

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

PROGRESS! FREE THOUGHT! UNTRAMMELED LIVES!
BEAKING THE WAY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.

VOL. 3.—No. 23. — WHOLE No. 75.

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 21, 1871.

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Deposit accounts received in either Currency or Coin, subject to check at sight, which pass through the Clearing-House as if drawn upon any city bank; 4 per cent. interest allowed on all daily balances; Certificates of Deposit issued; Notes, Drafts and Coupons collected; advances made on approved collaterals and against merchandise consigned to our care.

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A First-Class Home Investment.

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GOLD BONDS

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Principal & Interest Payable in Gold.

Seven per Cent. Semi-Annually.

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

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

The 36 miles of road operated for three months is already paying net earnings equivalent to 7 per cent. gold, on its cost of construction and equipments. The issue of Bonds is limited to \$30,000 per mile of COMPLETED ROAD, the coupons payable in gold in this city.

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

Edward Haight & Co.,

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Financial Agents of the R. & O. Company. 81

MARKET SAVINGS BANK,

82 NASSAU STREET, N. Y.,

Six Per Cent. Interest Allowed.

Interest commences on the 1st of each month.

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

1. "COUNT BISMARCK, THE GREAT PRUSSIAN PREMIER." 2. "NATIONALITY AND NOBILITY." 3. "WOMEN'S FACES." 4. "BRAINS." (New Lecture.)

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

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

CATAWBA WINE.

The Kelley's Island Wine Co.

Have opened a Depot for the sale of their celebrated SPARKLING AND STILL CATAWBA WINE at—
28 & 30 WEST BROADWAY.

Families wishing a good article, may rest assured that all wine ordered directly from the Company's Depot will be just what it purports to be—pure grape juice.

64-67

GEO. C. HUNTINGTON.



MILD, CERTAIN, SAFE, EFFICIENT
It is far the best Cathartic remedy yet 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, and urinary, 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, \$30 25 " Postage 6 cents.
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It is sold by all dealers in drugs and medicines.
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Is an Air-Line Route from Baltimore and Washington to Cincinnati, and is the only line running Pullman's Palace Day and Sleeping Cars through from Washington and Baltimore to Cincinnati without change.

Louisville in 29 1/2 hours.
Passengers by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad have choice of routes, either via Columbus or Parkersburg.

From Cincinnati, take the Louisville and Cincinnati Short Line Railroad.

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

The only line running four daily trains from Cincinnati to Louisville.

Silver Palace Sleeping Coaches at night, and splendid Smoking Cars, with revolving arm chairs, on day trains.

Remember! lower fare by no other route.

To secure the advantages offered by this great through route of Quick Time, Short Distance and Low Fare, ask for tickets, and be sure they read, via Louisville and Cincinnati Short Line R. R.

Get your tickets—No. 87 Washington street, Boston; No. 229 Broadway, office New Jersey R. R., foot of Cortlandt street, New York; Continental Hotel, 828 Chestnut street, 44 South Fifth street, and at the depot corner Broad and Prime streets, Philadelphia; S. E. corner Baltimore and Calvert streets, or at Camden Station, Baltimore; 485 Pennsylvania avenue, Washington, D. C.; and at all the principal railroad Offices in the East.

SAM. GILL,
General Supt., Louisville, Ky.
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PROGRESS of DENTISTRY.

DR. SIGESMOND, Surgeon Dentist to the Woman's Hospital, is the inventor of Artificial Teeth without plates or clasps. Can be inserted permanently without extracting any roots. Warranted twenty years. The most painful decayed teeth or stumps restored by filling or building up to natural shape and color without pain, at 63 East Ninth street, near Broadway, late of Union Square. 68-120.

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**Sewing Machine**

Challenges the world in perfection of work, strength and beauty of stitch, durability of construction and rapidity of motion.
Call and examine. Send for circular. Agents wanted.

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SEMI-ANNUAL INTEREST AT THE RATE OF SIX PER CENT.

on all sums entitled thereto will be paid depositors on and after July 20.

Deposits of any sum from 10 cents to \$10,000 will be received.
SIX PER CENT. INTEREST, FREE OF GOVERNMENT TAX.

Interest on new deposits commences first of every month.
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THE HAIR.**ZOE COME!****THE NEW HAIR RESTORATIVE**

Will positively restore luxuriant and healthy growth of HAIR upon the

BALD HEADED,

and will prevent the hair from falling out.

It has no poisonous caustic or irritating ingredient whatever. It is as harmless as water, and WHOLLY UNLIKE any other preparation for the hair.

It never fails. It has produced a fine growth of hair upon those who have been bald for twenty-five years. All who have used it, without exception, attest to its great merits.

Persons in New York or Brooklyn wishing to test the ZOE COME, can either personally or by note make arrangements to have a hair dresser sent to their residences and apply it.

MRS. ELVIRA M. DEPUY,
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A HISTORY

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

With the Proceedings of the Decade Meeting held at
APOLLO HALL, OCTOBER 20, 1870,
From 1850 to 1870,

WITH AN APPENDIX CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT DURING THE WINTER OF 1871,
IN THE NATIONAL CAPITOL,

Compiled by
PAULINA W. DAVIS.

For sale by all Booksellers. Price 50c.

A lucid and liberal account of the most important political movement of the day.—W. & C. W.

EQUALITY A RIGHT OF WOMAN.

BY TENNIE C. CLAFLIN.

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

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

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

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

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

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

WOMAN'S RIGHTS—NEW BOOKS.

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

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

THE ORIGIN, TENDENCIES AND PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT.

BY VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

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

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

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

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

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

MUTUAL BENEFIT SAVINGS BANK,

SUN BUILDING,

166 Nassau street, New York.

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

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

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

CHARLES K. GRAHAM, President.

G. H. BENEDECT, Secretary.

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LADIES' PROTECTOR.

NO MORE COLD FEET—NO MORE DEFORMED LIMBS.

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

The trade supplied at a discount.

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OR **MRS. C. A. GAYNOR,**

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SYMPHER & CO.,

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No. 557 BROADWAY, NEW YORK,

Dealers in

MODERN AND ANTIQUE

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CHINA, ARTICLES OF VERTU.

Established 1826.



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.

S. J. & F. BEEBEE,

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ROYAL HAVANA LOTTERY.**\$330,000 IN GOLD**

DRAWN EVERY 17 DAYS.

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.

TAYLOR & CO., BANKERS,

No. 16 Wall Street.

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

854 Broadway,

HAS REMOVED FROM HIS STORE TO THE

FIRST FLOOR,

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

CHATELAIN BRAIDS,

LADIES' AND GENTLEMEN'S WIGS,

and everything appertaining to the business will be kept on hand and made to order.

DIBBLEEANIA for stimulating, JAPONICA for soothing and the **MAGIC TAR SALVE** for promoting the growth of the hair, constantly on hand.

Consultation on diseases of the scalp, Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, from 9 A. M. to 3 P. M. Also, his celebrated

HARABA ZEIN,

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

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



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

POST OFFICE NOTICE.

The mails for Europe during the week ending Saturday, Oct. 14, 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 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.

KARL MARX.

This active friend of freedom is not dead but lives and speaks, to the confusion of despots and pseudo-Republicans. A brief letter from him and a long one from his daughter, showing the sound liberalism of the Versailles, will be found elsewhere in our columns.

The annual meeting of the Northwestern Woman Suffrage Association is to be held in the Representatives' Hall, in Indianapolis, on Wednesday and Thursday, the 15th and 16th of November. All the prominent suffrage speakers in the Northwest are invited, and every effort will be made for a great meeting. Indianapolis being the home of Senator Morton, a strong effort will be made to induce him to address the Convention. This society was formed in Chicago, in May, 1870, by delegates from the various Northwestern States, and the first annual meeting was held in Detroit, last November, and was a decided success. A large and successful Convention was held under the auspices of this society at Fort Wayne, Ind., in March last. The headquarters of the Northwestern Association are at 145 Madison street, Chicago, and are occupied jointly by the Northwestern, the Illinois State, and the Cook County Societies.

ADELE M. HAZLITT, President.

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 is Mr. Boyer, with whom we trust all our friends will join in the endeavor to introduce the WEEKLY into every city, village and hamlet in the Great West.

Mrs. Hannah M. Tracey Cutler, President, and Lucy Stone, Chairman Executive Committee of the American Woman Suffrage Association, have issued a call for a convention, to be held in Philadelphia, on the 21st and 22d of November.

CONNECTICUT WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONVENTION.

The annual meeting of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Convention was held in the Music Hall, Hartford, on Thursday last.

Mr. John Hooker, chairman of the meeting, opened the exercises with prayer and read the report of the treasurer, after which he offered a proposed amendment to the 5th article of the constitution of the association, altering the time for holding the annual meeting, or leaving the officers to call the meeting at such time as they should deem most proper.

Mrs. John Hooker was the first speaker. She began by expressing her pleasure at meeting those present, feeling sure that each one was interested in the objects of the Association. The prospects for the success of the cause throughout the country she declared to be wonderfully bright and promising. A large amount of printed matter has been circulated by the Association, 120,000 tracts having been printed, and some 90,000 been put directly into the hands of women in seventy-one towns in this State. The object of the movement, as presented by the lady, is to educate women in the idea that she has or should have the right to exercise suffrage at the polls. Six ladies have been engaged in the work of tract distribution in this city, and the distributors here and elsewhere report a very lively interest in the cause.

Mr. Hooker then read a series of resolutions expressing the encouraging aspect of the cause and the hope that the vote of women will be counted at the next Presidential election. The precise language of the resolutions is as follows:

Resolved, That the present aspect of the woman suffrage movement is extremely encouraging. We have only to refer to the able and exhaustive report of a minority of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives in favor of the right of women to vote under the present Constitution of the United States; to the recent decision of Chief Justice Howe of Wyoming, and of Judge Underwood of the United States District Court of Virginia to the same effect; and to the great number of leading men in Congress and in both the political parties who have publicly committed themselves to the same view. From all these considerations and the present state of both the political parties, which have no vital issues between them, we have reason to hope that the right of women to vote will soon be conceded, and that their votes will be counted in the election of the next President.

Resolved, That it is the duty of all the women of Connecticut who believe in their present constitutional right to the suffrage to vote at the next State election, having complied with all legal prerequisites.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the men of Connecticut to assist women in the discharge of this new duty by every means in their power.

Resolved, That we recommend to and urge upon all men in the State, in favor of woman suffrage, to withhold their votes from every candidate for office at the next State election who is not known to be in favor of the enfranchisement of women, and to labor for the election of such candidates of whatever party, otherwise worthy of support, as shall be in favor of the equal political rights of all citizens.

Resolved, That the claim made by some of the opponents of woman suffrage that the marriage relation will in some way become impaired if women are enfranchised, is not only unjust so far as it attributes a desire for such a result to any considerable number of advocates of woman suffrage, but is utterly unphilosophical and absurd. The hearts of women will always be in their homes. The best condition of the marriage relation is, and always will be, more important to the happiness of women than to that of men, and when women have the right to vote they will vote down overwhelmingly every attempt by legislation to degrade that relation, or to render it in any manner insecure, or open the door to any allowed violation of its dignities and sanctities. They may also be relied upon to condemn with equal emphasis the attempt, which has so many advocates among men, to license prostitution in our cities.

Resolved, That we renew, therefore, the resolution passed unanimously two years ago by the Convention, at which this association was formed—"That in advocating the opening to woman of this larger sphere, we do not undervalue her relations as a wife and mother, than which none can be more worthy of a true woman's love and pride; but it is only by a full development of her faculties and a wide range for her thought that she can become the true companion of an intelligent husband, and the wise and inspiring educator of her children."

Resolved, That inasmuch as the constitution of this association limits its object to the one matter of securing to the women of the state the right to vote, we renew our purpose therein declared to limit the operations of the association to that one object, without turning aside either to endorse or repudiate any views on other questions of social reform which may be held by those who in good faith and genuine earnestness co-operate with us in this special work. All such questions we have no doubt will be met by the women of the country when they come to vote upon them, with an intelligent and earnest interest, and in the spirit of the highest purity and Christian morality.

The resolutions were offered as the basis for discussion during the morning and afternoon sessions of the Convention. In speaking of them Mr. Hooker said:

MR. HOOKER'S REMARKS.

I would like to make a few remarks on the encouraging aspect of this cause. The most remarkable thing in this movement has been the investigation of the question whether women have the right to vote under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. I regard the arguments in the affirmative as unanswerable. I came to this investigation hesitatingly; I gave a thorough examination of the question, and have no doubt that these amendments entitle women to vote, and that the courts will ultimately declare that they have the right under the Constitution. This view is gaining ground. The minority of the Judiciary Committee in the House of Representatives in Washington favored this view. The majority were against it. The question is a new one, and took the people by surprise. Mr. Woodward, a member of Congress on the Democratic side, and thoroughly opposed to Women Suffrage,

declared that there was no escape from this result—that women are granted the franchise under these amendments. I expected confidently that the first judicial decisions would be against this interpretation. Our courts are proverbially cautious. They are indisposed to make a change. They rely upon the precedents of long-established practice, and I expected that the first judicial decisions would be against us. I have been pleasantly disappointed. Chief Justice Howe, of Wyoming, has given an opinion in favor of this view. He is one of the ablest men in the United States, and his decisions have great weight. He argues decidedly in favor of women voting under these amendments. The matter came before Judge Underwood, in Virginia, a sensible and fairly read judge, and he decided positively that women have the vote by these amendments. Thus I have been so far disappointed, while I was expecting the early decisions would be the other way, they have been in favor. A great many people suggest that this interpretation is taking an unfair advantage—that manifestly the framers of these amendments did not intend them to take so wide a scope as the enfranchisement of women—and that it is unfair to claim such a right. It is one of the absurdest of all things to refuse this benefit furnished to our hands, simply because the framers of the instrument did not intend it. Where is the anti-slavery man or woman who, during the last thirty years, would not have clutched at any clause in the Constitution that would have freed the slaves? They would have rejoiced at such a chance. Slavery was destroyed in Massachusetts many years ago in a similar way. No one supposed that the Constitution freed them till some smart lawyer brought the question before the courts. The slaves were freed, and everybody rejoiced. Mr. Patten, of the *Advance*, bears down on this matter as being a snap judgment. But no one would have taken a similar advantage for the freeing of slaves sooner than Mr. Patten. I have no doubt that the right of women to vote exists in the Constitution. It may not be conceded at once. It may be necessary to work the thing through the courts. It may be defeated by one judgment and another, though the indications are the other way. I cannot say what the Supreme Court of the United States would say, nor our Circuit Courts. But I have no doubt about the ultimate effect.

A lady who is not a resident of Hartford, or even of Connecticut, spoke to the point that if female suffrage should be conferred, women would not thereby be compelled to exercise the right.

Mrs. M. E. Middlebrook followed with brief remarks, urging more fully the point suggested by the last speaker.

Mrs. Hooker then made another speech, in which she commended highly a tract entitled, "The Legal Disabilities of the Women of Connecticut," and then gave some account of the manner in which the work in favor of woman suffrage was being carried on in the city of Washington. The "Autograph Book" of the National Suffrage Association was in the Hall, and Mrs. Hooker invited every lady present who desired to vote to inscribe her name in it.

At 12 o'clock the meeting was adjourned to 2 o'clock. There were about seventy persons present when the meeting broke up.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS—REMARKS BY MRS. MIDDLEBROOK, MRS. CAMPBELL, JOHN HOOKER, ESQ., AND REV. C. M. WINES.

The afternoon session of the Woman Suffrage meeting at Music Hall, yesterday (Wednesday), opened at half-past 2 o'clock, Mr. John Hooker, chairman. The committee on nominations presented the following list of officers, who were elected for the ensuing year:

PRESIDENT—Mrs. I. B. Hooker, Hartford.

VICE-PRESIDENTS—Rev. Dr. Joseph Cummings, Middletown; Rev. Dr. N. J. Burton, Hartford; Rev. C. M. Wines, Hartford; Rev. W. L. Gage, Hartford; Timothy Allen, Esq., Hartford; John Hooker, Esq., Hartford; Charles Cheney, Esq., South Manchester; Ward Cheney, Esq., South Manchester; Rev. W. W. Belden, Bristol; Rev. J. B. Cleveland, Bloomfield; Hon. H. H. Starkweather, Norwich; John Rice, Esq., Farmington; Dr. E. B. Lyon, New Britain.

SECRETARIES—Frances Ellen Burr, Hartford.

TREASURER—John Hooker, Esq., Hartford.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES—Rev. Olympia Brown, Bridgeport; Mrs. Anna M. Middlebrook, Bridgeport; Mrs. Lita Barney Sayles, Dayville; Charles Atwater, New Haven; Mrs. Lucy Elmes, Derby; Mrs. Virginia Smith, Hartford; Mrs. J. G. Parsons, Hartford.

It was then voted that the 5th Article of the Constitution be amended so that the annual meeting of the Association may be held at any time during the fall of the year at the option of the Executive Committee.

It was also voted that the Executive Committee have power to fill vacancies in their number, from time to time, as they may think best, and that so far as it can be done, one Vice-President be appointed from each county.

Mrs. Middlebrook then addressed the meeting, speaking at some length in a very able manner. She gave a sketch of the plan, proposed and drawn up by herself some months ago, of the woman suffragists of the State, pledging themselves to work actively for the election of such nominees of either political party as would pledge themselves to support woman suffrage—the balance of political power in this State being so evenly adjusted that the few votes required in each town, to turn it either way, could be secured to the party supporting the woman suffragists. Mrs. Middlebrook stated that she had the names of about fifty gentlemen who would pledge themselves in this manner.

Mrs. Hooker then made a few remarks, after which Mrs. Campbell, of Massachusetts, spoke in reply to a question handed in from the audience, asking whether women would not be made more masculine by the vote. Mrs. Campbell thought the ballot would elevate women, and tone them up to higher standards. If women were to be made less attractive to those who think only of artificial adornments, why let it come, for this would be a decided gain to the women. Better qualities would take the place of these. We are willing to make the exchange, as Mark Antony said of Cleopatra. It is the lowest form of manhood that opposes us—the highest that sustains us; we are willing to make the exchange. Mrs. C. said she had lately attended a convention, where she had learned to her great regret, that Victoria Woodhull was to preside. She had considered her a sort of monster, and expected to find a coarse, disagreeable woman, and was surprised to find one representing the finest and most delicate qualities of womanly character; so shrinking as to lack confidence to speak extempore, but reading from manuscript, the noblest sentiments that could be expressed by pen. This completely disarmed her (Mrs. Campbell's) prejudices, she was willing to let her pass for all that is feminine among woman suffragists.

Mr. Hooker here spoke on the point of misrepresentation, touched on by the last speaker, illustrating from his own ex-

perience the manner in which the press misrepresents things. Attending a reception given by Mrs. Phelps, of New York, a wealthy woman suffragist, a year or two ago—a reception where were people of the highest culture and dressed in the best taste—many in the height of the fashion—some of the papers in that city came out the next morning with the announcement that the ladies at this reception wore bloomers, and danced till midnight, whereas it broke up at ten o'clock, and no bloomers were there.

The Rev. C. M. Wines, of the Fourth Church, was here introduced. Mr. Wines is a new speaker in the cause here, and a most pleasing one. He said:

For the first time I have the pleasure of being with you, although I have taken part in meetings of this kind in Boston, and my sympathies have been given to it for some time. I did not intend to speak here this afternoon, but at the request of the chairman I do so. The first of the resolutions passed here, seems to be the starting point for a few remarks: "Resolved, That the present aspect of the woman suffrage movement is extremely encouraging." I was talking with a gentleman to-day, at one time in favor of this cause, but who has now withdrawn his sympathy. He expressed an opinion exactly the reverse of this resolution. But I believe the present aspect is extremely encouraging, partly because of support, and partly because of opposition. In the matter of the support alluded to in the resolution, men of eminence and the highest standing intellectually, morally, religiously, politically and socially are taking the lead in this movement—men who stand above reproach. And the same may be said of the ladies who lead. But I would like more particularly to speak of the encouraging signs of the movement that appear from the opposition that it encounters. I can remember when the subject of woman's rights awoke a scornful smile; and even in my case it met with that very response. But this has passed over, and it is met with argument now, as for instance in the questions just read here, there is nothing flippant or intended to cast discredit, but there is a degree of earnestness and seriousness of both men and women. But there is another objection made to this movement, the one made by my friend, and which seems to involve a little more important thought, and to bear its own answer. He said he favored this movement when it was unpopular, and when his mind was partly in doubt about it, because he wanted a fair hearing that it might be decided on its own merits. But now that we see women endeavoring to force the thing along, and insisting upon their rights, and that too in face of opposition of a large class of women, he had asked whether they, the minority, had any right to claim to obtain the franchise—to force those women to vote and take part in politics, who don't believe in it.

