

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

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VOL. 3.—No. 21.—WHOLE No. 73.

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 7, 1871.

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The New York State Loan and Trust Company has a paid-up Cash Capital of ONE MILLION DOLLARS, and by its Charter has perpetual succession. Its place of business is central; all its operations are under the direction of a responsible Board of Trustees; EXECUTORS, ADMINISTRATORS, TRUSTEES OF ESTATES, GUARDIANS OF INFANTS, MARRIED WOMEN, AGENTS having charge of Estates, FEMALES, and others unaccustomed to business, will find it to their advantage to keep their accounts with this Company, affording as it does all the security of a Bank, with the advantage of the accumulation of interest on their accounts.

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

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

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56

61

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

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

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

Terms, \$100, with modifications.

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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

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

Sent by mail on receipt of price and postage.
1 box, \$0 25..... Postage 6 cents.
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It is sold by all dealers in drugs and medicines.
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Silver Palace Sleeping Coaches at night, and splendid Smoking Cars, with revolving arm chairs, on day trains.

Remember! lower fare by no other route. To secure the advantages offered by this great through route of Quick Time, Short Distance and Low Fare, ask for tickets, and be sure they read, via Louisville and Cincinnati Short Line R. R.

Get your tickets—No. 57 Washington street, Boston; No. 229 Broadway, office New Jersey R. R., foot of Cortlandt street, New York; Continental Hotel, 828 Chestnut street, 44 South Fifth street, and at the depot corner Broad and Prime streets, Philadelphia; S. E. corner Baltimore and Calvert streets, or at Camden Station, Baltimore; 485 Pennsylvania avenue, Washington, D. C.; and at all the principal railroad offices in the East.

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By authority of a special act of the Legislature of Kentucky of March 13, 1871, the Trustees of the Public 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 Tickets, \$2 50.

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 Library, 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 Gift of.....	51,000
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.....	15,000
Eighteen Gifts of \$200 each.....	18,000
Twenty Gifts of \$100 each.....	20,000
Twenty-five Gifts of \$500 each.....	15,000
Thirty Gifts of \$500 each.....	15,000
Forty Gifts of \$400 each.....	16,000
Forty-five Gifts of \$300 each.....	13,500
Fifty Gifts of \$200 each.....	10,000
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 drawing, and every business day for six months thereafter, and may be sent direct, or through any Bank or Express Company, for collection. All orders accompanied by Drafts, Post Office Money Orders or Greenbacks will be promptly attended to, and tickets returned 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 Thousand, 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 \$48,000 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 20th number drawn, and was awarded and paid to a gentleman in New Orleans.

The Numbers and Gifts are drawn by Blind Children from 8 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 information will please address this office.

11 Tickets for \$100; 28 Tickets, \$25; 56 Tickets, \$50; 113 Tickets, \$100.

The undersigned, late principal business manager of the very successful Mercantile Library Gift Concert 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 everything will be done to satisfy buyers of tickets that their interests will be as well protected as if they personally 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, \$10, 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 numbers 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 expenses 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 Canada, address

CHARLES R. PETERS, Manager, Louisville, Ky.,
Office, 120 Main street, Johnson's Block.

R. T. DURETT, President.
W. N. HALDEMAN, Vice-President.

M. W. CLESKY, Secretary.
CITIZENS' BANK, Treasurer.

For Tickets and Information.

PATENT**STOCKING SUPPORTER**

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LADIES' PROTECTOR.

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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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Between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets east side.

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

The highest rates paid for Doubloons and all kinds of Gold and Silver and Government Securities.

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WM. DIBBLEE,**LADIES' HAIR DRESSER,**

854 Broadway,

HAS REMOVED FROM HIS STORE TO THE

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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 kept on hand and made to order.

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

HARABA ZEIN,

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

WM. DIBBLEE'S,
854 Broadway, up-stairs.



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

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

THE INTERNATIONAL.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL will speak in Farwell Hall, Chicago, Ill., Wednesday, October 18, on "The Great Political Issue."

Also, at same place, Friday, October 20, on "A Part of the Social Problem."

OUR NEW WESTERN AGENCY.—Mr. A. J. Boyer, formerly of the "Nineteenth Century," has become our General Western Agent, with office at 116 Madison 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 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.

"NOTICE EXTRAORDINARY."

We desire to obtain the name of every Suffrage Association in the United States, with the name, if possible, of the President and Secretary of each. We shall publish documents from time to time bearing on the question of Woman's Equality, which we desire to furnish the Associations for gratuitous distribution. We have now on hand a number of such, which, upon getting the addresses wanted, will be immediately forwarded.

Will our friends everywhere please attend to this at once. The time for decisive and positive action has come.

POST OFFICE NOTICE.

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

THE GOLDEN AGE.

THE *Golden Age* remarks that most of our millionaires are 60 years of age. Wm. B. Astor, 78; A. T. Stewart, 70; Vanderbilt, 78; Drew, 71; Peter Cooper, 79; George Law, 73. It might have added that most of the leading men of the world are men who have passed their climacteric—Thiers, Gladstone, Moltke, Gortschakoff—while the long list of able men in our own country is made up from men whose age should, in the flippant judgment of the day, entitle them only to rank among the "fogies." Few men attain fame, wealth, or wisdom until they are fifty. Fifty years! what is it, after all? Not a hair-line in eternity.

[FOR WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.]

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE EIGHTH NATIONAL CONVENTION—THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SPIRITUALISTS.

BY HENRY T. CHILD, M. D., SECRETARY.

FIRST DAY—TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1871.

MORNING SESSION.

Mrs. Brown said—I gladly welcome you, friends, to this Eighth Annual Meeting of the American Association of Spiritualists.

Believing in the equality of woman, there seemed to be good reason why you should have elected a woman to the office of President. For seven years good and true men had presided over this Association.

There seems no great cause for alarm, for we have come together as men and women seeking the shortest and safest way to the kingdom of heaven. If I fail in my work, it will not be my first failure, nor your first disappointment. But we shall not fail.

We believe in the ministry of angels; some have come here burdened with great sorrows, some have come to listen and to see what we can do. We welcome all, and trust all will work together harmoniously for the great end we have in view.

The meeting is now organized and prepared for business.

The Secretary read the call.

On motion of Dr. Bailey, a committee of five was appointed on credentials—Dr. Bailey, Dr. Hallock, Peter P. Good and Anna M. Middlebrook.

The committee reported a list of delegates from sixteen States and the Territory of Columbia, numbering one hundred and sixty-one (161).

The delegates from each State were requested to propose the name of one person for each of the following committees: on Lyceum; on Resolutions and Finance.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The report of the Executive Board of the Convention of the American Association of Spiritualists was afterward read by the Secretary, Dr. H. T. Child.

An address was received from Utah, signed on behalf of the Utah Spiritual Movement, by one hundred and sixty-three persons (163), giving a history of this movement, which commenced in Utah in October, 1869. From its earliest inception it has had innumerable difficulties:

PRELIMINARY.

At a public meeting of the members of the Utah Spiritual Movement, held at their new hall—the Liberal Institute—on the evening of Sunday, August 27, it was unanimously resolved, that they be represented by letter at the forthcoming National Convention of Spiritualists, to be held in Troy, State of New York, on September 12, 1871.

ADDRESS.

The Utah Spiritual Movement to the National Convention of Spiritualists:

GREETING: The members and friends of this Association, recognizing it as an outgrowth of the great common Spiritualistic Dispensation, by which the higher spheres of humanity are awakening communication between themselves and every portion of mankind in mortality, send to the Spiritualists of the whole nation, through their representatives in Convention assembled, expressions of love, fellowship and collaboration in the great cause.

The Utah Spiritual Movement publicly commenced its work in October, 1869. From its earliest inception it has had innumerable difficulties to contend with, in the way of fanaticism and priestly power. Unlike movements started by the spirit-world elsewhere, it has had to adapt itself to the mental growth of the people, and travel up with them to the widest expression of expansive thought. In this upward struggle it has manifested many phases of growth and development, both as to the ideas it has propagated and in regard to its modes of action. A people steeped in the idea of the necessity of divine leadership, and the greatest advocates of the doctrine of priestly organization that the world possesses, had to be gradually lifted up to a sense of the right of the human soul to judge of everything human or divine for itself. Hence the spirit-world counseled the temporary institution of an immediate system—a species of stepping-stone to greater liberties—organized on the outset much in the external form of the Mormon priesthood, but minus its claims to arbitrary authority or interference with temporalities. This form, as anticipated and provided for, was speedily outgrown; but the principles taught in connection with the organization, being as high and as broad as the most advanced conceptions of the spiritual philosophy, have been expanding in their power and influence until to-day, as daring in thought as any in the world, and mentally and spiritually on a level with the rest of their brethren and sisters of the spiritualistic world, the band of Utah Spiritualists, by this mode, present themselves in your Convention, claiming brotherhood and fellowship at your hand, and desiring to work with you in the common cause of human progress.

The Utah Movement, which now for the first time represents itself in your councils, was planned in the spirit-spheres, for the three-fold purpose of breaking down the One Man Power existing in Utah, throwing open the country to the march of civilization, and developing its wealth and resources for the benefit of the nation; and at one and the same time for the greater and nobler object of bringing the creed-bound inhabitants of the Territory into communication with the light and intelligence of the higher life.

By the agencies raised up by the spirit-world for this purpose, in spite of the ban and anathemas of the church, hundreds have been emancipated from the One Man Power and the Spirit of the system broken. A free-press has been established and the mineral development of the Territory worked up; while on the Spiritualistic side, hundreds have been made believers in the great truth of spiritual communication, and a constantly increasing awakening in the minds of thousands.

These are some of the things which a Spiritual Movement has given birth to. And they may furnish an answer to the question—"What of practical utility has Spiritualism accomplished?" If no where else, an illustration of its ability to deal practically with religious, political and even financial evils, may be found here, where a representative of the Great Union Pacific Railroad declared to his Company that the *Tribune* (the organ of the Movement) "had done more to develop the mineral resources of the country, encourage immigration and increase the trade of the great railroad, than all other agencies in Utah put together." These points are referred to in gratulation of the Great Spiritualistic Cause, to which the Utah Movement stands but as one of a thousand centres of action; and as a prophecy of what the agency of the leading minds of the other World will yet accomplish for mankind at large.

The Utah Movement is, we believe, destined to grow into one of the largest centres of spiritualistic power. It has been commenced among a purely inspirational people. A larger number of mediumistic persons, in proportion to the population, can be found congregated in Utah than in any other part of the world. The doctrine of Revelation and angelic intercourse has gathered them together, and for its realization they sigh day by day. It will take but the breaking of their mental bonds to constitute them the most earnest spiritualistic people of the age. Accustomed to mission the world for the propagation of the doctrine of Revelation and Inspiration when sustained only by the faintest manifestations of spiritual power, what will they not do in behalf of the same immortal truths when intercommunication with the upper life becomes, as Spiritualism will yet make it, a tangible fact of their every-day lives?

As fast as opportunities offer and wisdom dictates, your best mediums and speakers should come here. A great field for their labors will be found as soon as sufficient openings for their support present themselves. Not less than fifty thousand dollars having been raised and expended by the Spiritualists of the Utah Movement in sustaining a press, holding meetings and building a large hall—dedicated from its inception to unlimited truth—and performing such missionary labor as has been possible, together with heavy responsibilities constantly upon us, prevent us from immediately procuring such aid as we need.

The Utah Spiritualists will always welcome their brethren and sisters from any part of the world. With them they testify to the truth of intercommunication with the immortal dead—the grandest truth of this or any previous age. A truth which solves the mystery of the past and present, unlocks the future to our anxious gaze, and reveals the grand progress of our common humanity beyond and this side the grave; opens a portal through which the garnered wisdom of unnumbered ages, and the sweet sentiments of higher planes of life and action, can be transmitted to humanity below. A truth more potent with the human heart—a greater evangelizer of the life—a mightier iconoclast of error than all other truths put together. In the bonds of that great truth they greet that vast and ever increasing army, whose destiny it is to lift up the panoply of death which overhangs the world, and "bring life and immortality to light."

Signed by 115 names on behalf of the Utah Spiritual Movement.

Dr. R. T. Hallock moved that the communication be entered upon the minutes of the Convention. Adopted.

The remainder of the afternoon was devoted to volunteer remarks. Mr. E. S. Wheeler, of Boston, made quite an interesting address, keeping the attention of the entire audience, and was frequently greeted with loud applause.

Mrs. Susan C. Waters next made a few remarks, maintaining the fact that in prosecuting our endeavors we should strive to elevate our companions around us. One question presents itself to us, and that is: Why have we accomplished so little in the past? It is because all have not paid enough attention to the minor details of life, and as the little atoms make mighty masses, so our endeavors should be concentrated, and thus make our efforts in every way effective.

Brief remarks followed by Dr. L. R. Cooley, Mr. P. P. Good, Mr. D. W. Hull, Mrs. E. Anna Hinman, Dr. Hallock, Dr. Edwards, of California; Dr. H. F. Gardner, of Boston, and several others.

IN THE EVENING

quite a good audience was in attendance, and the meeting opened with music by the Lyceum choir. This concluded, Mr. Moses Hall introduced to the audience the young medium, J. Jefferson Reilly, a youth of perhaps eighteen years, quite intelligent and pleasing in appearance, who in his early life was brought up in the Catholic faith, and not having the advantage of education, was never inside of a public school as a pupil. Last evening he was under the influence of the spirit of Jimmie Bradley, a little boy six years of age, who died some time since. He gave about ten tests during the evening, walking freely around the room, and when he met anyone with whom he wished to communicate he stepped nearly in front of them, telling them of some departed friend whose spirit was now hovering near them, and in some instances giving the first names of the individuals, or telling of some favorite article worn by them to which the spirit under which he was acting had reference. It is needless to say that all the persons he addressed recognized the spirit addressing them. There is certainly some curious mystery about this young man, yet Mr. Hull offers to pay double the expense of the trouble of a person not professing to be a Spiritualist who will test him in private.

After the young gentleman had come out of the "trance," an address followed by Dr. R. T. Hallock, of New York city. He spoke upon "The Mutual Relation of Ancient and Modern Spiritualism," and during his entire discourse—which, by the way, was clothed with fine expressions—he had the undivided attention of his auditors. His delivery was slow, and his peculiar style of expression and emphasis could not fail to warrant attention during the three-quarters of an hour he so profitably occupied.

At the conclusion of Mr. Hallock's remarks some music was rendered by the choir; then came some remarks which we could have listened to without tiring for an hour more, by

Mrs. M. S. Hoadley. Every sentence Mrs. Hoadley uttered was full of good words for the cause of Spiritualism, and she was frequently greeted with applause.

WEDNESDAY—SECOND DAY.
MORNING SESSION.

Singing by the choir.

A poem was read by Mrs. Mary Peebles, entitled, "By-and-By." An invocation by Rev. Mr. Harter, a radical Universalist.

J. M. Peebles was afterward introduced and made quite extensive remarks. He said Spiritualism is not a local matter—it is cosmopolitan, it is wide as the earth. What has it done? Better ask, what has it not done? Only a Rip Van Winkle could press that question. It has unrolled before us a new geography of the heavens. It has given the world new inventions, it has made the poor rich. It has not only foretold common events, but also has foretold steamer explosions and railroad accidents. Strengthening the weak, it continues to thunder the old Baptist word "Repent." O come, let us worship in this temple. Organization is a vexed question, but still it demands elucidation. Organization to systematize efforts, evolved spontaneously, should be continued. The objects of Spiritualism should be to establish meetings, especially children's lyceums. Nothing better could be done by our wealthy Spiritualists than to establish colleges for the education of the sexes. We need these institutions, for we must have speakers and mediums in our midst, as our older speakers are passing away by the finger of Death. Who does not support in word and deed children's progressive lyceums?

The great charm that bound me to Troy for five weeks last winter was the Progressive Lyceum. I felt that I should do all in my power to maintain the Lyceums. To build up a society the speaker must be a social as well as a moral individual. When a society finds one thus qualified, it is a sign of progress. This society in Troy is regarded as one of the most flourishing in our land. Our gospel is broad, full of charity and kindness. There will, however, be higher forms in the future. Physical manifestations in the future will be submitted to more trying tests.

At the conclusion of Mr. Peebles' remarks, which were earnestly listened to and frequently greeted with applause, a fine selection was rendered by the choir.

A short address followed by Mr. Eli F. Brown, of Indiana. He remarked that it has been said that the present is the child of the past and the parent of the future. So the Lyceum is the parent of Modern Spiritualism.

The subject of education is of itself one of the greatest import to the human family. Its health and vigor depend upon their physical and mental strength. The Sabbath-school is the chosen and legitimate institution of the churches. In the Lyceum we feel the inspiration of divinity. Order is heaven's first law. The best means for conducting a lyceum is in having order. Lyceums experience other wants that are needed in their nature. Lyceums fail because the workers do. Workers fail because they make too little effort and do not strive to merit success. Another cause of the failing of a lyceum is that the parties who undertake to conduct it cannot agree. We need some means in order that the lyceums may be maintained. Our efforts should be increased a hundred fold. A lyceum can scarcely fail with a suitable hall and teachers to take an interest in the welfare of the children. We have no fear of the final success of reform. It is not what we want in the future, but what we need now.

At the conclusion of Mr. Brown's remarks and the singing of a few selections by the choir, Mrs. S. E. Warner made a very effective address.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Song by the choir. The Chair introduced Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull, who delivered the following address:

MRS. WOODHULL'S ADDRESS.

THE TRAINING OF CHILDREN—GOOD ADVICE TO MOTHERS.

I scarcely know how it has come about that I am on this rostrum, in the midst of a Spiritualistic Convention. I have been a Spiritualist and a recipient of heavenly favors ever since I can remember; but, for reasons never explained, I have not been known to Spiritualists, nor they to me. In my humble way, I have been an earnest advocate of the principles of the spiritual philosophy, while to me its truths are quite as real as are the facts of material existence; and all my hopes for the future of humanity are founded upon the inauguration of a complete unity of purpose between the two spheres in all things upon which the good of humanity depends. I thank this Convention for its hand of fellowship when so many others are set against me. If I have faults and errors, they have come from a misunderstanding of Him to Whom I owe all that I am and Who in my childhood taught me of the angels, in my youth smoothed the stony paths I trod and in maturer years instilled in my heart a love for all humanity, and to be whose servant is still all my ambition.

I propose to speak briefly of children, a subject which, though comparatively ignored, is to me one of the most important. I believe that Spiritualists have an interest in all kinds of reform, and therefore must have in this, which lies at the basis of all others, since a perfected humanity must come of perfect children.

We have often wondered that, among all the medical authorities, there have not been more who devoted some part of their profuse writings to the ante-natal care and treatment of children. No more important addition could be made to our system of social economy, nor to our pathological literature, than a strict analysis of fetal life for popular circulation. While so much has been said and written regarding children's care and treatment after birth, that part of their life previously has been entirely ignored. It would be just as proper to ignore their life after birth until some still future period, say three, five, or seven years of age as to do so before birth.

To lay a good foundation for a good life, it is required that the proper care should be bestowed upon it from its very point of beginning. The tiller of the soil exercises special care and his best wisdom in the preparation for the future harvest. He knows, from oft-repeated experience, how important it is to have the very best seed, of the very best variety. He knows that seed thus selected, planted side by side with unselected seed, and receiving no more care, will yield not only larger harvests but also that they will be of choice quality.

Having the best seed possible, his next step is to have the ground properly prepared, into which at just the proper season, he deposits it. All these preparatory measures are a part of the process by which our fruits, grains and vegetables have been brought to their present state of perfection. Everybody knows that fruits and vegetables which grow wild and are poisonous, are capable of being brought by cultivation to be delicious articles of diet. Everybody knows that by study and care our most celebrated breeds of horses and other stocks of domesticated animals have been obtained. Everybody knows that deep scientific research is constantly being made in almost every department of production, and that those engaged in the respective departments eagerly apply every new fact which science makes clear. It is an admitted fact that the future character of what is to be produced can be very nearly, if not absolutely, determined by those who have charge of the process. Even the color which the herdsman desires for his cattle can be obtained; and what is true regarding color is just as true regarding all other indices of individuality.

Notwithstanding all these accepted facts which are coming to be the rules and guides of people, when we approach the subject of making the same rules and guides so general in their application as to include children, the world stands aghast and with one united effort, frowns it down.

