

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

PROGRESS! FREE THOUGHT! UNTRAMMELED LIVES!

BREAKING THE WAY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.

VOL. 4.—No. 8.—WHOLE No. 86.

NEW YORK, JANUARY 6, 1872.

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73-85.

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FIVE PER CENT. INTEREST paid on CURRENT BALANCES, and liberal facilities offered to our CUSTOMERS.

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AND
DEALERS IN GOVERNMENT SECURITIES,

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We buy and sell, at current rates, all classes of Government Securities, and the Bonds of the Central Pacific Railroad Company; also, Gold and Silver Coin and Gold Coupons.

We buy and sell, at the Stock Exchange, miscellaneous Stocks and Bonds, on commission, for cash.

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FISK & HATCH.

76-88.

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

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78 to 108.

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Accounts strictly private and confidential.

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89.

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Interest, payable August and February, in New York, London, or Frankfurt-on-the-Main, free of United States taxes. Present market quotations, 97 1/2 a 98 1/2 c. and interest.

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Seven per Cent. Semi-Annually.

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

The 35 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.

PRICE OF THE BONDS, 90 IN CURRENCY.
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Edward Haight & Co.,

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

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Six Per Cent. Interest Allowed.

Interest commences on the 1st of each month.

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Secretary. 60-65 President.

INGERSOLL LOCKWOOD,

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 readiness 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. [E. S. Journal, White Plains.]... An excellent lecturer. An eloquent description of the life and character of the great Prussian Premier. [S. S. Republican.]... Mr. Lockwood's oratorical powers are well known. [Home Journal.]

Terms, \$100, with modifications.



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

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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. 27 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.
HENRY STEFFER,
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SIDNEY B. JONES,
Gen. Pass. Agent, Louisville, Ky.

PROGRESS OF DENTISTRY.

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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,
64 Clinton avenue, Brooklyn.

Now Published for the First Time
in this Country!

**GOETHE'S
Elective Affinities:**

With an Introduction

By VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

PRICE, \$1 50.

Sent by Mail or Express, as ordered, on receipt of the price.

"It is very true that ideas of social freedom and of inevitable law governing the actions of humanity are rapidly spreading in the world at this day, and that I may have done something to aid their growth. Perhaps my name may not, therefore, be inappropriately associated with this reproduction of the work of the greatest Genius of Germany, the first who promulgated the thought that there is a chemistry of the mind, and that Elective Affinities are as powerful and legitimate in the realm of human sentiment as in the realm of matter."

"Themes of freedom on all subjects form the staple public sentiment of the world at this age. A doctrine like that of Goethe's is therefore eminently calculated to make progress even unconsciously in this century."

"But in any event Goethe has its prerogatives, and the genius of Goethe is incontestable and uncontested. The American public are entitled to know what this great leader of modern thought, one of the founders of Comparative Anatomy, has thought on the more recondite subject of the Chemistry of the Mind. The question is not, in the first instance, whether his views were right or wrong, true or false; but simply, What were they? and in none of his works is that question so effectively answered as in 'Elective Affinities.'—Extracts from Introduction.

THE LAW OF MARRIAGE,

AN

EXHAUSTIVE ARGUMENT

AGAINST MARRIAGE LEGISLATION,

By C. S. JAMES,

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For Sale by the Author, post paid, for 25c.

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Alma, Wis. 75

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.'s 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, they in the meantime laboring under the delusion that they were above instead of below equality.

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

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

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

WOMAN'S RIGHTS—NEW BOOKS.

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

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

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 the 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 8; 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. BENEDICT, Secretary.

PATENT**STOCKING SUPPORTER**

AND

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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(Successors to D. Marley.)

No. 557 BROADWAY, NEW YORK,

Dealers in

MODERN AND ANTIQUE

Furniture, Bronzes,

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 \$30.

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Between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets east side.

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.

CHATELAINE BRAIDS,

LADIES' AND GENTLEMEN'S WIGS,

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

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

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

Also, his celebrated

HARABA ZEIN,

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

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

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BARTON & ALLEN,

BANKERS AND BROKERS,

No. 40 BROAD STREET.

Stocks, Bonds and Gold bought and sold on commission.

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

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, Dec. 30, 1871, will close at this office on Tuesday at 11 A. M., on Wednesday at 10 A. M., and on Saturday at 11 A. M. P. H. JONES, Postmaster.

SUFFRAGE CONVENTION AT WASHINGTON.

The National Woman Suffrage and Educational Committee will hold a Convention at Lincoln Hall on the 10th, 11th and 12th of January, for the purpose of urging upon Congress the passage of a "Declaratory act" during the coming session.

Friends of Equal Rights are earnestly invited to make early arrangements for being present at this most important gathering.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, President.

ISABELLA BEECHER HOOKER, Chairman of Ex. Com.
JOSEPHINE S. GRIFFING, Secretary.

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).—Thursday, 8 P. M., at No. 10 Stanton street.

Section 8 (German).—Sunday, 3 P. M., at No. 53 Union avenue, Williamsburgh, L. I.

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

Section 10 (French).—First 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. 15 E. 38th street.

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

Section 22 (French).—The second and fourth Friday in each month, 8 P. M., at Constant's, 68 Grand street.

NOTICE.—Section 12, I. W. A.—The next meeting of this section, which will be a special one, will be held at 15 East Thirty-eighth street, Sunday evening, January 7, 1872. Members and friends are earnestly invited to attend.

WILLIAM WEST, Cor. Sec'y.

MRS. A. M. MIDDLEBROOK.

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

NOTICE TO CLERGYMEN.

We have recently been the recipients of numerous letters from clergymen in different parts of the Union asking our terms to them for the WEEKLY. In view of the greatly increased interest manifested by this class of citizens in the principles we advocate, since the Steinway Hall lecture, we take great pleasure in announcing that we will send the WEEKLY to them complimentary upon an application for it.

THE PRINCIPLES AND PROGRESS OF THE I. W. A.

Agreeably to our promise, we this week print the subjoined epitome, which applicants for information concerning the method of forming new sections will find useful. Orders from such persons for this number of the WEEKLY may be sent to the subscriber, at 44 Broad street.

WILLIAM WEST.

I.—THE PLATFORM.

The various Congresses held by the Association of Geneva, Lausanne, Brussels and Basle discussed and adopted the following points, which may therefore be said to form the programme of the International:

1. The total abolition of all class rule and all class privileges.
2. Complete political and social equality for both sexes.
3. Nationalization of the land and of all the instruments of production.
4. A reduction of the hours of labor, so as to allow more time for improvement and recreation.
5. Education to be undertaken by the State—to be obligatory, gratuitous and secular.
6. Religion to be ignored, as being a speculative subject concerning the individual. No religious differences or creed to be recognized.
7. The substitution of a direct system of taxation based upon property, instead of the present system of levying taxation upon industry; the taxation to be progressive.
8. The abolition of the standing army, as being a provocative to war.
9. The adoption of the principle of associative production, with a view to the complete supersession of the present system of capitalist production.

II.—HISTORY.

The first idea of this society appears to have originated during the course of the visit which a deputation of Parisian workmen paid to the Universal Exhibition of London in 1862. They had been sent over at the expense of their comrades to study the general condition of European industry, became acquainted with English workmen and initiated into the nature of Trade Unions, and discussed the subject of strikes. The idea naturally occurred to them that if the principle of co-operation in strikes was a good thing for the workmen when applied to one country, it would be far more effective when applied on a grander scale throughout Europe. The basis of an International Association was then proposed, whose members should engage themselves to support each other in all countries, whenever strikes should be deemed necessary in the interests of the working classes, and it was agreed that

A GREAT EUROPEAN MEETING OF DELEGATES

of workingmen should be held in London in 1864. The meeting took place on September 28, 1864, in St. Martin's Hall; but the original project had grown considerably in the interim, and assumed a much more revolutionary form than was at first designed. Various representatives of the Continental nations were present. They elected a committee, who were charged to draw up the statutes of the Association, and it was decided that a general congress of the working classes should be held in 1866, and that up to that period the committee should act as Central Provisional Council of the Association, and should sit in London. Of this committee Mr. Odger was elected President, and they drew up the statutes in accordance with the vote, prefacing them with a declaration of principles.

This declaration affirmed that the emancipation of the workingmen must be effected by the workingmen themselves. That the economic subjection of the workingman to the possessors of capital was the cause of his political, moral and material servitude. That every political movement should, therefore, be subordinated to his economical emancipation. That all efforts to arrive at this had hitherto failed through want of a common interest between the workingmen of every profession in every country.

The organization of the International, as finally settled, consists of—1. A General Council. 2. Federal Councils. 3. Sections. This organization is at once simple and strong. The Sections represent the type of the Commune; it is a federation of groups, each group being composed of the several sections and affiliated members of the same kind of industry.

THE FEDERAL COUNCIL

is composed of delegates elected by the various sections comprised in one federation; and is the intermediate body between the Sections and the General or Central Council.

Each member of the International pays two small yearly subscriptions; one subscription defrays the expenses of the federation, the other those of the General Council. It would take too much room here to detail the system adopted of local and general reports and other regulations of the society. It is sufficient to state that the sovereign legislative body of the association is the Congress which should be held every year. The General Council is merely the executive. Up to the present time there have been four Congresses. The first met at Geneva on the 5th of September, 1866; the second at Lausanne, on the 2d of September, 1867; the third at Brussels, on the 6th of September, 1868; the fourth at Basle, on the 6th of September, 1869. Last year, owing to the disturbed state of Europe, there was no Congress, but a private conference was held in London, Eng., in September last, the proceedings of which have already been printed in the WEEKLY.

III.—REVISED RULES AND ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS.

Considering,

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

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

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

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

That the emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in

which modern society exists, and depending for its solution on the concurrence, practical and theoretical, of the most advanced countries;

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

For these reasons—

The International Workingmen's Association has been founded.

It declares:

That all societies and individuals adhering to it will acknowledge truth, justice and morality as the basis of their conduct toward each other and toward all men, without regard to color, creed or nationality;

That it acknowledges no rights without duties, no duties without rights;

And in this spirit the following rules have been drawn up:

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

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

3. There shall annually meet a General Workingmen's Congress, consisting of delegates of the branches of the Association. The Congress will have to proclaim the common aspirations of the working class, take the measures required for the successful working of the International Association, and appoint the General Council of the Society.

4. Each Congress appoints the time and place of meeting for the next Congress. The delegates assemble at the appointed time and place without any special invitation. The General Council may, in case of need, change the place, but has no power to postpone the time of meeting. The Congress appoints the seat and elects the members of the General Council annually. The General Council thus elected shall have power to add to the number of its members.

On its annual meetings, the General Congress shall receive a public account of the annual transactions of the General Council. The latter may, in cases of emergency, convoke the General Congress before the regular yearly term.

5. The General Council shall consist of workingmen from the different countries represented in the International Association. It shall from its own members elect the officers necessary for the transaction of business, such as a treasurer, a general secretary, corresponding secretaries for the different countries, etc.

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

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

8. Every section has the right to appoint its own secretary corresponding with the General Council.

9. Everybody who acknowledges and defends the principles of the International Workingmen's Association is eligible to become a member. Every branch is responsible for the integrity of the members it admits.

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

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

12. The present rules may be revised by each Congress, provided that two-thirds of the delegates present are in favor of such revision.

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

REGULATIONS.

I.—THE GENERAL CONGRESS.

1. Every member of the International Workingmen's Association has the right to vote at elections for, and is eligible as, a delegate to the General Congress.

2. Every branch, whatever the number of its members, may send a delegate to the Congress.

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

4. The expenses of the delegates are to be defrayed by the branches and groups which appoint them.

5. If a branch be unable to send a delegate, it may unite with other neighboring branches for the appointment of one.

6. Every branch or group consisting of more than 500 members may send an additional delegate for every additional 500 members.

7. Only the delegates of such societies, sections or groups as form parts of the International, and shall have paid their contributions to the General Council, will in future be allowed to take their seats and to vote at Congresses. Nevertheless, for such countries where the regular establishment of the International may have been prevented by law, delegates of trades' unions and workingmen's co-operative societies will be allowed to participate in Congress debates on

questions of principle, but not to discuss or to vote on administrative matters.

8. The sittings of the Congress will be twofold—administrative sittings, which will be private, and public sittings, reserved for the discussion of, and the vote upon, the general questions of the Congress programme.

9. The Congress programme, consisting of questions placed on the order of the day by the preceding Congress, questions added by the General Council, and questions submitted to the acceptance of that Council by the different sections, groups, or their committees, shall be drawn up by the General Council.

Every section, group or committee which intends to propose for the discussion of the impending Congress a question not proposed by the previous Congress shall give notice thereof to the General Council before the 31st of March.

10. The General Council is charged with the organization of each Congress, and shall in due time, through the medium of the Federal Councils or Committees, bring the Congress programme to the cognizance of the branches.

11. The Congress will appoint as many committees as there shall be questions submitted to it. Each delegate shall designate the committee upon which he may prefer to sit. Each committee shall read the memorials presented by the different sections and groups on the special question referred to it. It shall elaborate them into one single report, which alone is to be read at the public sittings. It shall moreover decide which of the above memorials shall be annexed to the official report of the Congress transactions.

12. In its public sittings the Congress will, in the first instance, occupy itself with the questions placed on the order of the day by the General Council, the remaining questions to be discussed afterward.

13. All resolutions on questions of principle shall be voted upon by division (*appel nominal*).

14. Two months at latest before the meeting of the annual Congress, every branch or federation of branches shall transmit to the General Council a detailed report of its proceedings and development during the current year. The General Council shall elaborate these elements into one single report, which alone is to be read before Congress.

II.—THE GENERAL COUNCIL.

1. The designation of General Council is reserved for the Central Council of the International Workingmen's Association. The Central Councils of the various countries where the International is regularly organized shall designate themselves as Federal Councils, or Federal Committees, with the names of the respective countries attached.

2. The General Council is bound to execute the Congress resolutions.

3. As often as its means may permit, the General Council shall publish a bulletin or report embracing everything which may be of interest to the International Workingmen's Association.

For this purpose it shall collect all the documents to be transmitted by the Federal Councils or Committees of the different countries and such others as it may be able to procure by other means.

The bulletin, drawn up in several languages, shall be sent gratuitously to the Federal Councils or Committees, which are to forward one copy to each of their branches.

In case the General Council should be unable to publish such bulletins, it shall every three months send a written communication to the different Federal Councils or Committees, to be published in the newspapers of their respective countries, and especially in the International organs.

4. Every new branch or society intending to join the International is bound immediately to announce its adhesion to the General Council.

5. The General Council has the right to admit or to refuse the affiliation of any new branch or group, subject to appeal to the next Congress.

Nevertheless, wherever there exist Federal Councils or Committees, the General Council is bound to consult them before admitting or rejecting the affiliation of a new branch or society within their jurisdiction; without prejudice, however, to its right of provisional decision.

6. The General Council has also the right of suspending, till the meeting of next Congress, any branch of the International.

7. In case of differences arising between societies or branches of the same national group, or between groups of different nationalities, the General Council shall have the right of deciding such differences, subject to appeal to the next Congress, whose decision shall be final.

8. All delegates appointed by the General Council to distinct missions shall have the right to attend, and be heard at, all meetings of Federal Councils or Committees, district and local Committees and local branches, without, however, being entitled to vote thereat.

9. English, French and German editions of the general rules and regulations are to be reprinted from the official texts published by the General Council.

All versions of the general rules and regulations in other languages shall, before publication, be submitted to the General Council for approval.

III.—CONTRIBUTIONS TO BE PAID TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL.

1. An annual contribution of one penny per member shall be levied from all branches and affiliated societies for the use of the General Council. This contribution is intended to defray the expenses of the General Council, such as the remuneration of its General Secretary, costs of correspondence, publications, preparatory work for Congresses, etc.

2. The General Council shall cause to be printed uniform adhesive stamps representing the value of one penny each, to be annually supplied, in the numbers wanted, to the Federal Councils or Committees.

3. These stamps are to be affixed to a special sheet of the livret or to a copy of the rules which every member of the association is held to possess.

4. On the 1st of March of each year the Federal Councils or Committees of the different countries shall forward to the General Council the amount of the stamps disposed of, and return the unsold stamps remaining on hand.

5. These stamps, representing the value of the individual contributions, shall bear the date of the current year.

IV.—FEDERAL COUNCILS OR COMMITTEES.

1. The expenses of the Federal Councils or Committees shall be defrayed by their respective branches.

2. The Federal Councils or Committees shall send one report at least every month to the General Council.

3. The Federal Councils or Committees shall transmit to the General Council every three months a report on the administration and financial state of their respective branches.

4. Any Federation may refuse to admit or may exclude from its midst societies or branches. It is, however, not empowered to deprive them of their International character, but it may propose their suspension to the General Council.

V.—LOCAL SOCIETIES, BRANCHES AND GROUPS.

1. Every branch is at liberty to make rules and by-laws for its local administration, adapted to local circumstances and the laws of its country. But these rules and by-laws must not contain anything contrary to the general rules and regulations.

2. All local branches, groups and their committees are henceforth to designate and constitute themselves simply and exclusively as branches, groups and committees of the International Workingmen's Association, with the names of their respective localities attached.

3. Consequently, no branches or groups will henceforth be allowed to designate themselves by sectarian names—such as Positivists, Mutualists, Collectivists, Communists, &c., or to form separatist bodies, under the name of *sections of propaganda*, &c., pretending to accomplish special missions distinct from the common purposes of the Association.

4. Article 2 of this division does not apply to affiliated trades' unions.

5. All sections, branches and workingmen's societies affiliated to the International are invited to abolish the office of president of their respective branch or society.

6. The formation of female branches among the working class is recommended. It is, however, understood that this resolution does not at all intend to interfere with the existence or formation of branches composed of both sexes.

7. Wherever attacks against the International are published, the nearest branch or committee is held to send at once a copy of such publication to the General Council.

8. The addresses of the offices of all International Committees and of the General Council are to be published every three months in all the organs of the association.

VI.—GENERAL STATISTICS OF LABOR.

1. The General Council is to enforce Article 6 of the rules relating to general statistics of the working class, and the resolutions of the Geneva Congress, 1866, on the same subject.

2. Every local branch is bound to appoint a special committee of statistics, so as to be always ready, within the limits of its means, to answer any question which may be put to it by the Federal Council or Committee of its country or by the General Council.

It is recommended to all branches to remunerate the secretaries of the Committees of Statistics, considering the general benefit the working class will derive from their labor.

3. On the 1st of August of each year the Federal Councils or Committees will transmit the materials collected in their respective countries to the General Council, which, in its turn, is to elaborate them into a general report, to be laid before the Congresses or Conferences annually held in the month of September.

4. Trades' unions and International branches refusing to give the information required, shall be reported to the General Council, which will take action thereupon.

5. The resolutions of the Geneva Congress, 1866, alluded to in Article 1 of this division, are the following:

One great International combination of efforts will be a statistical inquiry into the situation of the working classes of all civilized countries to be instituted by the working classes themselves. To act with any success, the materials to be acted upon must be known. By initiating so great a work, the workingmen will prove their ability to take their own fate into their own hands.

The Congress, therefore, proposes that in each locality where branches of our Association exist the work be immediately commenced, and evidence collected on the different points specified in the subjoined scheme of inquiry; the Congress invites the workingmen of Europe and the United States of America to co-operate in gathering the elements of the statistics of the working class; reports and evidence to be forwarded to the General Council. The General Council shall elaborate them into a report, adding the evidence as an appendix. This report, together with its appendix, shall be laid before the next annual Congress, and after having received its sanction be printed at the expense of the association.

General scheme of inquiry, which may, of course, be modified by each locality. 1. Industry, name of. 2. Age and sex of the employed. 3. Number of the employed.

4. Salaries and wages; (a) apprentices; (b) wages by the day or piece-work; scale paid by middle men. Weekly, yearly average. 5. (a) Hours of work in factories. (b) The hours of work with small employers and in home work, if the business be carried on in those different modes. (c) Nightwork and daywork. 6. Meal-times and treatment.

7. Sort of workshop and work; over-crowding, defective ventilation, want of sun-light, use of gas-light, cleanliness, &c. 8. Effect of employment upon the physical condition.

9. Moral condition. Education. 10. State of trade: whether season trade, or more or less uniformly distributed over the year, whether greatly fluctuating, whether exposed to foreign competition—whether destined principally for home or foreign consumption, &c.

PRICES CURRENT.

MARRIAGE.—Love at wholesale—price from a mill to a million, with board and clothes—often terminating in a mill. Decreasing demand. The hire law creates great prostration in the market.

PROSTITUTION.—Love at retail. Prices rule higher, and consumers suffer, as is always the case with the poor, who are compelled to live from hand to mouth. Great changes in the market, from extreme activity to deep depression, but never complete stagnation.

FREE LOVE.—No sale. Much inquiry among the bulls, but market bare. Great complaint that this article can be dealt in only in kind, and not for cash or bonds.

"Love and love only is the loan for love,"

is a "Night Thought" which embarrasses Young dealers new to the business, and restricts transactions. As to experienced operators in the streets, so few have anything left over of the real article, or any margins above old mortgages and other liens and obligations, that they are astounded and put to their wits' ends how to procure what money cannot buy, or what at all events inflexibly requires this very scarce collateral.

T. C. L.

THE MURDER OF ROSSEL AND HIS COMRADES.

They took their way to the Satory camp
On that bleak November day;
Few were about to see the sight
Or to follow the deadly way,
For the thing was done like a guilty deed
That dared not brook delay.

On they went to the place of blood,
Three of those heroes bold,
Who dared to die, but not disgrace
The cause they had vowed uphold;
And their blood must flow for their daring deeds,
And their bodies soon lie cold.

Two were men of the rough hard type,
Who always are easy led
To strike out a bold adventurous course,
Although it be writ blood red,
And do not shrink from the cruel task
Because of the storms ahead.

One was a man of a milder type,
Polished, and good, and pure,
Such as the truest of martyrs are,
Ready to do and endure,
But will not yield to the rage of man,
For their hearts are firm and sure.

