

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

PROGRESS! FREE THOUGHT! UNTRAMMELED LIVES!

BEAKING THE WAY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.

VOL. 3.—No. 15.—WHOLE No. 67.

NEW YORK, AUGUST 26, 1871.

PRICE FIVE CENTS.

Rail Road Bonds.

Whether you wish to Buy or Sell
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CHARLES W. HASSLER,
No. 7 WALL STREET,
New York. 62-65

THE LOANERS' BANK OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

(ORGANIZED UNDER STATE CHARTER.)

"Continental Life" Building,

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CAPITAL.....\$500,000
Subject to increase to.....1,000,000

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FIVE PER CENT. INTEREST paid on
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Buy and sell at current market rates, the FIRST
MORTGAGE EIGHT (8) PER PER CENT. GOLD
BONDS of the ST. JOSEPH AND DENVER CITY
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Interest, payable August and February, in New
York, London, or Frankfort-on-the-Main, free of
United States taxes. Present market quotations, 97½
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Collections made everywhere.

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BROKERS,

IN GOLD, STOCKS & BONDS

No. 7 NEW STREET,

NEW YORK.

\$1,000,000!!

By authority of a special act of the Legislature of
Kentucky of March 12, 1871, the Trustees of the Pub-
lic Library of Kentucky will give a

GRAND GIFT CONCERT

AT LOUISVILLE, KY.,

ON TUESDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1871,

Under the direction of the best Musical Talent.

100,000 TICKETS OF ADMISSION,

\$10 Each in Currency; Half Tickets, \$5; Quarter

Each Ticket will consist of four quarters, value,

\$2.50 each. The holder is entitled to admission to

the Concert and to the amount of gift awarded to it

or its fraction. Tickets number from 1 to 1,000,000.

THE CITIZENS' BANK OF KY. IS TREASURER.

All Moneys arising from the sale of Tickets will be
deposited with the Citizens' Bank, subject only to
the order of the President and Treasurer of the Li-
brary, countersigned by the Business Manager.

During the Concert, the sum of

\$550,000 IN GREENBACKS

Will be distributed by lot to the holders of tickets in
the following Gifts, viz:

ONE GRAND GIFT OF.....\$100,000

ONE GRAND GIFT OF.....50,000

One Gift of.....25,000

One Gift of.....20,000

One Gift of.....19,000

One Gift of.....18,000

One Gift of.....17,000

One Gift of.....16,000

One Gift of.....15,000

One Gift of.....14,000

One Gift of.....13,000

One Gift of.....12,000

One Gift of.....11,000

One Gift of.....10,000

One Gift of.....9,000

One Gift of.....8,000

One Gift of.....7,000

One Gift of.....6,000

One Gift of.....5,000

One Gift of.....4,000

One Gift of.....3,000

One Gift of.....2,000

Ten Gifts of \$1,000 each.....10,000

Fifteen Gifts of \$500 each.....7,500

Eighteen Gifts of \$300 each.....5,400

Twenty Gifts of \$200 each.....4,000

Twenty-five Gifts of \$100 each.....2,500

Thirty Gifts of \$50 each.....1,500

Forty Gifts of \$40 each.....1,600

Forty-five Gifts of \$30 each.....1,350

Fifty Gifts of \$20 each.....1,000

Four hundred and forty-six Gifts of \$100 each.....44,600

Seven hundred and twenty-one Gifts in all.....\$550,000

After paying the expense of the enterprise, and

making the distribution of the gifts, the balance of

the proceeds arising from the sale of tickets will be

appropriated to the establishment of a

FREE LIBRARY IN LOUISVILLE,

TO BE CALLED THE

PUBLIC LIBRARY OF KENTUCKY.

The Concert and distribution will take place under
the immediate supervision of the Trustees named in
the act of incorporation.

The Trustees will be assisted by well-known and
eminent citizens of Kentucky, who have consented to
be present at the concert, and to superintend the
drawing and distribution of gifts.

The holders of tickets to which gifts are awarded
will be paid on presentation of them or their fraction
at the office in Louisville the second day after draw-
ing, and every business day for six months thereafter.

and may be sent direct, or through any Bank or Ex-
press Company, for collection. All orders accom-
panied by Drafts, Post Office Money Orders or Green-
backs will be promptly attended to, and tickets re-
turned by mail, registered or expressed, as desired.

Tickets are like greenbacks—good only to the
holder.

Buyers will note that there are only One Hundred
Thousand Tickets, instead of Two Hundred Thou-
sand, as in the San Francisco Gift Concert, and that
there is \$50,000 more distributed. I sold that, and
made the awards in four months, and paid \$182,000 to
ticket holders from November 2d to 15th, 1870, and
turned over \$12,000 to the Secretary due tickets not
presented.

It will be particularly noticed that it is a matter of
impossibility for any one to know what numbers
draw gifts, as it is not known what the gift of any
number drawn from the first wheel will be, until the
sealed box, with amount of the gift plainly printed,
is taken from the other wheel and opened in full view
of the audience, therefore the larger gifts may not
come out until toward the last, or in the middle of
the drawing. The \$100,000 gift in the San Francisco
Gift Concert, under the management of C. R. Peters,
was the 200th number drawn, and was awarded and
paid to a gentleman in New Orleans.

The Numbers and Gifts are drawn by Blind
Children from 5 to 14 years of age.

The Drawing will be extensively published, and
parties ordering Tickets will have printed lists sent
them. Parties forming Clubs and desiring informa-
tion will please address this office.

11 Tickets for \$100; 28 Tickets, \$25; 56 Tickets, \$50;

113 Tickets, \$1,000.

The undersigned, late principal business manager
of the very successful Mercantile Library Gift Con-

cert at San Francisco, California, has been appointed
agent and manager of the Gift Concert in aid of the
Public Library of Kentucky.

The drawing will take place in public, and every-
thing will be done to satisfy buyers of tickets that
their interests will be as well protected as if they per-
sonally superintended the entire affair.

MANNER OF DRAWING.

There will be two glass wheels. One wheel will
contain 100,000 numbers, plainly printed on leather
tags. The other wheel will contain 721 boxes, each
containing a gift. One tag or number will be drawn
from the 100,000 wheel, and the first box drawn from
the second or 721 box wheel will contain a gift, neatly
printed and sealed up, and the gift so drawn from the
second wheel will be the gift of the tag first drawn,
whether \$100, \$1,000 or \$100,000, as announced.

14,364 TICKETS DISPOSED OF IN JULY.

To insure ticket holders, the public are assured
that if only 25,000 tickets are sold, only 25,000 num-
bers go in the large wheel, the 721 gifts awarded, but
diminished pro rata. In case 50,000 tickets only are
sold, only numbers 1 to 50,000 go in the large wheel,
and the 721 gifts diminished one-half; and in case
only 85,000 tickets are sold, the entire 721 gifts will be
paid in full, it being intended no unsold tickets shall
participate.

The Manager has already paid into the Citizens'
Bank \$50,000 toward defraying the expenses, and
does not depend on sales of tickets to pay his ex-
penses of printing, advertising, etc. The public are
invited to the utmost scrutiny as to the reliability of
the entire affair.

Persons desirous of acting as Agents for the sale of
our tickets in any city of the United States and Can-
adas, address

CHARLES R. PETERS, Manager, Louisville, Ky.,

Office, 120 Main street, Johnson's Block.

R. T. DURRETT, President.

W. N. HALDEMAN, Vice-President.

M. W. CLUSKY, Secretary.

CITIZENS' BANK, Treasurer.

For Tickets and Information.

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OF

HENRY CLEWS & Co.,

No. 32 Wall Street, N. Y.

Letters of Credit for travelers, also Commercial
Credits issued, available throughout the world.

Bills of Exchange on the Imperial Bank of London,
National Bank of Scotland, Provincial Bank of Ire-
land, and all their branches.

Drafts and Telegraphic Transfers on Europe, San
Francisco, the West Indies and all parts of the United
States.

Deposit accounts received in either Currency or
Coin, subject to check at sight, which pass through
the Clearing-House as if drawn upon any city bank;

4 per cent. interest allowed on all daily balances;

Certificates of Deposit issued; Notes, Drafts and
Coupons collected; advances made on approved col-
laterals and against merchandise consigned to our
care.

Orders executed for Investment Securities and
Railroad Iron.

CLEWS, HARBERT & Co., 11 Old Broad street,
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Central Railroad Company

OF

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First Mortgage and Equipment

7 PER CENT.

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NEW YORK STATE RAILROAD BONDS.

A First-Class Home Investment.

FIRST MORTGAGE GOLD BONDS

OF THE

RODOUT & OSWEGO RAILROAD.

Principal & Interest Payable in
Gold.

Seven per Cent. Semi-Annually.

This Road covers 100 miles of the most direct pos-
sible line, between the Great Lakes and deep water
navigation on the Hudson River, the whole line of
which will be completed and in operation on or be-
fore October 1st, 1872, and give a new line of road to
Lake Ontario and the West, 25 miles shorter than any
line that can be found.

It passes through the Cement, Flag-Stone and Lum-
ber regions of Ulster County, and the rich, agricul-
tural bottoms of Delaware and Greene Counties, all
of which have not heretofore been reached by railroad
facilities, and from which sections, the formation of
the country prevents the construction of a competing
line.

The 36 miles of road operated for three months is
already paying net earnings equivalent to 7 per cent
gold, on its cost of construction and equipments.
The issue of Bonds is limited to \$20,000 per mile of
COMPLETED ROAD, the coupons payable in gold in
this city.

PRICE OF THE BONDS, 90 IN CURRENCY.

Full particulars of the above may be had of, and
the Bonds for sale by

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9 Wall Street, NEW YORK CITY.

Financial Agents of the R. & O. Company.

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BANKERS,

27 Wall St., New York.

Order for Purchase and Sale of United
States Securities, Stocks, Bonds and Ameri-
can Gold promptly executed at the usual
commission.

Collections promptly made in all parts
of the United States and Canada.

Interest, 4 per cent., allowed on de-
posits, subject to sight draft.

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Six Per Cent. Interest Allowed.

Interest commences on the 1st of each month.

HENRY R. CONKLIN, WM. VAN NAME,

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CHRISTIANITY, EDUCATION, INDUSTRY AND
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The Kelley's Island Wine Co.
Have opened a Depot for the sale of their celebrated
SPARKLING AND STILL CATAWBA WINE at
28 & 30 WEST BROADWAY.
Families wishing a good article, may rest assured
that all wine ordered directly from the Company's
Depot will be just what it purports to be—pure grape
juice.
64-67 GEO. C. HUNTINGTON.



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

Sent by mail on receipt of price and postage.
1 box, \$2 25..... Postage 6 cents.
5 boxes, 1 00..... " 18 "
12 " 2 25..... " 39 "
It is sold by all dealers in drugs and medicines.
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Is an Air-Line Route from Baltimore and Washington
to Cincinnati, and is the only line running Pullman's
Palace Day and Sleeping Cars through from Washing-
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Louisville in 24 hours.
Passengers by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad have
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From Cincinnati, take the Louisville and Cincinnati
Short Line Railroad.

Avoid all dangerous ferry transfers by crossing the
great Ohio River Suspension Bridge, and reach Louis-
ville hours in advance of all other lines. Save many
miles in going to Nashville, Memphis, Chattanooga,
Atlanta, Savannah, Mobile and New Orleans.

The only line running four daily trains from Cin-
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Silver Palace Sleeping Coaches at night, and splen-
did Smoking Cars, with revolving arm chairs, on day
trains.

Remember! lower fare by no other route.
To secure the advantages offered by this great
through route of Quick Time, Short Distance and Low
Fare, ask for tickets, and be sure they read, via Louis-
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Get your tickets—No. 87 Washington street, Boston;
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corner Baltimore and Calvert streets, or at Camden
Station, Baltimore; 485 Pennsylvania avenue, Wash-
ington, D. C.; and at all the principal railroad Offices
in the East.

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General Supt., Louisville, Ky.
HENRY STEFFE,
Gen. Ticket Agent, Louisville, Ky.
SIDNEY B. JONES,
Gen. Pass. Agent, Louisville, Ky.

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LINK MOTION,

LOCK STITCH



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and beauty of stitch, durability of construction and
rapidity of motion.
Call and examine. Send for circular. Agents
wanted.

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JOHN GAULT.

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PIANOS!

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MELODEONS,

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[Late Cummings.]

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Square.

A large stock, including Pianos of the best Mak-
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for rent applied to purchase. Repairing done well
and promptly. Call and examine before de-
ciding elsewhere.

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Interest allowed on Currency Accounts at the rate
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We make special arrangements for interest
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We buy and sell, at current rates, all classes
of Government Securities, and the Bonds of
the Central Pacific Railroad Company; also,
Gold and Silver Coin and Gold Coupons.

We buy and sell, at the Stock Exchange,
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sion, for cash.

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telegraph, will receive careful attention.

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ROYAL HAVANA LOTTERY.

\$330,000 IN GOLD
DRAWN EVERY 17 DAYS.

Prizes cashed and information furnished. Orders
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The highest rates paid for Doubloons and all kinds
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LADIES' PROTECTOR.

NO MORE COLD FEET—NO MORE
DEFORMED LIMBS.

MRS. DANIELS takes pleasure in offering the
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The trade supplied at a discount.

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Dealers in

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A BEAUTIFUL SET OF TEETH,

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

TEETH EXTRACTED WITHOUT PAIN.

With Nitrous Oxide Gas.

No extra charge when others are inserted.

SPLENDID SETS, \$10 to \$20.

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WEEKLY

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MOODY'S
EUREKA STAMP
for perforating into
Checks, Drafts, &c.,
the amount for which
they are drawn to
prevent alteration.
The check is moved
forward by the up-
ward action of the
lever of the machine.
The points are inked
and penetrate the fibre of the paper. They cannot be
taken out by chemicals. Price \$20.

J. G. MOODY, No. 68 Trinity Building,
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Send for a Circular. 60-62

WM. DIBBLEE, LADIES' HAIR DRESSER,

854 Broadway,

HAS REMOVED FROM HIS STORE TO THE

FIRST FLOOR,

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

CHATELAINE BRAIDS,

LADIES' AND GENTLEMEN'S WIGS,

and everything appertaining to the business will be
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DIBBLEEANIA for stimulating, JAPONICA for
soothing and the MAGIC TAR SALVE for promoting
the growth of the hair, constantly on hand.
Consultation on diseases of the scalp, Mondays,
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HARABA ZEIN,

or FLESH BEAUTIFIER, the only pure and harm-
less preparation ever made for the complexion. No
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WM. DIBBLEE'S,
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TENNIE C. CLAFLIN FOR CONGRESS.

THE GERMAN-AMERICAN PROGRESSIVE SOCIETY'S RATIFICATION MEETING AT IRVING HALL—ADDRESSES BY MISS CLAFLIN, DR. EHRENBURG, JUDGE REYMERT AND HUGO ELOESSER, ESQ.

Pursuant to a call issued by the Executive Committee of the German-American Progressive Society, nearly twelve hundred people assembled at Irving Hall, on Friday, Aug. 11, to support the candidature of Miss Tennie C. Claflin for a seat in Congress.

The platform was occupied by Dr. Ehrenberg, President of the association, under whose auspices the meeting was held; Judge J. D. Reymert, President of the Hercules Insurance Company; Dr. Goldschmidt; Mr. Isidore, President of the Lese Verein; Mr. Dollart; Mr. Hugo Eloesser, Attache of the Peruvian Consulate; Stephen Pearl Andrews, of Pan-tarchy fame; Henry Hertz, the Dutch "Pat Murphy" of the Nine-cent Ward; Col. Beeny, of the Land Reform Organization; Robert Scharlach, of Hamburg, and other famous reform agitators. The stage was decorated with stands of American and German flags tastefully displayed and bearing a large lithographic picture of Miss Claflin.

The attentive and appreciative audience was composed largely of the better class of German citizens with their wives and daughters, with a liberal sprinkling of the American element, among whom were noticed many of Miss Claflin's broker and banker friends of Broad and Wall streets. Of the latter there were present Messrs. Rufus Hatch, J. E. Maxwell, Dan Bixby; Dr. Russell, President of the Loaners' Bank; Henry Clews; A. A. Drake, of Drake & Bros.; A. F. Wilmarth, of the Home Insurance Company; T. C. Durant; Mr. Fisk, of Fisk & Hatch; Pitt Cooke, of Jay Cooke & Co.; United States Assessor Colgate, of the Thirty-second District; A. C. Van Schaick; F. J. S. Flint, President of the Continental Bank; Mr. Heiser, of Heiser & Son; James Seligman; Mr. Hallgarten, of Hallgarten & Co., and many more of financial repute; also, the Hon. Hugh Hastings, the Hon. Michael Toumey, the Hon. Michael Duffy and other local politicians; Senator Spencer, of Alabama, and a large number of equally notable gentlemen.

Letters of regret were received from Mayor Hall, Theodore Tilton, Governor Ashley, of Montana, and other well-known people.

Dr. Ehrenberg opened the meeting and spoke as follows:

DR. EHRENBURG'S SPEECH.

The association which has called this meeting owes to you an explanation of the reasons that caused them to do so. I believe that this duty, which devolves upon me as the President of the Executive Committee, may best be fulfilled by submitting to you the resolutions having been adopted by our association. They read as follows:

The German-American Progressive Society of the City of New York to the German Voters of the Eighth Congressional District:

The progressive tendency of the time, which has given us universal suffrage without regard to race, creed or color, demands also that to such women as are taking an active part in the reformation of our political and social life be granted the right of political representation.

Without indorsing the futile attempts of those agitators in the feminine movement who surround themselves with any impracticable and empty phraseology, we earnestly indorse the labors of those whose knowledge of State and governmental affairs has aided them in their useful course, and produced results astounding in their grandeur, but without beneficial to those who have enjoyed the fruits of such labor.

Without attempting at this occasion to specify in detail the different practical plans of reform suggested by the agitation referred to, we grasp the opportunity offering itself with the candidacy of Miss Tennie C. Claflin for the seat in the National Assembly becoming vacant in the Eighth Congressional District in the fall of 1872, to express our entire sympathy with and promise our energetic support in such an action on the part of said lady.

And in consideration of the practical wisdom and extensive knowledge which said Tennie C. Claflin has shown to possess by her different works on the subject of political reform and political representation,

And in further consideration of the high interest taken by the German-American Progressive Association in the question of cosmopolitan ideas as a foundation of our national government,

And in further consideration of the exertions having been made in this behalf by said Tennie C. Claflin in speeches and writings at divers times,

We, the German-American Progressive Association of the City of New York, do

Resolve, To give our united support, aid and help to said Tennie C. Claflin in her effort to gain access to the National Assembly as the legal and lawfully elected representative of the Eighth Congressional District of New York.

It is our duty to place before you an unblemished character as the candidate to whom we desire you to give your votes. The scandal-mongers who take special pains to defame pure motives have never investigated the moral standing of the representative lady who will appear before you this evening, nor the value of the principle of which she is an exponent, and therefore have never been able to produce proof for their assertions. The speaker proceeded to defend Miss Claflin from the attacks that have been made upon

her, quoting from her published writings, particularly in refutation of her misunderstood position on the free love question, the subject of marriage and divorce, the relations of a mother to her offspring, and other phases of the social relation of man and woman. Dr. Ehrenberg then alluded to what he termed the marked contrast between the mere Women's Rights reformers, who without tangible propositions fill the public ear with their empty talk, while accomplishing no real reform, and the more practical advocates of progress of the class to which Miss Claflin belongs, who manifest their faith in their preaching by their actual practice. Miss Claflin thinks a woman is equal to a man. She proceeds to prove it by opening a bank, establishing a newspaper, putting herself upon the rostrum and otherwise taking upon herself duties heretofore considered masculine. It was true, he said, that the German mind had been so warped by outside influence as to become antagonistic to the feminine movement, though in reality no men respected women more sincerely than the Germans. The women in Germany were enthusiastic about the movement which had been initiated in behalf of women in this country. By supporting Miss Claflin as a representative of the feminine movement they would assist and befriend their own sisters and mothers in the fatherland.

Dr. Ehrenberg concluded by introducing Miss Claflin, who appeared smiling her acknowledgments of the vociferous cheers and deafening applause that greeted her. She was dressed in a dress of black organdie with a small figure in colors, made en train, and very plainly trimmed. Her hair, which she wears short, hung loose and bushy about her forehead and temples. She wore no jewelry or ornaments. As soon as the applause had subsided, she proceeded to speak in a clear, strong voice, using the German language, from which we translate her remarks as follows:

MISS CLAFLIN'S SPEECH.

On this, my first appearance as a political speaker, you will certainly excuse it in me if I, in accordance with your national usage, begin with these words: German fellow-citizens of the Eighth Congressional District! Perhaps I am the first woman who has ever presented herself before an appreciative public, in this or in any other country, with words of such significant import.

It may surprise you that I resort, in the first instance, to the German people; but this results from several causes. In the first place I am, myself, descended from the German stock, and for that reason feel instinctively attracted to those of that nationality; and in the next place I know that the Germans are especially receptive of cosmopolitan ideas. These ideas, which have impelled me to the resolution to offer myself as a candidate for the Eighth Congressional District, allow me, in a few words, on this occasion to explain to you.

I presume that not all of you know the full scope of the amendments which have been inserted in the Constitution; in that case there are some of you who are not aware that under these amendments women are already entitled to the vote. Are women citizens? The law under which I—and with me all women, in whose behalf I know that you are all interested—claim the rights of a citizen of the State of New York, reads as follows: Article first, section first of the Fourteenth Amendment, "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside."

I fulfill the necessary conditions. I was born in the United States, and am therefore a native citizen of the same, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof. Why, then, I ask you, should I not be allowed to vote? and if I am allowed to vote, why may I not hold an office? [Applause.]

Do you believe that a woman, for no other reason than because she is a woman, must necessarily lack the energy to perform the duties of an office? or do you believe that things could go worse in the administration of our national affairs than they now do? Try the experiment merely of intrusting a woman with the performance of official duties, and if you find that your interests suffer by so doing, the power will still be retained by you to retrieve your mistake.

But do not imagine that you can entirely ignore a movement which does not rest merely on the law, but which also brings into the contest the best and soundest cosmopolitan ideas.

MISS CLAFLIN'S PLATFORM.

Again, dare you maintain that the platform of either one of the existing political parties secures to you that complete freedom, either in political or in social affairs, which, as citizens of this republic, you are entitled to demand? The platform upon which I propose to stand does not narrow any one of those rights so much as a single hair's breadth. So long as I shall represent you in Congress—if by your votes you shall send me there—I shall at least insist that the personal freedom of every individual shall remain untouched. Just as the religious American has the privilege of going to his church on Sunday, so must the right be equally secure to you to seek your recreation on Sunday just where you can find it, and to drink your glass of lager beer in peace and quietness so long as you do not disturb the public order. [Cries of "Bravo!" cheers and prolonged applause.]