Nobody denies the importance of the subject, but those who speak at all argue that it is one of those things which we are not prepared to meet. Not prepared to meet! And the whole Christian world has been preaching regeneration these eighteen hundred years! which they tell us is the one thing necessary. All the importance claimed for regeneration we willingly admit; all badly produced persons require regeneration; but as to it being the main thing, we beg to demur. If regeneration is an important matter, generation is still more so. It is to the consideration of this fact, as demonstrated and practiced in all departments of nature below, that the human must come and acknowledge itself a proper subject of. Just so far as science can demonstrate, and humanity will put its demonstrations to practice, just so far can the necessity for regeneration be done away.

It is too true that the courage to face this question is generally wanting, and when it is attempted all society pretends to be outraged. Are human beings, then, to be always considered of so much less importance than the things they make subservient, that they should forever be left to come into this world's existence as individuals at random? We know the obloquy that has fallen upon all who have ever attempted to hold the mirror so that society would be obliged to contemplate itself; but, notwithstanding all this, we feel there is not a more noble object. We have considered all the bearings of this matter, and have determined to stand by the flag we have thrown to the world—"Children: their Rights, Privileges and Relations;" and we shall maintain it argumentatively, if possible; defiantly, if need be, against all opposition, let it come from whence it may, or let its character be what it may. Argument we know we shall not have to encounter. Scientific hindrances we know we shall not find in our path. Common sense we know will offer no word of reproach. We shall, however, encounter hoary-headed bigotry, blind intolerance and fossilized authority—and we are prepared.

It is laid down as an undeniable proposition, that the human race can never even approximate to perfection until all the means of which men make use to produce perfect things are also made use of in their own production. Let those who decry the proposition turn to their so much-revered Bible and read: "Ye cannot gather figs of thorns nor grapes from thistles"—and learn wisdom therefrom. It must be remembered how great an "infidel" was he who first demonstrated Arterial and Venous Circulation, which has come to be of such importance in diagnosing diseases. It is generally true that those things which result in the greatest benefit to humanity meet with the most blind and insane opposition in their first struggles for recognition. If this subject of children is to be judged by this rule, it is to develop into greater importance than any which has yet occupied the human mind.

But it is asked, How can this be done? It cannot be done immediately to the fullest extent, but the recognition of its importance can be forced upon humanity, and the practice of its evident deductions can be attained by degrees. Once let it become divested of this absurd idea of "impropriety," and humanity will begin to practice its teachings. It is only required that reason be exalted to its proper place and influence, and analogies, with which nature abounds, will become the great teachers.

The difficulty with which we shall be met at every step is, that it is nearly impossible to make people realize that their lives here are for any other or higher purpose than for each of them to acquire for him or herself the greatest amount of personal gratification. They cannot yet sufficiently realize that each individual is made one of the means by which the whole of humanity is advanced. They cannot yet be brought to reduce to practice what all admit, that he or she is the greatest man or woman who does the most for humanity; nor have they more than an undefined belief that in doing the most for humanity they do most for themselves. Yet this has been the logic of the doctrine of Christianity nearly two thousand years.

The teachings of Christianity are well enough; they have been taught persistently. But we have now arrived at that age of the world which demands adequate results as proofs of the validity of assumed positions. The Apostles taught that "certain signs" should follow those who believed. Do these signs exist within the heart of the professed representatives of true Christianity? By their fruits shall ye know them. We do know them by their fruits, which are not so perfect as to warrant the conclusion that humanity has passed from being "professors" into being "possessors."

Human life may be compared to a military campaign, in which no amount of valiancy and good generalship can overcome the defects of an imperfect organization of the "body" with which it is to be made. We may as consistently expect a badly organized army to make a good military campaign as to expect a badly organized child to make a good social campaign. To this, the very beginning of organization, should all reformers turn who expect to produce any beneficial results, which shall be ultimate and

lasting, and which shall mark the perfecting process of humanity.

Women by nature are appointed to the holy mission of motherhood, and by this mission are directly charged with the care of the embryonic life, upon which so much of future good or ill depends. It is during this brief period that the initials of character are stamped upon the receptive, incipient mentality which, expanding first into childhood and on to manhood or womanhood, reveals the true secrets of its nature.

The rights of children, then, as individuals, begin while yet they are in fetal life. Children do not come into existence by any will or consent of their own. With their origin they have nothing to do, but in after life they become liable for action which perhaps was predetermined long prior to their assuming personal responsibility. In youth, children are virtually the dependencies of their parents, subject to their government, which may be either wise or mischievous, and is as often the latter as the former. But, having arrived at the proper age, they step into the world upon an equality with others previously there. At this time they are the result of the care which has been bestowed upon them from the time of conception, and whether they are delivered over to the world so as to be useful members of society, or whether they go into it to prove a constant annoyance and curse, seems to be a matter which cannot be made into such personal responsibility as to make it a subject of their own determining. At this period they find themselves possessed of a body and a partially developed mind, in the union of which a harmonious disposition and character may have resulted. Respectively, they are possessed of all shades of disposition and character, from the angelic down to the most demoniacal; but all these are held accountable to the same laws; are expected to govern themselves by the same formula of associative justice, and are compelled by the power of public opinion to subscribe to the same general customs.

All people are obliged to meet the world with the characteristics with which they have been clothed, and which they had no choice in selecting. When all things which go to make up society are analyzed and formulated, it comes out that society holds its individual members responsible for deeds of which it is itself indirectly the cause, and therefore responsible for.

It is a scientifically demonstrated fact that the mind of every individual member of society is the result of a continued series of impressions, which are continually being received by their senses, and transmitted to and taken up by consciousness, which becomes the individuality of the person. If any one doubts this, let him listen to what Professor J. W. Draper, President of the New York Medical University College, says upon this subject:

"There are successive phases * * * in the early action of the mind. As soon as the senses are in working order * * * a process for collecting facts is commenced. These are the first of the most homely kind, but the sphere from which they are gathered is extended by degrees. We may, therefore, consider that this collecting of facts is the earliest indication of the action of the brain, and it is an operation which, with more or less activity, continues through life. * * * Soon a second characteristic appears—the learning of the relationship of the facts thus acquired to one another. * * * This stage has been sometimes spoken of as the dawn of the reasoning faculty. A third characteristic of almost contemporaneous appearance may be remarked—it is the putting to use facts that have been acquired and the relationships that have been determined. * * * Now this triple natural process * * * must be the basis of any right system of instruction."

It appears, then, that contact and constant intercourse with external manifestations is not only necessary for the production of thought and its collaterals, but that to retain the consciousness which makes thought possible such manifestations must be continuously impressed upon the individual. This seems to be conclusive that mind is the result of the experiences of the manifestations of power.

Without these experiences, children would grow up simply idiotic. The "Professor" says, *emphatically*, that a recognition of this process *must* be the basis of any right system of instruction. To state the proposition comprehensively, the education of children should consist in surrounding them by such circumstances and facts as will produce upon them those effects which will tend to develop them toward our highest idea of perfect men and women.

The chief difficulty about these things is that their direction has been assumed by the professors of religion rather than by scientists. Science is eminently progressive; religion is as eminently conservative. Science, in its analysis of the facts of the age, comes in direct conflict with the theories of religious sects. Happily, these things are now undergoing change, and they who once taught that the world was created out of nothing in six days and nights, of twenty-four hours each, have given way to the demonstrations of geology, and are forced to admit that their previous belief was founded in an allegory.

The common practice of the world, in all things which it desires to modify or remedy, is to begin at the extreme, where the effects are found, and from them to work backward toward the beginning. The whole course of the world regarding crime has been to punish rather than to prevent it; to work with the effects of education. What men or women are at the time they become recognized citizens, society makes them. They are its production, as much as the apple is the production of the tree. If the apple is a bad apple, it is not its fault; that lies in the tree. If men and women are bad men and women when they arrive at legal age, it is not their fault, but it is the fault of society, in which they are born, raised and educated.

It is scientifically true that the life which develops into the individual life never begins. That is to say, there is no time in which it can be said life begins where there was no life. The structural unit of nucleated protoplasm, which forms the centre around which aggregation proceeds, contains a pulsating life before it takes up this process. The character of the nerve stimulus of which this is possessed, and which sustains this evidence of life, must depend upon the source from which it proceeds. In other words, and plainly, the condition of the parents at the time of the conception is a matter of prime importance, since the life principle with which the new organism is to begin its growth should be of the highest order.

Cases of partial and total idiocy have been traced to the beastly inebriation of the parents at and previous to conception. On the other extreme, some of the highest intellects and the most noble and loveable characters the world ever produced owed their condition to the peculiarly happy circumstances under which they began life, much of the after portion of the growing process of which having been under

favorable circumstances. Many mothers can trace the irritable and nervously disagreeable condition of their children to their own condition at this time.

We are aware that these subjects are almost unanimously ignored by society; also, that society pretends to blush at the mention of them; and well it may blush, for the abortions of nature which it is continually turning upon the world to be its pests, its devils, its damnation and their own worst enemies, are sufficiently hideous to make all humanity blush with well-founded shame.

But the time must come wherein they will not only be discussed, but when a full knowledge of what pertains to conception, fetal life, birth and growth to full manhood and womanhood will be an important part of every child's education.

Virtue nor modesty does not consist in the avoidance, the ignoring or ignorance of these things; but true virtue, true modesty and true general worth consist, in part at least, of a complete knowledge and practice of them. It is full time that we have done with the sham modesty and affected virtue with which humanity has been cursed.

It is required that we begin at the very root of the matter, and that lies in the condition of persons about to become parents. And just to this point is where the woman question leads. It is the important question of the age, and it will rise to be thus acknowledged. All present humanity has a direct interest in it, and all future humanity demands of the present its right to the best life which it is possible to have under the best arrangement of present circumstances which can be formulated. And there are those who will not permit that their rights be much longer ignored. There will be "John the Baptists" preaching in the wilderness "Prepare ye the way," and humanity must and will heed them. Such is the prophecy of the present; and the present will do well to listen to its teachings.

The New York Tribune asserts that the cause of half the vice among us is the ignorance of parents of the fact that certain nervous and cerebral diseases transmitted from themselves tend to make of their children from their birth criminals or drunkards, and that only incessant and skillful care can avert the danger. The editor then goes on to philosophize in this way:

"A man may drink moderately but steadily all his life, with no apparent harm to himself, but his daughters become nervous wrecks, his sons epileptics, libertines or incurable drunkards, the hereditary tendency to crime having its pathology and unvaried laws, precisely as scrofula, consumption or any other purely physical disease. These are stale truths to medical men, but the majority of parents, even those of average intelligence, are either ignorant or wickedly regardless of them. There will be a chance of ridding our jails and almshouses of half their tenants when our people are taught to treat drunkenness as a disease of the stomach and blood as well as of the soul, to meet it with common sense and a physician, as well as with threats of eternal damnation, and to remove gin-shops and gin-sellers for the same reason that they would stagnant ponds or unclean sewers. Another fatal mistake is pointed out in the training of children—the system of cramming, hot house forcing of their brains, induced partly by the unhealthy, feverish ambition and struggle that mark every phase of our society, and partly for the short time allowed for education. The simplest physical facts that regulate the use and abuse of the brain are utterly disregarded by educated parents. To gratify a mother's silly vanity during a boy's school days, many a man is made incompetent and useless. If the boy show any sign of unnatural ambition and power, instead of regarding it as a symptom of an unhealthy condition of the blood vessels or other cerebral disease, and treating it accordingly, it is accepted as an evidence of genius, and the inflamed brain is taxed to the uttermost, until it gives way exhausted."

When a paper which so religiously ostracizes so much which is involved in the principles of general reform as the Tribune does, comes so near to the "root of the matter," it may be seriously considered whether the time has not arrived in which to speak directly to the point.

The remedy is twofold: first, and mainly, to prevent the union of persons addicted to false practices; second, to endeavor to reform those who are already united.

A positive assertion is here made. No two persons have the right to produce a human life and irremediably entail upon it such a load of physical and mental hell as the Tribune cites. It is the merest sham of justice to punish the drunkard for the sins of his or her parents. It is the most superficial nonsense and the purest malice to curse the bad fruit which grows in your orchard because you do not take care of the trees; but it is no more so than it is to curse and punish children for the crime of their parents.

Marriage, or the union of the sexes, is a natural condition of the human race. Whatever relations they may sustain to the children they produce, those which society as a whole sustains to them are broader and more comprehensive. The parents are but parts of society, and their children are nothing less, so that while they, by pre-ent social systems, are for a long time left to the special control and guardianship of their parents, it can be considered only as in trust for society.

The relations which should be considered as the foundation of society are those which exist between society and marriage in its special function of reproduction, which thus far has been utterly ignored. When two are about to form a marriage union, does society, in its legitimate functions of promoting and protecting the public welfare, ever stop to ask what the results of the union are likely to be? Instead of this question entering into the consideration, the only one that has been thought of is: How shall these two be compelled to live out the remainder of their natural lives together, utterly regardless of the higher thought of children?

It is a well-established fact among the medical profession that nearly all the consumption which hurries so many victims through life has its source in hereditary syphilitic taint, which, for delicacy, has been christened scrofula. Now what business or right has a man or woman, who knows that his or her system is loaded with this infernal poison, to become the propagator of the species? The same is equally true of all other diseases and damnations which can be transmitted, and not more of those which pertain to the purely physical than of those which relate to the mental and the moral. When the world shall begin to act upon this deduction it will have commenced a course of advancement which will never be intermixed with retreats.

Education in matters which refer to these vital points should be one of the first steps to be taken by society. They have been foolishly and criminally ignored upon the false premises that to instruct children in them would be to lead them into unfortunate conditions, whereas the very reverse is the truth. If there are dangers to be avoided, the very

best way to prepare children to avoid them is to give them a perfect understanding of what they are. In knowledge there is always safety. In ignorance there is always danger.

Let these truths be adopted in the education of children, regarding their duties as the future parents of society, and one-half the ills with which society is afflicted would soon disappear.

If our houses of prostitution were searched and their inmates questioned, none would be found whose mothers had the good sense to teach them the objects and functions of their sexual systems. It is the ignorance of these things which fills these blotches upon the fair face of humanity.

There is a law common to nature by which those things that are best adapted to each other are brought and held together. There is a chemistry of the social, intellectual and moral sentiments as well of the material elements. Education should include a perfect knowledge of this chemistry, so that compatibles may be apparent at once to all people of both sexes. Open the fountains of knowledge, so that all may drink of the waters of a true life.

Children, by the little things they so readily gather about the difference of sex, are made curious to just the extent the means of satisfying that curiosity is difficult, and they pursue their means by stealth whenever and wherever possible. This results in producing a morbid condition of the mind about it, and encourages all kinds of secret vices, which are sapping the very life and beauty of the coming generation. No one can doubt this who will give it the attention it merits, to be one of the crying evils of present systems of education. If instruction were begun in these matters at or about the age when curiosity is developed, and it is made a matter of course, is it not plain that it would produce effectual results.

We are aware that "conservatives" will decry this plain way of treating this subject, and make use of the usual method of manifesting their condemnation; nevertheless, the proposition to us is a simple one, over which we have spent many weary hours. A secret attracts everybody's attention. When it is a secret no longer it ceases to attract attention, and becomes reduced to its legitimate and natural uses. We assert our belief the same results would follow the education of children in sexual matters; knowledge would succeed curiosity, and healthy action of the mind a morbid desire.

We now approach a part of the subject which is of supreme moment, and that is the care which embryonic life demands. During this period, every influence to which the mother is subjected, be it ill or good, produces its effects upon the embryo. Whoever is an adept in these matters can go to rough society and from each individual tell what circumstances his or her mother was surrounded by during her pregnancy. Mothers of humanity! yours is a fearful duty and one which should in its importance lift you entirely above the customs of society, its frivolities, superficialities and deformities, and make you realize that to you is committed the divine work of perfecting humanity.

Under our systems the interests of children are utterly ignored. No matter how ill-mated people may be, children will result. It will be difficult to find a case, even where actual hate exists, and not find children. What can be expected of children generated, born and raised under such influences? There are numerous instances constantly being made public where mothers are even brutally treated during pregnancy, and oftentimes because they are pregnant.

Just the life the mother leads will she prepare her child to lead. Just what the mother desires to make her child she can mould and fashion it to be. What a condemnation these considerations are upon the practices of fashionable society. How utterly worthless are the lives of so many mothers, and how devoid of purpose. Just so are their children. In the insane desire for dress and display, which characterizes so many women, lies the bane of life for their children. The cold heartlessness of the woman of fashion contains the germ of destruction for her daughter and the seeds of vice for her son. No warm hearted, generous-souled children can spring from such soil.

So, also, is abortion a practice which spreads damnation world-wide. Not so much, perhaps, in those cases where it is accomplished, but in those much more numerous cases where it is desired and attempted, but not reached. When a woman becomes conscious that she is pregnant and a desire comes up in her heart to shirk the duties it involves, that moment the fetal life is the unlabeled, the unwished child. Is it to be wondered that there are so many undutiful children; so many who instinctively feel that they are "incumbrances" rather than the beautiful necessities of the home?

What true mother's heart but bounds with pride and joy when she sees the beautiful results of her constructive work? Why should she not also feel happiness when she realizes she is performing that constructive process? Is it to be wondered that there are so many children lacking all confidence in themselves and so foolishly diffident that it follows them through life, when we consider the conduct of women during pregnancy? It should be the pride of every woman to be the willing, the anxious, the contented mother, and if she be so under the guidance of the knowledge we deem essential, she will never have cause to regret that she fulfilled the duties of maternity. All practices which degenerate the character of children should be discontinued by every humanitarian, and women encouraged to wisely and perfectly mould and fashion the life which they shall give to the world.

But we must pass from ante-natal life to that which has so generally been considered the beginning of it, and here a searching examination develops little more to be approved than found previously. How little scientific or acquired knowledge there is in regarding the early care of children their immense death rate clearly shows. It seems one of the most sorrowful things of life to see the merest babes drop off by thousands, for the reason that mothers do not know how to rear them.

If wives will become mothers without the knowledge requisite to fit them to perform their duties to their children, then they should themselves be put under the care of some competent authority, so that the life they have been instrumental in organizing may not be uselessly thrown away. We are arguing, pleading, urging the rights of children; those rights which shall make every child, male and female, honorable and useful members of society.

Whether, in acquiring this right, all old forms, all present customs, all supposed interests are found standing in the way, matters not; the question is, "What is for the best interests of children, not merely as children, but principally as the bases of future society?" Scarcely any of the practices of education, of family duties or of society's rights in regard to children are worthy of anything but the severest condemnation. They do not have their inherent rights at all in

view. They consult the affections to the exclusion of all reason and common sense. They forget that the human is more than an affectional being; that he has other than family duties to fulfill, and that he belongs to humanity, which is utterly ignored by all present practices.

Let the father and mother of every family ask themselves: Are we fully capable of so rearing our children that no other means could make them better citizens and better men and women? And how many could conscientiously give you an affirmative answer? The fact that children are born and grown to be citizens, and not to remain children of the parents simply, is overlooked.

We are aware that this, if intended for any considerable and comprehensive application, would be regarded as a startling assertion. Many true things when first announced startle the world, which might differently so long. For ourselves, we make the distinct asseveration that we are thoroughly convinced that fully one-half the whole number of children now living, between the ages of ten and fifteen, would have been in a superior condition—physically, mentally and morally—to what they are, had they been early intrusted to the care of the proper kind of industrial institutions.

We hold it to be an absolute and fundamental right that every child, female and male, has, that when they are received into society as determining powers, they shall be possessed of the required capacity and experience to take care of themselves and to perform what may be required of them. Those who are best prepared to fulfill the duties which can by any possibility devolve upon them as members of society, are the best citizens, and give unanswerable evidence of having been the recipients of the best means of growth and education.

To make the best citizens of children, then, is the object of education, and in whatever way this can be best attained, that is the one which should be pursued, even if it be to the complete abrogation of the present supposed rights of parents to control them. It is better that parents should be able to look with pride upon their children grown into maturity, as youthful citizens by the assistance of the State, having been unable to make them thus themselves, than to consult the sentiments of the heart, by having them constantly under their care, and by so doing allow them to grow into maturity in form and grace, yet lacking the necessary elements to make them acceptable to, or to be desired by, society. One of these is the result of the existence of wisdom; of affection, guided by reason; the other that of selfishness, in which the good of the child is sunk in the mere promptings of affection, regardless of consequences. No reasonable person can question which of the two is the better for all concerned, for children, for parents and for society.