His was the soul to think and plan,
To rule by the power of mind,
To draw all things to the common good
And every faction blind;
Too pure to lead such a motley crowd,
By sorrow and pain half blind.

Oh! ye who attacked our hearths and homes
Who drew us to the fight,
Ours is the pain of a great defeat,
But ours is the cause of right;
Yours was the victory in that hour,
But only by cursed might.

Firm they stood to receive the shots,
Fired by their comrades' hand,
Men who ne'er flinched in the hottest fight
Slendered to see them stand
So calmly erect to meet their death,
While others were quite unmanned.

None dared speak in that solemn hour
Of pain or of conscience' smart;
They knew there was more in that dauntless mien
Than could come from a traitor's heart;
And so with a silent awe they stood
Till body and soul should part.

Oh! when the Judge of the World shall come,
In that awful Judgment Day,
Whose shall the blame of that slaughter be,
Or who shall the reckoning pay?
For the God of Heaven who saw the deed
Will not His vengeance stay.

Let us not pause on the bloody scene,
Or their cruel uncalld-for fate;
Far better to die as these martyrs died,
At their much-loved city's gate,
Than live to see it enslaved by those
Who had sworn to preserve the state.

Friends, ye have taken your noble dead
And laid in the silent tomb;
Oh! ye have wept for that bitter day
And that cruel, uncalld-for doom;
But the light will spread and the day soon come
To dispel this awful gloom.

Paris! thou shrine of advancing thought,
Still shalt thou lead the world;
Learn by the fate of thy noble sons
Where thy foes would wish thee hurled;
But thou shalt rise in thy might once more
With the blood-red flag unfurled.

Still there are thoughts for thy sons to know,
By lessons they've learned with pain;
For many had joined the noble cause
Only their ends to gain,
And so had disgraced that bright-red flag
By a black and filthy stain.

Ferre and Bourgeois were bold and brave,
And calmly met their fate,
But though they died in a noble cause
On their heart was a heavy weight,
For their cause was not wholly pure
Nor their vengeance free from hate.

It was not so with that other one
Who fell in that vengeful time;
For Rosset's fault was to do his best
To check every hideous crime;
And yet he was shot in that cruel hour,
In his early manhood's prime.

Shed no tears o'er his last long sleep,
For his soul is with God above;
And swear no vengeance over his tomb,
For he died in his Saviour's love,
And that heart, like a lion's in the battle's strife,
Could be soft as the gentle dove.

Thou hadst the make of a leader of men
In that form and soul and brain;
Had they but left thee pardoned and free
Thy country's had been the gain,
For the nation once more might have stood erect,
Free from all foreign stain.

One last farewell to the hero brave
Who died in his manhood's prime,
And one sad look at his early grave
And the scene of that awful crime;
But his was the death of a soldier brave,
Though it came not in battle time.

Paris, thou bledest from many a wound,

Dealt both by foe and friend,
But thou must endure for a little while,
And thy suffering soon will end,
Then thou shalt rise like a city of men,
And thy hideous shackles rend.

But oh! in the dawn of thy free-born life
Forget not this dreadful year!
Remember the cause of thy falling now,
And hold every lesson dear;
Leave malice and lust for the slaves around,
But keep all thy record clear.

Forgive the men who have slain thy chief,
As he died at peace with all,
But let the lesson of that pure life
Sound like a bugle call,
To lead us all in the noble path,
E'en if like him we fall.

Then cast the flowerets over his grave,
Still keeping his memory pure,
And as in our daily paths we tread,
Like his let our feet stand sure;
So though he's dead the tale of his life
Shall ever and aye endure.

WILLIAM BUFORD.

December 16, 1871.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Our correspondence column admits every shade of opinion; all that we require is that the language shall be that current in calm, unfettered social or philosophical discussion. It is often suggested that certain subjects should be excluded from public journals. We think that nothing should be excluded that is of public interest. Not the facts but the style to determine the propriety of the discussion.

We are in no wise to be held answerable for the opinions expressed by correspondents.

N. B.—It is particularly requested that no communication shall exceed one column. The more concise the more acceptable. Communications containing really valuable matter are often excluded on account of length.]

"THIS SAME JESUS."

Said the two shining ones to those gathered around, as he ascended and was caught away from their vision, "Shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into Heaven."

Was this the self-same Jesus who hung upon the cross in all the agonies of intense torture and anguish of spirit, who was crucified, dead and buried? Yes, the very same. But "flesh and blood cannot enter the kingdom of God," eh? Neither doth corruption inherit incorruption; therefore the Christ that ascended above all principalities and powers was the spiritualized Jesus.

The corruptible body of flesh and blood dissolved and returned to its original elements; for the natural fiat is—"Unto dust shalt thou return."

But the spirit cannot be confined within the narrow limits of the strong tomb. The ancient seer had prophesied "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell (grave), neither shalt thine holy one see corruption;" for it is an elemental law that the more refined and purer rises above the grosser, so that the spirit of Jesus ascended because it was not "possible for death to hold him."

Was it the fleshly body, then, which was received by a cloud from the gazing vision of the group on the Mount of Olives, or was it not rather a substance in precisely the same form as the natural body highly spiritualized, the reflection and express image of His person? There is a natural body and there "is a spiritual body." Then, as it could have been a spiritual body only that went away, it is by this spiritual substance only that this "very same Jesus" can ever come again.

The apostle who was favored with so many spiritual interviews with the Divine One well understood this, we think, hence on one occasion just subsequent to one of these same transforming seances he breaks out: "I have determined, henceforth, to know no man after the flesh. Yea, though I have known Christ after the flesh, yet henceforth know we him no more." Were we asked the reason we should be very likely to answer in the language of this same spiritualist—"The flesh profiteth little, the spirit giveth life."

So come, my brothers of the modern advent fatalist school, give up your vain pursuit of the shadow and grasp with us the substance, for it is the things which are not seen—the spiritual—that are eternal; and to be fleshly-minded is death, but to be spiritual-minded is life and peace.

Passing one of our churches of Evangelical worship on a beautiful Sunday morning we entered, just as the crowded congregation standing were just raising their first song of praise, and our soul aspirations floated off immediately in union with the sweet harmony prevailing.

How refreshing to the spirit, wearied with the week's turmoil and disappointments, is the harmony of spirit voices. At once we were blessed.

But the text. It was well chosen. "There is joy in the presence of the angels over one sinner that repenteth."

And is it so, that we, and even sinners worse, perhaps, than ever Paul, the persecutor, ever was—aye, and the Magdalens of the most abandoned cast—are the subjects of so much angel solicitation and concern?

It sounded encouraging to us to hear so free and hearty endorsement from an Orthodox pulpit of the ministrations of angels, their constant attendance on us, and their increasing interest in our welfare. And when, in the height of his eloquence and from the depths of his spirit, he declared that "Jesus was equally as real and even more powerful to-day than in the days of his flesh; that spiritual beings are now in this audience chamber; angels are hovering round; our loved ones are still with us, and, were our spiritual vision more clear, more pure, we should see them threading their way and flitting all through this vast, devoted congregation," our soul responded heartily, "Yes, there is a spiritual world, and it is all about us."

We knew by the lighting up of many faces and the magnetic responses of emotion perceptible and felt through the audience that to many, though they would hardly like to be termed "spiritualist," yet the fact presented to them so earnestly in their own church was, to say the least, cheerfully welcome to them.

Since our inadvertent visit to that musical congregation and witnessing, nay feeling, the happy effect upon them of that "sermon," from so hope-inspiring a text, we feel more

hopeful and fully assured that the prevalence of a purer and purifying spirituality is humanity's only effectual redemption.

REICHNER.

A LEARNED MAN—"YES, A VERY LEARNED MAN."

PRINCETON, Wis., December 10, 1871.

To the Editor of Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly:

We, as a society, have thought best to inform you, and if you think best, others, through the columns of your paper, of our efforts in the cause of Women's Suffrage.

Believing that, as American citizens, we have the right to vote, we concluded to take the preparatory measures. Accordingly, on the appointed day, sixteen ladies presented themselves for registration. Upon making their business known the chairman of the board informed them that they were not citizens, and he could not allow them to register their names.

One of the ladies asked him what they were if not citizens, and he replied *only females*. He was forced to listen to the reading of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, when he showed his ignorance by calling it only "some trash, sent out to deceive the poor ignorant people."

He would listen to no discussion of the subject, but utterly refused to allow them the privilege of registering.

Perhaps it is but just to say that the board was Democratic.

Mrs. Ione Dantz Bently is President of the Club.

A MEMBER.

BASIS OF RIGHTS.

The great business of the philanthropist is not only to mitigate human suffering, but to establish those causes which shall forever contribute to the welfare of the oppressed. The basis of all human rights is intelligence and virtue, which, applied to the elective franchise, does not confine it to sex or color. We can never be truly emancipated until we have grasped the great central truths of the universe—until we are developed and educated. We can never act wisely without wisdom, thus it follows to "get wisdom" and "understanding" is the great business of life and the sure road to the attainment of everything desirable.

If our birthright entitles us to liberty, it also entitles us to the means of attaining liberty, and makes the demand for education every way honorable, as being the basis of all our privileges and institutions, and the foundation of all our prosperity and happiness.

Whatever method is the best for the universal dissemination of knowledge and the attainment of wisdom, should receive our ardent sympathy and ample support, whether it be through the establishment of free schools, public lectures or the press.

But as we have all these various methods of communicating knowledge, and yet fail to act wisely or to be satisfied with our present results, and we have loud calls upon our sympathies in behalf of down-trodden and oppressed humanity. Only a short time since, Theodore Tilton inquired through the press—What can be done for the lower stratum of humanity? of whose degraded condition he drew a frightful and loathsome picture. We are perpetually plying to give our mite for the relief and support of young thieves and rag-pickers; and the throng of squalid, pale-faced children who imbibe their education from the streets of the city of New York, are frequently the comment of the papers who inquire what can be done with them, or how can crime be prevented, and how can we do away with filth, idleness and wretchedness, among the classes who have none to provide for their welfare?

The reply is very simple, and can be met on much easier terms and with far less cost than it takes to build and sustain Houses of Refuge, Asylums and States Prisons—with far less cost than the tax of supporting wars, the result of ignorance. This last war cost more than the amount necessary to have properly educated every child and every grown person in the land, not to mention the suffering and desolation which devastated our social firesides.

Let all of our free public schools be graded industrial schools, and the problem is solved; and let them furnish means for integral development, so that each child, man or woman who graduates through them will be capable of existing independent of all others—so independent, that if they should be cast on a desolate island, or should the earth be depopulated excepting one man and one woman, they could go on and replete the civilization commenced, having the art of existence developed within themselves. Every man and woman should attain such a point of individuality before they are allowed the elective franchise, and, combined with obedience to the requirements of God's laws, it should form the basis of rights.

M. MERTON.

ALMA, Wis., December 14, 1871.

Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly:

As a remedy for prostitution the marriage system has had its trial and its failure. Wherever marriage is prostitution is, except in a few theocracies like Utah. The reason is plain enough: the marriage system, as it exists among us, confines the woman to the house, and consequently excludes the man from any pure or permanent connection with the other sex until he is able to give some woman a house. Hence an enormous proportion both of men and women everywhere cannot marry; and the women thus situated, being out of the only business they understand, are miserably poor. Thus, both the demand for and the supply of prostitutes are created by the system which, at the same time, has the impudence to call itself a remedy for prostitution, because when an old rake marries he gets a woman all to himself, and is no longer obliged to expose his precious carcass to contagion. The only real remedy for prostitution is free love and co-operation in business. These agencies will make the majority of women independent producers, and the rest well-provided housekeepers, thus cutting off the supply, and will create a self-regulating condition of the sexual passion which will stop the demand as well.

Yours, etc.,

C. L. JAMES.

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

If "the agitation of thought is the beginning of wisdom" our modern society must certainly be about to blossom forth into a gorgeous display of wisdom; perhaps thereafter to

ripen its fruits in a state of ideal happiness and perfection. It would be difficult, at all events, to imagine thought to be more profoundly agitated than it is to-day. We have coming down upon us a perfect avalanche of new theories on all possible and impossible subjects. Every man one meets has got some pet scheme in his pocket; and about every third man is on the eve of leading expectant mankind straightway into the so-long promised land. The worst of it all being, however, that there are so many leaders there are no people left to be led.

One distinctive feature of Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly is that, as foremost among the progressive journals, it is naturally chosen as the vehicle for the introduction to the public of a great variety of these pet schemes and profound theories that are about to flood with light a much befogged world. We have first a theory of woman's rights. Then a theory of finance. Then again, a theory of free love. And somebody else has a theory about labor and capital. And floating around in society are theories diametrically opposed to the Woodhull & Claflin sort: some theories even that have partisans as well as propounders. All, moreover, have a certain infusion of truth, down even to the most absurd.

The one radically vitiating element in all these schemes and theories, however, is the fact that they attempt to treat isolatedly the several parts or phases of a problem which is really integral and indivisible. They are all professing to treat of social affairs, and yet all alike ignore the fact that society is a living organism, a vital unity. Men talk as though they were going to make society; they forget that it exists. It existed before them and will exist after them. Nay, it made them.

The essential point is that no social question can be treated isolatedly. Men may talk about it, and utter plenty of pretty phrases that will tickle the fancy, but a real solution is another thing. By a real solution I mean the discovery of the corresponding natural law. It has been well said that there is, or at least may be, a positive science of physiology, but there cannot be a separate science of the stomach, a separate science of the lungs or liver, or a separate science of great toe nails. So there is, or there may be, a positive science of sociology; but there cannot be any genuine science of political economy, nor a veritable science of the sexual relations, nor a separate science of labor organization. You may string together phrases on the several subjects or any others, but they will either have no meaning, or will be given the lie by the facts. Our professors of gastrology and hepatology, and of the sublime science of great toe-nails must, by the very nature of the case, ever be but quacks.

HENRY EDGER.

REMEDIES FOR SOCIAL EVILS.

I do fondly hope your paper (our paper) will not, like many others, harp upon our social evils without suggesting any remedies.

As a remedy for our social ills I would propose the founding of colonies or villages by the State or city governments, that should not be just like our poorhouses nor our asylums, our seminaries, hospitals or prisons; but an institution combining the good of all these. Let it be amply endowed and furnished with everything necessary for the comfort of all and the useful occupation of all able to work.

The principle is, that society should provide for all manner of distress that is brought on by the operations of nature.

As the propagation of our species is a function of nature, there should be ample provision for all the children and their mothers; an infant school, a dormitory and everything appertaining thereto. Let it be a refuge for all kinds of widows, orphans, imbeciles, aged and cripples, etc. And especially let it be a home for all sinners disposed to repent and reform.

To start this grand asylum the funds may be raised by a tax on bachelors or a change in the law of descent of property, so that none shall inherit property but children or those in a direct line of descent.

These ideas are made up from a little book written about the beginning of the present century, entitled "Equality: or A History of Lithonia;" a book I would recommend to all reformers, to be obtained at the Investigator office, in Boston, price 25 or 30 cents.

WM. GOULD.

Bates, Sangamon Co., Ill., Sept., 1871.

FEMALE SUFFRAGE.

ALEXANDRIA, Va., Dec. 13, 1871.

To the Editor of the State Journal:

I am truly surprised at your hearty indorsement of the cause of female suffrage. I had supposed myself almost as much alone on this question as I was in this State fifteen or twenty years ago on the question of emancipation or manhood suffrage. But I am finding sympathy and encouragement on all sides. Public sentiment in this State on this question is much more favorable than it was to emancipation in 1861, or to manhood suffrage in 1866; and yet, in two years from the dates given, both causes achieved a permanent victory. I mention these reminiscences for the reason that many people are, fortunately, more influenced by prospects of success than by the real character or beneficence of any movement. Will you be so considerate as to inform your numerous readers that the New York branch of the woman's suffrage people will hold a convention in Washington, on the 10th, 11th and 12th days of January next, at which time a general invitation is extended to all friends in Virginia and elsewhere. It will afford me much pleasure to introduce my acquaintances to the great men and women from all parts of our common country who will assemble then and there, with many of whom I have the honor of some personal knowledge.

But let us one moment consider the significance of this great question. It means temperance in place of drunkenness. It means purity in the place of licentiousness. It means education in the place of ignorance. It means official integrity in the place of plunder. It means the order and decorum of the parlor in the place of the confusion and violence of the bar-room and the corner grocery. It means peace in the place of war. In one word, it means the elevation of our civilization to a plane immensely above anything heretofore known or attainable in any other way.

And how simple and easy the means to be employed; so silent and simple as the great changes of nature in bringing on the spring in its beauty or the summer with its glorious growth, or the autumn with its ripened harvests. It is to be effected by simply allowing our mothers, sisters, wives and

daughters to drop a little envelope into the ballot-box as quietly as they now drop a letter into the post office. God speed the good time swiftly coming.

Sincerely your friend, JOHN C. UNDERWOOD.

FREMONT, IND., Sept. 2, 1871.

Woodhull & Claflin:

DEAR FRIENDS—I do hope you will be sustained in your great work. Suppose a large farmer should set a torch of fire to his grain and his haystacks, and give as his reason that he was exchanging them into coin. Suppose he would fund his money and his non-interest-bearing debts into interest-bearing debts.

Now if he were acting for himself, people would declare him insane; but if he was acting only as agent for another, and he should do such things, suspicion would fasten on him at once, and if they found him really insane they would send him to the asylum. But if not insane, and he should continue in such course, they would send him to State prison.

If A. T. Stewart's clerks should gather his goods from the shelf and burn them in the street, and they should also loan to outsiders (among whom are many of these very clerks) without one cent in consideration therefor, would not the courts, on application of Mr. Stewart, send those of his clerks whom they did not send to the insane asylum to State prison?

Why do Congress demand that this American people shall reverse all the rules of science and common sense when furnishing ourselves our money? They refuse money stamped on paper, because it is too cheap; and when coin costs one thousand times as much more, though it does not fill the function of money as conveniently as when on paper, they will contract to buy it, just because it does cost more.

Why follow the rule that the greater amount our money costs us, the greater value there is in it?

Suppose any man should follow such rule in the purchase of a farm or a horse, or any other article whatever, would not he be regarded as insane? Why, then, are we, the American people, required to furnish ourselves our money at rates giving the highest price instead of the lowest one?

Money is only a means to an end. It serves a like function under our trade and commerce as water does under our vessels, or wheels do under our railroad trains. And all will agree with me that he who should claim water and wheels would be the better by being more costly, would be so green that a frost would not be needed to bite him to make him rot.

The secret lies here. They who hold the world's bonds reap the world's coin annually and want to sell it. And while we hold, as Congress does, that the more we pay for coin the greater is its value, they can sell it at any figures they ask, as we are told those metals are worth more because they cost more.

Now when we acquire a little common sense on this question, and see that buying coin for money and paying a large price for it, on the foolish supposition that that makes it of greater value, we will attain a higher civilization than we now occupy when coin and royalty will have played out.

Yours, W. HOPKINS.

BUFFALO, Dec. 19, 1871.

Mrs. Woodhull & Claflin:

The truthful and outspoken articles appearing in your progressive and reformatory journal are attracting the attention of the people. Mrs. Woodhull's lecture here in November, on Woman's Right of Suffrage, has largely increased discussion on that topic, and the subject is being more earnestly considered than ever before by many of the most intelligent minds of the country. The people are evidently getting weary of the rule of "Rings," not only in politics, but also in social and religious affairs, and many are inquiring "what they shall do to be saved" from the "great damnation" of Mrs. Grundy's thralldom. Miss Claflin's article in your last WEEKLY, "Virtue, what it is and what it isn't," is to the point, and strikes the keynote of a reform more needed by woman than all others. What is for woman's best interest is best also for man, and God bless Tenny C. Claflin for her utterance of such brave and noble sentiments. While the good people all over the country are rejoicing at the downfall of Tammany thieves, it is to be hoped the cormorants and public plunderers connected with the General Government will not escape the consequences of their embezzlements and fraud. The financial operations of his honor, George S. Boutwell, Secretary, perhaps have not all been exactly on the "level." Though the word syndicate does not properly indicate sin, it is a queer sounding word, and much sin may have been committed in connection therewith. Why should Secretary Boutwell find it necessary to send his Assistant Secretary (Judge Richardson) with a bevy of clerks to Europe to negotiate the new government loan? Then, too, why is it that \$100,000,000 to a \$130,000,000 of the people's gold has been permitted to lie idle in the vaults of the government for the past two years while the country is so largely in debt? Has this vast sum in gold been idle, as supposed, or has it been used, all or in part, for loans or speculative purposes in Wall street? The influence of Secretary Boutwell retains a man in position here, as Depositary of Public Monies, who unblushingly acknowledges he has used thousands of dollars of the government's funds intrusted to his safe keeping for his own private business purposes! "Like master, like man." If Secretary Boutwell absolutely knows, as he does, that such nefarious use has been made of the people's money by a government officer, and does not take measures for such officer's removal and punishment, is it not reasonable to infer that rottenness may exist in the Treasury Department in Washington, in comparison to which the Tammany frauds are utterly insignificant? It is to be hoped that Congress will, by resolution, soon look into the affairs of the Treasury Department, and that a committee of the best men of that body be appointed to make such examination as the interest of the people demand.

SELAH.

NEW YORK, November, 1871.

Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly:

Brigham Young is to be tried for lasciviousness. He, it is alleged, is guilty of cohabiting with a plurality of wives, which, according to a recent act of Congress, is a penal offense in Utah. In the State of Missouri the same crime is legalized—women are required for promiscuous cohabitation, providing they submit to periodical medical examination. All men may cohabit with not only sixteen women (Brigham's number), but as many as they wish without license or any other stipulated conditions, except the possibility of its reaching the ears of their one chaste, confiding

wife. Why this distinction should be made between Utah and other portions of the country I cannot conceive. If lasciviousness be a crime in Utah, then it must be a crime also in Missouri or New York, and if it can be legalized at all then it can be no crime except by legislative enactments.