Neither need you entertain any apprehension that Congress will withhold my seat from me if I receive a majority of the votes. It is a part of my object to make this case a

test; and there is, up to this date, no law which either forbids the people to elect a woman to an office, or which forbids her to accept it.

Corruption and bribery, if not, indeed, foreign to the nature of women generally, are, in any event, foreign to my nature. And, without having to resort to means which are prevalent among politicians, who stuff the ballot-box and pay repeaters, I shall step into the arena as a candidate for the office of Representative of the Eighth District in Congress, commending myself entirely and exclusively to your favorable regards.

A PRESENTATION.

At the conclusion of the speech the hall rang again with cheers and applause, in the midst of which Miss Claflin was presented with an elegant basket of flowers, arranged with exquisite taste, the initials "T. C. C." being formed in monogram in the centre, with "M. C. 8th Dist." around the outside. On receiving this beautiful token, which was understood to be the gift of her Wall street friends, Miss Claflin retired from the stand.

The meeting then listened to the remarks of James D. Reymert, Esq., one of the most prominent lawyers of this city, and President of the Hercules Mutual Life Insurance Company, who spoke as follows:

I do not see why the "Deutsch-Amerikanische Fortschritt Verein" should especially have requested me to "progress" to the platform, and to speak immediately following the lady candidate for Congress—the startling and vivid Miss Claflin—unless it is from the fact that I was consulted as a lawyer by her distinguished sister, Victoria C. Woodhull, upon some points of law in which the rights of women citizens of the United States are involved, her position in which I did not hesitate to indorse as legal. Mrs. Woodhull is the master spirit who aroused the grave and wise legislators to the work of considering the matter in its legal bearing. Thousands of other ladies had worked for the right of suffrage, some for one reason and some for another reason, and asking for further constitutional amendments; but hitherto the position had not been taken, the facts and reasons had not been urged, which were expressed in the memorial of Victoria C. Woodhull to Congress, and her argument before the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives. These are now State papers, embodying the whole question, which, as a legal one, has since been settled in the minds of all thinking men who have taken the trouble to investigate the matter without prejudice. And the brightest legal minds in the nation have so expressed themselves. The fact is patent—that this republic rests upon the principle of "universal suffrage." Every restriction thereof is anti-American and revolutionary in character. Our laws are only just when founded upon a free, full and honest expression of the opinions of the whole people. Wherever laws exist that are in antagonism to that condition, they give rise to trouble, and the cause of our late civil war was nothing else. The fact was, that our Constitutions, National and State, were antagonistic to the spirit, the will, the impulses, the honor and the humanity of the great majority of the people. The passions thence became aroused and the war cloud burst over the country. The agitating elements were appeased by blood and carnage, and harmony was restored by "amendments to the Constitution." The principal feature of these is the extension of the right to vote—a nearer approach to "universal suffrage."

The amendments declare *who* are citizens and *who* can vote; and in this they embrace *all* persons who are born or naturalized in the United States. There can be no question as to whether women are included. No sane person will now dispute that fact. No matter what construction may have been put upon the word "citizen" before the adoption of these amendments. Now we must take the letter of the Constitution and its spirit, as it is, or the amendments would be without meaning. The amendments were adopted by the State Legislatures and became the supreme law of the land. The Constitution of New York says that no *member* of this State shall be *disfranchised* or deprived of any of the rights and privileges of a citizen, etc. A woman citizen of the United States, made so by the action of the State of New York, and who is a *member* of this State, cannot be *disfranchised* in this State. If she has the right to vote as a citizen, and cannot be *disfranchised* in this State, why has not then Tennie C. Claflin as good a right as any other citizen to solicit the suffrages of other citizens; and if she receives the requisite number of votes, to represent her District in Congress?

I have always been a Democrat, and I never voted any other ticket. My principal reason for being a Democrat is this: That I have adhered to the party which was in favor of obeying the laws as they are. As General Jackson said, "I will obey the Constitution as I understand it." I believe with him in strict construction and the enforcement of the laws as they are. No higher law, no lower law, but the laws as they are. And if the negro vote could not be dodged because some did not like it, neither can the woman vote be dodged because we may not like it. It is the law of the land to-day, and any party or set of men who oppose the law and its logical results are bound to go under. If the law is wrong, absurd or impolitic, then repeal it in the proper constitutional manner; but, for heaven's sake, while it is the law, obey it and sweep away all minor local obstacles from its enforcement and operation.

The candidature of Miss Claflin and other ladies for elective offices only tends to bring the law prominently before the

world, so that its full weight is comprehended. In that light, at least, those ladies are doing the country a service; and, being their legal advocate, I venture to express myself so here. I could speak long upon the effects of the law, as it will work through the ramifications of society here and in other civilized countries; but I will only say this, that while we men can safely intrust ourselves and our male children to woman, from the swaddling clothes to the shroud—in the cradle, the nursery, the school-room, the home—and while we can stand as her equal before the altar, before God and men through life, and while we can trust her in the church, the ball-room, the theatre, the bazaars and other public places, and while we dedicate to her the fruits of all our toil as equal partner in all that makes life sweet and valuable, we need not "fear" her at the ballot-box. Nor should we unman ourselves by shrinking behind the prejudice that makes petticoats an excuse for not carrying out a law. I do not deal with the question as a matter of policy; it is too late for that. That is settled by the adoption of the amendments, and whoever does not know that is as far behind as the man who had never seen a sunrise, because he did not care to get up so early.

If female suffrage is in harmony with and in promotion of the principle of "universal suffrage," and it is constitutional, I dare not place an obstacle in its way, for I have sworn to obey the Constitution. *Vox populi vox Dei!*

After these remarks, which were received with a goodly share of applause, and delivered in a most earnest and impressive manner, the chairman of the meeting introduced Hugo Eloesser, Esq., from whose speech we extract the following points: This response, which I make in answer to a call of the German-American Progressive Association, is mainly intended to dispel some of the exaggerated doctrines and ideas which have been preached to you by the German daily press in regard to the feminine agitation. It seems as though it had been the intention of a great many of those papers to make their readers believe that the consequence of the spread of this agitation would be the entire banishment of men from political life and their use as menials in the household, prescribing for them the duties heretofore fulfilled by the housewife. They have endeavored to take the step from the superior to the ridicule. They were careful to keep from the public everything which might have tended toward any enlightenment on the subject. This reminds one most forcibly of a nurse's efforts to choke the baby's cries with the sugar-lump; but generally the child is bound to fight it out on its own line and to cry until it has become self-reliable and able to insist upon the fulfillment of its demands. The Germans, whose entire sympathy with all political reforms is a well-known fact, should no longer be deceived about the meaning of this agitation. It is impossible for them to stop in their political progress after the equality without regard to color, creed or race has been reached. The work must be finished, and it might just as well be finished at once. When women show themselves capable to assume the same duties as men, their right to enjoy the same privileges is undeniable, and first of these stands political representation.

It is self-understood, that not all women, any more than all men, are capable to act as the proper representatives of the people, and only such women as possess particular abilities and high intelligence, claim the right to such honors. But then it is easy to perceive, that this question will become the enlivening element of a new party, just as the question of liberating the slaves formed the very breath of the Republican party, the body of which already commences to decompose, after this issue has been solved. Perhaps there will be an amount of ridicule heaped upon this movement for some time, until one of the already existing parties will become aware of the necessity to incorporate in its platform "political equality for women" as an indispensable platform, and not until then will it be ascertained how deep a root this movement has already taken in public opinion.

MR. GREELEY ON THE WOMAN QUESTION.

To the Editor of the Golden Age:

SIR: Your article on this topic is so forcible and just in the main, that I presume you will be quite willing to have its slight inaccuracies corrected in your columns. I do not assume that my views of the Woman Question are of much consequence to others; but, in so far as they may possess interest, it is well that they be clearly understood. Let me, then, indicate your misapprehensions without further preface.

I. You say I "hold that there ought to be no divorce at all—not for any crime, even the worst." So far as I can recollect, your only authority for this statement is a remark that, had not the Master spoken otherwise, I would not have deemed adultery a sufficient reason for dissolving a marriage. As you seem to have given these words undue weight, allow me to explain my view more fully.

That persistent, flagitious adultery in husband or wife affords good cause for divorce I have not meant to deny. But there have been cases of transient infidelity to marriage vows, under the influence of passions inflamed by wine and other unnatural excitements, which, being followed by prompt and profound contrition, I would not judge an adequate reason for divorce. You and I both know that wives have often pardoned such lapses in husbands; you and I agree that husbands have no rightful immunity in such matters which ought not also to be accorded to wives. And I profoundly honor and reverence the husband who can say to his erring wife, "Though I know that you have been false to God and to me, yet, because of the love I have borne you, of the vow which pledged me to love and cherish you till death, and for the sake of the dear children which God has given us, I, believing you truly penitent, will forgive and try almost to for-

get your crime, and thus shield our little ones from undeserved shame." I regard the husband who thus speaks and acts as a better Christian, a truer man, than he who exposes, discards and outlaws the wife of his youth for a flagrant transgression, now sincerely and bitterly repented. I suggest, therefore, that you henceforth represent me as holding that adultery may, but does not always, justify an application for divorce.

You say I hold that "if a man marries and his wife dies, there should be no second marriage." This, also, is too sweeping. Some of my best and most esteemed friends are re-married—happily, I am sure; wisely and nobly, I judge. Nay: I can imagine a case in which the poor, hard-working, widowed father of young children whom he cannot take with him to his daily labor, should feel constrained for their sake to replace his lost wife by another in whose perfect acceptance and discharge of a mother's duties toward those children he could implicitly trust. Pardon me, but I am quite confident that the casual remark on which you based your broad assertion referred to a re-marriage following separation by divorce, not death.

III. Let me state my own conception of re-marriages as complicating marital relations in the other world.

I do not dispute the doctrine of Jesus that "In Heaven, there is neither marrying nor giving in marriage," if you have quoted His words exactly. And yet I feel that there are couples so completely and happily united in this world that they will be nearer and dearer to each other in the next than they would or could have been had they failed to meet in this life; and I think these are happier in either world than the high one or both of them had remarried. I do not hold that either would have been culpable in remarriage if widowed on this planet; I only insist that they will both rejoice—and with reason—in their higher life, that neither in this life was married a second time.

IV. You are entirely, eminently right, Mr. Editor, in asserting that my conviction of the proper indissolubility of marriage is the mainspring of my hostility to Woman Suffrage, and to the social philosophy from which mainly vainly seek to separate the woman movement. Though I have written or dictated very little of what has, during the last ten years, been printed as editorial in the *Tribune* on this subject, it is nevertheless true that my conception of the nature and scope of the marriage relation renders my conversion to Woman Suffrage a moral impossibility.

I have but two left of seven children, and these are both daughters. I would gladly fit them for lives of usefulness and honor, as beloved and loving wives of virtuous, upright, noble men, and mothers, if it shall please God, of good, healthy, happy children. If it be decreed that they are to be, not such women as those I have most admired and revered, but men with a female physique—powerful in ward causes and nominating conventions, vehement in Senate and on the stump, and effective before juries in the trial of actions for *crim. con.*—I pray that my career on this globe shall close before theirs is fairly begun. When and where they shall thus shine, it will not be pleasant for me to stay.

Mr. Editor, I believe our countrymen are indebted to you for having discovered (perhaps I should say invented) me as a possible (though most improbable) candidate for the Presidency. Allow me, then, to thank you for your early and frank demonstration that I can in no contingency be counted on or hoped for as a Woman Suffrage candidate. As you forcibly and justly say, there is not even a remote possibility of my ultimately adapting myself to this end. My difference with your crowd is too vital, too radical, to permit the most sanguine dreamer to hope for my conversion. I am growing old; my opinions are tolerably firm; and the Advanced Female of the Laura Fair type, who kills the paramour of whom she claims to be the rightful affinity, and giving the lie in open court to the wife she has doubly widowed, is my pet aversion.

But why should *any man* be the candidate for President of the woman suffragists? Logically and consistently, I feel that their candidate should be a woman. She ought, moreover, to be one thoroughly emancipated from the "absurdity and folly," the "narrowness" and the "baleful conservatism" which I am now too old to outgrow. Could you not find one who illustrates in her own person and history what you so felicitously term "the liberal thought of an enlightened age"? Let her be one who has two husbands after a sort, and lives in the same house with them both, sharing the couch of one, but bearing the name of the other (to indicate her impartiality perhaps), and cause and candidate will be so fully mated that there will be no occasion, even under the most liberal, progressive, enlightened regime, to sue for their divorce. Could not one of this class be persuaded to overbear her shrinking modesty and nominate herself?

In a spirit of hearty hatred for Free Love and all its infernal delusions, I remain yours,
HORACE GREELEY.

TRIBUNE OFFICE, August 7, 1871.

MR. TILTON TO MR. GREELEY.

Mr. Horace Greeley.

MY FRIEND: This is the "off-year" in politics, and the dull season in newspapers. The Tammany frauds constitute the only vital topic now afloat, and this the *Times* possesses in fee simple. By-and-by the opening battle against Grant's renomination will thunder along the line, and your interest in this, whether as Presidential candidate or in your higher function as editor of the *Tribune*, will engross your whole mind. Just now, in the lull, seems the best opportunity (if you care to welcome it) to accept a proposition which grew out of our correspondence of last week—namely, that we should compare our views of woman suffrage—*yours* against *mine* for it. But if you are summing at your farm, I can hardly ask you to cease toying with your plow or ax for the sake of returning a day too soon to the habitual weariness of the most industrious of pens. So, while I would be glad (yes, and honored) if you would notice some points which I herewith set down, I shall take it as no discourtesy if you prefer to discontinue this debate.

I. You believe in the principle of Democratic Government—in other words, as Mr. Lincoln phrased it, "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." But this principle, as I hold it, includes both men and women. The American republic is composed of both sexes. Its government exacts the allegiance of both sexes. Its laws, to a great extent, apply equally (though to too great an extent unequally) to both sexes. Its office-holders are, to no inconsiderable degree, of both sexes. Its taxes fall with unrelenting rigor on both sexes. Now, to make our institutions logically consistent, the elective franchise should belong equally to both sexes. Is it not so?

II. You believe, with Thomas Jefferson, that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." But among the "governed," whose "consent" is to

be thus given or withheld, about one-half are women. And yet the government, in defiance of its charter, which is the Declaration of Independence, violates one of its fundamental principles by remorselessly denying to one-half its citizens any voice in making the laws under which they are to live and die. Is this right or wrong?

III. You cling to trial by jury. Now, the courts teem with cases affecting the rights, interests and honor of women. For instance, take the case of a mother's plea for the custody of her children as against the claim of a divorced and drunken husband. I hold that no jury can adequately appreciate, and therefore none can justly settle, such a case unless its twelve members include women as well as men. The horror which you have expressed of women "effective before juries," leads me to say that I am personally acquainted with several amiable and excellent ladies at the West who are duly authorized attorneys at law and practitioners in the courts. And you yourself have not forgotten Portia? Now, if women can stand and plead at the bar, tell me why they cannot sit and listen on the jury?

IV. You defend the American maxim of "no taxation without representation." But I can point you to an army of women who are compelled to submit to taxation, but who are not accorded representation. In England this injustice has lately been swept away, and women as well as men, if they own taxable property, exercise in that country the elective franchise. When Henry Vincent was last in New York, he told me that he saw three thousand women in Manchester go to the polls—just as they might have gone to the post office, or to the city library, or to church. Why would you put the right of suffrage in a republic under greater restrictions than in a monarchy?

V. Speaking of England, I remind you that its governmental head is a representative of that sex to whom you allow no share in the government at all. Your friend John Bright is happy to acknowledge that a woman may be rightfully and illustriously the chief of the state. But if that same woman were an American, you would be distressed to see her exercising even the humble sovereignty of her simple citizenship. Is not the English view, as Mr. Bright holds it, more a credit to an enlightened age than the American view, as you teach it?

VI. You admit that women should have a chance to earn their living. Nothing which the optimists may say of the duty of every man to support some woman (either wife, mother, sister or daughter) can blind you and me to the solemn fact that, morning and evening, to and from their half-paid toil, past your office and mine, there marches an army of women who fight the battle of life alone—women who, by death, have lost the props of their lives—women whose sons moulder on their country's battlefields—women, young and helpless, entering into their womanhood with no daily support save their own industry—women who, if they are to live in virtue and not in shame, must have work to do and wages for doing it. Now, in your speeches to workmen, I have heard you say that one of their most precious privileges was the ballot. You have shown great skill in tracing a connection between the workman's suffrage and the workman's wages—how the mechanic, the farmer or the fisherman would find that the ballot in his hand was money in his pocket. No writer in the land has insisted more sedulously than you that the negro, in order to fix his wages and secure his pay, should have his franchise. Now if the ballot will achieve all this for the wages of a man, have the kindness to inform me why it will effect nothing for the wages of a woman?

VII. You are generous enough to acknowledge that women should have an education. They are as much entitled to it as men. A generation or more ago, the New England high schools were opened to girls as well as boys. The result to-day is that the New England women, as a mass, are the most intelligent body of their sex in America. Now I want this good beginning carried to a better end by throwing open, not only our common schools, but our colleges and universities, to both sexes—instead of restricting these higher institutions, as now, to young men alone. If Michigan University and Oberlin and other colleges in the West are free to women, tell me why Yale and Harvard and other colleges of the East should not be conducted on the same humane and catholic plan?

VIII. You have expressed an abhorrence of the idea that your daughters should become public speakers. This, I confess, surprises me. Have I not seen you repeatedly presiding over public meetings addressed by women? Have you not proclaimed, both in the *Tribune* and elsewhere, the delight with which you used to sit under the ministry of Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell? Furthermore, would it grieve or delight you if your daughters should have the gift of song, and go before the public as Jenny Lind once did, or as Christine Nilsson now does? But what is the difference, in principle, between a woman's singing and a woman's speaking?

IX. You say, "My conception of the nature and scope of the marriage relation renders my conversion to woman suffrage a moral impossibility." Your implication is that woman suffrage tends to dissolve marriage. If you mean by this that woman suffrage will give to women their just rights in the marriage relation, including the right to dissolve it for good cause, then I should be still more eager for woman suffrage than I now am. I quoted to you last week the declaration of the American Woman Suffrage Association—"Resolved, That woman suffrage means the perpetuity of the marriage relation." That resolution, I think, reflects the sentiment of the great body of woman suffragists. But my own view is that woman suffrage will neither destroy marriage on the one hand, nor perpetuate it on the other. For, marriage is an interest common to women and men. How then will woman's vote affect it more than man's? Men have the franchise, but have they used it to vote away marriage? When women get the franchise, will they use it to vote away marriage? No. If the marriage institution is ever to be done away, the first motion toward its abolition will come from men, not from women. It was Hamlet, not Ophelia, who said, "I will have no more marriages." Consider one thing, namely, the loving nature which God has given to woman. There is nothing that a woman so much wants as a home and to dwell in it as the happy wife of a noble husband, and as the loving mother of beautiful children. This is every woman's ideal. Now, if the ballot in her hand is to have any effect at all on her social life, will she voluntarily use this ballot for the destruction of what her soul considers the most sacred thing on earth? How can you persuade yourself that women will vote to abrogate that very marriage which men vote to maintain? But even if women would do this, would not you, and other men like you, be thereby proven tyrants over women in the marriage relation, and would not the necessity be plain that the civil laws regulating this relation should be reformed?

X. Your letter perorates into a "hearty hatred for Free

Love and all its delusions." What do you mean by Free Love? The term is not yet in the dictionaries, and has no fixed meaning. When I say (as I do) that I am opposed to Free Love, I mean by it the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, in contradistinction to the heart's ideal of monogamic marriage. If this is your meaning of the word, then I join you in your rebuke of the doctrine and practice. But if by Free Love you imply, as many so-called Free Lovers do, simply a more liberal and humane treatment by the civil law of the whole subject of marriage and divorce—in other words, more liberty to the parties concerned and less interference by the State—then I have no sympathy with your accusation, and hold you to be wrong instead of right. Whatever may be your idea of the moral duties of husband and wife (and perhaps I would not greatly differ with you here, certainly not in all you say of mutual patience and forgiveness), I respectfully ask you to set forth how far the State laws—or, in other words, how far a majority of citizens—have any moral right to determine for any particular married couple whether these twain shall live together or go apart. Will you enlighten me?

XI. You base your notion of divorce on the Scripture, and yet it is far from scriptural. Your words are, "Had not the Master spoken otherwise, I would not have deemed adultery a sufficient reason for dissolving a marriage." But what is Christ's idea of adultery? He says, "Whoso looketh upon a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart." Now if you base your doctrine of divorce on Christ's definition of adultery, and if you press this doctrine to the full extent of that definition, you would divorce three-fourths or nine-tenths of all the marriages in Christendom. Moreover, turning from Christ to Paul, I refer you to the seventh chapter of First Corinthians, and particularly to a memorable passage in it which Conybeare and Howson have translated as follows: "If the unbelieving husband or wife seeks for a divorce, let it not be hindered; for in such cases the believing husband or wife is not bound to remain under the yoke." Do you not see that, in going to the Scripture to find therein an argument against divorce, you find instead the most solemn and sweeping authorization of divorce?

XII. You have the following suggestive sentence: "That persistent, flagitious adultery in husband or wife affords good cause for divorce, I have not meant to deny." Well, then, would you alter our existing law, which grants divorce for adultery, into granting it only for "persistent, flagitious adultery?" If so, how will the law draw the line between persistent and casual between flagitious and pardonable? What would you think of a proposition by moderate and occasional thieves to amend the law punishing theft so as to make it reach only "persistent, flagitious theft?"

XIII. You have helped to make or at least to keep, the divorce law of our own State very illiberal and unjust. The State of New York grants divorce only for adultery. But all the New England States grant divorces for other causes, such as drunkenness, cruelty, desertion, failure to support and the like. Will you rebuke those States for this legislation, and call their citizens free lovers for adopting it? Or (what would be better) will you join me in an endeavor to import the Massachusetts legislation on this subject into our New York code?