The weight of our proposition, that society is itself responsible to children for the condition in which they are admitted to it as constituent members of itself, must begin to be apparent, for so far as they are concerned up to that time they are not responsible. This being self-evident, it is not also self-evident that they cannot with any consideration of justice be held to a count for that which is the legitimate consequences of, and which is positively determined by, that condition.

We trust the time is near when the rights and privileges of children will be duly accorded and guaranteed, to them by society, and when their true relations to society will be scientifically analyzed and understood and properly enforced.

Then will the prophecies of all ages have reached consummation; then will commence the earthly reign of the King of kings and Lord of lords, as prophesied by all the holy prophets of the world; then old things shall pass away and all things become new; then *The Christ* shall sit upon the throne, and from his inexhausted fountain of love, justice shall continually flow over all the earth, "as the waters cover the sea."

As vanish the heavy mists of the morning before the radiance of the rising sun, so will vanish the clouds that hang around the minds of man, and shut out the rising spiritual sun, for whose "star in the East" wise men are constantly watching; the sun that will rise higher and higher, and extend its rays wider and wider, until it shall enlighten the minds of all mankind, until the icebergs of ignorance, tradition and superstition are dissolved which now float in the ocean of progress—society, with its cankered, festering heart; commerce robbed of its legitimate function; labor of its recompense, and religion of its spirituality; education lacking wisdom, marriages forming "disunions," and women without rights.

All the false forms of the present must yield their sway to God's command—"Let there be light." The laws of God are never changed—though old as creation, they are ever new, ever sufficient for all the vicissitudes of life; they are ever full of wisdom, justice and love; they are written all over the face of creation, in the bosom of the earth and in the heart of man; they are uttered by the raging tempest that rocks the mighty ocean; in the terrible mutterings of the earthquake; in the fury of destructive battle, when hosts are buried on hosts in fraternal strife; through all these the voice of God proclaims—"Let there be light," and there is light.

We also hear its whispers in the gentle zephyrs that stir the bursting buds and in the blooming flowers that lift their heads to drink the falling dew; in the hum of busy nature; in the gushing fountain; we see it in the gambols of the bubbling brook; in the mother's love for the new-born life; in the father's pride; in the unspoken joy of the maiden's soul, listening to the first sweet tones of love; in the magnetic ties of human sympathy which bind all mankind in a common brotherhood, and in the dawning light of heaven brought to earth by the angelic hosts to usher in the reign of universal justice, peace and love.

At the conclusion of Mrs. Woodhull's remarks, Dr. H. B. Sarr, of Boston, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That this Convention is honored by the participation in its deliberations of Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull, whose wise selection of the fundamental subject of reform has been fully justified by her able statement of its importance, and that our thanks are hereby expressed to her for her comprehensive plainness of speech and true delicacy with which this eminently radical subject has been treated by her.

The resolution was unanimously adopted. Mr. A. A. Wheelock afterward, in connection with a resolution, delivered a very earnest address, receiving great applause. Mr. Moses Hull then occupied a few minutes in addressing the Convention on the subject of lyceums. His ten minutes having elapsed, Mr. Granville, of Baltimore, Md., spoke earnestly in favor of due attention to the education of children in the lyceums and the proper maintenance of them. Mr.

Edward S. Wheeler next spoke on the same subject. Mr. Gurney, Mrs. Abbie K. Cutter, Dr. Hallock, Dr. Bailey, and several others made addresses, all advocating the same cause of lyceums. The afternoon meeting then adjourned until 9 o'clock next morning.

EVENING SESSION.

The Lyceum Exhibition.—This embraced, besides several pieces, duets, etc., by the children, some very fine music by the Lyceum choir. The recitations and singing by Miss Emma Wilbur, Miss Emma Barto, Jessie Hatfield, Miss Ella Holcomb, Miss Alice Merritt, Little Miss Grace Lodewick and Mamie Lawrence, Master Alex. Friend, J. Eppstein, Frankie McCoy, Messrs. J. McDonald and Chas. Hoyt were all given without the least fault or hesitation. The fine musical selections given by Prof. Holcomb and orchestra should receive special praise.

A. A. Wheelock, from the Committee on Lyceums, made the following report:

Whereas, It must be apparent to Spiritualists and all friends of the Children's Progressive Lyceums, that this beautiful system of education, indispensable to the development of children into a full grown manhood and womanhood of spiritual freedom, has not attained that permanency and efficiency the merits of the system and the hopes of its earnest friends would justify. Your committee in the brief time allotted to them have earnestly endeavored, in part at least, to analyze the numerous causes of failures to carry forward successfully Lyceums already organized, which varied and numerous causes, though they do hinder and retard the growth and efficiency of Lyceums, belong to the local condition which may be termed the minor causes of failure; we do not deem it essential to enumerate these, but consider it most essential that this meeting consider the main causes of failure of Lyceums, which we believe to be the unfortunate practice so generally adopted of having two organizations, wherever they attempted to do anything practically to advance the cause—one known as a "Spiritualists' Society," and the other as "The Children's Progressive Lyceum."

Besides the increase of labor, time and money to sustain two organizations, the general experience has been that more or less rivalry, jealousy, discord and inharmonious have been created, causing the final and utter failure of both. We recognize but one purpose in all true reform—the good of humanity, and knowing that in unity only can there be found sufficient strength to realize success in organization, your committee respectfully suggest that Spiritualists everywhere commence a radical "New Departure" in organization.

First. That all the objects involved in the practical work of Spiritualists be concentrated in one organization for each locality.

Second. That organizations, local, State, Territorial and national, shall be adjusted to harmonize with this idea.

Third. That all local organizations be known as "The Spiritualists' Progressive Lyceums," and that in all localities for organizations Spiritualists are earnestly requested to bring all their energies and means to the support of the Lyceum Movement and its legitimate outgrowth.

Fourth. That regarding the Lyceum system a holy ministrations of the angels to humanity, it was not intended in principle or practice to embody a system of instruction for one-seventh of time only, but that in its genius and scope it is designed as the basis of a method of progressive education for all humanity, alike applicable by the law of necessity to all days and all time.

Fifth. That we may realize something practical in the interest of education, Spiritualists are requested to rally to the support of the Lyceum everywhere and to so adjust their local and other organizations with the requirements of legal statute as to enable them to become the guardians or recipients of such bequests as may be left by generous, wealthy Spiritualists to support the cause.

Sixth. That regarding the continued education of young and old, the constant gaining of wisdom by all, while remaining in the body, the great work Spiritualists have to do, we deem it of the first importance that immediate measures should be taken to establish one or more advanced Lyceums or schools, where the speakers and teachers of Spiritualism may receive the highest culture and all the benefits a complete scientific education can give.

Eighth. That considering the Lyceum system, when fully understood and intelligently and faithfully carried out, of sufficient breadth and scope to do all the practical work of Spiritualism, within the broad, generous, just principles of that organization, we regard with great satisfaction the action of one of the Lyceums of Baltimore, in instituting a part of the Lyceum movement, "The Young People's Spiritual Association," the by-laws of which say: "The Committee on Lyceums shall take measures for opening and sustaining new Lyceums, visit those already established, and endeavor to increase their number and efficiency."

The report was discussed in an animated manner by A. A. Wheelock, Moses Hull, Edward G. Granville and Edward Wheeler, who offered the following as a substitute:

Resolved, That we earnestly recommend the formation of union local organizations of Spiritualists' societies and Lyceums among those in sympathy with their philosophy, wherever such may be. Such local societies to have for their object the collection of statistics regarding the number and disposition of those concerned; the equal spiritual and mental and physical education of both sexes and all persons; and the union and fraternization of all, in State, national and international association for the general purpose of preserving an orderly freedom and aiding the evolution of progress.

In pursuance of this purpose, we would also recommend that our Board of Trustees take into consideration the gradual and healthy development of the work of this association as set forth in article second of its constitution, and put into action a system of questions and suggestions inviting answers from all persons interested in the issues involved. Also, that said Board at the next annual meeting of this association make such recommendations for action by that meeting as a clear judgment shall embody measures to the end desired.

THURSDAY—THIRD DAY.

MORNING SESSION.

G. A. Bacon in the chair.

Letters were read from Agnes Cooke, J. M. Spear and G. Katz.

The report of J. M. Peebles on the World's Convention,

stated that it appeared the time has not come for such Convention. The report of A. A. Wheelock on Education was received, and both committees were released.

The report of Eli T. Brown, missionary, was read.

The following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the report of the Lyceum Committee and the substitute proposed by Mr. Wheeler be referred to the Board of Trustees, to digest the subject and prepare an address to the Spiritualists at large.

The hour for the election having arrived, Dr. Gardner, Dr. Hallock and Mrs. Woodhull were nominated. On the first ballot, the two former had 25 votes each, and Mrs. Woodhull, 23. On the second ballot, Mrs. Woodhull had 42, Dr. Gardner, 36. Mrs. Woodhull was declared elected. She was introduced by Mrs. Brown, who said: Friends, we have most of us, and perhaps all, been looking away toward Washington, and counting the months and years before we should have the pleasure of voting for Victoria C. Woodhull for President of the United States. Now we have paused for a moment and elected her President of the American Association of Spiritualists. I am happy to introduce her to you, a brave-souled woman, to stand where I have stood during the past year.

Mrs. Woodhull said: I scarcely know what to say in return for the honor you have bestowed upon me. When I started to come to Troy my heart was very faint. I felt that I should meet a great many persons who misunderstood me; but I had an assurance that your hearts were in the right, and that if I had been misunderstood, when I reached out my hand it would be received. All I have to say is, by my work ye shall know me.

The tellers reported. Dr. H. T. Child was elected Secretary; Levi Weaver, Treasurer; A. A. Wheelock and Anna N. Middlebrook members of the Board of Trustees for three years.

Afternoon session devoted to resolutions. Evening address by Mrs. Woodhull, on "The Constitutional Right of Women to Vote." Addresses by Mrs. Middlebrook, Moses Hull, and closing remarks by Mrs. Brown, retiring President.

In introducing her speech Mrs. Woodhull said:

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

Mr. E. S. Wheeler submitted the following resolution, which was enthusiastically adopted:

Whereas, We have lost all hope in existing political parties for the purification of the political atmosphere and restoration of the government to Republican principles and usage; and

Whereas, An Equal Rights Party has been organized; therefore

Resolved, That we hereby declare our firm adherence to its interests, and pledge our support to its able candidate for the Presidency.

The Association, after eight sessions, adjourned to meet at the call of the Board of Trustees next year. This was one of the largest and most enthusiastic meetings of the Association.

"It is easy to undertake, but more difficult to finish, a thing."

"This term is equally applicable to all ranks—Whoever is ignorant is vulgar."

"By the street of 'by-and-bye' one arrives at the house of Never."

"Between the yes and no of a woman I would not undertake to thrust the point of a pin."

"Patience and shuffle the cards."

"A soldier had better smell of gunpowder than musk."

"Other men's pains are easily borne."

"A bad cloak often covers a good drinker."

"Pray devoutly and hammer on stoutly."

"When a thing is once begun it is almost half finished."

"Lay a bridge of silver for a flying enemy."

—DON QUIXOTE.

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.

WORKING GIRLS.

"If you only would. It might do some good, and we should all be so grateful. Just a few words, you know."

It was such a sweet childish face that looked into mine, such a sweet childish voice that uttered the earnest appeal, and withal so sad and yet so hopeful, that I could have caught the dear girl in my arms and kissed the fresh red lips that had not yet learned to curse the fate that doomed her to a level only a grade less miserable than the beast of burden, the rank of a working-woman.

Give me patience, O Heaven! Have not I already said more than "a few words" on the subject? Have not I called down upon my head the anathemas of more mean men than would fill the ranks of an army? Have not I both said and written all that a human being could say or write? And, what good has it done?

Don't I know just how hard you will find it to get along? Haven't I followed the sister who went forth into the world long ago—before you were conscious of the dreary struggle in store for you, and who drooped beneath the burden of life's trials long ere the journey was ended, as so many thousands had done before her? Don't I know how thick and fast her heart beat when she entered the office of Smith, Jones & Co., shirt manufacturers, where the big placard read, "Wanted girls to work on shirts—good wages and steady work to good hands," and how her heart fell below zero when she learned that the "good wages" amounted to three dollars a week, and the "steady work" was the only truth the advertisement contained?

Don't I know all about the little brothers and sisters at home, too young yet to go forth into the world to battle with adversity as she was doing, who had to be clothed and fed partly by her efforts? Haven't I thought the matter over time without number? Haven't I planned for you, thought for you and prayed for you until my hair nearly turned gray? and what good has it done? Do you receive more for your labor than you did before I took up the pen in your defense? are you better treated? or more respected? do you find your life less irksome? your toil less severe? Can you suppose for a moment that anyone cares a fig for me, or for what I may say or write on the subject? Bless your dear heart, I might shout myself hoarse, and write myself blind, all to no purpose, it would not make a particle of difference, the men would lend neither ear nor eye to the subject, but would continue paying their starvation prices just as long as a woman was to be found who hadn't worked herself to death already in his service. I might use rivers of ink and acres of paper and the effect would be about the same as a handful of peas thrown upon the hide of an alligator.

I am positively unhappy. You haunt me day and night. Not with your sweet, childish voice, and earnest, hopeful, pleading face, that a few moments ago looked into mine, but with the sad, eager, woe-begone look that will, ere long, chase the light from your eyes and the smile from your lips! Your wan, pinched face is ever before me, sleeping or waking, and even in my dreams I hear your pleading voice beseeching me to say "a few words" in your defense, just as if I had set myself down in the beginning of life comfortably to do nothing until the end came, with never a thought or wish for any one but myself. O, it's too much! it drives me nearly wild! and to think, too, that I am powerless to aid and assist you! I know how hard you will have to work for the miserable pittance you will receive, at work, perhaps, fit only for a man's strength. I know the long, long hours that must drag wearily away before you rest that aching head upon those tired hands and say, "it is finished at last; my task is accomplished for this day at least."

When I think of the bitter injustice of the laws that now degrade the working-women to the ranks of penury, and almost the level of brutes, my very soul cries out in anguish, and I can scarcely wait myself for that "good time coming," when a woman's labor, well and faithfully performed, shall meet with the same recompense awarded her brethren. I can only try and comfort you by holding before you the mirror of futurity. Lord! the prospect brightens. Take courage. Take comfort. The good time will come just as sure as dawn cometh after darkness.

"Man's inhumanity to man" never half equaled his inhumanity to woman; but as he never yet was shamed out of the former, we can't expect he will relent toward the latter; but after a while the supreme power of tyrannizing over the "weaker sex" will have passed out of his hands. We don't intend taking the reins out of his hands entirely; but while he still retains his hold of one of them, we'll lay our right hand on the other, and with a flourish of the whip in our left hand—for a while at least—we'll progress nicely.

There, child, go! Don't look at me in that way. The time will come, I tell you. God grant we may both live to see it! But you will have to con many a hard task before that day, and learn by heart many a bitter lesson. There! go, I tell you. Go forth into the world to struggle and battle with the waves of adversity and injustice that will rise and surge over and around you until you are fairly en-

gulfed, perhaps to sink at last beneath the dark waters, as so many thousands have done before you; who knows? But in the name of pity don't come to me again, with your fresh young face, or the sad, wan face that will be yours shortly. Don't raise your innocent eyes to mine with that hopeful look in them, for no "few words" of mine, child, can alter the stern decree that dooms a woman to absolute beggary because she is a woman. M. BURTON.

THE WEEKLY.

BROOKLYN, August, 1871.

MESDAMES: Inclosed please find \$1 for your paper for six months, with my thanks to you for kindly sending me the two last numbers. It has to me been something which has elicited my wonder, my admiration—that bold, launching, irrepressible WEEKLY. "Breaking the way for future generations!" Buffeting through these fogs opaque with prejudice; fogs which, to keener discernment, are the armed and disciplined phalanxes of hostile millions, your enemies. Your courageous paper is the organ of the greatest "heresy" of the age. The sarcastic libel of usage having, unrestrained, held the world's workers chained in the doom of dogmas that were mythical in false sacredness, and sullenly reticent in fostered superstition—this libel which, through the long, long ages has fertilized kingcraft by the cajolery of divine rights, and spread out into monopolies by lending favoritism to its initiated experts—this sarcastic libel of usage has met, at last, in your reformatory messenger, a bold expositor of its frauds. The world's tears have ever fallen at the shrine of purblind reason.

You are rending the film. The world's agony has ever been rooted in idolatry. You are the redoubtable iconoclasts. The paucity of the world's developed genius is largely due to the subtle despotic grip and alluring tie of dependency that has forever held your sex enchanted and enchained with bells of soothing chime hanging to every link. You are boldly disabusing humanity of the fascination, their long-time error in heralding the religion of unconditional emancipation! I wonder at these vigorous strides of progressive heraldry; how, through the leer and jeer of these devotees—slaves to usages, sacred because ancient, and "infallible" because captivating to deadliness, you have dared, in this dark night of proletarian prostitution, with all these grinning ghosts and whitened sepulchres to mock and entomb you, you could make such headway, "breaking the road for future generations." Truly your course has been most boldly taken, and, thus far, the enemy has only met its logic with guffaws and screeches. He has not succeeded in intimidating you with headless ghosts nor lured you from your purpose with his old incantations; but he is subsidizing an array of unscrupulous instrumentalities in shape of sinecure, pulpit and press; yes, even against me in my less radical branch of reform; and the swampy path of all proletarian reformists grows darker and more inaccessible as he befores it with his lying hordes and decoys us into mistrust and jealousy among ourselves. The true key to success, then, to the campaign you have inaugurated, brave pioneers of liberty, is a lifelong prosecution of one idea.

I ought to add a current apology to you for my incoherent dissent to your kind and well-meant invitation to visit your beautiful home. I tried to stammer some idea of my surprise. Much as your sympathies are evoked for the working people, you do not appear aware that my class are unaccustomed to retreats of affluence. I never in all my life before was cordially invited to visit anybody's rich home. My struggle for a lowly existence has from my cradle been among the unappreciated lowly; and I never thought but once of aspiring to merit the friendship of the rich and happy, and then I was rejected. A pallet and a broken chair have always been enough for me, and my incessant daily tug and toil, and the stately hauteur and the cringing rebuke of masters behind the barriers of impunity, have taught me ever to discipline my sensitive nerves to humility. Do you know why the souls of Adam's poorest children are unreligionized? Why profanity and sullen abandonment and vice are so everywhere present? Why the features of the world's artisans shrivel into premature osteogenarianism? Why neglect begets neglect, and bitter inappreciation recklessness? It is because the churches have carpets and golden glitters; the colleges are forbidding by reason of the sneers of the high-born; and fashion puts scholarship *hors de leur portée*; the gorgeousness of the rich home's refinement contrasts incompatibly with the wages slave's work. So manhood hebetates in gin, and squalor sucks its solace, not from the splendors of wealth, but from its antipodes! I do not say, mesdames, that I have myself thus degenerated, though I am far from what I ought to be. Plunged as I am in the work of elevating my class, the wages slaves, I have no time, however much I should like, to be your frequent visitor.

C. O. W.

THE INTERNATIONAL.

So many responses to the "Appeal of Section 12" to English-speaking workingmen and women of the United States, in favor of the formation of English-speaking sections, have been received, that it is found impossible to supply the demand for the printed documents required to furnish the inquirers with the needful information without incurring an expense far exceeding the sum sent for that purpose. I have, therefore, determined, with the consent of

its proprietors, to print in this number of THE WEEKLY the "Rules of the International Workingmen's Association" and its "Administrative Regulations." The proper method of procedure in the formation of new sections may thus be ascertained; but a statement of the Principles of the Organization must be deferred until after the adjournment of the Fifth International Congress, now in session in London, England, when a condensed summary of the proceedings of each Congress, from which alone the principles of the International may be apprehended, will be printed in a single number, and the inquirer may obtain that number from the proprietors. Meanwhile, the undersigned will hold himself in readiness to answer all reasonable calls.

WILLIAM WEST, 30 Bowery, N. Y.