Can it be less degrading for a man to publicly acknowledge half a dozen women to be his wives to protect, defend and honor them as such, than to have one wife to whom he swears fealty and a dozen mistresses on the sly, whose condition as mistresses insures degradation, ruin and moral death, while he smiles with privileged complacency at the sure destruction of the licensed victims of his self-gratification?

If the animal so excessively predominates with the male sex that they cannot be controlled by the will and thus undue indulgences brings obloquy and ruin on their associates, would it not be far better to have these male necessities legalized as wives? The life of a woman set apart for promiscuous male intercourse is a fearful thing. The shrieks of the dying in the flames of a burning city may for a moment rend the heart, then all is hushed in the stillness of death. But the anguish of crushed hopes, of blighted love, of the scalding tear oozing from the stifled sigh, coursing down and dripping from the pale, sunken cheek in the unseen, lonely, melancholy hours of one lost to friends, hope, the world, buried in the living, reeking death of licensed lasciviousness? Rather let us away with the one-wife system and thousands of licensed conveniences. Away with one wife and mistresses on the sly. Enough of marital perjury, of killing paramours, of court trials of jealous assassins.

I have no sympathy with Mormonism, but I question the purity of their accusers. Their very judges may have their mistresses with impunity, or visit their licensed victims without reproval. Let us have consistency and justice alike in every State, and a law for the amelioration of women in our own corrupt city.

B. B.

Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull:

MADAM—I was surprised to find in a newspaper (not the WEEKLY), edited by a woman, the following, viz.: "Whether women have the right to vote under the Constitution, as now amended, is a question we are not prepared, if competent, to answer." I have been reading one of Thomas Jefferson's letters, dated at Monticello, September 20, 1810, and beg to submit an extract which may help those who are unable to comprehend great principles. He says:

"A strict observance of the written laws is doubtless one of the highest duties of a good citizen; but it is not the highest. The laws of necessity, of self-preservation, of saving our country when in danger, are of higher obligation. To lose country by a scrupulous adherence to written law, would be to lose the law itself, with life, liberty, property and all those who are enjoying them with us; thus absurdly sacrificing the end to the means."

It is plain to my mind that the writer of the Declaration of Independence and founder of our institutions regarded the welfare of the greatest number of people to be of higher value than the written law, and that if a majority of the people, whether men or women, desired to exercise a right, or a supposed right, that they could and would do so, thus proving that the will of the masses is law, nature's law, and above written law. The people ratify the Constitution records. The only inference that can be drawn from the foregoing, and in fact the only conclusion I can arrive at, is that women always had, have now, and ever will have the same right as men to the ballot. The only question that remains is, will they use it? The only answer, they will.

Respectfully,

C. H. POLLOCK.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 27, 1871.

Mrs. Woodhull & Claflin:

Mrs. C. Fanny Allen (or Allyn) has been speaking here under spirit control four Sundays, concluding yesterday. She was entirely unknown here, and I fear is less known elsewhere than her merits as a speaker (or rather those of her controlling spirits) render desirable. She speaks mainly or wholly from subjects selected by the audience; her education and experience have not been such as to account for the entire readiness and general thoroughness on the subjects elucidated. Her manner is that of a most finished, graceful and impressive orator. Yesterday evening, however, she far surpassed previous efforts, handling every subject presented with marked eloquence and ability. The climax, however, was reached in a dialogue in which she alternately personified the allegorical characters of "Alone" and "Charity." The action could not have been excelled.

She has drawn large, increasing and enthusiastic audiences, many of them members of churches, and many more who are not usually attendants on Spiritual lectures.

N. B.—I am not in the habit of going into ecstasies over lectures or anything else, as a general thing. My language fails to do justice to the subject.

A. C.

The grand and popular effort for the relief of sufferers by fire should be continued through the winter if necessary; and the benevolence so thoroughly aroused should not be allowed to flag till some of the chronic poverty, crime and suffering of the world shall be removed. Especially should the reformers see to it that the apostles of liberty are not allowed to die martyrs to the cause. Death by neglect is the next thing to murder. Is it not about time that the old fashion was played out, that of hemlock and the cross for the living and a monument and a "great white throne" for the same when dead?

Is it not pitiable to hear one pray for a speedy death, as Austin Kent has done, that he may cease to be a pecuniary burden to his friends? Many who do not indorse his social theories, in view of his great sincerity and his utter physical helplessness, have contributed liberally to his relief. No doubt they will be held in grateful remembrance by him, both in this world and in the world to come.

G. R.

Farmington, Mich.

WE find the following comprehensive statement, covering the whole question in the *Christian Union*, Henry Ward Beecher editor:

The right of suffrage is the right to make the laws on which our happiness depends; to determine what shall become of our property; to provide education and opportunity for our children; to guard our families from violence or vice; in short, to secure happiness for ourselves and children. Suffrage in America includes in it every natural right of man. It is a method of the exercise of the most sacred rights of human beings. While, then, society may regulate the mere incidents of this grand and central natural right as to times, places and manner, yet society did not confer it, and has no right to suppress it.

SAVE ME FROM MY FRIENDS.

There is an adage—"Save us from our friends!" Oh! save us from relations when their ends Conflict with ours. No stranger's enmity, However strong or vile it chance to be Can equal theirs; no statement is too base, So that they think 'twill brand you with disgrace. Who'll rake the depths of hell for defamation With half the pleasure of a near relation?

The nearer the relationship the stronger The natural tie may be, then all the longer The slandering will last. If you refute One scandal, lest it injure your reputation, Scarce will the echoes of it die away Ere they will wing another on its way; So laugh to scorn their petty machinations, Reply, when told, "Dear sir, they're my relations."

For bear in mind, whatever path you choose (Especially, if they have naught to lose), You cannot gain by taking the defensive Against a charge, no matter how offensive. A vindication, made however clear, Can, after all, but make it to appear That you are blameless of the imputations; Meantime you've spread the tales of those relations.

Remember, those who know you will not heed The calumny; therefore there is no need For proof—that is, so far as they're concerned. Remember also, hundreds who have learned The scandal never hear the refutation; So, after all, the clearest vindication Is little gain; then let your reputation Live down the scandals of each dear relation.

From "Frank Clay."

THE RADICALS AND CONSERVATIVES AS SEEN BY GEORGE STRONG.

While stopping in Boston a few days ago I overheard a conversation between two gentlemen, the substance of which was that there would be that night at a certain hall a meeting of the radicals and conservatives. I determined to go, and, therefore, as soon as night "drew her sable curtain around," I wended my way to the place designated.

There were two doors to the hall, at each one of which was stationed a radical and a conservative.

"One dollar admittance," said the radical, "the money to be expended towards a free public library."

"One dollar admittance," said the conservative, "the money to be expended towards founding a Presbyterian Theological Seminary."

"You're my man," said I, giving the first of these gentlemen a dollar, and then stepped forward to enter.

"Hold on, young fellow," they shouted in concert, "What is your opinion about the antiquity of man?"

"No one can enter here," said the conservative, "who believes that man is over six thousand years old."

"No one can enter here," chimed in the radical, "who don't believe he is over forty thousand."

"Whew!" I exclaimed, "what is a fellow going to do; gentlemen, I cannot honestly agree with either of you; I can't go much higher than fifteen thousand."

They both looked at me with the greatest contempt—one because he thought I went too high, and the other because he thought I did not go high enough. I told them that I was open to conviction by either party, but that at present I could not decide otherwise than I had. The conservative raised his hands with holy horror and said "that I could not go in unless I would have faith." The radical opened his door and said "that I could go in if I would study."

Passing in I found that the room was large and lofty. Through the middle of the floor, the whole length of the room, ran a chalk mark full three feet wide. On the right hand side were about two hundred persons of all colors, ages and sizes. They were most of them very intelligent-looking people; but some of them were dressed in odd styles, and all of them behaved in a very free and independent manner.

Some were lying down and some were standing up. One man was so sunk in Materialism that he was crawling about on all-fours. One individual loved nature and primitive habits so well that he was entirely naked. He had a dozen acorns in his right, and a bottle of spring water in his left hand. These, he said, were enough to support any reasonable man. Two persons were holding forth, with a great deal of rhetoric, about the seven spheres. One man was denouncing salt, swearing it was the curse of the world. Another had his hands full of something which I thought at first was mahogany sawdust. On examination, however, it proved to be Graham flour, the only stuff, he said, that was fit to make bread of.

Seven old fellows were loaded down with potatoes, beets, cabbages, turnips and squashes. They were praising up a vegetable diet, and everlastingly running down the meat eaters, who, in turn, were giving the vegetarians back as good as they sent. Most all denounced rum and tobacco, and all were in for the abolition of war.

Plato, Kant, Huxley, Darwin and Emerson appeared to be the favorite male authors. Mrs. Stanton, Home, Woodhull and Hooker the female; and each one expounded his favorite, with many variations and theories of his own. Most all of these Radicals were Women's Rights men, Free Religionists; and some—very few of them, however—Free Lovers, in the best sense of the word. They believed in the rights of all, irrespective of creed, sex or color.

A banner, on which was painted "Salvation by works," was extended upon the Radical side of the hall. The shelves on this side were filled with the Bibles of the world, and books, magazines, reviews and newspapers of all kinds. On the walls were pictures of steam engines and printing presses, telegraph instruments, ocean steamers and many other modern inventions and improvements.

I suppose it is scarcely necessary to add that these nervous, sanguine, excitable, intellectual and intelligent, morose and thoughtful, good-natured, kind-hearted and satirical crowd, were the Radicals.

Now let us take a look on the other side of the chalk

mark. You may know in an instant that these are all Conservatives, for they look as much alike as a row of Springfield muskets. There are one hundred of them and they sit in easy chairs, wrapped in senseless apathy. There was no more expression in their faces than there is in a Bologna sausage. They had no more individuality than a Dutch cheese or a clam shell. They had no more energy than a canal boat, nor so much idealism as a Government mule.

Once in about twenty minutes they opened their mouths all together and denounced woman's rights, free religion, divorce, all amusements, secret societies, witchcraft and long hair.

Then freeloivism in Women and Radicals; but they say nothing against it in Conservatives. Then they gave railroads, steamboats and the horrible secular newspapers a dig, and also the colleges and schools where science is taught that awful thing that leads to infidelity.

So on and on, once in twenty minutes, they speaking like a huge machine, denounce all together, in set phrase, some phase of progress.

On this side of the hall is a banner on which is painted, in large letters, "Salvation by Faith."

Behind them on the shelves was an immense pile of old moth-eaten Bible Commentaries, the newest one in the collection being "Scott's;" and also in a glass case, Mark Twain's Map of Paris, which had been soaked in tobacco juice to make it look old, and presented to them by a German wags as a map of the Holy Land, as it was from a *fanciful* simile captured in the Strasburg Library.

On the walls were pictures of old-fashioned agricultural implements; and a dilapidated stage-coach drawn along through the mud on an earth road by four pairs of sorry old plugs, at the prodigious rate of two miles an hour. In the distance was seen a scow rushing along through the raging canal.

They voted on woman suffrage, public fisheries, divorce, temperance, anti-tobacco, and many other questions. There were two hundred of the radicals and but half of that number of the conservatives, mind you. The radicals were all for progress, but the conservatives were not. Now see how a question was decided: Before they voted the conservatives consulted a commentary, and then they all voted together against progress as one man.

The radicals, if the question to be decided was one they were red-hot on, then they would vote; but if it was not, then they would not let each other vote, but they would make night hideous talking, each on his own particular hobby; sometimes a few would vote against woman suffrage if a few conservatives would go with them for the abolition of salt. By swapping around in this way the one hundred conservatives beat the two hundred radicals every time, or else it came to a tie; as an illustration, they would not agree to vote on the question of which was the best religion, because the radicals had so many, but they did finally agree to throw up a cent and abide, just as long as they were a mind to, by the decision.

Now, these two parties were afraid of being robbed by each other, so they had brought no money with them. Like most authors, I had but one single piece of money in my possession. I agreed to throw that up for them. The conservatives had the first choice, and of course said, "tails."

So it was "heads" for the radicals. Up I threw the money, down it came. It proved to be a very old Mexican quarter, and had been worn perfectly smooth on both sides.

After this the radicals passed a vote of thanks to Josh Billings for his rich article on Second Advents and Adventesses.

The conservatives passed a vote of censure on Mark Twain, because he had ridiculed their blessed Sunday-school books.

There was only one question on which these radicals and conservatives could agree, and that was this: "That Boston was the hub of the universe."

At 11 o'clock the meeting was broken up, and the radicals went home about their business, but the conservatives settled back in their chairs. There was to be a meeting on the following night; so they decided to stay where they were, so as to be in season, and it would save climbing three pairs of stairs. In the meantime, they sent out word to their wives to have them cook and bring up their suppers, not forgetting cards, cigars and a keg of Medford rum.

WHAT THE POETS SAY.

BY T. C. LELAND.

All the way down from the first dawning of rhyme, if not of reason, the poets, while adoring Venus and idealizing love, have had their flings at merely conventional, mercenary marriage. They have felt instinctively that outward ties, though ever so silken, and vows and bonds, though ever so lightly borne, were out of place, with so absorbing, self-binding a passion; and they have so expressed their inspired thoughts and scattered them all along the ages, though surrounded with an ignorant, materialistic, uninspired population. The ages are just beginning to come up with the poets, and their dearest love-gems can now be revived and read with manifold interest and appreciation.

It was a poet, as far as we have been able to trace its origin, who first made use of the word Free Love. It may be claimed that the honor should be accorded to Pope, when he transposes the words and makes Eloise write to Abelard:

"How oft, when pressed to marriage, have I said,
Curses on all laws but those which love has made.
Love, free as air, at sight of human ties,
Spreads his light wings and in a moment flies."

But it was left for Bailey, the author of "Festus," to use the word direct. In that most delightful love poem, published more than thirty years ago, of which Margaret Fuller said, "it contained poetry enough to set up fifty common poets," he makes Helen, the third of the several lovers of Festus, apostrophize Venus as

"Thou glory of Jove's free love skies!"

We shall dig up from the dusty and forgotten past some of this buried literature, and show that ancient sages and poets thought and wrote as we do; and that press and people, who are so very conservative of old thoughts and ancient doctrines, and who howl at us for desecrating the divinity institutions of the past, are spouting very unholy water over their own friends. Milton lost his Paradise whenever he married, and regained it when he didn't—and published an elaborate and convincing plea for divorce. Isaac Watts, who wrote hymns that the church will never let die, also wrote philippics on marriage that the priesthood will never let live, if they can help it. Bishop Percy solaced his literary hours in the collection and publication of songs and poems, some of which any churchman would be considered very "low" if he should publish them at this day, and the *demi-monde* might well exclaim, "How is that for high?"

But much as we know that the great poets—the writers whom the reading, thinking world cons, quotes and learns by heart, the "nascitur non fit" kind of poets—glorified and idealized love that is free, and lampooned and scorned that which is bought and sold, we confess to much surprise, and more delight at finding such a manifestation of Free Love as we discover in "The Last Tournament," the latest elaborate poem of Tennyson—a production of such power and interest, and by so famed an author, that the Harpers have taken special pains to procure advance sheets of it, and made unwonted haste to lay it before the million readers of their Journal of Civilization.

Now Tennyson, our readers should remember, is the Poet Laureate of England—that is, the Official Poet, the "Poet to the Queen," the poet selected, *par excellence* from all the living poets of the realm to receive royal honors and government endowment and support. He is probably as courtly and refined as Horace Greeley; as learned, orthodox and inspired as T. W. H. or H. B. B.; and, on the whole, as "smart" as anybody in the "Hub." Yet he is not afraid to tune his lyre to the very great delight of two Victorias and sing:

"Free love—free field—we love but while we may:
The woods are hush'd, their music is no more:
The leaf is dead, the yearning past away:
New leaf, new life—the days of frost are o'er:
New life, new love to suit the newer day:
New loves are sweet as those that went before:
Free love—free field—we love but while we may."

Nothing finer has been said or sung for our Victoria, and we hope Tennyson's appreciates and admires as ours does.

Now, two or three gems from "Festus" and we have done:

Oh! not the diamond starry bright
Can so delight my view;
As doth the moonstone's changing light
And gleamy glowing hue:
Now blue as heaven, and then anon
As golden as the sun,
It hath a charm in every change—
In brightening, darkening, one.

And so with beauty, so with love,
And everlasting mind;
It takes a tint from Heaven above,
And shines as it's inclined;
Or from the sun, or toward the sun,
With blind or brilliant eye,
And only lights as it reflects
The life-light of the sky.

FESTUS.—Poets are all who love, who feel great truths
And tell them; and the truth of truths is love.

Forgiveness? Let it be so; for I know not
What I have done to merit endless pain.
Is pleasure crime? Forbid it, God of bliss!
Who spurn at this world's pleasures, lie to God;
And show they are not worthy of the next.
What are Thy joys we know not—nor can we
Come near Thee, in Thy power, nor truth nor justice.
The nearest point wherein we come toward Thee
Is loving—making love—and being happy.

ELISSA.—Now, Festus, this is wrong.
FESTUS.—What? What is wrong?
Shall my blood never bound beneath beauty's touch,
Heart throb, nor eye thaw with hers, when her tears
Drop quick and bright upon the glowing brow
Plunged in her bosom, because, forsooth, it is wrong?
Let it be wrong! It is wrong, it is wretchedness
That I would lose both sense and soul to suffer.
ELISSA.—How dare we love each other as we do?
Thou lovest one whom thou ought'st not to love.
FESTUS.—And what of that? Love hath its own belief,
Own worship, own morality, own laws;
And it were better that all love were sin
Than that love were not. It must have by-laws,
Exceptions to the rules of earth and Heaven;
For it means not the good it doth, nor ill.

ELISSA.—I feared how it would end.
Can nothing less than sinning save the soul?
Can nothing but perdition serve to rest
Our hearts after so sweet a flight of love?
FESTUS.—The might and truth of hearts is never shown
But in loving those whom we ought not to love,
Or cannot have. The wrong, the suffering is
Its own reward.

THE CHRISTIAN PANDEMONIUM.

London is admittedly the most populous and opulent city in Christendom. Its nobility possess untold wealth; its merchants are princes; its churches point to heaven. In it are special colleges for the training of missionaries, who take the Gospel with them, and proclaim the same in heathen lands. Herein also are raised immense sums of money to carry out, in distant regions, works of religion, charity or mercy. A rigid glorious capital so far. Taking but a casual glance at what London presents to our view, and at what it accomplishes in the way of philanthropy, we are led to estimate it highly. Nevertheless, what ought to be an Arcadia or earthly paradise is none other than a Christian Pandemonium!

In this wealthy metropolis, where luxury and abundance display themselves perpetually before our dazzled vision, dwells a mass of foul, festering, pestiferous pauperism, which is a curse to the nation at large and a damning slur upon a Christian community.

The recipients of that State bounty which a wise and benevolent legislature has provided, and which is so amply, justly and nobly administered by Poor-law guardians and their underlings, just number 116,455; quite sufficient, one will think, for a single city. These may be classified thus: In-door paupers, 33,875; out-door, 82,580. In addition to these, about 1,100 vagrants weekly receive temporary—very temporary relief. But the actual paupers, or those whose chronic diseases of impecuniosity and destitution are treated by the parish, form but a fractional part of the impoverished denizens of this over-teeming city, where human life swarms thick as ants on a mole-hill. The poor of London cannot be computed. Yet one may form a tolerably fair estimate of their number. From one group of parishes we might judge of others. Not many days since the vicar of St. Mary Magdalene, Southwark, made a pithy and touching appeal in the *Times* on behalf of his parishioners. Therein the public are informed that the parishes south of the Thames, and in immediate proximity to the river—such as Lambeth, Southwark, Bermondsey and Rotherhithe—contain a population of something like three hundred thousand, "the most part of which are of the very poorest description." Then we are told the distressing truths that "the largest class of men consist of cobblers, brush-drawers, costermongers and water-side laborers, whose pay in summer is both small and precarious; and hence their miserable poverty in winter, at once almost too bad for belief, as well as harrowing to witness." And to what cause is this public appeal attributable?

Why to the non-residence of the wealthy employers of labor in those districts, who have betaken themselves to elegant suburban villas, spending but a few brief hours daily amid the smoke, dirt and din of impoverished neighborhoods. With such the old adage is realized, "Out of sight, out of mind." Then we are told that destitute mothers and starving children cry for bread; that the dwellings of the poor people are in a "dreadful state," being "fearfully overcrowded," engendering, naturally enough, vice, disease and death. In the parishes above named are fetid courts, and streets, and cellars which it were well did they but share the fate of Chicago, and from which only purgation by fire can stamp out fevers and other dire diseases that make hell have there. The puzzling question is asked—and who will consider himself bound to answer it, if but to his own conscience?—how are the keen wants of the starving poor to be met? Echo answers, "How?"

So much for a few adjacent parishes in one section of London. Will other districts in the south, the east and even the west compare favorably with those? We greatly doubt it. Nay, we are sure they will not. Then let the reader take in review the "Arabs" and thieves and the "grand army" from which these outcasts from society are yearly recruited. The superintendent of the East-end Juvenile Mission recently made a statement somewhat startling in its character—to wit, that five thousand homeless boys and girls came weekly under the notice of the managers of that institution, and during the brief period since its establishment fifty thousand children had been brought into contact with them. Some of these forlorn gamins are regularly hunted up by agents after midnight. We are assured that sometimes as many as fourteen boys have been found sleeping in one small room in some stifling lane or blind alley. Many poor lads lay out their last twopenny for a filthy bed, and go without supper. Lately as many as seventy youths, of various ages, were found one night lying in a lane called the "Shades," at the foot of London Bridge, covered up in crates. And in such weather, too! The bare thought is sufficient to chill us all over, make our eyes water and our hearts ache.