XIV. You helped to ratify the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. In so doing you builded better than you knew. These Amendments carry woman suffrage with them; and your argument against it comes too late. The case is as plain as a Japan crystal. The Fourteenth Amendment says: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside." Mr. Bingham, the author of this Amendment, admits that this word "persons" includes "women." Whatever doubt, therefore, has heretofore existed as to whether women were citizens, that doubt was removed by the Fourteenth Amendment. Now the old Constitution, Article 4, said (and still says): "Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." What is the meaning of this? Even so early as Washington's day, the Supreme Court of the United States, through Judge Bushrod Washington, decided that among these "privileges and immunities" was the right to exercise "the elective franchise." Chancellor Kent, Judge Story, and the other great lights that have illumined the text of the Constitution, long ago united in declaring the same thing. The Fourteenth Amendment has since carried these "privileges and immunities" a step beyond the Fourth Article. This Amendment, after having declared all "persons born or naturalized in the United States" to be "citizens" (including women as well as men), then immediately adds: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." In other words, no State shall "abridge the privileges or immunities" either of men or women, among which is the "right to exercise the elective franchise." So you see the links of the chain. All persons (including women) are citizens; all citizens have privileges and immunities, including suffrage; therefore women, like other citizens, are entitled to suffrage. If there is any flaw in this argument will you do me the favor to point it out?

XV. You say, "Why should any man be the candidate for President of the woman suffragists? Logically and consistently, I feel that their candidate should be a woman." To this I reply, that certainly I would have no objection to a woman as a candidate either for the Presidency or any other office. And yet woman suffrage does not require a woman to be its candidate any more than negro suffrage demands a negro for a like position. You have been a prominent advocate of negro suffrage, and yet I do not remember that you ever nominated a negro for President of the United States. Indeed, I once urged you to nominate Frederick Douglass for Vice-President, but you declined. And, if you will pardon me for the digression, since you have done me the honor to say that I "invented" you as a Presidential candidate, will you now let me gratify my early and unquenched instinct as an abolitionist by similarly "inventing" Mr. Douglass as the candidate for Vice-President on your ticket?

XVI. This leads me to refer to your sitting at Cooper Institute a few evenings ago as chairman of a meeting called to hear a speech from Mr. R. B. Elliott, member of Congress from South Carolina—a negro. I am glad you honored him as you did; and all I ask you to do for woman's enfranchisement is exactly what you have done for the negro's. But, on that very evening, in spite of the fact that the American government still refuses the political rights of twenty millions of citizens on account of sex, you went to the Tribune office and prefixed to the report of the proceedings the astounding title, "Equal Rights to All." Now, in view of your attitude on the woman question, will you not

correct the next proof-sheet of your favorite catchword into "Equal Rights for Half?"

Finally, your recent communication addressed to me in my own journal was reprinted by you in yours, but not a line of my reply there accompanied it, although the other daily papers of New York did equal justice to both sides of the controversy. I mention this fact for the sake of pledging that every word which you may say as a rejoinder to this present letter, if you print your remarks in the Tribune, shall be faithfully reprinted in the Golden Age. In this way, since I can never hope to equal you in ability, I shall at least have the honor of excelling you in fairness.

Ever your friend,
THE GOLDEN AGE, Aug. 14, 1871.

AUGUST.

To-day, the meek-eyed cattle on the hills,
Lie grouped together in some grateful shade,
Or slowly wander down the grassy glade,
To stand content, knee-deep in glassy rills.

The wandering bee, in far-secluded bowers,
Hums its low, cheerful anthem, free from care;
Great brilliant butterflies, fragile as fair,
Float gracefully above the gorgeous flowers.

The sun pours down a flood of golden heat
Upon the busy world—so hot and bright,
That the tired traveler, longing for the night,
Seeks some cool shelter from the dusty street.

The cricket chirrups forth its shrill refrain,
The grass and all green things are sore and dry;
The parched earth thirsts for water, and men sigh
For cooling showers: All nature waits for rain.

MR. GREELEY ALL WRONG.

For nine days to come, at least, Mr. Greeley's letter to Mr. Tilton will cause a flutter in social and reform circles. The white-hatted philosopher has spoken his mind on the question of female suffrage, and frankly says his "conception of the nature and scope of the marriage relation renders his conversion to woman suffrage a moral impossibility." Wherein the two, properly adjusted, conflict we are at a loss to see. If a woman may take any interest in the welfare of her husband and children, and the laws and influences under which they shall live; if she may be the mother of sons, and may preside at the head of the social circle, she certainly may go to the polls, and cast her vote in favor of the good, the right and the beautiful. We do not intend to waste any words with Mr. Greeley. He has a nounced that he is blind, and will not be converted. That is the end of him, but it by no means stops the onward flow of the river; he is but a snag in the Mississippi, to be avoided by all steamboat engineers who are not of the Jim Bludso order; by all people who wish for a safe voyage. We deem it our duty to sharply rebuke that fawning sentimentality which applauds Mr. Greeley's last "bull of excommunication" against female suffrage, calling it "the right doctrine!" We are heartily ashamed of those men who profess to see in the bugbear of the stump, the ward caucus, the nominating convention, the Senate, the jury-box, a place unfit for women; a something terrible and awful, sure to blight the female heart, and unsex half of mankind. If these places are so fearfully bad, how does Mr. Greeley find it consistent with his own ideas of right and morality to attend them? If men are all given to these things, where does he expect to find "virtuous, upright noble men" to become the husbands of his intelligent and charming daughters? "As the husband is, the wife is," the poet tells us, and the grossness of his nature shall have power to drag her down. Mr. Greeley puts himself in the position of one who stands guard over the muddy pool of politics, begging women to pass on the other side, never caring to know how bad, and gross, and demoralizing it is. He forgets that they have the same vital interest in the matter he has; that their opinions and individuality are worth as much to them as his can be to himself; that tens of thousands of women do not and never will have husbands; that many a married woman is left with a family of sons on her hands, whom she must support and educate; that the question of the marriage relation can have no possible bearing upon the actual conditions in which they find themselves in this life.

The wife of Mr. Greeley has given him seven children, and to-day she is a confirmed invalid, roaming the world over in search of health, when not confined to bed, as many another woman is who has borne seven children; she is excluded from active participation in the social, intellectual and other enjoyments of this life, and yet she is anxious that her daughters shall enjoy the same rights and opportunities her sons would have enjoyed had they lived. Confined to a sick chamber, she still has spirit enough to put her name to a petition begging for equal rights and justice. Does this make her any the less a woman; any the less affectionate as a wife, or lady-like? And suppose she should drive to the polls in her carriage and deposit a vote in favor of closing up rum-shops, would that be any more lady-like than it is to drop cards at the doors of Murray Hill mansions? Mr. Greeley talks of "men with a female physique," when he has over and over again advised the poor women of this city to go into the woods and chop wood, or into the wilds of New Jersey and raise vegetables! Such an occupation would not tend to transform women into men, we presume, nearly so much as it would if they should speak in public or vote. No, no. Mr. Greeley is all wrong. If his doctrines were to prevail our garrets would continue to choke with starving women, who have only a needle between them and infamy or death; our young men would continue to indulge in riotous living, while poor girls walk the streets in scant calico dresses and thin shawls; our magnificent homes would still be the scenes of unhappiness and vice, as too many of them are to-day, because woman is regarded as the creature to minister to man's appetites and passions; our divorce courts would still be thronged with wives anxious to escape from the tyranny of husbands, and our politics would be rotten from top to bottom, as it is to-day, until we are almost at a loss for a remedy, and cry out for a revolution or a vigilance committee. Let those who wish to applaud the men of straw Mr. Greeley has set up; the reform will go on all the same, and all good women will be more determined than ever in their efforts. They already have with them the best minds of the age. The pity is that so sensible a man as Mr. Greeley determines to be a stumbling-block.—New York Globe.

CIRCULAR LETTER

FROM THE

GENERAL WESTERN AGENT, CHICAGO, ILL.

I want to say a word to the friends of woman in the West—the advocates of her entire liberation, intellectually, socially and individually, as well as legally and politically. There is a great work to be done; there are, alas! too few to do that work. But the few are laboring assiduously, and, thank heaven, the army of honest energetic workers is increasing. The conservative, policy-seeking, so-called respectable Reformers are gradually falling back and diminishing in numbers; while the ranks of bold, fearless, radical thinkers and doers are fast filling up. To the front, then, friends of humanity, right and justice!

And we have a noble leader—an efficient general, who is abundantly able to marshal the hosts of freedom and lead the Cosmopolitan Army to victory. Under the leadership of such a woman as Victoria C. Woodhull, with the hosts of other brilliant stars that compose the bright galaxy of men and women who are fighting valiantly for the right to aid and second this woman "born to free her sex," what may the world not hope for in the field of religious, social and political reform.

Many, doubtless, there are who differ widely with the fearlessly-expressed opinions contained in that most excellent journal at whose helm she stands. And while I acknowledge her superiority in power and executive ability, the clearness and invincibility of her logic and the purity and earnestness of her motives—she is "only a woman." The principles she and we believe in and advocate are eternal and undying; and it matters little how or in what manner we individually prefer to work for their promotion. As for myself, I believe in prompt, decisive action, striking at once home, and laying bare, as with a scalpel, the blighting, cancerous sores of the body politic, socialistic and ecclesiastic. Freedom in this country has been already too long a mockery, our boasted republicanism a sham, and society an enemy to the higher, nobler natures of our wives, mothers, sisters and daughters. With good Mrs. Davis, I believe that the evils, sufferings and disabilities of women, as well as men, are social more than they are political. Those conservative drones who expect to effect woman's deliverance by procuring for her the exercise of the political franchise alone, while the chains of a morbid social system enslave her, body and soul, will "die without the sight"—unless they, like all old-fogydom, at last admit that what they now imagine to be issues wholly irrelevant to the woman question will, when kicked out at the back door, be rendered respectable when ushered in at the front. Alas! what a difficult and thankless task it has always been for heaven's chosen few to whip the masses into the acceptance of the right even after the right has been granted.

Friends, I have a suggestion to make. Will you heed it? I believe that you will.

I need not tell you that the most available means for the diffusion of ideas and the transmission of thought upon the important topics of social, political, moral and industrial reform, is through journalism. The masses can be reached only in this way; and it is the great masses that need the light—that need to be educated for the acceptance of the infinite truths that underlie the principles of human rights. The most comprehensive, radical and fearless journal in the field of reform is WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY. Conservatives fear it. Foggies hate it. Political corruptionists and soulless corporations read and tremble. European monarchs forbid its circulation among their serfs, and priests warn their "sheep" against "touching the unclean thing;" while the liberty loving and liberty-longing men and women hunger and thirst for the bread and wine—the natural soul-aliments it dispenses weekly to furnishing thousands in the great family of man. Its mission is one of destiny—no dead carcass thrown in the way can retard its onward march. It is the organ of the Cosmopolitan Party, whose platform is the unification and blending of the principles of Republican Democracy, the Equality of the Sexes, Industrial Reform or Internationalism, Socialism, Scientism, the Religion of Humanity, &c., &c.—all combining to form a panarchy which is the "sankhedrin of consultation for the campaign of eternity."

It becomes us all to extend the sphere of usefulness of this paper by every possible means. I have opened headquarters for this purpose in the city of Chicago, at No. 165 Washington street. I want the friends throughout the great, liberal, progressive West to assist me in the work. Go to work at once in your respective localities, canvass the town, city and country, and urge the people to take this paper. Besides its being the ablest and the best reformatory journal in America, it is the cheapest. It is a large octavo of sixteen pages, printed with good type on beautiful white paper, and the subscription price is only two dollars a year. It contains twice as much reading matter as most of the three-dollar weeklies. I hope the friends of progress and reform will at once place themselves in communication with me, and work in concert with my efforts to bring this representative journal of progress and free thought into every household in the great and growing West.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

Reader, will you act in the capacity of local agent in your locality and see to it that every possible subscriber for the WEEKLY is procured? If you are willing to do so, please confer with me at once.

If you cannot give the matter your personal attention, will you be kind enough to place this circular in the hands of some active persons whom you think efficient for the agency, advising them to communicate with me by letter for further particulars? Very truly yours,

A. J. BOYER,
General Western Agent for WEEKLY,
No. 165 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

LABOR IS PRAYER.

Laborare est orare;
Hear it ye of spirit poor
Who sit crouching at the threshold
While your brethren force the door;
Ye whose ignorance stands wringing
Rough hands, seamed with toll, nor dares
Lift so much as eyes to heaven—
Lo! All life this truth declares,
Laborare est orare
And the whole earth rings with prayers.

—MISS M'LOGIE.

THE REAL CAUSE OF THE WESTFIELD ACCIDENT.

We have remained silent on the Westfield holocaust just as long as our feelings will allow us to do so. We have watched the course of this examination with deep interest; we hoped that the causes of this wholesale butchery would be thoroughly sifted; and we were slow to censure ere a full opportunity had been given the proper authorities to investigate and explain the causes of which sent over one hundred of our citizens to eternity, and maimed probably over one hundred and fifty more. What in the name of heaven has been done to elucidate the mystery? We have had volumes of testimony to prove that the boiler was a good one; that it was a bad one; that the valve was blowing off, that it was not blowing off; that the valve could not relieve the boiler even if it did blow off. We have had an inspector admitting that he gave certificates to a boiler whose valve was incapable of carrying off the surplus steam the boiler could generate. Some of the witnesses found cracks and flaws in the boiler, as, for example, Mr. Hill, Mr. Light-hall and Mr. Tothersall; while John Plum explicitly declares there was no crack. This is the kind of humbug to which the people are treated, when a hundred or two have been made the victims to the political jugglery that puts politicians into positions of the duties of which they know nothing.

We call attention to the cause of this explosion, and we demand that it be investigated. That cause is the drifting of the holes in the boiler plates to make the holes fit. The holes were punched, did not come opposite each other, and the boiler-makers drove steel taper wedges in the holes and stretched the iron till the holes did come right. The oval shape of the holes attests this. The fact that, from the thickness of the iron, the pressure indicated should not have burst the boiler proves it. We have visited numerous boiler yards and will undertake to produce practical men who will testify that this stretching and fracturing of the iron round the holes, by driving in round steel wedges, called drifts, is done to the extent of a quarter of an inch in one hole.

If one of the officials will call at our office, we will, by appointment, conduct him to boilers where the holes are being stretched and fractured in just the same manner. We will go into the first boiler shop we come to, and ask the first workman we encounter in it to show us his drift, and the murderous round steel wedge will appear on the scene, all battered and swelled at the head by the ponderous blows inflicted upon it by a sledge-hammer, every blow meaning death to some one of our traveling citizens.

To punch holes and thus destroy the cohesion of the metal is bad enough, but to deliberately try to burst the hole by disintegrating the surrounding metal (after punching), with a steel wedge, is positively murderous.

Let the authorities see to this, or we shall have to wake them up in a less pleasant manner.

MISS PHELPS, who can do really clever things, is wasting a great deal of very good indignation upon woman's dress; among other things she says:

The average young woman expends enough inventive power, enough financial shrewdness, enough close foresight, enough perturbation of spirit, enough presence of mind, enough patience of hope and anguish of regret upon one season's outfit—I had almost said upon one single street suit—to make an excellent bank cashier, or a comfortable graduate of a theological seminary; * * * I once saw a young lady ride the whole way from Portland to Boston in the cars without once leaning back against the cushioned seat, so that she should not tumble her black silk sash. A barber told me that he "curled a young lady" once for a ball, "and she had two hundred and forty-seven curls when she was done. And I began at ten o'clock in the morning and I never got through with her till nine o'clock at night!" Dr. Dio Lewis tells of a being who put four hundred and twenty-five (I think) yards of trimming upon one single dress. * * * Four hundred and twenty-five yards! Conceive of the Hon. Charles Sumner or Prof. Longfellow in four hundred and twenty-five yards of trimming! Imagine the speech on San Domingo, or the Psalm of Life, written with a black silk sash tied to the author's coat-tails, he pausing at every classic stanza to see if he had tumbled himself behind. Fancy Brown Sequard at a consultation in two hundred and forty-seven curls. Picture him timing the pulse of a dying man with one hand and tightening his hair-plugs with the other.

This has a sufficient leaven of truth to make the matter tolerable, but it must be taken with many grains of allowance. Nor can it be reasonably contended that the bulk of women have no sense of duty, or that their time is all spent in vanity and foolishness. An appeal having been made in favor of the male simplicity and contempt of self-adornment—it is sufficient to dismiss that as "bosh." The male animal everywhere adorns and tricks himself out in braveries, and whether it be the wise and chivalrous Raleigh, with all his fortune on his back, or the modern swell strutting Broadway with yellow gloves and pants so tight as to forbid sitting down, dress and the mirror charm the manly eye fully as much as they do the female heart. How does Miss Phelps herself dress.

THE meeting of the German and Austrian Kaisers, announced in the telegrams, will in all probability prove detrimental to the Austrian. In the old fable of the compact between the dwarf and the giant, the dwarf found that, although the giant was honest, somehow the dwarf got the worst of it. So with Austria. If the German empire be a wonderful success, it will naturally absorb the ten million

German subjects of Austria, who would have more affinity with their German-speaking compatriots than with Tscheck Magyar or Slav. A compact against Russia is rumored. Bismarck cares little for Russia; he covets Austria, and he does not love Von Beust, his great diplomatic rival. It is not improbable, however, that there may be a present purpose of curbing the Cossack. Already the seers of the English press give warning of Russian designs. An impregnable quadrilateral of fortresses in South Russia will cover the movement of the mighty masses that are now parading and drilling on the Austrian frontier. And a march on Vienna, with a flank movement on Belgrave and the Balkan, will be the road that once carried Suwarrow to victory, and threatened the dismemberment of the Turkish empire and the expulsion of the Sultan from Europe. It will be! Nay, more, it ought to be. What has Europe in common with the slumberous Turk and obstructive Mohammedanism?

THE delicacy and exemplary consideration for the public feeling evinced by some of our contemporaries are really touching. It is usually supposed that the tomb is exempt from the eye of the curious or the hand of the spoiler; but this tribute of silence and the eye averted cannot be paid when "the public wants to know." All Americans live in glass houses; those who are at all famous lie in glass coffins. Alice Cary died unmarried. If she had a love she never told it. Her sister Phoebe died having made no confession, and so it might be fair to suppose that what the dead women had not told of themselves nobody else has a right to guess at or proclaim. That is not so in America. Before their ashes are cold their hearts are laid on the press table for scrutiny and demonstration. It is asserted that Alice had a secret passion, and that her life was blighted by an early disappointment. It may or it may not have been. But as the sisters left no record and made no complaint, this intrusion is a disgusting impertinence.

THE anniversary of the siege of Derry, in Ireland, was attended with the usual Orange riot. If there be any virtue inherent in Orangeism and Ribandism, that peculiar merit crops out and flourishes in the land where those types of political animosity are indigenous. It may seem fit and proper that certain sections of Irishmen in Ireland should hate and slay each other; although the process even there does not seem to give unmixed satisfaction to the peaceful members of the community. Transplanted to this country, party prejudices and antipathies are meaningless. All foreigners are welcome, all have equal rights. Let them leave their old feuds in the land they have abandoned. Here we want only one political party—the party of peace, progress and prosperity.

"It's an ill wind that blows nobody good." We are glad to find that the fear of cholera has opened official eyes and stirred official stumps. Officially a policeman or a Supervisor cannot see or smell a dead dog or a dirty street. The citizen may have his organs in the most wretchedly perfect order. Directly he dons the garb of office he becomes defective in all his faculties. Every one knows—but those who are paid to know—in what an infamous disgusting condition the poor side streets are kept. How rarely the scavenger carts go round, how perfunctorily the duties of cleansing are performed. A savage rain-storm is a blessing in these neighborhoods. When pestilence comes it avenges the poor! All neglect of duty has to be squared in the general account. Police reports are not of much good unless action is taken. Hurry up.

MANY bits of secret contemporary history have come out through the pillage of the imperial archives after the fall of Napoleon. It is only surprising that so little matter of real interest has been given to the world. Among other trifles is a letter from Alexander of Russia to the Empress Eugenie, offering intervention on the basis of integrity of French territory after the disaster of Sedan. The revolution of September and the flight of the Empress disgusted the Czar, and he left France to her fate. This incident shows the common accord between princes and despots. We Republicans do not hang together in such fashion. We sympathize more with Louis Napoleon, or Kaiser William, or Kaiser Alexander than we do with Republicans. Witness France, witness Cuba.

THE French Republic of 1848, with Louis Napoleon as President, found its mission in helping the Pope against Italy, and garrisoned Rome with French troops. Thiers has always been a partisan of Rome. That reactionary policy of French Republicans was a wonder and surprise in Europe, and has never been satisfactorily explained. It is only traceable to Imperialism, and to that policy which bloomed into the *coup d'état*. Can it be now that Thiers and the Assembly will give ear to the Pope's insidious persuasions and suffer themselves to be the instruments of Papal restoration. The suggestion seems too preposterous. But who can predict the possibilities of politics?

POST OFFICE NOTICE.

The mails for Europe during the week ending Saturday, Aug. 19, 1871, will close at this office on Tuesday at half-past eleven, on Wednesday at twelve, on Thursday at twelve, and on Saturday at twelve.

P. H. JONES, Postmaster

WITHOUT desiring to unnecessarily alarm the community, we think the press have done well to agitate the subject of the possibility of cholera and the yellow fever extending to this country, if it serves to awaken the people to a sense of the importance of a more careful mode of living, greater cleanliness and a more general use of deodorizers and disinfectants.

Some years since, when the Board of Health had ordered the thorough cleaning of every hole and corner of this city, the kitchen of a palatial residence on Fifth avenue was found to be in such an uncleanly condition that several cart-loads of filth were scraped up. The lady of the house had not seen that kitchen for years! Are there not, even now, many residences of fair exterior which, unknown to many of the inmates, contain the very essence of death? How often is one death in a family speedily followed by another in the same house? We need have no fear of infectious diseases if each one of us will become an independent Board of Health for the preservation of cleanliness and the extinction of noxious and infectious smells by the liberal use of a good deodorizer.

In England much interest has been excited by the discovery of a new disinfectant in chloride of aluminum, which possesses all the valuable qualities of carbolic acid and chloride of zinc, without their objectionable features. Professor Gamgee, of London, pronounces it to be as harmless as common salt and as active as zinc chloride, which is so poisonous and corrosive that it is practically excluded from the sick room. Experiments recently made in this country prove it to be much more effectual when in combination with bromine, and in this form it is now presented under the name of "Bromo-Chloralum." It is a discovery which is destined to prove of incalculable advantage to the world at large. It is prepared as a nearly colorless liquid, without any odor of its own, non-poisonous and inexpensive. Its free use in families would materially improve the general health and effectually prevent contagion. We anticipate a large demand for it as a deodorizer and disinfectant.