RULES OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

CONSIDERING,

That the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves; that the struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties, and the abolition of all class rule;

That the economical subjection of the man of labor to the monopolizer of the means of labor, that is the sources of life, lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation and political dependence;

That the economical emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means;

That all efforts aiming at that great end have hitherto failed from the want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labor in each country, and from the absence of a fraternal bond of union between the working classes of different countries;

That the emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists, and depending for its solution on the concurrence, practical and theoretical, of the most advanced countries;

That the present revival of the working classes in the most industrious countries, while it raises a new hope, gives solemn warning against a relapse into the old errors, and calls for the immediate combination of the still disconnected movements;

FOR THESE REASONS:

The first International Workingmen's Congress declares that the International Association and all societies and individuals adhering to it will acknowledge truth, justice and morality as the basis of their conduct toward each other and toward all men, without regard to color, creed or nationality;

This Congress considers it the duty of a man to claim the rights of a man and a citizen, not only for himself, but for every man who does his duty. No rights without duties, no duties without rights;

And in this spirit they have drawn up the following rules of the International Association:

1. This Association is established to afford a central medium of communication and co-operation between Workingmen's Societies existing in different countries and aiming at the same end; viz., the protection, advancement and complete emancipation of the working classes.

2. The name of the society shall be: "The International Workingmen's Association."

3. The General Council shall consist of workingmen belonging to the different countries represented in the International Association. It shall from its own members elect the officers necessary for the transaction of business, such as a treasurer, a general secretary, corresponding secretaries for the different countries, etc. The Congress appoints annually the seat of the General Council, elects a number of members, with power to add to their numbers, and appoints time and place for the meeting of the next Congress. The delegates assemble at the appointed time and place without any special invitation. The General Council may, in case of need, change the place, but has no power to postpone the time of meeting.

4. On its annual meetings, the General Congress shall receive a public account of the annual transactions of the General Council. In cases of urgency, it may convoke the General Congress before the regular yearly term.

5. The General Council shall form an international agency between the different co-operating associations, so that the workingmen in one country be constantly informed of the movements of their class in every other country; that an inquiry into the social state of the different countries be made simultaneously, and under a common direction; that the questions of general interest mooted in one society be ventilated by all; and that when immediate practical steps should be needed, as for instance, in case of international quarrels, the action of the associated societies be simultaneous and uniform. Whenever it seems opportune, the General Council shall take the initiative of proposals to be laid before the different national or local societies. To facilitate the communications, the General Council shall publish periodical reports.

6. Since the success of the workingmen's movement in each country cannot be secured but by the power of union and combination, while, on the other hand, the usefulness of the International General Council must greatly depend on the circumstance whether it has to deal with a few national centres of workingmen's associations, or with a great number of small and disconnected local societies: the members of the International Association shall use their utmost efforts to combine the disconnected workingmen's societies of their respective countries into national bodies, represented by central national organs. It is self-understood, however, that the appliance of this rule will depend upon the peculiar laws of each country, and that, apart from legal obstacles, no independent local society shall be precluded from directly corresponding with the General Council.

7. The various branches and sections shall, at their places of abode, and as far as their influence may extend, take the initiative not only in all matters tending to the general progressive improvement of public life, but also in the foundation of productive associations and other institutions useful to the working class. The General Council shall encourage them in every possible manner.

8. Each member of the International Association, on removing his domicile from one country to another, will receive the fraternal support of the Associated Workingmen.

9. Everybody who acknowledges and defends the principles of the International Workingmen's Association is eligi-

ble to become a member. Every branch is responsible for the integrity of the members it admits.

10. Every section or branch has the right to appoint its own corresponding secretary.

11. While united in a perpetual bond of fraternal co-operation, the workingmen's societies joining the International Association will preserve their existing organizations intact.

12. Everything not provided for in the present rules will be supplied by special regulations, subject to the revision of every Congress.

ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS.

1. The General Council is commissioned to carry the resolutions of the Congress into effect. (A) For this purpose it collects all the documents sent by the Central Committees of the different countries and such as it may be able to procure by other means. (B) It is charged with the organization of the Congress, and to bring the Congress programme to the knowledge of all the branches through the medium of the Central Committees.

2. As often as its means permit, the General Council shall publish a report embracing everything that may be of interest to the International Workingmen's Association, taking cognizance above all of the supply and demand for labor in different localities, co-operative associations, and of the condition of the laboring class in every country.

3. This report shall be published in the several languages and sent to all the corresponding offices for sale. To save expense, the corresponding secretaries must previously inform the General Council of the approximate number of copies that may be disposed of in their respective localities.

4. To enable the General Council to fulfill these duties, an annual contribution of two cents per member will be levied from affiliated societies for the use of the General Council, payable in quarterly instalments. This contribution is destined to defray the expense of the General Council, such as the remuneration of the General Secretary, post-ge, printing, etc.

5. Whenever circumstances may permit Central Committees representing groups of branches using the same language will be established. The functionaries of these Committees are elected by the respective sections, but may be recalled from their offices at any time. They shall send their reports at least once a month, or often if need be.

6. The expense of the Central Committees shall be defrayed by their respective sections. Every branch, whatever the number of its members, may send a delegate to the Congress.

7. Branches that are not able to send a delegate may unite with other branches to form a group to send a delegate to represent them.

8. Every branch, or group, consisting of more than 500 members may send a delegate for every additional full 500 members. Only the delegates of branches and sections who have paid their contributions to the General Council can take part in the transactions of the Congress.

9. The expense of the delegates is defrayed by the branches and sections who appoint them.

10. Every member of the International Workingmen's Association is eligible.

11. Each delegate has but one vote in the Congress.

12. Every section is at liberty to make Rules and By-Laws for its local administration, suitable to the peculiar circumstances of the different countries. But these By-Laws must not contain anything contrary to the general rules and regulations.

13. The present rules and regulations may be revised by every Congress, provided that two-thirds of the delegates present are in favor of such revision.

WE MEET UPON THE LEVEL.

We meet upon the Level and we part upon the Square;
What words of precious meaning these words Masonic are!
Come let us contemplate them: they are worthy of a thought—
In the very soul of Masonry these precious words are wrought.

We meet upon the Level, though from every station come—
The rich man from his mansion and the poor man from his home;
For the one must have his wealth and state outside the Mason's door.
And the other find his true respect upon the chequered floor.

We meet upon the Square, for the world must have its due;
We mingle with the multitude—a cold, unfriendly crew;
But the influence of our gathering in memory is green,
And we look upon the Level to renew the happy scene.

There's a world where all are equal—we are hurrying toward it fast;
We'll all meet upon the Level there, when the gates of Death are past;
We shall stand before the Orient, and our master shall be there
To try the blocks we offer by His own unerring square.

We shall meet upon the Level there, but never hence depart;
There's a mansion—'tis all ready for each trusting, faithful heart;
There's a mansion and a welcome—and a multitude is there—
We have met upon the Level and been tried upon the Square.

Hands round, ye faithful Masons, from the bright fraternal chain—
We part upon the Square below to meet in Heaven again.
Oh! what words of precious meaning these words Masonic are—
We meet upon the Level and we part upon the Square.

Mrs. MARGARET CADY, widow of the late Judge Daniel Cady, and a daughter of General James Livingston, of the Revolutionary army, died at Johnstown, N. Y., on the 16th instant, aged eighty-seven years. Mrs. Cady was an accomplished lady of the old school, and in her prime remarkable for dignity and grace, and for brilliant conversational powers, and the hospitality she dispensed among a large circle of friends, her mansion being always crowded with guests. She was related to many of the distinguished old families of the State besides the Livingstons, as, for instance, the Schuylers, the Clintons and the Ten Broecks. She was the aunt of Gerrit Smith and of Major-General A. B. Eaton, Commissary-General of the United States Army. She was very kind and liberal to the poor, and was an exemplary member of the Presbyterian church more than seventy years. Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton writes as follows: "I grieve to inform you of the death of my dear mother. She was a grand, brave woman. Her name headed the largest petition sent to the last Constitutional Convention of the State of New York asking to have the word 'male' stricken from the State constitution. She has said for years that she hoped to be enfranchised before entering the kingdom of Heaven; but the wheels of progress moved too slowly for her earnest wish to be gratified, although she had watched and waited eighty-seven years."

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

THE SPIRIT WORLD—ITS RELATIONS TO THIS.

If any one believe that the world into which humanity pass in their exodus from this visible material sphere is one of magnificent indolence, he is greatly mistaken; or if he believe that its inhabitants spend their time singing Psalms to the Great Jehovah, or in praying to be delivered from "this tormenting fire," he is not less wide of the truth; or if he believe that a listless anarchy prevails, into which no system or order is intruded, he is equally at fault.

Nothing can be more at variance with the reality than are most of the conceptions which people have inherited from an intolerant superstition and a bigoted theology. They have been educated to look to Bible students for an understanding of the unseen, and they have for ages told them that the Holy Book contained the complete revelation of God to Man. At the same time they have taught that this God is Infinite, Omnipotent and Omnipresent; forgetting to be consistent with the fact of which all should be cognizant, that the Bible is a very small book to contain the complete revelation of an Infinite Power; forgetting that Omnipotence includes all power, they have portrayed a Devil, to whom they have allowed even more strength than to God himself, since he has had more extended sway than they have attributed to Him; forgetting that Omnipresence is impossible of a localized personality, or, in fact, of any personality; they have pictured God at some important point in the universe which neither geography nor astronomy has been able to locate.

We say it is the inconsistencies of these fables with which the preachers of the "everlasting gospel" have been so absorbed in cramming the souls of humanity that have produced the present unphilosophic direction to which their minds tend. But thanks to the genial warmth of modern ideas, the cold icebergs of superstition, ignorance and bigotry are now fast disappearing, and he who should stand in his pulpit and preach that hell is paved with infants' skulls, and that the lake of fire and brimstone is still fruitlessly endeavoring to consume the souls of the damned, would not be tolerated a single hour. But a milk and water edition of the same inhumanity is still hawked at the price of from one to twenty thousand per year, and is still labeled Christianity.

We are told that the Bible teaches immortality, and yet when the demonstration is offered, these same expounders turn upon and read those who would supplant the doctrine of faith by the logic of fact. They seem to have an intuitive comprehension that their sincere positions to save souls which could never be lost, will be jeopardized if this new heresy spread. They seem to see their Holy seventh-day sanctuaries given up to a religion which can do good to humanity as well upon a Friday as upon a Sunday. They begin to realize that knowledge will supplant a blind faith, and that with this their occupation will be gone.

With all their watchfulness exercised over the members of their flocks, and in spite of all the anathemas they have suspended over the heads of the unfaithful, thousands upon thousands have been lured from the fold to listen to the voices of the loved whom they had thought lost, and their souls have been opened to spirit life in all its beauty. These, still remaining in the body of the Church are as a leaven, which must leaven the whole body. Degree by degree, step by step, are the pretended shepherds compelled to modify their doctrines and teachings, in order that their sheep may

not entirely desert the fold. And thus is the whole Protestant Church gradually, unconsciously, though none the less surely, being transformed from believers in immortality into knowers of it.

In the meantime, however, the Church, in league with an almost equally interested press, will continue to cry out "Crucify him! crucify him!" Daily and weekly will column upon column be published and read, denouncing, defaming and misrepresenting those who have become possessors of the New Faith. Every public gathering they hold will be written down in the most approved fashion. Their speakers will be caricatured and their speeches garbled; and if the purpose cannot be accomplished in any other way, words will actually be put into their mouths which were never uttered; as witness the New York *Tribune's* report of the late Convention at Troy, N. Y., into which whole sentences were injected that were never uttered in the Convention. And yet such a press make pretensions to honesty. Really, Mr. Horace Greeley, are you not sinking into your second childhood more rapidly than even your enemies give you credit for? If you think your readers don't see through such pretentious misrepresentations you are certainly presuming quite too much upon their devotion.

But while all these forces are busily at work endeavoring to shut the eyes of the people against the sight of the Spirit World which is opening to their view, the Spirits themselves are just as busy presenting the view, and of the two the latter are getting the most attention. And these irreverent parsons and the malicious press will awake some morning, not far distant, to learn with surprise, if not with dismay, that the armies of Spiritualists with whom they have long been battling with apparent success, have been reinforced by the whole Spirit World, organized into solid phalanx and ready to be hurled upon them, to once and forever destroy their too long continued resistance to the onward march of the world of ideas. The campaign is already not only conceived but well developed, and thousands who look into the heavens and see the marshaling hosts are expecting the denouement every day; sceptics may hoot and howl, may cry insanity or whatever they please, those who see and know look calmly on, and with a serene happiness contemplate the rapidly approaching crisis.

To these, however, we have a word to say. Are you not almost as criminally negligent as your opposers are willfully obstinate? Are your houses ready? Are they swept and garnered ready to receive your new allies? And are you endeavoring to prepare the way to make their paths straight? Much, we fear that your indifference is nearly equal to the sum of opposition, and that it will be so regarded by those who shall come to you. It behooves us all to bestir ourselves and see what is to be done after the glorious consummation shall have come. Those who have been blessed by the comforting assurances which wipe away, alike, all tears and fears, should lay hold of humanity and teach them the principles of life. Four millions of outspoken men and women, with six millions more standing ready to speak when the time shall come, and these reinforced by the combined spirit-world, are a power which, when once set in motion, will burst and sweep over the land like a thunderstorm, purifying its elements now loaded with the death and decay of the old civilization.

Then will the prophecies of all ages be verified. Then, in reality, will each and every individual place his faith in an Infinite, Omnipresent and Omnipotent God—their common Father—and regard all humanity as a common brotherhood, created in God's own image, and bearing alike His seal of divinity and immortality. Then no more shall one set himself above his brother or sister, but all shall acknowledge each as of common and equal origin, and not only entitled to, but possessed of, a common destiny.

THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT.

We are often asked the question, "Why there had to be a Fifteenth Amendment to enable negroes to vote, if the Fourteenth made all persons citizens and voters; and if the last Amendment was required for negroes, is not a Sixteenth required for women?"

We reply, that does not by any means follow. Neither does it follow that the Fifteenth Amendment was necessary to enfranchise negroes. As all are aware, the Fourteenth Amendment, by its first section, makes all persons citizens, and forbids the States to abridge their privileges as citizens. Had the Amendment stopped there, everything would have been clear. But, for some reason, there was a second section added as follows:

"Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed; but whenever the right to vote at any election for electors of President and Vice-President, or for United States Representatives in Congress, executive and judicial officers, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male persons shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in that State."

As might have been expected, the Southern States preferred to deny the negroes the right to vote, and have their representation reduced accordingly. But, for all that, it was

only an inferential right they had to do so. While section first absolutely prohibits any such right on the part of the States, the second leaves an inference to the contrary. This would not hold in law, and could have been overridden in the courts, since no inference can stand against plain assertion.

But to have attempted to adjudicate this question in the Courts would have involved unnecessary expense, a long delay and a deal of trouble. Beside, the Republicans wanted the negro vote, and could not afford to wait for such a consummation. They preferred to add another amendment as the readiest method of remedying the inconsistency and apparent contradiction of the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment. It will be seen that the authority obtained from the Fourteenth Amendment, by which the States continued to exclude male negroes from suffrage, can only be applicable to men, since it expressly says: "When the right to vote is denied to any male inhabitant." In the absence of even an inferential right as to women, how can it be assumed that such a right exists directly in the face of the positive prohibition of the first section of the same amendment.

It only requires that these things be analyzed in order to be understood. Read the Constitution and its amendments from beginning to end, and there is not a single sentence in it which gives even in the faintest manner the right to men to deny equal political right to women. And in this matter of inference, which apparently made an additional amendment necessary to the negro, the deduction is most emphatic and clear that it does not apply to women made citizens by the preceding section.

THE NEW YORK "HERALD" AS A CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY.

Judge Underwood, of the United States District Court of Virginia, has written a letter in which he says he feels very confident the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the United States Constitution, together with the Enforcement act of May 31, 1870, have secured the right to vote to the female citizens of Virginia as fully as it is now enjoyed and exercised by male citizens.

The *Herald*, in commenting upon this statement, says:

Judge Underwood, of Virginia, has unofficially rendered an opinion that the women of Virginia have a right to vote under the Fifteenth Amendment. The fact, indeed, seems to be that the women have a pretty strong argument. The Fifteenth Amendment speaks of all citizens with the qualifying adjective "male," and a number of judges learned in the law have thought as Judge Underwood does about it. Happily, it is feminine nature to retract and become sorry for all that has occurred as soon as they have the best of the argument, and we trust now that the ladies will calm their ruffled tempers and be quiet. At the same time we feel pretty sure that as soon as they are unrestrictedly granted the suffrage they will refuse to use it.

Thus, it seems, that which the *Herald* considered "an abomination," during the time we were pressing this construction of the Constitution upon Congress, last winter, it is now constrained to admit to be a pretty strong argument. This frank admission on the part of the *Herald* is really another exemplification of its general consistency. When convinced it admits it. In this regard the *Herald* differs in toto from that paper which is never convinced, and when driven from all tenable positions, more loudly than ever indulges in invectives, misrepresentation, and even downright falsification. The *Tribune* is infallible. It is always right, and everybody else differing, is all wrong. In fact, it seems to be Dr. Greeley's opinion that nobody has any right to question his authority. Beware, Dr. Greeley, lest your vanity lead you to your ruin.

But we are exceedingly obliged to the *Herald* for some information it gives of which we were not previously aware. We have been pretty close students of the Constitution, but the point in question we have always entirely overlooked. The *Herald's* version of the Constitution must differ from ours, since it says: "The Fifteenth Amendment speaks of all citizens with the qualifying adjective male." In our version of the Constitution, that qualifying word occurs but once, and that is in the Fourteenth Amendment; but, even there, it does not qualify "all citizens," but distinctly says "any of the male inhabitants." Now, no one can, by any possibility, construe that phrase to mean all citizens.

The *Herald* is either guilty of inexcusable ignorance or desires to insinuate that this matter of citizenship applies only to men; in the latter case, it is a most unjustifiable attempt to continue the old delusion that men only are citizens under the new amendments. Will the *Herald* please explain this little discrepancy, and in future remember that there are some people who read the Constitution, and who will not accept its renderings unquestioned?

THE Revere railroad slaughter in Massachusetts has forced upon the railroad chiefs the necessity of meeting and talking about increased care in running trains. This talk is not worth a cent. The drawback of joint stock enterprise is the facility it gives to dishonest management and the perfect irresponsibility of managers who shift all their loads on to the shoulders of subordinates and the pockets of shareholders. Make directors and superintendents liable in person, not in pocket. Under the old revolutionary rule blundering generals were cashiered and sometimes guillotined. The official decapitation of superintendents and directors, and their imprisonment in jail for gross mismanagement, would diminish accidents. Hanging a commissary has often improved the army rations.

SENATOR CARPENTER TO THEODORE TILTON.

MR. THEODORE TILTON,

Editor of *The Golden Age*:

MY DEAR SIR:—Yours of the 12th instant, enclosing a pamphlet copy of your letter to Mr. Sumner, maintaining the right of female citizens to vote under the Constitution as amended, and asking me to read it and drop you a line saying whether or not I think the case proven, was received this morning.

I had previously read your letter, as I do everything you write; for while I do not always concur with you, I do admire your independence of thought and the brilliancy of your genius. I love you for the utter recklessness of consequences with which you adhere to what you believe to be just, and the valor with which you defend the irresistible conclusions of right reasoning.

While concurring entirely with what I understand to be your opinion, that female suffrage is demanded both by principle and a wise regard for the public good, I am not satisfied that that desideratum has already been secured. There is great force in the argument of your letter to Mr. Sumner. You have put your views strongly and well; and I regret to dissent from your conclusions.

The strongest point you make is founded upon that provision of the old Constitution which imposes upon the United States the duty of guaranteeing to every state a republican form of government. The answer to that is, that the Constitution, deriving its authority from the will of the people, must be construed as it was understood by the people at the time of its adoption. Women have always been citizens, and their right to sue and be sued, as citizens, in the courts of the Union, has never been questioned. So that, with your idea of a republican form of government, it follows that there never was a republican state of this Union; and that even of the thirteen states which adopted the Constitution not one had a republican form of government at that time; and the Constitution required the general government to enter immediately upon a radical and fundamental reconstruction of the very states which had spoken the general government into existence. It is impossible, in view of the history of that day, the then condition of the country, the understanding of all those who took part in framing the Constitution and commending it to the people for their adoption, to maintain that such a thing was contemplated. It was assumed on all hands that the thirteen states which were expected to enter into the Union by adopting the Constitution, were republican; and the object, and the only object, of this provision, was to keep them so. There is no doubt that the judicial courts, under the old Constitution, would have held that those state governments of which the Union was originally composed were republican in form, although females were not admitted to suffrage. If such States were republican then, they are now. Whatever may be necessary, in the abstract, to constitute a republican government, there can be no doubt that Massachusetts, for example, when she adopted the Federal Constitution had a republican form of government, within the meaning of that phrase as employed in the Constitution.

