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WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

PROGRESS! FREE THOUGHT! UNTRAMMELED LIVES!

BELAKING THE WAY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.

VOL. 4.—No. 9. WHOLE No. 87.

NEW YORK, JANUARY 13, 1872.

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Subject to increase to.....1,000,000

This Bank negotiates LOANS, makes COLLEC-
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76-88.

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posits, subject to sight draft.
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Bonds, and promptly available in any part of the
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Deposits payable on demand, with interest due.

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Surplus, \$300,272 95.

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BONDS of the ST. JOSEPH AND DENVER CITY
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Interest, payable August and February, in New
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Seven per Cent. Semi-Annually.

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navigation on the Hudson River, the whole line of
which will be completed and in operation on or be-
fore October 1st, 1872, and give a new line of road to
Lake Ontario and the West, 25 miles shorter than any
line that can be found.

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

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

PRICE OF THE BONDS, 90 IN CURRENCY.

Full particulars of the above may be had of, and
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Interest commences on the 1st of each month.

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

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

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

Ingersoll Lockwood, of New York, is one of the most popular lecturers in the country. He has been a foreign minister of the government (when only twenty-one years old), and is one of the most genial speakers of the present day. [Evening Mail.]... The lecture was interesting; exhibits a wonderful recollection of the subject, and presents an array of curious facts. Though exhausting the subject, he did not exhaust the audience, which listened to it with pleasurable delight. [N. Y. Herald.]... The lecture delivered last evening, before the Young Men's Association, by Ingersoll Lockwood, on "Count Bismarck," was a very fine effort indeed. [Troy Express.]... A good audience was in attendance at Tweddle 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.]

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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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1 box, \$1.00. Postage 6 cents.
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It is sold by all dealers in drugs and medicines.
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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. 37 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; 486 Pennsylvania avenue, Washington, D. C.; and at all the principal railroad Offices in the East.

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Being constructed with regard to scientific accuracy, are used in all tests of skill by the best players in the country, and in all first-class clubs and hotels. Illustrated catalogue of everything relating to billiards sent by mail.

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NOISELESS,

LINK-MOTION,

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**Sewing Machine**

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

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623 BROADWAY, New York.

THE HAIR.**ZOE COME!****THE NEW HAIR RESTORATIVE**

Will positively restore luxuriant and healthy growth of HAIR upon the

BALD HEADED,

and will prevent the hair from falling out.

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

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

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

MRS. ELVIRA M. DEPUY,
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 Genius 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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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.

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

CHARLES K. GRAHAM, President.

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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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No. 557 BROADWAY, NEW YORK,

Dealers in

MODERN AND ANTIQUE

Furniture, Bronzes,

CHINA, ARTICLES OF VERTU.

Established 1836.

**A BEAUTIFUL
SET OF TEETH,**

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

TEETH EXTRACTED WITHOUT PAIN,

With Nitrous Oxide Gas.

No extra charge when others are inserted.

SPLENDID SETS, \$10 to \$20.

L. BERNHARD, No. 216 Sixth Avenue,
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.

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No. 16 Wall Street.

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

854 Broadway

HAS REMOVED FROM HIS STORE TO THE

FIRST FLOOR,

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

CHATELAIN BRAIDS,

LADIES' AND GENTLEMEN'S WIGS,

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

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

HARABA ZEIN,

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

WM. DIBBLEE'S,

854 Broadway, up-stairs.

SAM'L BARTON.

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BARTON & ALLEN,

BANKERS AND BROKERS,

No. 40 BROAD STREET.

Stocks, Bonds and Gold bought and sold on commission.



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

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.

POST OFFICE NOTICE.

The mails for Europe during the week ending Saturday, Jan. 9, 1872, will close at this office on Wednesday at 8 A. M., and on Saturday at 11 A. M.

P. H. JONES, Postmaster.

THE INTERNATIONAL.

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

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

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

Section 6 (German).—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.

Fifth Senatorial District Section (English, not yet numbered) meets every Friday evening at Myers', 129 Spring street, at 8 o'clock.

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.

INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

There being such a wide diversity of opinion in reference to the objects of this Association, which is giving the crowned heads of Europe so much trouble, and which has recently compelled the New York authorities to respect their rights, that we are glad to be able to place before our readers the following answer from John Hales, General Secretary International, to the Secretary of the Dundee Republican Club, who wrote to inquire into the principles of the International:

INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION,
256 HIGH HOLBORN, LONDON, W. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I received your letter, and have much pleasure in answering it, though I do not consider the association of which I am the Secretary is under any obligation to defend itself. The International is an association worthy of the support of every worker, as it represents the interests and aspirations of labor, and labor alone. It looks upon the human race as one great family, and seeks to unite the workers of all countries in one fraternal bond, irrespective of all differences of nationality, language, color, creed or trade, and aims at the reconstruction of society upon a labor basis. It considers that labor, of either brain or hand, should be the only condition of citizenship, and claims for every person born the right to labor, and the right to live, upon the condition that he or she performs a fair share of the labor that may be required by society. It seeks to substitute realities for shams, and give all equal rights, based upon a fraternity of interests, and guarantees to all the liberty to live instead of the liberty to starve, which they now possess. It is both political and social, and its action depends much upon the peculiar circumstances and condition of each country, but it always acts in the interests of the working class. At the present time it is actively supporting the engineers of Newcastle in the struggle for a reduction of the hours of labor. It is organized upon the federative plan, and each section or branch has full liberty of action so long as nothing is done antagonistic to the principles of the association, and may take up any question it may deem calculated to advance the interests of its members, either national or local, parliamentary or municipal, political or social. In Belgium it has occupied itself chiefly with the social struggle against capital; in France it has occupied itself with politics, and may be said to be the real author of the Commune; in Germany, on the other hand, the two questions have gone hand-in-hand, and while the social question has not been neglected, the political power has been utilized, and four members have been returned to the German Parliament, where they have bearded Bismarck and protested against the stealing of Alsace and Lorraine. 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 substitute 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.

Other points of minor interest have been discussed and likewise adopted, but these are the principal ones, and, I think, embrace nearly all for which an agitation can be raised. I think they are comprehensive, and comprise all the objects for which the various democratic and labor organizations are striving, and I would submit, with all due deference, that it would be wise for you to join, and thus form part of the most homogeneous and powerful body yet organized in the interest of the people. Hoping to hear from you, I remain yours fraternally,

JOHN HALES, Gen. Sec. International.

"POLITICAL PLATFORM FOR THE COMING PARTY."

Some time in August last a pamphlet bearing the above title was sent to my address by Mr. E. D. Linton, of Charlestown, Mass. That gentleman is the author of it, and he need not be ashamed of his work. It would have been printed before this in the WEEKLY but for the pressure of other matter relating to the same movement which seemed to be of more immediate importance. Now, however, that a very private conference is to be held in this city on the second Tuesday in January, '72, for the discussion of the questions treated in this pamphlet, its insertion in these columns should not be longer delayed; but my friend Mr. Linton will excuse the following criticism.

The entire programme reminds me of the play of "Hamlet," with the part of Hamlet omitted—that is to say, of the Platform of the "New Democracy" as first presented, or the recent improved platform of the International Workingmen's Association, minus the political changes in forms of government necessary to the attainment of the required conditions. In a little pamphlet printed nearly three years ago, setting forth the programme of the "New Democracy," I added a few words, under the head of "The Referendum," to the following effect:

The reader of the preceding pages will not fail to notice that the new democracy contemplates nothing less than a radical reorganization of society upon the basis of equality, so that in every department of industry, trade, commerce, education and insurance, the State may be substituted for the individual, just when and where the individual fails or

neglects to perform the duties incumbent upon him. In the execution of this work, however, it is found that the State itself requires reformation or reorganization. Representative self-government, as our system of legislation has been termed, has become, in fact, the Rule of Privileged Individuals, so that the several National, State and municipal legislative bodies reek with corruption, and no man can be safely trusted in any legislative body. The New Democracy, therefore, propose to amend the constitutions of the United States and of the several States in such a manner that all acts of the several legislative bodies may be submitted to the people for ratification.