It has been introduced in hospitals to dress wounds, especially in important amputations; it has been used at the Westminster Hospital, London, and the Royal Infirmary, Manchester, to arrest the horrible factor of open cancer; it has been used in ulcers, sore throats, scarlet fever, diphtheria, and many other superficial inflammations. As a purifier of air in a sick room; as an antiseptic in the dead-house; as an agent to be used in embalming bodies, and, indeed, for all general antiseptic and disinfectant properties, it may fairly be said to stand unrivaled.

WE have been condoling with England at the possible loss of the great iron-plated ship, the *Warrior*, on shore near Gibraltar. But we regarded the calamity with that equanimity, not to say secret triumph, wherewith we serenely contemplate our neighbor's bad luck. After all, the *Warrior* was not ashore at all; it was our own *Guerriere*—an American, not a Britisher. Quite otherwise. We are so sorry. Really, you know.

HENRY CERNUSCHI, whom many of our readers will recollect as the Paris banker exiled from France because opposed to the famous plebiscite, has arrived in this country with the intention of making the tour of the United States and becoming acquainted with its institutions. M. Cernuschi, an Italian by birth, returned to France immediately after the fall of Sedan, became naturalized as a citizen, and was present at the inauguration of the new republic. He belongs to the most advanced wing of the republican party, and demands independent municipal elections throughout France as the best guarantee of a true and permanent republic. In this he is quite right, since centralism has ever been the curse of France, and will be, under whatever form of government, while all appointments, civil and military, are made at Paris. M. Cernuschi is distinguished as a writer upon political economy, and has published several works. In his "*Contre Billet de Banque*" he takes the same ground in regard to credit money as the author of the "*Science of Wealth*," to whom he paid a visit at North Brookfield last Wednesday, in company with M. Duret, a gentleman connected with the Paris press. They are to visit all the principal Atlantic cities, and then go by the way of Washington, Richmond and Knoxville to St. Louis, Omaha and San Francisco; and thence, by Japan and India, to France.

THE GOLDEN AGE TRACTS.

Our sprightly neighbor, the *Golden Age*, announces a series of tracts for the times, and begins the list this week with a letter by Theodore Tilton to Horace Greeley, on "*The Rights of Women*." This letter our readers will find copied into the present issue of WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY. It forms a neat tract, adapted for popular circulation in large quantities, and ought to go up and down the land. Price, \$3 00 per hundred. Address the publisher of the *Golden Age*, Box 2848, New York City.

THE *Times*' raid on the Boss and his myrmidons has fizzled out miserably. Radical complicity with Democratic frauds was too rich. The people like to be plundered, and they shall be plundered.

THE RISING POWER IN THE WORLD.

In our issue of this journal bearing date July 16, 1870, we first announced its central idea as follows:

Every revolution, whether in government or in general methods of scientific thought, that the world has passed through, has ultimately grown into power and extension from a central point of strength—from a central positive idea. Mere negations never rise into efficient or constructive forms of thought. A positive and clear affirmation, a forcible assertion, contains within itself the elements of strength and success. Simply to attack or call in question any existing fact is negatively to affirm that that fact is not in accordance with the general present idea; but to assert some new principle, which shall supply the place of the old and also include much which is not included in the sphere of the old, is to assume the aggressive and to establish a positive position, and so to form a nucleus around which all the hitherto diffused strength can rally and organize for offensive action.

The Christian world has for nineteen centuries been teaching the Fatherhood of God and its necessary corollary, the Brotherhood of Man. This, so far as any organic practical application is concerned, has been simply theoretical and preparatory. Practice has been impossible and has never been attempted nor advocated even, to the fullest extent of its significance. Christians profess to believe, and with some degree of faith they do believe, that the time will come when the teachings of Christ will be universally accepted, but they do not stop to consider that the aggressive precursor and preparer for a spiritual kingdom is its counterpart in material affairs. Before a universal religion can be, a universal government must be.

Being fully imbued with the spirit of the greatest of all facts that the human mind can grasp, the Fatherhood of God, and necessarily then with the common Brotherhood of Man, the inauguration of a universal government we believe to be the greatest prospective work of the centuries, and as such we announce it as our central idea and call upon all who can grasp the significance of the proposition to rally to its advocacy and support. If years, decades, centuries, ages intervene before such a consummation can be reached, the work of laying the foundation, the cornerstone, is one which the American people should be ambitious to begin.

From that time we have constantly advocated those principles which have a universal application, ignoring as much as has been possible the common or ordinary affairs of the time. But since that time tremendous revolutions have occurred, some of which, though localized in regard to the sphere of their immediate relations and effects, occupy a mighty place in the common order of governmental evolution as related to the entire globe, all pointing to one general result.

But as yet, even in this country, the perfect foundation upon which a Universal Government could be built secure in permanency is not yet formulated. A great advance, however, toward it is now in process of execution. Government in this era of society relates specifically to what we denominate the political relations of people. All the people have not yet become politically related. All people of some country must become politically related before even the cornerstone of that which can progress to universal dominion can be laid; since so long as there are a large portion of a people unrepresented in and unrelated to the government, such people are liable—ay, certain—to rebel and demand their natural rights. Therefore, no government is secure until it is a government *de facto* for all the people over whom it is maintained.

Having an intuitive perception, as well as the logical demonstration, that this country, being the most advanced in general progressive ideas, is the central point from which the idea of Universal Government must evolve, and around which it must aggregate, we have at all times advocated cosmopolitan rather than national ideas, with the view of bringing people to regard all nations as destined to form a part of one common nation. The deduction, to which reference is made, is fully sustained by the conclusive fact that the people who are represented in our government are so far from being purely American, and so far cosmopolitan, as to be composed of all nationalities, and being so, that in the United States there are already the necessary elements of a Universal Government, since if their people are the representatives of all nations, and governed by one form of polity which is acceptable to them, then there is already in existence a form of government which can sprout over the world without change in its basal idea.

As we have said and repeated time and again, the basal idea of our theory is that all the people are the government, while their representatives are simply agents to perform certain specific duties which relate to the security and protection of individual rights.

If that be a true proposition, and we have a form of polity which admits of its application, the very first step to be made is to bring all the people into relations with the government. With this idea in view, we memorialized Congress last December, setting forth the fact that our government, though professing to represent all the people, does not in reality represent any part of the people except men, the women being denied all participation, and asking Congress to enact such laws as would give vitality to the provisions of the Constitution which guarantees the vital idea, the proposition of a Universal Government.

This movement, though not yet passed to a decision in the halls of Congress, is already decided by general consent. Many of our most eminent statesmen accept the proposition. It is simply a question of how long those who hold the governmental power to-day can prevent the consummation. It is the question of the hour, endeavor to deny it as

they may, and the more strenuously they oppose it, the more certainly will political death await them. Being a vital issue, affecting the rights of a large body of citizens, it can neither be ignored nor parried, as it might were it simply a policy—a question of best interests—in which there could be an honest difference of opinion, which there cannot be where the question is one of inherent right.

It was to have been hoped that the Labor Party in convention at St. Louis would have taken a decided stand upon this first principle to be settled, and thus have been in the initiative in this movement, and thereby presented a platform upon which both these branches of reform could have marshaled their ranks. This was the more desirable from a general consideration than from the merely present condition in this country, since the Labor Party of this country, though not formally in alliance therewith, is the counterpart to the International Workingmen's Association of Europe, and at no far distant day will be in active co-operation with it.

The Labor Party of this country has for its present enunciated principles such questions of home policy as have direct effect upon the relations of labor to capital, not looking beyond our national boundaries, and not recognizing that the laborers of other countries are their natural brothers, worthy of and entitled to receive consideration in all matters which are discussed. In this ignoring it is argued that their own interests demand a degree of proscription toward the people of certain other nations, in which policy they depart from the basis of a common humanity, and fall far short of the basal propositions of the Internationals, which denounce war, abrogate national boundaries and demand a unity of interests for all people of all nations, based in the principles which our governmental theory furnish. Therefore, while we have the proper theory for a Universal Government, they propose the only complete application of the theory. From the union of the two must come that perfect blending of interests which prophesy the beginning of the aggregation that will ultimate in a universal application of that theory.

So, too, is the great revolution in sentiment evolved by the movement in this country for political relations among all the people met and counterparted in Europe by the gigantic revolutions toward unification of peoples which have occurred within the same period of time in which that has been active. France, weakening Austria by the forced establishment of the kingdom of Italy, thereby made it possible for Prussia to consolidate Germany without fear from Austria; but in the endeavor to prevent this France herself, who first opened the door for all this grand movement, became prostrated at the feet of the newly-made successor to Otto the Great and Charles V.

The Prussian King, having become the German Emperor, began at once to fortify himself against the only power he had to fear by making friends with Francis Joseph, who is the natural enemy of Alexander, for the possession of Constantinople. This new diplomacy on the part of Bismarck is eminently worthy his past success, since it would not do for Germany to permit Alexander and Francis Joseph to become united against Kaiser Wilhelm, and Austria must need be the ally of one or the other of those powerful monarchs. Being allied with Prussia may make it possible for Austria to regain her lost Italian prestige, as a compensation for her late humiliation at the hands of Napoleon and William, all of which is but preparatory to final final absorption by Germany.

The ostensible motive for this alliance in Central Europe is that Russia and France have also formed an offensive and defensive alliance. But this might has been anticipated by Bismarck, and probably was, and all along have been the real basis of the interchange of kindly feeling with Austria and Italy. In these extensive operations England seems to have had no hand. The country by whose means the first Napoleon was destroyed has now come to be ignored in European diplomacy. Whether this is because her material power has become insignificant when compared with the great Continental powers, or because liberalism is becoming so diffused among the English people, or from both causes combined, it may be hard to determine. Certain it is, however, that there is a potent cause existent which forbids the Gladstone government's entrance into present Continental questions. England's perfidy to France in permitting her humiliation and dismemberment unrebuked has not only lost her the confidence of France, but has taught the other powers her capacity for desertion and unreliability in time of need. This condition of England must naturally compel her to look westward for compensation, and prophesies the coming unity of the English-speaking nations, and thereby an advance in the direction of unitary government.

But behind all this again lie the common enemies of all monarchies and assumed governmental distinctions—the laboring people. They are already largely united by a common bond of sympathy, though that sympathy has not yet resulted in combined organization in this country to the extent it has in Europe. There this organization, amounting to nearly, if not quite, three million able-bodied men, is sufficiently organized to be considered a threat to monarchs, and their representatives appoint a conference for the nominal consideration of the Eastern question, but virtually to devise some plan to suppress the Internationals. The late developments in Russia regarding the organization open up an entirely new and unthought-of issue to the ultimate question of Cossackism or Republicanism in Europe. If

these Russian middle classes really co-operate with the Internationals of the rest of Europe, a different face is put upon affairs, which sharply defines the heretofore dim outlines of the future republics of Europe, which we long since stated to be the Latinic, the Teutonic and the Slavonic—three mighty powers, taking into themselves all other lesser ones. Europe, thus divided, would be safe against war, since the central or Teutonic Republic could always rely upon the protection of one of her neighbors against absorption or humiliation by the other.

The rising importance of the Internationals pushes this question forward for the consideration of all statesmen who are to be distinguished from ordinary people by their foresight of coming events, and by paving the way for their exodus.

Consolidation of peoples is, then, the "Rising Power" in the world, and is the prophecy of near-at-hand realization of something approaching Universal Government. When Europe, revolutionized as pointed out above, shall, with the United American States, inaugurate a Grand International Tribunal for the arbitration and settlement of all international questions, this Tribunal will virtually be the governing power of the world, since but one step more will be required to consolidate into a single form of administration.

Indeed would such a governmental consummation be the prophecy of the millennium which prophets have so long foretold and poets sung? And the securing of equal political or governmental rights to all people in the representative country of the world will be set down in history as the actual turning point in government from its mere diffusive evolution into that of a constructive evolution, which is the grander and nobler form, since it is an aggregation around one point of that which has been all these ages finding its way outward and into the hearts and intellects of the people.

Then and then only can there be a practical application of the brotherhood of the whole human family. Then and not till then can the professions of Christians possess that living vitalizing power which shall make all people brothers and sisters by acknowledging themselves of common origin and destiny. Then and not till then will it be possible for men and women, being equal, in all respects, as human beings, to practice Golden Rule, which is the truest religion of humanity.

MINISTERING SPIRITS.

All places where our friends have lived and died
Are haunted places; thro' the open doors
The gentle spirits on their errands glide,
With feet that make no sound upon the floors.
We meet them at the doorway, on the stair;
Along the passages they come and go.
The stranger at my fireside cannot see
The forms I see, nor hear the sounds I hear.
He but perceives what is, while unto me
All that has been is visible and clear.
The spirit world around this world of sense
Flows like an atmosphere, and everywhere
Wafts thro' these earthly mists and vapors dense
The vital breath of spirits ministering there.

—LONGFELLOW.

THE INTERNATIONAL.

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

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

Section 2 (French).—Sunday, 2 p. m., at No. 100 Prince street (especially to accommodate female members).

Section 6 (German).—Friday, 8 p. m., at No. 10 Stanton street.

Section 8 (German).—Monday, 8 p. m., at No. 53 Union avenue, Williamsburg, L. I.

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

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

Section 12 (American).—Sunday, 8 p. m., at No. 44 Broad street.

WHETHER the schemes of the Paris Commune were wise or unwise, whether the deeds of the insurgents were culpable or commendable, each Communist was giving the example which most of all in these craven days is needed: each Communist bounded with alacrity and joy to death for his convictions. Who in England of those that vilify or of those that praise the Paris Communists is willing to do the same? There is one kind of poltroonery, called Mathusianism, preached; and there is another kind of poltroonery, called Secret Voting, preached; and there are numberless other poltrooneries, all seeking to lessen or to extinguish the valiant sense of moral responsibility. The fault of the Paris Commune was not in being too passionate, but in pondering and hesitating when it should have darted itself, a flame of passion, at wicked men and odious institutions. It was too mimetic; it was too much influenced by reminiscences of the first French Revolution. Passion should have the originality of genius; it should imitate nothing. Let us nourish the heat of passion in ourselves; let us kindle the fire of passion in others. If, according to the old Greek saying, "war is the father of all things," warmth is the mother of all things; but a warmth like that of nature, diffused in most opulent fruitfulness, and only exploding from time to time, and irresistibly in lightnings and thunders.

MACCALL.

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

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OUR NEW WESTERN AGENCY.—Mr. A. J. Boyer, formerly of the "Nineteenth Century," has become our General Western Agent, with office at 165 Washington street, Chicago, Ill., where subscription may be made to the WEEKLY and advertisements will be taken. The rapid growth of the WEEKLY in Western favor has induced us to establish this branch office, and we are happy to be able to announce the engagement of one so favorably known to Reform as is Mr. Boyer, with whom we trust all our friends will join in the endeavor to introduce the WEEKLY into every city, village and hamlet in the great West.

EIGHTH NATIONAL CONVENTION.

THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SPIRITUALISTS.

The eighth National Convention will meet in Troy, N. Y., on Tuesday, the 12th day of September, at 10 o'clock in the morning, and continue in session three days.

Each active local society, and each Progressive Lyceum of any State, Territory or Province, which has no General Association, shall be entitled to one delegate for each fractional fifty members.

These Associations and Lyceums are respectfully invited to appoint delegates to attend this meeting and participate in the proceedings thereof.

Mrs. H. F. M. BROWN, President,
1374 Madison street, Chicago, Ill.

H. T. CHILD, M. D., Secretary,
634 Race street, Philadelphia, Pa.

SECTION No. 12 of "The International" will hold their regular meeting at 44 Broad street, Sunday next, at 8 o'clock P. M. Friends from other sections cordially invited.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION (SECTION No. 2).

CITIZEN: The French Section, No. 2, of the International, at the general session of the 6th August, decided that in future it would hold a session on the second Sunday of each month, at 2 o'clock P. M. This reunion has been voted with the special purpose of offering more convenience to the ladies who might desire to join the International, and who cannot be present at the morning sessions. In consequence of this decision your attendance is requested at the next reunion, at the usual place of meeting, 100 Prince street.

H. CHARNIER, Secretary.

TO HORACE GREELEY.

Sir—I find in the *Golden Age* of August 12 an article headed "Mr. Greeley on the Woman Question," and in the same paper an answer by Mr. Tilton, to which I shall also have some occasion to allude. The reason why I feel called on to enter into this particular discussion, the almost necessity which you have laid upon me to do so, will be apparent to the public from the following paragraph—the closing one—extracted from your communication:

But why should any man be the candidate for President of the Woman Suffragists? Logically and consistently, I feel that their candidate should be a woman. She ought, moreover, to be one thoroughly emancipated from the "absurdity and folly," the "narrowness" and the "baleful conservatism," which I am now too old to outgrow. Could you not find one who illustrates in her own person and history what you so felicitously term "the liberal thought of an enlightened age?" Let her be one who has two husbands after a sort, and lives in the same house with them both, sharing the couch of one, but bearing the name of the other (to indicate her impartiality, perhaps), and cause and candidate will be so fully mated that there will be no occasion, even under the most liberal, progressive, enlightened régime, to sue for their divorce. Could not one of this class be persuaded to overbear her shrinking modesty and nominate herself?

In a spirit of hearty hatred for Free Love and all its infernal delusions,

I remain, yours,
HORACE GREELEY.
TRIBUNE OFFICE, August 7, 1871.

Mr. Tilton, in his reply to Mr. Greeley, has the kindness and courtesy to say:

Mr. Greeley's allusion to a certain lady whom he describes but does not name is an ungentle and gross reflection on a life which has been marked by great suffering, which has been guided by pure motives, and which has flowered into rare worth. Knowing her well, we respect her not less highly than we do Mr. Greeley himself. We know not how to say more.

Neither does Mr. Tilton name the "certain lady;" but the allusion by Mr. Greeley to me and my domestic affairs is too pointed and direct to be misunderstood by anybody, and evidently he intended to preclude the possibility of its being misunderstood. To no other woman than to me has this avalanche of malignant venom any applicability. This is, therefore, my conflict. Mr. Tilton may very well answer, even more fully, as he proposes to do, other portions of Mr. Greeley's manifesto on the woman question; but this personality it belongs to me especially to reply to. For the completeness of this reply, I wish, however, first to make another extract from Mr. Greeley's article, and also another from the answer of Mr. Tilton, already published.

Mr. Greeley says:

You are entirely, eminently right, Mr. Editor, in asserting that my conviction of the proper indissolubility of marriage is the mainspring of my hostility to woman suffrage, and to the social philosophy from which many vainly seek to separate the woman movement. Though I have written or dictated very little of what has, during the last ten years, been printed as editorial in the *Tribune* on this subject, it is nevertheless true that my conception of the nature and scope of the marriage relation renders my conversion to woman suffrage a moral impossibility.

I have but two left of seven children, and these are both daughters. I would gladly fit them for lives of usefulness and honor, as beloved and loving wives of virtuous, upright, noble men, and mothers, if it shall please God, of good, healthy, happy children. If it be decreed that they are to be not such women as those I have most admired and revered, but men with a female physique—powerful in ward caucuses and nominating conventions, vehement in senate and on the stump, and effective before juries in the trial of actions for *crim. con.*—I pray that my career on this globe shall close before theirs is fairly begun. When and where they shall thus shine it will not be pleasant for me to stay.

Mr. Tilton replies:

Mr. Greeley speaks of his two daughters with an affection which does honor to his heart, but he hopes that if they are ever to become Woman Suffragists, and to speak in public, or to argue law cases, and the like, he may first have a chance to creep into his grave. And yet those two daughters have a mother as well as a father. Their mother, as is well-known, is a hearty Woman Suffragist. She headed the petition to the Constitutional Convention of the State of New York praying that body to incorporate Woman Suffrage into the new Constitution. She is very ill—nearer to the grave than her husband. And we believe that nothing would cheer her in her sick chamber so exquisitely, or make her so content to exchange worlds, as the reflection that she could pass away, leaving those same daughters in full possession of all the rights which she so bravely demanded for them from the supreme law of the State, under her husband's frown and against her husband's vote.

The war has already opened, then, not only by an unflinching assault upon the character of my private relations, but by, with Mr. Greeley's own consent and by his own act, the commencement of a direct scrutiny of his family relations, as well.

It might, perhaps, be thought more courtly if the social conflict now on the docket of world-issues and up for trial, could have been conducted without personalities or the intrusive inspection of family affairs. I do not doubt that such a mode of conducting the war would suit best with Mr. Greeley's ordinary conservative views; and that it is through some irritation, mistake or oversight that he has overstepped those limits and authorized the carrying of the war into his and his coadjutors' domestic-Africa.

For me and mine, we shrink in no manner from this shape given to the campaign. On the contrary, personalities and domesticities are probably, contrary to the conservative prejudices we have all been bred in, just the proper arena on which the war of social ideas should be fought out. For ourselves, we should be very glad if all conventional barriers were set aside; and if we might be held free to discuss openly the facts, as they are known to us, of the private households of all the great lights of the age, men and women, with a view to elucidating the views we entertain. It is with immense sacrifice, and with a real generosity, which we know is in some quarters gratefully appreciated, that we refrain from lifting the roofs off the tops of the houses.

But in Mr. Greeley's case I am fully excused from any courtesy which should restrain my criticism. He has chosen to invade my family sanctum. He will not object to my invading his. I only regret that in his case, as in mine, persons will have to be mentioned who are only incidentally involved. I beg pardon of Mrs. Greeley and her daughters, in advance, but both they and the public will see that certainly no unfriendliness is intended. Every war involves the interests of some innocent parties. I wish to be just. I do not accuse Mr. Greeley of sinning, knowingly and in his own person, against his own code of morality. I think he is one of the very few men connected with the secular press, to say nothing now of the religious press, of New York City, who either believe in or practice the puritanical code in the social relations. I think he is an honest bigot, and not a pretentious hypocrite, on that subject. And when he says that he would oppose all relaxation of the stringency of the marriage laws, and that he opposes female suffrage because he thinks that the civic tends toward the social enfranchisement of women, I believe that he says honestly

what he thinks. It is only the more to be regretted that his prejudice against one form of truth is so strong and unreasoning that it leads him to oppose another form of truth from its incidental associations with the other.

When, therefore, I take the liberty of saying what has been an open secret for many years, that Mr. Greeley's home has always been a sort of domestic hell, I do not mean that Mr. Greeley has proved an unfaithful husband, in the ordinary sense of that term. On the contrary, he has, rather, I think, been held up, and I believe rightly, too, as a model husband in that particular. And for that reason the fault and the opprobrium of the domestic discord has been heaped on Mrs. Greeley. And who has ever come to her defense? Or take another case of a lady who has laid under the ban of public ridicule and censure longer than Mrs. Greeley. I mean Xantippe, the wife of another philosopher of the same stamp. The world has been told, and has repeated for more than twenty centuries, the serio-comic story of her irritable and scolding temper, of her unreasonable and tormenting conduct. And the world has sympathized with Socrates, and has condemned her.