Last week, the Bishop of Winchester, that right reverend father in God, preached an inaugural discourse on the occasion of the reopening of St. Peter's Church, Southwark. He made no allusion whatever to the appalling physical destitution that surrounded him. That would not suit a bishop's lips, and would be sure to soil lawn sleeves. He referred, however, to the great and widening gulf that existed between rich and poor; told his auditory that the former indulged in a great deal of luxury, while among the latter existed much "social discontent." He stated that the workmen in great towns were not regarded as brothers, but rather as humble members of a guild, of which the rich man was the upper member. But, primarily, this good shepherd of the sheep dwelt upon the vast spiritual destitution that prevailed in this huge city. He inferred that this peculiar want produced the necessity for building more churches, as though there were not enough of them already—enough and to spare. The Bishop of Winchester, like his homed-tongued brother of London, is as wise as the serpent, if he be harmless as the dove. He knows full well that every new church set up in his diocese brings him so much patronage and privilege. If there come but very few souls to be saved, there will at least be so many more "inferior" clergy over whom he can domineer. Then an additional opportunity will be afforded him of preaching a charity sermon, or of blowing his own trumpet, or sounding his own praise and that of his mitred order, as his Lordship of London did in his "Charge" the other day. How odd it seems that shovel-hatted, petticoated prelates rarely preach except charity sermons for the repairing or building of churches. It is to the hard-working clergy is left the irksome duty of making known the sharp wants and keen sufferings of the famishing poor.

Last of all, look at the open and unblushing vice that obtains, and the terrible evils that pursue it—the Eumenides of nature to avenge its outraged laws. Thousands of women walk the streets for bread, who owe their wretched and miserable lot to the rascality of men who are called "gentlemen" because they belong to "good families" and move in high positions. The whole of society is tainted. It is rotten at the core. There is little soundness in it. If the *Saturday Review* and *Lady Mordaunt* are to be accredited, women in the upper ranks pride themselves upon their debauchery and general looseness of conduct. We have, we apprehend, adduced sufficient evidence to prove that London fairly warrants the title which we have placed at the head of this article.

SPLINTERS.

BY T. C. LELAND.

Macomb's Dam Bridge was again opened for travel yesterday. It is said to be now in a perfectly safe condition.— *Herald.*

Rather a profane way of putting it, but we suppose it is meant as speaking well of the bridge.

The great-grandfather of George I. had seven sons, all Dukes. They entered into a most extraordinary compact. Only one of the number was to contract a legal marriage.— *Herald.*

That was the orthodox, by-the-grace-of-God way of making royal love arrangements in those days—and, for that matter, ever since. No rule of the Church or law of the land ever stood in the way of Dukes and "sich." Our marriage laws have come down from just that crowd of people—binding upon us, but no law to them—and Horace Greeley would like to hold our noses to the old feudal grindstone, though long ago "busted up" as to everything else.

The former "belle of New Haven" is said to have been committed as an habitual drunkard in New Jersey. Perhaps she took to drink because when she was a belle her feelings were wrong.—*The World.*

Perhaps she was a church-going belle and never told her love.

In the windows of some of the confectioners there is to be seen a new and improved style of that old-fashioned institution, the "gingerbread wife." The modern article is coated with sugar into the semblance of a fashionable lady's dress, panier and all. The obvious advantage of a gingerbread wife over a real one is that it can be summarily disposed of without the process of divorce.—*The World.*

But the purchasers in both cases generally love their wives, when they are bright and new, enough to eat them up, and after they get old and musty, wish they had. Sometimes, too, the real wife does get literally "chawed up," and that very summarily disposes of the process of divorce. And sometimes the real article is as sham as the gingerbread one, and is coated with a sugar that isn't sweet into as many semblances as chignon, Greek bend, panier and all can make them.

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

WASHINGTON CONVENTION.

The National Suffrage Committee will hold a convention at Lincoln Hall, in Washington, on the 10th, 11th and 12th of January. All those interested in woman's enfranchisement are invited there to consider the "new departure"—women already citizens, and their rights as such secured by the 14th and 15th amendments of the Federal Constitution.

This view, presented in "The Woodhull Memorial" at the last session of Congress, was respectfully received, and a minority report of the Judiciary Committee made in its favor, which has been sanctioned by the opinions of some of the ablest constitutional lawyers and judges in the country.

Although this report has been before the nation nearly a year, no authoritative adverse opinions have as yet been rendered. It only remains, then, that the coming Congress pass a Declaratory act, and women citizens in every State of the Union will be able to vote for the next President without hindrance; their eligibility to this high office is already settled by the original Constitution—Art. 2, Sec. 4.

Let, then, the 15,000,000 women of this Republic rise up in their dignity and use these new-found liberties for their own personal freedom, and the salvation of their country. A united effort, now, and the day is ours; we shall not only vote for the next President, but, if true to ourselves, have a potent voice in determining who shall be nominated for that office.

The times are auspicious, party ties are broken, politicians are losing their hold on the masses, who have clearer ideas of human rights than ever before; and of all the vital issues now looming up for the party of the no distant future, there is not one so momentous and far reaching in its consequences as Woman Suffrage. Therefore we urge all friends of Equal Rights to be present and take part in the deliberations of the Convention.

Lucretia Mott, Ruth Care Denison,
Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Matilda Joselyn Gage,
Susan B. Anthony, Martha C. Wright,
Victoria C. Woodhull, Charlotte B. Wilbour,
Isabella Beecher Hooker, Laura Curtis Bullard,
Josephine S. Griffing, Olympia Brown,
Catharine A. F. Stebbins, Detroit, Mich.
Nannette B. Gardner,
Sarah Pugh, Philadelphia.
Maria Mott Davis, Philadelphia.
Mrs. Washington Bladen,
" Heoun Foster, "
" Dr. Mellen, "
Miss Stickney, "
" Carrie S. Burnham, "
" Carrie Avery Riddle, Washington, D. C.
" Florence Riddle Bartlett, "
" Sara J. Spencer, "
" Francis Henshaw Baden, "
E. D. E. N. Southworth, Georgetown.
Maria G. Underwood, Alexandria, Va.
Anna W. Bodeker, Richmond, Va.
Mrs. M. H. Arnold, Cheyenne, Wyoming.
" Amelia B. Rost, "
Esther Morris, ex-Justice of the Peace, Wyoming.
A. Frances Pillsbury, Charleston, S. C.
Mrs. P. Holmes Drake, Huntsville, Ala.
Hon. Mrs. Aaron A. Sargent, Nevada, California.
Laura De Force Gordon, "
Hon. Mrs. A. P. Eli, New Hampshire.
Mrs. Gov. Ashley.
Lavilla C. Dundore, Baltimore, Md.

THE COMING REVOLUTION.

To the fact that there are great undercurrents at work just beneath the outer surface of society and civilization, seeking some possible vent, no observing person can be oblivious. Wherever a few persons meet their conversation involuntarily turns upon some topic revolutionary to existing customs, forms and practices; but with this distinction, when compared to all past stages of incipient change: the topics are as various as the collective human interests. With all the variety of application to existing things, however, upon which attention is centred, there is a very remarkable concomitant fact to be observed, which is this: All the tendency to, and desire for, change, springs from a common cause: the dawning on the minds of the people of an idea of justice common to all divisions of the people, of whatever kind or form.

The word most revered of Christianity for many centuries pales before the searching eye of this uncompromising principle. A thousand things that have been accounted good and great and Christian cannot stand the application of this later development of the human soul. It will not do for people to longer be simply charitable, they must learn to be just. Charity has covered a multitude of sins; but justice shall soon require measure for measure in all things. Under its reign everybody will come to learn the true, the direct, the only safe way in which to walk, since to deviate therefrom will be to encounter rough ways hedged with brambles and strewn with thorns.

Charity hath heretofore dealt leniently with her subjects. In her mantle of whiteness, purity, and thoughtless innocence, she has given too great allowances for the weaknesses, the smallnesses and the diseases of those who could, for the time, cover their failures with well-feigned regrets. In her unsuspecting simplicity she has been most grossly deceived, and in dispensing her largesses has too frequently sacrificed right to tenderness.

The world has advanced beyond the age for charity to be its watchword and guide—beyond the midground in which it should legitimately have sway. It must and will be replaced by a larger virtue—by its natural successor. Charity is born of the sentiments, of the affectional element of human nature. These, when operating unmodified by guiding rules, minister injustice upon all sides. In the charity that places right upon the altar of sacrifice is concealed the bane of the future, since humanity begins to see beyond the superficial, down deep into the very essence of being.

If justice be inaugurated, where may we naturally look for it to begin its work of readjustment? All evolution is threefold—material, intellectual, and spiritual. Justice will then begin its work in the material relations of humanity, and its stern decrees will reach and terrify many a person who has never dreamed of being less than just in all his dealings. Many, when it shall summon, will answer: "Have I not always kept the law faithfully; dealt as I have agreed; rendered to every man according to the tenor of our contract; even given much alms to the needy poor? But all these will not suffice, justice will reply: these are but things written down in the law that you should do, and which, not doing, you had been compelled. There is an unwritten law, deeper, broader, higher and all-comprehending and more important, inherent in the human soul, to which your reverence for the written law has made you blind. In your strictness to meet all the requirements of the law you forget to think that there is a God whose edicts are paramount to them all, and by which all cases over which the laws of men have held jurisdiction shall be supplemented, revised or reversed. And it must and will call all men to account. In nature there is no escaping exact compensation. Everybody knows that. But almost everybody is foolish enough to imagine that in humanity there may be some escape, even if it be by so small a one as through repentance, forgiveness and substitution. We often wonder if those people with whom circumstances have conspired to favor the accumulation of the products of "the sweat of the brow" and "the wear and tear of the muscle" ever stop to think to whom, in a strict sense of justice, these aggregations belong. There can scarcely be any so far from comprehending the situation as to contend that they are justly entitled to that which thousands have expended all their lives in producing, and especially when they never lifted a muscle themselves for its attainment.

They reason superficially who arrive at the conclusion that, because they have been surrounded by more favorable circumstances than thousands of others have, permitting them to possess themselves of what the thousands produced, it is theirs absolutely. It is a notorious fact that the accumulated wealth of the world is aggregated in the hands of the few who did not produce it—in the hands of those who for some reason—by some trick or law—have been able to take these products from the possession of the laborers, and concentrate them for their own selfish purposes. It does not matter in what manner wealth has been aggregated by non-producers it has been taken from those to whom it belonged, and it may be twisted and excused in whatever way it please its possessor, the fact can never be escaped.

Let it for a moment be supposed that all the wealth of the world was distributed among those who produced it, what a changed condition there would be! But would not this be the just condition—the only possibly just condition? What business has one person to what another by his labor has produced, even if he were "hired" to perform

the labor? Does that fact stamp the process with the seal of justice? Nothing can be more unsound than such an argument. It may be earnestly protested that "All these things have I done from my youth up," and still the stern verdict will be, "Yet one thing thou lackest. Go, sell all thou hast, and give to the poor, and come and follow me."

We believe that the age of justice is about to be inaugurated, and it is with the kindest of feeling for those who must come before its tribunal in material things, that we continue to endeavor to impress these truths. It is coming, and cannot be avoided, and blessed will those be who, when it shall come, shall not be found wanting; who shall not be unprepared.

It may as yet be impossible to predicate in what precise form this shall come. If the wealthy would be wise, they would anticipate its coming by rendering up accounts of their stewardships, and having their settlements ready to present for acceptance when demand is made. They should come forward and show their willingness to render justice—should propose even and easy means of transition from the present unjust conditions to such as Christ taught and lived, when "They had all things in common." Besides being professors of Christ and his doctrines, let them become doers of his works. Theoretical Christianity has run its race. It has dressed in fine linen and fared sumptuously every day quite too long. It is time that the inquiry should begin to be made, "Who is my neighbor?" and having received the answer, "Humanity," for preparation, by practical methods, for its complete recognition.

By these means only can we hope to escape the gathering tide of neglected, down-trodden humanity, everywhere straining its nerves for better conditions, everywhere demanding redress for its grievances, everywhere coming into the recognition that it has been robbed of its own. The wealth of the world cannot afford to ignore these efforts, be deaf to these demands or indifferent to this knowledge. *Its own safety* depends upon immediate action, which has been already too long delayed, perhaps too long to escape the vengeance of the outraged and neglected ties of a common brotherhood.

PLYMOUTH CHURCH AND ITS PASTOR.

"New occasions teach new duties; time makes ancient good uncouth;
They must upward still and onward who would keep abreast of truth."
—JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

Everybody in the world has heard of Henry Ward Beecher, and almost everybody has done so to honor and respect him. Perhaps there is no single person in the world who has the ready command of so great and extended an influence as he, and this in spite of all his radicalism in theology. A careful-observer of his course can but come to the conclusion that he has pretty nearly discarded theories and transferred his allegiance to truth and principles; nor can it be doubted that he has many things to say to his disciples that they cannot yet bear to hear, since this is true of all reformers, in all departments of life.

But with all that can be said of Mr. Beecher—of his outspokenness upon things religious, of the power he possesses to sway his audiences, of his great research, learning and intuition—it must have been remarked with not a little surprise that he felt called upon to explain, in a letter to the *Tribune*, his late reference, made in a Sabbath discourse, to Spiritualism; and almost everybody who has admiration for him must have felt a sensible diminution of it upon reading that letter.

We have reasons to know that there have been somewhat remarkable table-tipping and wrapping manifestations in Plymouth Church, under the influence of his preaching; and it may justly be inferred that the remarks made by him regarding Spiritualism were directly attributable to those manifestations; and if they were it is impossible to regard his attempt to ignore them, and all other material manifestations, by raising distinction as to the particular kind and character of Spiritualism which he accepts with anything short of astonishment.

That the table used by the unseen influences has been removed from the church, is also another fact which those who have confided in his devotion to truth for its own sake, let it be what it may and lead where it may, may well regard with suspicion as to the truth of the foundation of their confidence. If the spirits did act upon the table as a means of calling attention to their presence, why should they not have been permitted to continue their efforts until they had accomplished their wishes—namely, their identification.

Plymouth Church is destined to enact a great role in the cause of spiritual truth, and all that may be done to shut it back will only make the denouement all the more startling when it shall come. There is but one manly way to meet all such things, in fact, to meet all things of which life is made up; with a bold heart and a cool head. Nothing which is truth, principle and right in the sight of heaven can harm anybody, no matter how startling and unpopular it may for the time be. Generally, the more unpopular a thing is at its beginning the more potent it becomes, and more enthusiastically it is accepted when it obtains a hold upon the hearts of the people. It requires a true moral courage, however, on the part of its apostles to stand before the denouncing, ignorant and hypocritical world to introduce it; but that they are so can be no possible excuse for the want, on the part of the individual, of the courage to advocate it. Herbert Spencer has said in substance: That if a person be intrusted by God with a truth new to the world, and he fail

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to become its advocate and champion, he not only proves recreant to the high trust reposed in him, but also unworthy to be classed among the world's teachers. Under this rule it should be the particular ambition of everybody to present the truth with which God has intrusted him. And every word spoken by everybody has a background, if not a fore-front of truth; and this is always made apparent by the after illumination, where early attempts are made to cover, hide or pervert it from its full application.

We say that with all the means there are at hand in this country to be convinced of the reality or falsity of the claims of Spiritualism, it is a great shame for ministers of the Gospel of Christ to stand up in their places before the people and innocently tell them, either that it is all humbug, without having the proof of it, or that they are not sufficiently informed upon the subject to give a positive opinion. It seems to us that the first duty of every minister in the land is to investigate this matter to the very greatest extent. All Spiritualists court it; and all mediums desire it. If our advice were to be desired upon the subject, we should say that the churches cannot afford to ignore these things any longer—that is, if they desire to exist as institutions for another decade. And we would have been more than pleased had Mr. Beecher taken a bold and determined stand when the opportunity was given him to become the head of the introduction of actual spirit life into the lifeless creeds and defunct theories of our established Churches. But if he reject the opportunity some one else, with more moral courage and more devotion to the truth, will be selected and assigned to that post of honor; which Mr. Beecher cannot afford to permit. We hope the spirits, deprived of their table already prepared, will come in still more palpable and potent form and compel attention to their behests; and in such manner as to make it impossible for either pastor or people to ignore them.

RELIGION—THE INTERNATIONAL.

Last week we gave up a great portion of our space for the purpose of presenting the ideas upon which the International is based, as presented twenty years ago by the great leader Karl Marx. There are but a very few people in the whole world who have even a small understanding of a true political economy—by which the material affairs of humanity should be regulated. This lack of knowledge has obtained in the world because Government and the rules of society have become separated from their administration. In the International, for the first time in political propositions, have fundamental principles of religion been formulated. The great students of Socialism in Europe have arrived at the deduction that justice among the people can never be secured except through forms that shall recognize the unity—the "solidarity"—of the human race. All classes, all races, all nations and all tongues must first be recognized and treated as brothers and sisters of a Common Parentage and Inheritance. It does not specifically follow that the Christian idea of God must pervade the expressions through which their ideas find form. But if they recognize the unity of all people that is something that the Christians, though professing to believe in God the Father, have failed to accomplish. If ye acknowledge not your brethren whom ye have seen, what practical benefit can result from the acknowledgment of God whom ye have not seen?

The International does not propose to inject God into their Constitution, and then mock Him by persecuting a portion of His children, and deride Him by dealing in all sorts of injustice in His name. These matters of individual conscience it proposes to leave to the people, since they properly belong to them. But, like Abou Ben Adhem, it desires to be written down as loving "my fellow-men" the best. It does not deal in mere abstract propositions, incapable of realization, but seizes the vital issues which separate the extremes of humanity. It proposes that the favored few shall be leveled down and the oppressed many leveled up to a common equality, and thus practically exemplify the teachings of Christ, which, in parables, were always to this end.

It is to be expected that the favored few will rebel against all their propositions; that their organs of the Press, who rely upon their favors for sustenance rather than upon their capacity to teach truth, will utter anxious howls of disapprobation, and designate the International as a revolutionary society. Well, it is revolutionary, in the extreme sense. Its first and last purpose is to revolutionize the present construction of government and society, and where tyranny now sits, bidding defiance to equality and justice, to enthrone the reign of the people. It has the interests of the great masses at heart. It has listened to their grievances; heard the fearful tales of their woes; seen millions of men toiling eighteen hours a day, life-long, that thrones and castles might be supported; heard the moans of the mothers of the nations as they bend over their midnight tasks, to complete the garments in which royalty and wealth should next evening luxuriate; and, rousing into action, it has raised the banner of their amelioration, inscribing upon its comprehensive folds the significant words:

"Our country is the world,
Our religion to do good."

Now, Christ could not have desired a more beautiful recognition of His teachings than is embodied in this motto. It recognizes that true religion consists in acts rather than professions, and that the whole world is the subject of its application. The Christian churches had better consider

before they proceed further in denouncing the International as desirous of disturbing the existing order of things. They must not forget that Christ was one of the worst—best—disorganizers and disturbers of existing things who ever lived; and if others spring up, following in His footsteps, and disorganize old fossils, by the same means and after the same principles He did, that it is scarcely becoming to denounce them while professing Christ.

It is a matter open for serious consideration, whether those who actually incarnate the principles and precepts of Christ, should not openly avow themselves as His true followers, and expose the assumption and falsity of those who have stolen His livery in which to serve other masters, or their own selfish ends, in utter disregard to the common classes of humanity. We say that, unless the professing Christians practice the precepts and live the rules that Christ gave, they are frauds and cheats upon the world, and ought to be exposed and held up to the contempt of the world. Those who in this age re-enact the part of the scribes, pharisees and hypocrites of the olden time will as surely receive their recompense as did the Jews.

The world requires to be stripped of its hypocritical pretenses and long robes and loud prayers, and to be baptized with the principles of true religion, and this to be made to be the guiding rule for all its relations. Government must be based upon it, and its structure erected in harmony with all its precepts. If the International carry out its programme, such will be the result.

The recent ceremonies of the internationals of this city upon the murder of Rossel and his associates have brought this society prominently before the American people, which of all other nations is ripest for its inauguration. It was an imposing thing to see the "Red Flag" carried in our streets in a funeral procession consisting of thousands of earnest men and women, and received without murmur by the quarter of a million of observers who thronged the streets through which they moved. And though the telegraph reporting it to the country endeavored to make it as small as possible, the city papers were obliged to speak something approaching the truth; and through them the country has been informed of the first faint rumblings of the coming storm which will rain down upon the heads of those who will not take warning from the initial notes already sounded. They who denounce them as the "scum of the working people" may have an opportunity of reversing their opinion; but, in the meantime, please to count us as belonging to and forming a part of that "scum," since we have no doubt, if Christ were among us to-day, He would be found associating with them, as all His doctrines were Communistic in their tendency.

POLITICAL ECONOMY IN CONGRESS.

Whether Mr. Hoar knew just what he was doing when he introduced into the Congress his late resolution looking to inquiring into the justice of the relations between the "producers" and the "receivers" of wealth we cannot say. But a field has been entered upon that will result in an entire change in the forms and means by which the entire products of industry are forced through legislative channels into the coffers of the already wealthy. The present systems are simply so many machines by which the laboring, wealth-producing millions are compelled to pour the results of their toil into the hands of the few who expend all their time, talents and strength, mental and physical, in making the channels more perfect, never directly adding a single dollar to the wealth of the world.

Now it is a proposition that nobody can gainsay, that he or she who produces nothing lives off the labors of those who do produce, and, therefore, are living upon their bounty. This is equally true of a beggar or of an Astor. If Mr. Stewart never actually produced an article of wealth he has lived from the products of others. This becomes a plain proposition if we try it by the axiomatic proposition, that people are only entitled to the possession of what they have produced or to that obtained by an equitable exchange for something that they produced. All else is either legalized or illegalized theft, the former in the abstract being just as injurious to the community and criminal in itself as the latter.