I think they have. A question of right is a question of duty. It is not that women aspire to more power and honors. It has passed out of that realm, in my mind, and come to the position where I maintain, not that women have the right to vote, but that men have the right to demand that they vote. It is not what we want, but what the citizen needs. The true health and welfare of the country require that women be enlisted in its concerns. How is it that republicanism, especially in New York, has proved such a failure? Simply because the gentlemen of refinement, of position and integrity have stayed away from primary meetings, and failed to enter into all the duties that belong to them as citizens of the country. And it is just this thing we need to fight against—this apathy, this alienation of sympathy and effort, that we need to avoid, equally so in one class as in another. What we need is to have women thoroughly brought into sympathy with the true life of the country. What we want is to have women educated and brought to that point wherein their whole life shall be enlarged—shall be forced out of mere domestic concerns which are so largely selfish as compared with the interests of the State. Responsibility and duty bring corresponding enlargement of the whole manhood, and make more and more of women instead of less. As to its tending to turn women aside from their true vocation and make them masculine, you have heard already what masculinity is. The man who is not womanly is not manly; and the woman who has none of the elements of manliness in her is but a pitiful creature at the best. [Applause.]

One other objection; and that is that this movement has social tendencies which are bad, loosening the bonds of society and morals, and the name of one and another is brought up as illustrations, particularly Mrs. Woodhull, who had had opinions attributed to her as showing the bad tendencies of this movement. Now there are two replies to be made. In any revolutionary experience through which a nation passes, in the upheaval of classes and society, there must be, as there always has been, a number of objectionable features developed, and persons brought to the surface who are persons rather to be shrank from, and whose leadership is rather to be deplored. That doesn't prove that individuals in one place and another, advocating extreme views and doctrines, incidentally developed, indicate the true tendencies and results of the movement.

I want to say one word in regard to Mrs. Woodhull, whom I never saw. I had received from the New York Tribune an impression in regard to her. Yet I am willing to believe that the impression was greatly at fault—that the extracts in that paper were much garbled. The friend of whom I have spoken gave me a copy of Mrs. Woodhull's paper, and with a feeling that I was going to read something utterly abhorrent to me as a Christian minister, I read one and another of the articles, and especially some of the addresses of Mrs. Woodhull; and now I testify as a Christian minister, as a husband and father, and one who is thoroughly in sympathy with you in your feelings concerning the sanctities of home relationship in which life is bound up—I testify to you that if those utterances of Mrs. Woodhull in her paper were the fair expression of her sentiments, then those extracts which the Tribune had in its columns were utterly unfair and unjust. [Applause.] I testify that Mrs. Woodhull's views were thoroughly favorable to a higher idea of true love and of the duties that belong to motherhood and wifehood. So I maintain that we ought not to judge these reports at second hand. We should remember that if we go to the one who speaks we should judge very differently.

In the earnestness and interest of the arguments brought against this movement, wherein people are constrained to believe it must be made in a spirit of fairness—by this opposition; by the very issuing of papers against it—by the petitions of women opposing suffrage, there is testimony born to the strength of this movement for woman suffrage—to the fact that it is advancing with steady tread to its position as an acknowledged fact and right belonging to our republicanism.

Much spicy discussion was had during the afternoon on questions handed in from the audience. Mr. Hooker spoke

at some length, making the point that it is not only a question of right, but one of absolute duty for men as well as women to insist upon the enfranchisement of women, even if a majority of women don't wish to vote. He cited the instance of a couple of ladies upon whom he called on the eve of a certain election day, and just after the State had been through an exciting political campaign. Both ladies were ignorant of the day of election and of politics in general, and both acknowledged they never read the political part of the papers. Mr. Hooker considered this a strong argument for enfranchising women. They need it to awaken them to the living questions of the day.

After this the resolutions previously read were adopted and the meeting adjourned to 7:30 P. M.

EVENING SESSION.

The evening session was more numerously attended; the character and tone of the assembly was of the highest order. The meeting was called to order by Mrs. Hooker, president of the association, and the report of the secretary, Miss Frances Ellen Burr, was listened to with attention, the reading being frequently interrupted with applause. Lacking space we give only the following synopsis:

The work of the past year was recounted, and a result favorable to the cause of female suffrage, it was thought, had been reached. The action of the last Legislature of the State was not at all in consonance with its duty; the members were paid from women's money as well as men's, and they had altogether slighted the rights of women in justice and under the Constitution. The law's delay is nowhere better exemplified than in the tardy motion which the opponents of woman suffrage are making toward the granting of a simple act which is not even a favor. The cowardice of the press and politicians is shown not alone in this cause, but in New York, where they cringe at the feet of the Roman Catholics, who hold the ballot; in Connecticut the same classes bow to the tobacco interest. Foreigners have grasped the balance of power, and American women can equalize the government. Rumblers and rumdrunkers do not desire the extension of suffrage to women. In Hartford, with its corrupt police force, women would turn out of power the proprietors and frequenters of brothels. Reference was made to the efforts being made in Washington for the rescue of abandoned women. Congress is to be assailed at its next session by all classes of women, and the success of their efforts will place women on a basis of moral equality with men. The success of the woman movement will be a signal for the end of disastrous labor strikes, for with women in the field as competitors willing to do as good labor as men at less prices the labor question will be found easy of solution. The science of government demands that women be admitted to a share therein.

Mrs. John Hooker read a letter from a gentleman of New Britain, regarding a debate on woman suffrage in a club in that town. Mr. Elihu Burritt took part, and his conclusion was that he had never known of a discussion wherein so many changed their views, or wherein a subject was so thoroughly exhausted with a result so favorably to a reform. Supplementing the reading of the letter by remarks calculated to stimulate the meeting to enthusiasm, Mrs. Hooker urged the signing of the "woman's pledge of the United States," as a means of redeeming politics from the curse of bad and immoral men who have gained the direction of affairs.

Mr. John Hooker argued the question of the right of women to vote under the Constitution and the Fourteenth Amendment, he having made an address on the subject at the morning session, and being requested to repeat his arguments at the fuller evening meeting.

Mrs. Middlebrook, of Bridgeport, spoke to women especially on the right and duty of women to vote. She repeated the exposition of her plan to make the society's cause a success by sending to the legislature men who would strike out the word "male" from the Constitution of the State.

Mrs. Hooker called on every woman who intended to attempt to vote at the next and subsequent elections to rise. The eloquence of Mrs. Middlebrook, though stirring, did not stir many to avow their intention. Mrs. H. said she was glad that ever so few were determined to stand out for the right, and gave the advice to the timid that they should work in the parlor, if not at the polls, for the success of the cause.

In response to a call for questions, only one was handed in: "If women are allowed to vote will not the influence of the clergy in politics be greatly increased, especially that of the Roman Catholic clergy?"

The Rev. Mr. Wines, being called upon to answer, did not see what connection there was between the Protestant clergy and the women of their congregations any more intimate than between the clergy and the men. He could not speak on this matter in relation to the Roman Catholic clergy, yet he believed that they, like the Protestant clergy, were always found on the side of virtue, and he thought that if the influence of the clergy was to be extended by woman suffrage the influence would be for the better. Not seeing the cause for fear in the comparison of Roman Catholic and Protestant ideas, he would trust the good of the result to the influence of the clergy of both religions, sure that it would not suffer. The ballot would awaken among those who had been under subjection to Roman priests such enthusiasm as would be for the interests of freedom.

At the hour of half-past nine the Association adjourned sine die.

THE GRAND LYCEUM CELEBRATION IN CLEVELAND, OHIO—A GALA DAY.

[From the Banner of Light.]

Sept. 19, 1871, will long be remembered by the Spiritualists of Northern Ohio as the occasion of a most successful Lyceum reunion in the city of Cleveland. People often declare that it is impossible for Spiritualists to work unitedly for any given end; and the history of our conventions, State and National, has given strength to this declaration. But the grand celebration which took place in Cleveland, Sept. 19, goes to show that, after all, there is a ground of unity among Spiritualists; that they can work together as brothers and sisters. Perhaps it is the intrigues of conventions that bring about the disorder that we all so much lament; for, on the occasion referred to, no one had any petty ambition to foist upon the people; no one had any idolized hobby to elaborate. On the contrary, it was a complete subordination of selfish interests to the laudable desire of seeing happiness and success crown the efforts of all. And is not this typical of the harmony that is yet to bless Spiritualists the world over? Discords cannot last forever. The sunlight will come at last. And oh, how blessed will that holy season

be to all of us! The light is dawning. The angels have brought new workers into the field. Let us all labor on. We are not chasing a myth. There is music in the heavens. Angelic voices speak to us. Hear their sweet accents! They breathe words of gentleness and love and redemption for all mankind. It is said that the details of the great Boston Peace Jubilee flashed in upon Mr. Patrick Gilmore's mind instantaneously—a sudden inspiration. So, also, did the details of the celebration which it is our pleasure to write about suddenly illumine the mind of Bro. C. I. Thacher, Conductor of the Children's Progressive Lyceum of Cleveland. This earnest worker, having the interest of the cause at heart, had, in hours of prayer and meditation, asked that God's angels would inspire him with strength to aid in the advancement of the cause of Spiritualism. In a receptive moment, the idea of a great jubilee among the Spiritualists came to him. With inimitable energy, he started into the work of perfecting plans to carry out the scheme. Consequently advertisements appeared in all the Spiritual papers, that a feast of good things would take place in the "Forest City," on the date above mentioned. Friends rallied around Bro. Thacher, and so, blessing each other, they won success. Early Tuesday morning (19th), the scene at the Union Depot, Cleveland, was enlivened. The trains from the East and West brought hundreds of Lyceum children, and hundreds of adults to witness the ceremonies of the day. The procession formed at the depot at an early hour, as follows: Marshal of the Day, A. A. Wheelock; Cleveland Grays Band; Cleveland Lyceum, C. I. Thacher, Conductor; Kirtland Lyceum, Frank Rich, Conductor; Painesville Band; Painesville Lyceum, A. G. Smith, Conductor; Geneva Lyceum, C. Goile, Conductor; Thompson Lyceum, E. Hurlburt, Conductor. All the Lyceums turned out with full ranks.

ROUTE OF PROCESSION.

The grand column marched through the principal streets of Cleveland. Thousands flocked to witness the novel sight. The scene, as the procession came down Euclid avenue, was inspiring. The children marched exceedingly well, and won admiring plaudits from the lookers-on for their orderly conduct. It was about 10 o'clock that the procession arrived at the Rink, which is capable of holding ten thousand people. The crowd here was very large, but orderly. Strains of music filled the air; and the children, with a tread that might be called stately, filed into the building. The doors of the Rink were thrown open free to all. First in order was a grand feast of music by the Cleveland Grays Band and the Painesville Cornet Band, which received loud applause from the gathering thousands. Mr. C. I. Thacher then called upon all public speakers and conductors and guardians of lyceums to take a seat on the rostrum. The delegation of Shakers present were also invited to the stand.

The Cleveland choir then discoursed sweet music. This was followed by an address of welcome by Master Eugene Johnson, of the Cleveland Lyceum. Next came the opening address by A. A. Wheelock, which was in that gentleman's happiest strain. Mr. A. G. Smith, of the Painesville Lyceum, then led in singing a piece entitled "Sing All Together," accompanied by the Painesville Band. The singing was participated in by all of the children. O. L. Sutliff, of Ravenna, Ohio, then delivered a short address, which was followed by exercises by the Painesville Lyceum in singing, marching and calisthenics. The Painesville Lyceum has reached a most enviable degree of proficiency, and its officers and members have good reason to be proud of the display they made in the Cleveland Rink, September 19. Interesting exercises by the Geneva Lyceum closed the forenoon session.

THE AFTERNOON SESSION.

was opened by Lyceum manoeuvres and recitations from all the Lyceums present, which gave great satisfaction.

J. M. Peebles then delivered a short address on the Lyceum movement, in the course of which he stated that there were three Children's Progressive Lyceums in England and one in Germany. He expressed his determination to labor so long as strength was given him for the upbuilding of such schools for the young—a declaration which was received with loud applause. Mr. A. G. Smith then sang a solo, entitled, "Oh Life, Beautiful Life," accompanied by the Painesville Band. Master Emory Olds then gave a recitation in fine style. O. P. Kellogg was then introduced, and, in his own mirthful way, made everybody laugh.

Mr. Wheelock then announced that Victoria C. Woodhull, who was present at the morning session, had kindly donated a valuable present, in the line of reading matter, to each of the Lyceums represented.

THE EVENING SESSION.

The great event of the evening was the oration by VICTORIA C. WOODHULL,

President of the American Association of Spiritualists, ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

It had been extensively advertised that Mrs. Woodhull would visit Cleveland. There was great interest among all classes to see her. By 7 o'clock (Tuesday evening) crowds of people began to seek admission into the Rink.

A LIVELY SCENE.

It looked lively enough inside the Rink as the colossal audience was assembling. The elite of Cleveland, if not, indeed, of Northern Ohio, were present.

Hundreds of gas jets lighted up the spacious building, and the eager throng, passing to and fro, or chatting gayly and earnestly in their seats, brought vividly to one's mind the appearance of things in the Boston Coliseum during the great Peace Jubilee.

At 8 o'clock nearly

5,000 PEOPLE

had gathered together. Mr. J. M. Peebles was nominated Chairman of the meeting. He announced that the first exercise would be singing.

Mr. Peebles then introduced Victoria C. Woodhull in the following words:

"This is an age of thought, of study, of earnest investigation. Men and women are in earnest in the search after principles. The desire is, on all sides, to strike the ground of the permanent, the substantial and the just. God, in his providence, has, in past ages, lifted up certain men and women to be standard bearers of truth and progress. These souls have led the masses on to light, and a great measure of spiritual blessings. God, our divine protector, does this same thing to-day. He loves the children of the nineteenth century, even as he did those that, years ago, walked and sang and prayed 'neath Syrian skies. We have inspired men and women in our midst to-day. How grandly they work! Their countenances beam with heavenly splendor

their words are full of fire, and yet their manner is as gentle as though they were transported to the skies. We have such an one with us to night, in the person of Victoria C. Woodhull, who is to address you. Those of you who have read Theodore Tilton's life of this lady, know something of her trials and victories. Look for a moment. We see her in Wall street, a successful broker; next she appears memorializing Congress in behalf of woman; next she graces the rostrum with her presence, and her eloquent words receive the plaudits of admiring thousands; next she appears in a Woman's Convention, where she is honored by the love of such as Lucretia Mott, who said to her: "My dear sister, I love you; give me your hands; come with me; so long as I have a home it is yours." So, also, did Mrs. Hooker, own sister of Henry Ward Beecher, manifest a tender regard for the noble woman to whom you are to listen this night. Mrs. Hooker invoked blessings on the head of Victoria C. Woodhull. And others, all over the country, are beginning to understand aright and to appreciate this woman of women, Victoria C. Woodhull, which lady I now have the great pleasure of introducing to you."

THE ORATION.

Mrs. Woodhull was greeted with applause as she walked forward on the speakers' stand. In a calm and dignified manner she commenced reading her address. The large audience at once became silent, and gave a most respectful hearing to the earnest speaker.

Mrs. Woodhull holds her manuscript in one hand, and, in tones firm, and at times musical, delivers her message to the people. We wish we could portray the scene in the Rink during Mrs. Woodhull's oration. It was a sight never to be forgotten to see that vast assemblage under the magic spell of the eloquent speaker—not of eloquence technically so called by the schools, but that eloquence which comes from earnest conviction, wherein the look of the eye, the expression of the face and the quiver of the voice all go to show that things superficial have been laid aside, and that the domains of earnestness, sincerity and fidelity have been fully entered upon. Mrs. Woodhull may well feel proud of her effort in Cleveland. She came, she saw, she conquered. Prejudice melts before her genial presence; scandal flees away into oblivion when in her own impressive way she talks to you—you see the light, yes, the light of honor and truth shining in her eyes, and all who are friendly to those that have been friendless rejoice to know that Victoria C. Woodhull is slowly but surely marching on to peace, harmony and prosperity.

THE BALL.

After the oration came the grand ball. As we left the Rink dancing was the attraction, and everybody was having a jolly time.

PERSONAL.

We noticed among the visitors to the Convention Lou. H. Kimball, of the *Lyceum Banner*; Eli F. Brown, the Agent of the American Association of Spiritualists; Bro. James Wilson, of Bridgeport, Conn.; Ira Lake and wife, Norwalk, Ohio; Mrs. Ella Breed, Guardian of the Toledo Lyceum, and others. The absence of Hudson and Emma Tuttle was much regretted.

NOTES.

Brother Smithers, of the Toledo Lyceum, carried in the procession the elegant banner lately purchased by that school. This reunion was the third one of the Lyceums of Northern Ohio. The success of the whole affair reflects great credit on Messrs. Thacher, Wheelock and others. May it be our privilege to attend many more such gatherings.

CEPHAS B. LYNN.

FEMALE SUFFRAGE.

For the information of those who have read the "*Journal of the exclusives*," and consequently have not heard about the Constitutional Amendments, we present the following, which speaks for itself:

We learn from the Philadelphia *Press* that on Saturday last Miss Carrie L. Burnham, accompanied by Damon Y. Kilgore, Esq., her law preceptor and legal adviser—also by the vouchers demanded by law—went before the Board of Assessors and demanded to be registered and assessed as a voter, claiming to be a citizen of the United States, and therefore entitled to the privileges and immunities of citizenship. The canvassers at first objected on account of her sex. Her attorney then read to them the law, explaining that citizenship was not confined to sex, and that women, from the foundation of our Government, had been recognized as citizens, and that now, under the Constitution of the United States, with its amendments, they were justly entitled to all the privileges of citizenship, equally with man. Her name was then registered, she having made the required affidavit, and she received her certificate of assessment, which she took to the office of the Receiver of Taxes, tendering therewith her fifty cents, with but little discussion. The Receiver took her offering and gave her a tax receipt. So, the *Press* tells us, one woman is ready for voting.

The only organ of the Woman Suffrage of the country, published by the Boston women and H. B. B., has the hardihood to say:

Iowa is one of the most hopeful States for the early enfranchisement of its women of any of the States of the Union. We shall not be surprised to hear that the Supreme Court of that State pronounces favorably on the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, and thus enfranchise by a word from the Bench the women of that State.

We trust that the women of Iowa, whom the *Journal* professes to represent, will not avail themselves of any such dishonorable "subterfuge" as that "short cut" to suffrage would be. Really, women of Iowa! we trust you have more honor in your souls than to accept suffrage that way. You should be patient, and wait "sixty years" even, if your generous male masters don't vote you into citizenship before. Be patient and don't think of claiming suffrage under the Amendments. You know they were only intended for negroes, and not for women.

Be patient, aye, be patient and work for your rights, and don't, we beg of you, slip into them by a "quibble."

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.

KARL MARX.

LONDON, N. W., September 23, 1871.

MESDAMES: I have the honor to send you, for insertion in your WEEKLY—if you judge the contribution sufficiently interesting for your readers—a short relation of my daughter Jenny on the persecutions she and her sisters, during their stay at Bagnères de Luchon (Pyrenees), had to undergo at the hands of the French Government. This tragico-comical episode seems to me characteristic of the Republic-Thiers.

The news of my death was concocted at Paris by the *Avenir Liberal*, a Bonapartist paper.

Since Sunday last a private Conference of the delegates of the International Workingmen's Association is sitting at London. The proceedings will terminate to-day.

With my best thanks for the highly-interesting papers you had the kindness to send me,

I have the honor, Mesdames, to remain,

Yours most sincerely,

KARL MARX.