Who has ever troubled himself to inquire how much philosopher Socrates or philosopher Greeley has had to do with souring the temper, unstringing the nerves, and completely disorganizing the sensitive machinery of a delicate woman's organization. Mankind look so much to effects and so little to causes. A scolding woman is a palpable fact, to the annoyance of everybody about her. A senseless brute of a man, even though a philosopher—a man I mean, now, merely, when the case is no worse, who has no delicate capacity for appreciating a woman's nature—may, quite unconsciously to himself, and quite unobserved by others, grate continuously on the sensibilities of her soul, more, a thousand times, than the tongue of a shrew upon the ears of anybody. Whenever, therefore, a scolding, a nervous, an unreasonable or even a devilish tendency is developed in a wife, it is well to scrutinize closely the qualities of the husband.

Nothing can be more aggravating to a woman and a mother than a senseless indifference on the part of a husband and father to all the aspirations of mother and daughters for some wider career or some greater security of condition than that which marriage affords. The total forgetfulness on the part of Mr. Greeley that there is any such party in interest as Mrs. Greeley, in speaking of the destiny of their daughters, is a probable indication of the man's whole character in his relation with a high-spirited woman who was intensely conscious that she ought to go for somebody in the world, but who was choked with the suffocating consciousness that she was made into a practical nobody in the grip of that divine institution which Mr. Greeley upholds, and by the callous manishness of Mr. Greeley himself, who, instead of consulting the woman as to what she needs, knows it all for her, and prescribes her sphere. Mr. Tilton's point is, therefore, well taken, that there is a Mrs. Greeley also in the case, and one who has had the bravery to head a movement for suffrage directly in the teeth of Mr. Greeley's insulting assumption of being himself the only party entitled to have an opinion on the subject.

But Mr. Greeley makes the unconscious insolence of his position somewhat pathetic by alluding to the fact that of seven children that he has had, he has only two now remaining. There are thinkers and philanthropists in the world who would inquire why Mr. Greeley's children have died; or if they had been born idiots, why they were idiots; or if deaf or blind, why deaf or blind. And there are some who so connect sequences with their antecedents as to see that the incompatibility or disharmony of parents is a fruitful cause of the death of children, as it is of their deformity. If, then, it shall appear that the ignorant bigotry of Mr. Greeley himself, blindly and stupidly unconscious, but real, such as would now decide on the fate of his remaining daughters with no reference whatever to their individuality or wishes, has first wrecked the happiness of a wife, and then the harmony of a household, and finally abridged the lives of five out of seven of the children of that marriage, perhaps it will also appear that Mr. Greeley, while complying with every demand of the law—a Pharisee of the Pharisees on the marriage question—is not less guilty before the bar of a higher morality than Victoria C. Woodhull, whose irregularities and lack of deference for Mrs. Grundy disturb Mr. Greeley's mind so seriously.

So much in respect to Mr. Greeley's domestic family. A word now in respect to his official family, his editorial staff, and his political favorites and associates. Mr. Tilton makes the point on him so strikingly well on this subject also, that I cannot forbear again to quote:

But even if the worst which Mr. Greeley imagines against a woman nominated for the presidency were true—if, for instance, she were a profligate—Mr. Greeley's own logic would estop him from objecting to her political preferment on this account. Mr. Greeley believes in the same morality for men as women. Now he has spent a lifetime in advocating the fortunes of politicians who were perfectly well known to him to be personally unchaste. How many Presidents, Governors, Senators, Representatives, Judges and the like has Mr. Greeley helped to elect, knowing or believing at the very time of his advocacy that they were loose and irregular in their private lives! How many public men does the *Tribune* now, day by day, as occasion arises, compliment on their public efforts, knowing at the same time that they are rotten in their private characters! Consistency is said to be a jewel. Perhaps this is the reason why Mr. Greeley does not carry it about with him.

He now says that he is not the author of the *Tribune's* diatribes against the woman suffragists. This is as much as to

say, "Ladies, I am not the offender to be punished. Allow me to present you to Whitelaw Reid, John Hay and the other young-sters of the establishment. Strike them." * * * Indeed, we have been already told that some of the most brilliant of the *Tribune's* editorials against free-love are written by a gallant whose presentation of the beauty of virtue in the morning's paper shines with a light reflected from the gayety of the night's amours.

The sham pretension of virtue on the part of editors high in position—Mr. Greeley here again expressly excepted—and so of politicians and leaders in all spheres before the public, and their frank admissions of utter profligacy in private, are heart-sickening and disgusting. Nobody has such an opportunity to know the world as a public woman whose opinions are known to favor social freedom. With the few noble exceptions of men who know what freedom means, and who are laboring with the advanced corps of reformatory women, to secure it for its good uses, nearly every male bi-ped of the genus homo assumes, in his crude thought on the subject, that every woman who believes in freedom is, therefore, free in his sense of the word, and ready to throw herself into the arms of every man who approaches her. The result is that they make disgusting revelations of their own natures, and most mortifying mistakes to themselves, every hour. It is one of the first and best uses of social freedom that in the rebuffs which such men receive they get a lesson in true purity and in the dignity of woman's nature which the legal crampiness of the marriage relation never allows to be given. It is only in freedom that the majority of men will ever learn that primarily what woman wants freedom for is to be free to reject; and that why they object to marriage is that it is ruinous to real chastity and virtue.

In their ignorance of all this, men make very grievous blunders when they encounter free-love women. I have myself had, repeatedly, to free myself of the presence of "gentlemen of the press," as too intolerable, with their lascivious allusions and gross conduct, to be endured, when those same gentlemen of the press have gone home to indite pious and eloquent oburgations against free love. It would be going, perhaps, a step too far to tell Mr. Greeley, in this public way, how near to his own intimate circle of editorial friendship these remarks, if pursued, might conduct us. But the point is that Mr. Greeley, if he knew all about it, would, with all his "virtue," retain near him and accept the lecherous man, and would condemn the pure woman, who happens to believe that our existing social system tends to make men into just such brutes; and that in complete freedom, when the nature of women should also have free play, they would rapidly be cured, and recalled into their true manhood.

Let us now turn to the consideration of my offenses, as enumerated by Mr. Greeley; the offences of "one who has two husbands after a sort," "who lives in the same house with them both, sharing the couch of one, but bearing the name of the other," and of one who may be "persuaded to overbear her shrinking modesty and nominate herself."

In respect to my domestic relations, which were dragged upon the public by those who desired and intended to injure me, but to whom I am only too grateful for that favor, I knew not, when I decided and acted, at the several epochs of my life, that I should ever meet with a single outside friend who would justify me. But as I was justified to myself I decided and acted as I did; and I am only embarrassed by the idea that any one should think that by speaking on the subject at all I am condescending to apologize to anybody. I was divorced from Dr. Woodhull for reasons which to me were sufficient, but I was never his enemy. He continued to need my friendship, and he has had it. My children continued to prize and to need his affection and presence, and they have had them. Circumstances over which I assumed the right to decide for myself, to the satisfaction of all who were immediately concerned, made it best that I should retain in public the name by which I was already known, as in the case of actresses, singers and other public women is often done. In both respects my conduct is undoubtedly irregular. I knew not how it would be accounted for by the world if the world should trouble itself with the matter; but the complete acceptance and justification not merely, but the appreciative laudation also, which has been conferred on my course in respect to my "two husbands," even in the most conservative quarters, have been among the most gratifying experiences of my life. That I should have dared to be the protector and friend of a discarded but unfortunate husband has not condemned me in the judgment of the Christian women and others of this enlightened community; and, with the exception of some thoughtless badinage and mere slang, Mr. Greeley's is almost the only voice that has been raised adversely.

In regard to my original motives for announcing myself as a candidate for the Presidency, and the wisdom or unwisdom of that move, as an evolution in the tactics of political agitation, on behalf of an unpopular cause, I am willing to submit it to the decision of history; for the woman movement will be sure to have a history, from whose verdict, I am vain enough to think, Mr. Greeley has much more to fear than I have.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

A good book and a good woman are excellent things for those who know how justly to appreciate their value. There are men, however, who judge both from the beauty of the covering.

LABOR AND CAPITAL.

NO. VII.

But the primary and insuperable objection to the policy of protection is, that under it *equality* to all citizens is impossible. Whatever favorably appearing argument may be adduced in its favor, tried by this comprehensive principle, it will surely fall to the ground. There is a no more fatal idea than that *high* prices are an evidence of prosperity. The very reverse is really the case. Real wealth and prosperity do not consist in high prices, but in the *quantities* which are actually possessed. Prices under a protective policy, which is at all times open to change, must *always* fluctuate with every such change. A person *rich* this year may become *poor* next. Disaster, destruction, ruin and general alarm and want of confidence have always followed changes in the protective policy in this country. Prices which, under protection, are stimulated to *undue* proportions, on the removal or reduction of tariffs, fall as far *below* the actual mean as they were *above* it. High prices at the expense of permanency are not the ultimatum to be sought by any people of any country. The true point to seek is, the employment of industries in those directions where most can be produced at *least* expense, in the accumulation of the products of which the country must become more rapidly wealthy than in the production of the *least* at the *greatest* expense.

If by protection this country become *enriched* at the expense of England, there would be a chance for an argument for protection: but such is not the case. The total "imposition" made on importations is a *direct* tax upon one part of the people for the benefit of the other part, but which results in benefit to nobody. Those whom it is supposed to benefit would be better off were they engaged in some pursuits which would be *self-supporting*, and which, if they did not bring them so large *present* wages, would have the *greater* advantage of permanency. It is no particular object, and we consider it an *empty honor*, for this country to manufacture articles at a cost of one hundred per cent. over what the same are produced elsewhere for; the only object gained being, that we may be able to say that they are produced at home, and that we pay double price that they may be thus produced.

The fallacies of protection are well illustrated by supposing that a dozen individuals, possessed of a thousand dollars each, should attempt to get rich by gambling among themselves. The sum total of their funds would be no larger if it were finally in the hands of one of their number. To add to their money they must *win* from some *outside* party, since they cannot add to its amount by advancing its representative value, as prices of real and personal property are advanced. Protecting industries works similar results. It compels *one* part of the people to gamble with *another* part, and finally results in the accumulation of all the wealth of the country in the hands of the few. It is impossible to add to the wealth of the country by making its farmers pay large prices to its manufacturers. Large products over consumption sent to other countries are the desideratum, our own citizens being the agents for their transportation. If the various interests of a country only produce a sufficient amount to meet the demands among themselves, how can they add to the aggregate wealth, except by increasing its price, which in reality is no increase in real value?

What would the manufacturers of Massachusetts say, were it attempted to enforce protection to the *farmers* of the State by levying a fifty per cent. duty on Western produce, in order that they might be able to compete with the Western farmer and thus supply *all* the subsistence there used? Or what would Illinois say, were everything which she requires of Massachusetts compelled to pay an *equal* duty before it could reach her for consumption. It is true the Constitution prohibits such a thing, but what better *principle* is followed in applying that which is prohibited as between States to the commercial intercourse between nations? Protection is a short-sighted, unprincipled and unreasonable policy, and, like land-grabbing, tends to the establishment of monopolies.

In the great problem of the assimilation of the world's interests, which is being rapidly solved, it must be learned that the United States is as yet but *part* of the world, and that the *best* interests of *individual* nations are subserved when the *best* interests of *all* nations are consulted. The same rule holds good in this application that is true in regard to the individuals of a country; the best interests of each lie in promoting the best interests of all. Under this rule, carried to its *perfect* working, the industries of the world would localize, where *each* would produce the most of its peculiar products at the *least* average cost, which being given over to commerce, would be transported to such parts of the world as demand them in exchange for products produced by its localized industries in the *greatest* quantities at the *least* cost. Thus would be introduced a grand system of economy, which would result in fixed and unchangeable channels of commerce, and the employment of the industries of the whole world according to the *natural* law of demand and supply, which *cannot* produce alternate flood and dearth.

If tariffs for the protection of *industries* are not admissible upon the principle of equality, are they any less to be *depreciated* as systems of *revenue*? Here we touch a point upon which the people are very sensitive, and justly so. The levying of duties upon imported goods is an *indirect* way of taxing that portion of the people who *consume* such goods. The

amount obtained by this most unequal and indirect manner of taxing the people was, for the last fiscal year, the large sum of one hundred and ninety-four millions four hundred and forty-eight thousand four hundred and twenty-seven dollars, *every dollar* of which was an *additional* tax gathered from the *individuals* who *finally* purchased and consumed such imports. This would not have been important had it fallen *equally* upon the *taxable* property of the country, upon which general taxes are levied; but one hundred millions of this was collected from woollens, cottons, sugar, molasses, coffee and tea, all of which the *poorest* laborers, who should pay no tax, in common with the *richest* landlords, are nearly equal consumers. Thus every laboring man was compelled to pay his ten, twenty or fifty dollars to the government, in proportion to the number of his family.

Working men and women of the United States! how like you this manner of filching your hard-earned dollars under the *fraudulent* name of raising a revenue? It is no wonder that your wages will scarcely meet your families' necessities, when you are thus compelled to pay such *sums* upon the most *common* staple articles of general consumption. It is no wonder you continue to be laborers, never being able to become producers upon your own accounts, when you who *should not*, and, under general and just principles of taxation, *should not*, be called upon to pay a *single* dollar as a *direct* tax, are thus burdened.

Nor are the other means to which government resorts for support entitled to much more consideration. There is *no* equality for the people in *any* of them, and it is quite evident that the system of revenue for the support of government *must* be remodeled so as to *fall* where it *properly* belongs—upon the *taxable* property of the country. This done, and a sound financial system inaugurated, the laboring classes would begin to be leveled up to a medium and the upper classes to be leveled down to the same basis of material prosperity.

A system of taxation for the maintenance of government should be devised by which one set of officials should collect all the moneys which are to be gathered, and thereby introduce a *grand system of economy* which would save at least *three-fourths* of the expense now incurred by the almost innumerable methods which obtain the people's money without their realizing the amounts they pay. All these things the laboring classes must first understand and then rectify. They will *never* attain *anything* approaching equality in the manner through which government is now administered. Never will the laboring classes become *independent* of the *wealthy* classes, until the *freedom, equality and justice* which are the birthright of *every* citizen of the United States are possible of attainment under their government.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

MONS. THIERS AND WOODHULL AND CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

The bigoted Kaiser Wilhelm prohibits our paper in his dominions, but we see that Mons. Thiers not only takes our paper but accepts our exposition of the causes of the dismemberment of France as the only true solution.

On the 18th February last we published an article on the European situation and its causes, in which we made the assertion that the erection of the Kingdom of Italy weakened Austria, made her a victim to Prussia, hence destroyed the balance of power, Prussia becoming relatively stronger, absorbing the North German States, and thus becoming stronger than France. We gave a full page to the elucidation of this question, being the first journal in either hemisphere to expound the true causes of the downfall of Napoleon Third and the humiliation of France. On July 26 ultimo, Mons. Thiers made a speech of our article, taking the same ground from beginning to end. We said in our article that the erection of the Kingdom of Italy was the cause of all France's troubles. Mr. Thiers uses the same words, adding that it was a senseless and blind act on the part of France.

We said that the voice of European peoples only prevented intervention to defeat Napoleon's project of making Italy a nation. Mr. Thiers admits that, and adds that that same voice now holds him back from going to war with Italy.

We shall shortly publish an article on the Eastern question, which will soon let loose the dogs of war again in Europe.

THE breaking out of the cholera in Northern Germany alarms the English; and the terror of the English should affect us to the extent, at least, of adopting all reasonable precautions and preventives. The cause of cholera as an epidemic is very imperfectly understood, whether it be atmospheric or the result of specific contagion is unsettled. But once in a city or country, its ravages are promoted by uncleanness and by a morbid state of apprehension in the public mind, while they are controllable by judicious sanitary measures, and by moral courage and a healthy public sentiment. Let our sanitary officials do their duty. Let street cleaning be attended to—not the leading streets of wealth and fashion, but the side and back streets, which are an abiding nuisance and offense to the eye and the nose, and a standing disgrace to our sanitary inspectors and contractors. Fifth avenue may be left to take care of itself. Look after the poor streets and wards where filth engenders disease and poverty is unable to make head against sickness.

THE WEEKLY BULLETIN OF THE PANTARCHY.

DEFINITION AND DEFINITIONS OF FREE LOVE.

The New York *Tribune* of late, and now Mr. Tilton's *Golden Age*, have gone wool-gathering over the possible and appropriate meaning or meanings of Free Love.

Mr. Tilton has the following:

WHAT IS FREE LOVE?

There is a loose, idle and mischievous phrase going up and down the land, to which the numerous people who use it attach various meanings, no two persons apparently using it in the same sense. We refer to the term Free Love.

It is high time that this expression should now have a fixed and definite meaning. It is not in either Webster's or Worcester's dictionary, but sprang into existence, we believe, since both these lexicographers died. As it ought to have an unmistakable interpretation, we propose the following plan for determining it:

Let Mrs. Paulina Wright Davis, Mrs. Elizabeth Cary Stanton, Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, Mrs. Celia Burleigh, Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull, Mrs. Lucy Stone, Miss Susan B. Anthony and Mrs. Rose Mackinley—by all of whom we have seen this phrase used in various and conflicting senses—sit down, each of them, as soon as their eyes fall on this paragraph, and drop a note to the *Golden Age*, giving in the briefest possible compass their separate ideas of its proper signification.

We will take pleasure in printing all these communications.

Then, after having submitted the case to this jury of good women, we will see if we can get the jury themselves to agree in accepting any one of their various significations as final, and to be adhered to in future.

We think the press generally would agree to abide by such a decision. Meanwhile there is confusion, daily worse confounded. Mr. Greeley condemns Mrs. Paulina Davis because she is a Free Lover, and the *Commercial Advertiser* condemns Mr. Greeley for being the same.

Let us end the perplexity by having the letters of definition.

I cannot perceive anything loose, idle and mischievous in this phrase, or anything more so in connection with the whole subject than the loose, idle and mischievous lack of logic in anybody's mind which should occasion any difficulty in understanding the subject. Mr. Tilton would not commit the folly of calling Freedom of the Press a loose, idle and mischievous phrase. Just as little would he fall into the absurdity of confounding freedom of the press with the immoral and distasteful uses which some authors and publishers may choose to make of that freedom. He would know and say, at once, that the question of the right and expediency of the freedom of the press, taking into account all the uses and all the abuses which will come of it, is one thing to be considered, and a wholly distinct question from that of the abuses as such. He would know and say that every freedom is by its very nature, as freedom, liable to be put to bad uses by bad people; but that that fact does not determine that the freedom is a bad thing; inasmuch as good people need that same freedom for the best of uses and purposes. It is astounding to me that any American, in whose home he must, as a child, have heard precisely these distinctions dilated upon a thousand times, as the justification of all the forms of freedom which we enjoy, can need at this day a definition of freedom in any new application, logically allied with the forms of freedom already vindicated; or that he can need to have pointed out to him the difference between the *Principle*, covering all uses good and bad, and the *uses themselves*, good or bad, which different kinds of people may make of the freedom. I am equally surprised that anybody, any such person especially, an American with the very definition of freedom born in his blood, should think or name the clear, expressive, appropriate and beautiful term Free Love a loose, idle and mischievous phrase, and call for a jury of matrons to define it, for the use of self and partners of the editorial corps.

Whether the ladies appealed to will volunteer to disperse the mistiness which, after twenty years' discussion, continues to envelop the editorial brain upon this plain subject I cannot say. Masculine genius is not called on in this behalf by the *Golden Age*; but about ten years ago Mr. Greeley did apply to me formally and expressly "to tell the people what I meant by free love; for," he added, "they will persist in calling me a free lover, and you know, Andrews, that I ain't." Willing, out of my abounding benevolence, to give the distinguished editor, politician and philanthropist a certificate of good moral character, in which department I consider myself an expert, I prepared the following definition, which was published at the time in the *Tribune*, and which I now republish in the Bulletin of the Pantarchy, hoping it may be some consolation to editors in search after knowledge under difficulties, until such time as Mr. Tilton shall get his jury of women impaneled.

For that sturdy conservatism and bigotry which, with no pretense that it does not understand us, honestly doubts that freedom can be trusted so far, whether in this new and more delicate sphere of human affairs it will exhibit the same self-regulating potency which it has in other spheres, I have complete respect; but as for that mental slumpiness on the part of reformers, and especially of such as believe in the thing itself, and propound and defend it under other names, but who can never make out what free love means, they rank with the men in anti-slavery times who were "as much

anti-slavery as anybody, but they were no *Abolitionists*," because abolition was the straightforward and direct name for anti-slavery, which, in consequence of being so, had been covered with the slaveholders' opprobrium; and weak-kneed advocates tried, therefore, to dodge it. For all such it requires a higher degree of Christian virtue to feel tolerant. May the Lord help us to preserve our equanimity in speaking of them.

S. P. A.

FREE LOVE.

To the Editor of the N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: During some five or six years past, and especially of late, the Newspaper Press has made free use of my name in connection with what it denominates the Doctrine of Free Love. Every variety of interpretation has been put upon my opinions, usually the least favorable which the imagination of the writer could devise, with a view, apparently, of cultivating still further the natural prejudice existing in the public mind against any one bold enough to agitate the delicate and difficult question of the true relations of the sexes, and the legitimate role which the Passions were intended to play in the economy of the Universe. During the same period, I have allowed the Press to make what havoc it pleased of my reputation, uttering no word of explanation or reply, for the reason that neither Press nor People were, as I believe, prepared to do justice in the premises, and I preferred to "bide my time," rather than seek or accept the stunted half justice which I might, perhaps, have supplicated and obtained. Most or all of my *co-doctrinaires* have pursued the same course. Two results have followed: First, in the absence of any readiness on the part of the public to know the truth on the subject, false, extravagant and ridiculous notions have flooded the country in its stead; secondly, in the absence of any opportunity for a judicious popular advocacy of Social Freedom, and despite abuse, the doctrine itself has made unprecedented progress, until at this day its advocates are numbered by thousands, while there are included among them an unusual proportion of the wealthy, intelligent and refined.

However flattering it might be, under ordinary circumstances, to have a large corps of learned and respectable gentlemen, like the members of the Press, anxious to expound one's opinions, I confess that I should prefer to represent my own convictions and views. Should the time have arrived, therefore, when, in your judgment, it will better subserve the wants of the public to have an authentic statement of a doctrine which they are not expected to approve than to be befogged and deceived by false, confused and conflicting reports, you will, at the same time, confer a personal favor by publishing the following definition of Free Love.