Mr. Boutwell reports the public debt reduced by some hundreds of millions of dollars. Who have paid that portion of the debt or from whom did the money come that is now safely lodged in the pockets of the capitalists or loaned back to the producers at high rates of interest? Are the capitalists so many millions of dollars short of what they were before the bonds were paid? Not a bit of it. They have all they had, besides the money for the bonds they held. But the poor laborer, toiling under broiling sun or in winter frosts, has paid this debt. He was without capital when the debt was at its highest figure. He has labored daily these ten years, and still is he penniless. And such is the vaunted success of the financial policy of the government. Every dollar of production, leaving just enough to support life in the producer, is taken from him and deposited in the coffers of banks, from which these same producers must go and plead, sometimes earnestly, to obtain it again, even at rates of interest, or rather discounts, sufficient, if kept up another decade, to destroy production altogether.

And Congress wants to appoint a Board of Inquiry, just as though the inquiry has not already been made and the exact condition known and understood! There are men

who have made this question the study of their lives! Why does not Congress call them to their counsels if they really want to know something about the relations of labor and capital? It is a sufficient condemnation to send Congress in disgrace to their several homes for them to admit to the world that they are ignorant of these vital matters. Is Congress to legislate for and protect the interests of the people, and yet know nothing about the causes that have conspired to rob the laborers of all their hard-earned wealth and transfer it to the keeping of non-laborers!

Why, most wise legislators, it is yourselves that have done this thing. You have not only permitted, but fostered the growth of enormous corporations, which leech the people in every possible way; you have devised laws by which these same corporations have monopolized vast areas of the public domain, and by which millions of money are paid to another class for no services rendered; you have so arranged matters in the interest of the favored few by your tariffs and protections, that the products of the many can find no market at adequate prices to reimburse their cost of production, although the price for the sales at home are somewhat increased in price over what they otherwise would have been; you have fixed the rate which the producers must pay to the acquirers, at a figure so far beyond the real increase of gain or wealth that it will require but a few years to entirely consume it; and yet you stand there and innocently ask: What has done all this? and propose to appoint a Board to inquire into the causes.

But have your commissions, and get wisdom, and above all things get understanding, for Heaven knows you need it sadly enough. The movement will not blind the laboring classes to the extent of a single vote. They are just a little ahead of you in knowledge of these things. While you have been legislating so as to keep the control of the government in your hands, they have been quietly learning the causes of their condition; and these have become clear to them, since they are able to watch their produced wealth move, by authority of law, directly into the pockets of their neighbor capitalists. If the laborers are not as a general thing so well cultivated as you are, they are very far from being fools; and you make a serious mistake when you so account them.

It may be seriously asked where the remedy for all this injustice is? and it has, perhaps, never been answered; but if these things have come because of a system of laws, then there must be some fault in that system. And here you reach the bottom of this matter. It is in the form of government which does not prohibit legislation upon human rights, and forbids any enactment looking to discrimination against equality, or against exact justice in its most abstract sense, A form of government which requires to be amended to meet every new condition that arises within its jurisdiction, as has been the case with ours, ought to be supplanted by one so grand and comprehensive as to be equal to all emergencies, contingencies and evolutions that can possibly arise in humanity.

THE DESCENT OF THE SPIRITS.

From all parts of the world do we hear of the nearer approach to, and more intimate relations of, the spirit world with our sphere. Rapidly following the appearance of the inhabitants of the other sphere at Moravia in so palpable forms as to be seen by the natural vision, comes news of like appearances in various other places, through various other mediums. In Oswego a blind Canadian girl is made the agency by which they assume form and likeness, while in this city it is said there are at least three places where they have been able to materialize themselves so far as to be distinctly visible, and at one of them to have been able to speak.

All of these new phases of Spiritualism, added to the spread into new fields of those with which Spiritualists are familiar, such as the rappings and table-tippings—the A B Cs of manifestation—in Plymouth Church, and the occupation of the time of test mediums by people from the religious flocks, who heretofore have stood aloof, plainly indicate the near approach of the time when we "shall see as we are seen, and know as we are known," being "face to face." There is a whole volume of teaching in that saying of Paul's; since for mortals to see as they are seen, and to know as they are known of the spirits, will be to revolutionize our present standard of morality and virtue; exposing to mortal gaze what has, until now, been veiled. But to just that condition are things now making a near approach, and we shall hail the day when it is fully ushered in. Perhaps some who now cry out "thief," may themselves appear not as white as snow, or as chaste as ice.

GOVERNOR CAMPBELL.

This gentleman and statesman has earned the respect and admiration of friends of justice and right, by his veto of the bill abolishing Woman Suffrage in Wyoming. His veto message is an admirable piece of composition, grand alike in its conception of the matter involved and its consecutive logical construction. It will stand as a monument to his memory to all future ages. We should be glad to give it entire, but we can only quote the following:

But even if we concede that these rights once acquired may be taken away, the passage of this bill would be, in my judgment, a most dangerous precedent. Once admit the right of a representative body to disfranchise its constituency,

and who can establish the limits to which that right may not be carried. If this Legislature takes from women their franchises and privileges, what is to prevent a future Legislature from depriving certain men or classes of men, whom, from any considerations, they desire to disfranchise of the same right? We should be careful how we establish precedents which may return to plague the inventors and be used as a pretext for taking away our liberties.

It will be remembered that in my message to the Legislature, at the commencement of the present session, I said: "There is upon our Statute Book an act granting to the women of Wyoming Territory the right of suffrage and to hold office, which has been in force two years. Under its liberal provisions, women have voted and held office. It is simple justice to say, that the women entering for the first time in the history of the country upon these new and untrodden duties have conducted themselves with as much tact, sound judgment and good sense as men."

In this Territory women have manifested for its highest interests a devotion strong, ardent and intelligent. They have brought to public affairs a clearness of understanding and a soundness of judgment which, considering their exclusion hitherto from practical participation in political agitation and movements, are worthy of the greatest admiration, and above all praise. The conscience of women in all things is more discriminating and sensitive than that of men; their sense of justice not compromising or time-serving, but pure and exacting; their love of order, not spasmodic or sentimental merely, but springing from the heart. All these—the better conscience, the exalted sense of justice, and the abiding love of order—have been made by the enfranchisement of women to contribute to the good government and well-being of our Territory. To the plain teachings of these two years I cannot close my eyes.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

The voice of this glorious old leader has been once more heard in New York. Chief among the conquerors of black slavery, he reorganized his soldiery and keeps right on in battle against white slavery.

"Straight into double band
The victors divide;
Half for freedom strike and stand."

We may be sure always with which half Phillips will advance. And every conquest, says another poet, "makes a still greater conquest necessary." Phillips goes on from conquering to conquer. He is a God of Reform, "without variableness or shadow of turning." No taint of Webster, Seward, Greeley, or any other moral or political scrofula infects his firmly-knit constitution. No pregnant hinges crook his knees; and no "handful of gold" will ever make us mourn a "lost leader." The workers for wages are fortunate in winning so powerful an advocate to plead their cause. May he live to see as glorious a success as resulted from his championship of black slave labor.

The following are some of his ringing sentences pronounced before a large audience at Steinway Hall last week, taken by our own reporter specially for our paper:

"I have often spoken in New York when the situation was grave and the subject momentous, but I feel seriously the vast importance—I might almost say the terrible significance—of the cause which you invite me to present to you to-night. No event of disappointed hope, no momentary defeat makes me despond on looking at the present demands of the laboring classes. My only feeling is one of the greatest anxiety over the startling, sudden growth of this great social force. My fear is that the easy classes and civilization itself are not ready to meet this volcanic eruption of all the sub-tier of civilized life. I have no fear about its limitations, its inadequate strength, or its ultimate success.

"My anxiety is on the other side. My fear, as I stand in its presence, is that the leaders of society, the owners of wealth, party organizations and all the other appliances of civilized life are not ready yet to meet and recognize the popular claim, and try to guide this gigantic interference in the nineteenth century.

"You ask me to speak to you on the relations of capital and labor. I am a capitalist. Why, then, am I here? Because I am dissatisfied with the relations of capital and labor—because I am dissatisfied, nay, almost ashamed, if that is not too large a word—of the civilization around me. Civilization is grand when you measure the height and breadth of it by centuries—it is a great, a terrible advance. From the time when the noble Norman came home from the hunt and warmed his feet, as the readiest way, in the blood of a peasant, while waiting the preparation of other fire, down to such protection as is accorded the peasant of to-day, we see there is a vast advance. But still civilization has perilous gaps; it has awful deficiencies. When you look deep into modern civilization, grand as it is in seeming, large and generous in some of its results, you yet will find, hidden within, some ulcers that confound social science, and leave it aghast. The students of social science confess themselves at their wits' ends in dealing with the great evils of the day. The easy floater on the surface of society thinks everything all right. He does not know of the leak in the body of the ship, which the captain and crew have watched for days.

"Gentlemen, I am not here with the vain dream that we shall ever abolish poverty. I am no Utopian. My creed of human nature is too bitter for that. There have always been men who drink, and, as long as there are, there will always be poor men, shiftless men, half-baked men—nobody knows how or why they were born. There is no millennium to dawn for such.

"But if you don't expect to abolish poverty and give every workingman some funds in bank, fine apparel, and tickets to library and theatre, what are you going to do for him? We don't expect any such blissful state of society as that.

But we do expect to remedy the state of things that compels half the people the world over to starve. You can find millions of men who never taste of meat once a year, and there are very common luxuries which they never dare to taste. In your own city men and women live in quarters which no man in Fifth avenue would trust his horse in twelve hours.

"I will take the great social spectre which confronts social science the world over—prostitution—the social ulcer that eats into the nineteenth century; and everybody who has studied the subject will confess that the root from which it grows is poverty. The poverty of one class makes it the victim of the wealth of another. You may ascribe it to what influence or accident you please—hot blood, deficient moral training, individual temptations—give them all the weight you please; yet rising above all, surmounting all, is poverty, the great root of the social evil, the necessity of one class making it the victim of the larger means of another class. Give women a fair chance in the world of labor and enterprise, and ninety-nine out of a hundred will disdain to buy diamonds and dress with the wages of shame. Go down to the bottom of this lamentable sore and its cause will ever be found in the poverty of the victims.

"Why is it that three-fourths of the criminals are from the poorer classes? Why do the statisticians of crime tell you that, when you have deducted about fifteen per cent. of the criminals—consisting of the enterprising, energetic, and intelligent—the rest are below par physically and mentally? Because they were the children, grandchildren, or great-grandchildren of parents who were bodily and mentally weak. Out of these weak ones the devil selects his best tools. Employ and feed that class better, and you will empty your prisons. But the capitalists exclaim, 'How are we to blame? We built these brown-stone houses honestly; we got the charters of our banks above-board.' I often read the price of wheat in the English market. I place beside it the thermometer of crime, and I find as the price of wheat goes up a shilling crime increases. Prices rise and crime goes on with unvarying parallel. It shows you that the great majority of the people stand just on the edge of necessity. It tells you that the lines are drawn so closely that, if you increase the price only a turn, it topples multitudes of men and women over into the prisons. That is your civilization as it is to-day.

"But I am not this painter. I do not sketch this picture. Oh, no! it is an old, old work, from the ancient masters all the way down. I can get you any number of despairing groans from students of the nineteenth century, which will show you that I am only a parrot pirating their words. But few of them appreciate the depth of the difficulty. They say, 'this is only a spot—simply an ulcer.' We will try to apply some medicine, some poultice. We will reach this disease with opiates and palliatives. But the great seat of the disease is dangerous if not deadly. The trouble is that one-quarter of the human race lives at ease and the other three-quarters pay the expense. If that is the best that Christ and these eighteen centuries can do let us sit down and curse the God who made us. Give us the comforting faith that there is something beyond and better than that, and that we, with sublime endeavor, can yet accomplish it. That is the meaning of the labor movement.

"We are no enemies of capital. I never saw the working-man yet who was the enemy of capital; and I never saw the man yet who did not recognize that his interests and those of capital are identical; that he is more interested, if possible, than the capitalist himself in the preservation of capital; and that it is the fund out of which he is to be fed, and the result to which all his own efforts tend—that labor and capital are the two parts of a pair of scissors—nothing except when combined.

"Now, what is the crime of the International, whose name the good people of the city of New York use to frighten their children with? Why, the crime is simply looking back into history and seeing the French Republic cut the hamstring of landed monopoly; obliging each man, when he died, to let the land he owned float back into the nation.

"I have two remedies for the evils which the laboring classes suffer. I would tax enormous properties heavily, and I would make employes co-operative in the corporations which they serve. At all events, statesmanship must take up this question and deal with it. That is the reason I dislike Grant. His message reads like a promulgation of 1812. It might have been an inspired document if Monroe had written it; but to-day it is musty. As Shakespeare says: 'It hath an ancient and a fish-like smell.' If that document is his apprehension of the needs of the hour he has gone up, because there's nothing of a sheet-anchor in it that can hold in American politics."

SEDUCTION: WHAT IT IS AND WHAT IT IS NOT.

BY TENNIE C. CLAFLIN.

[A CORRESPONDENCE.]

NEW YORK, Dec. 22, 1871.

TENNIE C. CLAFLIN: What is seduction? You have described virtue, "What it is and what it isn't." You will do the subscriber a favor by defining seduction—what it is and what it isn't. The term, in its generally accepted signification, means a deception practiced on a woman, resulting in her fall from "virtue" as it is called. What I wish to know is, how would you apportion the degree of criminality? Does it wholly attach to the male, in all cases? The law now assumes that it does. Is it a supposable case that even the most simple of her sex is ignorant of the probable result of sexual intercourse? Is not the criminality about

equally divided? Must it not be a voluntary act? When force is used it is known as rape, not seduction. Does the promise of marriage justify a woman in risking the happiness of a life time on the faith of mere words? Do you advocate the abrogation of all laws affecting seduction, as well as those relating to marriage.

W. BOQUA.

MR. BOQUA: Dear Sir—Your inquiry is very pertinent, and the reply that I am prompted to make is in precisely the same vein as that of the previous article to which you refer. The assumption is that women, and women only, are liable to seduction, and that men are entirely free from any such weakness. Now, what is the implication in all this? Why simply that women are weaklings and ninnies, and that they have no opinion, no character, no power of self-defense, no anything, but simply the liability to be influenced to their ruin by men. And women consent to and strengthen this implication by conceding the truth of this false notion by joining in with the clamor about seduction, precisely as they concur in the false and insulting discrimination between the virtue of man and the virtue of woman.

Now the fact is that seduction is, and ought to be, mutual. Seduction, in the last analysis, is simply sexual charm—the delight which one sex feels in contact with the other. No love is without seduction in this sense. Seduction, or mutual charm, is of the very essence of love; but love is not the only attribute of either man or woman. There should be wisdom, and character, and purpose, and power of self-regulation and defense on the part of each or both.

If there be any difference in this matter, woman is, of the two, the grand seductive force, whether the seduction be legitimate charm or its counterpart. She is by nature and organization, if the poets all speak the truth, a magazine of enticement and influence, and power over the imagination and the conduct of the opposite sex. But even if that were not so, if she stood on the same level of capacity in this respect with the man, the condition into which society has thrust her compels her to make a profession of seduction. It is a disgrace for a woman not to get married. She must, therefore, by all possible means, seduce some man into marriage at least; and not succeeding in that directly, she must seduce him into some act which will compromise him and compel marriage subsequently. She has the strongest possible motive, therefore, in this point of view, to be herself the seducer; and if the roofs were lifted off the tops of the houses, if the facts were simply known of what is every day occurring, the cases, I believe, are nine in ten where women exert an undue seductive influence over men, to one of the contrary kind.

But it is not merely that the female sex is pre-eminently interested in the whole matter of love, and is, by nature and organization, representative of that half of human concerns, nor the fact which I have alluded to that she is disgraced, contemned and despised by society if she fails to secure a man; but there are still stronger impulses and motives and necessities operating on her. As things are in the world at present, women have no adequate method of earning and winning anything; men hold the purse and women are dependents and candidates for election to place. They must entice, and seduce, and entrap men, either in the legitimate or illegitimate way, in order to secure their portion of the plunder. It is no fault of theirs that they have to do this. Society condemns them to a condition in which they have no other resource. I am not arguing that point now. I am merely adverting to the fact as a reason, and quite a sufficient reason, why women make a business—the great pursuit, in fact, of their lives—of the seduction of men; while with men, the seduction of women is an incident, mostly a sudden temptation, perhaps thrown in their way without suspicion on their part, by the very woman who then raises a hubbub of excitement about having been seduced.

When planters have slaves they expect that their pigs, chickens, corn and everything lying loose about the plantation will be stolen, for it is well known that slaves will steal. The planters have begun by stealing the liberty of their slaves, by stealing their labor, by stealing, in fact, all that they have and are; and the natural reaction is that the slaves will steal back all they can. So in the case of women. Reduced to the condition of dependency, and with no other avenues for acquirement or success than the one which lies through their mastery or influence over the opposite sex, their natural powers to charm and seduce are, of course, reinforced by astuteness and trickery, and they not only have the cunning to seduce the men in the majority of cases, but the cunning, also, to throw the blame on the men for seducing them. This is sharp practice, but they are taught in a school of sharp practice which the men have instituted for them; and the result is a natural and necessary one from the present organization of society.

The very foundation of our existing social order is mutual deception and all-prevalent hypocrisy; and this will always be the case until we have FREEDOM; until we recognize the rights of nature, until we provide by our social usages for the fullest gratification, in a normal and proper way, for every passion of the human soul.

There are two policies or theories of action in the world. One is the policy of REPRESSION, the other is the policy of ENFRANCHISEMENT, or enlargement. The policy of repression has its whole troop of legitimate consequences which are, in the main, what we now know as the vices of society. The slave is taught to be tricky and wily and wise after his method, to circumvent the wrong which is inflicted on him.

The depressed and oppressed woman is made to be hypocritical and frivolous and in every way false to the higher nature of womanhood, false to her duties in life, and false to the true relations which she should hold to men. By enslaving her the male sex is doing the greatest possible injustice to itself. It is only by enfranchising her, by helping her in every possible method, to security of condition, to the opportunity for development, to the means of being true and noble, that he will have in the world a being whom he can truly love and whom he will be proud in all ways to aid and protect. The policy of repression is therefore suicidal or self-defeating; and, as the world grows wiser it will be, in all the spheres of life, replaced by the nobler, more celestial and beneficent policy of freedom, with order of a higher and better kind, which will spontaneously spring up in the soil of freedom.

But I am getting somewhat away from your questions. I have spoken of seduction in a somewhat more general sense than the definitions you will find in the dictionary, as applicable to all the charm which exists between the sexes or that which is exerted by the one upon the other; but seduction is generally confined to and defined in its bad sense, as the exertion of this charm unduly and adversely to the real wish and the true interests of the party affected by it. In this sense it is, as you suggest, mutual, or as likely to occur on the one side as on the other, even if it were not stimulated on the part of the woman by the considerations which I have suggested. What I have said will enable you, perhaps, to apportion for yourself the degree of criminality. The immediate criminality is more likely to be with the woman than with the man; but the remote criminality of instituting and maintaining conditions in society which force the woman into hypocrisy is more that of the man; and yet it is hardly worth while to talk of criminality in either case. The great fact is one of ignorance and undevelopment. What the world wants is more knowledge of how to do right. The human passions have been found to be terrible forces, like steam or fire; and instead of studying them, in order to regulate them in accordance with their own true laws and their adaptation to the world's well-being, they have been feared merely, and fought down and repressed.

You ask me, Ought a woman to risk her happiness for a lifetime on a promise of marriage? In my profession of clairvoyant, and in a practice of more than a dozen years, I was consulted by women especially, and those of the higher rank in society, for the reason that they had more leisure, means and opportunity to investigate. I have been consulted by thousands of such women, and I can truly say that, in a very large proportion of cases, they have confessed or confided to me that they had bestowed their best favors upon their husbands prior to marriage; and that no advantage was taken of that fact by the men. In other words, the so-called seduction in these numerous instances was not followed by desertion. It never became known, therefore, as seduction.

It is a very prevalent opinion that the prompting motive to marriage, on the part of men, is the mere gratification of the one passion. The truth is, I believe, very much the opposite; and that men instinctively seek, and hope to find, in that relation a true, rational and spiritual companionship, as well as material charm; but, alas! how often are they sadly disappointed. The woman proves to be a mere doll—a characterless and insipid person. The ideal which had enshrined her before marriage is dispersed with a few days or weeks of acquaintance and familiarity. Instead of rising in the esteem of her husband by the development of new and grand characteristics, she sinks under his contempt, or falls upon his interest, and he is driven elsewhere in the hope of meeting that companionship in woman which the higher instinct of the manly soul constantly, whether consciously or unconsciously, craves.

This popular assumption that, if a woman has conferred her highest favor, she is threatened to be despised and abandoned for that, is a scarecrow of the same dignity and rank as the old story the mothers in the country used to tell their children, when sugar was dear, that it was "sure to rot their teeth." If she were a woman of a great and noble soul, a commanding character, of intellect, spirituality and womanly worth, the true man from that time begins to know how to live. He is initiated by her generosity into the true knowledge of his own nature, and elevated to the moral and æsthetic plane of woman's soul.

On the other hand, her silly pretension of ignorance, her lack of true sentiment and dignity, her childishness, growing in some of its many shapes out of the false education and no education which surrounds this whole subject, are precisely what disgust and repel men and ruin them.

It is another blunder to suppose that women are the only ones who get ruined. Women who allow themselves to think that sexuality and prettiness are the only charms they are expected to have, and that it is a disgrace for them to be strong-minded, are pretty sure to wreck their own happiness and that of the man whom they ought to love.

You ask, finally, do I advocate the abrogation of laws affecting seduction as well as those relating to marriage? Undoubtedly, in the same sense. I do not advocate the abrogation of the marriage laws so long as they are needed, so long as there is nothing better, so long as people's ideas are not elevated above the plane of such laws. What I advocate is freedom of thought and speech on the subject, freedom to devise better methods, freedom to experiment, even, and to learn; but I mean all this a great deal more with reference to opinion than with reference to law. Change public opinion on the subject and the change of the laws will take care of itself; and until public opinion is changed the laws, such as we have, may, for all I know, be better adapted to the condition than their abolition. My work is social more than political. I care more to know what are the true or God-ordained relations of the sexes than I do to know what "Boss Tweed" and others of his ilk have enacted on the subject at Albany. The laws have always been probably about as good as the stage of development of the people. What I want is higher development, better knowl-

edge and, of course, better laws and better institutions to grow out of these.