To the Editor of Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly:

MADAME: The following private letter (originally written to a friend) may serve the public interest, if by means of it some light is thrown upon the arbitrary proceedings of the present French Government, who, with supreme contempt for personal security and liberty, do not scruple to arrest foreigners, as well as natives, on altogether false pretenses:

* * * Monsieur Lafarque, my brother-in-law, his wife and children, my youngest sister and myself, had spent the months of June and July at Bagnères de Luchon, where we intended remaining until the end of September. I hoped, by a prolonged stay in the Pyrenees, and by a daily use of the mineral waters for which Luchon is famous, to recover from the effects of a severe attack of pleurisy. *Mais dans la République-Thiers l'homme propose et la police dispose.* On the first or second day in August, M. Lafarque was informed by a friend that he might daily expect a domiciliary visit of the police, when, if found, he would surely be arrested, on the pretext that he had paid a short visit to Paris during the time of the Commune, had acted as emissary of the International in the Pyrenees, and last, but not least, because he is the husband of his wife, consequently the son-in-law of Karl Marx. Knowing that under the present government of lawyers the law is a dead letter, that persons are continually locked up, no reason whatever being assigned for their arrest, Mr. Lafarque follows the advice given him, crosses the frontier, and settles down at Bosost, a small Spanish town. Several days after his departure, on the 6th of August, Mad. Lafarque, her sister Eleanor and I visit M. Lafarque at Bosost. Mad. Lafarque, finding that her little boy is not well enough to leave Bosost on the same day (she was very anxious on the child's account, having lost his brother a few days before), resolved to remain with her husband for a day or two. My sister Eleanor and I therefore returned alone to Luchon.

Without accident we succeeded in getting along the rugged Spanish roads, and safely reached Fos. There the French custom-house officials ask us the usual questions and look into our carriage to see whether there are any contraband goods. As we have nothing but our cloaks with us, I tell the coachman to drive on, when an individual—no other than the Procureur de la République, M. le Baron Desgarre—steps forward, saying: "In the name of the Republic, follow me." We leave our carriage and enter a small room, where we find a forbidding-looking creature—a most unwomanly woman—waiting to search us. Not wishing to let this coarse-looking person touch us, we offer to take off our dresses ourselves. Of this he woman will not hear. She rushes out of the room, whither she soon returns, followed by the Procureur de la République, who in the most ungentlemanly manner thus apostrophizes my sister: "If you will not allow this woman to search you, I shall do so." My sister replies: "You have no right to come near a British subject. I have an English passport." Seeing, however, that an English passport does not count for much, that the bearer of such a passport does not inspire M. le Baron Desgarre with much respect, for he looks as though he were in good earnest, ready to suit his actions to his words, we allow the woman to have her way. She unpicks the very seams of our dresses, makes us take off even our stockings. I fancy I can still feel her spider-like fingers running through my hair. Having only found a newspaper on me and a torn letter on my sister, she runs with these to her friend and ally, M. le Baron Desgarre. We are reconducted to our carriage—our own coachman, who had acted as our "guide" during our whole stay in the Pyrenees, and had grown much attached to us, is forced away, replaced by another coachman, two officers are installed in the carriage opposite us, and thus we are driven off, a cart-full of custom-house officers and police agents fol-

lowing us. After a time, finding, no doubt, that after all we are not such very dangerous characters, that we do not make any attempts to murder our sentinels, our escort is left behind and we remain in the charge of the two officers in the carriage. Thus guarded, we are driven through village after village, through St. Beat, the inhabitants of which comparatively large town collect in crowds, evidently taking us to be thieves, or, at least, smugglers. At 8 o'clock, thoroughly tired out, we arrive at Luchon, cross the *Quinconces*, where hundreds of people are assembled to listen to the band, it being Sunday and the height of the season. Our carriage stops before the hotel of the Prefect, M. le Comte de Keratry. That personage not being at home, still guarded, we are kept waiting before his door for at least half an hour. At length orders are given for us to be taken back to our house, which we find surrounded by gendarmes. We at once go up stairs, wishing to refresh ourselves by washing our faces (we had been out since five o'clock in the morning), but as a gendarme and an agent in plain clothes follow us even into our bedroom, we return to the drawing-room, unrefreshed, to await the arrival of the Prefect. The clock strikes nine, ten; M. de Keratry has not come—he is listening to the band on the *Quinconces*, and, we hear, is determined to stay until the last chord of the music has died away. Meanwhile, quantities of *mouchards* drop in; they walk into the room as if it were their own and make themselves quite at home, settling down on our chairs and sofa. Soon we are surrounded by a motley crowd of police agents, which devoted servants of the Republic, it is easy to see, have served their term of apprenticeship under the Empire—they are masters of their honorable calling. They have recourse to impossible tricks and dodges to inveigle us into a conversation, but, finding all their efforts to do so are vain, they stare at us as only "professionals" can stare, until, at half-past ten, the Prefect puts in an appearance, flanked by the Procureur General, M. Delpech, the Juge d'Instruction, Juge de Paix, the Commissaires of Toulouse and Luchon, etc. My sister is told to step into an adjoining room; the Commissaire of Toulouse and a gendarme accompany her. My interrogatory commences. I refuse to give any information concerning my brother-in-law and other relatives and friends. With regard to myself, I declare I am under medical treatment, and have come to Luchon to take the waters. For more than two hours M. de Keratry by turns exhorts, persuades and at length threatens me, that if I choose to persist in my refusal to act as a witness, I shall be looked upon as an accomplice. "To-morrow," he says, "the law will compel you to give your deposition on oath; for, let me tell you, M. Lafarque and his wife have been arrested." At this I felt alarmed, because of my sister's sick child.

At length my sister Eleanor's turn comes. I am ordered to turn my back while she speaks. An officer is placed in front of me lest I should attempt to make some sign. To my annoyance I hear my sister is being led by degrees to say yes or no to the numberless questions put to her. Afterward I found out by what means she had been made to speak. Pointing to my written declaration, M. de Keratry (I could not see his gestures, my back being turned,) affirmed the contrary of what I had really said. Therefore, anxious not to contradict me, my sister had not refuted the statements said to have been made by me. It was half-past two before her examination was ended. A young girl of 16, who had been up since five A. M., had traveled nine hours on an intensely hot day in August, and only taken food quite early at Bosost, cross-examined until half-past two in the morning!

For the rest of that night the Commissaire of Toulouse and several gendarmes remained in our house. We went to bed, but not to sleep, for we puzzled our heads as how to get a messenger to go to Bosost to warn M. Lafarque, in case he had not yet been arrested. We looked out of the window. Gendarmes were walking about in the garden. It was impossible to get out of the house. We were close prisoners—not even allowed to see our maid and landlady. On the following day, landlady and servants were examined on oath. I was again questioned for more than an hour by the Procureur General, M. Delpech, and the Procureur de la République. That tongue-valiant hero, M. le Baron Desgarre, read long extracts to me, pointing out the penalties I am liable to incur by persisting in my refusal to act as witness. The eloquence of these gentlemen was, however, lost on me. I quietly but firmly declared my resolution not to take the oath, and remained unshaken.

My sister's examination only lasted a few minutes this time. She also resolutely refused to take the oath.

Before the Procureur General left us, we asked for permission to write a few lines to our mother, fearing the news of our arrest might get into the papers and alarm our parents. We offered to write the letter in French, under the very eyes of M. Delpech. It was only to consist of a few sentences, such as we are well, etc. The Procureur refused our request, on the pretext that we might have a language of our own; that the words—we are well—might convey some hidden meaning.

These magistrates outdid Dogberry and Verges. The following is another instance of their utter imbecility: Having found, as our maid told us, a quantity of commercial letters, belonging to M. Lafarque, in which reference was made to the exportation of sheep and oxen, they exclaimed: "Oxen, sheep, intrigues, intrigues; sheep—Communists; oxen—Internationals."

For the remainder of that day and night we were again committed to the care of several gendarmes, one of whom ever sat opposite us while we were dining.

On the following day, the 8th, we had a visit from the Prefect and a person whom we supposed to be his Secretary. Of this interview a most inaccurate and fantastical account appeared in the *France*, and was from thence transferred into a great number of other papers. But to return to the Prefect.

M. de Keratry, after making a very lengthy preface, informed us most blandly that the authorities had been mistaken; that it had been found that there was no foundation for the charge made against M. Lafarque, who was innocent, and therefore at liberty to return to France. "As for your sister and yourself," said M. de Keratry, thinking, I suppose, that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush, "there is much more against you than against M. Lafarque" (thus we were being suddenly transformed from witnesses into the accused), "and in all likelihood you will be expelled from France. However, an order from government for your liberation will come in the course of the day." Then, assuming a paternal tone, he said, "Anyhow, let me advise you to moderate your zeal in the future, *pas trop de zèle!*" Upon which the supposed secretary said abruptly, "And the International is the association powerful in England?" "Yes," I answered, "most powerful, and so it is in all other countries." "Ah," exclaimed M. de Keratry, "the International is a religion!" Before he made his exit, M. de Keratry once more assured us, on his word of honor, that Paul Lafarque was free, and asked us at once to write to Bosost to tell him so, and to invite him to return to France. Now, I fancied I could see the red ribbon of the Legion d'Honneur adorning the button-hole of De Keratry, and as I have a notion that the honor of the Knights of the Legion d'Honneur must be something very different to the honor of common mortals, I thought it best to be prudent, and so instead of advising M. Lafarque to return to Luchon, I intended to do the contrary, and begged of a friend to send him the means wherewith to travel further into Spain.

Followed about by our shadows, the gendarmes, we waited in vain for the promised order for our release. At 11 o'clock at night, the Procureur de la Republique walked into our room; but instead of bringing us the order for our liberation, M. Desagarre asked us to get ready a trunk and to follow him into "*une maison particuliere.*" I knew this proceeding was illegal—but what could we do? There were only a few women in the house with us, whereas the Procureur was accompanied by several gendarmes. Therefore, not wishing to afford the cowardly bully, M. Desagarre, the satisfaction of using brute force, we gave orders to our weeping maid to get ready our dresses, etc., and having attempted to console the daughter of our landlady by telling her we should soon return, we got into a carriage occupied by two gendarmes, in the dead of night, in a strange country, to be taken whither we knew not.

The *gendarmerie* barracks proved to be our destination; a bedroom having been shown us, our door having been duly barricaded outside, we were left alone. In this place we remained the following day until past five o'clock, when, determined to know what all this meant, I desired to have an interview with the Prefect. M. de Keratry came. I asked him how it was we had been taken to the *gendarmerie* after he had promised us our liberty.

"Thanks to my intercession," answered he, "you have been allowed to spend the night at the *gendarmerie*. The government (M. Thiers) would have sent you to the prison of St. Godins, near Toulouse." Then M. de Keratry handed me a letter containing 2,000 francs, which had been sent to M. Lafarque by his banker at Bordeaux, and which he, M. de Keratry, had hitherto detained; declared we were free, were not to be expelled from France, but, like Mr. Lafarque, at liberty to remain in the country.

This time we were imprudent enough to inform Mad. Lafarque of what M. de Keratry had said with regard to her husband.

On the 10th we received a *laissez-passer* to go over to Spain, but our English passport was not returned us. During ten days we applied for it in vain. M. de Keratry wrote he had sent it to Paris, and could not get it back, though he had repeatedly written for it.

We now saw we had only been turned out of the small *gendarmerie* of Luchon to be locked up in that great *gendarmerie*, the Republic-Thiers. We were still prisoners. Without a passport there was no getting out of France, in which country we were evidently to be kept, until some event or other should afford a pretext for again arresting us.

The police organs of Toulouse were daily accusing us of acting as emissaries of the International on the French and Spanish frontiers. "But," added they, "the Prefect is taking energetic measures in order to reassure (*pour rassurer*) the inhabitants of the Haute Saronne." Now, it is true, a *laissez-passer* to go over into Spain had been given us, but the experience of Mad. Lafarque in that country was not of a nature to encourage us to seek a refuge in the land of El Cid.

The facts we learned from Madame Lafarque carry us back to the 6th of August.

I mentioned above that our coachman had been compelled to leave us at Fos. Whereupon M. Desagarre, the Procureur de la Republique, and several "gentlemen" of the police, attempted to persuade him, in the most plausible manner, to

return to Bosost, and on false pretenses to get M. Lafarque to go to Fos. Fortunately an honest man is more than a match for half a dozen police agents. The shrewd young fellow guessed there was some trick at the bottom of all this glib talk, and flatly refused to fetch M. Lafarque; consequently gendarmes and donaniers, with the Procureur at their head, set out on an expedition to Bosost. M. le Baron Desagarre, whose discretion is the better part of his valor, had previously declared he would not go to Fos to capture M. Lafarque without a sufficient escort; that he could do nothing with one or two gendarmes against a man like M. Lafarque, most likely given to the use of firearms. M. Desagarre was mistaken—not a bullet, but kicks and cuffs were reserved for him. On his return from Bosost he attempted to interfere with peasants celebrating their village feast. The brave mountaineers, who love their freedom as much as their own mountain air, gave the noble Baron a sound thrashing, and sent him about his business, a sadder if not a wiser man! But I am anticipating.

I was saying that M. Desagarre and his followers started for Bosost. They soon reached that town, and soon found out the hotel at which the Lafarques were staying, for the inhabitants of Bosost only possess two hotels, or rather inns. They are not yet sufficiently civilized to have the orthodox number of public houses. Now, while M. Desagarre is standing before the front door of the Hotel Masse, M. Lafarque, aided by his good friends, the peasants, gets out of the house by the back gate, climbs the mountains and escapes along paths known only to guides, goats and English tourists—all the regular roads being guarded by Spanish carabinieri. The Spanish police had enthusiastically taken up the cause of their French brethren. Madame Lafarque is made to feel all the blessings arising from the International Association of the police. At 3 o'clock in the morning her bedroom is suddenly broken into, and in rush four Spanish officers, with their carbines pointed to the bed in which she and her child are sleeping. The poor sick baby, suddenly awakened, frightened, begins to scream; but that doesn't prevent the Spanish officers from looking in every hole and cranny of the room for M. Lafarque. Finally, convinced that their prey has escaped them, they declare they will carry off Madame Lafarque. At this the master of the hotel—a most worthy man—interferes, saying he is sure the Spanish government will not accord the extradition of a lady. He was right. Madame Lafarque was allowed to remain at Bosost, but was ever after subjected to the annoyance of being followed about by police agents. At the hotel a troop of spies established their headquarters. One Sunday even the Prefect and the Procureur de la Republique took the trouble to travel all the way from Luchon to Bosost for the purpose of seeing Madame Lafarque. As, however, they did not succeed in satisfying their curiosity, they consoled themselves by playing at *rouge et noir*, which, together with baccarat, forms the only serious occupation of the *petits gras* from Versailles, now staying at the Pyrenees.

But I must not forget to explain how it was that M. de Keratry had not succeeded in seeing Madame Lafarque. The fact is, that a French peasant from Luchon had informed some Spanish friends of his at Bosost of M. de Keratry's intended visit, and they, of course, at once warned Madame Lafarque.

The French and Spanish population of the Pyrenees form a league, offensive and defensive, against their respective governments. In our case they acted as spies upon the official spies of the Prefect—though repeatedly stopped at the French frontiers, they were untiring in their attempts to bring us news. At length M. de Keratry gave orders to the effect that no one, *not even guides*, should be allowed to cross over to Bosost, unless provided with a proper pass. This measure, of course, did not prevent our having messages brought us as heretofore; it only served to embitter still more the peasants of the Pyrenees, already so hostile to the rurals of Versailles.

In other parts of France I have since heard that the peasants are quite as much opposed to their so-called representatives, the governing rurals. M. Thiers fulfills a great revolutionary omission! By means of his prefects, priests, gardes champetres and gendarmes he will before long provoke a general rising of the peasantry!

Of M. Lafarque's escape Madame Lafarque had informed us a few days after our release from the *gendarmerie*. Later on, we heard from a native of Bosost that M. Lafarque had been arrested at Huesca, and that the Spaniards had made the offer of his extradition to the French government. On the very day we received this news our English passport was returned us by the Juge de Paix. So, in order to put an end to the state of anxiety in which we knew Madame Lafarque must be placed, tied down as she was to Bosost by her sick child, not knowing what had become of her husband, we at once made up our minds to travel to Huesca, in order to beg the Governor of that district to let us know the real intentions of the Spanish government with respect to M. Lafarque. On reaching St. Sebastian we heard to our joy that M. Lafarque had been set at liberty. So we immediately returned to England.

I cannot conclude this letter without giving a short sketch of the treatment to which Madame C—, our landlady, and the servant were subjected on the 6th of August, during our absence; for, compared with them, we had always been treated with great courtesy. At 11 o'clock in the morning, the Prefect, Procureur General, Procureur de la Republique,

etc., made a raid upon our house. Enraged at not being able to lay hands on M. Lafarque, they vented their wrath on Madame C—, an invalid, suffering from heart disease in an advanced stage, and upon our maid. That poor girl was treated most roughly, because she would not tell where her master had gone.

This, the Prefect, however, succeeded in learning from a boy, employed by Madame C— as gardener, and whom he straightway sent up to Fos, there to lay in wait for us behind a hedge, in order to give warning of our arrival to the Procureur de la Republique & Co.

If, during his campaign against the Prussians, M. de Keratry had employed the same art of protecting his flanks and rear from surprise, of surprising detachments of the enemy by establishing videttes and sending out scouts, things would have gone better in Brittany—that is to say, if one may judge from the success of De Keratry's tactics at Fos!

Our landlady was not allowed to light a fire in her own kitchen; was ordered, instead of sleeping in her bed, to lie down on the floor. With the latter order she, however, refused to comply. Catching hold of her son, a child not three years of age, the Prefect said he must be the son of M. Lafarque. Madame C— repeatedly declared he was mistaken—but in vain; at length, really anxious to prove her child's identity (she feared he might be carried off), she exclaimed: "Why, the boy only speaks the patois of the district." For a moment or two the Prefect looked as if even that argument had failed to convince him. Perhaps M. de Keratry, believing as he does, that the "International is a religion," was pondering on the miracle of the cloven tongues descending on the apostles.

One of the reasons why Madame C— was so much ill-used, was because she had never in her life heard of the International, and therefore could not give an account of the doings of that mysterious society at Luchon, which, by the way, would have been an impossible task for the best initiated member—at least previous to the period at which M. de Keratry commenced at Luchon his active propaganda for the International Association. Then Madame C— had been guilty of speaking of her tenant, M. Lafarque, in very high terms. But the head and front of her offending was in her inability to point out hidden bombs and petroleum.

Yes! it is a fact, bombs and petroleum were searched for in our house.

Taking up a small night lamp, used for warming the baby's milk, the assembled magistrates examined it; handling it with great caution, as if it were some diabolical machine, by means of which petroleum might have been discharged into the streets of Paris. From Luchon to Paris. Even Munchausen never indulged in such a stretch of imagination. The French government are *capable de tout*. They really believe in the truth of the wild petroleum fables—the coinage of their own distempered brains. They do think the women of Paris are "neither brute nor human, neither man nor woman"—but "petroleuses"—a species of the Salamander, delighting in their native element—fire.

They almost come up to Henri de Pene, of the *Paris Journal*, their prophet and teacher, who, as I am told, now actually fancies that the famous letters, manufactured by himself in my father's name, have not been written by Henri de Pene but by Karl Marx.

One could afford to treat with silent contempt a government run mad, and to laugh at the farces in which the pottering pantaloons employed by that government play their muddling and meddling parts, did not these farces turn out to be tragedies for thousands of men, women and children. Think only of the "petroleuses" before the court-martial of Versailles, and of the women who, for the last three months, are being slowly done to death on the pontoons.

London, Sept., 1871.

JENNY MARX.

THE POLITICAL ASPECT OF MASSACHUSETTS.

[From our Boston Correspondent.]

The Massachusetts Republican Convention, held this week in Worcester, was, in some of its prominent features, of such an anomalous character as to forever form a memorable chapter in the political history of this old Commonwealth. Some of your readers may not know, that with us, as with you and others, though perhaps with less objection here than elsewhere, mainly from the quality of the men engaged, our gubernatorial candidates for many years past have been selected, decided upon and managed by a self-constituted Circle (that's an improved nomenclature for Ring) of politicians having their general headquarters at Boston. This year they were at first not a little confused by the multiplicity and respectability of certain well-known aspirants—all "honorable men"—who are willing to make a large personal sacrifice in order to preside at the political table of Massachusetts, and to wait upon the Republicanism of the State. Secondly, the purposes and plans of the managing chief spirits were sadly interfered with by the cross-fire action of some of their own members. Mr. Harvey Jewell, who has occupied the Speaker's Chair of the House for several years; Mr. Wm. B. Washburn, present Representative in Congress from the Ninth District; Dr. Geo. B. Loring, formerly a Democrat and always largely interested in agriculture; and Alex. H. Rice, an ex-member of Congress and Mayor of Boston, announced themselves, through their friends, as desirous of serving as Governor. Thirdly, which in this order of enumeration might have been properly mentioned

first, the unusual position of Gen. Butler, who, by the way, is continually doing unusual things, both of a so-called good and bad character.