My opinions remain unchanged. Existing forms of government must undergo a change corresponding to the changes in human conditions that the necessities of humanity demands. Everybody is wiser than anybody. But, then, everybody needs "schooling" (so to speak), and the schools should be so numerous that teacher and scholar may be brought into direct communication, and permitted occasionally to change places, so that the scholar may become teacher, and vice versa. Authority has had its day. Whatever is done hereafter in the name of the people must be done by the people. Any other way of even doing right is paying "too dear for the whistle." Virtue were more vicious than vice itself, if imposed on an unwilling people by a Despotism of any description. The reaction is too great for human endurance.

WILLIAM WEST.

PRINCIPLES WHICH SEEM TO BE SELF-EVIDENT.

1. That every human being has an equal and inalienable right to all natural wealth, viz., land, air, water, light and all other primitive productions of the earth, and to the free and unrestricted use of them so far as is necessary for his or her maintenance; and, therefore, no human being can have any right to sell or convey any of these to his fellow, and can rightfully traffic only in his or her own time and labor and the products of the same, and in sacrifices made and risks incurred.
2. That no powers can be delegated to any government which each individual does not himself or herself possess.
3. That all governments exercising any powers not specifically delegated to them by the persons governed are usurpations and frauds.
4. That every person of sane mind and capable of self-support is rightful sovereign of his or her own person, property and responsibilities, and has a right to repel, and to combine with others to repel, all aggressors upon these sovereign rights—be they individuals, or organizations called governments; but to go beyond this is to become, in turn, aggressive and criminal.
5. That what one person may rightfully do many persons may rightfully do as a society or state, but what is wrong or criminal in an individual is just as wrong and criminal in a state or nation; and what one person may rightfully do he may delegate power to another to do for him; but as no person has any right to give, grant or sell land, but only his improvements thereon, no such power can be delegated to any government; and therefore all "titles" to land (except the useful occupation or culture of the same), are of no more validity than a bill of sale of a human being.
6. That "profits" beyond compensation for service performed—that is, speculation in the products of labor, is indefensible on any principle of justice, and that only service performed in the production, transportation or vending of commodities, time employed in rendering service, sacrifices made and risks incurred, are legitimate subjects of price at all; and that price should be an equivalent for such time, service or sacrifice. In other words, "costs should be the limit of price."
7. That labor or service for labor or service, in equitable exchange, will make civilization a condition of peace, plenty and security, instead of a condition of war, poverty and insecurity (which latter is mainly the condition of all human society at present), and a circulating medium (or money) which does not secure the equitable exchange of labor is spurious and vicious, and belongs to the barbarous past. Money should be a promise of a known and expressed quantity of labor or service of a definite kind, and which will procure for us from day to day and from year to year the same amount of labor or service that we gave for it.

REMARKS.

The popular errors of so-called political economists, and of men claiming to be statesmen, viz., that "demand and supply should regulate price," and that "money should be the measure of value," are not only totally irreconcilable with the sacred principle of equity, and equally at variance with the maxim "do unto others as you would have others do unto you," but are monstrous falsities, as the subjugated and impoverished condition of the producers of wealth everywhere testifies. The law of demand and supply should have no more to do with regulating price than it has with regulating the weather. "Demand" should regulate "supply," but not price.

If any one thinks that money should be the measure of value, will he please to tell how much money it will take to measure the value of a cup of cold water to a man famishing with thirst?

We want a money that will measure costs and not values; and the money now used in the United States may be made to do that, perhaps to a satisfactory degree, by issuing it and redeeming it on the cost principle, as hereinafter proposed; and the intelligent reader will understand in what sense the word cost is here used.

MEASURES.

If the foregoing principles are sound, it is certainly desirable to understand and act upon them; and though we cannot hope to bring them at once into practice, we can at least take action which will tend in the right direction.

First of all, our legislators must be made to recognize and bear in mind that they are elected to act as agents, and not as masters, of their constituents; and that the greatest service they can perform for the people just now is to remove the obstacles they have placed in the way of successful life.

Among these are the laws prohibiting individual or free banking, and giving the monopoly of furnishing a circulating medium to corporations, and delivering the public lands into the hands of speculators, and thereby laying a foundation for a landed aristocracy in this country.

Herein the right of any person, potentate, king or gov

ernment of any kind, to give any further titles to land is denied, and solemnly protested against now and evermore; but the right to occupy and cultivate any land, unoccupied or uncultivated, and to give, sell and convey such improvements, should be protected by the whole power of all the people.

The millions of acres given to railroad speculators within the last ten years must be restored to the public domain; and, as a means to this and other great ends, it is proposed to tax all lands alike—not by their value, but by the acre, whether improved and occupied or not; and that all other modes of raising revenue for the support of the National government, except the tax on incomes, be abandoned.

And we demand that our legislative agents immediately look to the abolition of all statutes interfering with or dictating, directly or indirectly (by tariffs), what we shall eat, what we shall drink, or wherewith we shall be clothed.

Our postal system should be overhauled—so that, instead of a mass of absurd rules, continually changing and impossible to be understood and remembered, and instead of friendly correspondence being taxed twelve times as much as the advertisements of speculators and the schemes of office-seekers, all matter passing through the post office should be taxed impartially, one item for handage and another in proportion to weight—both together balancing the costs necessarily incurred.

THE NATIONAL DEBT.

As the late war had its origin in injustice to labor, and was conducted mainly in the interests of speculators, property holders, office holders and office seekers, the national debt should be paid by them, instead of by the workers, who have nothing but insufficient wages to live on.

MEASURES CONCERNING MONEY.

1. The repeal of all statutes prohibiting any citizens from becoming bankers.

2. The issuing by the National Government of promissory notes (similar to "greenbacks") to the amount of the cost of the postal business of the United States (say \$25,000,000 per annum), and receivable in payment for postal service and all other government dues.

3. That the National or State governments furnish railroad transit for freight and passengers at cost (precisely as it has always done the postal business), and that they issue promissory notes for railroads purchased, and for the labor and material employed in constructing others, to the amount of the cost of said road and management, and redeemable in such railroad service and all other government dues.

To this end the government must purchase all existing railroads at an equitable price, or build new ones parallel with those already existing, and build new roads wherever needed.

4. That the National or State governments take possession, by equitable purchase, of all the mines and quarries of every description within the jurisdiction of the United States, and work them at cost; and that they issue promissory notes (similar to greenbacks), in payment for the purchase, labor, material and management of said mines and quarries, to the amount of the costs thereof, and redeemable in the products of said mines and quarries at cost price, and also for all government dues.

5. That the National or State governments furnish the telegraphing of the country on the foregoing principles.

6. That wherever gas or water is introduced to supply large towns or cities, it should be done by the town and city corporations on the same principle.

These five departments of business, if managed by the National, State or Municipal governments, as the Postal business is now conducted, would probably furnish all the circulating medium or currency necessary, and there could never be too much, unless there can be too much on a "bill of lading," representing the goods which are safely and securely on board a ship. It would be the safest and soundest possible; it would be issued and redeemed naturally and without interest, and would put a stop to speculation—the spoiler of legitimate business and the plunderer of the producers of wealth. It would enhance the production, the business and consequent wealth of the country probably ten fold, and make it possible for every person to have all the comforts and elegances of life. In other words, poverty would soon be abolished, peace would prevail and security of person and property be established, and millionaires and paupers would become extinct.

Hours of labor not to exceed eight per day on any public works.

The following is the reading of the kind of money proposed, of the denomination of dollars, without the vignette:

The United States promise to pay
DOLLARS
to bearer, on demand, in FREIGHT or PASSAGE on any United States Railroad, at the rate of — cents per mile for one passenger, or — cents per cwt. for freight (or — in ounces of unalloyed silver at the United States Treasury; in tons of pig iron at the mine; in tons of coal at the mine; in pounds of copper; in grains of gold; in pounds of salt; or in any other commodity, as the case may require).

This Note is receivable for all debts due the United States.

