falls. Sleeping coach to Buffalo.

7 P. M. (daily).—Cincinnati and Chicago Night Express, Sleeping Coaches through to Buffalo, Niagara Falls, Cincinnati, Detroit and Chicago without change. Trains leave for

Port Jervis 8, 9, 11 and *11:15 A. M.; 4:30, *6:30 and *7 P. M.

Goshen and Middletown, *6, 8, *8:30, 11 and *11:15 A. M.; 3:45, 4:30, *6:30 and *7 P. M.

Warwick, 8, 11 A. M., and 4:30 P. M.

Newburg, *8:30, 9 and 11 A. M., and 4:30 P. M.

Suffern, *6, 8, *8:30, 11 and *11:15 A. M.; 3:45, 5, 6, *6:30 *7 and *11:30 P. M.

Ridgewood, Hohokus, Allendale and Ramsey's, *6, 8, *8:30, 11, *11:15 A. M., 3:45, 5, 6, *6:30, 7 and *11:30 P. M.

Paterson, *6, 6:45, 7:15, 8, *8:30, 8:45, 10, 11, *11:15, 11:30 A. M., 12 noon, *1:45, 3:45, 4, 5, 5:15, 6, *6:30, *7, 8, 10:30, and *11:30 P. M.

Newark, *6, 7:15, *8:45 and 11:30 A. M., and 3:45, 5:15, *6:30, P. M., and 12 Saturday nights only.

Rutherford Park and Passaic, 6:45, 8, *8:30, 10, 11, *11:15 A. M., Passaic only; 12 noon, *1:45, 4, 5:15, 6, *6:30, 8, 10:30 and *11:30 P. M.

Hillsdale, Hackensack and Way, 5, 8:15 and *8:45 A. M., 1, 3, 4, 5 and 6 P. M., and 12 Saturday nights only.

Spring Valley and Way, 5 and 9:30 A. M., 4:45 P. M. Englewood, 5, 8, *9 and 9:30 A. M., 1:30, *3:15, 4:15, 4:45, 5:30, 6:30 and *7:45 P. M. and 12 and Saturday nights only.

Cresskill, 5, 8, *9 and 9:30 A. M., 1:30, 3:15, 4:15, 5:30, 6:30 and *7:45 P. M., and 12 Saturday nights only.

Sparkill, 5, 8, *9 and 9:30 A. M., 1:30, 3:15, 4:15, 4:45, 5:30, 6:30 and *7:45 P. M., and 12 Saturday nights only.

Piermont and Nyack, 8, *9 and 9:30 A. M., 1:30, 3:15, 4:45, 5:30, 6:30 and *7:45 P. M. and 12 Saturday nights only.

N. B.—Trains leaving Chambers street on even or half hours leave Twenty-third street 15 minutes earlier than above time. The 5 a. m. and 12 mid. trains start from Chambers street only.

N. B.—Trains on the N. R. R. and Newark Branch leaving Chambers street on quarter hours leave Twenty-third street 30 minutes earlier than the above time.

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7:30 A. M.—Greenport and Sag Harbor, Mail and Rockaway excursion trains.

9:30 A. M.—Port Jefferson, Locust Valley and Rockaway excursion trains.

12 M.—Rockaway express train.

12 M.—Special train for Newport, R. I., with drawing-room cars attached, stopping only at Jamaica, Mineola and Riverhead, arriving at Newport at 7 P. M.

3 P. M.—Rockaway and Hempstead express.

3:30 P. M.—Greenport, Sag Harbor and Locust Valley express trains.

5 P. M.—Port Jefferson, Locust Valley and Rockaway express trains.

6 P. M.—Northport, Locust Valley and Rockaway accommodation trains.

Trains connect at Jamaica with East New York and at Mineola with Hempstead.

Sunday trains leave Hunter's Point as follows:

9 A. M.—Port Jefferson, Northport, Locust Valley and Hempstead excursion trains.

10 A. M.—Rockaway excursion train.

1:30 P. M.—Rockaway excursion train.

7 P. M.—Northport, Rockaway and Hempstead trains.

7:30 P. M.—Rockaway accommodation trains.

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