Early in the season, and without consulting with the chief political manipulators, from whom he could expect no favorable consideration, and feeling as though he had as good a right as anyone, publicly gave notice in his own behalf that he would be a candidate; and for several weeks, with characteristic pluck and vigorous efficiency, his stump-speeches made many a politician wince and wither with the extent of his offending. This condition of affairs developed a sort of Egyptian puzzle, wherein spite, pique, prejudice and ambition were made to assume fantastic garb.

The contending factions met, and after the most approved fashion settled matters as best they could.

General Butler, though far more numerous supported in the Convention than any other one party, was unable to overcome the united opposition of all others. But even against the field, he might finally have won, had not those delegates who voluntarily pledged themselves to vote "first, last and everything" for Messrs. Rice, Loring, etc., found it convenient to violate their promises in order to defeat Gen. Butler—he being the *point d'appui* whom it was necessary to capture. Under the circumstances, however, the result was not unexpected—the choosing of one whose chances at first were not considered with any great favor—Hon. Wm. B. Washburn. Had Gen. Butler been less disposed to yield gracefully to the decision of the Convention, and acted as his violent opponents declared he would, and done what under a reversed order of things they talked of doing, he might have bolted and run as an independent candidate; in which case he would surely have been elected Governor, by the Radical Republicans, the Labor Reformers, the Prohibitionists and wide-awake Democrats. For many reasons we wish this was to be. With such elements combined, any change would indicate progress, out of the present established order of things, and for the good of humanity.

As pertinent to the hour, let me mention in connection with this Massachusetts Republican Convention, that the Executive Committee of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association memorialized the Convention to adopt a resolution affirming the right of women to the elective franchise, and to assist in speedily enabling them to exercise their right; which, after a deal of discussion in the Committee, they finally mustered up sufficient courage to present the following diluted milk and water statement:

Resolved, That the Republican party of Massachusetts is mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America for their patriotic devotion to the cause of freedom; that we rejoice in the late action of State Legislatures in recognizing the fitness of women for public trust, and that in view of the great favor which the movement has received from many of the Republican party, the subject of suffrage for women is a question that deserves the most careful and respectful consideration.

And even this had to be preceded by a false compliment to themselves in words as follows: "That this party has been and is the party of progress and reform; that its great mission has been to blot out all class distinctions on American soil; that it knows no class to be favored, and will permit none to be oppressed; but, regarding all citizens of the State as equals before the law, it seeks to secure for them the blessings of free education and protection in every field of honest industry."

But the most honest word with reference to the subject of woman which found expression in the whole Convention, fell from the lips of the presiding officer, Hon. George F. Hoar, in his address on taking the chair. I gladly transcribe it for its truth and heartiness:

The republic implies, as I understand, two things: 1st, absolute equality, so that the government expresses the choice of the whole people. This only is self-government, the highest act, whether of the individual or of the State. Every other is government of one part of the people by another, which in the end is bad and degrading for both. I know that in this matter, to convince the public, judgment must precede statutes, constitutions, or even party platforms. But, while I have no right to speak for every one of you, your having placed me here gives me the right to say for myself that, until every human being of full age, of whatever condition in life and of whatever sex, has his or her equal voice in framing the laws which are to govern the State of which he or she forms a part; until the woman helps regulate the public education of the child; until, in deciding the question which you submit yearly to your towns—whether the husband or the son may lawfully be tempted by strong drink—the wish of the wife and the mother is counted, your republic and your republicanism are incomplete; until you endeavor to accomplish this, your Republican party has not fully vindicated its title to its august name.

And now if you have space in connection with the above, please print the concluding remarks of Gen. Butler. They are full of meat and merit, and withal highly significant.

ST. ALBANS.

THE SIXTEENTH AMENDMENT.

MESDAMES WOODHULL & CLAFLIN: Miss Carrie M. Burnham, M. D., a graduate of Dr. Wall's Hygienic Medical College, and a student at law in Philadelphia, has registered as a voter in that city, and intends to vote at the ensuing election. What are Father Hecker, Dr. Todd, Rev. Mr. Fulton and Hon. Horace Greeley going to do about it?

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LUCINDA S. WILCOX, M. D., has a "home for invalids" in Vineland, N. J. If you are sick and want to go to a very healthy place and get the best of care, write to her.

THAT TERRIBLE QUESTION.

BY MOSES HULL.

[CONTINUED.]

We now enter directly upon the question, What is Love? We answer: words cannot define it. No dictionary can make the soul which has not tasted it comprehend its meaning. It is nothing more nor less than the desire, the appetite, which one soul feels for needed elements which belong to another. Mark, love is not the element that a person or thing possesses, but it is the desire caused by the need of that element. To illustrate: Pure water possesses the same elements at one time that it does at another, yet no one loves it except the thirsty soul; hence, it is thirst that makes man love water—indeed, thirst is the love for water. So the hungering and thirsting which one soul feels for elements which belong to another is love. The above being true, it is possible for one person to appreciate, esteem and even like another, and yet not love that person. There are persons in the world, with whom it would be hard to find a fault, that we cannot love. Who has not said of certain persons, "They are good, good-looking, good-dispositioned, intellectual, spiritual, and I esteem them highly; I wish I could love them, but I can't." Why is this? To every philosopher the reason is obvious. They do not possess the elements needed by the soul who cannot love them. If the above position be true, love is not free; it cannot go where it chooses; it can only go where the needs of the soul send it, and there it will go. No will-power, no philosophy, no passion will stay it. As well talk of controlling the color of your eyes or hair as your love. It is the thirsty one alone who loves water. The best beefsteak in the world has no relish for the normal appetite, unless there is a demand in the system for it. The demand for it in the system is God's command to partake, the lack of that demand is God's command to let it alone, however strongly sincere but mistaken friends may urge you to partake.

So in matters of love. Love is the strongest passion of the human soul; and hence, instead of being in subjection to other passions, leads all the rest. The philosopher looks upon love as a natural consequence of a certain combination of elements in the lover and the loved. Hence he is neither ashamed nor afraid to talk of his love for certain ones; as well be ashamed of his appetite for certain kinds of food as of the fact that he loves certain elements in an individual, or that there are elements in an individual he cannot love, though she may be the legal companion of his bosom. His mistake is not in loving the wrong one, or failing to love one who fails to render herself lovely to him; but in marrying the wrong one, one he does not love. We are aware of the disputes on this question, yet there is no opposite theory that will stand the test of a single glance. We once knew a lady and gentleman, wife and husband, who differed as to what love was, and its cause—she contending that no other lady had a right to love him because he was her husband. The husband contended that that which rendered him lovely to her would render him equally so to others, whose needs were the same as hers. Finally, said he, "Why do you love me?"

Wife—"I love you because you are the father of my children."

Husband—"Did you not love me before I was the father of your children?"

Wife—"Yes, I loved you because you was my husband."

Husband—"Did you not love me before I was your husband?"

Wife—"Yes, I loved you because you were going to be my husband."

Husband—"I did not understand it so. I supposed that I was going to be your husband because you loved me."

Wife—"Well, my dear, I loved you because I couldn't help it."

Husband—"That's it. Now, suppose others can't help but love me, are they to blame more than you, who did precisely the same thing?"

Wife—"But, my dear husband, you are mine."

Husband—"True, I am yours and you are mine; but as you see purity and nobleness in me, why blame others for loving that which you call lovely?"

Sure enough; why not let others see the same loveliness which she saw? How beautiful! to want to see others appreciate that which we regard as worthy of appreciation.

"But," says the objector, "that will lead to bad results."

Not at all, kind reader. Do you love your sister? and what will that love do? will it lead to a protection or destruction of the chastity and virtue of that sister? Now, apply that same love to all, and what is the result? Ah! it is the opposite of love that destroys virtue. Then, we say, let love be free; let hatred, malice and envy be bound with chains; but whoever heard of a person who had too much love in his or her nature? "Love worketh no ill to his neighbor." God loved the world. "Let love be without dissimulation."

By this time our readers are prepared, with us, to approach a still more important question.

WHAT IS MARRIAGE?

Marriage has been regarded as a contract between two parties, where one sells her body and soul to the other, the other agreeing to take the entire charge of the one thus sold, support, protect, defend and even sometimes chastise. One

party deeds herself away; the other holds the deed—has it recorded; and, besides, has the testimony of the minister that God has made one of "the twain," and, in six cases out of ten, that one is the husband. Such a view of marriage—which, by the way, is the popular one—has given rise to more misery than any other one cause we can now call to mind.

The masculine portion of the marriage firm usually regards the latter in about the following light: "I have a wife. I own a woman. She is mine—all mine. I bought her, paid for her, have a deed, and have it recorded. My woman sold herself to me for a living. I am to keep her fat if possible, and clothe her decently. Her father and mother gave their right to her, and I paid the State for its right."

The feminine portion has deeded herself away, she knows that she has no rights that white men are bound to respect. If the cars should run over her and break a limb, she could not, in many States, collect damages, yet the husband could compel the Railroad Company to pay him damage for his injured property; and, though the injured wife dare not, without the consent of her lord and master, touch the money paid him for her injuries, he can spend it in drinking saloons, houses of assignation and gambling bells, leaving her no possible redress while she remains his wife.

True marriage, as we have before intimated, is a union of spirits. Where the spirits are truly united, there is marriage; nowhere else. Such God has joined together: "let no man put them asunder." No man can put them asunder. They may be bound in legal wedlock with some other one. The lady may have been so unfortunate as to have been made, by the law, the slave of some rich "Lord and Master," and the man legally tied to the apron strings of a woman his inferior by one hundred per cent.; the Atlantic may roll its boisterous waves between them, and yet they are joined together—spiritually united.

"Their hopes, their fears, their aims are one,
Their comforts and their cares."

There is, in such a case, a spirit-union which pen cannot describe—a soul-communion which only those who feel it know.

How unfortunate the circumstance for a person to know that only the body of his companion is in his possession while the spirit is really off with another. Can such things be prevented in the future? We believe they can. The youth can be so educated as to know who their real companions are; hence, who their legal partners should be.

In order to present this more lucidly before our young readers, we will undertake a

CLASSIFICATION OF THE SEXES.

How many classes there are we do not know, nor will we undertake to determine how large each class may be. But, to illustrate our ideas, we will suppose there are twenty-four classes of ladies and as many corresponding classes of gentlemen. These classes we will name after the twenty-four letters of the alphabet, A, B, C, etc. Now, any gentleman of Class A would make a suitable husband for any lady of the same class, and *vice versa*. God made the universe in pairs, and members of either class will find the other half of themselves in members of the corresponding class among the other sex.

Now, suppose a member of Class A marries one of Class B. Neither has found the other half of themselves; neither has been perfectly mated. They will get along well together, as there are, according to our illustration, twenty-three points of similarity and only one point of dissimilarity. But suppose A and S get married, there are twelve points where they agree and twelve where they disagree, and what is the result? Why, nothing very bad; they will quarrel about one-half of the time, have children who will either be sickly, wicked, idiotic or insane; will render themselves and all connected with them miserable, entail misery upon at least four generations of their posterity, who will, perhaps, mismatch and continue the misery for several succeeding generations. Now, suppose this lady of class A, who is tied by the matrimonial cord to a gentleman of class G, S or Z, meets with a gentleman of her own class. She will love him, as sure as the positive attracts its negative; nor is it to be blamed for it, any more than the earth is to be blamed and censured for attracting the apple which the stem could no longer hold. As the apple could, by artificial means, be held to the stem, or stuck even on an oak stick, so the subject of our illustration can be physically held by one whom her soul abhors. Such is often the case, but it is not marriage. Where congenial spirits meet, they will love, and if they dare to act out the nature God gave them, as sure as an opportunity presents itself, they will express that love for each other; it is uppermost in their heart, and "of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh." They will also be nearly as sure to talk of how sadly they are mismatched. The gentleman will, perhaps, say, "My wife is good; she is intelligent and handsome. She is true to me; no woman could do more than my wife does for me, and yet I can't love her as a husband should love a wife. I am sorry, but it is so." The lady responds, "Never was there a better man than my husband in his way; he provides well, furnishes me good clothes, and all I want to eat; but there is something about my wedlock, O, so revolting! What is it? I can't tell. If I were to marry a thousand times, I never could get a better man than my husband; yet I know I could be happier with some one else." So she would. The canary bird could not be happy with a pelican for its matrimonial companion; and yet the pelican is as good in its place as the canary in its sphere; but we consider the marriage of canaries with pelicans a woeful mis-mating of each.

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

"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.

DIES I.R.E.

Chicago has fallen. A stay has been put on that mighty growth and rapid progress, of which she was the modern exemplar and epitome. The magnificence of her enterprises—the munificence of her merchant princes—were a marvel and an astonishment. But the mysterious decree has gone out against her, and now her glory is taken away and she mourns in the ashes of her desolation. Like Tyre and Carthage, those old cities of the sea, she is not; but unlike them she will rise again in strength renewed. The giant Northwest will arm against misfortune, and putting forth all its energies will find its chances even in this enormous reverse.

If sympathy avail aught against the overwhelming calamities of this life, Chicago has the deep commiseration of all cities in the New World and the Old. They lament with her in her great sorrow. Theirs will be no meaningless woe—it will resolve itself into action.

Meanwhile, let individuals remember that it is individuals who suffer. Public misfortune means personal affliction. The pressure is fearful. Let all whose hearts are not dead to human feeling remember that food, clothing, shelter are required—the most urgent, most absolute needs of our common nature. Leave off wringing of hands and crying aloud. Give liberally, according to your means; but, be it little or be it much, bethink yourself that "now" is the time. Stand not on the order of your giving, but give at once.

QUEEN VICTORIA's health is one of the gravest topics of the day. Nothing less than the fall and setting of one of the world's great empires is supposed to hang on the life of this one illustrious personage. The known conservatism of the English people, proleaire as well as capitalist or aristocrat, will indispose them to make any violent change during the Queen's life or mental competency. But unimportant as is the actual personal power of the Sovereign in so carefully guarded a government as that of Great Britain, it cannot be denied that the personal power might be exercised for evil, and that the personal influence on public opinion is considerable if only as matter of sentiment. The Prince of Wales, for various reasons, is conspicuously unpopular. His domestic relations have excited public disfavor. His reputed failings have been the tastes of an inferior mind rather than the generous outbursts of a royal disposition prodigally endowed by nature with all qualities in excess. His have been the capricious imbecilities of a Capet, not the splendid follies of a Henri IV. The chances of a change may touch the national life of England, and through her, those of entire Europe.

THE MISSION OF SPIRITUALISM.

If the good people of this mundane sphere think that when Spiritualism has established the fact of spirit existence and the capacity to communicate between the two spheres, in the souls of humanity, it has accomplished its mission, they will be mistaken. This demonstration is now virtually conceded. At none of the late conventions did any person feel called upon to discuss this part of the subject. From being a conjecture, it has passed into a reality, and the real mission begins with the close of the necessity for demonstration and argument as to facts upon which the system is based.

In the strict sense, the communication between persons in the body is as much one of the facts of Spiritualism as it is that between a person in the body with one in the spirit. Each is the communication of one spirit with another, the only important difference being that of method. We have old and well-established methods as between ourselves. Those with spirits are as yet new and but little understood.

One of the first and most obvious effects of Spiritualism is to make the spirit life a more tangible theory than was possible under a mere theory or belief. And, necessarily, to induce people to live more directly in reference to that life. It also conduces to purity of life and the living up to the highest conception of right and duty. Everybody who is conscious of the presence of invisible friends, who see and know all he does, will hesitate and think twice before he does his conscience any great violence. It is as much more efficacious as a preventative to a bad life than a distant judgment day and probability of escape from its penalty, as certainty is superior to probability; aye, even to possibility. No matter how secretly wrong may be plotted and executed, it cannot retreat so far away from the light as to escape the eye of the ever-watchful spirit-world. Heaven's officers and ministers of justice are ever on the alert, and none may even hope to elude them.

It demonstrates the fallacy of the existence of the orthodox Heaven and Hell, and instead, demonstrates that rewards, whether for good or bad deeds, follow on the very heels of their commission. There is no remission, no substitution, no propitiation, but simple and exact justice—so much recompense for so much labor. It teaches that every individual must live his own life, and that as he lives so will his condition be—a bad earth life, making but a dwarf of a spirit with which to enter upon the spirit life, a well-spent life making a full-statured spirit.

It destroys the whole system of theology, tradition, dogma and creed, and reduces the rule of the individual to the rule of Confucius, reiterated by Christ and thousands of other good and great men. It teaches that Christ was the Son of God, as all men and women are sons and daughters of God, and that all scripture—writing—is given for instruction.

It banishes the possibility of a personal God, and teaches us that God is all in all—Infinite, Omnipresent and Omnipotent, and that He rules the world by fixed and immutable laws, and that conditions only change. It shows that there are the same life and the same matter existent now in the world that there have been from eternity backward, and that in an eternity forward there will be no more; only a greater variety and refinement of conditions and more complex and beautiful arrangements even attracting us to the beautiful, the harmonious, the spiritual side of life, and compelling us to lose our hold on and love for the things of mere materiality and sensuality.

The spirit world has always exerted a great and diversified influence upon this, but it was not until quite recently that the spiritual development of this made it possible for the other to maintain near and continuous relations to it. The general spiritual development of the whole of humanity was necessary before anything like a connection could be kept up. The spirit had to acquire a certain domination over its material habitation, before its outreaching could meet those of the othersphere. This is why modern Spiritualism is but twenty-three years old, instead of thousands of years. No one need be apprised that the physical development of those who sustain the nearest relations with spirits is not equal to those who can have no idea of such relations, and do have no idea of them. The physical degeneracy of this country is especially a matter of comment. It is a necessary part of spiritual development, and spirituality in materiality can never be reached except through this apparent retrogression of physical strength and beauty. But when this stage of evolution is passed, the material will become thoroughly baptized by the spiritual, and all its beauties, senses and passions increased in intensity a hundred-fold, and until life will be a perfect and continuous joy.

In the realm of government still greater advances are to come. Old things are to pass away and all things to become new. A government founded in justice and administered in equity shall descend out of Heaven, and be offered by the other sphere to this, and be accepted. And the people may rest assured that the servants appointed by the Spirit World to administer the new government will be those who will not leech upon them, sapping their vitality to maintain themselves in their positions, eventually designing to become rulers instead of servants.

From the highest office in the gift of the people down to the most insignificant post office, it is but a repetition of the one effort for the succession. All these things must be changed. There is no hope under our present systems. Be-

bind all the professions of honor and patriotism there lurks a substratum of selfish purpose, from whose fountains the poisonous streams proceed, vitiating everything in their course.

To purify the hearts of the people and to teach them the principles of a higher life is not then the sole mission of Spiritualism. But with this as a basis of action it proposes to seize upon all existing institutions that are not in harmony with the eternal principles of justice, and hurl them to destruction. It will enter the arena of every department of life, and apply to it the purifying process. It will not stop at the door of politics, and, being denied admission, turn on its heel and leave the people to suffer from the impending despotism. It will knock at the now closed door, and, if it open not, it will be opened by a power such as will blanch the cheeks of those who suppose themselves safely entrenched within their citadel of assumption, and cause them to down upon their knees and cry out: "What shall we do to be saved?"

The churches and the politicians may sneer at the intentions of the spirit world, but they will do well to remember that it is in arms and impatiently awaits the signal to move upon their strongholds. And when it moves no earthly power may hope to impede its progress nor stay its course. There will be no time for temporizing and parleying then. All will be action, and whoever joins not in the movement will be crushed beneath its weight.

For the last time will young, athletic Radicalism grapple with gaunt and gray Conservatism; and this, then, is a death struggle. There can be but two sides. All cliques, clans and issues will range themselves upon one of these and live or die with it. In vain may infallibility hurl its anathemas. In vain may hoary-headed dogmatism present its yawning hell. It vain may reason, unspiritualized by a baptism of conscious immortality, array its cold logic. The union of the spirit world and this; the everlasting marriage of heart with head; of the affectional with the intellectual, and the birth of wisdom resulting from it, will be proclaimed, and the God of the universe will open to humanity the secrets of an eternal life, whose glory human tongue hath not spoken, nor human heart conceived. This is the mission of Spiritualism; and such we proclaim it to be to the world.

IS IT WEAKNESS, COWARDICE OR IGNORANCE?