A "dollar," as now used, is no more the measure of either "costs" or "value" than an india-rubber yardstick would be the measure of cloth. The kind of notes above proposed promise something definite to measure the dollar by, and it is thought that the different kinds of labor or service, and commodities included in the foregoing notes, may be sufficient to compare all other labor to, and to measure it by; and that therefore all notes issued by the government for other purposes may, perhaps, safely conform to the "greenbacks" now in circulation, with the exceptions of the "legal tender" clause, and the gold interest and gold payment on duties on import clauses.

The following is the reading of the notes proposed, to take the place of the "greenbacks" now in circulation:

The United States promise to pay to bearer,
ONE DOLLAR.
This note is receivable for all debts due the United States.

Nothing should be a "legal tender" between citizens except just what the creditor agreed to take. A contract, to be of any binding force, should be—

1st. Possible of fulfillment.

2d. It must be understood alike by both or all parties to it.

3d. It should be just.

If any of the States or Municipalities within the United States undertake the ownership and management of any of

the enterprises proposed in the preceding pages (which it is no doubt very desirable they should, if they would do it on the cost principle), the money should be furnished by the United States, at cost, on the credit of the State or Municipality, in a way similar to that by which it now furnishes money called "blackbacks" to the national banks.

A circulating medium or money thus furnished by the government, would so instruct the whole people as to what a civilized money should be, that, at no distant day, public opinion would demand that all business owned and managed by individuals or companies should be conducted on the "cost" principle; and land tenures being based only upon useful occupation or culture, and all lands not so occupied being restored to the public domain, a government simply of business agents would be all the government that would be needed.

E. D. LINTON,
Charlestown, Mass.

THE NEW FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE I. W. A. FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A meeting of this body was held on the last day of the old year at 68 Grand street. Nineteen sections were represented and a new (English speaking) section was admitted, represented by Madame Huleck, the first female delegate yet recognized in this country. After reports of committees relating to the organization of the council and its financial affairs had been received, the delegate from Section 9 submitted the following proposition:

The International workingmen of the city, through their delegates in the Federal Council, recommend to the citizens of New York City the embodiment of the following propositions in the forthcoming city charter: That the city shall institute gas works of its own, and not only supply the streets but all the buildings in the city with gas at cost. That the city shall institute coal depots to supply fuel to its citizens at cost of mining and transportation. That the city shall institute markets where the provisions of the country may be garnered and dispensed to the people at cost of purchase, transportation and distribution. That the city rescind the charters of the city railroads and ferries, take possession of and run them in the interest of the people at cost. That economical dwellings be erected by the city upon its own unimproved lots, to be let to the people at cost. That the system of contracting public work shall be abolished where it can be done by the city authorities. That all public offices shall receive their commissions direct from the people, while the names of deputies, clerks, and other employees shall be taken from the list of qualified applicants, as jurors are, by being drawn from a wheel. That all fee offices shall be abolished, and salaries reduced to comport with the wages of working people. That (to prevent venal legislation) all tax levies and other important measures shall be submitted to the people, and heads of departments shall publish frequent reports, in detail, of all receipts and disbursements. That school houses and town-halls shall be free for the people to convene in to consider subjects of public welfare, when not otherwise occupied.

And the proposition was referred to the several sections in this city for their approval.

The following letter from George Francis Train was read, and amid much laughter, laid upon the table.

BURNET HOUSE, CINCINNATI, Dec. 18—8.30.—Presidential mass meeting to-night. What do you say to great demonstration in New York about three weeks? My charge is \$100, but you should take \$1,000 for your cause if well advertised. Consult with our friends, and telegraph to me here.

Immense audiences expected.

G. F. T.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL lectured upon Social Freedom before the Parker Fraternity, in the Music Hall, Boston, on Wednesday, the 3d inst. John Weatherby, Esq., presided. The house was filled to the walls, and the audience honored the lecturer with repeated applause.

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.]

JESUS CHRIST AND LA COMMUNE.

NUMBER II.

There is shrewd sense in trying to induce the A. B. of F. M. to establish French schools instead of churches and formal preaching. The Commune wisely took education out of the hands of the Jesuits, secularized the schools, and made attendance upon them compulsory, just as should be done throughout the United States. Let our American blockheads of the ecclesiastical stripe ponder the effect of a government God and state churches! Let them see the very name of God is hated by millions because it has been made the assumed indorsement of political evils! Let them see all churches despised, because creatures of political guarantee; and for want of free religion let them observe that atheism has become a synonym for a love of peace, progress and humanity!

Having these things in view, let them forbear to even suggest a corruption of the integrity of our own wise Constitution. Neither gods nor devils, heavens, hells, nor meeting-houses can be interpolated into that document. When such a thing is proposed, we have entered upon the road to religious and civil war! Even as the toe and finger-bone relics

found among the essence bottles of the empress were powerless to save the empire at Sedan, so will the frantic prayers of the church avail nothing when the storm comes that would follow the ecclesiastizing of the United States Constitution!

If, instead of incurring great expense to send ignorant fanatical Christians to convert educated, liberal foreigners of other religions, the Am. B. of F. M. would, not forgetting moral education, establish free schools for unsectarian elementary teaching in Paris or New York, they would do some good; but the preaching of "Jesus Christ and Him crucified," in orthodox fashion and paradox style, will be found useless labor to the proletariat of Europe, especially of Paris. The religion the workingmen and women will accept must be one of demonstration and humanity. Such is "modern" spiritualism.

E. S. WHEELER.

FRATERNAL.

We had stepped hastily from the shop of our every-day busy toil into the street, amid a storm of driving snow and sleet. Before reaching our humble home, we paused momentarily beneath a dimly-burning lamp to adjust our coat more closely about us. As we did so, a shivering and sickly-looking little straggler—a waif on the great sea of human life—crouched toward us with extended cold, benumbed hands, appealing for relief. We had to open our coat again but our heart opened also; and, with a fervent "Good angels bless you!" we pushed on.

"Ah, the improvidence and conflicting interests of our social system. Great God, what a sham is our wealth-bloated society," we mused.

O ye political economists, there is, there must be a great, radical wrong somewhere. That little child, the struggling little outcast. "Society," the church, cries, "God help the boy," yet hangs the man. The church-respected merchant revels in the luxury of his stolen millions, absolved by the priest, yet, with the easy, heartless adjuration, "God help him," and a few tracts eliminating man's total depravity, leave thousands of human souls in ignorance, neglect and want: aye, doom them while yet walking the path of guiltlessness, to future demons, their own unguided passions, their elemental tendency drawn from a debauched parentage. By legalizing the rum traffic, the government makes them outcasts and punishes in their wickedness its own selfish weakness. Oh, come with us, sordid, truckling statesman, you who are continually striving within a party circle for place and for power, counting men simply as stepping-stones, the veriest tools—as, alas! by mental slavery too many nearly are—with which to effect your personal aggrandizement; come to this filthy, noisome street, and look with us on God's image in its childhood here. You are fathers, and have born to you sons and daughters as darling love-pledges. Tell us, then, are not children, aye, children even such as these in these neglected, filthy, disease-infected streets, couched, you say, in crime, yet the noblest things of earth? Then will you without an effort, ye city fathers, allow the fiend of furies to stamp his fiery brand upon it. Shall it, while yet in its innocence, be made a trading thing of misery and vice, a creature driven from street to street, a piece of living merchandise, for mingled beggary and crime.

Born thus amid all the wretchedness and squalid results of rum, what lesson shall it learn whereby to pass through life's thorny maze? Without some higher culture, surely, satanic cunning will be its wisdom in such a place as this, hypocrisy its only idea of truth, and theft its natural law of self-preservation.

The lack of this has made us the inheritors of the hydra of disease, disease in its multiform distortions; and, in consequence, the race is become degenerate, feeble, puny, sickly, dwarfs, dyspeptic, consumptive, lepers, and, worse, terribly distorted, physically and spiritually.

Ah, how thickly strewn are our waysides with these wrecks and wails of a degenerate, lust-infected race. Our hovels, our sheds, pauper-houses, our prisons are filled with miserably-defaced images of God. Beggars, thieves, murderers; and this comes, most of it, by legislative ignorance and neglect. The rivalry and antagonism existing in society.

Is it not high time our legislative representatives aroused themselves with sufficient economy and courage to turn the vast tidal wave of the demoralizing rum traffic, drifting destruction without let or hindrance over our loved land, and thus assist the enslaved to break away from the fearful thralldom of spiritual vassalage.