In regard to the provision, "The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens of the several states," there was always considerable diversity of sentiment as to whether the word "privileges" included political rights. In an early case, *Campbell v. Morris*, 3, Har. & McHenry, 554, the court, speaking of this provision, said, "It is agreed it does not mean the right of election, the right of holding office, the right of being elected. The court are of opinion it means that the citizens of all the states shall have the peculiar advantage of acquiring and holding real as well as personal property, and that such property shall be protected and secured by the laws of the state, in the same manner as the property of the citizens of the state is protected. It means such property shall not be liable to any taxes or burthens which the property of the citizen is not subjected to. It may also mean that as creditors, they shall be on the same footing with the state creditor, in the payment of the debts of a deceased debtor. It secures and protects personal rights."

On the contrary, in *Corfield v. Correll*, decided in the Circuit Court by Justice Washington, the opposite view was taken, and the right of suffrage was regarded as included in, and protected by, this provision. In neither of these cases was the point directly involved, so that what is said in both cases is *obiter dicta*, and the Supreme Court of the United States has never decided the question, nor, that I am aware of, ever even incidentally expressed an opinion. Yet I think it safe to say that subsequent cases had so far followed the theory of Mr. Justice Washington, that down to the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, it is probable the Supreme Court would have so held.

But the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments seem to sanction the idea entertained by the court in *Campbell v. Morris*, that the right to vote was not included

in the phrase "privileges and immunities of a citizen."

The first section of the Fourteenth Amendment declares, "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." And had the Fourteenth Amendment stopped with the first section, I think the right of all citizens, black and white, male and female, to vote and hold office would have been secured; because I believe that upon the whole Constitution, thus amended, the elective franchise or privilege would have been held to be one of the *privileges of a citizen* of the United States. But the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment puts the matter at rest by clearly recognizing the right or power of any state to exclude a portion of the citizens from the right to vote; and declares that when the right to vote shall be denied to a portion of the male citizens of the United States, or any way abridged, except as punishment for crime, the basis of representation in such state "shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of excluded male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state." It is evident from this section that a state had the power after the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment to exclude a portion of its citizens from the right to vote; from which it follows that such right is not one of the "privileges and immunities" which the first section declares no state shall abridge. And again, this section, by reducing the basis of representation in such case in the proportion borne by the excluded citizens "to the whole number of male citizens" in such state, proceeds upon the theory that females are no part of the voting population of any state.

The Fifteenth Amendment is equally damaging to the right of female suffrage. If, by the Fourteenth Amendment, the elective franchise had been secured to every citizen, the Fifteenth Amendment would have been wholly unnecessary. It is true that in terms the Fourteenth Amendment only applies to the states, while the Fifteenth forbids either the states or the United States to exclude a citizen on the ground of race, color, etc. But this variation in the phraseology of the two Amendments is unimportant, because by the Constitution, after the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted, the states only, and not the United States, could fix the qualifications of voters or determine who should enjoy that right.

The Fifteenth Amendment is as follows: "The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

In both the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments suffrage is spoken of as a *right*, not a *privilege*; and in the Fourteenth Amendment, as I have already shown, the distinction between "privileges and immunities," which no state may abridge, and the *right to vote*, which a state has the power to deny to a citizen, is clear and manifest. But it has been said that the phraseology of the Fifteenth Amendment, "the right of citizens of the United States to vote," recognizes voting as one of the rights of a citizen. The Fifteenth Amendment was not intended to repeal the Fourteenth. The two stand together in the Constitution and must be construed together. The Fourteenth Amendment recognizes the power of a state to deny the right to vote to any citizen for any cause whatever. But the Fifteenth Amendment narrows the power of the state in this particular so far that such exclusion cannot be made on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. In every other particular the power of a state to deny the elective franchise to its citizens is as broad as it was before the Fifteenth Amendment was adopted. And I have no doubt, so far as these Amendments are concerned, of the power of any state to exclude citizens from the right of suffrage for any other reason or account than race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

You may say, and I admit, that this is taking a professional rather than a popular view of the question. But the constitutional rights of a citizen must stand that test, in a country like this, where every right must come to the standard of judicial reasoning; and I have no doubt the courts will take this view of the subject.

Truly your friend,

MATT. H. CARPENTER.

MILWAUKEE, SEPT. 18, 1871.

MR. TILTON'S REPLY TO MR. CARPENTER.

HON. MATT. H. CARPENTER,

Senator of the United States:

I thank you for your kind personal reference to myself, and proceed at once to reply to your able argument. The proposition which I set forth and illustrated in my pamphlet called "The Constitution a Title-Deed to Woman's Franchise" was this, namely, that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments guarantee the right of suffrage to women as to other citizens. In that tract (which anybody may have for the asking) I argued my case so fully that to marshal all the points a

second time to the same conclusion would simply be to imitate Robert Browning's thrush that

"Sang each song twice over,"

and in my case without the bird's certainty of being able

"To recapture

The first fine careless rapture."

Let me, therefore, give only such an outline of that argument (to which your present letter is a reply) as will make my rejoinder to this reply so clear as to fail of anybody's misapprehension.

I. I hold that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments have so thoroughly changed the former relation between the national government and the states that whereas, under the original Constitution, the states administered the right of suffrage as they chose, without restriction by that Constitution, yet this instrument, as now amended, directly confers the right of suffrage on all citizens of the United States, and forbids the states to deny or abridge this right.

A great lawyer from Rhode Island said to me a few days ago, "The people of the United States have not yet begun to realize that they no longer live under 'the same sort of government as before the war.' He said this in direct allusion to the recent constitutional transfer by the states to the United States of the American citizen's charter or title-deed to suffrage.

In other words, before the war, we were all in the habit of looking to the states as the fountain whence springs the legislative guarantee of suffrage; but the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments now bid us to draw this guarantee from the deeper well of the National Constitution.

Going to this Constitution, we find therein that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the states wherein they reside." Furthermore, we find therein that "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." What, then, logically follows from these provisions? Why, as "all persons" (including women) are citizens; and as all citizens (including women) are entitled to what the Constitution styles "privileges and immunities"; and as no state (nor even the United States) can now deny or abridge these "privileges and immunities" which belong to all citizens (including women)—I have, then, only to prove that among these "privileges and immunities" is the right of suffrage, and I shall have thereby proved that women, like other citizens, possess the right of suffrage.

Now, in my letter to Mr. Sumner I proved this by citing the very decision to which you have referred, namely, Justice Bushrod Washington's in the Washington District Court, it being the unanimous opinion of the Court that among these "privileges and immunities" was "to enjoy the elective franchise as regulated and established by the laws or constitution of the state in which it is to be exercised."

Chancellor Kent, referring to this decision, takes precisely the same ground, and enumerates among these "privileges and immunities" the right of suffrage.

By this line of reasoning, I demonstrated that women, like other citizens, have the constitutional right of suffrage.

II. But I can prove the same point by an entirely different argument. You say that "privileges and immunities" do not include the right of suffrage. For the argument's sake, grant it. I do not need to base the constitutional guarantee either of man's or woman's franchise on the phrase "privileges and immunities." I find an all-sufficient guarantee of the right of suffrage in the simple term "citizen."

The Supreme Court of the United States, in the *Dred Scott* decision, declared as follows:

"Who, it may be asked, is a citizen? What do the character and status of citizens import? Upon a principle of etymology alone, the term citizen, as derived from *civitas*, conveys the idea of connection or identification with the state or government, and a participation in its functions. But, beyond this; there is not, it is believed, to be found in the theories of writers on government, or in any actual experiment heretofore tried, an exposition of the term citizen which has not been understood as conferring the actual possession and enjoyment, or the perfect right of acquisition and enjoyment, of an entire equality of privileges, civil and political."

The above is the American idea of a citizen, as authoritatively declared by the supreme tribunal of the nation.

Now, in the light of this decision, as woman is a citizen, (which you admit), it logically follows that, being a citizen, she is "entitled to the actual possession and enjoyment, or the perfect right of acquisition and enjoyment, of an entire equality of privileges, civil and political."

This line of reasoning, equally with the former, inevitably demonstrates woman's (and every other citizen's) constitutional right of suffrage.

III. Now, what are the chief points of difference between these reasonings and your reply?

One is, I hold that since the Constitution, by the new Amendments, has declared that "all persons" (including women) are citizens, therefore the constitutional guarantee of a republican form of government to each state requires the political equality of white males, negroes, and women. You deny this.

Another is, I hold that the phrase "privileges and immunities" includes "the right of suffrage"—as Justice Washington and Chancellor Kent long ago announced. You deny this.

Still another is, I hold that the new Amendments, in most explicit terms, forbid the state constitutions and laws either to deny or abridge the citizen's right of suffrage, but on the contrary guarantee to every citizen the right of suffrage unabridged and unimpaired. You deny this.

Finally another is, I hold that (by a decision of the Supreme Court) a citizen, in virtue of simple citizenship, possesses the right of suffrage. You deny this.

So let me go over these several differences in detail.

IV. I will, therefore, give you my idea of a republican form of government. You confess that the strong-point of what you praise as a strong argument is, that the constitutionally declared citizenship of negroes and women presupposes and requires the political equality of these and all other citizens as a condition precedent to a republican form of government.

A debate as to what constitutes, or has constituted, or ought to constitute, a republican form of government, would be largely a battle about the meaning of words. I freely admit that our fathers, when they wrote the original Constitution, supposed that even with negro slavery, and with a limited white suffrage, and with no constitutional definition of a citizen, and with nothing but state pride and prejudice to foster the franchise of the few in preference to the many, were nevertheless establishing (as they thought) a republican form of government. But I deny that the constitutional guarantee of a republican form of government to each state is to be limited in our day to the same narrow meaning which our fathers gave to it a century ago. No. It takes more to constitute a republican form of government now than it did then. For, as Tennyson said of England, so we can say of America, that it is a land

"Where Freedom broadens slowly down
From precedent to precedent."

You are wrong when, in speaking of the early times, you say, "If the States were republican then, they are 'republican now.'" On the contrary, if the states should be no more republican now than they were then, they would not have republicanism enough to justify the name.

For instance, suppose the Virginian negroes in Jefferson's time had gone to him and said, "You have adopted a National Constitution which guarantees to 'Virginia a republican form of government. Give us, therefore, our freedom and suffrage; for a republican form of government requires that we, too, like 'you, should be enfranchised.'" The answer would have been, "No, we consider that we can keep our 'negroes, not only disfranchised, but in slavery, and 'still have a republican form of government.'" But suppose the Virginian negroes of to-day should be suddenly disfranchised and remanded to slavery by the Richmond Legislature. What then? Why, I would wager a thousand ducats that I could name a United States Senator from Wisconsin who would make the Senate Chamber ring with a fiery and eloquent demand upon the Federal government to reach out the arm of its authority into Virginia to guarantee to that state "a republican form of government."

Have I not a recollection of a passionate and brave speech of yours, made in your own city of Milwaukee, in which you were applauded to the echo for demanding the negro's right to vote, and in which you denounced the pretended republicanism of a government which denied to any class of its citizens their political rights? I submit to your fine appreciation of just views the unanswerable proposition that if a republican form of government in this country now requires the participation of the negro, it equally requires the participation of woman. In other words, it requires the equal participation of all classes of citizens. Any other republicanism is a sham, and you ought not abet it.

V. I now re-assert, in order more fully to prove, that the phrase which guarantees to citizens their "privileges and immunities" includes among these, and as the chief of these, "the right of suffrage." I have already said that Justice Washington and Chancellor Kent held this view. Let me add also that the Supreme Court of Massachusetts long ago corroborated the same.

But, kicking against the pricks, you say, "In both 'the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, suffrage 'is spoken of as a right, not a privilege.'" You mean by this that "the right of suffrage" is something outside of "privileges and immunities." But here, as before, you are at disagreement with higher authorities than yourself. Justice Bradley of the Supreme Court of the United States, in a late decision, says:

"What are the privileges and immunities of citizens 'of the United States? Are they not also rights?'"

I set the judge's decision against the lawyer's plea! Furthermore, if you do not think with these wise judicial minds that the phrase "privileges and immunities" includes "the right of suffrage," what then does that phrase mean, and why was it recently introduced a second time into the Constitution? Lest you should fail to give a good answer to this question, I will transcribe for you the answer made to it by one of your brethren at the bar, Mr. A. G. Riddle, of Washington, who says:

"One consideration alone is absolutely conclusive of 'this argument, and from it escape is impossible. 'Persons born or naturalized in the United States 'and subject to the jurisdiction thereof,' were already 'in the full and complete enjoyment of every privilege 'and immunity known to our political system, except 'the elective franchise, and its correlative the right to 'hold office. The only difference between the naturalized and unnaturalized individual is this right of 'voting. I pray our opponents to tell us, then, what is 'conferred by this first section of this wonderful article, if it be not these rights? Nothing else remained 'that it could confer; and this view alone silences 'cavil, even. If this section does not confer or 'guarantee the exercise of the elective franchise, then 'at infinite pains have we mined among the foundations of our marvelous structure, and have deposited 'there as one of them an utter sham, full of the 'emptiness of nothing. Let him escape this who 'may.'"

I reëcho Mr. Riddle, and say, Mr. Carpenter, you cannot escape it!

VI. Let me now show that American citizens, instead of looking as heretofore to the several state constitutions or laws for the right of suffrage, must henceforth look for this right only to the Constitution of the United States. This great instrument, as newly amended, has received within itself, by voluntary surrender from the states in ratifying these new Amendments, the power heretofore possessed by the states alone over the right of suffrage. Before the adoption of these Amendments, you yourself were first a citizen of Wisconsin and so by implication of the United States; but since their adoption, you are now primarily a citizen of the United States, and thereby of the state wherein you reside. Before their adoption, your state could give or withhold your right of suffrage; but since their adoption, the Constitution gives to you this right beyond the power of your state to deny or abridge it. The two Amendments are doubly explicit on this point, for the Fourteenth says, "No state shall make or enforce any 'law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities 'of citizens of the United States"—among which (as I have shown) is the right of suffrage; and the Fifteenth, instead of the round-about expression "privileges and immunities," uses the direct and point-blank phrase, "the right of citizens of the United States to 'vote.'"

Do you think I attach too much importance to my deduction from the phrase "privileges and immunities?" Let me, then, quote a decision of Chief Justice Brown of Georgia. In speaking of these "privileges and immunities," he says:

"Whatever they may be, they are protected against 'all abridgment by legislation. Whether the 'privileges and immunities' of the citizen embrace political 'rights, including the right to hold office, I need not 'now inquire. If they do, that right is guaranteed 'alike by the Constitution of the United States and of 'Georgia, and is beyond the control of the legislature.'"

So, then, in the light of this decision, there is no mistaking the fact that the citizen's "privileges and immunities" (including the right to vote, and to hold office) have been so solidly settled by the new Amendments as to be beyond denial or abridgment by the states.

If now you ask me, Have the states no function at all as to suffrage? I answer yes. The states have now precisely the same function as to suffrage which they had before the adoption of the new Amendments, except the one mischievous power to deny or abridge it. Once the states assumed the right to deny or abridge it; but they voluntarily gave up this assumption when they lately joined in ratifying a constitutional provision against such denial and abridgment by any state. The states, therefore, while they cannot deny or abridge, may regulate and qualify the right of suffrage; they may say at what age citizens may vote; they may fix the times and manner of holding elections; they may prescribe as qualifications, for instance, intelligence or property, though I hope they never will do so; but they cannot lay any qualification which, in the nature of things, cannot be attained by the person on whom it is laid—as, for instance, to require that a negro should become white, or a woman become a male—for, to fix such a condition would be, not to qualify the right of suffrage, but to deny it altogether.

If now you should say that, according to my reasoning, the right of suffrage belongs not only to men and

women, but also to children, I admit it. Citizenship (including the right of suffrage), is conferred at birth. It is a birthright. But as with certain other birthrights, the exercise of the right of suffrage is reserved till its possessor becomes of age. Other birthrights are held in reserve still longer. For instance, our orators are in the habit of flattering school-children by saying, it is every American boy's birthright to be eligible for Representative, or Senator, or President; and yet, to be Representative he must wait till he is twenty-five; to be Senator, till thirty; and to be President, till thirty-five. Moreover, the Constitution guarantees that the citizen's "right to bear arms shall not be infringed"; but this provision does not prove that this same citizen, while yet an infant, may play with gunpowder, or handle muskets, or draw swords.

A citizen possesses all his rights of citizenship from birth; but some of these rights, like the right to bear arms, he does not exercise till the military age; others, like the right to vote, and to possess inherited property, till the legal age; and others still, like the holding of the higher offices of state, till a yet wiser age.

VII. I now show that a citizen (whether man or woman) by virtue of simple citizenship (and with nothing else as his or her credentials) possesses constitutionally the right of suffrage. What is a citizen? Let me recall to you, in answer, some of the citations in my letter to Mr. Sumner.

Grant White says, "A citizen is a person who has 'certain political rights, and the word is properly 'used only to imply or suggest the possessor of those 'rights.'"

Noah Webster says that "a citizen is a person, native or naturalized, who has the privilege of voting 'for public officers, and who is qualified to fill offices in 'the gift of the people.'"

Worcester says that "a citizen is an inhabitant of a 'republic who enjoys the rights of a citizen or free 'man, and who has a right to vote for public officers, 'as a citizen of the United States.'"

Bouvier's Law Dictionary, which gives the legal meaning of the word, says that "a citizen is one who, under 'the Constitution and laws of the United States has a 'right to vote for Representatives to Congress and 'other public officers, and who is qualified to fill offices 'in the gift of the people.'"

Turning from the lexicographers to the publicists, I find Thorbecke saying that "the right of citizenship 'is the right of voting in the government of the local, 'provincial, or national community of which one is a 'member.'"

Turning to the courts, I quote the Supreme Court of Kentucky, which declares that "No one can be in the 'correct sense of the term a citizen of a state who is 'not entitled, upon the terms prescribed by the 'institutions of the state, to all the rights and privileges conferred by these institutions upon the highest 'classes of society.'"

Finally, I will repeat a declaration which I have already adduced from the Supreme Court of the United States, as follows: "Who, it may be asked, is a citizen? '... Upon a principle of etymology alone, the term 'citizen, as derived from *ciuitas*, conveys the idea of 'connection or identification with the state or govern- 'ment, and a participation in its functions. There is 'not an exposition of the term citizen which has not 'been understood as conferring the actual possession 'and enjoyment, or the perfect right of acquisition and 'enjoyment, of an entire equality of privileges, civil 'and political.'"

Now these citations prove that a citizen, by virtue of simple citizenship, has the right of suffrage.

So, having admitted (as you gallantly do) that woman is a citizen, you have by this admission put it out of your power to deny to her the political rights which the literary critics, the learned lexicographers, the international law-writers, the state courts, and the Supreme Court of the United States have unanimously conferred upon her by virtue of her citizenship!

VIII. One part of your argument is inconsistent with another. You tell me that the Constitution must be judged according to the intent of its framers, and that as these framers did not intend to enact woman suffrage, therefore woman suffrage is not enacted. And yet you say that if the Fourteenth Amendment had stopped with the first section, then "the right of all citizens, black and 'white, male and female, would have been secured." But, suppose it had stopped there; this stoppage would not have been with the intent to secure woman suffrage. How, then, according to your theory, could this first section of the Amendment have secured woman suffrage without the existence of an intent to do so? Your logic is like the self-consuming monster in the fairy-tale, that opened two mouths which gnawed at and devoured each other.