We were so much astonished at the failure of the Labor Congress which assembled at St. Louis, to come boldly and manfully up to the acknowledgment of the political rights of women citizens, that we have refrained from any comments upon the proceedings, thinking the party to be entirely lost to a sense of honor and justice.

But since the Labor Party of Massachusetts, in Convention at Framingham on the 4th inst., were manly enough to incorporate into their resolutions a section indorsing equal suffrage, we take again the hope that the working men of the country may yet see their own salvation in the cause of a common equality, politically.

In the work of the Labor Party there are many able men who, all their lives long, have studied into the social problems involved in labor and capital, and who have in part solved the question. But we are compelled to call their attention to a fact which they have overlooked, to wit: That reforms do not progress out of the regular order of nature; that which belongs first cannot be put aside to come after that which belongs second has been achieved.

The order which nature has set down for reform is: First, Religious Freedom; second, Political Freedom; third, Social Freedom. Everybody knows that it was an utter impossibility for people to enjoy political liberty until they had conquered religious freedom. Even so important an event as the settlement of this country was brought about by the flight of people from political despotism, in order that they might worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences.

Religious liberty is now secured, and can never be wrenched from the people, notwithstanding the attempt which will be made to inject God into the constitution (which, by the way, can have but one meaning, and that is a return toward political despotism). What we now require, and which must come next and before the social question can be really and legitimately reached, is political liberty—not a liberty like to the religious liberty which the Roman Catholic religion or that of the Church of England granted, freedom within themselves, but that all-sided liberty which belongs to every person—every woman as well as every man.

The relations of capital and labor are peculiarly a question belonging to society generally, i. e., it is a social question, and it can never be legitimately reached and never settled until the whole scope of political freedom is attained. And we now ask the Labor Party to remember that we make it as a positive assertion.

How can the Labor Party, with any degree of honesty, demand justice and equality for themselves while they at the same time deny just what they demand to others. Women want equality and justice; nothing more, and they will accept and be satisfied with nothing less. Now, the working-men of the United States can, if they will, be instrumental in securing those necessary parts of a republican form of government to them, and in so doing they will secure it to themselves.

We advise the Labor Party to give these things candid and

serious consideration, and not throw away the decisive opportunity. *The seekers for political equality may not need your aid long.* Please remember that before it is too late to think of it.

We are aware that a great many of the leaders of the labor movement are at heart in favor of woman suffrage. Let them be honest and brave enough to come out and say so. They need not fear that the masses will not come forward to that position. They have no other place to go. Be leaders, then, and keep in advance of your following army, and no longer skulk behind them fearing to go a step in advance lest they will forswear your leadership and turn to others. Your very fear will be your ruin, since your followers will see in others the true qualities of leadership, and discard you for not having them. Timid, time-serving generals never gain campaigns and never command the respect of armies. The same rule applies in political as in military warfare.

The Labor Party of Massachusetts have proven their right to champion the general cause, since they have come out from the decaying and rotten parties and stand alone. What sense is there in laborers voting for the men who are all the while riveting more closely upon them the bands and despotism of the new oligarchy. There is but one thing for the National Labor Union to do, and that is to come out and stand upon its own platform, which must be one of equality and justice to all citizens, and you will never obtain concessions from the monopolists until you do.

We have ever been, we trust, consistent advocates of all the principles involved in the reforms which are demanded to place the capitalist and the laborer upon an equality, and have given a large part of our time and space to their advocacy, which we have reason to know has been acknowledged and accepted by the Labor Party as not entirely without effect. And while we at times have specifically devoted our columns to the suffrage question, it has been done because we know that suffrage must first be conquered. That the social question is much the larger one, we readily acknowledge. It involves all humanity, while the suffrage question involves but one-half; but it must be remembered that that half are also one-half of humanity, and the same who are involved in the Labor Problem. Herbert Spencer tells us that the most general and comprehensive problems will be the last to be solved. We accept his philosophy, and while fighting earnestly for the larger we shall fight most determinedly for the smaller reform.

THE BOSTON EXCLUSIVES.

Mrs. Hannah M. Tracey Cutler, President, and Lucy Stone, Chairman Executive Committee of the American Woman Suffrage Association, have issued a call for a convention to be held in Philadelphia, on the 21st and 22d of November, in which the following paragraph appears:

"All friends of woman suffrage, who agree with the methods of the American Association, and who prefer to work for the single issue of suffrage until it is achieved, are earnestly invited to co-operate," etc.

"Let us then come together prepared to plan work that shall carry ideas of woman's political and legal equality everywhere."

Of Mrs. Cutler, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, in a recent letter in the *Golden Age*, says: "Although I had fine audiences in all the larger towns of the State (California), was cordially received socially and complimented by the press, yet I find a Mrs. Cutler, one of the Boston clique who traveled through the West without creating a ripple on the surface or drawing a corporal's guard to hear her anywhere, wailing in the *Woman's Journal* that Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony are injuring the cause."

As between Mrs. Cutler and Mrs. Stanton we are perfectly willing that they should stand on their own merits before the people. We know who will suffer in the comparison. But when the *Woman's Journal* makes such unwarrantable assumptions as it does, and denounces all who will not succumb to its dictatorship, we should neglect a duty did we refrain from placing it before the public as it deserves to be placed.

They now send up a call to work for suffrage and nothing else. Let us see how honest they are in making that call. Just previous to the May Convention we made a special, private and personal appeal to the Editor-in-chief of the *Journal*, urging upon her the necessity of unity of action for suffrage, and proposing to drop all other subjects in order to unite the two branches of the suffragists in one convention and upon the special work of obtaining the ballot. This they refused to do. They would not unite with anybody who did not believe marriage as it now exists to be a divine institution. But now they seek to blind the eyes of the unsuspecting by a call, that either means just what it says or it means nothing. And what does it say? We would like to have this Association or its representatives tell us what they propose to do for woman, and how they expect to do it? Will they quote the result in Nebraska to encourage their followers? Or will they advance Justice Howe's decision in Wyoming, or endeavor to eulogize the opinion of Judge Underwood, of Virginia? Or will H. B. B. stand up and tell women that they are not citizens under the Constitution, and that they have no Constitutional rights which men should be bound to respect? Or will they present the convention the milk and water consolation squeezed out of the Massachusetts Republicans at Worcester? Or will they offer General Butler's outspoken decision that

"the Constitution of the United States has granted suffrage to women as against all State laws whatever?" We gently press upon the Boston Exclusives the propriety of explaining to the coming convention these trifling questions, which seem to us, with our limited comprehension, to be vital, and submit that they declare themselves upon them.

But we are now prepared to show that these persons are not even consistent in the call itself. Will they exclude everybody from their convention who works for anything else but the "single issue," suffrage, until it is achieved? In the very paper that contains this call, we find H. B. B. in an editorial headed, "Labor Reform and Woman Suffrage," saying: "We will only add that on the question of woman suffrage, the most important question at issue, the Labor Reformers alone, of all parties of the Commonwealth, stand fairly and squarely upon the principle of impartial suffrage for men and women." It also has an article on "Industrial Schools;" "Solomon's Ideal Woman—A Working Woman's Complaint;" "The False Education of our Daughters;" "The New Heroes;" also several columns of a romance (serial); "Social Taxation;" "Household Receipts;" etc., etc. Why does the *Journal* admit these subjects to its columns if they are going to exclude everything that is not for suffrage. Verily, consistency, thou art a jewel which these people are not much acquainted with.

We ask these people if they intend to exclude from this Convention labor reformers because they advocate something beside woman suffrage? And will they exclude suffragists who advocate various religious systems, the temperance question or the universal peace principles? If not, why should they exclude those who advocate reform in our social systems? Please answer that, will you, Mrs. Cutler, or Mrs. Stone, or H. B. B., or T. W. H.! We shall keep it before the public until it is answered. We are determined to bring you to a corner that you cannot ignore and from which you cannot escape.

But this is not all the consistency which this call develops, as a further analysis will show.

The call says, "Woman's political and legal equality." That is all we advocate. That secured, social equality follows, as a matter of course. The only difference between this call and what we desire is that the call demands political and legal equality without giving the reasons for it, while we demand them because social equality is impossible without them. Can Mrs. Cutler, Mrs. Stone, H. B. B. and T. W. H. cut hairs so fine as to fix an impassable gulf between "tweedledum and tweedledee?"

Especially does this call come with a bad grace from Lucy Stone, who is the chief Woodhull spokesman in the Boston meetings of these estimable ladies, and who, some years ago, made the following protest, which also involves two more of the immaculate clique:

MARRIAGE UNDER PROTEST.

We find the following document, connected with the ceremony of the marriage of Lucy Stone, in the *Boston Traveller*:

Miss Lucy Stone, the young lady who has frequently made her appearance upon the Anti-Slavery rostrums in this city, was married on May-Day, at "a farm-house among the hills of West Brookfield," to Henry B. Blackwell, a leader in the Western Anti-Slavery movement. The marriage ceremony was performed by Mr. T. W. Higginson, of Worcester, the parties to the nuptials formally protesting against the laws of the Commonwealth concerning marriage. Mr. Higginson communicates the protest to the *Worcester Spy*, as follows:

"I never perform the marriage ceremony without a renewed sense of the iniquity of our present system of laws in respect to marriage—a system by which 'man and wife are one, and that one is the husband.' It was with my hearty concurrence, that the following protest was read and signed, as a part of the nuptial ceremony, and I send it to you that others may be induced to do likewise. T. W. H."

PROTEST.

While we acknowledge our mutual affection, by publicly assuming the sacred relationship of husband and wife, yet, in justice to ourselves and a great principle, we deem it a duty to declare that this act on our part implies no sanction of, nor promise of voluntary obedience to, such of the present laws of marriage as refuse to recognize the wife as an independent rational being while they confer upon the husband an injurious and unnatural superiority, investing him with legal powers which no honorable man would exercise, and which no man should possess.

We protest especially against the laws which give to the husband:

- I. The custody of the wife's person.
- II. The exclusive control and guardianship of their children.
- III. The sole ownership of her personal and use of her real estate, unless previously settled upon her, or placed in the hands of trustees, as in the case of minors, lunatics and idiots.
- IV. The absolute right to the product of her industry.
- V. Also against laws which give to the widower so much larger and more permanent an interest in the property of his deceased wife than they give to the widow in that of her deceased husband.
- VI. Finally, against the whole system by which "the legal existence of the wife is suspended during marriage," so that in most States she neither has a legal part in the choice of her residence, nor can she make a will, nor sue or be sued, in her own name, nor inherit property.

We believe that personal independence and equal human rights can never be forfeited, except for crime; that marriage should be an equal partnership, and so recognized by law; that until it is so recognized, married partners should provide against the radical injustice of present laws, by every means in their power.

We believe that where domestic difficulties arise no appeal should be made to legal tribunals under existing laws, but

that all difficulties should be submitted to the equitable adjustment of arbitrators mutually chosen.

Thus reverencing law, we enter our earnest protest against rules and customs which are unworthy of the name, since they violate justice, the essence of all law.

(Signed)

HENRY B. BLACKWELL,
LUCY STONE.

We submit that comment is superfluous. We leave these slanderous and presuming people to public judgment, never doubting what the verdict will be.

Now, we also submit that the branch of suffragists represented by those who assembled last May in Apollo Hall, are willing to receive the support of or to act in concert with anybody and everybody, of whatever faith, creed or belief—whether they be Pagans, Mohammedans, Jews, Christians, Roman Catholics, Infidels, Spiritualists, Materialists, the Boston Clique of Suffragists, Social Reformers, Universal Peace Advocates, Indians, Negroes, or whoever else there may be not included under these heads; only providing that they are men and women who belong to humanity, of whom the Christian religion tells us, and by it are made a common brotherhood, and are of a common parent whom they call God, and that they agree in the demand for impartial suffrage.

Whoever does not do this; whoever would exclude any person for any cause outside of suffrage, are enemies to suffrage, and only seek their own elevation by ostracizing everybody who will not bow to their dictatorship. And we intend that the people shall so understand it. Now, Boston Clique, you may take this home and make the most of it; and if you do not, time will bring it home to your doors; and you will not be able to ignore it if you would. You don't care a fig for suffrage if it does not come to your special advantage. And more than one of you have so declared yourselves, and are thus set down upon the record.

SPEAK OUT.

In the last number of the *Woman's Journal* (which, by the way, shows some symptoms of progress) we find H. B. B. congratulating everybody in general over the fact of the incorporation of Woman Suffrage into the platform of the Labor Party of Massachusetts, as follows:

"We demand that women who do the same kind and the same amount of work as men shall receive the same wages; and we also demand the ballot for women."

Now the Labor Party desire to know of the *Journal*, since it claims to be the only representative of the Woman Suffrage Party of the country, where it stands upon the vital questions of Labor Reform, such as finance, revenue and monopoly. We do not remember to have seen any of these subjects discussed by the *Journal*. Perhaps the *Journal* will be good enough to inform its readers where the influence originated that has reached and convinced this radical branch of reform. Or can it not see the fine thread of the process by which it has been accomplished. If the *Journal* hold friendship for this arm of progressive reform, will it not so indicate? Labor Reformers are not so particular that it shall enter upon the advocacy of these principles until suffrage is obtained for women. But they desire to know what its course will be after suffrage, since they do not care to talk of nothing but suffrage at present; indeed, they are pretty well convinced that it is not merely a policy, but a necessity. Some people have the organ of continuity so largely developed that it is impossible for them to give consideration for more than one thing at the same time. It is not impossible, then, that the *Journal's* course in this regard is, as we say, one of necessity, instead of choice.

Beside, they will be willing to make allowance not only for any such lack of capacity, but also for lack of space. A small paper, although of immense pretensions, is limited by its capacity. A pint measure never can contain a gallon at one and the same time. Hence on this score the *Journal* is excusable, the same as on the score of "wanting" in the other and more essential particular, if, indeed, it really exist.

They, however, desire to know if the *Journal* think political equality and the equality which Labor Reform demands are really but parts of the same greater problem of the general equality which arises out of the principle of all-sided freedom. It is specially necessary that this be declared, since the contrary is to be, at least, inferred from H. B. B. assuming that "the suffrage question is the most important question at issue." This, however, is in keeping with the general logic of the *Journal*. It is always harnessing the horse behind the cart. The suffrage question is one that involves the interests of one-half the people, and is only a political issue; while the labor question is one in which all people are interested, and is a part of the social problem which includes all issues in which the interests of humanity are involved. Will the *Journal* please declare itself; is it for Labor Reform?

BE PROMPT!

The mighty woe that has fallen on Chicago has broken up the crust of selfishness throughout the world. All the cities are in motion in one impulse of charity. In this noble rage to do good, the Erie Railroad managers were conspicuous in their readiness to act. Within a few hours after the news of the terrible disaster had arrived, supply trains were on the road. Action is the word in times of trouble.

JUDGE UNDERWOOD ON SUFFRAGE.

ALEXANDRIA, Va., Oct. 2, 1871.

Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull:

DEAR MADAM: In reply to your favor asking my opinion on the question of Female Suffrage I cannot speak with all the freedom of a private citizen, as it is possible I may be called upon, in some way, for official action on the subject, and I would wish to be entirely exempt from even the appearance of prejudice or prejudgment. Still, I had opinions before I was commissioned as a judge, and had frequently and fully expressed them in favor of equal suffrage. That nothing else would so effectually aid in purifying the political current and in diminishing our social evils as female suffrage I have long believed. Indeed, woman's admission to the conduct of public affairs would, in my deliberate judgment, convert the wrangling of our elections into something like the order and decorum of social parlor assemblies, and, like the command of Jesus to the wind and waves, say to the stormy passions and corruptions of political demagogues, "Peace, be still." I think all women having the qualifications required of male citizens, should be immediately allowed to vote, and have the right to do so under the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. In enlightened and law-abiding portions of the country many will probably soon vote, as some have already done even without a declaratory act of Congress or judicial decision in their behalf. In a town in Herkimer County, New York, at the last spring election, a goodly number of the best women in the town presented themselves before the Board, not desiring to vote for the officers, but only for limitation of license to sell intoxicating beverages. The Board, after full consultation, permitted them to vote, and they exercised the right and changed the result, by going unanimously for temperance and restriction. The necessities of political parties and the consciousness of right and justice will in like manner influence other boards, and in this way the present limited practice may be greatly extended. Wherever and whenever it occurs, the good causes of temperance and morality and the success of the purest candidates for office will be generally promoted.

Who does not feel that the admission of our mothers, sisters, wives and daughters to a participation in framing our laws and choosing our rulers will exert a blessed influence in raising our codes, our habits and our lives to a higher and nobler plane of civilization? Who does not know that woman is the moral monitor and conscience of our race, and by her finer faculties best qualified to judge of moral character? We already give her a vote in our moneyed institutions and stock companies, where she has a pecuniary interest. The Society of Friends has never suffered, but always gained, by allowing her equal voice in all their affairs, and may we not hope the time is near when we shall bless ourselves by allowing her elevating and sanctifying power to be felt in all the departments of religious association and civil government?

It may not become me to say more on a question that may come before me for judicial action, and I must try to be always open to conviction and change of opinion, desirous to be wiser to-morrow than to-day. But after hearing and reading all I have been able to do on both sides and with the lights now before me, guided by the well-established rules of legal construction, and especially by Lord Mansfield's heroic and time-honored opinion of 1772 in the *Somersett* case, in which, when told that the commercial ascendancy of the British Empire would be sacrificed by his decision, he asserted that it was the duty of courts and judges to maintain right and justice and freedom and equality by every fair construction, I could not hesitate to decide for equal suffrage. Sincerely your friend,

JOHN C. UNDERWOOD.

A LETTER FROM PAULINA WRIGHT DAVIS.

The following letter was called forth by the attempt of a prominent member of the Boston Wing of Suffragists and of "Sorosis," to charge Mrs. Davis' European trip to the account of her desire to escape from the odium of her connection with us. We trust our good sister (we have no desire to identify her to the public) who has made herself busy with this, will feel that her reward is just. We beg to remind all those who are seeking to injure the cause by traducing us, that their works will always come home to them. They will never injure either us or the cause.

351 WEST THIRTY-FOURTH STREET.

MY DEAR VICTORIA: I have just learned that the amiable Mrs. Grundy has been busy conjuring up reasons for my going abroad, stating that I am driven away by the present position of our movement. Will you permit me to say through your columns that I go abroad for my own personal reasons; and may be absent three months, or may stay one or two years, just according to circumstances. In the meanwhile believe me I shall not relax my efforts for the enfranchisement of woman, or for her social and spiritual emancipation from bondage far worse than her political slavery.

I know I need not urge you to increased effort. I am sure of your unflagging zeal, of your noble, generous, disinterested spirit.

I want you to feel that my heart is throbbing beside yours in full sympathy, love and hope for you and our great work. Let me not feel or fear that because the ocean rolls between us I lose my place in the ranks of the real workers.

Yours for truth,

P. W. DAVIS.

MEETING OF THE UNIVERSAL FRANCHISE ASSOCIATION—DEATH OF MRS. S. P. EDSON.

The second meeting of the Universal Franchise Association since the election of new officers was held on Friday evening last at Union League Hall. Miss Maggie Saxton, the newly-elected president, presided with the ease and dignity of a veteran. She announced with much feeling the death of one of the prominent members of the Association, Mrs. Sarah R. Edson.

On motion of Mrs. Lockwood the regular business of the Association was dispensed with in consideration of the death of a well-beloved sister, who was, during life, foremost in deeds of charity and good works. Her field of usefulness was broad and embraced all in need. Mrs. L. then offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we, the officers and members of the Universal Franchise Association, do most sincerely regret her loss; that we shall miss her genial presence at our social meetings, her wise counsels in our deliberations, and her moral firmness in the right.

Resolved, That the fallen have lost in her an earnest and judicious friend, the poor a cheerful giver, and society one of its most intelligent women.

Resolved, That the sympathy and condolence of this Association be earnestly tendered to her widowed mother, her sister, and her beloved children, who, in her death, suffer an irreparable loss; and that we can only point them for consolation to Him who chasteneth for our good, and to that reunion of spirits beyond the river of death.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be published in the daily papers, and copies of them inclosed to the members of her family, and also that obituary notices of her be written for each one of our woman's papers.