The abolition of physical slavery is the sure white-winged harbinger of spiritual liberty. Every one, therefore, who possesses the means of help should go forth proclaiming the acceptable year of release, proclaiming as angels in the midst of the darkness and night of weakness and mental vassalage: "Good tidings to the poor, liberty to the captive and the opening of the prison to them that are bound. To comfort all that mourn." REICHER.

A COMMUNITY.

DECEMBER 24.

Myself and family have had two years' experience in community life. We have settled here with the view of building a community similar to the Oneida Community. We invite correspondence from those only of deep religious convictions, broad and genial-hearted, and who feel conscious that they are good enough to live the life. Address

E. B. SCHUTT,

No. 165 Coolidge st., Chicago, Ill.

A PAGAN'S PROPHECY, AS RECORDED BY A JEW.

At a time when "God's and the Devil's prophets" are compared so rigorously as at present, the following case, given by Josephus, may be of interest:

Agrippa, then a young man, was a bound prisoner, and another prisoner, a German by nation, made the prediction: "This sudden change of thy condition, O young man! is grievous to thee, as bringing on thee a manifold and very great adversity; nor wilt thou believe me, when I foretell how thou wilt get clear of this misery which thou art now under, and how Divine Providence will provide for thee. Know, therefore (and I appeal to my own country gods, as well as to the gods of this place, who have awarded these bonds to us), that all I am going to say about thy concerns, shall neither be said for favor nor bribery, nor out of an endeavor to make thee cheerful without cause; for such predictions, when they come to fail, make the grief at last, and in earnest, more bitter than if the party had never heard of any such thing. However, though I run the hazard of my own self, I think it fit to declare to thee the prediction of the gods. It cannot be that thou shouldst long continue in these bonds; but thou wilt soon be delivered from them, and wilt be promoted to the highest dignity and power, and thou wilt be envied by all those who now pity thy hard fortune; and thou wilt be happy till thy death, and wilt leave thine happiness to the children whom thou shalt have. But, do thou remember, when thou seest this bird* again, that thou wilt then live but five days longer. This event will be brought to pass by that God who hath sent this bird hither to be a sign unto thee. And I cannot but think it unjust to conceal from thee what I foreknow concerning thee, that, by thy knowing beforehand what happiness is coming upon thee, thou mayst not regard thy present misfortunes. But, when this happiness shall actually befall thee, do not forget what misery I am in myself, but endeavor to deliver me." "So, when the German had said this, he made Agrippa laugh at him as much as he afterward appeared worthy of admiration." (Antiq. xviii., vi., 7.)

Agrippa became king and lived in luxury. After he had reigned about seven years he went to a theatre, clothed in gorgeous garments of silver, and was highly flattered by the people, who compared him to a god, and whom he did not rebuke. "But, as he presently afterward looked up, he saw an owl sitting on a certain rope over his head, and immediately understood that this bird was the messenger of ill tidings, as it had once been the messenger of good tidings to him, and fell into the deepest sorrow. A severe pain also arose in his belly, and began in a most violent manner. He therefore looked upon his friends, and said, 'I, whom you call a god, am commanded presently to depart this life; while Providence thus reproves the lying words you just now said to me; and I, who was by you called immortal, am immediately to be hurried away by death. But I am bound to accept of what Providence allots, as it pleases God, for we have by no means lived ill, but in a splendid and happy manner.' * * * "And when he had been quite worn out by the pain in his belly for five days, he departed this life, being in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and in the seventh year of his reign." (Antiq. xix., viii., 2.)

Josephus gives the circumstances connected with this case at considerable length, and the curious reader will, no doubt, find their perusal of interest. Do the annals of the Christian religion show a prediction more exactly stated or fulfilled than this? Clergymen, answer. And does not the remark of the German, "I appeal to my own country gods, as well as to the gods of this place, who have awarded these bonds to us," show that Thor, Frigga and Saturn, etc., and also the Roman deities, were in the habit of inspiring prophets, no less than Jehovah. F. H. R.

NEW BRITAIN, Conn., Nov. 30, 1871.

* Referring to an owl sitting in a tree against which Agrippa stood leaning.

CARRIE S. BURNHAM vs. THE JUDGES OF ELECTION.

One of the noticeable events of the times, and which, so far as I have seen, you have failed fully to chronicle, was the appearance before the Superior Court, sitting at Nisi Prius, in this city, of Miss Carrie S. Burnham, arguing in her own behalf her case against the Judges of Election. Miss Burnham, who is a student at law in the office of Damon Y. Kilgore, Esquire, was, previous to the October election for municipal offices, duly assessed and registered as a qualified elector in the Fourteenth Ward of this city. Her poll tax was paid and receipted for. At the election held on the 10th of the month she presented herself at the polls, and, as a "white freeman," of full age, etc. (the qualification required by the Constitution of the State), tendered her ballot, which was rejected. She thereupon brought her suit before the State Court, to recover damages for such refusal, alleging in her declaration that she was a "white freeman," of full age, and had complied with all the prerequisites required under the election laws, and was, therefore, a duly qualified elector. The facts of the case were admitted by the counsel for the defendants on demurrer, and the legal question, was she a qualified elector under the constitution and laws of the State, came unembarrassed before the court. The Hon. George Sharswood, of the Supreme Court, presided. It was expected by Miss Burnham

that the cause would not have been heard before January, so that she had not prepared her argument and was forced, upon brief notice, to prepare it. This she did by working day and night immediately preceding the hearing. It was prepared, however, and most ably. The appearance of a lady acting as her own counsel, and in such a case, naturally attracted attention. She began her argument with a slim attendance, but before its close the court room was well filled. Some two hours were occupied in the reading of her manuscript, which, for completeness of legal research, cogent reasoning and apt illustrations, has been seldom equaled and rarely surpassed in the court. Her position was that the term "freeman," as found in the State Constitution, was used in a legal sense, was a generic term, and included women citizens. That the entire Constitution was based upon the common law and must be interpreted thereby. Miss Burnham, besides being a fine classical scholar, is familiar with the modern languages and well read in history and general literature. Her argument took a wide scope, tracing the term (freeman) from its Teutonic origin, to its introduction into England, and scanning its changes through the political and social convulsions of the early periods of English history. The term, or its synonym, was again traced to its roots in the Latin and Greek languages, and its application to classes of persons distinctly stated. This analysis was thorough and exhaustive. To fortify her general position, she quoted largely from the early English decisions, and brought down her examination to the latest cases. The change effected by the Revolution and the establishment of our republican form of Government were ably treated; and finally the term was traced from the first Constitution of the State down, through its several changes, to the present time. When it is considered that this entire argument was written without immediate premeditation, and that Miss Burnham was engaged in its preparation the entire day and night before its delivery, with no time for revision or correction, its thoroughness is remarkable. The entire consideration of the term "freeman" was new, the question having been raised in this State, I think, for the first time. There was another claim to the right to vote, made under the Fourteenth Amendment, which was ably and fully discussed; but as that ground has been traversed by others, there does not attach to it in this case the peculiar interest incident to the first point. We have stated that the court-room filled ere the argument closed. A majority came anticipating amusement, and with faces cast in the mould of mirth. This changed after catching the first few words of the argument, and was soon exchanged for a look of astonishment and interest. This interest did not flag throughout the hearing. The defense made was meagre and feeble, when compared with the force of the claim.

Miss Burnham accomplished a splendid triumph; and this she has done irrespective of the decision of the learned judge, who followed her closely, taking full notes. She has triumphed in that she has demonstrated the fact that, whether or not she is a freeman, within the meaning of the Constitution, she has more brains to comprehend, and more ability to expound or defend the instrument, than ninety out of every hundred male citizens within the limits of the commonwealth. If the decision of the court should be against her, she will have further demonstrated that the Constitution of Pennsylvania is an instrument which, while it protects fully the rights of every male fool, ignores one of the highest rights of some of its wisest and best citizens. Philadelphia, Dec. 20, 1871. B.

PHASES OF DEBT AS AFFECTING NATIONAL SOLVENCY.