America, and through it, the world, have been recently startled, shocked and horrified even, by the announcement of a new freedom, the Freedom of Love. It may be well to reflect that every new idea, fraught with any genuine greatness or value, has, in other times, startled, shocked and horrified the public in whose ears it was first uttered, and to inquire whether we, in our day, may not be, perchance, repeating the same ridiculous farce, the night-mare of the world's infancy, the panic of ignorance and "verdancy," with which the race has always hitherto accorded a reception to every new dispensation of the truth.

Is there anything to terrify the imagination in the idea of Freedom? Is not Freedom already recognized and worshipped as a goddess, and her image stamped upon the coin of the realm? Is it Love that is viewed as a monster, whose very name paralyzes with fear? There are ancient writings, not a little revered among us, which declare that "Love is the fulfilling of the law;" and again, that "God is Love." How, then, does it happen that Free Love, or the Freedom of Loving Hearts, should be a word of terror to mankind, so that the world forgets her propriety, and is made to misbehave herself, with unseemly alarm, at the mere mention of an etymological combination, the elements of which, uttered separately, fall with the soothing cadence of a lullaby upon the same excitable nerves.

Free Love is simply the antithesis of enslaved Love. This is equally true in all the senses of which the word is susceptible, whether confined to the amative and sentimental relation of the sexes, or enlarged to signify the whole affectional nature of man.

In beginning an agitation for the emancipation of the human race from the tyranny which prescribes what it is lawful for them to feel, the writer of this intended the freedom of the whole range of the affections, and adopted, as the technicality to express that idea, the term "Freedom of the Affections." The common instinct of the people, more direct and simple than the speculations of philosophy, has substituted the term "Free Love," and calls the partisans of the doctrine "Free Lovites."

The principle of Individuality prohibits me from assuming to represent the opinions of others. For myself, and for so many as concur in the views here expressed, I accept and approve the amended terminology. Individually, I am, then, a Free Lovite. I adopt and promulgate the doctrine of Free Love, in every legitimate understanding of its signification. Without restraining the meaning of the word to the relations of the sexes, it is admitted that those relations are included and mainly intended by it, and that the freedom proposed contemplates the entire abolition of the institution of Marriage as a legal tie to be maintained and perpetuated by force.

The first popular objection to Free Love, to be anticipated

as existing in the public mind, is the prevalent belief that the Bible has prescribed an indissoluble monogamy, or the life-marriage of one man and one woman, as the only form of the union of the sexes which God approves. This belief results from the interpretation which some of the words of Christ in relation to marriage have almost uniformly received. Whenever positive discoveries are made in science, the interpretation which theologians have previously put upon scriptural texts must, perforce, be modified and adapted to the ascertained truth. If a newly discovered fact or principle, no matter what, be such as to compel the conviction of the human mind by a direct appeal to reason or consciousness, there is no alternative for any religious dogma which stands opposed to it but to yield and give way before the progress of knowledge. It belongs to the theologian to find a new interpretation, which shall coincide with the revelations of science. The Scriptures have been held, at various periods, with equal unanimity, to teach that the sun revolves around the earth; that kings reign of divine right, and must not, for any cause, be resisted; and that the world was created in six literal days. With the progress of astronomy, politics and geology, each of these convictions has given way before the scientific discovery of adverse facts and principles.

If Physiology should establish the fact, for example, that disease is planted in the human system from birth whenever there is incompatibility of temper or temperament between the parents, that the death in infancy of more than half of the children born is due to this more than to any other cause, and that, therefore, the best interests of the race require that the relations of the sexes shall be adjusted by science, aided by unlimited freedom and every variety of sexual experience; or if Physiology or Sociology fairly and fully establishes any other PRINCIPLE, touching the Science of Man, which is adverse to our present monogamic marriage system, the present theological and ethical belief on the subject not only may, but must, be swept out of existence by the new species of knowledge thus acquired. Principles and known facts refuse absolutely to be set aside out of deference to any Creed, however sacred it may be thought to be. If exegesis cannot provide a new rendering for the text, so much the worse for the text, and for the book in which it is contained. Theology itself is a progressive science, and, perchance, it may be found teaching, at no distant day, that the Christian Millennium, the Socialist Reign of Harmony, and the Will of God to be done on earth, for which we pray in conjunction with "Thy kingdom come," are one and the same period, and the same again with the "kingdom of Heaven," in which there is neither "marrying nor giving in marriage," but where "all are as the angels of God." Perhaps it may also teach that this last expression signifies "the saints made perfect," or simply Men and Women developed and wise enough to be a "law unto themselves," understanding the laws of their own organization, and gladly obeying the truth as it is revealed to them, in their own experience, from day to day. It is not impossible, therefore, that the religious teachings of a few years hence may recognize a continuous succession of "Dispensations," in the last and highest of which, in the future, neither the constable, the policeman nor the turnkey shall be a necessary functionary to compel men and women to live together in unloving relations, or to prevent them from regulating the most sacred affairs of their private lives according to the dictates of their own judgments and consciences.

However all this may be, and whatever Physiology or Theology may determine, or not determine, Sociology already affirms and demonstrates that the fundamental principle of social order is the recognition of the sovereignty of every individual. Whether constancy or variety, conjugality or promiscuity, or all of these combined in a more composite variety, is the natural or the divine law upon the subject, this fundamental principle decides that the individual himself is the sole judge, for himself, upon all these questions, and not any pope or magistrate whatsoever. It decides that I must not attempt to enforce upon you my reading of the Scriptures, my religious belief nor my sense of right, in any particular in which your exercise of your own freedom is not in some palpable way aggressive or injurious to me.

In this country, and in this age, we have, in one sphere of social affairs, a successful and triumphant practical illustration of the theory that the recognition of the rights of the individual is the talisman of order and harmony in society. Here and now, for the first time in the world, and after ages of bloody conflicts in arriving at this simple and effective mode of regulating the subject, the matter of worship is abandoned wholly to the deciding power of the person immediately interested; limited only by the inhibition of encroachment. Not only is he permitted "to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience," but, equally, to neglect or refuse to worship Him altogether; and the result is peace and fraternity; in the place of the inquisition, the burning fagot and war.

For one, I reject and repudiate the interference of the State in my morals, precisely as I do the interference of the church to prescribe my religious deportment or belief. The outrage on human rights is in my view no less in kind to assume to determine whom men and women may love, and what manifestation they may make of that sentiment, than it is to burn them at Geneva or Smithfield for heretical practices or faith.

Such, then, is Free Love—neither more nor less. It is simply a branch or single application of the larger doctrine of the Sovereignty of the Individual. It decides absolutely

nothing with regard to the form or continuity of the love relation. Whosoever believes that the parties immediately concerned are the proper parties to determine the form and duration of that relation; whosoever wishes to discard legislative enactments, and adopt a "higher law" as the appropriate regulator of affairs of the heart, is a Free Lovite, no matter what he expects will be the result as the operation of that law.

The attempt to degrade Free Love into the partisanship of an unbridled licentiousness is partly the result of an honest confusion of ideas, and partly the effect of natures conscious as yet of no greater elevation of sentiment in themselves than the promptings of unregulated desire. This fog will rapidly disappear. Increased agitation will clear and instruct the public intellect. The example of refined and intelligent persons who believe in freedom, and who use it wisely and conscientiously, will gradually draw and assimilate to itself the conduct of those who are less elevated and refined.

The preceding statement suggests, however, the second grand objection to freedom in this application, an objection also founded upon a popular religious dogma—namely, the belief that man is, in himself, radically bad. Under this belief the passions, especially, are abused as infernal and diabolical. No belief ever held by mankind is so essentially anti-progressive as this. It is steadily yielding, however, before the intellectual development of the age. Several religious sects have discarded it altogether, while the most orthodox hold it in a modified form. They explain that they do not mean by total depravity that man is essentially an incarnate fiend, delighting in evil for the sake of the misery it inflicts, but simply that he is, by nature, destitute of the grace of God.

Every religious dogma ever seriously held by the human mind has in it, doubtless, an element of truth. What religionists denominate a state of grace is the same condition of the human being which anthropologists mean by the development of the higher faculties, including Religion, Philanthropy, Benevolence, Hope, Conscientiousness, and the like. Man as an individual, and still more strikingly the race, is born into a state of nature as distinguished from grace, or, in other words, with the lower and selfish range of faculties active and predominant. It is scientifically true, therefore, that to become veritably human or angelic, the individual man, and humanity collectively, must be "born again"—born into the exercise of those superior faculties which constitute the department of wisdom in the human character, an attribute which moderates and regulates the selfish and violent activity of the lower passions. Wisdom, rising higher than mere blind impulse, stretches its vision further forward, taking into account remote as well as immediate consequences, and throws it further outward and around, embracing the relations of the individual to other individuals, and their well being, as well as one's own.

It is true, therefore, that nobody is really fitted for Freedom but those who are regenerated in the true sense of the term—that is to say, those in whom there is developed a truly religious nature, having respect for every consideration of right which can press upon a human conscience properly illuminated by the intellect. It is true, however, on the contrary, that it is *natural* for man, individually and collectively, to be developed into this higher state. The second birth is as natural as the first. The state of grace is as much a state of nature as the so-called state of nature itself. It merely comes later, and by virtue of other causes, not by any means excluding or depreciating the exhortations or ministrations of the priesthood. As it comes, it breaks the old bonds which were adapted to the restraint of passions wholly unregulated from within and above. Freedom is, therefore, just a consequence of development, of which it then becomes a promoter and additional cause.

While, therefore, men who are not wise are not fitted for Freedom, Freedom is, nevertheless, requisite to make them fit. Freedom forced upon an individual or a people from without, before development progresses to the point of demanding it as a right, may prove a disaster; but the fact that the demand is made, and Freedom vindicated as a right, is itself a strong intimation of that development which will know how to profit by its use.

It is not true, therefore, that nobody is entitled to Freedom except those who are fitted to apply it to its best uses. All men are entitled to Freedom to whom Freedom will furnish the means of further development, and who can make use of it with that moderation which shall guard them against encroachment upon the freedom of others.

So, also, it is not true, on the whole, that the human race tends "downward, and not up," and will, therefore, employ Freedom for its own degradation, instead of its gradual elevation to a higher plane. This is, nevertheless, temporarily and apparently true of undeveloped natures; and since undeveloped natures are, hitherto, the immense majority of mankind, it is not strange that the seeming dangers of Freedom should be terrifying to faithless and unphilosophical minds, nor that their alarm should be in precise proportion to their goodness of heart and devotion to the well-being of mankind. They overlook, in their apprehensiveness, the operation of certain conservative principles which Nature provides. Firstly, while low natures tend, by their own gravitation, in Freedom, downward, and are numerically the majority, superior natures tend upward in the same atmosphere, and are potentially superior. Secondly, which is an inference from the preceding statement, a higher principle in nature governs a

lower, while seeming to be weaker than it. Thus intellect governs brute force, and men of thought govern those destitute of it, although wanting in equality of physical strength. And, finally, in pursuance of the same law, Love governs Intellect; whence the weaker sex, in whom affection is dominant, tends constantly to govern the stronger, despite the preponderance of knowledge adversely.

Hence the certainty that, in Freedom, the few superior natures will organize and exhibit a sample of human society of a type so infinitely more beautiful and attractive than any other which can exist in the midst of a slavery imposed by a majority of inferior natures, and gauged to the measure of constraint which they feel conscious of requiring, that the example alone will be a far more powerful corrective of the undeveloped mass lying beneath it than any arbitrary restraints whatever. What does happen under the operation of the Freedom of the Press, will happen under the operation of Free Love. At first, we have a preponderance of trashy, vulgar and unwholesome literature—which is, nevertheless, better than no literature, since it teaches the masses, who are on a level with it, the habit of reading, and prepares the way for a gradual elevation of taste on the part of some, and finally of all. In the midst of the general debasement, a few superior writers utter the still, small voice of refined taste and elevated views. From the fact that the people are free to read, and already can read, these find an audience among whom some few respond with appreciation. The few in time become many, and the many all. Thus Freedom, while it seemed to give rein to unbridled licentiousness, was laying the foundation for the universal prevalence of purity and refinement.

Perchance it may be intelligently held hereafter, in the same way, and in the bright light of anthropological science, that "Free Lust," even in its most revolting excesses, is a better thing for humanity than the forced celibacy and passionless starvation of Monks and Nuns, and of the hundreds of thousands of "old maids" in Catholic and Protestant Christendom—the victims of a moral marasmus, which shrivels the soul, and which admits of no alternative but disgusting and solitary vice.

The third and last grand objection to Amorous Liberty relates to the maintenance and culture of Children. This objection assumes that the isolated family offers the only mode of properly caring for offspring. The family, as now constituted, is, in fact, a very hot-bed of selfishness, which, while it provides for one's own children badly enough, permits the children of others, equally good, to starve at one's door, with the comfortable assurance that the responsibility belongs with somebody else. A grand social revolution is soon to occur. In this generation THE PEOPLE float in palaces upon their rivers and bays; in the next they will live in palaces upon land. Then the nursery will be a Unitary Institution, scientifically organized and adapted to the new social state. Let the reader refer, upon this subject, to a tract called "The Baby World."

Finally, the words Free and Freedom are everywhere honored, except in the connections "Free Niggers," "Free Women," "Free Thinking" and "Free Love." They are scoffed at in these relations because they stand opposed to Tyrannies that are still respectable—Slavery, Marriage and the Authority of the Church. When Tyranny of all kinds shall have disappeared, Freedom of all kinds will be revered, and none will be ashamed to confess that they believe in the Freedom of Love.

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

P. S.—Free Love does not and cannot mean anti-marriage, in the same sense as freedom from chattel slavery does mean anti-slavery; for slavery being an enforced relation freedom in relation to it prohibits it. But in so far as marriage is anything which can exist voluntarily in its inception and continuance, freedom cannot assail it, but is bound to defend it. Freedom is so large a word that therein seems to be difficulty for most people to compass its meaning. Free Love embraces the freedom to have no relations with the other sex whatever; just as free worship includes the right not to worship at all; the right to reject all overtures (even in marriages); to protect one's self from the excesses of love in others, no matter whom, as well as the right to marry (if done voluntarily) or to mate without marriage, at the discretion of the parties. What it insists is that those who mate without marriage shall be held as respectable as those who marry. This seems an immense stretch, but we in this country have gone two-thirds the whole distance toward it. Formerly, and in some countries now, bastards were accursed socially, even to the third and fourth generation. In this age and country, by the mere progress of enlightenment, the curse has been completely lifted off them, and persons born out of wedlock are just as respectable as those born in it, provided they behave as well, and more so if they behave better. The highest political or social position is as open to them as to any other, until we have almost forgotten the difference. Free Love insists that this same common sense and good sense shall be extended to the parents. There are twenty or perhaps fifty thousand mistresses in this city, who are, in all senses, just as intrinsically good and respectable women as the married women, while yet they are ostracised by public opinion. Free Lovers make no such distinction. Even when married themselves, and living in all senses regularly, or under the law, they accept, socially, those who do not, the same as those who do; insisting that people shall sink or rise by relation to their real respectability or good conduct, and not by some factitious and legal standard, which blinds the judg-

ment, fosters pride and phariseism, and hardens the heart. I have, myself, been a regularly married man, and recognized as a good husband, during all my fight for Free Love—I married, indeed, a second time in the midst of it. Why can't people understand devotion to a principle for its own sake; for the truth there is in it? S. P. A.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.—All communications intended for publication must be written on one side only. The editors will not be accountable for manuscript not accepted. Correspondents will please condense their letters. Many valuable communications are crowded out by their length.

SWINBURNE AND WHITMAN.

NEW YORK, August 6, 1871.

Dear Victoria—The perusal of the writings of two symbolic poets of the day, intuitionists of the new movement of the time—the one in love, and the other in both love and freedom—have suggested to me the thoughts which follow.

Each individual soul measures all other souls by the standard of its own judgment, and pronounces bad in them all that is not in harmony with its accustomed thoughts and feelings, or such system of ethics or religion as faith or reason may have taught it. But to the true poet—the too oft unacknowledged teacher and legislator of the world—or the real philosopher and universal scientist, "there is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so," and public opinion is but a "fool's gudgeon," as Mercutio calls it.

In no fact that I know of is this law more perceptible than in relation to that wholly original school of modern philosophers, mostly female, with a few males, who are trying, emotionally and scientifically, to cure love of its errors; who believe in free love, and are free lovers, and who are, of all others, the most abused and the least understood; pelted with the small pellets of the brain and tongue, both by the conservative, who fears their freedom, and by the licentious, who cannot conceive of liberty without license, use without abuse. In ordinary unthinking minds, in whom first impressions are not corrected by that careful consideration which is the angel that "whips the offending Adam out of us," the term "free love" is associated with that reckless opprobrium which envy, jealousy or the narrowness of view above mentioned casts upon all whose lives are of larger scope than those who are cribbed, cabined and confined by temporary expediency or educational bias. On the other hand, to the worshipers of freedom as the only principle by which humanity can be developed, these words convey the sublimest import; suggest a method by means of which only can the race be improved up to that ideal standard of animal body and ethereal mind which has yet, perhaps, never been individualized upon the planet; of which the Apollo of Praxiteles is the material symbol, with the heart of Christ, the imagination of Shakespeare, and the ratiocination of Stephen Pearl Andrews to constitute the mind.

Freedom to love! Without this freedom life is stripped of its purport and beauty. The chronicles of the race, as recorded in tale or history, prove that whatever restrictions have been put upon that omnipotent passion have made countless millions mourn, have turned existence into a terror and horror, have, by making love criminal, except under the restrictions of law or custom, perverted the noblest aspirations and quenched the light of hope in the truest minds. Out of this romance of earnest passion, and the impediments which have been thrown in its way by false institutions, narrow prejudices or the selfish sense of ownership, the poets have weaved that woeful story of miserable expectation or wild imagination, temporary fruition and hopeless disappointment, which gives pathos and verity to the couplet:

"The course of true love never did run smooth."

The poets have all despised the conventionalities which would trammel love even in its wildest vagaries; and they have told in song the tale of "Free Love," until the heart of the whole world beats in sympathy with a true free lover, who obeys the elective affinities of nature, and hates the cold obstacles which admit impediment to the marriage of true minds.

Two modern poets, one of America and the other of England, have chanted some phases of free love—Walt Whitman and Algernon Charles Swinburne—two heralds, as it were, of the approaching era when the armed and cruel Eros shall no longer pierce his victim, scattering blindfold his poisonous darts; but where Cupid shall have grown into the wisdom of the god who loved Psyche as the symbol of the soul of womanhood; the time when the loves of humanity shall be as pure as the loves of the plants, and the aroma of the spirit shall consecrate those ecstatic unions and unimaginable blisses, which are now so infrequent as to be but as

"The wavering memory of a lovely dream,"

a momentary gladness dogged by decay and change.

These two poets are the prophetic precursors of the true Free Love period, when love shall be a principle as well as a passion, a science as well as an emotion.

The Free Love women of America are grateful to Mr. Swinburne for his appreciation and delicious rendering in words of slumberous harmony, with

"Taste of sound; diverse and delicate,"

of the exquisitely sensuous in nature, the graceful worship of the deliciousness of bodily sensation as it existed in the

rhythmic, roseate, picturesque, sunny and natural life of ancient Greece and Rome, as it is partially revealed to us in the disclosures of the frescoed walls of the *camæclums* of Pompeii and Herculaneum; the worship of the sexuality of nature, and its echo of passion in man, refined by taste and sentiment, that profound sympathy and wondering sense of the sacredness of that electric mystery by which life produces life, which pulses in all being and reaches consciousness in man. But this is but one side of the picture wherein the soul has expressed love upon earth. This pagan worship of the emotions and functions, carried to the ultimate of excess, needed the modification of the more spiritual worship (for he it said, parenthetically, that love and worship are analogous parts of the one great impelling power of existence), that spiritual worship which Christ taught and symbolized, and the love of the knight of chivalry for God and his mistress typified the sublimer combination.

Swinburne appreciates the genial and glowing Walt Whitman, the Free Love poet of this Western world, and has dedicated his last work to him. Indeed, this modern Ovid is said to have none of the proverbial jealousy of rhymesters, but is ready to give credit wherever due.

I beg Mr. Swinburne's pardon, but I think Mr. Whitman the greater poet of the two. Whitman is truly the poet of the Free Lover, as he is only to be found among the most spiritual minded and well-developed of the American type, of the human race, now undoubtedly the highest type upon the planet.

Swinburne describes the lover of the past like an honest, sensuous Grecian soul, worshiping the goddess Venus as she was adored in the days of Aristophanes; but that worship cannot exist, in modest England or serious America, except with the protest of the spirit which is infused by Christianity. Whitman reverences both poles of this great battery of human consciousness, and does not isolate either for exclusive contemplation. He exclaims:

"O male and female!
O the presence of women! (I swear nothing is more exquisite to me than the presence of women.)
O for the girl my mate! O for happiness with my mate!"

Swinburne's lover searches for a female mate, but seems not to know that the true mating is of the spirit, as well as of the body. He imagines oftentimes he has found her; but this ever-evanishing ideal evades him—like Diana in her secret haunts, of whom the hunter and woodman, like Walt, may catch afar-off glimpses, never to be seen in the boudoir, or the peached alleys of the rose garden, where abide the loves of Swinburne; and so the soul of the latter pours out its spleen at every fresh disappointment.

Whitman is the poet of the Free Lover, as Swinburne is of the lover—the one natural, the other artistic. Swinburne suggests such love as Alcibiades might entertain; Whitman that of Socrates, erotic but rational. The poetry of Swinburne has a ring of intense melancholy about it, like that of Adah Isaacs Menken, so much loved by those who knew her, and who would have been a great poetess had not the fates compelled her another destiny. But this melancholy in him is due to his materialism. Like William Morris, the author of the *Earthly Paradise*, Swinburne seems to have schooled himself to rest content with the mere appearance of things. His love is on the surface—is a love sudden and physical, the fruit of a glance or a touch, and is always tinged with an intense sense of regret, bred of the thought of its evanescence. It is, we repeat, the love of the body, not of the soul. Morris describes the sudden love of Jason for Medea as follows:

"Love came unseen and cast his golden yoke
About them both, and sweeter her voice grew
And softer ever, as betwixt them flew,
With fluttering wings, the new-born strong desire."

Again, when Medea urges the flight of Jason, he pours out his fierce passion in the words:

"By this unseen delight
Of thy fair body, * * *
Thy limbs so longed for that, at last, I know
Why men have been content to suffer woe
Past telling, if the gods but granted this,
A little while such lips as thine to kiss—
A little while to drink such deep delight."