Appropriate remarks were made by Dr. Lockwood, Miss Hall and Mrs. B. A. Lockwood, the latter of whom delivered a fine extempore eulogy, setting forth in eloquent language the many virtues of the deceased, her untiring zeal in behalf of and in relieving the distressed wherever found. She was regarded as a shining light by all who knew her, and as one whose example we might well seek to imitate. Her talent had not been buried in fashionable life, but had been multiplied by deeds of charity and words of sympathy to all in need.

The Association then adjourned for one week.

WHAT A GREAT COUNTRY THIS IS.

Every one knows that the city has been robbed. Millions of dollars spent in furnishing furniture that never knew saw hammer nor nail; nine millions spent on carpets that never passed through the loom, and so on. Accounts of these robberies in every hand, the items in every mouth. The public speculators denounced and pointed at, but nothing done; nothing can be done. The Seventy may rage, but the wicked do not even tremble.

The Ring is not busted yet. It is assailed, but it is intact. By the fearful and wonderful provisions of our laws and charters we have a set of public servants who, being once appointed, cannot be discharged. They must be impeached before they can be removed. If they have only backbone enough to stand fast, and are thick-skinned enough to defy the slings and arrows of an outraged public, they may keep where they are; for do they not hold the impeaching power in their breeches pockets. The Wynans business settled that point. Injunctions against the issue of bonds amount to little; they only mean that the city creditor shall not be paid, but not that the defaulters may not create new debts. There is one drop of comfort in this cup of misery. The contrast with Democratic New York and Republican Washington. While the city has gone on piling an Ossa of expenses on a Pelion of debts, the National Administration goes on reducing expenses and paying off debts, not as wisely or as considerably as it might do, perhaps, but still doing the work appointed. The government high officials are men of moderate fortunes, which they can for the most part trace back to private, not official sources; in other words, they are in the main honest—live cleanly and die decently. Our civic dignitaries are in possession of enormous fortunes—they toil not neither do they spin. Producing nothing, their business is to live sumptuously, to wear fine linen and diamonds, and to work the wires.

Is there no remedy for this monstrous state of affairs. None, while the people are content; while each is more intent on his own daily gains than on the welfare or morality of the community. If reputable men felt they owed a duty to their country, and in place of dreary Fourth of July preachments about the value of freedom, would only recognize the copybook maxim that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance; in short, if, knowing their duty, they would turn to and do it, there might be some hope. As it is, the honest being inactive the rogues and their satellites have it all their own way. Nor is there any hope of change until some enormity so intolerable that it breaks even long-suffering patience. Then the people may perhaps rise and drive all before them, like chaff before the wind. But this means revolution, and out of revolution comes for the most part one-man power.

Will honesty and common sense for once lay aside their indifference and take action, or do they prefer the risks of inaction, calmly folding the hands, and saying, "It will last my time!"

BRIGHAM YOUNG's arrest for polygamy and licentious conduct goes to the root of the question. We shall now have arguments from national and State lawyers to determine whether marriage is a religious, moral, natural or legal obligation. It is an assumption against polygamy that all the women are wretched. They may be, but it has not been proven. Whether wretched or happy, they have no voice in making the law by which they are bound to live, and yet their presumed well-being will form at least one-half of the question. Many of them have already declared themselves in favor of polygamy as a social institution vastly superior to the "social evil." But these declarations have no value; they are the opinions of "persons," not of "citizens." The absurdity of State rights is in danger of being exploded by this trial, the momentous question touching the dearest interests of every man, woman and child in the country, may be the subject of thirty-six different interpretations. By all means let us have the whole overhauled and thoroughly ventilated.

STRIKES are so numerous in England that it is impossible to keep count of them. The Engineers of the North were the first, and this led to sympathetic movements in the other trades. At first they were for wages rates, now they seem to have settled into a nine hours' day. The immediate result has been combinations of employers to counteract the workmen. Mr. Mundella has endeavored to promote a settlement by arbitration, but the effort has been as yet unsuccessful. With the critical condition of the Queen's health and the contemporaneous political perturbations, it is more than possible that serious and important events are about to transpire in England.

A BLACK man and white woman, recently married in Georgia, have been fined \$1,000 for "miscegenation," and in default of payment sent to jail for six months.—*Exchange*.

We don't credit this little story, it reads like an election gag. It is, however, a good enough Morgan, and serves to show that the opinion of society is against moral and regularly married cohabitation to which religion lends its sanction; but is notoriously so indifferent to non-legalized cohabitation that the gifted author of more than one set of colored productions, is received into the best society with only a shrug at the mention of his eccentric tastes.

THE INTERNAL squabbles and feuds in the great political parties—Democratic and Republican—have at least one item of value. They serve to convince all but the willfully blind of the hollowness and humbug of all this party system. Place and plunder are the grand objects—the *summum bonum*. The American nation, call it Republican or Democratic, is made up of workingmen, of industrials. There is no place for idlers and professional politicians. Why is there not a real, active, earnest consolidated labor party, which will cut loose from these party and place organizations?

THE recent arrest of Mayor Hall for his complicity or neglect in the matter of the city frauds seems blank cartridge practice. The action or inaction of Mayor Hall may be the subject of impeachment and removal. Whatever his moral delinquency or political dishonor, Mayor Hall can scarcely be made personally liable. If there be any charge sustainable, it can only be that of conspiracy with other persons to defraud and cheat the public by false accounts and colorable payments.

BOTH SIDES; or, God's and the Devil's Prophets, is the title of a racy little pamphlet that comes to us from the Cosmopolitan Publishing House, in Baltimore, Md. It professes to be a "long range" debate between Moses Hull and Rev. J. F. McLain; but, as Mr. McLain is thoroughly lost in Moses' shadow, we can hardly dignify it with the name debate. It will thoroughly pay anyone who has not thoroughly read this question to read this work.

THE EXPECTED cancellation of the Cobden Free Trade Convention between England and France will be a great retro-action by the new Republican Government of France. It will be a manifest deference to popular ignorance and party prejudice. The treaty was the pet project of an Imperial regime, therefore not acceptable to Republicans. It is unpalatable to many French capitalists and mechanics, and their favor must be conciliated.

A FRENCH clergyman has returned three millions of francs to the French government. The sum had been left in his charge during the war. Three millions is a good deal of money in France. In our happy land sixty thousand dollars of public money would hardly have been worth the trouble of returning. The trifle would have been overlooked in sheer forgetfulness.

THE COMMUNISTS.—George Wilkes was out last week with another of his powerful letters on the Commune. With the return of reason and sound judgment comes M. Athanase Coquerel, one of the first Protestant preachers of France, and vindicates the Communists from the charges brought against them by their infamously cruel and lying opponents. He bears his testimony by open word of mouth in both Boston and New York.

SENATOR CARPENTER'S LOGIC REVIEWED.

No. 1.

In Mr. Carpenter's letter to Mr. Tilton he says:

The strongest point you (Mr. Tilton in his letter to Senator Sumner) 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. 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.

To this brilliant peroration Mr. Tilton replies:

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.

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.

It seems to us that the real point at issue as to a republican form of government is not touched either by Mr. Carpenter or Mr. Tilton. It by no means follows that the State governments are republican in form now simply because they were supposed to have been when the original Constitution was adopted. To make clear our idea, let us suppose at the time of the adoption of the Constitution one of the thirteen States to have had a government which denied participation to more than one-half of its male citizens, they claiming to have a right to it and demanding its exercise; would Mr. Carpenter or Mr. Tilton presume that State government to have been republican in form? And would not the general government have been compelled to have guaranteed a change?

At that time all classes of citizens desiring to participate in government did participate. None were denied. The difference between a century ago and now is, that then women made no demand for the citizen's privilege or right of voting. All other rights, such as pre-emption, passports and clearance of vessels, they did desire to exercise, and nobody thought of abridging them. The very fact that is so strenuously urged against woman suffrage, that the majority of women, even now, do not desire to vote, is proof conclusive of our position, and instead of it being an argument against the right to vote, it is one of the most forcible in favor of it, since it shows that there are citizens who heretofore have not had interest in government who are now awaking to an interest.

Could it for a moment be assumed, because there are a large class of men who never vote, that they could be deprived of the right to vote? We doubt if Mr. Carpenter would consent to such a republican form of government. Now go a step further, and suppose that every woman should rise up and demand the ballot, would Mr. Carpenter still adhere to his position that the States would be republican in form, and these demanding citizens remain in compulsory disfranchisement? If not, neither are they now republican, since if all women would be entitled to vote if they demanded the right, it follows that any part of them are entitled to vote when they make demand to do so.

Mr. Carpenter facetiously says: "The Constitution, deriving its power from the will of the people, must be construed as it was understood by the people," etc. Does not Mr. Carpenter see that this statement is suicidal? If it was the will of the people that made it a Constitution, and construed the meaning of a republican form of government, then, must it not also be the will of the people which must be called upon to make the same construction now? Or does Mr. Carpenter assume that the Constitution could exist in opposition to the will of the people? The fact of it having been changed, which he admits, is fatal to such a position. The people who adopted the amendments were not the same people who adopted the original Constitution, and they desired that it should be amended, and it was amended in accordance with their will.

But who are the people under whose authority the Constitution exists to-day? Are they those who live to-day, or those who lived a century ago? We take it that they live now. And who are they? Are they men only? Are none but men "the people?" And have none but men wills to express in this matter? We warn men that women, too, have wills which they desire to express; and that women are a part of "we, the people," and that they are as much entitled to say what the Constitution shall be as men are, and that it is an arbitrary assumption of power which men have made to deny them the right to express an opinion. Men say the Constitution is the expressed will of the people, and at the same time deny one-half the people the right to say whether it is or not. So long as nobody was denied any rights, there were none to question the republicanism of our government. But thousands of women do now question it,

and demand that Congress guarantee to them their rights as people and citizens—by guaranteeing them a republican form of government. We think Mr. Tilton makes a mistake when he says that "if a republican form of government now requires the participation of the negro it equally requires the participation of women." A republican form of government requires no one to participate; no one can be compelled to take part in it; but it cannot deny participation to any one. Every one must be free to participate or to refrain from participation; though it is undoubtedly the duty of a good citizen to take part in government. At least we think so, and we claim to be good citizens, and think we do not fulfill our duty as citizens so long as we do not conquer the right to cast our vote against the many abuses which exist in our midst. There are several other points in this controversy which we shall take up from time to time, as space admits.

THE NORTHERN PACIFIC.

So disastrous were the results to all early railway investors that for a long period it was impossible to attract fresh capital to this form of investment. Yet these pioneer roads were built at a period when the impossibility of obtaining large sums prevented extravagance in construction; when the right of way, grading and iron were represented by stock subscriptions, which made no incumbrance for future interest. The small amount necessary to provide rolling stock and terminal expenses alone drawing the inevitable bond interest. Notwithstanding these favorable circumstances, the stockholders of many roads were wiped out through foreclosure of mortgages, while in others there was a long period without dividends, and during which the market value of the stock sunk to a mere shadow of its cost.

At this early stage of railroad financiering, directors were ignorant of the merits which belong to open construction accounts on a finished road, as well as the seductive effect of large unearned dividends in drawing fresh capital to a bankrupt corporation.

Then no annual swelling indebtedness concealed, under a fictitious prosperity, the internal rottenness; for they assumed immediately whatever pecuniary level their earnings entitled them to.

To-day the perusal of any prominent business paper, with its vast array of attractively advertised railway bonds, accompanied often with editorial and financial plaudits, clearly reveals how completely all past experience is discarded.

Stock now furnishes no funds for the construction; it is used solely for division among the projectors, and as a blind to the public, who are expected to furnish the money on bonds, which now occupy the place that stock once did, in everything but name.

One road, from the prominence of its designer, as well as the extravagance of its conception, will perfectly illustrate the present railway mania.

It needed the subtlety of that brain which once heralded to the American people the inestimable blessings of a national debt, to inaugurate a road starting from a village of less than 4,000 inhabitants—itsself shut out from the world during five to six months of every year by ice—across an uninhabited wilderness for 2,000 miles to Portland, thence up Puget Sound, in quest of a harbor sufficiently capacious to float the large, unbuilt steamers which the future Asiatic commerce is expected to require.

The estimated expense is \$85,277,000 in bonds—stock furnishes no money; but as one-half the road is as yet unlocated—the recent military escort being insufficient to cope with the hostile Indians—it would be prudent for investors to estimate the issue of bonds at not less than the \$100,000,000 already authorized by Congress.

It is on this latter sum, or \$50,000 per mile, that 7 3-10 per cent. in gold is promised, by the sanguine projector, as the yearly return to any one who will invest in these safe! profitable!! permanent!!! securities.

To the capitalist who judges of the future by the experience of the past, who purchases solely on intrinsic merit, that is, the ability of the corporation to fulfill its pledges, such a road possesses no attraction.

His money is not ensnared by the promises of a railway that has no terminal cities; whose borders, and that simply for a short stretch, are only in process of settlement; while much the larger distance is absolutely devoid of inhabitants, except hostile Indians; whose route is through a region where the winter lasts from October to April, and during three months of which mercury frequently falls from 20 deg. to 40 deg. below zero; a temperature at which it is absolutely impossible to operate a railroad with profit.

The victims are not the shrewd capitalists, but the comparatively poor uninformed, who, beguiled by the prestige of a name, invest their small surplus of sweat-bought gains through the delusive bait of a large gold interest; in absolute ignorance that their future interest depends solely upon the earnings of the road, and not on the patriotism of this bold designer.

Nor are our wary investors deluded by the large land grant; they know that these acres are valuable just as they can be successfully cultivated; that they are not available to meet accruing interest; that the large amount of land now in the market by different railroads, with the alternate sections still owned by the government, is far beyond the demand from settlers, and that, before purchasers can be found, the enormous interest account will swamp the corporation.

An examination of the reports of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad—nearer civilization than the Northern Pacific, which recently purchased it—will confirm this view.

Each year's report shows a deficiency, which, in 1870, reached \$772,511, while they have mortgaged their last resource, the land grant, for \$5 per acre, or more than it would bring at a forced sale. Possibly our Utopian schemer may devise some means for keeping the corporation afloat for a few more years; but there are many signs that this railway fever is approaching its inevitable culmination. The low cost price, though bearing high rates of interest, at which all new securities are placed on the market, testifies that the public are becoming satiated; while the unproductive roads in operation are mortgaging their land, and even their income, as the last desperate expedients to provide funds for unearned dividends.

Should this recklessly bold originator succeed in palming off on the public these bonds at the rate of \$50,000 per mile, his profit will be enormous; but should the public become enlightened, his loss must be correspondingly great. It is evident that the man, who never knew the word fail, will push the road, even at the expense of his private fortune; or, at the risk of the still greater resources of his firm, who so persistently herald to all customers the Safe! Profitable!! Permanent Bonds!!!

EVERYWHERE.

"All scripta (literally writings) are given by inspiration of God."
—II. Timothy.

I.

"Our God" has written everywhere—
In Heaven, on Earth, in Sea and Air;
And histories sublimely grand
Have been written by his hand;
These on every side we see
Spread throughout immensity.
How glorious is He in his ways!
And these, His "writings," call for praise.

II.

Yes, God has written everywhere—
In Earth and Ocean, Heaven and Air;
Down toward the centre of the earth
The rarest gems do have their birth;
So in deep caverns of the sea
Are writings of the Deity;
For pearls and sea-shells, too,
Are lined and written by the GREAT DIVINE.

III.

Yes, God has written everywhere—
As in the Ocean, so in Air;
For from the hour that time begun
God's name was written on the Sun.
Now, when we take our walks by night,
And gaze upon the Azure bright,
In glittering lines of light, from far,
That name is traced in every star.

IV.

Yes! God has written everywhere—
In earth and ocean, heaven and air;
God, too, is painting everywhere
Pictures bright and pictures fair,
Which well with RAPHAEL'S* may compare;
For in the rainbow's varied hue,
And often on the heaven's pure blue,
Those glorious paintings may we view,
Suspended—in mid-air.

V.

Yes, God has written everywhere—
In solid rock, on mountain air;
And he in sculpture has outdone
Phidias, Athens' gifted son;
For in the mountains of the land
On every side God's statues stand
Ranged in order—noble—grand.
What vast monuments there we see
Chiseled out by Deity.

VI.

Yes, God has written everywhere—
On earth, in Heaven and in air—
In lines of light, in marks of fire.
First, in the lightning's vivid flash;
Next, in the thunder's awful crash;
Then, in the earthquake's roar:
On Sinai's mount such law was wrote,
And written o'er and o'er.

VII.

Our God has written everywhere—
In Heaven, in earth, in sea and air.
In Heaven above one book was written,
And unto man that book was given.
As yet the book has not been read,
Although its spirit is not dead;
For from the time it was revealed
By seven strong clasps it has been sealed;
But unto us it has been given
By signs and records, too, from Heaven,
That soon these seals will all be riven.
For when the Son of man shall speak
All these strong clasps will bend and break;
For these to science soon shall yield,
When death and Hell will quit the field.
And then the Book of Life will be
Spread wide for all—eternally!

"There is no book so bad but something good may be found in it."

"We are all as God made us, and oftentimes a great deal worse."

"The jest that gives pain is no jest."

THE PRESENT CRISIS.

When a deed is done for Freedom, through the broad earth's aching breast
Runs a thrill of joy prophetic, trembling on from East to West,
And the slave, where'er he cowers, feels the soul within him climb
To the awful verge of manhood, as the energy sublime
Of a century bursts full-blown on the thorny stem of Time.

Through the walls of hut and palace shoots the instantaneous throes
When the travail of the Ages wrings earth's systems to and fro;
At the birth of each new Era, with a recognizing start,
Nation wildly looks at nation, standing with mute lips apart,
And glad Truth's yet mightier man-child leaps beneath the Future's heart.

So the evils triumph sendeth, with a terror and a chill,
Under continent to continent, the sense of coming ill,
And the slave, where'er he cowers, feels his sympathies with God
In hot tear-drops ebbing earthward, to be drunk up by the sod,
Till a corpse crawls round unburied, delving in the nobler clod.

For mankind are one in spirit and an instinct bears along,
Round the earth's electric circle, the swift flash of right and wrong;
Whether conscious or unconscious, yet Humanity's vast frame
Through its ocean-sundered fibres feels the gush of joy or shame;—
In the gain or loss of one race all the rest have equal claim.

Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide,
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or evil side;
Some great cause, God's new Messiah, offering each the bloom or blight,
Parts the goats upon the left hand and the sheep upon the right,
And the choice goes by forever 'twixt that darkness and the light.

Hast thou chosen, O my people, on whose party thou shalt stand,
Ere the Doom from its worn sandals shakes the dust against our land?
Though the cause of Evil prospered, yet 'tis truth alone is strong,
And, albeit she wander outcast now, I see around her throng
Troops of beautiful, tall angels, to enshroud her from all wrong.

Backward look across the ages and the beacon moments see,
That like peaks of some sunk continent, jut through Oblivion's sea;
Not an ear in court or market for the low foreboding cry
Of those Crises, God's stern winnowers, from whose feet earth's chaff
must fly;
Never shows the choice momentous till the judgment hath passed by.

Careless seems the great avenger; history's pages but record
One death-grapple in the darkness 'twixt old systems and the word;
Truth forever on the scaffold, Wrong forever on the throne,—
Yet that scaffold sways the Future, and behind the dim unknown
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above his own.

We see dimly in the Present what is small and what is great,
Slow of faith, how weak an arm turn the iron helm of fate,
But the soul is still oracular; amid the market's din,
List the ominous stern whisper from the Delphic cave within—
"They enslave, their children's children who make compromise with sin."

Slavery, the earth-born Cyclops, fellest of the giant brood,
Suns of brutish force, Darkness, who have drenched the earth with blood,
Famished in his self-made desert, blinded by our purer day,
Gropes in yet unblasted regions for his miserable prey;—
Shall we guide his gory fingers where our helpless children play?

Then to side with Truth is noble, when we share her wretched crust,
Ere her cause bring fame and profit, and 'tis prosperous to be just;
When it is the brave man chooses, while the coward stands aside,
Doubting in his abject spirit, till his Lord is crucified,
And the multitude make virtue of the faith they had denied.

Count me o'er earth's chosen heroes—they were souls that stood alone;
While the men they agonized for hurled the contumelious stone,
Stood serene, and down the future saw the golden beam incline
To the side of perfect justice, mastered by their faith divine,
By one man's plain truth to manhood and to God's supreme design.

By the light of burning heretics Christ's bleeding feet I track,
Telling up new Calvaries ever with the cross that turns not back,
And these mounts of anguish number how each generation learned
One new word of that grand *Credo* which in prophet hearts hath
burned
Since the first man stood God-conquered with his face to heaven up-
turned.