Debt, whether expressed by National, State, corporate or individual obligations, equally involves a future drain upon the resources of all property against which it is issued.

When created by a nation, although for purposes of destruction, it does not necessarily imply poverty; on the contrary, if that for which these evidences of debt are given were derived from within its own borders, it denotes a previous accumulation of resources; while if the obligations given therefor are retained by its individual members, it equally declares that its self-supporting powers have not been lost.

But if these bonds have passed away from the nation, without any equivalent beyond that which is daily consumed, and thus cease to be available for principal or interest, it betokens growing national poverty.

The country as a unit, where its obligations are retained by its citizens, losing nothing through the debt but the expense of gathering and scattering the interest thereon.

Great Britain, with the heaviest national debt in existence, from the retention of it, coupled with the wisdom of her rulers in aiding cheap production, is the recognized financial centre of the world.

State and municipal debts are often much swollen to assist public improvements, and, where judiciously granted, add to the general wealth. When repudiated, as by Mississippi and the Territory of Florida, or ignored by refusing to levy taxes for interest, as in North Carolina and Tennessee, or where the debt is beyond the ability to pay, it is due to unwise and indiscriminate indorsement of unproductive works, coupled in some cases, both State and municipal, with fraudulent expenditure.

Corporate obligations are presumed to represent about

the market value of the labor and material employed in the development for which they stand. When the railroads and other improvements, which are the reality that these debts adumbrate, are created to supply a natural demand, and are also under wise direction, they conduce largely to the rapid growth and material prosperity of the nation. Even in this day of inflated and excessive issues, when old roads are represented by double the liabilities they had six or eight years ago, and when new ones are brought out at far beyond the market value of labor and material employed in their construction, the nation is enriched through the new acreage brought into available cultivation. However much loss awaits the holders of these watered shares before they drop to their natural level, the reality of the road remains a blessing and profit to the country.

Individual indebtedness, however much it may impoverish one and enrich another, has but little bearing upon national solvency. These various phases of debt, when they pass into the possession of other nations, equally exhaust our resources, for it requires as many bales of cotton or bushels of wheat to pay the interest on productive railway bonds as on the same amount of those which represent only the destruction of war.

In the present age no civilized nation lives exclusively upon its own products without interchanging for the products of other nations, any more than a single individual supplies his own wants by his own labor without exchanging for the fruits of the labor of others.

But this production of nations turns upon the one pivot, individual profit. Each producer in palmy days employs every resource to the enhancement of his individual wealth. Consequently, there is such a creation of all articles needed in the world's commerce that, after the national family have supplied its individual wants, and paid for those articles obtained from other climes, there is still a surplus, with the sequence national wealth.

When the producer lacks the incentive of profit, though production does not cease, it is on such a diminished scale that the sum total of the nation's labor does not provide for the nation's consumption, with the resultant national poverty.

Unfortunately there have been causes operating in this country during the past decade which have so enhanced the cost of production that it has been cheaper to purchase the fabrications of other people than to create here. So extended has been this malign influence that these ten years of trade have involved the future labor of this country to the extent of at least 2,500 millions.

It would have been impossible to have departed thus far from the fundamental law of commodity for commodity had not our European purveyors, infatuated with the success of their early investments, at 40 to 50 cents on the dollar in American securities, from that time to the present, funded their interest and business profits in the same manner, until the present enormous aggregate of national indebtedness is reached.

Our legislators, ignorant or indifferent, make no attempt to remove the causes which are so desolating our productive powers; so to-day our purchases abroad are excessively beyond anything heretofore known. Although the whole country, from its financial head, with the new 5 per cent. loan, to the smallest municipal or corporate body that can command European attention, is engaged in placing evidences of American debt there, yet the rate for foreign exchange testifies that we continually remain a debtor country.

The press equally with our legislators are ignorant of this fundamental truth, or will fully suppress it, that national wealth depends upon production beyond consumption; that nothing but products can go out of a country to pay foreign claims; that neither land nor the improvements thereon, nor the people themselves, are available to pay this 2,500 millions of European debt.* Like Jonah, we rejoice exceedingly in the present grateful shade of the gourd, and are equally ignorant of the worm that is so soon to smite its luxuriance.

* We have been living on these evidences of debt, calling them wealth, as if it were possible forever to pay living expenses and interest on past obligations by new claims upon the future.

DEAR WEEKLY: How glad I am that there is room in your columns for every glad, free thought. I have watched closely the controversy going on, on the subject of Free Love.

From all I gather from the different writers, the meaning of this term is simply to be rid of forced and unnatural laws which make us untrue to our heart's love.

A true free lover can never be promiscuous in the sexual relations. This is the very thing they are fighting against. They are the only ones who see clearly that what is by the world called marriage is a system which forces people into adultery and promiscuity; and not only that, but that it makes those who, under true love relations would be honest, into thieves, liars and murderers. In short, it makes them everything that is bad.

I know many people who, if they had never taken upon themselves the marriage contract, would have remained what they were previous to it, truthful and honest, dealing deceitfully with none; but now that they are bound by the law, while fearing to break the contract, and fled themselves secretly doing that which the law forbids. They have naturally outgrown the condition under which the contract was made, and are not manly or womanly enough to

avow the fact, and so they go on entangling themselves in a network of deception and lies, until it becomes almost impossible to extricate themselves, and they cry out to the free-lovers, who offer to help them out of their difficulties, as the evil spirits did to Jesus, when they said to him, "Why hast thou come to trouble us before our time?"

General Grant has said, "If you want to get rid of a bad law, enforce it." Now I would like to see the marriage law strictly enforced on all those who believe in and contend for it. Let us commence here in New York City and put on a force of free-lovers as detectives, or a class of clairvoyants and spirit mediums who generally have all the heart troubles of married people thrown into their treasury. Let a large force of detectives be detailed to look into and follow up the advertisements of our so-called respectable newspapers in regard to places of assignation and the dens of abortionists.

Let us have a trial of the efficient enforcement of all the laws we have on our statute books, and then, if we find they do not answer the purpose for which they were intended, let us abrogate or change them to meet the wants of our growing humanity. This boasted land of freedom will soon become one of anarchy and despotism, unless every individual who sees the truth will come forth and avow and live it. Let us agitate these questions until we quicken into life a consciousness of these great evils in our midst. Let the idiots, imbeciles and criminals that we see every day in our streets be seen as they are, living protests against our false system of marriage and abused sexual relations. Let us inaugurate a system by which every true love relation shall be left free to act out its nature, and, as it would, people the world with a divine humanity.

Yours, for truth,

SARAH C. SOMERBY.

THE BASIS OF REFORM.

NUMBER IV.

EQUILIBRATION CONTINUED.

Physical equilibration is intimately connected with that of the mental and spiritual natures, and exercises an immense power over these. If through a judicious system of living we have removed most of the causes that disturb the equilibrium of the physical, and have thus brought this into the best condition it is capable of attaining for the time, the best means have been obtained for producing that equilibration of mind which constitutes true sanity.

A well-balanced mind, with each faculty occupying and acting in its proper sphere, is quite as rare as a perfectly healthy body, and yet the attainment of this is one of the most desirable things of life, here or hereafter.

All the systems of education are at fault in culturing the strong and active faculties, and leaving those which are weak to grow still weaker. By these means most persons get a wrong start in life. A true, practical system of education which shall produce the best equilibration of mind has never been practiced among men. I realize now how crude and imperfect were my ideas when I walked amid the groves of earth and taught my fellow men, and I rejoice that I can come now and suggest something which maturer reflection and experience lead me to think is better. I shall be glad if I can present to the world of mankind first the necessity for this, and then the means of obtaining it. We find in the inner-life what you will find in the earth-life as you progress in knowledge, that such an education must be the result almost entirely of the efforts of the individuals themselves. Each one must take the helm, and though the power may come from those around them in the form and out of it, yet they must steer their own barks. It has been said that to know one's self diseased is half a cure; this is especially true in regard to the mind. When this knowledge is reached and a proper effort is made to develop and unfold all the faculties and powers of the mind, especially those which are weaker, the work will be properly begun and will go on without much difficulty.