There are undoubtedly a portion of women who are weak and silly and simple, and who are taken advantage of by designing men. Until we have such systems of education and development as will tend to prevent women from being weak, simple and silly, it may be right to have laws punishing seduction; but we have also, as I think I have shown, spoonneys among men, and ought we not therefore to have laws for their protection? An act of the Legislature, entitled "An act for the protection of spoonneys against designing women," would be something refreshing, and perhaps logically based upon the reason of the laws for the protection of female virtue. Indeed there were, at one time, laws in England specifically "for the punishment of bad women who seduced the soldiers of the king." I do not remember that the Bible has said much, if anything, about the awful crime of seducing women! It has, I believe, put the boot on the other foot, and commiserated the sad condition of the spooney part of our mixed population. Read attentively the seventh chapter of Proverbs on this subject. Somewhat abridged and commented, it reads as follows:

"Say unto wisdom, Thou art my sister, and call understanding thy kinswoman, that they may keep thee from the strange woman, from the stranger which flattereth with her words [the seducer]. For at the window of my house I looked through my casement [peeped from behind the curtains, spying other people's affairs, which showed the writer's interest in the subject], and I beheld among the simple ones [the spooney population—not the women, mind], I discerned among the youths a young man void of understanding [not a very rare case] passing through the street near her corner [whosoever she was—the woman that lived on the corner over the way], and he went the way to her house in the twilight, in the evening, in the black and dark night [that is to say repeatedly, and sometimes when it was so dark it was all I could do to watch 'em]; and behold there met him a woman with the attire of a harlot and subtle of heart [cunning and capable of seduction], so she caught him and kissed him; and with an impudent face said unto him: I have decked my bed with coverings of tapestry, with carved works, with fine linen of Egypt. I have perfumed my bed with myrrh, aloes and cinnamon. Come, let us take our fill of love until the morning; let us solace ourselves with loves. For the good man [the husband] is not at home—he is gone a long journey. He hath taken a bag of money with him [plenty of greenbacks], and will not come home at the day appointed [that is to say, not too soon for us, as he has gone on a spree himself]. With her much fair speech she caused him to yield [seduced him], with the flattering of her lips she forced him to yield [figuratively, rape, I suppose]. He goeth after her [spooney-like] straightway, as an ox goeth to the slaughter, or as a fool [as he was] to the correction of the stocks; till a dart strike through his liver [etc., whatever that may mean—something that the advertisers of quack medicines refer to, I suppose—not, probably, the ordinary liver complaint].

The point here is that the Bible makes the chief instance of seduction to be that of the man by the woman in the common allusion to the matter. Indeed, we always admit this, after the first instance; but, then, without much logic for it, we assume, that it is always the man who, in this first instance, the so-called "fall from virtue," who has seduced the woman. This point the Bible doesn't mention or refer to. If, then, woman is the only sex which elevates seduction into a profession or a life-business, I suggest that there may be some mistake about the matter, and that the poor innocent girl, or older maiden, who wakes our sympathy for her wronged innocence may, at least in a majority of cases, have planned her own ruin, and have seduced the spooney man into what goes afterward as his criminality. I still adhere, therefore, to my proposition of a law, to emanate from Albany, "for the protection of spoonneys against the seduction of young girls and grown women." If law is to regulate the matter, let the whole ground be effectually covered. These are my sentiments. More, perhaps, on another occasion.

THE NATIONAL LABOR REFORM—PRESIDENT GRANT AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

NEW YORK, Dec. 18, 1871.

Regarding the recent message of President Grant from the labor standpoint, we can but pronounce it the weakest which has ever emanated from the White House. All its suggestions evidently have one of two primal objects—either to conserve the special interest of rich capitalists, or to promote Grant's re-election in 1872.

We of the Labor Union are compelled by stubborn facts to regard Grant and the Republican party as entirely opposed to labor, indeed as much so as ever were the slaveholders of the South.

Throughout this entire jumble of words little can be found worthy a statesman or political economist. Nothing in relation to the contest between labor and capital—the all-important tariff question—the resuscitation of our expiring shipping-interests and commerce between Europe and America—of relief and encouragement to our agricultural interest—or of the railroad extortions and abuses which are stirring the American people of every class and section throughout the country.

There is one suggestion bearing remotely upon transportation, namely, the subsidizing one steamship line to some far-off islands! In the absence of Trumbull's Committee of Investigation, we may long remain ignorant of his motive for this. His statesmanship would seem to consist in bargaining with the rich money kings of Europe in the way to enrich them, while grinding the American toiler. He seeks applause for any settlement of the Alabama claims. We find Cabinet Ministers plotting and Assistant Secretaries permeating the bank centres, and planning fraternity between the money kings and gold lords of the old world, in efforts to facilitate closer alliance with foreigners, the owners of a majority of the stocks and bonds of all our through lines of railroad, who practically dictate our National policy. No wonder so much of his message is spread out and sugar-coated to cover the noxious drugs hid away under "our foreign relations."

Of course it matters not to him that the national energies are everywhere trammelled; that commerce is waning, while that which remains is, practically, in the hands of foreigners; that intrigue and corruption revel in broad daylight and everywhere pervade almost every department of the government; that the producing and laboring portion of the people everywhere complain, bowed down as they are with a measure of suffering and oppression such as was never before known in our history.

It matters not to Grant and the Republican majority that the rates of interest on money accessible to the producing and developing industries of England are from 1½ to 3 per cent., while the American competitor pays from 12 to 50 per cent. How does he look at all this? The following, which might have entered into the head of a dull schoolboy who read the Republican newspapers, Grant parades for a cause and remedy; he stultifies himself in asking us to give him another term:

"Continued fluctuations in the value of gold, as compared with the national currency, have had a most damaging effect upon the increase and development of the country, in keeping up prices of all articles necessary in every-day life. It fosters a spirit of gambling, prejudicial alike to national morals and national finances. If the question can be met as to how to get a fixed value to our currency—that value constantly and uniformly approaching par with specie—a very desirable object will be gained."

Now, every man of common sense and business experience knows that the above combination of words is as utterly inappropriate as it is ridiculous. What answer can Grant or Boutwell make in respect to the power of gold to regulate anything in the United States to-day, when our foreign debt exceeds three thousand millions, and we have but one hundred millions of gold, all told, in the whole country. Gold indeed? The Black Friday must have haunted the chamber in which this muddle of words was concocted. All practical men understand that specie payments never can, or will be resumed in the United States, until the balance of trade is turned in our favor.

Every unbiased business man of intelligence will bear out this declaration. All know that the balance of trade has been and is steadily increasing against us; that England's exports to the United States were larger the last year than any year before, and that a balance of trade in our favor is only to be brought about by an entire change in our financial system. No tariff legislation can ever do it. The true system is clearly expressed in the platform of the National Labor Union, whereby to reduce the rate of interest in the United States to that established through the English system of 3 per cent. Consols, and thereby set the now idle capital in active exercise to find a better return. This will stimulate production and cheapen products at the same time. The railroads and banks require all the currency issued by the United States to-day, while the laborer and producer are turned over to the tender mercies of the outside usurers, who take all he earns. Labor has no chance in the scramble, and is starving, while demoralization pervades every department—how soon to be followed by anarchy God only knows. This senseless clamor for specie payments! Do the people object to Government notes? No. This cry is kept up by usurers. Let us, too, call for specie payments—with three thousand millions of securities in foreign hands at our door;—the one hundred millions in the United States would remain with us five minutes—certainly not five hours. The people don't want specie; the usurers do.

How long will we maintain any republic—not to say keep one intact—while all the travel and transportation between the East and West are manipulated by and for foreign capitalists—the board of directors practically in London or Frankfurt, where the controlling instructions have no thought or desire for that bond of unity and mutual benefit between remote sections of this country? Do the people of the United States really control State or National Legislature on these questions? No! Railroads, banks and bondholders, by the corrupt use of this money, legally stolen from us, govern this country—and Grant is their tool.

This state of the case was ominously illustrated recently in another quarter. At the National Board of Trade, so-called, which recently held its annual meeting at St. Louis, efforts of the most strenuous character were made on the part of the people of the West to bring some remedy prominently before Congress and the people, and this was stifled again by these agents and confederates of the foreign capital, who assemble yearly under a false name to manipulate and overshadow the people and the great West. To-day, the three great cities of this Union—New York, Philadelphia and Brooklyn—are practically under the government of Committees of Safety, and Grant's bayonets attend the polls where majorities are against him.

Honorable Senators of his own party even, standing up in their seats in the Senate of the United States, charge fraud and corruption against the administration, and ask for an impartial committee to investigate these charges, while the confederates of these money kings, the majority, quietly submit, and openly vote to stifle investigation!

In the other House one of Grant's adherents proposes to send a "wife's cousin" to us, in the shape of a commission, to be appointed by Grant—God save the mark!—in which we are to have no voice, and to report within two years! This clap-trap may pass. The investigation has been had; the people have already a report. The next question that rushing events may bring to our consideration will be a summons to take muskets in our hands to support the govern-

ment! Support the government! And for what? To become a still greater oppression, to draw still harder upon the vitality—nay, upon the very body and bones—of humanity.

All republican forms of government have this basis, namely, that it is self-supporting. When it ceases to be so, through its just and equalized taxation, depend upon it, traitors are at the helm of the ship; and when again we take muskets we shall know our mark. It will not be to sustain a banditti who would continue to riot and rule over us.

HORACE H. DAY.

NEW BOOKS.

FRENCH, GERMAN, SPANISH, ETC., LANGUAGES, WITHOUT A MASTER; by A. H. Monteith. T. B. Peterson & Bros.

Royal roads to learning are friends. Steady plodding is your only way to results in the pursuit of knowledge. Experience made easy is a deceptive promise, if the real and not the seeming good is to be attained. It is possible, however, to find help and assistance, and any means that makes the path less rugged and the work less wearying is to be gladly welcomed. The systems of instruction in the teaching of foreign languages—indeed of all instruction—are for the most part enveloped with unnecessary difficulties. This book is a reprint of an English work on what is called the Robertsonian method; it was formerly known as the Hamiltonian. The writer only professes to give a little elementary assistance, and says well that "persons cannot organize a language thoroughly without a diligent and assiduous study of its principles."

PLAIN HOME TALK AND MEDICAL COMMON SENSE. By E. B. Foote, M. D. Wells & Coffin, New York.

"Know thyself" is the sum of all wisdom. "Health the chief temporal good" is a generally received truism. The author of this volume puts the two together, and, stripping off all disguises and false pretenses, goes fairly to the root of the matter. It is a mixed question whether medical books for the million are of much use. There is a vast deal of humbug and quackery in the practice of medicine, especially among that very class which would be most likely to read medical books. The fashionable and the family physician must and does accommodate himself to the whims and fancies of his patient, and it is shockingly ill-bred, as well as ridiculously neglectful of his own chances, for a medical man to tell his dyspeptic or fine-airs patient, "Pooh! pooh! my dear sir (or madam), nothing the matter at all. Eat less, work more; avoid late hours, and don't lace so tight. You don't want physic, you want common sense." We cannot expect physicians to be more than mortal. Five dollar fees cannot be thrown away. The physician who only tells the blunt truth, like the painter who paints people in all their unredeemed ugliness, may possibly meet success, but he travels the roughest road and needs splendid ability to overcome the obstacles. Poor patients, who do not read books of advice, are very apt to get more ready skill and less humbug. If the physic taking and medical book reading public would read this Plain Home Talk, and, having read, would walk by its advice, there would be small need of doctors. But that is just where the laugh comes in. They would skim over its pages, trace out their own symptoms, and then carefully abstain from common sense and hygienic rules, and, knowing the right, persist in following the wrong. This is not a book of maladies and prescriptions; it is a treatise upon man's physical nature and upon the relations between health and those moral and physical laws which are of universally binding obligation, and the non-observance of which entails derangement and disease of the animal economy.

The heads of the chapters will show how wide a field he has gone over. It is really a Book of Health. The "Causes of Nervous and Blood Derangements—Violating the Moral Nature—Food, Atmosphere, Clothes, Bad Habits—Sexual Starvation—Unhappy Marriage—Excessive Study—Prevention of Diseases—Common-sense Remedies—including a brief but suggestive chapter on Annual Magnetism." On the subject of "Female Doctors" we are told that "it seems really difficult to write a word seriously under this head, for the reason that when the question is presented to any unpractical mind it would appear that if there is any avocation to which woman is better suited by nature than to another it is the care of the sick." In the chapter on Marriage and the Relations of the Sexes the opinion of Henry Ward Beecher as to the value and significance of the propensities and interests in the balance and due proportion of the full human being is there quoted.

"Christianity includes every part of man. The religion of the individual includes the sum total of the action of every part of his nature. * * * The soul is a symmetrical whole. There is nothing superfluous in man; if he were to be made again he doubtless would be made as he is. Man's faculties are well constructed. The fault is not in the faculties themselves, but in the use of them. Every part is needed. In religion are included not the moral feelings alone, but also the imagination; and not the moral feelings and the imagination alone, but also the reason; and not the moral feelings, the imagination and the reason alone, but all the organic passions and physical appetites; subordinated, controlled, applied to normal and proper ends; but nevertheless the passions and appetites. For a man without his appetites and passions would be like a man pulled up by the roots. * * * They are not averse to grace in their true function; and religion claims

not just so much of the mind as is called the religious faculties; but the whole soul and all its parts."

ROWELL'S NEWSPAPER REPORTER contains, in addition to its usual matter relating to the press, a serial history of engraving, with illustrations, in a highly finished style of art.

THE National Labor Commission is good as a step in the right direction. It calls Congressional attention to the fact that there is widespread dissatisfaction in the people, over the remuneration for labor and the indifference of labor interests manifested in our national government. True that every one outside of Congress knows that, but it requires that one should rise from the dead to teach Congress anything of importance. That body is deaf to Moses, to the prophets, unless they talk party supremacy and money bills. The Massachusetts Republicans, who have been moving in the labor and capital controversy, naturally wish to get the credit of the movement for the Presidential election; and the point now is that this commission of inquiry shall not end in a mere collection of facts, known in every workshop and factory, and which need no verification or further proof. What are you going to do about it? Here comes the crucial test. Will Massachusetts capitalists consent to co-operation, to limitation of the rights of landholders, to restriction upon the accumulation of property and so forth? Merely to sit through the session and to find out that a mill-owner makes two hundred and fifty thousand a year for himself, while his five hundred employees divide just the same sum between them, or that he lives in a palace and they live in tenement houses, will add nothing to our sum of knowledge. What we shall want to learn is how the earnings of the society are to be distributed without injustice, either to brain or muscle. Justice to all; partiality to none. The data are so simple that any ordinary well-informed reader of newspapers can state them in the form of a preamble: Whereas, hereditary aristocracy and hereditary land ownership do not exist in this nation; and whereas, all men are supposed to work for their living; and whereas, a system of plutocracy, or association of capital, threatens to take the place of aristocracy, whereby individual responsibility to the law and to public opinion is removed and the nominal responsibility of an unknown and invisible company is substituted; and whereas, by reason of high rents and high prices and heavy taxation it is difficult for wages-earners to make a living—seeing that wages, by what is called a law of political economy, never keep pace with prices; and whereas, it is just and right that every honest and industrious worker should have a reasonable chance in his youth and manhood to lay up something for his old age, and that the day-worker should earn enough in fine weather to provide food and shelter in the winter days, when work cannot be done. To this point the preamble is pretty well settled. Now we come to some debatable ground. Why is this thus? What's wrong? Is it finance or the money system, tariff, competition, home protection or general misgovernment, and, if so, what is the remedy? If it be inevitably in the nature of things that the rich shall always be getting richer and the poor poorer, and that there can be no remedy but a periodical upturning of the foundations, when Croesus shall take the pauper's place and the slave shall be the master, will the three commissioners dare to face such a conclusion? Or, finally, is the inquiry a dodge to show radical readiness and to stop the public mouth with the sop of an inquiry which it is predetermined shall be a pouring of water from one vessel into another, to divert popular attention.

THE Prince of Wales who was dead is now alive. He was only killed by cable and special. Why didn't he die? The press might then have said that nothing in his life so became him as his death: he should have died that news-makers might be justified. His death would, no doubt, have precipitated the revolution his life had suggested. Only, after all, a king is of no account in England—his life or death, like Mr. Toots' feelings, is of no particular consequence. Still, when Royalty had announced an intention of dying, what right had Royalty to balk the people of their just expectations? Perhaps the Christian mind may not err in indulging a hope that the sickness and the peep into the awful valley of the shadow may scare the reprobate back into the paths of virtue, only that even a deacon might bet ten to one that the whole thing was bogus, got up only to excite sympathy—and then how the people, who were ravening for a change of government, would rush to the bulletin boards in crowds. Fickle mob! And how shocking it is that a king that shall be should catch a mortal disease in the slums of London in drunken orgies with the worst company, unless he took it in an estimable nobleman's mansion, by drinking too much water, or taking cold, or in some other way. And don't we all know that his conduct was so bad at a theatre that he was warned off by the lady manageress, who doubtless would have done it had he been there to so misbehave himself; and is he not coarse, ungentelemanly, brutal, except when he is courteous, affable and considerate? And is not all this and much more the staple of news concerning not only the Prince of Wales but divers other persons and facts?

THE civil service reform, if it end with the proposed competitive examination, will do neither good nor evil. College degrees and academic honors are of very little value in the common callings of business life. The practical inefficiency

of our educated men has led, indeed, to an inference that it takes a fool to take a degree. Scientific or literary acquirements are not needed in nine-tenths of the government offices. What examination is wanted for a letter-carrier or a Custom House officer? Honesty and punctuality are the requisites. The men who possess the most of these sterling qualities are precisely those who can least justify themselves in an examination. As for promotion for faithfulness of service, that is a shadowy good, unless the office be tenable during good behavior, and not subject to the caprice of a superior, or the shiftings of party claims. Government pay is poor pay at the best, but it ought to be sure. And the ridiculous system by which our recruits are taken in just long enough to be useful, and then turned out, would be laughed at in any other system than ours; to say nothing of the powerful inducement, or say rather the necessity, for dishonesty and speculation.

THE equality of woman with man, the possession of property, the liability to taxation, and a variety of other propositions, taken separately, are of no real value in the argument for woman suffrage. If true when applied to women they are just as true when applied to men. Thus Michael Angelo, Shakespeare, Beethoven, Humboldt were men, but all men are not their equals. Astor and Vanderbilt are property owners, but all men are not property owners, nor liable to direct taxation. Therefore only a few giants in intellect, or magnificoes in wealth, would be entitled to suffrage, and all the rest would have to go begging for permission to speak. No. The right of speech and of suffrage appertains to the man as a citizen. It is the recognized expression of his freedom, and is the accompaniment of his personal interest in the welfare of the community and his privilege of legislating for himself, subject to the like privilege in others. If this be true of the man it is equally true of the woman. Her right to suffrage does not hang on her personal merits or her intellectual or property qualifications, but on the fact of her being a human being, with duties, interests, passions, and with the privilege to provide for herself and direct her own life.

THE Anti-Woman-Suffrage-True-Woman petitioners to Congress are so virtuous themselves that they insist no one else shall have cakes or ale. We don't want to vote, therefore you shan't. Can they not see that by their petition they are exercising the right of citizenship which they repudiate. A foreigner truly may petition Congress for relief; but only a citizen has a right to be heard on matters affecting the whole community. Some men, indeed many men, will not go to the polls, but nobody thinks of shutting them out. So if ninety and nine women shall refuse to exercise their rights, that is no reason why the door shall be shut on the hundredth. The one shall be free to enter if she so please; the rest may stay outside if that be their humor.

THE Herald affects, in a "let-well-enough-alone" way, to deprecate the movement of Labor against Capital. The good things of this world are pretty well distributed, and the poor people will not better their condition by making a fuss about it. A crushing charge on the irreconcilable irregularities of our social institutions was to be found in last Sunday's Herald. One page filled with the Christmas festivities, the expenditures and enjoyments of the well-to-do in their season of joy and universal brotherhood. On another page a sketch, brief and powerful, of the condition of the poor in certain wards of this city: their privations, sufferings and worse than bestial degradation. And yet these things need no amendment.

IN THE Canadian House of Commons the Premier, Mr. Chauveau, taking offense at some expressions of opinion in the galleries, moved that they should be cleared. A lady harangued the House from the Speaker's gallery with the sentiment that the masters of the government, the people, ought to be present. Good for that woman! She might not have been in order, but she told the truth.

THE late decision of the Court of Appeals that pedestrians must look out for themselves in the roadway, seems a violation of previous law, as well as of that common sense of which law is jocosely said to be the perfection. The result is that it is no longer safe to walk on the streets. The true secret of the decision is said to be that those underground and viaduct railroad fellows who are smart enough for anything, are working together, and have "seen" the Court of Appeals. The idea is ingenious.

WE are permitted to publish the following letter, which is a sample of hundreds we are receiving, marked "private."

MY DEAR MRS. WOODHULL: A copy of your late Steinway Hall speech was handed me the other day. If that is a true exponent of the doctrine of "Free Love," then have I been a "Free Lover" many years.

I believe it to be the only true basis of social reform so much to be desired. You have put the subject in loveable clothing, and so distinctly that none but those willfully blind can help but see what your meaning is.

I would like to send a few copies to some of my friends who still believe "Free Love" to be some horrid monster seeking to destroy the holy ties of matrimony.

Please send one dozen copies and oblige

Your sincere friend, MRS. E. N. HUNTINGTON,
15 Laight street, New York, Dec. 23, 1871.

P. S.—I shall be with you in Washington, at the National Suffrage Convention, in January, if it is possible for me to leave.

LECTURES AND LECTURERS.