For Humanity sweeps onward; where to-day the martyr stands,
On the morrow crouches Judas with the silver in his hands;
Far in front the cross stands ready and the crackling fagots burn,
While the hooting mob of yesterday in silent awe return
To glean up the scattered ashes into History's golden urn.

'Tis as easy to be heroes as to sit the idle slaves
Of a legendary virtue carved upon our fathers' graves;
Worshippers of light ancestral make the present light a crime:—
Was the Mayflower launched by cowards, steered by men behind their
time?
Turn those tracks toward Past or Future, that make Plymouth Rock
sublime.

They were men of present valor, stalwart old iconoclasts,
Unconvinced by ax or gibbet that all virtue was the Past's;
But we make their truth or falsehood, thinking that hath made
us free,
Hoarding it in moldy parchments, while our tender spirits flee
The rude grasp of that great impulse which drove them across
the sea.

They have rights who dare maintain them; we are traitors to our
sires,
Smothering in their holy ashes Freedom's new-lit altar fires;
Shall we make their creed our jailor? Shall we, in our haste to slay,
From the tombs of the old prophets steal the funeral lamps away
To light up the martyr-fagots round the prophets of to-day?

New occasions teach new duties; Time makes ancient good uncouth;
They must upward still, and onward, who would keep abreast of
Truth;

So, before us gleam her camp-fires: we ourselves must Pilgrims be,
Launch our Mayflower, and steer boldly through the desperate winter
sea,

Nor attempt the Future's portal with the Past's blood-rusted key.

December, 1845.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

A NEW DEPARTURE IN AN UNEXPECTED
QUARTER UPON AN IMPORTANT SUBJECT.

Occasionally and, we are willing to admit, unconsciously, there are great landmarks set up along the path civilization treads, to which the future can look back and see from what particular day and hour some great advance dated. For such a day, hour and beginning may the future look and find it in the New York *Herald* of date Sept. 17, 1871, in the leading editorial, entitled "The financial situation of the country—the prospect before us."

For the first time has any of the four great dailies come out for money reform. And this time there is no mistaking its meaning. And, as is usually the case, the greatest of the great assumes the honored position. Next to liberty itself the question of a correct and scientific financial system most concerns the interests of the people. Upon it freedom depends for the best results of its dissemination. The logical result of freedom for a people is equality among them of all things that go to make up the sum total of their happiness and well-being. No free people can be happy while the finances and resources of the country are in the hands of a small minority of them. The *Herald* evidently comprehends the situation, and sees what the masses of the people are soon going to demand and have, and therefore takes a step in the right direction, which we hope to see followed up by an application, practically, of the ideas at which it so strongly hints:

THE FINANCIAL SITUATION OF THE COUNTRY—THE PROSPECT BEFORE US.

We hear a great deal about combinations to affect the price of gold, stocks and the interest of money, and we are aware that there have been and are such sometimes; indeed, the market is greatly affected in a spasmodic way or for a short time by these combinations. But, after all, their influence is only temporary. The price of gold, stocks and the interest on money are governed in the long run by general causes. A few men in Wall street, or even a combination of the banks cannot change the financial situation materially for any length of time, however rich or powerful they may be. If gold, which was quoted at 112 a few weeks ago, is now 115 or 114, there is some general cause for the difference. It is the same with stocks. Let us look, then, at the financial situation of the country, the causes of that and the prospect before us.

We seem to be swimming along on the tide of prosperity, and, in fact, we are, as far as the wonderful and varied resources of the country and the remarkable industry of the people go. There appears to be hardly any limit to these. Millions of acres of wild land in the vast regions of the West are year after year made to blossom as the rose by the hundreds of thousands of emigrants and enterprising Americans who keep following the setting sun. Cultivated farms, villages, towns, railroads and States spring up as by magic, while the previously settled territory left behind continues to improve and increase in population. Our productions and wealth augment surprisingly every year. There is no want or necessity for want. There is abundance for all, except for those vagabonds who will not work. In every direction and in every department of industry there are the same general progress and well being of the people. It is a spectacle to make glad the hearts of statesmen, of political economists and of all who delight in the progress and happiness of mankind.

But, with all our blessings and advantages, the country is in an anomalous and unhealthy condition as regards financial matters, and is tending, we fear, to a dangerous crisis. Although we have a cotton crop worth two hundred million dollars and upward, of which the greater part by far is exported and is equivalent to gold, and a large exportation of tobacco, cereals, flour and other products, the balance of trade is always largely against us. Last year the export of precious metals to help make up this balance amounted to about eighty millions, fully twenty millions over what was extracted from all our mines. Every dollar of gold and silver we can produce each year is drained from us for this purpose, and too often the old reserve of specie in the country is reduced, as during last year. But this is not all. Our national securities, as well as other securities, continue to flow to Europe to pay for the extravagance of the people, and to make up the balance against us. If we got gold in return, or something that would not waste away, it would not matter so much; but these bonds, as well as all the specie we can extract from the earth, go to pay for silks, satins, wines, jewelry and a hundred other luxuries which are consumed. What is the consequence? We are getting deeper in debt to Europe continually, and every year a larger amount of gold is demanded to pay, not the principal, but the interest merely on this foreign indebtedness.

It is often said that gold and silver are commodities of trade the same as cotton or tobacco. This is true only in part. Intrinsically they are merely commodities of trade; but as they constitute the money of the world, or, at least, are the basis of money, and as we have thought proper, even with a paper currency, to adjust our finances on that basis, they are more than commodities—they have been made the very life-blood of commerce and the representatives of all values. If we had a monetary system of our own and not dependent upon influences from abroad, the precious metals would be then purely commodities of trade. As long as we follow the nations of Europe and make them the basis of values, including the value of currency, we must suffer whenever the quantity we have on hand is reduced, or becomes relatively less than that held by other nations. This is so self-evident that a child might understand it. What, then, is the prospect if we continue to export more than all the gold and silver we annually produce to pay for our luxuries and the balance of trade against us? Of course we shall be short of specie relatively to the wants of trade and population, and when a crisis comes will be overwhelmed by disaster. Since the discovery of gold in California that State and the other gold and silver producing States and Territories have yielded one billion four hundred million dollars in gold and one hundred and twenty million dollars in silver. What has become of it? Gone, as we said, to pay for the balance of trade against us. It is doubtful if we have as much of the precious metals now as we had twenty years ago, or when the population was a third less than at present and the wealth of the country hardly more than half. This would not matter if we did not make gold and silver the representatives of value; but as we do we must suffer the

inconvenience. The nations that draw from us specie so constantly and largely have it cheap and at a low rate of interest, while with us it is dear and we have a high rate of interest.

There is another important fact showing the disadvantage of our financial condition which should not be lost sight of, independent of the balance of the trade as presented by the statistics of commerce. We mean the enormous profits of the carrying trade, which are not set down in commercial tables, and which go into the pockets of foreigners. It must be apparent to every thoughtful person that we are going from bad to worse every year, notwithstanding our ephemeral commercial prosperity and the enormous products of the country.

There must come a day of reckoning. When that may arrive we cannot say. Our vast productions, progress and elasticity of our resources may put it off. But suppose a general war should occur in Europe, or some other great and general disaster, the crisis would certainly be precipitated. In the ordinary course of things, however, we must become more and more in the position of the spendthrift who has exhausted his means by luxurious living and by borrowing of money-lending usurers. The same principle applies to nations as to individuals. Can any one suppose we will reach specie payments while there is such a continual drain of the precious metals to make up the balance of trade and to pay the constantly accumulating interest abroad on our securities? When a crisis comes look out for those institutions which have been speculating and living extravagantly upon the people's money. Where would be the innumerable savings banks, insurance companies and other institutions, which build the most costly palaces and are run at an enormous expense, which place their funds in bonds and stocks, and which pay the most extravagant premiums for drumming up customers? What would become of the regular banks, which loan their deposits and capital for Wall street speculations, and with a limited amount of money use bonds to the extent of hundreds of millions as capital for speculation? Our whole financial system rests upon a sandy foundation. We must be less extravagant and our banks less speculative, and we must have a better system of national finance and revenue, so as to make the balance of trade more favorable, or we shall get deeper and deeper in the mire, and in the end experience a more fearful crisis than the country has ever known.

SYNOPSIS OF A DISCOURSE DELIVERED AT THE
TROY SPIRITUAL CONVENTION.

BY MOSES HULL.

MRS. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I had no "ax to grind," no particular message to deliver, for that reason I urged the officers of this Convention to let me remain silent, and give the time to some one who wanted to be heard; but my prayer has not been heard, and I am forced out to talk to you. I know that after you have had so many days of continual feast, and on such rich diet, you will not be satisfied to sit and nibble very long at the dry crusts I shall hand you. I shall therefore in my speech use brevity, "the soul of wit." I cannot better use up twenty minutes than in reviewing the work of this Convention—finding out, if possible, the present aspect of Spiritualism. Permit me to do the double work of relieving your mind of the heavy burden of thought that it has been subject to this evening, and introducing my subject by the relation of an anecdote:

Less than two years since I attended a convention in a Western city; during the interim between the sessions of the convention I stepped into a store owned by a former friend. I found there another friend, an old Methodist minister, accompanied by a young man that I ascertained to be the most popular minister of the city. The conversation in a minute turned on the convention, and soon on the general subject of Spiritualism. Finally the old gentleman said:

"What do you fellows propose to do, anyhow? You say Spiritualism in its present form has stood before the world for twenty years, what have you done? I see none of your institutions of learning, not many meeting-houses. I want to see some of the work of Spiritualism. Can you point me to any?"

"Yes," I replied, "we fellows have done one thing, if nothing more—we have knocked hell out of you fellows."

"What do you mean?" said the old gentleman.

I responded, "I mean just what I say. Thirty years ago hell was the staple of your theology; if a minister did not heat every sermon up with its fires, and bleach them with its brimstone, it was not evangelical. Now, go to Titusville, Pennsylvania, and you will find the people boring into the ground—tapping hell and using its fires to drive their machinery, and its brimstone is fast being cemented into lucifer matches. Hell is no longer used in the pulpit as a scare-crow, to frighten people into heaven—the ministers have quit preaching it. Spiritualism is responsible for that; it has knocked the bottom out of your orthodox hell, and will, before its work is done, give a good many other little hells a fine airing."

"But," responded the old minister, "I preach a hell of fire and brimstone the same as I did forty years ago."

"Probably you do," said I; "but your church does not."

"Yes, they do. Brother J—, here, preaches it."

"I guess not. I never heard him preach; but, judging from the looks of the man, I should say you are mistaken."

Here the old gentleman, in order to settle the controversy, appealed to the minister himself. The answer was an evasive one, leaving me to infer that he did not believe in a hell, while my opponent inferred the opposite. The old gentleman left the store, feeling that the victory was his. After he had departed, the merchant said: "Mr. J—, I did not quite like your answer to Mr. Hull's question. You seemed to dodge the point."

"Well," responded the minister, "the fact is, Mr. Hull caught me on a pinhook. I was not going to tell that good old man that I believed in just such a hell as Mr. Hull described and no other. He now has great confidence in me. He is too old to change, so let him enjoy his belief in a fiery hell. I do not believe it."

I relate this to show the change that has come over the popular mind. Do you ask what has brought it about? I answer, Spiritualism.

Spiritualism has remade the religious and is destined to readjust the political and social elements of this country and the world.

One thing no observer could have refrained from remarking in this Convention, that is, there has not been an argu-

ment made to prove that spirits return. What does this mean? I never attended a Spiritual Convention before where this question was entirely ignored. Why has not some one of the numerous speakers who have occupied this rostrum thought to give us a dissertation on this all-important subject? The question answers itself. That battle has been fought, the victory won. There is no need of storming a fortification after it has surrendered. There are few that would now stake their reputation by denying the return of spirits. No argument has been needed on this point. "Wherefore, leaving the first principles of the doctrine, let us go on unto perfection."

The question in the past has been: Plato, where are you? Socrates, do you live? Demosthenes, can you return from the golden shore? The spiritual phenomena have answered these queries, but now comes the *cui bono*.

The question is no longer: Is Spiritualism true? But, Can it be made practical? Not, Demosthenes, do you live? but, Do you live for a purpose? Can we be made any better or any happier by you, now that we know that you are alive?

The demonstration of a life beyond this is the smallest part of the work of Spiritualists. The blending of the two worlds, unless for a purpose, can result in but little good. Can we appropriate the wisdom that has been being piled stratum on stratum since the first sage entered the other world? This is the great point that every true Spiritualist now feels.

This three days' convocation has been in many respects a stormy season. Sometimes souls have been frightened by the earnest voices and sharp words that have issued from this rostrum. But permit me to assure the strangers who have witnessed these, to them, strange manifestations, that there has been no feeling other than one of deep earnestness in the cause we all love. Probably among the hundreds of delegates here there is not one but that has come to work. They all feel the burden of the work. The angel-world is forcing them out so that they feel an earnestness never manifested elsewhere. Not only so each has come with a plan—a better plan—and as plan after plan has been picked to pieces and substitutes offered, it has hurt, hence the brandishing of swords; but let an enemy come into the camp and attack any of our fortifications, and in one instant all this sword exercise is turned against him.

Such a convention as this could not occur among the churches; the reason is, that when they get together at a convention the meeting is more or less a swarm of drones—not working bees. They come together to eat the honey—not to make it. Thousands and thousands attend these religious conventions who never dream of having any other duty than having a half dozen others cut and dry and do all the work for them—all they have to do is to say aye or no when a question comes before them.

We work; we are in earnest; we have our plans—our individuality—and therefore we sometimes use sharp words. Sometimes we apologize for it afterward, but apology isn't my best hold. I ain't worth a cent on apology. I am heartily glad of the agitation we have had here.

The address from the Mormons has created a sensation, and some weak-backed, weak-kneed Spiritualists have asked, "Had we not better inquire after their domestic relations before we accept and co-operate with them? How many wives have they?" I answer, it is none of your business how many wives they have. I earnestly hope they have wives enough to enable them to let other folks' wives alone. If they have not, I would advise them to get more. If they have, they are better off than very many ministers, some church members, and not a few of the Spiritualists. Who would undertake to count the wives of some of the delegates at this convention?

One brother says: "Let them forsake all of their wives except the first and then we will accept them." Now that is the meanest thing they could do. Probably of all their wives the first one is the least fitted to fill that position. I could not think of asking them to turn their wives out as a farmer sometimes does an old blind horse, to die.

You remember the story of the Indian and the missionary. The Indian wanted to join the church. The missionary asked him how many wives he had. He replied: "Two; one old one, one young one." The missionary told him he must dispose of one of his wives before he could get into the church. The next Sunday he came back, having complied with the conditions, to get into the church. The missionary asked him which one of his wives he had disposed of. He replied, "Old one."

"What did you do with her?" said the missionary.

"Me eat 'em, ugh! now me ready to be good Mesodif; some Indian havem two wife; they makem dan poor Mesodif."

Now if we send any word to these converts from Mormonism regarding their domestic relations, I propose that we send them word to eat all of their wives up except the youngest and smartest, then we will take them; otherwise, "they makem dan poor Spiritualists."

To be serious, these matters will adjust themselves. Let us give them the hand of fellowship, and go on minding our own business.

Churches will prate; we will hear of "birds of a feather flocking together," etc. Let them talk! If Dr. Newman had converted them, instead of being whipped by them, he would have been put down as a triumph of Methodism, and you would have heard, "Behold what we have done!" As it is, "birds of a feather, etc." You have all read the history of the lawyer's ox that gored the farmer's cow. "That altered the case." So is this case altered by it, being Spiritualism instead of Churchism which has blessed and saved these poor deluded Mormons.

This is all good; but the grandest work of all accomplished by this Convention has been to extend our long spiritual arms and take into our embrace, and put up as head and point of this movement, a traduced, slandered, vilified and abused woman; one whom editors and ministers have ever felt they were doing good service in lying about. We have taken Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull, whom even Horace Greeley prostitutes his hitler noble pen to slandering. We have put her name on our banners, not only as President of the American Spiritual Association, but as candidate for President of the United States; and now we say to ministers, editors and liars generally, strike! But remember it is not a helpless woman you are striking, but the great working army of Spiritualists. We pledge ourselves to stand by that woman who has dared to be true, though at the peril of everything except her life. Now, once for all, I say:

"Lay on, Macduff."

"And damned be he who first cries 'nough!'"

With profound astonishment, and I may say reverence, you have listened to the eloquence and logic of this woman, whom we have now crowded to the front. You have asked, "Whence hath this woman this wisdom." She has

not answered. I will. That discovery that women are now citizens of the United States, and entitled to franchise, is not the result of her own cogitations. Those arguments which have so thoroughly bound you this evening and yesterday afternoon did not originate in her brain. She has spoken more wisely than she knew. There is a power behind the throne. Do you ask who it is? It purports to be that grand old Grecian orator and statesman, Demosthenes. And here I ask, Why not? Does Demosthenes live? Then he lives for a purpose. Why not that purpose the elevation of one-half of his race, and through that half the salvation of the other? I acknowledge the spiritual aspect was never so beautiful. I go from this convention fired with new zeal. Courage, brethren! Spiritualism will save us; save us from Rings—Railroad Rings, Whiskey Rings, Tammany Rings, Church Rings, and, I might add, Wedding Rings, and Rings of all kinds. It will

Ring out the old,
Ring in the new.

So mote it be.

THE INTERNATIONALS.

The meeting of Section 12 on Sunday was very fully attended. Five new members were admitted.

The Corresponding Secretary *pro tem*, reported that the responses to the "Appeal of Section 12," in behalf of the formation of English-speaking sections, had been very numerous, and that soon there would be new sections (American) formed in Vineland, N. J., and in New Orleans, La., while at no distant day other English-speaking associations would be heard from in Cleveland, and Chicago.

The delegate to the Central Committee reported that at length the Central Committee had adopted an Order of Business, or Rules and Regulations for its government, based upon the principle of the "Referendum," and qualified by the "Popular Initiative," thereby averting (he hoped) that tendency to centralization of power in the committee which had lately on too many occasions been painfully exhibited. At the last meeting of the committee, the delegate from Section 6 (German), had reported that his Section had recommended that Section 12 should modify its "Appeal to the English-speaking citizens of the United States," but did not state in what manner it should be modified. The delegate from Section 12 had accordingly attended a meeting of Section 6 on Friday, Sept. 6. He there learned that the Section had objected to the "Appeal" because Section 12 had presumed to take the initiative without consulting the C. C., and had recommended ultimate political action as the most efficient and certain means of accomplishing the purposes of the Internationalists. The delegate thought he had satisfied Section 6, by quotations from the "Rules and Administrative Regulations of the General Council," that not only each Section had a clear right to take the initiative in all matters of general policy, but it was the clear duty of the General Council to encourage the sections in so doing, and that the International was the grandest political association that the ages had begotten, as the Rules of the G. C. distinctly affirmed that "the economical emancipation of the working classes is the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means."

The "order of the day" was then taken up, the subject being the proposition of Section 9 to hold mass meetings of the members of all the Sections once a month, and to put forth a Platform of the principles, objects and measures which should be received as the admitted rule of faith and practice.

In reference to this proposition, a member offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That Section 12 approve of the proposition of Section 9, to hold mass meetings of all the members of all the sections in New York and vicinity, provided that such meetings are held quarterly only, for the purpose of hearing addresses from speakers selected from the several sections, and that no action is taken at such meetings which will preclude or supersede the regular independent action of each section.

Resolved, That Section 12 denies the power of either the C. C., or the several sections combined, to impose authoritatively upon any section, or any body, a Platform of the Principles, Objects and Measures of the I. W. A., other than that set forth in the published proceedings of the several Congresses of the I. W. A., and the Rules and Administrative Regulations of the General Council; and that Section 12 further affirms the independent right of each section to have, hold and give expression to its own construction of said proceedings of the several Congresses, and the Rules and Regulations of said General Council, each section being alone responsible for its own action.

The first resolution was adopted without discussion; but the second resolution elicited a very lively debate, which took a very wide range, embracing the nature, functions and prerogatives of government and the true character and purpose of the International itself. Remarks were made by Stephen P. Andrews, Lucius Bradley, J. H. Blood, Henry C. Dibble, Wm. Hanson and Wm. West. Some of the speakers opposed, while others advocated the adoption of the resolution. On the one side it was asserted that there ought to some central authority to settle controverted questions; else confusion and anarchy would ensue, and co-operation would be impossible. On the other side it was affirmed that the way to the exhibition of true Authority lies through Liberty, and that the largest individualization is indispensable to the manifestation of the most efficient co-operation. Finally, pending a motion to strike out the last clause of the resolution, the whole subject was laid over till the next meeting, which will be held Sunday evening, October 22.