The attainment of the proper equilibration of the mind will result in a vast increase of its powers, just as, on the physical plane, the full and perfect health which results from equilibration there calls out powers which had not been known so exist; so on the mental plane the harmonious blending and co-operation of all the faculties will give to man much higher powers than he has ever yet possessed.

The constant strain of a few of the mental faculties produces weakness at first, and when it is extended too far insanity must ensue. Monomania, a very common form of insanity, results from an overtaxed and excited condition of certain faculties.

I shall speak of spiritual equilibration and then of the treatment of the mental and spiritual natures which will tend to produce these most desirable conditions.

ARISTOTLE.

ABBEVILLE, Ala., Dec. 20, 1871.

Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull.

MADAM: I have just read your correspondence with the Victoria League, also your speech in Steiaway Hall; and allow me to say I have read them with a great deal of interest and endorse every word contained therein. As a physician and physiologist, I know what you say with regard to Social Freedom to be true to the letter. I know men and women who are married who have no more affinity for each

other than oil and water. I can't imagine anything more revolting than for a woman to surrender her person to a man under these circumstances. Yet such a state of things will continue until society is remodeled on a more sensible basis, and in my opinion you are on the correct track.

I am truly yours,

J. GILLESPIE, M. D.

MONEY—GENERAL LAWS—FEMALE SUFFRAGE.

NEW YORK, Dec. 27, 1871.

MRS. WOODHULL: Permit me to say in the WEEKLY, that the money question is now the most important subject before this country; and that all new business in the future should be done under general laws. Congress should not enact any more special laws for selfish purposes.

The suffrage question is settled, by the Constitution of the United or dis-United States, which gives all citizens who desire it the privilege of voting.

If a woman is not a citizen, what is she?

If she is a citizen, she is entitled to a vote if she wants it.

Now let all those citizens desirous of voting offer their votes at the polls, and if prevented by any one, have the party arrested and tried for the offense, and if proven guilty let them be punished "according to law." An enabling act by Congress would be looked upon abroad as foolish child's play, and entirely unnecessary.

If there is any question about who are citizens, let that question be defined by the courts. Webster says a "citizen" is a free-man. Are women slaves or citizens? Don't waste your valuable time on suffrage. That is settled by all intelligent minds that have given the subject due consideration. Other people have no right to any opinion on this or any other subject before they give it proper attention.

The National Labor Union platform on finance is correct, and the only correct theory on finance now before this country. Let us work for that. It will break up all the corrupt "Rings"—national, State, city and corporation—that are now doing so much mischief in this country by stagnating business and thus robbing the poor. It will supply all the capital needed to carry on business with, and give employment to every one. This is the greatest philanthropic institution of the age. With this we will have prosperity all over this country. Without it, repudiation, misery, suffering, bloodshed and revolution.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

B. FRANKLIN CLARK.

[NOTE.—Our correspondent does not apprehend the present situation at all. The question is not whether women are citizens; that they have been compelled to admit. But the question now is, If men, having usurped the power, can be permitted to disfranchise citizens. Senator Carpenter says: "The States have the right to deny the citizen's right to vote to any citizen for any reason, except to male negroes." Therefore, we want Congress to declare if this is the construction they desire to stand upon the Constitution.]

STATE CONVENTION.

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NEW JERSEY STATE SOCIETY OF SPIRITUALISTS AND FRIENDS OF PROGRESS, HELD AT PLUM STREET HALL, CAMDEN, N. J., NOV. 29, 1871.

[Reported for the Religio-Philosophical Journal, by Henry T. Child, M. D.]

The meeting was opened by a conference, in which Benj. F. Reed, Dr. L. K. Coonley and Dr. Child addressed the audience.

At 3 P. M. the meeting was called to order by the President, Susan P. Waters.

On motion of Dr. Coonley, the chair appointed a committee of seven, as a Business Committee, to arrange the order of business, to consider and report resolutions, and nominate officers for the ensuing year, viz:

Stacy Taylor, Susan Blakeslee, Orrin Packard, Lydia A. Schofield, Dr. George Haskell, John Blatherwick and Dr. Henry T. Child.

On motion of B. F. Reed, a Finance Committee of five was appointed, viz: Dr. Coonley, Mary Henck, S. Minnie Shumway, Eliza L. Ashburner and John T. Clew.

During the absence of the Business Committee, Susan C. Waters addressed the meeting on the present aspect of the cause.

The Business Committee reported the following resolutions, which were read and considered, and, after free discussion, were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That Spiritualism is not simply an announcement that man never dies, sustained by evidence most unmistakable; its most important testimony and proofs are that we are spirits now and here.

Resolved, That Spiritualism is not alone a relief, but a practical work, and, in order to prove our allegiance to it, we must not only believe something, know something, but do something for the uplifting of the race. Hence the true Spiritualist must take hold of all the live issues of the hour and work.

Resolved, That we recognize truth as immortal and eternal, and our knowledge of it as gradual and progressive; each day should find us gathering some new truth and scattering it broadcast over the world of humanity.

Resolved, That, as societies, and as individuals, Spiritualists owe it to themselves and to the world to give evidence of the practical nature and tendency of their knowledge.

Resolved, That in the universal tendencies which now convulse society, in the efforts of mankind to become emancipated, physically, mentally, socially and spiritually, we discover the best and most healthy indications that have ever been presented to the world. That these are not tending to anarchy, but only to the agitation which must lead to order and harmony.

Resolved, That in the great conflict of ideas that is now going on, while we honor those who nobly stand forth in the front of the battle, and respect those who honestly oppose them, we can have no respect for feelings of indifference in an hour like this.

Resolved, That we demand free speech, a free press and the right to proclaim the truth to all mankind as we believe it is adapted to their needs.

Dr. Coonley said: I would like to know what is meant by

"live issues?" I think there are many persons who are not aware of any great excitement in the intellectual, the social, or the moral world, and they may not understand anything about "live issues," without we state what they are. I do not believe that we should not respect persons for their opinions. I approve of the resolutions, and shall vote for them.

Dr. H. T. Child remarked:

I do not think it is the province of any individual, or of this association, or any other, to define what are "live issues"—all we have a right to ask is, that the soul shall be untrammelled, and as it acts freely, it will find the "live issues" all around it. Spiritualists, as a body, have, perhaps, realized as fully as any others, that woman's suffrage, the relations of capital and labor, the temperance cause, and the peace reform, are among the "live issues" of the day, although I am aware that some timid ones are afraid that we hurt Spiritualism by connecting these causes with it. The Spiritualism that has thrilled our souls with a new life, and called forth our highest allegiance, has for its object the elevation of man, by the reformation of all the conditions which affect him, either collectively or individually, in an injurious manner. I believe that we have discovered that the most fruitful causes of evil are ignorance and selfishness, and that their removal can only effectually be brought about by the diffusion of knowledge among all classes. As to the question of not respecting persons, I agree with Dr. Coonley entirely; if we are true to our highest and holiest natures we shall not only respect but love every human being as a child of our Father, God. There are times that I can do this, and these are just the times when I am most sensible of the sins that many are committing, and loathe them. Spiritualism has taught us this great lesson, that sinners are not found alone in what are known as the purities of vice and crime, the low haunts of men, but there are men and women occupying high positions, religiously, socially and politically, in the gardens of whose souls the weeds of vice and crime have grown until their odor would compel them to leave respectable associates, were it not that they have found the means, through wealth or position, to procure the vile perfume of false profession and hypocrisy with which they have partially succeeded in disguising their offensiveness. It is from such as these that spirits would tear away the mask.

We are sent forth into the world not to look for the vile and disgusting things, but for diamonds—we are all to be diamond hunters. Do you know, friends, that the most essential thing in finding these, next to the existence of the diamond itself, is to know what they are in the locality. For thousands of years the ignorant inhabitants of those countries where diamonds are found have walked over them and never discovered a single one. When the first one was found, and its value ascertained, then all who knew this had their attention turned in the proper direction, and thousands were found. The so-called Christian Church for many centuries has been teaching that men are totally depraved; and there are no diamonds among them; that the blackest charcoal represents them.