As it is utterly impossible for Mrs. Woodhull to meet the calls for her lectures on Political and Social reforms, we have been induced to make arrangements to supply the demand whenever agreeable to the applying parties.

Applicants will please state subject, and whether they are willing to have a competent substitute. We are prepared to answer general calls, for lectures on all reform subjects. Send in your orders, and we will do our best for you. There are plenty of good thinkers and talkers who await the *vox populi*—the "call" special—to enter the lists against the demons of a corrupt age and false civilization.

THE CAUSE OF THE FALL OF MAN.

BY MRS. D. B. BRIGGS.

It has often been said that the fall of man came through woman. If this be true, should she not raise him up? Give her the opportunity; free her from forced servitude; secure to her the conditions of freedom, that she may live a true life, that your sons and daughters may be born of free, and not of bond women, of peers and not of slaves; that they may be generated in equity by just men, instead of in sin by tyrants.

In all the past the creative work has advanced toward perfection only as conditions and circumstances would allow; and so it will ever be, therefore, if we would perfect the human race, all the requirements of success must be complied with.

Every good or evil thought, condition or circumstance; every thrill of joy, every pang of sorrow, leaves its impress, and will be perpetuated by either parent unless stamped out by a deeper impress.

The education of the present generation began with the infancy of the race, and will continue through coming ages. Capabilities are limited by germinal and gestative developments, and therefore it is necessary that both parents live a true life from childhood up; and more especially is it necessary that only good impressions be permitted through the period gestation. In the past it has not been so. Marriage has placed woman in subjection to man, regardless of justice, mercy or even decency. Protect her from forced maternity; from unrestrained lust; from the drudgery, insults, ignominy and torments of a servile subjection to an irresponsible lord and master. Why ask this of man? As a class, they will not grant it, until we take and make, instead of seek and pray. Sisters, let us arise and equip ourselves for this great work; and rest assured that many good men will be our helpers. All the atrocities and evils mentioned have been committed and are perpetuated in the name of and under marriage; but the results of woman's subjection to man do not end here; she is still further a prey to the rapacity and cruelty of man's unrestrained lusts. Out of wedlock man seeks to entrap, that he may consume on his own lusts; and when thus debased, woman is cast out and called vile; the finger is pointed, the lip curled with scorn, the tongue moved with calumny and reproach; all means of support other than her own degradation is withheld from her. Thus cursed, she shrinks from the light, and hides in dens, caverns and attics, that she may not see the shaking of holy heads, and the shrinking from her with holy disdain, of those who stealthily seek her in her dens and caves of darkness and woe.

And for what is all this? Why are these victims of man's lusts and perfidy thus cast out, and maltreated? She is debased to satiate man's lust; she is cast out as the scapegoat of man's shame; she is compelled to subsist by her own degradation that man may continue sure of his prey. She is treated with scorn, contempt and calumny, to remind her that she had better have given herself freely on the altar of marriage to be sacrificed with a cruelty less ostentatious.

Can woman be subjected to all this and her children not be marked and tainted thereby? Nay. It is thus that children are "conceived in sin and born in iniquity;" are tainted, blighted, rendered idiotic and vile; and thus came the fall of man, by man, and not by woman. The fall came by man, and redemption must come by woman. Arise, sisters, arm yourselves for, and acquaint yourselves in, this work.

[From the Tribune of Nov. 13.]

Mr. Riddle, the Don Quixote of the Woodhull-Clafin party in Washington, suing for the right of women to vote because of the light of nature and the constitution of the United States, has met with a reverse in the Supreme Court of the District. As well as we can make it out from the imperfect report, the Court holds that women have no present right to vote, but that it is quite competent for Congress so to amend the laws as to give them such a right in the District, or for the States to do it within their respective jurisdictions. Mr. Riddle prefers, it is reported, instead of now asking Congress for Woman Suffrage in the District, to go next to the United States Supreme Court for it. There is no provision of the Constitution that can hinder him from making such an effort, if he wants to.

The above looks funny in Washington, where Mr. Riddle is the *Tribune* lawyer. Two years ago the *Tribune* was sued for refusing to pay for a committee report that it published in advance of its being made in the House; and Mr. R. successfully defended it on the ground that the report had been stolen.

Not six weeks ago the *Tribune* trumpeted to the world that its Washington correspondents—White and Ramsdell—were acquitted. They were indicted for refusing to tell what they knew of the larceny of the Washington Treaty, and defended by Mr. R.

All of which shows that Mr. R. is not very particular about the character of some of his clients.

Mr. R. secured a judgment of the Supreme Court of the District that the Fourteenth Amendment advances women to full citizenship and gives them the right to vote; and will be able to endure just such another reverse, as the *Tribune* calls it, in the Supreme Court of the United States in due time. And the *Tribune* as usual will again be silly at its own expense.

WHO WOULD NOT BE!

BY C. FRED. FARLIN.

Who would not be a Radical!
Since they alone have wrought,
The greatest transformations
For which men ever fought!

Who would not be a Radical!
Since due to them alone,
The greatest earthly blessings
Mankind have ever known!

Who would not be a Radical!
With pulses strong and warm,
And join the mighty army
That ushers in Reform!

Who would not be a Radical!
Though all the world deride,
And 'stead of drifting with the stream,
Row up against the tide!

Then let us all be Radicals!
And join the restless throng,
Who seek to usher in the Right
And usher out the Wrong.

Respectfully inscribed to Victoria C. Woodhull, by the Author.

FINVOLA.

[CONCLUDED.]

Of course, Miss Bowering reminded us when we went home that it was very unfeminine to make speeches in public. I was going to rejoin that I thought her term unfortunate, and that it seemed to me that the best rule for public speaking was the broad one, that those only should speak who had something to say and knew how to say it, without regard to sex; but Lord Carlington had spoken after Mrs. Fane and made the usual unfortunate exhibition of incapacity, so I felt tongue-tied. No one would intentionally hurt good, kind Lord Carlington. As a reward, I think, for my self-control, Mrs. Fane's silvery voice haunted my dreams, only with one singular variation of the previous evening's scene. I thought that instead of sitting at the tea-table looking either at Mrs. Fane or her young daughter that I was leaning against the window with the fair Finvola by my side and my arms round her waist.

This preposterous fancy seemed to have come from a hazy idea that I was being told that we were all in Utopia, where everything was everybody's, and so this bonnie lassie mine by a logical consequence. I know it was very disappointing to awaken and realize my delusion; and then morning dreams always go by contraries, my nurse used to tell me, which childish reminiscence made me feel quite ill-tempered.

A very happy day stands out next in my recollections—the promised salmon fishing came off. I had promised to meet Capt. Fane at a particular bend of the river, and I had not been there many minutes before his boat glided in sight, punted, to my great surprise, by his fair daughter. As he jumped out of the stern he said, "Such an idle old fellow I look, don't I, sitting still and letting the child punt—but she likes it and declares that I should topple over with my game leg, from this small boat." Miss Fane did not think her punting required any explanation, it was pleasant exercise, she said; and then she was not going to tire her arms with a salmon rod. We fished patiently all the morning without success—then Miss Fane called us to luncheon, which she had laid out on the daintiest and most appetizing manner, under a large tree with swollen roots which provided us with seats.

I remember in particular, some very savory curry puffs, made, it appears, after a private recipe of Capt. Fane's, which he detailed to me with great precision, dwelling with great emphasis on the watchful care required during the frying of the ingredients, at which crisis Miss Fane interrupted with a merry laugh, "Now papa, dear, do you believe that Mr. Lyndhurst is going to make some himself?"

"And why not, my dear," answered her father. "I have no respect for a man who does not care for what he eats and doesn't know a good curry from cat's meat; besides, if Mr. Lyndhurst can't cook, perhaps he is married and might explain the matter to his wife."

"Oh, no," I put in eagerly, "I am not married, and I don't know much about cooking; but I should certainly like to have your recipe, Capt. Fane."

He replied, solemnly: "You shall; and now let us resume the business of the day, which is salmon fishing, sir, salmon fishing."

Miss Fane declined my assistance in clearing away the plates and dishes, so I took up my rod and followed her father. Let me confess at once that I am no enthusiast in angling, and have a very slight knowledge of the art. I had made several random casts with the smallest possible anxiety as to where the fly alighted, and the faintest possible interest in there being any salmon near to rise to it, when Captain Fane, who was at a little distance, made signs to me, and on my joining him said:

"No go, this. I shall move higher up. Where is Finvola? Oh, I see; going to those cottages to leave the remains of our luncheon. Good little wench. Well, now, she will be back soon, and your legs are younger than mine, both straight, too; stop and tell her I have gone higher up, and then you can be after me with a hop, skip and jump, and I'll show you some good pools."

"Thank you," I replied, "I will wait for Miss Fane with pleasure; the fact is I have a peculiar pain in my arm" (it was very peculiar) "that prevents my throwing properly today. I am afraid it is rheumatism, and that I shall have to give up fishing for the present."

"Bless me!" exclaimed the Captain, "what a pity; but perhaps it will go off after a little rest," and he walked on. When Miss Fane returned I gave my message, and we walked together after him. As soon as we had him well in view we sat down on a fallen trunk of a tree. I explained my inability to fish any more, and felt rather piqued, I confessed, at the cool, indifferent manner in which I was answered. "Then I suppose you are going home?"

"No," I rejoined, "not unless you are going to dismiss me. I should like to stay and watch your father's luck. Is my company disagreeable to you, Miss Fane?"

"It might be very agreeable," she exclaimed with a sudden brightening of the eyes. "I want to read and to work too. Could not you read to me?" and she produced a small paper book from her pocket. It was French—"La Coupe Feerie"—George Sand.

I consented to read it with pleasure, and she proved a charming auditor, so still and attentive, and with such noiseless needlework. Every now and then certain furtive glances, sent searchingly over my face, slightly disconcerted me, but of course I had no business to have known of them, and was supposed to have been absorbed in my reading. Gradually the charm of the composition brought her (unconsciously, I think) nearer to me. She laid down her work, clasped her hands and looked up at me, following my words with intense interest. It must have been a good two hours before we came to the end—half that time we were both in fairy land. My companion, with glowing cheeks, and long, curled lashes, moist and tender, wrapt in the progress of the tale; I, with every nerve tingling with emotion, seeing Paradise reflected in her eyes, and having only one wish in the world beyond the present pleasure, and that to clasp her waist. Why were these hours so fleeting, why could not they have lasted longer? I am sure the fair proportion of minutes never was in them. The tale was ended and we were both silent for a while, then I observed, "Do you mark the moral, Miss Fane?"

"Oh, please, don't talk of morals," she protested quaintly; "I don't want to be instructed."

"Then you won't see," I continued, "that it advocates your pet antipathy—marriage—with its cares and trials, but deepest bliss?"

She colored. The first rosy thought of morning is not lovelier than Finvola's blush; then she turned proudly away as she answered, "I cannot tell how much you know of my antipathies, nor am I inclined to discuss them with such a stranger."

I had just asked, "How long am I to be looked upon as a stranger?" when Captain Fane shouted to me to come and help him with a large fish.

I ran down to the river and managed to gaff a twenty-five pound salmon, which we soon after successfully landed. Then came a triumphant trudge to the boat, Captain Fane and I carrying the prize by turns. Quite forgetting the time, and that every step was now carrying me further from Mount Sandford, I jumped in with my companions, and taking the punt poles, in spite of my rheumatism, we soon landed opposite Captain Fane's house.

It was about 7 o'clock, and he warmly pressed me to stay and dine, assuring me that Mrs. Fane would excuse my morning dress. I accepted his invitation gladly, upon which followed the following quaint colloquy between the father and daughter: "And now Finvola, child, what have we got for dinner—something good, I hope." Answered the young lady, "Really, papa, I shall not tell you. People never ask those questions in the upper classes. Mr. Lyndhurst will think he is among savages." "Saucy wench!" exclaimed her father. "Never mind, I'll trust you; I know you wouldn't let your old father go out for a long day's fishing without having provided something nice against his return," upon which his Finvola relented, for I heard a whisper of, "Beefsteak pudding, and I mixed the seasoning before we started." At any rate there was the most perfect beefsteak pudding I ever tasted—a pudding that was pure delight, with a flavor of fair Finvola all over.

Besides Mrs. Fane there was a General Pemberton at dinner, who had arrived from London the day before, and was staying with them. He did not look much older, it at all, than Captain Fane, and I turned over in my mind the possibility of his being one of the numerous suitors whom Miss Fane had treated with impartial discouragement—the only thing against it being that she seemed perfectly at home with, and rather fond of him. Finvola was in white, and looked divine—the olives and the wine alike lost their flavor when she disappeared with her mother.

In the drawing-room Captain Fane dropped into the easiest of arm-chairs, and directed me to another, while General Pemberton played the cornet exquisitely, ably accompanied on the piano by Finvola.

It was like a new fairy land—that sitting at ease sipping *café noir* perfectly made, listening to charming music and gazing undisturbed at two of the most beautiful women in the world. At last the music stopped and Miss Fane, dropping her hands into her lap, closed her eyes with a comic air of exhaustion.

"The child must be really tired," said Mrs. Fane, "she has been out of doors nearly all day."

"Well, then, she shall go to roost," cried her father, rousing himself; "but first she must give us one little song."

Finola struck a few chords pensively, then to an old simple German melody she sang the following words (a translation of one of Henrich Home's exquisite morceaus) in a pure soprano voice, touchingly sweet:

I.
"My darling, we sat together,
We two, in our small boat;
The sky was calm and the sea was deep
Whereon we were afloat."

II.
"The fairy island, the lovely,
Lay dim in the moon's pale glance;
There sounded the sweetest music,
There waved the fairy dance."

III.
"It sounded sweet and sweeter,
It waved there to and fro,
But we slid past forlornly
Upon the great sea flow."

She ceased, and I remembered with pain that I too must go to roost, and so far off.

Captain Fane thought I must be too tired to walk, and offered me one of his ponies to ride.

"But then Sagittary must ride the other and bring them both back such a long way!" exclaimed Miss Fane, pathetically. Of course I protested that Sagittary should not be troubled, and that I was perfectly able to walk—not that I sympathized in her concern for the robust and red-faced domestic, whom I well recollected, but because I saw clearly that the meanest thing about Finvola's home was dearer to her than legions of admiring outsiders.

The next day, in relating my adventures at Mount Sandford, I mentioned General Pemberton.

They seemed to know him well, and declared they must immediately send him an invitation to the dance they were going to have the next evening. "Is he one of Miss Fane's admirers?" I asked.

Lady Maria replied, "Oh, no; but he has been in love with Mrs. Fane for twenty years, they say. He will make a nice escort for Finvola, who will now be left without excuse about coming."

"Miss Fane does not care for going out, then?" I remarked.

"No, she almost dislikes it; but Mrs. Fane will not let her shut herself up; she says young people who stay always at home get to think too much of themselves and only find

their proper level in society. So Finvola goes out with Lady Holland, her aunt; her mother cannot take her—she is too excitable and delicate for large parties, and her father says she stays at home to keep his wife company; but I believe it is also because he likes to do gardening and hard work of that kind all day, and so gets too tired to move willingly after dinner."

Miss Fane and General Pemberton came late to the ball. Mrs. Fane had been very unwell all the day, which had detained them and had made her daughter unwilling to leave her at all. Indeed, Miss Fane looked so much out of spirits that I asked if Mrs. Fane's illness were serious.

"Only because my dear mother is so weak and frail that any change for the worse is serious for her," she answered softly.

Finvola had at least heart enough for her relations, I reflected. She had been dancing with Captain Willet and was now engaged to me, but she looked so pale that I proposed that we should sit down and talk instead. She said, "I am not ill, thank you; I never am—being very strong—but I began with a little fatigue to-night and should like to rest, only pray don't stay with me, you will not find me interesting to talk to, like Mamma; I am a very commonplace person."

"Perhaps you will define commonplace, Miss Fane?" "That is easy: it is to have a very small proportion of mind—to like gardening, boating, cooking and needlework very much, and all such like occupations that require the smallest exertion of the intellect."

"You never read or think then?"

"Sometimes; but I prefer to be read to and to be thought for. It occurred to me the other night, when you and Mamma were talking of Shelley, how very, very strange it was that he, who believed and thought and felt so deeply, should have been held irreligious, while commonplace people, like me, who never have, nor crave to have, a single deep personal conviction, we, real practical atheists, are held orthodox and safe."

"Did you go on to imagine you were not safe?"

"No, if heaven is a reality, I shall not be deprived of it because I cannot see it through our dense atmosphere. It is not in every one's power to rise, notwithstanding the hosts of meaner cares that life's strong wings encumber—perhaps it is even desirable that many should not—they must stay and do the meaner works below."

"Dear Miss Fane, you do not really believe it is mean work to tend your delicate mother; to gladden and help your father in his out-door occupations; to lighten the domestic toils of your less fortunate sisters?"

"No, no—a thousand times no; that does not keep me low. It is only I who am mean and trifling, and selfish even, which is another name for earth-bound." I exclaimed: "Dear child, remain earth-bound, and let me give you a stronger tie here." She started up from her seat. "I want to go home. Please call General Pemberton. Oh, here is Lord Carlington. Good night, Mr. Lyndhurst. Perhaps you will be kind enough to order the carriage for me."

She was gone, and I was left with my own thoughts, to make what I could of my abrupt dismissal. Extremely disconcerted, I wandered to a quiet corner of the refreshment room, which opened into a balcony.

As I approached, I heard the following remark from thence, in a strange voice: "Your friend seems to be making strong running for the fair Miss Fane: is it any good?"

Jack Willet answered, "Not the least, she won't have him; besides, there's Mr. Somerton and his children, conventional mothers would only look to the fact of his not being married, but Mrs. Fane is just the last person to let her daughter walk over their heads."

The stranger said, "Do they know?"

He was answered, "Certainly not; but they would be sure to hear."

I turned away, went to my own room and locked myself up. "Earth-bound! I was hell-bound—all heaven was before my eyes, how could I rise—the devil held my feet; I had made terms with him once and he kept me to them. Another mood came over me—this was folly, madness. I was not worse than other men; I was not nearly so bad as many. I was capable of a true, deep love, and of making myself worthy of this pure, sweet girl, and she should not reject me thus. I had been sinning against as well as sinning. She would know all one day. Win her I must and would. She had been taken by surprise; I would see her again—many times more."

The next day I excused myself from joining the shooting party on the plea of letters to write; and in the afternoon, as the young ladies were engaged to ride with some friends, I said I should stroll out to inquire after Mrs. Fane. Lord Carlington volunteered to accompany me, but, as he was detained by a visitor, I went away alone.

Mrs. Fane had a visitor, also. She was in her usual seat on the sofa, surrounded by books, with a writing-table before her. Over this table bent a young man, evidently of the laboring classes, looking very earnestly into her wonderfully beautiful face. He rose directly I entered, and Mrs. Fane held out to him her small white hand. As he bent over it very gracefully I remarked that I feared I was interrupting. She said: "No, I think our conversation is ended. Is it not?" (turning to the youth). He answered: "Yes, ma'am; and I thank you truly," and left the room. I inquired after her health, and she replied that she was better; but she looked even more transparently delicate than usual, and there were ominous dark circles round her eyes; yet it was with her usual bright, infectious enthusiasm that she took up one of the books near her and began debating upon it. I remember the concluding remarks: The usual conventional novel, with its bad attempt at art and false morality—when women make a hero of a reckless profligate, one is grieved, but not surprised—it is from their ignorance; but when men do it they are without excuse—they know how detestable a thing is vice, and that nothing short of a miracle makes heroes of worn-out rouses in real life. They know that virtue is adorable, and that in their secret hearts they bow before men who can say, like King Arthur, to their true loves, "For I was ever virgin save for thee." That nature has made no such difference, mental and moral, between the sexes as justifies in any wise a different standard of morality, and yet they dare to keep up the threadbare delusion that there is one they dare to trade upon, and thus keep open the fostering sore of our hollow civilization.

I observed, "To a certain extent I feel deeply with you in all this, and the bad moral effect of the popular novel cannot be gainsayed; but, Mrs. Fane, can you deny that a certain experience benefits and elevates—that the Adam of the immortal legend, laboring outcast, condemned to death, was not greater, and had not risen above the calm, sinless wanderer of the garden of Eden?"

I was answered, "Nay, surely the true hearted for every

step backward will make two forward." But I alluded to those who do not walk at all, to those amazing and most unchristian heroes who, we are informed, "spare neither men in their anger nor women in their love," and as such are held up as models for the envy of men and the adoration of women—live a full life—love in generous measure; but revenge is not noble—a life of idleness and self-indulgence is not life, and celestial gratification is not love. The Christian ideal is the highest in love—one true and devoted affection as life-long. The mistake of our institutions of marriage is that no one can be forced up to any ideal, and the higher the harder to attain.

We can encourage virtue, but we cannot make it by law. Irrevocable ties can only be justified by a belief in the infallibility of human judgment. At present they try most cruelly those highest hearts—the eager confiding ones—who invariably make the greatest mistakes in love.

"Ah, here is one who understood these things—here is a real hero," and Mrs. Fane took up a volume of Shelley. As she clasped both her hands about it, lovingly and reverently, a sudden great desire came into me to lay before that large unfettered sympathy my own troubled life. Would it be death to my hopes of Finvola, as Jack Willet had said? Ought I not to run even that risk, in hopes of benefit for my little Anna, for the yearling babe, or even for—

But Mrs. Fane, drawing out her watch, suddenly remarked, "I am quite vexed to have to dismiss you, but I must write a few lines to send by this post. Finvola is in the garden, perhaps you will like to join her for a little while."

I walked all through the garden without finding her, but on inquiring of the constellations I learned that "Missie" was in the yard. There I then found her seated on the step of a horse mount, with a large apron on, cutting up some green herb or vegetable. She bowed gravely without moving from her occupation, and as I approached I noticed a brilliant color rise into her fair face, but what emotion sent it there I could not tell.

I asked, "Are we friends, Miss Fane?"