IX. But in admitting that, if the Fourteenth Amendment had stopped with the first section, it would secure both negro and female suffrage, you have admitted away your whole case, and proven all I claim. Interpreting the Constitution as you say I must—that is, according to the intent—I hold that the Fourteenth Amendment does stop with the first section; or, in

other words, that it practically no longer contains the second; for the second has been rendered null and void by the Fifteenth Amendment. Reasoning from the intent, this is as plain as a sign-post. The intent of the second section has given place to the entirely different and far nobler intent of the Fifteenth Amendment. It was the intent of the second section to say to the rebel states, "If your black citizens remain unenfranchised, you shall suffer a loss of your representation in Congress." I spent a whole winter, before eighty lyceums, denouncing the infamy of that clause—infamous because, under it, there seemed a prospect that the southern whites, who had been rebels, would trample under foot the southern blacks, who had been loyalists—a revenge which the ex-slaveholders were then apparently willing to purchase at the paltry price of a diminished representation in a government which they despised. But then came the Fifteenth Amendment forever prohibiting that possible crime. This Amendment said to those states, "Your black citizens shall never be disfranchised—no, not though you are willing to purchase their disfranchisement by an abridgment of your power in Congress." Now you can easily see that, since the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, there is no possible way by which the rebel states could avail themselves of the seeming and damnable opportunity which the second section of the Fourteenth gave them to strangle the citizenship of the negroes. The intent of the Fifteenth Amendment thus renders nugatory—it chills and kills—the intent of the second section of the Fourteenth—just exactly as the permission for the continuance of the slave-trade till 1808 has been null and void ever since that year. So, judging as you say I must, by the "intent," I force upon you, from your own premises, the irresistible conclusion that the Fourteenth Amendment no longer contains, in vital force, that baleful second section which, you say, if omitted from it, would leave to the purified remainder the beneficent function of enfranchising all citizens, "white and black, male and female." Held to your own logic, out of your own mouth you are condemned.

X. There is an ingenious and plausible yet fallacious sentence in your letter which I single out to speak of by itself, lest, if left unanswered, it should prove a pit-fall to catch the unwary. You say:

"It is evident that a state had the power after the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment to exclude a portion of its citizens from the right to vote, from which it follows that such right is not one of the 'privileges and immunities' which the first section declares no state shall abridge."

The answer to this is two-fold: first, whatever power a state had before the adoption of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, to withhold the right of suffrage from its citizens, the moment these Amendments were adopted this power ended, for the citizen's right of suffrage then became forever fixed by the National Constitution beyond the possibility of the states to deny or abridge it; second, by your own admission, it is only the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment that gives any right to a state to disfranchise its citizens, and by your own doctrine of intent the Fifteenth Amendment was adopted for the express purpose of nullifying the apprehended effect of that second section.

XI. But whatever power you think the Fourteenth Amendment gives to a state to disfranchise a certain class of "male citizens," no such disfranchisement could thereby attach to female citizens. Justice McKay of Georgia, in speaking of the constitution of his own state, says:

"The rights of the people of this state, white and black, are not granted to them by the constitution thereof. The object and effect of that instrument is 'not to give, but to restrain, deny, regulate, and guarantee rights. And all persons recognized by that constitution as citizens of the state have equal legal and political rights, except as otherwise expressly declared.'"

This is a principle which applies to the Constitution of the United States as well as to that of any particular state. Since the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, all persons recognized in the Constitution as citizens of the United States, and whose right of suffrage is therein guaranteed, are entitled to the enjoyment of this right except as the Constitution itself shall otherwise "expressly declare." Now, although the Fourteenth Amendment by an express declaration foreshadowed the possible disfranchisement of certain "male citizens," yet, as it made no such "express declaration" concerning female citizens, it could not possibly imply, or hint, or suggest, or tolerate the disfranchisement of woman.

XII. You think the Fourteenth Amendment gives to a state "the power to exclude a portion of its citizens" (meaning thereby its males) "from the right of suffrage." Why do you say a portion? What portion? If a portion, then the whole. There is no prescribed stopping-place. Do you pretend to say that an Amendment which begins by declaring that "no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the priv-

ileges or immunities of citizens of the United States," could then, in the next breath, constitutionally disfranchise all its male citizens? This is absurd. And this absurdity is an additional reason for the absolute necessity of including among "privileges and immunities" the right of suffrage, otherwise the Constitution would present the disorganizing spectacle of building up the citizen's rights with one hand only to tear them down with the other.

XIII. But if the right of suffrage be included in "privileges and immunities" (as I have shown it to be), then no state can possibly possess what you call "the power to exclude a portion of its citizens from the right of suffrage," because, in so excluding them, it would be thereby depriving them of certain of their "privileges and immunities"—and this the Constitution expressly forbids the states to do.

XIV. I fancy that about the very time you were penning to me your letter, our mutual friend, Gen. Butler—who is an older, I do not say a better, lawyer than yourself—was uttering to an applauding Massachusetts audience the following words, which could not be more pat to my purpose if he had foreseen that I wanted them as a counterpoise to yours:

"Upon the best examination I could give I came to the conclusion that the Constitution of the United States has granted to women the right of suffrage as against all state laws whatever. I have no doubt as to their right to vote, be voted for, and be appointed to office under the Constitution and laws of the Commonwealth."

XV. The closing line in your letter—the snapping end of your whip—is, that the courts, when they come directly to pass upon woman's constitutional claim to suffrage under the new Amendments, will take your view instead of mine. But on the very day when I received your letter, I received the text of a decision by Chief Justice Howe of Wyoming, upholding my view and overthrowing yours. I am proud and pleased to point to the fact that the very first time a court has spoken on this subject, it has judicially vindicated my proposition that the National Constitution is a title-deed to woman's franchise, anything in the state constitutions or laws to the contrary notwithstanding. I quote this late, wise, and just judgment—and from a Chief Justice—as follows: "Under the Fourteenth Amendment, 'women should enjoy the same civil and political rights as are reserved to men—if that Amendment means what it says, and the language is clear and unambiguous. The Amendment in question 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. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the protection of the laws.' Few people will be found so idiotic as to assume that women are not 'persons.' Their personality is made manifest everywhere, and always. The most distinguished jurists have decided that citizenship and the right to participate in public affairs are inseparable, and that the one cannot exist without the other. The legal meaning of the word 'citizen' is a person (in the United States) who, under the Constitution and laws, has a right to vote and to hold office. The Amendment in question affirms that all persons born or naturalized in the United States shall be entitled to the immunities of citizens. Women are persons; therefore they should be entitled to all the privileges of citizenship. It has, however, been urged against this theory that 'Congress had no intention of enfranchising women when the above was passed. But no principle of statutory construction is better settled than that words shall be taken in their natural and ordinary sense and meaning, and that the intention of the law-makers is to be learned from such usual meaning of the words employed. If Congress intended to enfranchise women, that intention is clearly manifest in the Amendment in question. If not, why was not the word 'male' used so as to exclude the female sex? If Congress intended to exclude women from the rights of citizenship, how is that intention to be proven? Certainly not by the terms of the Amendment, for these terms are unambiguous and clear. And, as has been said, the language, if plain, must be taken in its ordinary acceptation, as conclusive with respect to the intention of the law-making power."

Swiftly succeeding the publication of the above judicial decision, the following announcement appeared in the Washington correspondence of the New York Herald:

"Judge Underwood, United States District Judge for Virginia, transmitted a letter in which he says he feels very confident the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments of the United States Constitution, together with the enforcement act of May 30, 1871, have secured the right to vote to the female citizens of

Virginia as fully as they are now exercised and enjoyed by male citizens."

I will add, on the authority of a friend, a statement which I hope will not prove unfounded, namely, that Justice Bradley, of the Supreme Court of the United States, has privately declared, in very emphatic terms, that the Constitution, as now amended, guarantees suffrage to women.

XVI. There is a sunbeam in your letter which I borrow to add a little luster to mine. I mean your frank and sagacious statement "that female suffrage is demanded both by principle and a wise regard for the public good?" Do you say by principle? What, then, is the principle which demands female suffrage? Is it any other than the self-same principle which demands male suffrage? And what is that principle? It is the one great principle of self-government which I have illustrated in my argument first to Mr. Sumner and now to yourself—the principle of republican equality—the principle by which all citizens have equal rights of citizenship—the principle which makes the "privileges and immunities" of all citizens (among which is suffrage) the same to all—the principle by which citizenship, in its very signification as determined by the Supreme Court, demands the equal participation of all citizens in the functions of government—the principle, in short, by which the Constitution makes all persons citizens, and which thus guarantees the constitutional right of suffrage equally to white men, to negroes, and to women, all these being citizens. In view of this principle, and of your confession that female suffrage is demanded by it, and also by the public good, I am filled with equal surprise and regret that you have lent your senatorial name to a double indictment against the Constitution of your country, first as violating the fundamental principle of political equality, and second as arrayed in hostility against the welfare of the Republic.

In conclusion, I reciprocate in full measure the kindly feeling with which you honor me, and subscribe myself with equal friendliness,

Your fraternal antagonist,

THEODORE TILTON.

COMING EVENTS THAT ARE CASTING SHADOWS.

Many of our Western exchanges predict low prices for corn and pork. In some journals fifteen cents a bushel for corn and three cents per pound for pork are indicated as the probable prices which the Western farmers will receive for their products next year. These prices betoken no good fortune for the Western farmer. The Western farmer, under the high tariff system, will be made to exchange two pounds of pork for a yard of calico, and will receive less than three yards of calico for a bushel of corn. How long will the Western farmer stand legislation which produces such a result? Prior to the war the South was the chief customer of the West for mules, horses, hogs, bacon, wheat, flour, lard and many other articles. Year by year, as the "free labor farming system" expands at the South, the Southern consumption of Western products will grow less. During the war the government became the great purchaser of Western products. At the close of the war, exhausted, the South purchased heavily from the West through sheer necessity, exchanging more than the value of her cotton production for the necessities of life. Gradually the South is recuperating, buying year by year less of corn, mules, horses, pork, and all manner of Western agricultural products. What prosperity can the West expect in future under the high tariff system of the North, with the expansion of the "small farm system" in the South, made imperative by Radical legislation?—*Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle*.

The foregoing extract implicitly regrets plenty as a national misfortune. We shall all have so much to eat, so much meat and grain that we shall suffer from *tembaras de richnesses*. Even the war seems to have had its credit side. It made an outlet for Western produce. Men died and women sighed, but farmers made money. Corn at fifteen cents a bushel and pork at three cents a pound ought to be a blessing, and yet, paradoxical as it seems, the difficulty of getting merchandise in exchange may make abundance valueless to the farmer, however infinitely precious it might be to half-fledged millions who live in cities far away from fields overflowing with fatness and granaries bursting with excess. That is a very rudimentary condition of civilization which cannot equalize the cost of prime necessities so as to make them interchangeable, and which creates artificial necessity in the midst of plenty. Europe, owing to atmospheric causes and the accidents of war, suffers for food. The British and French crops are both short. But Europe has countless values in useful manufactures. America is suffering under plethora—yet neither can relieve her own wants nor partake of the other's superabundance. Can there be a more convincing argument for free trade—for the untrammelled production by either section of those commodities which are most in accordance with the genius and local conditions of the people. Another and a purely home moral, applicable to ourselves only, may be drawn from this calamity of a shockingly good harvest. The monstrous absurdity of corn at fifteen cents a bushel in the West, and at seventy-five cents on the seaboard, four-fifths of the whole price for mere transport. Think of that, Master Brook.

"IMPOSSIBLE? No such word in the soldier's dictionary," said Napoleon. And it is true. The impossibilities of to-day are the common-places of to-morrow.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 24, 1871.

THE WEEKLY BULLETIN

OF THE

PANTARCHY.

MY RESPECTS TO MR. BOUCHER, AGAIN.

I shall not attempt to compete with Mr. Boucher in his elephantine playfulness, but shall confine my remarks to a few words applicable to his argument. Mr. Boucher objects to my saying that I *object*, and I *propound*. As this is, however, exactly what I mean, when I say it, and as he, in the exercise of his role as teacher, has not seen fit to tell me what I may say, I shall probably subside into silence, for fear of going wrong, after this last effort to put him a little right on some points in the few words I may now indite (I hope that word isn't wrong, is it?)

I made a mistake, it seems, in supposing that Mr. Boucher used the phrase *Sovereignty-of-the-Individual* in the technical sense of the only writers on social science who have ever defined and employed it, inclusive of the well known and profound thinker, Mr. Warren, who first introduced it, and gave it currency in the world. He tells us now that he used it in a new sense of his own, or rather in a vulgar and abused and abusive sense borrowed from the ignorant misapprehenders and maligners of Mr. Warren's idea, and abusive of the great and intelligent class who adopt and hold the doctrine of the Sovereignty of the Individual as their social religion; that he has done, in a word, with this technicality of a new doctrine precisely what Mr. Tilton has done with *Free Love*; that instead of resorting to those who believe the doctrine and have cautiously and scientifically defined it, and cast it on the world, he has preferred to resort to the vulgar, prejudiced and uninformed opponents of the doctrine, and to adopt their definition.

But there is this degree of fairness in Mr. Tilton that there is not in Mr. Boucher. He tells us, distinctly, to start with, that he looks to the vulgar for his meaning of words, and not to those who have originated, adopted and defined them, as part of the code of their lives; while Mr. Boucher surreptitiously foists on his readers the vulgar misapprehension instead of the true and scientifically correct apprehension of a well-known and much used technicality. Certainly, had I, for one, suspected this ignorance, or trick, or license of genius, for it might be any one of the three, I should not have been betrayed into this discussion, but I was all the more deceived in Mr. Boucher's case, because I know that he claims to be a social scientist, and not a merely popular and surface writer; and because he really has some rightful claims to that character; although I have the arrogance to think that he may with safety still go to school a while before he assumes, in any large way, to be my teacher; and I underscore the word *my* because there are very few persons as yet who have any profound or even adequate knowledge of social questions.

I have no authority to restrain either Mr. Boucher or Mr. Tilton from resorting to these loose and popular meanings of terms which have a precise and definite meaning in the mouths of those who adopt the same words as descriptions of themselves and their beliefs, but I thought that I had a right to *object* and to *state my objections*, and I think so still.

I was, I say, betrayed into the assumption that Mr. Boucher knew and was dealing with the scientific and really all-important meaning of the doctrine of the Sovereignty of the Individual, since he proposes to be treating his subject scientifically. Nor was there any arrogance in this assumption. Mr. Warren and myself are the only writers of books on the subject, and the only ones who ever gave the term a definition. The term is as characteristic of Mr. Warren's contribution to Social Science, as Unism, Duism and Trinism, or Integralism, are of mine. I think Mr. Warren might even object to a writer's adopting this phrase for some other and contradicting conception, on the general equities of the law which prohibits any one from appropriating the trade mark of another merchant (in ideas); but, not to put too fine a point upon it, I do object (I must still be allowed the phrase, though Mr. Boucher objects to my *objecting*), I do object to his using a settled technicality of a science which he is attempting to teach, not only in an untechnical sense, without notice, but also in the sense of the untaught misapprehenders and falsifiers of the doctrine.

Mr. Boucher thinks it arrogant that I should have assumed that he was using this term in the sense which Mr. Warren, who introduced it, impressed upon it, and which I, who have voluminously expounded it in a work at one time extensively read, and from which, I have no doubt, Mr. Boucher either directly or indirectly derived no small part of his radical education, have still further defined and guarded. My apprehension of arrogance is that he, in quietly ignoring a social theory and doctrine which for twenty-five or thirty years has much occupied the public attention, and in assigning, without notice, his own meaning to one of the most distinctive technicalities of a school of thinkers quite his equals, to speak modestly, gives the better illustration of that essential quality. A writer should have achieved a very high position before he could reasonably hope to put the stamp of his genius on a term in that manner, adverse to the technical meaning which brought it into use, and with

which it had already acquired an extensive currency. The unconscious arrogance which crops out so innocently is usually the genuine article, and couples naturally with the mistake of taking for arrogance that simply well assured confidence which comes of thorough investigation and the consciousness of complete familiarity with a subject, and which is entirely compatible with great modesty.

BUT Mr. Boucher now claims to understand us (Mr. Warren and myself), and quite unconsciously again he now takes to telling us *what we mean*. We may, he says, "have gone to seed," and have carried the doctrine of the Sovereignty of the Individual in his sense of the term ("as a general principle applicable, to a large degree, to the people generally of the present age, and particularly as a characteristic of the people of this country") farther out, and farther on, than anybody else. Now he defines the same thing as "selfishness" and "hoggishness," and credits Mr. Warren and myself at the most with the possibility that we may be the most prominent teachers and illustrators of these characteristics.

This misapprehension, if it be such, and misrepresentation, if otherwise, is a worthy brother to Mr. Tilton's characterization of Free Love, the holiest religion of some of his best neighbors, best by his own admissions on the subject, as "promiscuity" and "filthiness."

It is a tedious business to undertake the education of people who think they know, and yet who falsely represent what they profess to represent. I have made some effort, however, to enlighten Mr. Tilton on the meaning of free love, and will spend a like exertion now on Mr. Boucher with reference to the *Sovereignty of the Individual* with its limitation, *at one's own cost*; and I presume that I shall not find it necessary to continue the discussion, no matter what may follow.

A vulgar and superficial misapprehension of great and beautiful doctrines, carefully defined by the best of thinkers, is something which cannot be prevented, but when all this occurs with persons who claim to teach and profess to understand, it is something still more sad. And I have little hope or expectation of enlightening the parties directly in fault. I have usually found their pride of opinion greater than their love of truth. But good often comes to the readers who act as bystanders to the discussion.

What, then, is the doctrine of the Sovereignty of the Individual scientifically limited, as repeatedly and cautiously stated by Mr. Warren and myself, in definitions challenging the criticism of the thinkers of the world?

The naked term the *Sovereignty of the Individual*, is not safe from misapprehension, as we have said and shown, whence the necessity of the limitation, *at one's own cost*. Even this I have found undergoing another kind of misapprehension. Some folks persist in thinking that it means, that a person is authorized to do any act whatsoever, provided he is willing to take the risk of the consequences which may fall on himself. I have sometimes taken the liberty to modify it, as follows: The *Sovereignty of the Individual*, not at the cost of others; or, *The Sovereignty of the Individual in all things short of encroachment*. The shorter phrase, *the Sovereignty of the Individual*, is then, if used, to be understood as an abridgment merely of the full formula.

Now, in this doctrine, so defined, there is, on the one hand, the chartered right of every human being to judge and decide upon the nature and propriety of his own actions, and to be the umpire and regulator of his own life, up to the limit afterward stated; and, on the other hand, the peremptory inhibition of every encroachment, and the inculcation of a wholly new, or newly defined religion and chivalry of respect for the individual rights of all other individuals. It is an Ithuriel's sword, flashing both ways, and defending equally the rights, and prescribing the duties of all—the duty of deference to the rights of others. It is, in a word, the best thought out, the subtlest and most far-reaching, the best defined, and the most truly admiring doctrine ever yet formulated in social science; and, as I before said, *the absolute ideal basis of social order*. I knew precisely what I said when I used that expression, and meant the whole of what the words contain. Mr. Boucher says to this: "Whew! it almost takes [away] one's breath to repeat it." The simple honesty or honest simplicity of his surprise is convincing proof that he really never has at all comprehended the meaning, hitherto, of the doctrine of which the *Sovereignty of the Individual* is the abridged expression.

His innocence, on this ground, of the intention to misrepresent, and the fact that he is unaware of this meaning of the term is further illustrated as follows; he still ends by saying: "I reaffirm my position and deny all this statement about it, taking the phrase *in any sense [in which] it may be used*."

His position which he reaffirms is, then, that Mr. Warren's doctrine and mine is simply "selfishness" and "hoggishness," carried farther out than the prevalent selfishness and hoggishness of a selfish and hoggish age and generation—the same thing, indeed, gone to seed. Of course it is not worth while to reply to such a criticism. And what he denies is that the doctrine is *the absolute ideal basis of social order*. I only ask, what could be more so? It is the charitable assumption that this reaffirmation and this denial were made in real ignorance of the true nature of the doctrine.

I do not care to discuss further the question of the complexity of truth. It is a complex question, and it is somewhat difficult to make my thought on the subject exactly intelligible, even to those who want to understand it—hope-

lessly so, I fear, to make it understood by those who wish to obscure and misunderstand it. By a bold figure of speech I spoke of telling lies, as a necessary preliminary to telling the final truth. To an antagonist who takes me up literally I have no reply to make, no defense to attempt. "They that have ears to hear let them hear."

"Is it not true," he asks, "as a matter of fact that, just as you have quoted me as stating, that the doctrine of the Sovereignty of the Individual is predicated upon the theory, or rather the idea, that we are but individuals—that we are wholly selfish, and not at all social beings?" Certainly not. A thousand times, no! Just the contrary, through and through. The Sovereignty of the Individual, as just now explained, and as explained years ago in the works which Mr. Boucher should have read before venturing on this discussion, assumes sociability as the very subject it is to regulate, and regulates it precisely, teaching the new religion of deference for the rights of all—and is pre-eminently *the absolute ideal basis of social order*.