Spiritualism, with the light of its love lamp, and the penetration of its wisdom, has seen through the darkness, and shown us clearly that in every human being, as a child of God, there is a diamond; it may be small, just beginning to crystallize, but somewhere and at some time it will be brought forward as a bright jewel, shining in the diadem of immortality, on the brow of the soul.

We are finding these diamonds now every day among the people. Let us go forward earnestly with our work, and endeavor to show every child of God first, that they have these jewels of immortality, and then how they may by good deeds and noble work bring them forth, so they may shine not only upon themselves, but upon all around them.

The following address was delivered by Mrs. Frances Kingman, of Connecticut:

The utterances of the good and great in the spirit land, friends, do not always come to us in direct message through the lips of mediums; our inmost souls are thrilled with voiceless influences, which we cannot escape if we would. I do not speak or write in the trance state, or what is termed the inspirational state, but I believe every lower form of life to be the recipient of the higher forms, and every person who feels impelled to work for the public good is a servant of wise and grand emanations of the Creator.

The following I have penned, and am impelled to give you, by a different, more forcible and mightier power than ever in life I have realized. It came upon me with a sweetness, softness and assurance I cannot explain, seeming to whisper, "Do our will."

I am led to ask you questions which I trust you will answer—not hastily, not to-day, not to-morrow; but when you have realized that God rules us, not men or women; we are only His expressions—the instruments through which He brings forth His moral developments and growths of all kinds. I ask you to answer me when you are willing to acknowledge God can see farther than we can; that the angels have facilities for prophesying and deciding upon those acts which shall govern the people far above ours. I ask you not to answer anybody until you have lived very many more years, and behold the results of the seemingly pernicious causes which to-day are leavening the whole lump, political, religious and social.

I ask you in the name of high heaven to realize that the hour has arrived when we are to cast aside all conceit, egotism and self-righteousness, and acknowledge that we do not govern the world, but that we are governed by the self-executing law, whose tools we are, every one of us—some for good, others for bad. Therefore, what is the meaning of the present universal, religious, political, social excitement?

What is the meaning of this wholesale expose of false ideas? this wide world explanation of corrupt private and public life? What means it, that Victoria C. Woodhull and every other true man and woman on the face of this earth, have sprung forth like moral lions and tigers to tear away the black lambs and goats who so long and patiently have been sucking the life of the nation away, who have been cuddled and fondled by traditional propriety, and customary respectability? What means it, that just at this especial season in the nineteenth century the most honored ex-editor of the Independent, a paper received into the hearts of Christian families and cognomized religious and moral literature (how terribly the respected Tilton must have become demoralized in that little step betwixt the Independent and the Golden Age, or is it betwixt the Golden Age and the God-like defense of an honest woman that our honorable and honored friend) has so degenerated and demoralized? But what means the attack upon him by the self-righteousness of church, press, polity, and Mrs. G. undy's extensive family of most responsible moral officials? What means it that that

self-executing law, the God of the worlds, has risen through the mouths of the few disciples of nature to dare everything and speak the utterances of truth? Those prophetic repetitions given unto ancient cities, ere they were swallowed up in the wrath, the results of their continued causes. What means it that a woman has dared the fierce lions of falseness in their dens? Remember the mouths were once sealed and Daniel escaped unhurt; perchance the hideous creatures snapped and growled and craved the blood of the prophet, but God saw that they did not get it.

And another Daniel has been into the lion's den, and still lies in the way of the fierce beasts, but the moral law has a muzzle over their mouths. You know who I mean; one who needs no protection from the weapons of mortal tongue, pen or hand—needs none, for a higher power shields her—a power which all the Greeleys and trifling reporters and sanctified moralities of earth cannot affect. I cite this Daniel—this prophetess, because she is shot forth from the mouth of nature's cannon to fall into the midst of the sleeping camp of Scribes and Pharisees and startle them. What means it that the whole nation has risen to blacken its tongue in lies, and stain honest escutcheons by miserable misconstruction? And there springeth one mighty benefit from the startling texts this prophetess takes.

The masses show more ignorance than we had given them credit for. The projection of these natural rocks hurled at the heads of falseness—rottenness, have been better than a census for averaging the common sense, perceptions, understanding powers of the Anglo-Saxon race, especially. There is a huge outcry on the principles of "Social Freedom," and people do not know what they are talking about. The author of the present agitation on the subject is vilified, mocked because prostitution means legality, and her free love means natural law. Do you suppose she advertises lust? Do you suppose she advertises quarrels, divorces? Never! These are the very things she is striving to put down.

When she says she has a right to change her love every day—to love whom she will—or where she will, she does not mean prostitution; she means that nature will assert her freedom outside of every human law;—she means that the term denominated "marriage" means only one thing, and it can never mean another. It means that true soul attraction is easily recognized; it admits no question. Policy cannot intervene; it brings no such thing as that parlance "advantageous marriage." True love—real marriage is the union of natural mutual attraction which all the human laws in the universe cannot effect, prevent or enhance. The vital law of attraction and repulsion is as old as life. If there are not elements of love in which you attract my love, and policy says "This is a match," and I obey the voice—wedding position, case, power;—am the man's convenience—love having no part in the bargain—am I not a legal prostitute? Law calls it marriage! 'Tis false! 'Tis prostitution! but my nature will not heed human law; it cries for its rights; sighs sadly because it is cheated until a day dawns when its love is attracted naturally to its opposite; it cannot resist the call; it will claim its own; the people call it prostitution—lust. Nature laughs and holds her own. Human law is the seal of respectability.

What is to be done? True to my nature—my outreaching for love's return, for that reciprocation I must have or die, I become the scold of society, the victim of law-court's scandal; am branded as a contemptible lustful woman in the codes of society. But I am not afraid of the God who sanctions my departure from legalized policy and prostitution. I am not afraid of nature whose voice I obey, and I scorn the vulgar ignorance of society, which in blackest ignorance brands me. Do not misunderstand me. I mean no lust, for it has no part in true love. Souls unite—not passions. Free lust is what free love is trying to crush. Free love is the soul of God—free lust the soul of the devil, and God grant that the day may arrive when the stupidity born of ignorance and educational prejudice, which is ignorance, will become sufficiently aroused to investigate and understand a thing ere condemning it—remember the lust was in the policy marriage—the marriage of convenience. It is a burning shame that in this enlightened era of the world, when sciences are lofty and sublime, opening the doors of bigotry, that the roots of social mysteries are left untouched, because the scientists dare not handle truths in advance of the popular voice. The world hinges upon its Christs—God help them! The graves of sturdy reformers hold the dust which will give birth to rare flowers and most delicious fruits. I believe the vaults of the spirit land hold souls whose aromatic influences give birth to rare soul-powers here on earth, and those flowers will strive to perfume false society which is so impregnated with the artificial sabin and eau-de-cologne to cover up policy's and prostitution's stench, that they will not accept the natural scents of God. If Mrs. Woodhull says she has a right to love naturally, and will be bound by no law, she does not mean that she will lust, and be bound by no law, although stupid morality understands it so. She believes in free circulation of nature that the poisoned atmosphere of law and custom may be purified. She believes in the law of God and the magnets of his own fashioning, and rejects the interferences of the old aristocracies of custom and habit, because they have been wrong from the moment priests and Parsons put a wrong construction upon that Biblical text. "What God hath joined together let no man put asunder." She asks that we will obey that wise command in its correct interpretation; and God joins the purity of soul—the holy love, of which he is the originator, to its opposite element. Free love never draws lust. Lust never draws true love. If love is disappointed shall man decide its limit? If she has so loved or married and has been disappointed, can any human law say to her, "You never shall love again; you are wedded to that man by law and must stay." Here is your secret of prostitution and the horrible sleuth hound of law which she would slay. Which is better for us, openly, boldly, in righteous honor and truth to declare we cannot live with the person in whom we are disappointed, and by whom we give to the world monstrous inharmonies, named children—over which the whole civilized society shall rave, seeking means to regenerate, pagan-like, making the poor children the subjects of prayers and Magdalene associations; or shall we declare we shall seek farther, or wait until we come in contact with the proper elements which will unite without the help of a miserable ignorant human law, which fails to keep wrong elements together; but I do not propose to dwell upon this point—I only ask all persons to understand a thing ere they condemn it; and remember your educational prejudice is a firm prison master and you grow conceited and egotistical by the voice of custom and habit. To be just, either acknowledge you judge these questions solely by the stand-point of nature, pure natural law, or else you must confess you are ignorant,

and do not understand them, or else are timid and have not yet dared the lions of popular ideas—the old aristocracies of education, religion, etc.; and letting everything else alone, dropping every objection to the agitative questions of nature,—is it not an indication of blackest barbarity, of the most infidel christianity, that a person's character is objected to on the ground of public report. You know what a hidden liar public scandal is; you know no person ever lived who works in advance of the age, skirmishing for another century, but that is lied about; they are crucified as truly as ever Jesus Christ was on Calvary, and to-day, friends, were all the opposers of all our reform questions congregated together with Mrs. Woodhull in the midst, and the Nazarene were to say, "You who are sinless, cast the first stone," there would not be a single sneaking out but a perfect pell-mell rush to get away from the eyes of Christ and the voiceless rebuke of our friend.