PENNSYLVANIA ELECTIONS.

No. 708 SOUTH TENTH STREET,
PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 10.

MY DEAR MRS. WOODHULL: I have just returned from offering my vote at Eleventh Division of the Fourth Ward, and have been refused by agreement of both Republican and Democratic inspectors. I based my demand upon the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Articles of the Constitution, and was told by them that these had nothing to do with the Constitution of Pennsylvania, which declared that none but male citizens were entitled to the right of franchise. I asked to see a copy of that clause of the Constitution, so as to have it quoted, but no copy was on hand, and neither gentleman was sufficiently familiar with it to venture to repeat it. I asked to have the question referred to the Judge, Mr. Kelly, who is a strong advocate of the advancement of woman, but was assured where the Inspectors were agreed this was not allowed. Then a rough man inside the window said "Go away, now; that is enough; you have been refused." After which nothing was left for us but to retire. Miss Connolly, who was my companion, has been equally zealous with myself in the cause. We went to the Registration Officers during the sitting of the Canvassers, and had our names put upon the extra assessment list, and afterward paid our tax, receiving our receipts. It is due to these gentlemen to say that we were received with great courtesy; particularly by Mr. Arthur Hughes, who from the first advocated our cause. Mr. Bladen, too, was very active in our behalf, and Mr. Moore, who at first opposed giving us certificates, finally reconsidered the matter and agreed. Mr. White, the Deputy Receiver of Taxes, went so far as to bring our receipts to the house as soon as he saw our names published on the Extra Assessment List. A gentleman at the polls, Mr. Hutchinson, advocated our cause, and proposed to discuss the matter with the inspectors. It is perhaps an encouraging sign that almost all men now advocate our voting in private, but put their refusal to assist us on purely technical grounds. To-day my blood is fired. Miserable wretches, of every shade of color, ignorant, debased, without a dollar or a principle they can call their own, are permitted to go to the polls and select rulers who can mortgage my property and that of my children at their pleasure. Since I was twenty-one I have paid school-taxes, yet never once have I been allowed to express my views by ballot as to the sort of education or character of the instructors I approved. Were I accused of a crime to-morrow I would be tried by a jury of males incapable of their very physiological structure of forming a just estimate of the nature or extent of female guilt. Without the ballot there is no protection for woman. The lower orders are the subjects of brutal violence; the better off, of pecuniary depredations. At any rate I have done what I could, and if every woman would do the same, we should soon have a new order of things. I have at least proved that in the most turbulent ward of a city, supposed to be completely demoralized in its police regulations, respectable women may make the attempt to vote with perfect security from insult or annoyance.

ELIZABETH S. BLADEN.

THE WOMAN QUESTION

The following very able and earnest argument in favor of the woman side of the question which now agitates the country was written in answer to a communication which appeared in the *New York Tribune*. The *Tribune* declining to publish this unanswerable answer to its correspondent, we take pleasure in giving it to our readers.—*Irish Republic*.

In a recent issue of the *Tribune* a communication appeared which I wish to comment upon. It must have been "blue Monday" when the writer of "Melancholy Days" gave expression to her feelings. I accept her words in the same "spirit of sorrow" she says they were written in. Margaret Fuller said "a noble discontent was praiseworthy," and we women of the present day are not merely fretful, but desirous of progressive reform.

"Simply womanly."

Is womanliness more simple than manliness? Had she asked herself why "women occupy so grand a position to-day, and exercise so much influence," the answer must be—Mrs. Stanton (noble, strong woman), pure Lucretia Mott, self-sacrificing Lydia Maria Child, untiring Miss Anthony and talented, scholarly Margaret Fuller, whose place can never be filled in the hearts of her friends. To their brave battling of ancient customs which subordinated woman to a slavish state, to their endurance of contempt from those not worthy to unloose their shoes, do we owe our comparatively improved laws. Who for years petitioned "Congress" to grant mothers the "right" God bestowed—charge of their children? to permit wives of drunkards the "right" to their own earnings? to free all, black or white? Who, indeed, but noble Mrs. Stanton. Why do people constantly refer to the dark ages for comparison? We are advancing. Mr. Greeley, that eminent agriculturist, would not refer us for imitation to the mode of tilling the earth practiced centuries ago. Why improve in all, save matters pertaining to women? Are we so perfect that we cannot be improved? I think not. Nor are we so devoid of natural abilities that education would be thrown away upon us. I know families in which thousands were spent on the sons to educate them, while their daughters' superior receptive powers were neglected. Yet the daughters would have done credit to Harvard or Yale, while the sons came out only ordinary men.

"The oppression of having suffrage forced upon us."

Are men compelled to vote because they have the power to do so if they choose to exercise it? I frequently hear men say, "I have not voted in years."

"Consistency, thou art a jewel." "Right we don't want thrust upon us." "Ay, there's the rub."

'Tis women who are afraid of the responsibilities that

"rights" or duties entail. They may have to think or exercise their judgment, and it is so tiresome to use one's brain. Women—wives and mothers—you have a duty to perform. God had a mission for you when he created you and gave to you the noblest earthly crown and honor—womanhood and motherhood—and you must no longer ignore this mission, letting love of ease or cowardly fear of public opinion cause you to remain indifferent to your country's and your children's good. I tell you God will hold you accountable for the disuse of the "ten talents" He has bestowed on many of you. We, as a class, are morally strong, and it is our duty to exert that moral influence daily in public as well as "home life." We are not excusable for folding our hands and saying, "Politics are corrupt; we cannot mingle in them." Seek by precept and example to cleanse and purify them. One earnest, honest woman "in Congress" would prevent the licensing of social evil, a stain more damning than that of slavery.

"And wrongs we have not yet discovered." You should say, "I have not suffered," for well we know the inequality and injustice women suffer from. Take, for example, teaching. I know a case, occurring under my own observation, one of the parties being related to me, in which a woman with a first-class Normal certificate, valid forever, received forty-five dollars a month for teaching a winter school, in which she introduced algebra and Latin, two branches not required in country schools. Her predecessor, a man with a three months' permit, was paid sixty dollars per month.

I ask the justice of such a law! A righteous God permits it, but He cannot sanction it.

"Usurp the places of men and their attributes." What placed men in their positions of trust and importance? An opportunity to prove their capabilities, a fitness for it. We do not ask you to put women in offices they are incapable of filling; and, methinks, if men's test to fill positions were their abilities they would often be refused and dislodged. Only give us equality of opportunity of proving our worthiness. Justice, not favor, is what we ask.

"It was not enough to have clinical lectures for women separately; they must clamor for mixed clinics, demanding a thing that made modest men blush."

Do not modest women "blush" and die for the treatment from women who need and must have these clinical advantages? And is it more painful to men and women, in the research of science for humanity's sake, to witness these operations on women, than to the weak, nervous, suffering woman who endures all but death before submitting to the last terrible resort? The woman whose wealth permits the privacy of her chamber does not suffer as the poor, though perhaps equally refined creature who serves for illustration on the hospital table. "Cannot I, a woman, witness this with less immodesty than men?" 'Tis they who are out of their sphere in witnessing or performing operations on women. True, they must serve till we are educated in medicine; but now the woman who voluntarily chooses a man when she can receive equally efficient aid from a woman, is wanting in true delicacy and innate modesty. God bless Drs. Blackwell, Lozier, Garret and all those noble, pure-minded, philanthropic, pioneer women, who are as much purer and cleaner in soul than the women who misconstrue their motives, as God is mightier than men.

"I assume the stand taken by women's rights women unsexes them."

My dear sister, we cannot assume for another any more than we can eat, sleep or breathe for that other. Each individual must work out their own earthly or spiritual salvation. One point makes us friends.

"I concede at once, what no intelligent person can deny, the right of suffrage to women."

You are on the right road, sister; keep thinking and God will give you light.

I will cite one instance of the necessity and wish some women have for the ballot. A lady, well known in New York as a faithful worker in educational fields, owns a dwelling near "Tammany Hall." Her rent from it was large till the erection of that "hall." The occupants, not liking the noise and publicity, left. She gets one-half the former rent, and yet the assessor taxes her to support a building which has rendered her property valueless. She must pay for "Tammany," yet she had no voice in its erection. This is only one of hundreds of similar cases.

"First assure ourselves we are in the right direction."

How? Not by condemning the theory, but giving it a practical trial. Surely, our intelligent wives, mothers and sisters can be entrusted equally with foreigners, colored men, and, I may say, men in general. If mothers can faithfully and wisely guide and control our future men in their most impressive and important years—for during childhood's years the man's or woman's character is formed, and we need capable, conscientious parents more than anything else—can they not discharge equally well public responsibilities and duties?

"I only ask that women be true to themselves."

That, my sister, is all we ask. That is the "whole in a nutshell." True to themselves. No two women are perfectly alike; hence, no one woman's standard can be set up for all. Why should you, in following that which is agreeable, and meets your requirements, object to my entering an entirely opposite course if it accords with my feelings, and I am honest, earnest and truthful in it? "Live and let live," should be remembered by each and all of us. Like the "golden rule," it comprehends much. I, too, read and admire "Tennyson's Princess," "Not like to like, but like in difference." That is just the point. We do not like masculine women any more than feminine men. If women are to become men, we shall lose that refining and acute conscientiousness which characterizes our sex. We do not want any more men's votes, or men's influence; we have enough now. Pure womanly ballots, not like men's, but "like" or equal in difference. Why should you take Miss Catharine Beecher as authority against her brother, H. W. Beecher, a man, too? Why, that concession alone proves my argument.

"The most conscientious, thoughtful women, think suffrage would be a misfortune, as life is too short for a proper fulfillment of the duties that devolve upon them. How, then, could they spare time to make themselves well informed in public matters? and how could they vote without first satisfying themselves as to the relative merits and measures of men?"

Aye, that is just what we need, and must have, to govern properly and justly. An examination into the "merits" of men who govern us. And I trust and believe women will not be bought, or shirk their duty in this respect. A drunkard who, by example, defends and upholds intemperance, will not be an accepted candidate to women! A libertine, who murders soul and body, shall not sit in high places and

choose his victims at leisure! A robber shall not have an opportunity to defraud our government; and men dare not descend to low personal vituperation in "congressional halls" if women were present. It is because women will vote "conscientiously" that we desire suffrage for them.

"Find time too short."

Is there anything more important on earth, next to salvation, than our country's welfare—the land our children will inhabit—the influences and customs that will surround them?

"Spare time to make themselves well informed."

Bless me! what is life for but for information and improvement? And what about the large proportion of time wasted in dress and extravagant fashions by women, whose minds are narrowed by little thoughts—no broad principles or great questions to enlarge their judgment and make them charitable? Not that I ignore dress. God meant us all to be as beautiful as nature made us. We should not offend the eye by want of taste; neither should dress be our only theme. Let our bodies and acts be natural—true to nature, and we will not wander far.

Miss Beecher did not display the sound sense of her family when she wrote the above, and Mrs. Beecher Hooker could not have presented a more effective plea for suffrage than Miss Beecher's defense:

"But, if the worst should come, there is one thing I prophesy will never happen—a Congress woman! No woman will vote for her sex."

You are mistaken there, my sister, and judge all women by the one you are best acquainted with. I would cast my ballot for fifty I know now, in preference to any man of my acquaintance. Where are the men that, for purity and moral strength, equal Pauline Wright Davis or Elizabeth Cady Stanton?

"Shrink from the rude gaze of men!"

What men? Are not our fathers, brothers, husbands and lovers the men we would meet at the polls? and do we not encounter their "rude gaze" at home? Or, do they live two lives, one for the world and one for us? If so, we must hasten to correct this two-faced, double-dealing tendency. It is destructive to happiness and safety to carry on two phases of life at once. Good and bad acts are incompatible. We meet these same men in the street, at post offices, in churches, theatres, parties, boats, cars, everywhere, and have just as much intercourse with them now as voting would necessitate.

"The youthful African will starve." What shall prevent him? Suffrage? Yes, and his freedom was partially gained through women. Wendell Phillips, that great anti-slavery orator, was assisted and protected by two women, Lucretia Mott and Lydia Maria Child. When an excited and infuriated mob were gathered to do him violence, they started back, with curses at their failure, on seeing his body-guard, more effective in their womanly strength than any two policemen. Noble, brave women, I am proud of being one after that.

"Speech-making to gaping and reviling audiences." I have seen respectful and more than usually quiet assemblies listening to that brave young girl, Annie E. Dickinson, who dares to level blows at that curse of our country, "social evil" and licensed libertinism.

"Would have sufficed to raise countless homes and reformatories."

We have enough of them now, God knows; too many. No, strike at the root and do away with the necessity for "Magdalens." Cease sacrificing one person for another. Teach women self-reliance and self-protection; teach men virtue, moral strength and self-control; both to know and fully understand themselves, and idiots and "unfortunates" will cease to exist. Liquor and unrestrained passion cause more of these cases than all else.

"Teach the orphan girl to sew."

Sewing is not the most healthful nor best remunerated employment, by any means. The needle starves more than the ballot.

"Do away with unjust laws, or cause new ones to be made."

That, dear sister, is just what we are aiming at, and no power short of the ballot will do it. It made a man of the slave and will do much for women.

"Do not lose sight of modesty."

By no means. I am an enthusiastic admirer of that virtue as yourself, and hope by its public and general influence to do much good. "Let us keep ourselves unspotted before the world."

ELLA A. JENNINGS.

THE NEW NORTHWEST, OF PORTLAND, OREGON.

We clip the following cogent article from the *New Northwest*, Mrs. A. J. Dumway editor, Portland, Oregon, of date 15th September, which also contains several able and pithy editorials bearing upon the question of political rights. If papers which advocate political equality could only see beyond its attainment, and what that will lead to, we should have more hope that the anarchical stage of social freedom might be bridged over. But, with a persistent blindness, the eyes of those who should see are shut to this momentous question. They will not contemplate it until it comes upon them. Not till such a time will they be willing to acknowledge that they were wrong in ignoring the greatest of all revolutions—one affecting the very bases upon which the superstructures of religion, politics and society permanently rest—wrong in not grappling hold of it instead of leaving it to drift in the current, without lending a hand at "the wheel."

WOMEN TAX-PAYERS.

BY MATILDA JOSELYN GAGE.

Let us look at this question of taxation. If women are entitled to property at all, they are entitled to be consulted as to its disposal. A person does not really possess anything, it is liable to be taken away by the will of others. Property representation was for ages the law of England, both for man and for woman. The very fact of the colonies being deprived of this property representation was what brought about the Revolutionary war, and when property rights were made the foundation of the demand for other rights, "they builded better than they knew."

That taxation without representation was tyranny, was a fundamental doctrine of the women of '76. In 1770, six years before the Declaration of Independence, the women made a public combined protest against taxation without representation; and as tea was the article upon which Great

Britain was then expending her strength, these women of the American Colonies united themselves into a league, and bound themselves, to use no more tea in their families until the tax upon it was repealed. This league was formed by the married women, but three days afterward the young ladies held an anti-tax meeting. These young ladies publicly declared they did not take this step for themselves alone, but they protested against this taxation as a matter of principle, and with a view to benefit their posterity. These public protests against taxation were made more than five years before the commencement of the Revolutionary War. They, also, were the real origin of the famous Tea party in Boston Harbor, which did not take place until three years after the public protest of the women. The women of to-day are the direct posterity of the women of the Revolution, and as our foremothers protested against "taxation without representation," so do we, their descendants, protest against being taxed without being represented.

In this corporation of Fayetteville (and the corporation does not include the whole village), about one-fifth of the whole taxable property belongs, directly and individually, to women who have no voice in regard to its taxation. There are more than eighty of these women tax-payers, and the largest tax paid in the whole corporation is paid by a woman; yet she has no voice in saying how her property shall be taxed. It would be the merest quibble to say this woman's husband casts a vote for her. No man can cast two votes, and he votes on his own property. If her views as to taxation agree with his, or differ from his, she is still unrepresented.

More than half these eighty women tax-payers have no husbands, but their interest in the use to which their property is put, is just as great as though they were married. Many of these women have earned what they possess by the sweat of their brow, and one of these women tax-payers, whom I well know, has earned her little home by working during long years, for less than fifty cents a day. She has practiced the strictest economy; she has denied herself everything but the commonest necessities of life in order to secure this home; and now in steps the tax-assessor, closely followed by his brother, the collector, and without allowing her a voice in the matter, takes her money for all the ordinary, or all the "extraordinary taxes," that may be assessed.

As the largest tax in the place is paid by a woman, so does the smallest amount of taxable property in the corporation also belong to a woman, but neither has she a voice. From each one is the full pound of flesh demanded by the Shylocks of the law.

Gentlemen, if you did not allow the votes of those ten women who offered them at your Charter election, because they were women, pray be consistent, and do not tax them for the same reason. All the authority you get at all for taxing women is through the words "men," "he," "his" and the like. It is curious to see by what sophistry "men," "he" and "his" are made to include women when men deem it for their own interest that they should have such bearing, and equally curious to see by what turn they are made to exclude women when the exponents of the law see fit to read these words so as not to mean women.

Let us read the law by which our Assessors and Collectors get their right to assess taxes in this State of New York. Statutes at Large, page 361, Article 1, paragraph 1, reads thus: "Every person shall be assessed in the town or ward where 'he' resides when the assessment is made, for all lands owned by 'him,' within such town or ward, and occupied by 'him,' or wholly unoccupied." If the words "he" and "him" in this section do not include *she* and *her*, where do the Assessors of New York get their right to tax women?

Art. I., page 2d, reads, "Every collector shall call at least once on the person taxed, or at his usual place of residence, and shall demand payment of the taxes charged on 'him.'" How dare the collectors of the State of New York call upon any woman—single, widow or married—for taxes, unless the words "he" and "him" are deemed to mean "she" and "her"?

Then again, paragraph 3d of the same article, says, "in case any person shall refuse or neglect to pay the tax imposed upon 'him,' the collector shall levy the same by distress and sale of 'his' property."

Notwithstanding this whole statute uses the words "he," "him" and "his," to the entire exclusion of *she*, *her* and *hers*, yet distress and sale of property for tax has always been levied against the property of non-paying women, solely by the authority of this statute.

Oh, wise men, can you tell why "he" means *she* when taxes are to be assessed, and does not mean *she* when taxes are to be voted upon? The whole question of woman's demand for a vote along with taxation is a simple question of justice.

Let me use an illustration. Supposing all the taxable property in this corporation, except one house and lot, belonged to women; the man who owned that one house and lot could vote the entire tax against those women's property. He could, under a charter like ours, elect himself president, trustee, clerk, treasurer, collector, street commissioner, etc., etc. He could call an election, and alone vote an "extraordinary tax" to bring in water from every point, build fountains on every corner, fence in twenty parks and vote himself five thousand dollars salary as a policeman to protect the women—from himself. He would not, in so doing, be guilty of a greater wrong than was perpetrated in this village the 20th of July, when the ten tax-paying women who offered to vote, were refused, and through them the whole eighty-five tax-paying women of the corporation were also refused a voice in regard to the use of their own property.

This question of woman's demand for representation is a question going back, not only to the foundation of our government, but to the very existence of woman as a responsible human being. Self-government is no more the right of man than of woman, for it is a human right. The history of our own country, the history of the world, shows the rights of any class are not safe in the hands of any other class. The rights of life, the rights of liberty, the rights of property of the colonists were not safe in the hands of the British. The rights of the slaves or of the free men of color were not safe when the power of self-protection was not in their own hands.

It is simply impossible for any person to do as well for another person as that person will do for himself. A woman is more interested in the economical management of her own property than any man or set of men can be; a woman is more interested in the security of her own life than any man or set of men can be; a woman is more interested in the enactment of just laws for herself than any husband, father or son can be. There is no protection quite equal to self-protection. When woman holds the ballot in her own hands, then she can protect herself.

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LETTER OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE 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 official letter has been sent you. We trust you will pardon the delay, and accept this notice in *The Revolution* 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 personal efforts to secure signers 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 consultation, according to the advice of the convention.

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

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1. Report of Special Committee of Connecticut Legislature on Woman Suffrage.

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4. Argument on Elective Franchise under the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution; by Hon. A. G. Rice.

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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