Mr. Boucher again says, if Eclecticism is Integralism, then we agree, etc. Yes, if.

He concludes, as follows:

Now of Integralism. Integral means whole, the whole, don't it? You say of it: "Which means the whole stick, or 'the whole hog'—which stops at no mean," etc. Just so! The whole stick, the rotten part with the sound. The whole hog; the filth with the flesh, the entrails, bristles and all. The whole of all systems, theories and practices whatever, the false parts with the true. My dear Mr. Andrews, wherein does growth, improvement, progress, any hope for humanity, consist, if not in the rejection, the elimination of the bad and the false, and the election and adoption of but the good and the true?

What is bad for one use is good for another. Integralism rests on that perception. Rejection and elimination certainly relatively to the individual case or purpose, but save for other uses what is rejected. As our friend is back on the hog question, I will tell him a story *apropos* of the same. A lady friend once said to me of a mutual and highly-esteemed friend, and I confess rather startling me, that "he (the friend) is just like a hog," resting a little on the animal; but then continuing, "he is good, every bit of him. You can use him all up, even to the hoofs and bristles."

This, then, is Integralism. The idea is a deep one, and will not be compassed by any flippant or common-place criticism. It is, too, an all-important one, which will repay study. I would recommend to Mr. Boucher to make a serious effort to comprehend it.

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

SPIRITUALISM AND SCIENCE.

Mr. Crookes, the chemist, Mr. Huggins, the astronomer, and Mr. Sergeant Cox have taken the initiative in England in the investigation of the phenomena produced by or in the presence of Mr. Home, "the great American medium," and they found themselves compelled to report in favor of the existence of a new force so connected with mind or the soul that they confer on it the name of *Psychic*. They published the results of their investigations in the *London Quarterly Journal of Science*, which says in a note: "It argues ill for the boasted freedom of opinion among scientific men that they have so long refused to institute a scientific investigation into the existence and nature of facts asserted by so many competent and credible witnesses, and which they are freely invited to examine when and where they please."

Mr. Sellers, the President of the Philadelphia Franklin Institute, who professes to have some special knowledge of "magic" or "the black art," criticises the learned scientific experts, and throws doubt upon their competency and the sufficiency of their tests. He does not, however, seem to speak with great confidence or authority on the subject. When the scientific men begin to form parties for and against on this occult subject, we shall probably begin to get at a sufficiently prolonged and varied investigation to settle the matter finally. S. P. A.

EXTRACTS.

I transfer with pleasure, to my limited columns, the following extracts from a long and vigorous article by Mrs. MARY S. HEBARD, of Rochester, N. Y., published in the *National Standard*, September 16. Mrs. Hebard has, I know, much more to say on the radical enfranchisement of woman, and it is to be hoped that she will not hide her talent in a napkin. S. P. A.

....The world is oppressed with masculinity. The masculine element is now the conservative element. The mass of men seek to repress all high expression of the feminine principle; they seek to keep alive a condition that makes the weakness and dependence of woman keep measured tread with their own sensuality. Men soil the waters of life, then force the generations to drink.

....So long as woman consents to be controlled by a power less virtuous than herself, evils will exist; so long as woman consents to be the scavenger of the masculine element, so long will crime be perpetuated; so long as she continues to be the mother of diseased spiritual and physical organizations, so long will she continue to be the commissariat of hell!

....War, rapine and sensuality, the triune demons of the past and present, are the legitimate creations of the active forces of the masculine period. When a piece of property is ablaze, and likely to be destroyed, men rush and ring the bells loudly until the midnight is alive with activity; but when a sister soul is sinking down, down to perdition, who is on hand to save?

....Those members of society are the most corrupt who are the most satisfied with existing conditions. Individually they are not to be blamed, for their perceptions being darkened, they know not that they have ever drawn, and are now drawing, their sustenance from corrupt fountains.

....When the Angel of Progress rolls away the stone from the sepulchre where the love principle lies entombed, then will burst upon the world the resurrection morn. Already there are signs of breaking day. Those who are standing upon the watch-towers of thought tell us that a star has arisen which betokens dawn, and which will guide woman to a holier destiny; and that star proclaims the rising of that sun of intelligence whose rays will drink up the damp and the dew, and dispel the chill and the mould that has gathered over earth through the long dark night of the masculine rule. And as this sun of righteousness arises and ushers in the eternal morning, the thinkers and the workers will be aroused to a sublime activity, and the chasm between ignorance and real knowledge will be bridged, that sorrowing, suffering humanity may walk fearlessly to the kingdom of the gods. The nuptials of the ages will then be solemnized. All of value in the masculine age will have been preserved and carried forward to quicken and vitalize the active forces of subsequent periods. The masculine and feminine forces having by and through sad experience thrown off their imperfections and weaknesses, they will, as Wisdom and Love, be joined in holy wedlock, and the millennial age will be the divine child of this divine marriage.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Rabelaisian and Pantagruelistic character of the following communication should not be an objection if it does not commend it to the Pantarchians scattered abroad. I have kept it on my table for some time, with a view to somewhat extended comments, but must now confine myself to the few notes in brackets below:

ABBEY OF THELEME, Aug. 9, 1871.

MY DEAR PANTARCH: You said to me the other day, in conversation, if I remember right, that I lacked obedience to Truth for its own sake, and rather patronized it.

I have enough combativeness in my individuality to desire to combat this statement, and though I believe you, scientifically, to be as great a thinker as ever lived, yet I, as a woman, fully sensible, as I hope, of woman's nature and destiny, believe that the smallest true woman who knows herself is greater than the greatest man, inasmuch as all is greater than a part; and Nature, which is female, includes Science, which is male.

—"Over that art.
Which you say adds to nature, is an art
That nature makes." (1.)

How can woman patronize Truth? She is Truth; and man is only seeking after it. The ancients, whose mythology is the perfect abstract and chronicle of the idealized and personified attributes of the human soul, worshiped Truth, and all the other highest virtues, and Virtue herself, as goddesses. They knew that Truth is female. Their highest male impersonation of Reason is Jupiter, a mere symbol of Power or Force, true Reason being a goddess, and his omnipotent will is yet to bow to the veritable Prometheus of humanity, woman; when she shall assert her rights, not merely through suffrage, but through love. (2.)

I am informed that you have discovered, in your linguistic researches, that the vowels are female, and the consonants male, the one sound itself, or ideal harmony; the other the horrid mangling cut off, as yet jangling, and out of tune, whose dissonance jars the harmony of life. Let me inform you, sir, in all loving and womanly kindness, that you are too proud of your *sheer* intellect, and must be taught to worship the rounded womanly soul and body, the truest expression of the creative art of nature.

Without the predominant influence of woman, the Pantarchy would make a debating machine of the human soul, and turn the war of arms which has desolated Mother Earth—another unfortunate female—into a war of words; daunting the ear with din of opinionated men, like the bear garden of the Liberal Club. We women know better than this. We want Art, and Grace, and Sentiment, and Free Love; that you should have found out that great principle, which I have always known, proves to me that you are one of the best of men, but are not yet up to nature's last great work, a woman, who can only be appreciated by such a poet as Burns, who says, you remember,

"And Nature swears, the lovely dears
Her noblest work she classes, O!
Her 'prentice han' she tried on man,
And then she made the lasses, O!"

Now, my woman's intuition does not deceive me. I know how you will reply to this, if your fancied male superiority, the only fault in your character, will permit you to deign a reply. You will say, in the natural order of things, man represents the Head. But have we not had enough of that, and should not the heart reign forever hereafter? Are we not on our way back in the Scientific Order? Man's brain has run to seed, and he is using it in the most frivolous or pernicious pursuits; like Agassiz, an intellectual shark, ravenous after small fish bones, or Morse inventing that diabolically perverted telegraph, which has done more for war and vile trade than for love and truth.

After all, dear Pantarch, confess the truth of female superiority, and that it is through women that peace and love and innocence and purity, the true millennium, is to come. You men are great planners, but nature, which is the female side of God, ignored by your whole Hebraical male theology and linear science, is the divinity which shapes that which you but rough hew.

Fourier suggested sublimely and planned exquisitely, and

so have you; but nature, in long ages, has been perfecting woman for her coming reign upon earth, and it is through her that the golden age is to come, the description of which Shakespeare, who seems to have been familiar with Communism, among all his other accomplishments, puts into the mouth of Gonzalo, in "The Tempest":

"I the commonwealth I would by contraries
Execute all things; for no kind of traffic
Would I admit, no name of magistrate,
Letters should not be known; riches, poverty,
And use of service none; contract, succession,
Bourn, bound of land, tillth, vineyard, none;
No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil;
No occupation; all men idle, all;
And women, too, but innocent and pure.
No sovereignty.
All things in common nature should produce
Without sweat or endeavor; treason, felony,
Sword, pike, knife, gun, or need of any engine
Would I not have, but nature should bring forth,
Of its own kind, all foison, all abundance,
To feed my innocent people."

You, after all your great thinking, have not as yet done as much practically for humanity as my bold and brave friend Victoria, whose destiny it is, I think, to finally establish women's right to vote.

And you doubt my real love of truth. My whole life has, like yours, been spent in its service; and because of this unswerving adherence I found myself, at a very early age, an outcast from society. I am proud, however, that my patronage of truth is the only fault you find with me, great fault as it is. You, with your whole sex, know nothing of woman.

"We are spirits clad in veils;
Man, to man, was never known."

How much less woman to man! She is to him, as yet, the veiled Isis, whose exterior only he has seen. Let me offer myself to your study, you who are so thorough in your power of analysis, and I think, on further acquaintance, you will modify your opinion of me, and find that I have been as much misunderstood in my mission as you have in yours. I have been true to my woman's nature from my youth upward. Educated in a Catholic convent, I thought asceticism virtue, and vainly essayed to rival Santa Theresa by wearing a rope round my loins and inflicting excruciating tortures on my youthful body; but I could not long remain in *cette guere la*; and soon found myself, when I got out into this male invention of life, where a male God, male laws, male socialisms, are the only rule, sufficiently martyred in the endeavor to obey nature, instead of the intolerable male principle which would control and pervert it.

But, in your inmost soul, dear Pantarch, you know how it is yourself with women. You talked to me from a superficial view of my nature, and therein offended my reverence for myself, as a representative of my sex. You are very wise, and it is necessary that you should be, for you have to map out the plan of humanity and regeneration; but you do not know woman yet. Without her love your wisdom is at fault; and there is a hitch in your hinge-wise "Trinism," a Gordian knot, which the sharp sword of your science cannot sever. Perhaps, if you were to fall in love and find one woman whom you could love and worship, it might aid your intuitions; but, as Spencer says in his "Shepherd's Calendar":

"To be wise and ever to love,
Is granted scarce to gods above."

Yours, thelemically, pantagruelistically, pantisocratically, and, mayhaps, when you thoroughly convert me, pantarchially.

Otherwise named in this planet, at this time,

FRANCES ROSE MACKINLEY.

(1.) [It is the beauty of poetry and the bane of science that words have various and often opposite meanings. Because I say that Nature corresponds with Woman, and Science with Man, my fair correspondent takes advantage of, or is taken advantage of, by the duplicity in the meaning of the word "Nature," which in a certain large and vague sense includes Man or Science or Human Knowledge, and also Art, because it includes everything; but this is not the technical meaning of Nature when that term is contrasted with Science. Then it is not only not the whole, but it is a lower or less advanced stage of development.]

(2.) [It is always cruel to dispel illusions if they are agreeable. Universologically viewed, Science, and so Truth, of the Intellectual order is the essentially Male Principle, as Love is the essentially Female Principle. The greediness of the un instructed intuition (analogous with the love side of the mind, poetical, feminine) would here again claim to be all. Analogy is, however, altogether a dangerous field, unless it is first scientifically discovered, elaborated and demonstrated.]

"A little learning is a dangerous thing;
Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring."

S. P. A.]

ALEXANDER HAMILTON once said to an intimate friend: "Men give me some credit for genius. All the genius I have lies just in this: When I have a subject in hand, I study it profoundly. Day and night it is before me. I explore it in all its bearings. My mind becomes pervaded with it. Then the effort which I make the people are pleased to call the fruit of genius. It is the fruit of labor and thought."

"Let the hen live, though it be with the pig."
"We cannot all be triers, and various are the paths by which God conducts the good to heaven."
"Covetousness bursts the bag."

THE COMMUNISTS.

Two American journalists, amid a storm of open obloquy or faint-hearted deprecation, have had courage to stand up in defense of the Paris Commune—George Wilkes and John Russell Young. George Wilkes, after his manner, is outspoken and partisan; Mr. Young, though he, too, can hit hard, is more philosophical and analytical. He confines himself to a temperate statement of the Commune's intentions and actions. Wilkes carries the war into Africa, and pours broadsides of hot shot into the Versailles, the Bonapartists and all the aiders and abettors of conservatism and flunkeyism. Men's opinions mostly run in channels, and a moderate check will sometimes, as we know, deflect a mighty torrent. The generous candor of these great-hearted champions of a cause that most writers had agreed to despise and vilify, has already borne its fruit. Even the *Herald*, which, at the outset of the Commune resistance, could not find words sufficiently harsh nor facts sufficiently one-sided to crush the Commune, now qualifies its tone, and reluctantly admits that the Commune and the Internationale represent public opinion (that God of the *Herald's* idolatry, to justify which, *per fas aut nefas*, is ever the *Herald's* law), and that the Internationale may yet be a thorn in the sides of autocracy and class legislators. The stone that the builders rejected may yet indeed be the great corner stone of a new civilization. The theory of the Communists, however imperfect, contained within itself the germ of a great political regeneration, a thing not altogether to be lightly esteemed, even in this country of half-universal suffrage, of free speech for the majority, of primary nominations, and pure, undefiled city and national governments. But if a new law of distribution and a new gospel of political faith be a desirable possibility in this land of the free and untortured, what a tremendous cataclysm is suggested by the chances of their promulgation and adoption in the priest and property ridden systems of Europe. That the beginning of the end is at hand is apparent to all who can read the signs of the times. Here we have Mr. Disraeli ex-prime minister of England, the head of the Conservatives, writing "Lothair" to prove to mankind, and to English Protestant mankind in particular, the danger of lying asleep amid the plots and machinations of the Romish propagandists, and crying aloud that the robber is at the very door, and to awake and defend themselves against his craft and violence. Mr. Gladstone, the great Prime Minister in esse, flouts the British House of Peers openly, bringing the contempt of the nation upon that governor and moderator of the constitutional machine, and at the same time holds parley and temporizes with Bradlaugh, the arch-agitator, the despiser of crowns and dignities, and in the sanctum of the ministerial study permits that personage to say he will hold a meeting which shall not be suppressed, and to tell the first minister of state: "You keep the police and soldiery quiet, and I will keep the people quiet. If not," and so forth.

On the other side of the English Channel the Thiers government decimate a city, pluck up and burn, as with red-hot iron, every stem and radicle of Communism, teaching their political opponents the lessons of terrorism and revenge, and sowing seeds of terrific retribution for a future day.

In the city of New York an infamously corrupt administration claims to hold power by the far-reaching strength of its own iniquity; because the displacement of its chief will throw five hundred families out of bread who otherwise live, by his permission, on the proceeds of the public plunder. Offenses against law, iniquity in high places, fraud, corruption, and the habitual mockery of religion and morality by their very professors, until faith and practice have passed into a byword, the observance of external observances, and the neglect of essential decencies are the regular way of life in the great cities of both hemispheres, and wars, oppressions, taxation—the rich becoming richer and the poor poorer—hair-splitting and twisting of words in place of solid equity in the temples of injustice, personal aggrandizement in the legislature, shows and pretenses everywhere.

And yet we want no change. We do very well as we are. We need no upheavals, no demagogues, no Communist nor International. The sky is serene, the sun shines, the summer wind blows softly, and, as in the days of Noah, we eat and drink and rejoice, and say, there will be no flood this time!

HAS THE "TRIBUNE" HEARD FROM "THOSE COURTS?"

Not long since the New York *Tribune*, in a bombastic and characteristic article, claimed it carried the courts of the country in its breeches pockets, and asserted that if women came meddling round them they would be politely requested to go home and mind their own business. There is nothing that places a person in so ridiculous a position as to assume to know all about a thing, when it is very apparent to everybody else that he knows nothing at all about it. In this respect Dr. Greeley is particularly unfortunate; since he pompously assumes so much, while in reality he knows so little—except about raising cabbages, in which we are quite willing to admit him to be an adept, so much ahead of everybody else engaged in cabbage raising that they can't understand a thing he says upon the subject.

But we have no idea of entering upon this matter at length just now. The time will come, however, when we shall be prepared to hold so faithful a mirror for the Doctor to regard himself in that he will be able to "see how it is" as plainly as everybody else now does. We merely desire to ask him, now, if he has heard from the courts?

ART AND DRAMA.

The reappearance of Miss Cushman at Booth's was an event to rouse the play-going public to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. From the slight frivolities of Lotta, the brilliant firefly, to Shakespeare's grandest conceptions interpreted by a high priestess of the drama, was indeed a stride. Miss Cushman in the impersonations of the higher drama has always been a marked personage. Her style was of antique force, in which recognized strength and untamed vigor were a characteristic rather than perfect grace or modulated harmonies—not that Miss Cushman was deficient of pathos and tenderness, but it was the pathos of vehement nature, untrammelled by formalism, the outbreak of instinct, not the repressed passions or calm emotions of social culture. Her grief and sorrow in *Meg Merrilies* was a striking instance of her power in the display of wild, unconquerable, tearless soul anguish. *Queen Katharine of Arragon* is one of the most noble examples of dignified womanly suffering that we have on any stage. Scarcely less sublime is the character of the majestic *Wolsey*, whether in his towering pride of place or in his descent from the topmost round of earthly grandeur. Between the excellency of these two exalted instances of the uncertainty of worldly happiness, so like and yet so unlike, there is scarcely room for a choice. The Queen's most unmerited misfortune and her saint-like resignation win us to her cause, but *Wolsey's* magnificent arrogance, the stupendous retribution on the oppressor, the man's breadth and depth of character, and his very power to taste and know the measure of his degradation and downfall in all their fullness, quickly divert us from the Queen's sad life and concentrate our attention on the more dramatic because more contrasted story of her mighty enemy.

Miss Cushman has been so long absent from the stage that her old admirers feared for her fame in her reappearance. Her reception was tremendous. The house was crammed. The seats had all been taken, and could have been filled two or three times. The thundering applause, the call and recall told the great actress the sentiment of the public in thrilling tones. The acting itself was a repetition of the olden time. She was most successful in the council chamber and the other scenes in which the queenly inviolability had to be asserted. As the suffering, fallen woman she was somewhat less impressive. It was generally thought that her voice failed; probably the exhaustion of a reappearance after so long an interval, and the emotion consequent on so great a triumph, affected her vocal organs.

There is more external passion in Miss Cushman's *Katharine* than altogether comports with the Shakespearean ideal. True that the Cushman performance is repression for Cushman, but a very slight show of anger suffices for a Queen, too deeply wronged, too deeply conscious of her wrongs to be angry. Indignant she certainly is, but it is the indignation of conscious merit, not temper, or even petulance. Her wounded spirit has sounded the depths of wounded sensibility; there is no dishonor—she is too pure, too exalted to feel the taint of dishonor. Even if the superstitions of canonical law should haply be applicable to her case, she sees so clearly through the immensity of the injustice, that she knows herself from the outset to be a martyr in the cause of woman's wrongs, a saint in the spotless purity of her own soul. Miss Cushman makes one or two points which are scarce justifiable by the text of Shakespeare, though acceptable to the audience and giving a cue for applause—and the air and expression with which she leaves the court pertain rather to overtaxed patience bursting its limit, than to the assertion of self-respect by the daughter of kings or the royal independence of a crowned queen.

Mr. Creswick, the great English actor, is certainly not superior to many Americans. He substitutes declamation and elocution for feeling and magnetism. The measured step and slow is not necessarily a royal bearing, nor is deliberate enunciation the only vehicle of great thoughts, nor such outward show the distinctive mark of the great minister and king of men. Creswick is not equal in true dignity or noble bearing to Booth, while we miss entirely that rounded speech and rich intonation which make Mr. Booth's elocution so satisfactory, and leave us with a sense of having stood on the threshold of great things. A little more, a touch of the Prometheus fire, and the statue would have been life.