She answered "Oh, of course, why not? I don't offer you my hand because its green and rather sticky; you see I am cutting French beans for dinner."

"May I help you?"

"Thank you; but certainly not: it requires practice, being a delicate operation, and I have not enough here for you to learn upon."

"Miss Fane, I must ask you for the second time, is my company disagreeable to you?"

"No."

"It seemed so last night; you ran away from me very abruptly."

No answer.

"Miss Fane, you will not let me help you, will you help me?"

"How can I help you?"

"I want your friendship and your sympathy. I am oppressed with a heavy trouble."

"Mr. Lyndhurst, you must excuse me, but I have not sympathy at command, nor even curiosity about the troubles of rich and independent men who are not likely to have any that they have not brought upon themselves."

"Which makes them easier to bear?"

"No, harder; still they do not come within my line."

"No, dear, your line is safer; go on praying. Lead me not into temptation." There was one quick, searching glance up into my face from eyes that were moist, and then an almost whisper of "I have a temptation."

"What is it, my child?"

"I cannot tell you; but I am not going to make a trouble of it by giving way: and I am not a child; I am nineteen."

"And I am not a rich and independent man, as you have considered. I have for the last three years practiced a strict economy for the sake of some who are dependent on me, and I have been rewarded by being nearly ruined by the reckless extravagance of one to whom I gave my full confidence."

Finvola looked steadily on me with full bright eyes, almost smiling. I said, "My misfortunes appear to amuse you, Miss Fane?"

"Oh, no," she answered, eagerly; "but I am glad and sorry too—I don't know how to tell you—only I wish to be your friend now," and she placed one of her dear, clever hands in mine, trying to draw it away the moment after, on the plea of her late occupation. But, at the risk of being green and sticky for the term of my natural life, I could not have relinquished it so quickly; in fact, had not its tantalizing possessor insisted upon calling the cook, I don't know how long it might not have been before I gave it up. As it was, Finvola followed that functionary into the kitchen, to wash her hands, she said, and it was some ages, I thought, before she reappeared.

When she at last came back, she informed me, with an air at once shy, inviting and mutinous, defying description, that she must go at once into the drawing-room. Lord Carlington was there, and her father and General Pemberton had also come in, too many for her mother's nervous excitability to bear at once; so she must go and relieve her, and I had better go away. I amended that I would first re-enter the house and carry off Lord Carlington. So we walked together to the French window of the drawing-room. There was a little excitement there, caused by a letter from Lady Holland, just brought from the town by her brother. The old lady wrote to report herself very seriously indisposed and begged them all to come and see her, perhaps for the last time; or at least she must have her darling niece, Finvola, who would cheer her.

They did not seem much alarmed, as it appeared that the writer was rather subject to nervous panics of this sort, and Mrs. Fane said that a literary engagement requiring close attention would prevent her being able to leave home just then, but Finvola of course must go. It seemed natural that this bright, helpful girl should be wanted in every emergency; but Lady Holland was at Dover, on her yearly autumnal visit to the seaside, and there was a difficulty about Miss Fane's undertaking this long journey alone. I immediately offered myself as escort, pleading that I had intended leaving shortly (which was true); also, that I wished to go in that direction to Canterbury (which was not true till that moment); and urging the very great pleasure it would be to me to make myself of use to them.

"You are very kind," remarked Miss Fane, "but an escort is really quite unnecessary. I am not likely to run away with a guard or to be carried away by a porter, and there is no other danger that I can imagine between this and Dover."

"*Tu es toi petite chatte,*" interrupted her father; "you are a free and independent citizen, we are all aware, but you don't know the world. Why, a disagreeable fellow might get into your carriage, or a maniac, attracted by *les beaux*

gens de modemoiselle. It's very kind and very proper for Mr. Lyndhurst to offer to take care of you, and I beg you will put on your best manners for the occasion."

"*C'est depend,*" answered his daughter; but it was settled that we should go together.

Two mornings later I was pacing the little station waiting for the young lady, having beguiled some of the time by hinting to the guard that as I was going to travel with a lady I should be obliged by his allowing us the carriage to ourselves as much as possible, and adding a token of my confidence in his amiable disposition. When she arrived and all was just ready for starting, this useful functionary gave me an imploring look, and on my going up to ask what was the matter, he reproduced the token, pleading, "If you please, sir, I didn't know that it was Miss Fane you were going to travel with. She's been very kind to me and mine, and I couldn't do anything not fair to her."

"I give you my word not to make it unfair," I answered, walking away, which so completely reassured the good man that we had the carriage to ourselves for a long time. When we were fairly off Miss Fane remarked, "Now, Mr. Lyndhurst, we shall be together for some hours; if you smoke or have any other disagreeable habits (most people have some), let me beg of you to treat me without ceremony and to indulge yourself."

"Thank you," I replied, "I do smoke sometimes, but just now I should prefer talking to you; perhaps, however, you spoke partly on your own account; if it be possible that you have a disagreeable habit, I beg that you will indulge in it without regard to me." She opened a small traveling-bag, saying deliberately, "You are very good; I don't smoke, but I—ahem—knew; however, there's plenty of elbow-room here, so I'll endeavor to make myself as little dangerous as possible;" and she spread out four of the longest and sharpest of knitting-needles, pointing each of the four points of the compass; nay, worse, for all the eight ends of these skewers stuck out.

It was not a promising beginning, but I had no time to waste bemoaning that. "You have not regretted promising to be my friend, Finvola, have you?" I asked.

"No," she answered promptly; "but call me Miss Fane, please, it sounds better."

"I should not think Mr. Lyndhurst sounded better if you would call me Walter."

"Perhaps not, but sentiment is not my line."

"Miss Fane, do you care for me in the least?"

"Yes, I like you very much."

"Only like?"

"What more do you want since we are not going to be married?"

"Is it quite out of the question that we should be married some day?"

"Why, Mr. Lyndhurst," exclaimed my companion, dropping all her stitches, "didn't you tell me yesterday that you were almost ruined? Ruined men don't think of marrying, and I thought it was all going to be so pleasant."

"Dear Finvola, is it really so unpleasant to think that I shall be able to marry some day?"

"Only because it makes an unpleasant explanation necessary between us. You may, of course, marry ten wives if you please, but I can never marry at all."

"Why not, dear?"

"In the first place, because my line in life is already marked out for me. I am necessary in my home. My mother's health is very delicate and peculiar. She requires constant care and watching. I am not happy away from her, nor she from me. My father is lame, so he too needs my help and companionship. I will never leave them. In the second place, I am not fitted for marriage. Englishmen value personal freedom above all things. I, an Englishwoman, have the same feeling (by mistake, you will say, of course), and I will never be subject to any one, least of all to a husband. To my mind love, like friendship, requires a certain equality. I could not live under orders."

I answered: "You are quite right; no one need who is capable of ordering themselves. As far as I am concerned, I fully agree with the divine poet, who says:

The man
By virtuous soul commands not nor obeys.
Power, like a desolating pestilence,
Pollutes what'er it touches, and obedience,
Bane of all genius, virtue, freedom, truth,
Makes slaves of men, and of the human frame
A mechanized automaton."

"Good! You might have answered me with the usual stuff, 'two cannot rule in one house,' &c., &c., as if two friends cannot, and did not, constantly live together on terms of perfect equality. But you have sense."

"I do like you, Mr. Lyndhurst!"

"Only like?" I asked again.

"What do you want?" she pleaded softly. "You see I cannot leave my home, and you are heir to a title or some rubbish of that sort which would prevent your ever being able to settle down with us. Why do you wish to make me discontented?"

"Dear love, I have no right indeed to ask anything of you; at present I am a miserably fettered man; one day, soon, I will write and tell you all my life; till then, decide nothing against me, but only try and think of and feel for me a little."

"Yes indeed, I will do that."

How cruelly fast we steamed away; as I sat there holding my dear love's hand how hatefully, swiftly we were carried through the air. I exclaimed, "Child, if you look at me like that, do you know what I shall do?" and I moved from my seat opposite and sat close beside her.

"Yes," she whispered, with the quaintest look, answering my actions rather than my words, "you may kiss me once, if you like; I'll tell you why afterward."

It is quite unnecessary to say that I availed myself of this singularly accorded permission, but I was allowed short grace, and the "Now go back to your own seat or I shall not tell you anything" was very peremptory. Then came the explanation. Said Finvola, "Once Lady Maria Carlington had an admirer; he went on paying her attention for some time, and she could not make up her mind whether she liked him or not. One day he asked her to marry him, and she saw no reason against it, so she consented—then he kissed her. But upon this a horrible disgust came over her; she did not love him, so she could not bear it; she told me there could be no better test of one's feelings."

"And what are my darling's feelings, then, at this moment?"

She answered with a wild, gay laugh, that rung in my ears long; but just as I was going back to her side to repeat the telling experiment the wretched train stopped and some people got into our carriage. We soon reached Dover after this.

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JESUS CHRIST AND LA COMMUNE.

AMERICAN BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS.—At the meeting at Salem, Mass., Wednesday, October 4, the following resolution was offered by Rev. Mr. Buddington, after eloquent speeches had been made upon the subject by various speakers:

"Resolved, That hereafter the American Board will be ready to enlarge its operations by extending its sovereign work in nominally Christian lands, and will form missions in Europe, South America or other foreign lands, as God in his providence may open the way; and that the prudential Committee are requested to conduct such missions on the same general principles that they have acted upon in past years.

"The venerable President then started to his feet and asked all who approved of the resolution to rise. The vast assemblage rose quickly as one man and burst into the grand missionary refrain, 'The morning light is breaking.' The board was unanimously in favor of the measure. Dr. Wellman then consecrated the new mission by prayer.

"Rev. Athanasius Coquerel, of Paris, next spoke, thanking the board for their new movement. He said: 'We of the Latin race are laboring to-day under a contradiction between liberty and religion.' The working classes of this country had come to believe that all religion was a species of despotism, and this had destroyed their faith in God. They firmly believed that if they embraced any religion they must give up every civil and political right. He then explained how the supreme dominance of the Catholic Church had effected this terrible work. Atheists, he thought, were less than heathen. He analyzed the irreligious elements in the late insurrection with great power; and closed by advising the board to begin their campaign in the European mission with schools, not preaching, or the establishment of churches."

The general failure of Christian missions, even when backed up by the army and navy of Christian powers, (which does not include the United States), is a sufficient reason why, despite the argument of President Hopkins to the contrary, the Am. B. of F. M. should try for luck in a different way somewhere else. Mons. Coquerel is a well-meaning pastor of a Protestant church, seemingly as much of a philanthropist as a sectarian. His mission in this country is to secure money for his church in Paris. The working class of France have come to the very sensible conclusion, that so long as the Churches, both Roman and Protestant, are mere stipendiaries of the State, part of the machinery of oppression, they will have nothing to do with such religion as they are exponents of, nor acknowledge the God they worship, even by implication.

So they declare themselves "Atheists," which—when the Church is a political imposition, and the O. T. Jehovah the only God referred to—is a very pious thing to do. The International Association is the Holy Church of the future, and the Commune the repository of about all the religion there is in France. Jesus Christ, if he had lived in Paris, would have been behind the barricades with *La Commune*, just as he is said to have driven the bankers and brokers out of the temple; and because he promised always to be where true belief was found. Is he not reported to have said: "Call no man Master," "Sell all thou hast and give to the poor," "Let him who hath two coats give to him who hath none," "Woe unto you rich men?" The Commune would consider him a sanguinary Red, and worship him more intelligently than Coquerel or Dupanloup.

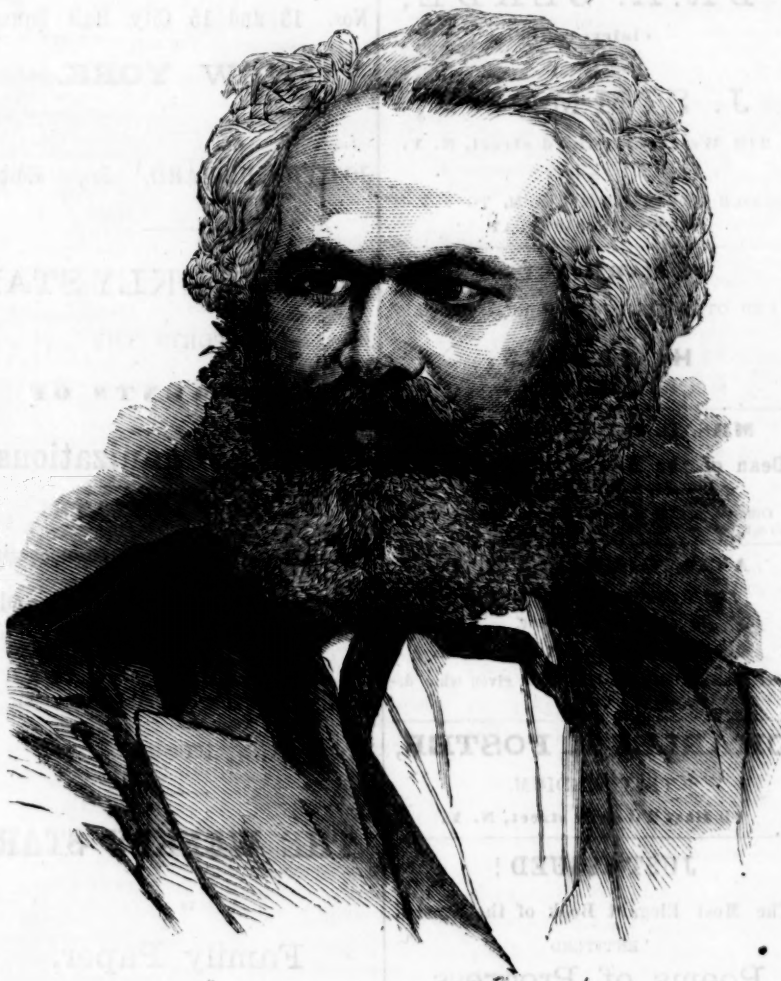
THE SOCIAL PROBLEM IN GERMANY.

Bismarck, it is said, has hit upon a startling measure for allaying the discontent of workmen. It is reported that he intends to prepare a bill "for the regulation of the profits of manufacturing associations," providing that when the profits reach a certain percentage the surplus shall be divided among the workmen employed in them. The bill applies only to manufacturing companies, but most of the large manufacturing establishments in Germany are in the hands of associations, so that the importance and bearing of the bill are obvious. It is a bold step toward socialism. Five years ago no one in Germany except the followers of Ferdinand Lassalle would have ventured to advocate such a measure. To-day the social problem has assumed so threatening an aspect that even reactionary organs, such as the Berlin *Kreuz-Zeitung*, freely admit that something must be done, and done very quickly, to prevent a general social convulsion, while even such cautious liberal journals as the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* and the Hamburg *Neues* advocate laws to secure the workmen some share in the profits of their labor. The German government announces that it will not interfere in any manner whatever between the employers and their workmen as to the hours and wages of labor, but will leave these questions to be decided by themselves. This, of course, will be welcome news to the manufacturers, but they will offer a most determined resistance to the bill of the Chancellor. The debate on this bill will certainly attract attention throughout the world.

The above has been going the rounds of the press without comment. It is very doubtful that Bismarck would commit the blunder of crushing socialism with one hand, and with the other endorsing one of its fundamental principles. The non-interference with hours and wages is another contradiction. The division of the surplus earnings creates a new system of remuneration tending to abolish wages.

DR. KARL MARX.

The heart and soul of the International Society, Dr. Karl Marx, was born at Trier, Germany, in 1818, and after having received an excellent education, first began the study of law, and then philosophy and national economy. He settled at Bonn, Prussia, as private tutor, in 1841. He did not, however, continue long in this capacity; for, during the following year, he became editor of a Rhenish newspaper in Cologne, and despite severe censure and strong opposition, began, through its columns, to attack the Prussian Government. The paper was suppressed in consequence shortly after, and Karl Marx was forced to leave Cologne. He went to Paris, and, in connection with Arnold Ruge, published the *Franco-German Annuals*, with the purpose of causing revolutionary movements in Germany. The Prussian police were, however, instructed to prevent any copies to pass their lines, and it was not long after that Marx was banished from France by the government. He then left for Brussels, but returned to Paris during the Revolution, in February, 1848. Matters having now assumed a very different aspect in Cologne, he once more went there, and became publisher of the *New Rhenish Journal*, which shared the same fate of its namesake and predecessor, and was sup-



KARL MARX.

pressed in the following year, on account of its sympathy with the Saxon and Baden disturbances. Marx then returned, a fugitive, to Paris; and subsequently went to London, where he issued several works on national economy, wrote for several newspapers, including some published in this country, and became one of the founders of the International Society, whose object was to unite the working classes throughout the world, and promote their social progress. The society gained ground rapidly, and now embraces several million members.—*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*.

INDIVIDUAL SOVEREIGNTY.

Sir, you're another! You were not warranted in using your technicality as you did; but if so, it is only a truism, while mine is altruism, or the right of others to be governed by me, and while I consider you the greatest of living thinkers, I regard you as an egregious ass (with concealed claws) and compared with me, no more than an ox in the hands of A. BUTCHER.

ACCORDING to Senator Buckingham there are sixteen hundred Dame Partingtons in Connecticut, living close along shore mostly, whisking their brooms and splashing away like mad at the suffrage tide that is rising and rolling at their very doors and over their nicely-sanded floors. Poor old crones! They don't like the Atlantic Ocean; they hate navigation—and yet the tide will rise and they have got to float and vote with the rest. Scolding the billows, wringing of hands and mops and dashing dirty water won't save them. The Senator, too, grabs a broom and yells amid the surging roar that these sufferers by ballot are "not manly women," and they are afraid that "others more bold" will launch out upon the waters and help the Atlantic Ocean, and that the tide will rush in all over the floors and put out the altar-fires and "introduce discord into the marriage relation." Ye Gods, Senator! do you say discord? Can the ballot carry any more coals to that Newcastle?

"So much for Buckingham!"

We glean from a Pittsburgh paper the following extracts, evidently written by a prominent lady member of the Philadelphia Convention, probably Mrs. Jennings. They are so tastefully and elegantly expressed and withal exhibit so much genuine apprehension of the present condition, that we take pleasure in transferring them to our columns:

PHILADELPHIA, November 22.

MESSRS. EDITORS: The American Women's Suffrage Convention assembled on Tuesday morning in old National Hall, Philadelphia, a building full of historic associations with anti-slavery times. It is an old-fashioned and unpleasant hall, but I suppose its history redeems it, as many an individual borrows respectability from his ancestors.

The Convention has been well attended and the meetings have been very interesting. Mrs. Tracey Cutter presides with dignity and speaks well.

Mrs. Churchill and Mrs. Campbell are both fine speakers, and Mrs. Mary Grew, one of the old anti-slavery pillars and a pioneer for woman, every now and then darts in bits of wisdom.

But the brightest star to me is Celia Burleigh. She is beautiful and poetic. She has a wisdom which seems in that it is calm and graceful rather than fervid. She is a queen, not of the tragic order—not one who would take off the head of a subject if he refused allegiance—but one whose spiritual supremacy would compel a loving allegiance to what is noble and good.

Robert Dale Owen—benignant—wise in his beautiful simplicity, told us of the fifteen years' struggle he made to get through the Indiana Legislature a bill to protect married women in their property rights.

Lucretia Mott, whose eighty years are crowned with wisdom, beauty and renown, gave some very curious reminiscences of the early history of the cause.

Not only Philadelphia but the whole world loves and claims Lucretia Mott. She has not only taught the nations wisdom, but she has shown women how to grow old beautifully, and proven that they may be angels at eighty as well as at eighteen.

Prof. Stone, of Michigan; Judge Whitehead, of New Jersey, and C. C. Burleigh, of anti-slavery renown, made able speeches.

The resolutions, especially one regarding the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, were warmly discussed.

I must not omit to mention that Mrs. Sweas, a sister of John Jacob Bright, graced the occasion and said a few words of encouragement. Her snowy hair reminds me to speak of the many silver-haired women who appear in these gatherings. It is very noticeable. The sight is as suggestive as it is beautiful.

The intelligent mothers and grandmothers of to-day are not restricted to the kitchen, or sequestered in the obscure chimney corner, as of old; they come out to give us the wisdom of their ripened years, and they come out to hear and applaud the noble words of noble men and women. Honor to the age which honors its white-haired women.

Discussion has been intense and interesting all through the convention, especially upon the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments of the United States Constitution.

I notice a material change in the character of the discussions on this subject—both in conventions and among the people.

The talk to-day is not whether women are physically inferior to men, and whether the female brain weighs as many ounces as the male brain; it is not the anatomical right of women to vote, but of the Constitutional right. We are no longer on the dissecting table, where we have been dragged for years, we are now in the Courts. It is being discovered we are not animalcula, to be studied with the microscope, but that we are fair-sized persons, "citizens," standing face to face with Congress and the Judges of the land—and the Great Judge is above watching us all. H. P. J.

WORDS AND DEEDS.

BY WM. BRUNTON.

O words may be as fair
As truth and love and light,
And purest feeling share,
Yet have no beauty bright;
For let a deed deny,
The words so sweetly fair,
And lo! we pass them by
As birds the empty air.

The words are dead and cold
If in the hour of need
We would the word unfold
And yet withdraw the deed.
Then let our words be fair,
But fairer far our deeds,
So that the trees may bear
The fruit denied to seeds.

THE Indianapolis news gives us the following:

SOCIETY AS A CHILD OWNER.—Society has a sort of joint proprietorship in the child. If he is reared as a thief, society suffers. If his health of body or mind is impaired, society must bear the loss. So that, indeed, we must grant the right of the State to protect the child from his parents. And it is the especial business of society, in its organized forms, to protect the individual, in its organized forms, to expect protection from the selfishness and greed and brutality of the guardians of his infancy.

The ball gathers volume in rolling. This is the very point in education and infant care which the WEEKLY has constantly urged;—only that society has more than a joint proprietorship. It has the whole responsibility. It assumes the right to punish—a condition precedent is the duty to protect and educate.

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