Of the same character as the above is the "Love and Sleep" of Swinburne, than which no amatory poet has ever written anything more beautiful:

"Lying asleep between the strokes of night
I saw my love lean over my sad bed
Pale as the duskiest lily's leaf or head,
Smooth-skinned and dark, with bare throat made to bite,
Too wan for blushing and too warm for white,
But perfect-colored, without white or red;
And her lips opened amorously and said—
I wist not what, saving one word—Delight.
And all her face was honey to my mouth,
And all her body pasture to mine eyes;
The long, lithe arms and hotter hands than fire,
The quivering slanks, hair smelling of the South,
The bright light feet, the splendid supple thighs
And glistening eyelids of my soul's desire."

Walt Whitman sees a little deeper—perceives, in a measure, the symbolism of the body, as it indicates the soul, the sacred relation of sex, as it is in God and nature. He says:

"I see male and female everywhere."
* * *
"My spirit has passed in compassion and determination around the whole earth;
I have looked for equals and lovers, and found them ready for me in all lands;
I think some divine rapport has equalized me with them."

Swinburne is the youthful, untutored, fiery and restless lover, undeveloped in purpose and thought; Whitman, the philosopher and thinker, in whose blood love yet holds its elemental sway, and who still

"Consumes with more than Etna's fires;"

but in whom the spirit modifies the old hyperborean nature of the animal. Swinburne suggests love draped in melancholy, the Psyche in her wanderings. Whitman sings the triumphant love of the blithe Jove of the body, joyous, ardent and purely male. O for the time when we will have another poet who will unite all the elements of love, and this *must* be a woman!

Swinburne sings love crucified by the cruelty of destiny, as it is acted upon this planet. This is not love, it is passion attraction. Whitman sings love triumphant, relying in the ultimate omnipotence and universality of its principle, as in the lines,

"Always you joined with me, whoever you are."

Thus Whitman has a perception of that divine sentiment, the love of Christ for women, which was sexual, as he was a man, but including, like that wonderful character which has furnished humanity with its purest ideal of a God.

Swinburne feels the divine fire, as it is confined by the sensuous bands of the body. His love is the desire of possession, not the love that would give itself away wholly. Whitman is as intense and glowing in his sensuousness, but it is not all sex with him. He recognizes an intellectual mate in the woman, and loves the soul as well as its outward manifestation.

Swinburne's emotions are of English growth and culture, esthetically material, and expressed with thorough artistic finish.

Whitman, fresh and close to nature, sings like Pan to a wood nymph; but has within a sense of that divinity of love which might be supposed to animate John, the beloved Apostle, should he revisit earth, accommodating himself to the nineteenth century, with all the gallantry of Don Juan, and all the spiritual worship of his sublime soul.

Free Lovers should be grateful to the muse of America—ELECTRA, as we might name her, the last of the Muses, who will be in the future,

"—ten times more in vogue,
Than those old nine whom rhymers invoke,"

—for this prophetic Whitman, this rollicking, wholesome, free-speaking, large-souled American poet, singing the coming of entire freedom and love. He is rough and rude, like the native forests whose sounds are audible in his words, or like the half hewn block of marble, from which the future god is to be carved; but his suggestion is sublimer than the studied finish which make Swinburne's sweetness too often cloy.

That the near future will have another poet of love, that must be a woman, may seem an improbable prophecy; but when women learn to look face to face upon the great nature which has made and inspired them, and become free and fearless as men only have hitherto been able to be, Sappho and Behn will not be the only female love poets; but one shall arise in this new Atlantis, who will sing the sublimities of the body and its powers, as the echo of the spirit; who will chant of the reincarnation of the soul in flesh—not for expiation, as in Christ, but for the fruition of a perfect humanity, an ideal body and a perfect mind. The love poems that have hitherto been written have not deserved any more immortality than they have received, since they have appealed almost solely to the material, and the spirit has been forgotten.

The sweetest love letters ever indited are those of Eloise to Abelard. No poet has ever sung of love with so much tenderness, pathos, self-abnegation and platonic fire. Petrarch and Dante, the last especially, were worshipers, not lovers. Had their mistresses been more accessible, they would have lost their more spiritual ideals. Swinburne has felt the opposite disappointment; his ideal is only of the flesh and perishable. He heeds not the questioning of the inner life which dwells beneath the husk of the body, and hence the burden of a hopeless weariness and sadness pervades his strains.

Stephen Pearl Andrews, had not his destiny been to relieve the world of the curse of Babel, and realize the scientific prophecy of Plato and Bacon in the establishment of the *Prima Philosophia*, would have been the poet of free love, as he is the expounder of its scientific principles.

Frederic R. Marvin has written some beautiful lines, which have much of the grace, polish and dreamy sentiment and sensuousness of Swinburne.

I. West Nevins, our much loved brother in the free-love bond, has read to me some exquisite lines, than which there are none in the English language more beautiful. In a future letter I shall take them as a theme for further dissertation on this inexhaustible topic.

The free-love daughters of America send love and greeting to Swinburne, who would revive the graceful and natural worship of Venus in this nineteenth century, and wish him in his future strains such spiritual intimations from the soul of things as will teach him a less exclusive contemplation of the purely sensuous, and reveal to him that ideal of a true womanhood that they are now trying to realize, in which the triune attributes of the human entity—spirit, soul and body—shall be harmoniously blended.

Yours for love and freedom,

FRANCES ROSE MACKINLEY.

IRISH IN AMERICA.

I am surprised to see an article in your issue of July 29, headed "Riots and Rioters," which misrepresents Orangemen and their standing in society in their native country. I am not an Orangeman, but an American by adoption. Circumstances compel me, in my judgment, to claim that none but Americans should rule this republic. The majority of peace-loving adopted citizens who mean to make this country their permanent abiding place are willing to sacrifice their chance of holding office to the greater good of being wisely and honestly ruled. To-day those holding the best offices are American born. And why? Paddy is contented, or for the time satisfied, with any handle to his name in New York. The demagogues, taking advantage of this weakness, flatter Irishmen by those small sops, while Americans occupy the best places. When had we an Irish Mayor or Governor? And yet Democratic candidates for these offices depend largely on the Irish vote for their election.

Two classes of Irishmen come to America, one of which, by their education and love of right, drift into business and become peace-loving citizens. If you canvass the nationality of our business men in New York, you will be surprised to find how many claim Ulster as their birthplace. Men of this type seldom, if ever, take a hand in politics, so far as office-holding goes. And among this class stand the Orangemen. Without personal knowledge, I will venture to say that not one per cent. of the Irish rum sellers in New York are Orangemen. The other class coming to this country are easily and quickly naturalized by an organized set of fellow-countrymen who are the tools of a corrupt party, who in the outset defy our naturalization laws and break down the preliminary defenses of order that the framers of our laws set up. As witness the arrests for wholesale naturalization some few years ago, where no decent defense was set up. The latter class are in the majority—an excitable, warm-hearted crowd, easily played upon by American demagogues, who privately have no more respect for them than their opponents have. I have heard men holding office ridicule the ignorant Irish as much as their Republican adversaries do.

Religion, whether Catholic or Protestant, has injured Ireland more than ever did English misrule, and the English politicians have, like all unprincipled tricksters, used this weakness for their own gain. Tom Moore and Gerald Griffin both acknowledge this truth, and so do many of the early Irish patriots. Gerald Griffin has a beautiful and fresh poem, called "Orange and Green," which he prefaces in the early editions with Tom Moore's words (I quote from memory):

"Ireland, thy sorrow shall never cease
Till, like the rainbow's light,
Thy various hues unite
And form in heaven's sight
One arch of peace."

The two political parties in England, led by Gladstone and Disraeli, have a peculiar relation to Irish religionists. For instance, an Irishman who was a Conservative in Ireland must be a Whig in England to maintain consistency of principles. The Catholic party in Ireland are Whigs or Liberals, while in England the Methodist and dissenting party are the Whigs. It is evident that between Catholic and Methodist there can be no bond of union.

Dan O'Connell organized in Parliament an Irish national party, which received the sympathy of good men independent of creed. The great agitator saw that by joining either party then existing was to drown his small crowd of followers in a political sea. He adopted the sagacious course of holding a balance of power between the then existing parties, each of which were anxious to throw Ireland a sop to gain the Irish vote; but from these parliamentary tactics sprang whatever privileges Ireland possesses to-day, and not from any sense of justice in English politicians. And so it is in Ireland at the present time. This year Orangemen are prohibited—next year tolerated; but the fire of religious intolerance is never allowed to die out by those men most interested in Ireland's disaffection. I know of no remedy for the "Green Isle" but that some almighty power would wipe from its record and memory all the religious teachings of the past, both Protestant and Catholic.

But for you to take arms against Orangemen in the present case, judged by this conduct, is not consistent with your teachings of equal rights to all, independent of creed or color, sex or condition. In the last Legislature a bill was presented by a New York politician, with the object of keeping the Irish vote in his party, to make St. Patrick's Day a State holiday, as it was already made a general city holiday by thousands of men taking possession of our streets for the purpose of parading—not only tolerated, but encouraged, and why? Because our city politicians wished to flatter the majority, in order to keep themselves in office, and not for any love of the men or their ideas.

On the other hand, a small minority claim the same privilege (neither claim consistent with their condition of citizens of this republic); but because they are in a minority Mayor Hall forbids the parade, on account of it being the celebration of an English king's victories. Why were the Prussians not forbidden to celebrate William's recent victories? Because Frenchmen were not numerous enough to be a political power. Mayor Hall & Co. simply re-enact the role of English politicians, using the strongest political side. If by some means Orangemen should become the majority, those political wire-pullers would shift sides in double quick time.

Instead of Irishmen bringing William the Third and St. Patrick to America, a little history and reflection might teach them that had it not been for religion (Protestant and Catholic) Irishmen would to-day have no cause for disunion or hatred, but might use their natural enthusiasm to promote national strength.

WM. McILWRATH LACKEY.

July 26, 1871.

MESDAMES CRITTENDEN AND FAIR.

"Love sacrifices all things to bless the thing it loves"—that is true love indeed, which those who "love their loves more than they do their lovers" never know. One is noble generosity, the other exacting selfishness.

A woman who claims a right to a man because of a ceremony which means even less than justice and even more than mockery, when another woman possesses his most ardent love, commits against her sex a foul crime, that is revolting to an instinctive feminine self-respect.

A woman who loves should be capable of measuring another woman's love for the same object—though that object be a husband—by her own, and holding it blameless; for several persons may, and often do, love one of the opposite sex with equal moral propriety.

The loud-mouthed, furious cant about a woman's sacred right to the legal father of her children, exclusive of another woman's happiness, is a consummate humbug, for every man and woman who ever loved, felt this love for each other a stronger tie than the tie of parent—a sound, logical reason why the State should become foster-parent.

What is more repulsive to a nice sense of true honor than the general habit of living a lie "for the children's sake!" It teaches them—as the truth about their parents is sure to be comprehended sooner or later, or probably become public gossip at last—to attach more importance to reputation falsely gained, than to probity of character that can defy even malicious scrutiny.

There is no honest pride, no delicacy, no self-respect, no justice, no virtue, in the exactions of selfish, jealous love. Both Mrs. Crittenden and Fair erred in allowing themselves to be so far swallowed up in devotion to Crittenden as to be wretched without a monopoly of his heart. Such morbid emotions, if cherished, too often end in madness and guilt.

A true self-respect and a true love would naturally shrink from claiming the observance of the letter of the law when its spirit was dead; and herein Mrs. Crittenden sinned against all that is noblest in women. She would not give Crittenden up, even though he said he wished her to. But Mrs. Fair was ready to yield her claim if he said so. Not for the wife's clamor, rage or "right" would she, for she believed, as he had taught her, that she had the superior right—the right of strongest love, which surely is the superior moral right, and should be the superior legal one—if the law must be dragged in as the arbiter of hearts.

Crittenden felt kindly toward both women. Toward his wife as the mother of his children, and the representative society required of a complemented manhood; tenderer, perhaps, toward Mrs. Fair, who was the inspirer and possessor of his more ardent passions. But law and society, more than nature, taught these women to hate and despise each other. Mrs. Crittenden was upheld by law and society. Mrs. Fair was conscious of having on her side nature's moral truth. Both women alternately loved and hated the man who was taught, also by law and society, to play the arrant knave and hypocrite to them. Law and society were the real criminals, and Crittenden their cunning accomplice; while Mrs. Crittenden and Mrs. Fair are the almost equally "guilty" instruments of heaven's vengeance.

ST. LOUIS.

DARL ST. MARYS.

MY FRIENDS AND I.

CHAPTER VI.

When I was a promising young man of three-and-twenty years, my good uncle died and left to me his estate. My grandmother had preceded my uncle in departure several years, so that at his death I was left with only an old housekeeper, who had been the companion more than attendant of my grandmother.

The sudden removal from our small family circle of its head made a void which the pressure of exterior influences, though intended to remove, only made the more obvious. Instead of giving me time to recover from the loss of my adviser, to whom I had deferred in all my little difficulties, the host of friends—more numerous than I before had reason to suspect—forced upon me the unpleasant task of deciding upon my future. As I had been quite unsuccessful (as the reader will have learned) in my efforts to secure the necessary appendage to an establishment, a wife, I must immediately, under the burden of my loneliness and inexperience in deciding matters of importance, choose the course I would pursue in the future. My aunts exhibited the greatest concern for my standing in society, and their acute perceptions told them just what each one of our acquaintances, upon whom we depended for our respectability and social standing, would think and say about my living alone in a large house with only the old housekeeper, whose care had until now been all that both my uncle and self had required.

Aunt Barbary said that such a course would shut all the houses where young ladies of the requisite amount of respectability to fit them for superintendents of my establish-

ment were to be found, and that it would compel me to a life of celibacy; which, she might have added from her own experience, was at least undesirable.

This solicitude for my welfare was cast into the shade when it became known that my uncle had endowed me with the lion's share of his fortune. They could not see what right I, a poor boy from the country, only the son of my uncle's brother, whom he had taken, as it was thought, out of charity, to relieve the effects of long division of my father's small stipend, which in the country minister's home is homeopathically attenuated.

Had not all my aunts been most attentive to the welfare of the deceased? Their whole lives had been devoted to him, as the poor man had no one else to care for him. It was strange that he had forgotten the manifold kindnesses which they could enumerate, and cut them off with a simple one hundred a year for their lives.

The truth is that my uncle could never live in peace with his sisters, and so had, with his mother, removed to another part of the city to avoid the continual annoyance of my aunts' importunities. It was a failing of the good women to believe that no course of life could be right except such as met with their full approbation; and as they had been bred to look to certain examples as standards of excellence, their ideas were contracted to just their knowledge of those characters, and every departure from their path was a most heinous wrong, which must be painted in all the gloomy colors of dyspeptic fearfulness to lead the erring back to their path. My uncle chanced to have had enough contact with the world to imbibe a system of morals not based upon usage by this or that individual, but gathered from the various actions of those with whom he had been acquainted through the various relations a man of business sustains; and therefore he took data from his own matured judgment, which led him to shock my aunts frequently with the freedom and openness of his life. Not that my uncle was boorish in his frankness; he was a perfect model of politeness, but he was apt to let any one with whom he was not well pleased feel the fact so forcibly that they would cease to trouble him. My aunts, none of them had as much honesty, but they were so anxious to retain the good opinion of everyone that they were equally polite and fulsome in their professions of friendship to all. As a consequence one would meet at their house all classes of people, and most puzzling it was for me, when my eyes first began to open to the peculiarities of character, to harmonize all the elements of their drawing-room with my idea of them.

When it was settled that the property beyond dispute belonged to me, there revived the great interest in my welfare, anxiety for my social standing spread over the whole field of relationship, tenth cousins appeared to me in platoons with the tenderest solicitude and the utmost confidence that their mentorship would carry me safe to the pinnacle of fame, where I would meet the approbation of the world and enjoy the full fruition of my ample deserts.

It was decided that my household should be broken up, that I should make my home with my aunts till such time as some one was found to preside over my domestic arrangements, supposing that a trial was requisite to fit me for some destiny fate had in store. I yielded to the pressure of family solicitude and took up my abode with the goose file of maiden relatives who charged me so gallantly in the lobby of the theatre.

A few weeks passed well enough. I danced attendance upon some of my respectable relatives to all the church gatherings, watched the busy fingers of much-praised young ladies as they stitched away upon the shirts intended to cover the black backs of the Sandwich Islanders, and on the way home assented to the laudations and enumerations of the many virtues of the said young ladies, while my aunts watched for word or look to show them the direction my mind was taking. So it was not long before I had each aunt doing vigorous court for their favorite for the race.

While there was so much being done for me, I rested content till surfeited with the excessive anxiety of my friends; then I sought for change, and tried the society of some of the moderately fast young men about town. An occasional call upon the young ladies of my aunts' circle hid for a time the full extent of my divergence from the path they chalked out for me; but my conversation soon betrayed my associates, and a careful espionage revealed the extent of my yieldings to temptation, as they styled it, but which may be more justly called the path which I naturally sought to escape from their excessive care.

The same difficulties occur in the government of children, in the regulation of the conduct of grown children, and in the government of communities and nations; over-government is the rock upon which all split. An extensive field of observation has shown me but one family of children who were not over-governed. And the extent to which the ruling power is exercised by the overwhelming majority of parents is lacerating to all my feelings of justice, and sometimes shakes my confidence in the progress of the human family.

We cultivate all the faculties of our children except the highest—reason; of that, in the fullness of our possession, we feel capable of supplying from our own stock. Children may not be as capable of the exercise of this high faculty as we are, and without practice never will become so.

In childhood we are furnished with ready-made reason, in youth the effort is made to talk it into us, and when we be-

come citizens the laws furnish us a substitute. So, many of us get through the world as "dumb, driven cattle."

My aunts soon began to question me, upon my return home, when I had been out riding with Sanford. The Averys had been talking about his willness, and Mr. A. had told Clementine not to favor his advances, so I must be careful. When I went down to the Fishing Banks with young Stevens they were sure he was not respectable, for he did not belong to their set; never had heard of him, in fact; therefore I must look well to the choice of my associates. I went into the country to spend Sunday with young Hawkins; we attended church three times, but when I returned I was informed that Mr. Hawkins used to be very respectable, and was a pillar of their church, but he lost his property, and since he had gone to farming was not recognized as of their set, though his son appeared to be quite a promising young man; still, I must look well to my associates! spoken with much deliberation and evident depth of feeling.

It is no wonder that I tired of looking so well to my associates, and sought relief from the importunities of relatives in lodgings, as the English, with the pride of poverty, call rooms let by the suite of one or more. Here I did not escape the sharp watchfulness of relatives, and I often wished myself Adam, he was so free from this evil.

My first experiment in choice of rooms fell upon one of moderate proportions, adjoining to which was a dark closet, which was, by the exceeding politeness of the lady of the house, promoted to the grade of a room, and, as a natural sequence, that elevation of character made the single large room into a suite. Why may not that same fiction be effective in its application to mankind? Is it not? Do we not lift ourselves to a higher level by raising our fellows? In these rooms I thought to find peace at last, and so determined that I would do something. For about three days I wrote letters, read useful books and made up my mind that there was that in me which, if only brought out, would make quite a man of Isaiah Sleeper. By the time I was well started my old chums began to find me; then they would drop in at the rate of four or five a day, and the time passed on so rapidly that I soon forgot my work, and found that one thing was as much as any person can do well. If you will keep up with the polite society of a city you will not need any other occupation.

The extent of my entertainment of fellows soon got to the ears of my aunts, and I have always thought there was a little conspiracy formed to keep watch over me. My home was with humble people, a worthy widow, who owned the house she occupied and who was able to make a good living for herself and one daughter by judicious management. I have never been fully satisfied whether it was the fellows who visited me, or the daughter of the landlady whom the aunts watched so unceasingly.

It seems that single ladies, after passing say the age of thirty, look upon every young couple of different sex who may be brought together as sure of making a match. Possibly their forlorn condition begets this opinion.

I will describe this daughter of my landlady as well as memory will permit, that the reader may judge of the probabilities of a good ground for the fears of my aunts:

Height, five feet three and a half (not bad); very thin (not good); black hair, much of it, on a small head; shoulders very sloping; waist waspish; step mincing; would have had the Grecian bend if it had been fashionable in those days. But it was her face that was the striking point of attraction or repulsion. She had a very large face if you looked at her profile, but excessively diminutive when viewed full front. Her eyes were black, full and piercing; but when her head was a bit turned, you could see only one, for her nose stood out so far from the rest of her face that Gothic but feebly represents the style. Shall I go on, or can you decide upon the probabilities of a young man falling in love with a poor girl of that description.

This eternal vigilance of relatives is, no doubt, a valuable element in society as at present organized, but it can be carried to excess as well as other evils.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

THE CASE OF MRS. FAIR.

Daniel McFarland, conceiving that he had a right of ownership in Mrs. Richardson because she had been his wife, killed her husband, was tried by a jury of men and acquitted. He ought to have been convicted.

Mrs. Fair, conceiving she had a right of ownership in Mr. —, who saw fit to exercise his right of self-ownership by marrying another woman, asserted her supposed right of ownership in him by murdering him. She was tried by a jury of men and convicted.

But it was not the same jury that convicted one and acquitted the other. Perhaps the San Francisco jury would have acquitted McFarland; probably the New York jury would have convicted Mrs. Fair. But we don't know. All we can say is that both criminals were believers in their right to own the persons of others.

I think, speaking from the standpoint of self-ownership, that Mrs. Fair's case is "none of our funeral," and can see no more right in Mrs. Fair or Mary Harris to kill their lovers than in McFarland to kill his ex-wife's husband. Self-ownership precludes such tragedies, and I do not see that its advocates are called upon to add to their burden of unpopularity by seeming to indorse acts which can result only from a violation of those principles.

BALANCE.

ART AND DRAMA.

The painters are for the most part out of town, but some yet remain at the post of duty. James Walker is making progress with his "Battle of Lookout Mountain." The subject begins to assume form and color, and, though a long way from completion, the story is intelligible and full of interest. Every American knows the subject—the occupation of the commanding position by the rebels, and its assault and capture by General Joe Hooker. The moment chosen is the arrival of Hooker on the ground, preparatory to the assault. The great natural fortress, towering nearly four thousand feet, nearly pyramidal in shape, forms the principal feature of the picture. Its sides are precipitous and rugged, clothed with dense patches of forest, or cut into seams of ravine, water-course and broken rock. This vast block of nature's masonry occupies the whole middle distance, the crown-like crest seeming to touch the clouds. On the right base of the mountain flows the Tennessee; on its left a succession of hills similar in shape, but of smaller dimensions, carry the eye far away to the horizon. The fore base of the mountain is cut as with a straight-ruled line by the railroad. Along the mountain face, from right to left, are extended lines of white smoke, which indicate the lines of the rebel rifle-pits and batteries; the Union line of battle being as yet but indistinctly laid down. The action of the picture is between the base of the mountain and the spectator. Here we find all the bustle and activity of troops going into action. The Union army have not got to their work; they are taking position.