Mr. Waller's *Henry the VIII.* was a good performance; the make-up was perhaps not burly enough for bluff King Hal—as he has come to us by painting and tradition. The impetuous self-assertion of the self-indulgent tyrant was toned down into something more nearly accordant to modern ideas of royalty. This probably realizes the Shakespearean intention; for the poet would not have cared to give the father of Queen Elizabeth in all his unmitigated and detestable brutality.

Of the minor characters, Pateman's *Lord Sands* has been excepted against by some critics, who, finding only motive for praise in the leading characters, must needs have vinegar in their salad. It is said that the old fop has been made grotesque—an idea suggested by Pateman's powers in grotesque. In point of fact *Lord Sands* is the only element of comedy in the play to relieve its sorrow or lighten its heavy state, and *Lord Sands* is a ridiculous old party who apes the airs of youth and flirts among the belles with an assumption of juvenile taste for indiscretions that make him laughable. Pateman brought this out exactly, without losing the style of a man of high degree. Even the attempt to cut a figure in the dance, with the reminder of rheumatic twinges, was strictly within the limits of comic gesture and action proper to the character.

The *mise en scene* was good, but by no means equal to what Booth's has done in other revivals.

LINA EDWIN'S THEATRE.—The announcement of a return to Offenbach on the part of Kelly & Leon filled their bijou theatre on Monday evening with one of the largest and most appreciative audiences of the season. The public are always pleased to hear Leon's

sweet voice in music so well suited to its capacities as all Offenbach's operas are. "La Rose de Saint Flor" was the gem for Monday evening, and we hope it will soon be followed by a revival of "La Grande Duchesse," "La Belle Helene," etc. "A Dime Novel," a sensational play, in three soul-stirring scenes, the joint production of Mr. Kelly and his efficient and gentlemanly treasurer, Mr. E. C. Wright, filled the audience with delight and closed the pleasant evening's entertainment. A varied and interesting programme, suited to all tastes, is always offered by Kelly & Leon, and they reap their reward in unflinching good houses.

DEATH THE LEVELER.

BY J. SHIRLEY.

The glories of our birth and state
Are shadows, not substantial things;
There is no armor against fate;
Death lays his mighty hand on kings;
Sceptre and crown
Must tumble down
And in the dust be equal made
With the poor crooked scythe and spade.

Some men with swords may reap the field,
And plant fresh laurels where they kill;
But their strong arms at last must yield;
They tame but one another still:
Early or late
They stoop to fate
And must give up the murmuring breath
When they, pale captives, creep to death.

The garlands wither on your brow;
Then boast no more your mighty deeds;
Upon death's purple altar now
See where the Victor-Victim bleeds;
Your heads must come
To the cold tomb;
Only the actions of the just
Swell sweet and blossom in their dust.

WOMAN ITEMS.

The Nebraska men voted down infant education and woman suffrage, while they upheld free liquor. Do our readers take the idea?

A fashionable mamma's advice to a married daughter: Never take your husband to an evening party; there is nothing that is always so much in the way.

A Mr. Quick, in San Augustin, got cowbided by a lady. He says it was for his Radicalism. She says, perhaps it was, only she never heard it called by that name before.

At the eleventh annual fair of the San Joaquin Valley Agricultural Society, Cal., ladies exhibited fruits and vegetables of their own raising. Other ladies made displays of pickles and preserves. Go ahead!

An Atlanta paper has the following statistics: "Of the sixty-nine young ladies who fainted away in Atlanta during the summer, fifty-seven fell into the arms of gentlemen, eleven fell on the floor, and one into a water bucket."

The *Scranton Times* complains that fashionably dressed women appear upon the streets of that city in an intoxicated condition. Very sad indeed! Who set them the terrible example? Does the *Scranton Times* ever empty a horn?

Miss Nettie A. Hamilton, of Brandon, has successfully passed the examination for admission to the Vermont University at Burlington, and has entered the institution. She has thus the honor of being the first woman admitted to a Vermont college.

The Princess Metternich longs for Eugenie, who was for years her only formidable rival in dress. There are no men worth dressing for and no women to dress against. And yet the princess is a clever woman and might find relief against the *tedium vite*.

Mrs. General Butler and Mrs. Senator Ames are both earnestly in favor of female suffrage. To them is given the credit of converting their husbands. A proof that woman suffrage will make husband and wife of one mind, which they notoriously are not under the present system.

Happy bridegroom.—"More money, madam! more money! have you forgotten that my money has bought everything you possess—the very dress you stand in?"

Fair bride.—"No, sir; nor have I forgotten that your money has bought what stands in it."

A little seven year old girl at Huntsville, Texas, manipulates the wires and sends telegraphic messages. She is the daughter of the regular operator at that place.—*Ex.*

There will be some mixed messages one of these days. Woman's rights don't include seven year olds at the wires—even if they are females.

Olive Logan says that in Europe the woman suffrage movement is generally classed with Mormonism, Oneida communism and free-lovism.

If Olive Logan really says this, which we very much doubt, how does she know? Europe holds a good many people—and so little is public opinion known that John Bright, no mean authority, was of opinion that London knew nothing of the real opinions of Manchester.

In Pittsburg a lady heard a burglar attempting to enter her dwelling through a front window, and, not wishing to soil her furniture and carpet with the blood of the intruder, she noiselessly quitted the house by a rear door, and proceeding to the front, discharged four barrels from a revolver at the burglar. One of the shots took effect in his leg, and he being unable to run, was arrested by a policeman.

The Athens (Ohio) *Messenger* says: "We saw in our village recently Joseph Simmons, of Canaan township, in company with his bride of some ten days. Mr. Simmons is ninety-nine years of age, having been born in 1772, and has been a resident of

Canaan township for seventy-five years. His bride was the widow Windsor, of Savannah, and she looks quite youthful, though we understand she is about fifty years of age." Why shouldn't they? If Abraham and Sarah could carry on, why cannot Simmons and Windsor? Canaan fashion, you know.

A lady at Wilmington, recently deceased, left a silver punch-strainer, which is referred to in the will in these words: "A silver punch-strainer, belonging to my maternal grandfather, James Parker. Its history is briefly this: Dr. B. Franklin and my said grandfather were printer boys in Boston, and saved a silver dollar each from their first earnings by selling newspapers in that city. They had these dollars made into punch-strainers, and exchanged with each other, so that this strainer is made out of the dollar earned by Dr. Franklin. This is bequeathed to the Smithsonian Institute."

THE NEW QUEEN OF SPAIN AND HER SUBJECTS.—The sudden hostility of the nobility deepened on the arrival of Queen Dona Maria Victoria at Madrid. While even the rabble remembered the respect it owed to the woman, if not to the queen, and saluted her kindly, though without enthusiasm, the nobles fairly exhausted their ingenuity in devising modes of manifesting their spite and ill-breeding. When the Queen drove past the Veloz Club, its members stepped out on the balcony and pressed their hats over their heads as low as the chin. The principal palaces, the Medina Cell, the Vista Hermosa, the Sexto, the Xipre, the Retorillo and others of mediæval fame were not only undecorated, but locked up when she entered the capital. Open warfare was inaugurated by the female wing of the grandee against this foreigner, this upstart. The most bitter and unrelenting among the Queen's persecutors were the Duchess of Medina Cell and the Duchess of Cexto, the latter a Russian by birth, who had become a French patriot as Duchess de Morny, and had subsequently blossomed out into a full-blooded Spaniard. To exhibit their hatred of the *extrangerismo* in the most public and offensive manner became the whole study of these women. On the Fuente Castellana, the fashionable drive, they appeared dressed in the Bourbon fashion—white mantillas, lilies and gigantic combs *a la Isabelle*. When the royal pair for the first time visited the Fuente Castellana, the Governor of Madrid wished the nobility to comply with an old custom by lining the drive with their carriages on both sides, so that the carriage of their majesties might pass up and down alone in the centre. But no sooner had the royal equipage reached the centre of the drive than all the carriages of the nobility left the place. The next day this insult was repeated, and with the aggravation that the servants were clad in deep mourning. But the rage and indignation of the nobles culminated when the Queen, in defiance of the traditional etiquette of the Spanish court, ventured to show herself on the Prado unattended even by a single maid of honor. Since that fatal hour they have brooded over the dark scheme to emigrate in a body to Seville, and to shake the dust of a desecrated capital entirely from their aristocratic feet. Such, at least, is the threat gravely held out by the organ of the nobility, the *Lily Flower*, and the Carlisle *Margarita*.—*Lippincott's Magazine*.

A WOMAN'S WIT.—Chambers' *Journal* vouches for the truth of the following story, which was originally published in the guise of fiction:

"Caroline A—, a good looking, finely proportioned young lady, lived as a lady's maid with a fashionable young widow. One evening, after having assisted at her mistress' toilet for a dinner party, she amused herself, before putting away the various articles scattered about the room, in trying on a pair of silk stockings and dress shoes belonging to her mistress, and having done so, she viewed her well-turned limbs with complacency, saying aloud: 'There's a leg for a stocking, and there's a foot for a shoe.' Having satisfied herself as to their symmetry, she divested herself of her borrowed plumes, put the room to rights, and waited the return of her mistress, whom she saw in bed. That was the last time she saw her alive. She was found in the morning murdered in her bed, the jewel case and plate chest broken open and robbed. The robber and murderer left no trace by which he could be captured, and, in spite of the most diligent search escaped. Three years after, Caroline was engaged in a similar capacity by a lady, who took her to Paris. She had almost forgotten the murder, and, if she thought of it, it was not with any hope of discovering the criminal.

It happened that she was walking in one of the public promenades one afternoon, when, as she passed a group of men, she heard these words: 'There's a leg for a stocking, and there's a foot for a shoe.' In a moment the events of the evening before her mistress was murdered flashed on her memory. And now for her marvelous presence of mind. Pretending not to have heard anything she glanced sideways at the group of men. She saw there were three, but she could not tell which of them had spoken. She walked slowly by them, then she stopped in an undecided manner, and finally turned back, and walking up to them, she asked to be directed to a certain street. As she expected all of them had a word for her, and among the voices she easily recognized the one that had just spoken. Their language and looks were both very free, but she only told them that they were very impertinent, and that she would get the information she wanted from the first gendarme.

She thus averted suspicion if they watched her speaking to a policeman. The next difficulty was how to inform a gendarme what she wanted; she had only been a fortnight in France, and knew scarcely a French word. She, however, carried a pocket dictionary with her to assist in making purchases and as a means of acquiring a little French. Going over to a bench she sat down, and, searching through the dictionary, found the words she wanted, and she then wrote them with a pencil on the fly-leaf of the dictionary. The sentence ran thus: *Gendarmes je vous prie de m'arrestez un moment.* The grammar was not very correct, as dictionaries do not teach

syntax; but the gendarme understood it, and in another minute held the murderer in his grasp. He was afterward convicted and hung on the girl's testimony.

THE NEIGHBORS.

One took a paper, and his life
Was happier than a king's;
His children all could read and write,
And talk of men and things.

The other took no paper, and
While strolling through a wood,
A tree fell down upon his crown
And killed him—as it should.

Had he been reading of the news
At home like neighbor Jim,
I'll bet a cent that accident
Would never have happened him.

O. W. HOLMES.

Life with some people is a state of inventions, they pass their time under a necessity of discovering things past finding out. What more may be where a genuine Yankee mind is the prime agent is pretty hard to conjecture. The latest "notion" in domestic economics is an umbrella frame arrangement of sticks, joined at one end, which can be spread out into clothes frames, bars and lines, fruit dryers, shelves, hanging arrangements and last, though not least, a Christmas tree, wanting only the leaves and the curves of the branches to be as like as two peas. It comes to us from Brown's Agricultural Works, Shortsville, Ontario Co., N. Y.

POEMS OF PROGRESS, by Lizzie Doten. William White & Co., Boston.

These poems are light, flowing, easy, consisting, for the most part, of sentiment, with here and there one in which there is a strong touch of humor. Space will not allow of our copying the largest or best, which we should gladly do, but we give one tender, sympathetic elegy:

REST THOU IN PEACE.

"And the token that the angel gave her, that he was a true messenger, was an arrow, with a point sharpened with Love, let easily into her heart, which by degrees wrought so effectually with her, that at the time appointed she must be gone."—*PILGRIM'S PROGRESS*.

Rest thou in peace! Beneath the sheltering sod
There is a lowly door, a narrow way,
That leadeth to the Paradise of God;
There, weary pilgrim, let thy wanderings stay.

Rest thou in peace! We would not call thee back
To know the grief that comes with ripper years,
To tread in sorrow all Life's thorny track,
And drain with us the bitter cup of tears.

Rest thou in peace! With chastened hearts we bow,
And pour for thee a low and solemn strain;
Thy voice shall chant the hymns of Zion now,
But it shall mingle not with ours again.

Rest thou in peace! not in the silent grave—
Thy spirit heard the summons from above,
And blessed the token that the angel gave—
An arrow, sharpened—but with tenderest love.

Rest thou in peace! With blessings on thy head,
Pass to the land where sinless spirits dwell—
Gone, but not lost!—We will not call thee dead—
The angels claimed thee! Dear one—Fare-thee-well.

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A HISTORY

OF THE
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From 1850 to 1870,
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tached.
10 a. m., Special Drawing-room Car Express. No
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ing-room cars.
10:40 a. m., Northern and Western Express, Draw-
ing-room cars attached.
4 p. m., Montreal Express, Drawing-room cars at-
tached.
6 p. m., First Pacific Express, with Sleeping cars
through to Watertown, Syracuse and Canandaigua.
(Daily.)
8 p. m., Second Pacific Express, with Sleeping cars
attached, for Rochester and Buffalo; also for Chicago,
via both L. S. and M. C. Railroads; for St. Louis, via
Toledo; and Louisville, via Indianapolis. (This train
will leave at 6 p. m. on Sundays.)
11 p. m., Night Express, Sleeping cars attached.
7 a. m., 2 and 5 p. m., Poughkeepsie trains.
9 a. m., 4:15 and 6:40 p. m., Peekskill trains.
5:30 and 6:10 p. m., Sing Sing trains.
6:40, 7:30, 9:10 and 10:15 a. m., 12 m., 1:30, 3, 4:25,
5:10, 8:10 and 11:30 p. m., Yonkers trains.
9 a. m., Sunday train for Poughkeepsie.
C. H. KENDRICK,
General Passenger Agent.
NEW YORK, Dec. 5, 1870.

LETTER OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN SUFF- FRAGE AND EDUCATIONAL COMMIT- TEE TO NEW NOMINEES.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 4, 1871.
COMMITTEE.
President, Mrs. Isabella B. Hooker, Hartford, Conn.
Secretary, Mrs. Josephine S. Griffing, Wash'n., D. C.
Treasurers, Mrs. Mary B. Bowen, " " "
Mrs. Ruth Carr Denison, " " "
Mrs. Paulina W. Davis, Providence, R. I.
Miss Susan B. Anthony, Rochester, N. Y.

DEAR FRIENDS: Owing to protracted illness on
the part of the chairman and secretary of the original
committee whose duty it was to notify you of your
appointment on the new National Committee, no of-
ficial letter has been sent you. We trust you will
pardon the delay, and accept this notice in *The Free-
holder* as due notification, and communicate directly
with the secretary at Washington concerning your
acceptance of the office.

The duties of the position will be light at present,
and will consist chiefly in a correspondence with the
original committee (who will, after January next, be
known as a sub-committee), concerning the interests
of woman suffrage in your several States, and in per-
sonal efforts to secure signatures to the "Declaration and
Pledge" and money for the printing fund, according
to the enclosed "Appeal."

We send you a list of the names of the whole new
National Committee as nominated by the convention
held in New York, in May last, and completed by the
old committee after mature deliberation and in per-
sonal efforts to secure signatures to the "Declaration and
Pledge" and money for the printing fund, according
to the enclosed "Appeal."

It will be seen that a few States are yet unrepre-
sented. If any member of the committee can send us
a reliable name from either of the following States she
will confer a great favor: Delaware, Kentucky, Ala-
bama, Mississippi, Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas.

In behalf of the N. W. S. and Ed. Com.
ISABELLA B. HOOKER, Chairman,
JOSEPHINE S. GRIFFING, Secretary.

President—Mrs. E. Cady Stanton, New Jersey.
Mrs. Harriet W. Sewall and Mrs. Angelina Grimke
Weld, Massachusetts; Hon. Mrs. Jacob Elia and Mrs.
Armenia White, New Hampshire; Hon. Mrs. C. W.
Willard, Vermont; Miss Eva M. Wilder, Maine;
Rev. Olympia Browne, Connecticut; Mrs. L. C. Bul-
lard, New York; Mrs. Celia Burleigh, New York;
Mrs. Martha C. Wright, New York; Mrs. Matilda
Joslin Gage, New York; Victoria C. Woodhull, New
York; Mrs. Lucretia Mott and Miss Sarah Fugh,
Pennsylvania; Mrs. Maria Mott Davis and Miss Mary
S. Brown, Pennsylvania; Mrs. Washington Bladus,
Pennsylvania; Mrs. Judge Underwood, Virginia;
Mrs. Anna W. Bodeka, Virginia; Mrs. Victor Bar-
ringer, North Carolina; Mrs. Frances Pillsbury,
South Carolina; Mrs. Mary Spaulding, Georgia; Mrs.
John Miner, Missouri; Hon. Mrs. Samuel M. Arnell,
Tennessee; Mrs. Adelia Hazlett, Michigan; Mrs.
Nannette B. Gardner, Michigan; Mrs. Catharine F.
Stebbins, Michigan; Mrs. Dr. Little and Mrs. Mary L.
Gilbert, Ohio; Pres. Yellow Springs Wom. Suff. Asso-
ciation, Ohio; Mrs. C. Dundore, Maryland; Hon.
Mrs. G. W. Julian and Mrs. Dr. Thomas, Indiana;
Mrs. Robert Dale Owen and Mrs. Amanda Way, In-
diana; Mrs. Lamora Moore, Indiana; Mrs. Jane
Graham Jones and Mrs. C. V. Waite, Illinois; Mrs.
Harriet Brooks, Illinois; Miss Lillie Peckham and
Hon. E. N. Harris, Wisconsin; Hon. Mrs. S. Burger
Stearns, Minnesota; Mrs. Amelia Bloomer and Mrs.
Annie E. Savery, Iowa; Mrs. Governor Butler, Ne-
braska; Mrs. J. H. Nichols, Kansas; Hon. Mrs.
Aaron A. Sargent, California; Mrs. Laura De Force
Gordon, California; Mrs. Charlotte J. Godbee, Utah;
Mrs. M. J. Arnold and Mrs. Mary Post, Wyoming;
Mrs. Governor McCook, Colorado; Mrs. Governor
Ashley, Montana; Mrs. Catharine Yale, New York.

SUFFRAGE TRACTS.

We frequently have applications for tracts and doc-
uments on woman suffrage, and for the benefit of all
such as are seeking to know the truth as it is in our
new gospel, herewith print a complete list of the
documents which can be obtained by applying to
Mrs. Josephine S. Griffing, 213 Capitol street, Wash-
ington, D. C.:

1. Report of Special Committee of Connecticut
Legislature on Woman Suffrage.
2. Legal Disabilities of Married Women.
3. Report of Annual Meeting of Committee Woman
Suffrage Association.
4. Argument on Elective Franchise under the
Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution; by
Hon. A. G. Riddle.
5. History of National Woman's Rights Movement
for Twenty Years; by Mrs. P. W. Davis.
6. Restricted Suffrage; by Isabella Beecher Hooker.
7. An Appeal to the Women of the United States;
by the National Woman Suffrage Committee.
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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 servi-
tude has been involuntarily accepted by women as a
substitute for equality, they in the meantime laboring
under the delusion that they were above instead of
below equality.

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

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

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

WOMAN'S RIGHTS—NEW BOOKS.

We have received copies of two books which just
now possess considerable interest for many people.
They are entitled, respectively, "Constitutional
Equality, a Right of Women," by Tennie C. Claflin,
and "The Origin, Functions and Principles of Gov-
ernment," by Victoria C. Woodhull. We have ex-
amined these books carefully, not only for the sake
of the subjects treated of, but because of the discus-
sion 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 pub-
lic. First, the *Tribune* paraded them as the cham-
pion 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 en-
thusiastically by a lady so universally respected as
Mrs. Stanton. Careful examination of their books
fails to show anything so very startling in the doc-
trines put forth in them, however distasteful they
may be to many. They advance many strong argu-
ments 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 uninter-
esting, even to those who are opposed to the doc-
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