There are two or three salient points of interest. After the mighty mountain, which seems to fill the picture with its solid mass, the eye is arrested by General Joe Hooker on his white horse, the central figure of the middle foreground. He has just arrived on the ground with his staff, and is in the act of reining up to receive the salute and report of an officer galloping to meet him. This central figure is not conspicuous in size, but is prominent by reason of the judicious distribution of light, and by the natural convergence of interest toward it; and yet the general interest of the picture is not marred by personal distinctions, nor is the attention of the other figures withdrawn from their respective work and duty. With the exception of the reporting officer, the groups, both of soldiers and officers, give but a divided observation to the newly-arrived General, their several aspects and attitudes showing their interest in the scene of the great drama about to be played. Hooker's white horse is historical, and this fact has enabled the artist to get a high light without infringing on reality, or vulgarizing his picture by meretricious treatment.

To the right of the general is a strong body of general officers and staff, all in suspense waiting the General's decision, intently examining each for himself the points in view. Many of these will be portraits. To the General's left is a mass of men and horses and guns, in all the tumult of rapid movement, broken up and separated, but all animated with a common purpose. Free action, without disorder lines and columns of smoke show the position of some guns which are beginning to open fire. A battery going into action, after the manner of Scherer's magnificent piece in the Luxembourg, is full of life and energy, and already gives evidence of great boldness in design and vigor in handling. Some of the guns have reached the front and are in position. One is already trying the distance. This left foreground is a mass of troops, infantry and artillery, guns and caissons, all hurrying to the front. The canvas is full, but every man and horse has room to swing and move.

In the unfinished, imperfect state of the coloring, it is impossible to express more than a hope of coming excellence. The leading feature suggested at this early stage is the harmony of individual purpose with the whole subject. There is no lack of connection, the entire living mass in movement is actuated by one common intent, precipitating itself toward a common end, their individuality subordinated to their joint impulse, and without any consciousness of the spectator. They are live men, live animals, no mere photographs or lay figures. Even the General commanding, though himself the centre, is but an incident. The action does not pivot on him. All might go on the same were he not there—he has his own work to do, and has merely halted on his way to fame and duty to receive his officer's tidings and information.

An immense difficulty in the way of an artist in military subjects is the accommodation of free muscular action and personal independent will, in actual conflict, with the notorious stiffness and formalism of military drill and discipline. Mr. Walker has preserved something of this rigidity and precision in a squad standing still in line; while several individuals who are at rest assume the squared shoulders and the stiff uprightness of the drilled soldier. But the men in motion display every variety of posture, and the regimental uniformity is broken up with a freedom and liberality of treatment that betoken great breadth of idea and the most careful observation in the artist. Let any one judge of this impediment by comparing the cartoon of Pisa against a modern company at drill—the one all muscular variety, the other all mechanical severity.

Another difficulty for the artist will be the monotone of our American uniform. This he will partially escape by the introduction of color into his horses and by the distribution of his light. He must still miss those rich tones and easy contrasts which are used with such facility and effect by European painters. All the greater, however, the honor due to the American.

As a painter of horses and a connoisseur of horse points, Mr. Walker has probably no superior. His horses remind me of Verne, they are so full of nerve, so tremulous with emotion and eagerness. In fact, the quality of the horseflesh may be somewhat of a fault with those who prefer realism in art. The Union men had pretty poor mounts, whereas every

one of Walker's horses could live over a clay field and an ox-rail, or run on the Curragh of Kildare.

On the whole, I cannot but think that this will be a great picture, as honorable to American art as it is to American munificence and patronage. It is a commission from General Joe Hooker. The canvas is 30x13. W. H.

BOOTH'S THEATRE reopened with the ever-charming Lotta in Brougham's "Old Curiosity Shop," in which Lotta assumes the two very opposite characters of *Little Nell* and the *Marchioness*. Both the actress and the play are too well known to need a word of comment or praise. It is enough to say that it was a new triumph for Lotta. An immense audience greeted the little lady, who has fairly won the affectionate regard of the public by her fresh, child-like manner and earnest endeavor to please. Her engagement will doubtless be brilliant and profitable. Raymond took the part of *Dick Swiveller*, and Robert Pateman, who has just returned from his summer trip to Europe, took *Quip*, that painfully grotesque picture of humanity which Coleman had made his own, but in which Pateman bids fair to touch Coleman's laurels.

LYDIA THOMPSON, with a brilliant bevy of fresh blondes, reappeared on Wednesday night at Wallack's. The new importations were carefully selected from the most clever of the London attractions. If they equal the charming artists who accompanied Miss Thompson in her debut the public will have no cause to complain. The lovely Lydia is as graceful and fascinating as ever, and restored to perfect health by her trip to the other side. They opened with "Bluebeard." Beckett is still with the company.

KELLY & LEON'S MINSTRELS continue to attract large and delighted audiences at Lina Edwin's Theatre. Kelly, the handsome, with his sweet voice and excellent method, sings a ballad in the first part of the programme, and appears, resplendent, in the closing piece. Our only Leon is a wonder. A few few nights since he took *Crise*, in "The Belles of the Kitchen," where he appears as a ballet dancer. It was positively startling. His costume was elegant, and his face was attractive as that of many of our prima donnas (it must be remembered he has quit the use of burnt cork), while the dancing was artistic and graceful. On Monday "A Trip Around the World" introduces a new panorama.

FRANCOIS DELSARTE.—Foreign despatches announce, as one of the heavy losses to France, the death of Francois Alexandre Delsarte, the eminent professor of lyric declamation at the Paris Conservatoire. He was the son of a physician at Solesmes, France, and was born in 1811. His early life was devoted enthusiastically to musical culture, and he soon won for himself a name as a singer and teacher of music. He was a student at the Conservatory from 1826 to 1830, and subsequently appeared at the Opera Comique. He afterward gave dramatic instruction in a system which, it is claimed for him, he invented—that is, the expression of thought and connected ideas by gestures. Though he probably followed out much the same principle that was developed by Isocrates and Roscino, and was so cut off from the honor belonging to a new creation, the credit still belongs to him of reviving a lost art, and a very graceful and useful one. He held that oratory was more an art, than a gift and the success he attained among his many pupils in acting upon this idea was the best confirmation of its correctness. Many of the most brilliant dramatic stars of Paris started in the path to fame under his direction. He was also favorably known as an author and composer, having written several romances and compiled the "Archives of Song," a collection of historical music from the sixth to the seventeenth centuries. He leaves behind many promising pupils in this country and France, who are living and teaching in fidelity to his theory.

PERSISTENCE.

Because I begged so hard,
She has at last unbared
The treasure-chamber of her fastened heart,
And Love's feet enter in,
That waited long to win
Their way, nor would from closed door depart;
His patient, faithful feet
Find favor with my Sweet.

Because I begged so hard,
This, then, is my reward—
Love the wayfarer becomes Love the guest;
No more in streets of scorn
He turns away forlorn,
His tired feet find rooms of shaded rest,
Where all their dusty heat
Is cooled by my Sweet.

Because I begged so hard,
For once my fate ill-starred
Is swayed by the mild might of happy moons.
Only the lightest touch!
Only! but, oh, how much!
Love wearies out whom well he importunes;
And well did he entreat
This mercy of my Sweet.

Because I begged so hard,
Years, with sad seasons marred,
Are lightened backward as with sudden suns.
Yes, over life's whole skies
The light of her dear eyes
Travels, like dawn and sunset shed at once,
Mixed in one glory, meet
All days this day, my Sweet!

Because I begged so hard,
The shadow doth retard
Upon the dial of one delicious hour;

One hour that is not found
Within the day's dull round,
But added by great Love's exerted power.
Let time move on, its beat
Is music now, my Sweet!
Still do I beg her hand,
For inner gates still guard,
And as he passed, so Love again would pass;
Entering in fear and bound,
Returning free and crowned.
The going of his feet shall fall, alas!
But now their eager heat
Must win its way, my Sweet!

—Cornhill Magazine.

WOMAN ITEMS.

Nine-tenths of the school teachers in Massachusetts are said to be women.

Gail Hamilton has been railing against her own sex recently. A bad sign!

A female barber monopolizes all the shaving business in Edinburgh, Ind. Why not?

A lady who gave a party recently had engraved in the corner of the invitations the words "small and early."

Mrs. Bliss Smith, of Londonderry, N. H., has followed the trade of a shoemaker for forty years. She lasts well.

In Sweden, female students are now admitted to the universities like male students, upon passing the regular college examinations.

Mrs. Conway is busily engaged upon her section of the Western Maryland Railroad. She is said to have been an active and energetic contractor.

A progressive Cincinnati servant girl recently stole two wagon loads of furniture while the family were at the theatre. She wished to keep moving.

Mrs. Helmhold is extensively advertised as wearing the finest diamonds and being the most elegantly dressed woman at the Branch. How beautiful!

A young man in Indiana lately became so frightened at a widow's persistent attempts to marry him that he turned over to her all his property and ran away.

A sensible lady, of mature years, says that it does not look well for a young lawyer to put his arm around a girl at a circus and comb her hair with his fingers.

The annual income of Miss Anna Dickenson for lecturing for the past seven years have averaged \$7,000. Her profits last season are said to have reached \$19,000.

The capacity of women to bear arms, which has been urged against their claims to political citizenship, was fully tested in Paris during the late reign of the Communists.

A London milliner has been arrested by the Board of Health there for having her work-room overcrowded, confining eighteen persons to a room containing only 2,016 cubic feet.

Mrs. Bloomer, whose name describes the short-dress costume for women, is reported to be living quietly in Kansas, surrounded by a large family and taking no part in public affairs.

George W. Curtis says when a miss in Vassar College can educate herself in medicine, she has the same right as any long-haired, scowling boy in spectacles, who hisses at her womanhood.

The female suffragists of San Francisco and Stockton are preparing to bring suits against the county clerks for refusing to register them as voters under the Constitution of the United States.

Mrs. Livermore addressed the pupils of the Prescott School, East Boston, at the annual exhibition. This is to be the first movement in a concerted plan to have women on the school boards throughout the Commonwealth.

"Warrington," of the Springfield Republican, says "that it seems to be the object of certain women, among whom Mrs. Stowe and Gail Hamilton are conspicuous, to vie with the most abusive of the men in running down their sex."

The Fire Island girls take especial delight in asserting their independence by rowing alone, fishing alone, strolling the beach alone and dancing at the hops alone. That little game can be carried a good ways, but they can't get married alone.

A New Orleans paper says that Mrs. Gaines' reply to the suit of Caleb Cushing to obtain \$50,000 from her for services rendered as her attorney-at-law is to the effect that he has collected rents upon her property more in amount than he is entitled to. She claims the balance.

The women of a certain town in Ohio took it upon themselves recently to close the gin mills, and, assembling in squads, they betook themselves to the taverns and quietly sat down with their knitting the whole day, working and talking unconcernedly. Husbands and brothers came in unawares, and of course did not drink under such circumstances, and the reform has proved lasting.

A Bristol man undertook the other day to punish his daughter, a girl of eighteen, for accepting the attentions of a young man whom he didn't like. The girl very naturally objected to this sort of interference in her love affairs, whereat the fond parent hit his fist and knocked two of her teeth down her throat. A local magistrate let the brute off with a fine of \$5. Justice is a funny thing, sometimes, in Connecticut, as well as other places.

The Louisville Independent says that a doctor of that place was recently summoned to the bedside of a hitherto respectable young lady. The doctor's high opinion of the family caused him to hastily prescribe a mustard plaster upon the back, together with an anodyne powder for spinal difficulty, and returned home. In a few hours the doctor returned to see his patient, and was surprised to see her embracing in her arms, in a maternal way, his mis-conceived spinal affection. It weighed about eleven pounds.

A gentleman one day indiscreetly asked a lady how old she was. "Let me see. I was eighteen when I was married, and my husband was thirty; and now he is twice thirty, and that is sixty; so, of course, I am twice eighteen; that is thirty-six." A certain divinity student of our acquaintance remarked to a dignified matron, who sat by his side at the table where there was quite a party, "You have preserved your vigor and freshness wonderfully, madam. Pray, how old are you?" "Old enough to know what belongs to good breeding," was her courteous reply.

One who has been intimate with the family of Mrs. Wharton, charged with wholesale poisoning in Baltimore, says that this lady is a woman of the most gentle and affectionate disposition. "Her love for her husband, who was a rather wild and harum-scarum person, was conspicuous during their twenty years of married life, and she was so devoted to her son, whom she is charged with having murdered, that she sacrificed her own comfort during his entire school days to be near him and to look after his welfare."

A pleasant instance of the return of kindness is a legacy in bonds and stock shares, amounting to about

\$20,000, just left to the daughters of the late Henry Morris, of Philadelphia, by Mr. Horatio Ward, an American, but for many years a resident of London. The will says: As these ladies are the granddaughters of the celebrated Robert Morris, of the Revolution, it will not be difficult to ascertain their actual residence. It will doubtless surprise them to get a legacy from a person they never knew and perhaps never heard of, therefore it seems but proper they should be informed that the bequest is made through compassion for their misfortunes, and in return for the kindnesses shown me by their father when I was a boy.

At Queen Victoria's court breakfasts, in Buckingham Palace Park, the Queen walks about very smiling, with a white cap that looks like a French bonnet over her head, and the widow's weeds a thought lightened by a suspicion here and there of white lace and crepe. The breakfasts take place in the afternoon, at 4 1/2 o'clock, and the ladies attend in a costume gotten up expressly for the occasion. They gossip and chatter in groups on the sward, while the gentlemen, in uniform and stars and garters, quiz them in a highly aristocratic way, or discuss politics in the arbors. The Little Princess of Wales in particular is very lively and popular on these occasions, and has a sprightly air, which neither the well-known propriety of her royal mamma nor the indifference of her big, lazy husband seems to have dimmed.

In treating of the politics of women, it would hardly be a possible thing to ignore the begonia of American women to Paris during the last twelve years. To gain Paris has been the end and aim of the ambitious dreams of many of our infatuated countrywomen. It has been to them what riding in a cart was to Tilly Siowboy—the summit of human happiness, the highest pinnacle of earthly hopes. And once there, throwing appearance to the winds, these husbands and wives led a career much more Parisian than that of the Parisians themselves, paying little heed to the conveniences which are almost always regarded by European women. To be admired by the Emperor was a matter of boast; to be talked about became the great earthly good. Three American women, whose names are so well known that they would be immediately called in every club and in every parlor in New York, have a European name in this way, and unfortunately their example spread, for they were all handsome and gifted. They bought beautiful dresses for their friends at home; they were much courted by the more decent Americans; very glad to be admitted to the Tuileries, even by the back stairs. The curtain has fallen on unhappy Paris, whose follies were those of the Russians and Americans far more than her own; and one at least of these poor butterflies, the most brilliant of all, has been crushed on fortune's wheel. What has become of the others? What will be their fate, with their old age, when the poor glory of being the "Emperor's favorite" is taken away, and when beauty goes and only the memory of folly remains?—Lippincott's.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS.

Must woman bow and bend the knee,
Like menial slaves from Congo torn?
And toil, and toil, from day to day,
At evening shade her life to mourn?

Must angel voice be hush'd and still?
Fine out its woe in silent grief,
From proud New England's murmuring rid,
To Eldorado's golden reef?

Must Bible text and Scripture strong,
By tyrant's 'neath Columbia's flag,
Be hurl'd at woman's rights and wrong,
O'er hill, and dale, and mountain crag?

Prevail triumphant over right?
Yes, in these Gospel, halcyon days,
Beneath the sunbeam's glorious light,
We do not walk in wisdom's ways.

Learn from the toiling widow's mite,
Or from proud Turkey's heartless men,
Or yonder Pekin's reign of night,
Their females bought and sold by them.

Go, ask the Christians, far and near,
If they the golden rule obey,
And treat their wives and daughters dear,
As Jesus taught in his bright day.

Go, ask the poor on yonder street,
Those females eyed so deep in c.ine,
What laws oppress'd and bound their feet,
That they in virtue cannot shine.

Go, view the working, suffering poor,
Who sit and burn the midnight oil,
And knit and stitch with utmost care,
And bid ill paid for all their toil.

Ho, ladies! for your rights do seize,
And hurl ye back the tyrant foe;
Unfurl your banner to the breeze,
And strike the wicked monster low.

Let husbands kind and fathers dear,
In your more than laws equals see;
No more their cruel laws to fear,
But in your strength be free, be free.

Proclaim your rights throughout the world;
Fear not to face the frowning foe;
But let him from his throne be hurl'd,
He that did wield oppression's blow.

—Cardington Republican.

MANY SEEM to think that men are more inventive than women, but sex does not determine the talents of individuals.

Few, comparatively speaking, know how much they are indebted to woman in this direction.

Mrs. Ruth W. Briggs, of Vermont, in 1854, designed and copyrighted a diagram or scale from which nearly all kinds of garments for ladies and children are cut in the most desirable style and comfortable fit.

She introduced it in nearly every Eastern and Western city, years ago, now has out her sixth edition, having simplified it from time to time, so that the original nine pieces are all combined in two, and now teaches it occasionally, as a means of paying expenses, as she attends the Spiritualists' conventions and woman's rights meetings, where her whole energies are bent as a worker for humanity and especially her own sex.

We take special pleasure in calling the attention of all our readers who need dental service to Dr. Koonz, at No. 1 Great Jones street, New York, who is both judicious and scientific in all departments of dentistry. His rooms are fitted tastefully and elegantly, and being constantly filled with the elite of the city testifies that his practice is successful. He administers the nitrous oxide gas with perfect success in all cases.

We would respectfully call the attention of our readers to the

WINTER ARRANGEMENTS

BALDWIN THE CLOTHIER,

and refer them to the August Number of the *Head Quarters* published by him.

WINTER ARRANGEMENTS

In every department of this immense Retail Clothing business, are upon a scale whose producing capacity will be at least one-third greater than we have hitherto attempted. The large and increasing demand for the clothing we offer to the consumer, compels us to increase the entire force and add largely to the capacity of every branch of the manufacturing department. It is a fact too well known to require reiteration here, that we retail from one house, more ready made clothing C. O. D. than any other establishment in America. The fact that, before we opened on this corner, no house had ever had the courage to place two hundred thousand dollars worth of clothing for Men and Boys, *on sale at retail*, gave us the cue to the undertaking which resulted forthwith in placing us at the head of the retail clothing trade in New York. We recognized the fact that much more than this had to be done, and we have done it with all our might.

The fall and winter arrangements now in full and successful operation, for magnitude and certainty of result, never have been and cannot be equalled in any country.

Our old patrons and the thousands of new ones, who are intending to select outfits of us the coming season, will find us amply prepared to meet their wants in every respect.

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

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EQUALITY A RIGHT OF WOMAN.

BY TENNIE C. CLAFLIN.

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

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

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

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

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

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

WOMAN'S RIGHTS—NEW BOOKS.

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

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

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Erotion, the Genius of Love and Fidelity, the husband of Astrea and father to Hesperia, after many wanderings in search, at last joins the objects of his love and care. Reunited, they preside over this new land and seek to preserve it for their child's inheritance. They are recognized and cherished by a small band of devoted followers, who summon them to their councils in the city of Fraternity.

At first liberty and love prevail, but Astrea discovers the presence of a serpent who breathes on her a subtle poison, and she (with Erotion) is slain.

Lamia, the serpent of policy, then controls and akes in charge the beautiful child Hesperia, seeking to unite her in marriage to her foul son Slavery—who must be nameless forever; but Hesperia is warned by the Genius of Nature, Calios, who, in the guise of a poet and magician, holds sway even over Lamia. When Hesperia beholds him she recognizes her soul's counterpart, and is prepared, by his words and love to resist all the evil machinations of Lamia, and her son.

Lamia, however, holds temporary power over the form of Hesperia, and succeeds in throwing a spell around the maiden which she vainly imagines will prove fatal; the love of her parents and Calios rouses her spirit, and with them she withdraws into the world of souls, where, for a time, she beholds the scenes enacted under the influence of Lamia. She witnesses in Athens and Crete deeds of horror and the tortures inflicted upon the oppressed. Calios sings to her in plaintive songs of these down-trodden ones, lures her by the voice of nature, and in interludes of Love and Truth seeks to win her back to her earthly kingdom.

Long years does Lamia hold sway, and at last wakens the voice of war; when Astrea, not dead, but only withdrawn for a space, turns the sword of Lamia upon her son.

Through long suffering is Hesperia made strong and pure. She listens to the voice of nature's children, and their tortures cease; slavery and war are known no more. Astrea and Erotion are again the attendant and abiding souls of this fair land; they witness with rapture and benedictions the union of Calios and Hesperia, who rule with undivided sway over the most lovely empire of the earth.

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Westport, 7.11:30 a. m.; 3:45, 4:30, 5:30 p. m.

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

For Darien, 7.9.11:30 a. m.; 3:45, 4:30, 5:30 and 6:30
p. m.

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

For Greenwich and intermediate stations, 7.9.11:30
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For Hartford and Springfield, 8 a. m., 12:15, 2, 4:30
p. m. to Hartford, 8 p. m.

For Connecticut River Railroad, 8 a. m., 12:15 p. m.
to Montreal, 3 p. m. to Northampton.

For Hartford, Providence, and Fishkill Railroad, 8
a. m.; 12:15 p. m.

For Shore Line Railway, at 8 a. m. to Norwich and
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For New Haven and Northampton Railroad, 8 a. m.;
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For Housatonic Railroad, 8 a. m. and 3 p. m.
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p. m. to Waterbury.

For Danbury and Norwalk Railroad, 7 a. m., 12:15
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9 a. m., 4:15 and 6:40 p. m., Peekskill trains.

5:30 and 6:10 p. m., Sing Sing trains.

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9 a. m., Sunday train for Poughkeepsie.

C. H. KENDRICK,

General Passenger Agent.

New York, Dec. 5, 1870.

A HISTORY

**OF THE
NATIONAL WOMAN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT,
FOR TWENTY YEARS.**

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From 1850 to 1870.

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Grateful for past favors, we hope, by fair dealing
and low prices, to merit a continuance of your
patronage.

Furniture of any kind made to order. Sketches
and estimates furnished if requested.