She stands convicted of advocating love, pure love to all humanity; they of legal prostitution, of love according to the weight of a man's pocket-book, and the horrible prostitution of a hand without the heart. But I asked, what mean all these upheavals? The pseudo decline of the most honorable Independent man, and the hot seethings of the press, the hisses of the ignorant and the sneers of fashionable morality which means a great plan of "ill-fame and assignation houses." Nature is too honest doctrine for the bridal beds of false aristocracy.

What mean the unity of public atrocities from church treasury rings, and social oppositions to the rooting out of truth that has got loose at last? It means that, in the first place, the true science of "love" must be understood—for love is the life of the world. St. Paul said, "Love is of God," and this is the argument of Victoria C. Woodhull, and the love of God is not subject to a code of conventional laws—it lives by mutual attraction, which means truth and purity. God's love knows no lust, it can have none, and the whole system of compulsion, of policy, which we employ in the moral church, religious, lawful love has no part in it. All we ask for is love in its real meaning, freed from the inquisitorial arrogations and simple simpering of the human law. Where are the wits of the churches and the pious leaders in morality that that one sentence, "In heaven they are neither married nor given in marriage," does not open their blind eyes and show them the meaning of free love, which is as far from free lust as the heavens are above the earth. But never mind, let us be calm; the high intelligences which govern us are nonchalantly holding the plow of truth which is ready to overturn the old exhausted earth of paganism—to drop in the new seed of radicalism in the form of social, political and religious stripes for the heights of honor; and if the great and good and wise in the spirit world hold the plow, somebody great and good and wise on earth must be willing to drive the oxen straight through the hard old stubble-field of bigotry; and farmer V. C. W. has got a very long whip in her hand; she swings it without fear of the oxen hooking her; if she stumbles in the furrow over a viper the agricultural Greeley puts in her way, she is up again and lashes her team harder, firmer; and, friends, believe me, there is no sepulchre near by from which she will rise again in three or thirty or three hundred days. She will never die. But what means all the great upheaving of the present with social freedom as a corner-stone? It means that there has already commenced an agitation which shall shake the continents and islands of earth to their very foundations. Love, marriage, conception, are to be at the depths of everything. These are to be discussed until they are understood and the people are willing, through the very impossibility to get away from their truths as originated by the Creator, and from which he never has departed, to accept them. Though many complain that we are forestalling matters—that we are prematurely forcing things, plunging into turmoil and trouble, the Spiritualists everywhere do not repeat this again. Remember, 'tis utterly impossible to forestall God or his laws, do what we will; and after all we are subject to that self-executory law which never pays the slightest attention to our efforts or oppositions.

If it were not time for the discussion of "Love," it would not come among us: if it were not time for Mrs. Woodhull to be reviled and crucified, it would not be. Look back for twenty years, see how all things have ripened perfectly—ripened and rotted that new measures should come forth, see how all religious, political and social life has become thoroughly rotten. The law of life must be obeyed—newness out of decay; and who dare rise up and attempt to muzzle God when he speaks through the mouths of those whom he appoints? How dare we condemn him when he plainly advertises on the walls of Babylon, "I am ready, I have watched the roll of centuries, I have seen the generations pass away in their sad misconstructions of my laws; but I cannot disturb cause and effect, action and reaction. I cannot leap events—they pass in uniform order—I cannot disturb my forces until they are ready, but now, children of the nineteenth century, I am ready, I have put my finger down firm on the minute of time and cry, Hold! Be brave! I, God, the law of the universe, am ready. I rejoice that the day has arrived when I will upheave and rock as in a cradle the souls of all peoples, and they shall cry out with the coiled of social pains which I will not heal, until you take my soothing syrup, named 'unbiased investigation.'"

Friends, bear in mind what I have told you; investigate the natural laws of God and you will find Mrs. Woodhull can no more help her present mission than she can help the sun's rising to-morrow morning. Look back, go with me into the retrospect path a little; see how it is strewn with the crosses of reformers; those persons skirmishing in advance of their age. See, from Jesus to the present Christs, how certain ones must suffer and be lashed to the bars of persecution, wear the crown of thorns, be pierced in the side, nailed through the hands and feet, drinking the gall that succeeding generations may walk in the paths of love and peace. If you are constitutionally timid, skeptical, near-sighted, then wait till you throw off your taints, and do not condemn. Do not call the reformers fools, maniacs, and hold yourselves to be the wise ones; you may be the fools and maniacs after all. You know insane people always think others insane.

We do not think you insane; only a little sleepy. You need shaking, and so God has sent forth the shakers. Glory that you live when you may be permitted to take the trowel of regeneration and add a little real mortar to the immense structure of "Justice," which is destined to be reared ere long, whose corner stone has been laid, I believe, in love to God and man, by one of the most honorable and honored of good angels, Victoria C. Woodhull.

The president read the annual report of the Finance Committee, as follows:

The recurrence of another annual meeting of the New Jersey State Society of Spiritualists and Friends of Progress,

calls for a report of their work done and progress made since our last annual meeting.

Dr. H. T. Child has held five meetings, Moses Hull four, Emma Hardinge three, J. G. Fish six, and Thomas Gales Forster one, making nineteen meetings, at which six thousand persons have been in attendance. Ten public circles have been held for test mediums, which were attended by some eighteen hundred persons.

The fifteen dollars appropriated by the board for the purchase of papers containing the report of our second annual meeting has been expended in that way, and the papers distributed. We have also distributed over two hundred and fifty Spiritualist papers donated by Dr. Child, and some six hundred at the personal expense of the president of the society. The expense incurred in holding the public circles, and also the expense of a few of the meetings, has not been reported to the board; but it was, in each of these cases, raised either by private donation or door fee.

The expenses reported for meetings are..... \$287 39
Raised at the meetings by subscriptions and collections..... 183 12

Leaving..... \$104 27

Which was drawn from the treasury.

The labors of our society could be greatly extended, and with encouraging success, if larger funds were placed at its disposal.

The meetings held have, in several localities, been followed by a rapidly-increasing interest in Spiritualism, the holding of numerous private circles, and the developing, to a greater or less extent, of many mediums. The giant strides of this great truth of spirit communion have astonished, as well as perplexed, the theological conservatism in the midst of which we have been laboring, while the dear ministering spirits, with their baptism of regeneration—their heavenly promptings, have swept and garnished the earthly tabernacle of some of the dwellers in this mundane sphere. As a result of their labors, we have seen useless and pernicious indulgences laid aside and the renovated souls buoyed up by aspirations which only a knowledge of the facts of a spiritual existence can give.

Limited as is the work we are able to report, nevertheless, we feel that there is much cause for encouragement. Much of the time we have been inactive for want of funds sufficient to prosecute the work vigorously. We would beg leave to remind you that "the New Jersey State Society of Spiritualists and Friends of Progress," though bearing a very imposing name, and embracing the entire State within the area of its legitimate labors, nevertheless has not a very numerous membership; but, if each member of the society would feel himself responsible for his share of the life, activity and usefulness of the society, as well as for his annual membership fee of one dollar, or more, as they have been pleased to make it, the former would far more than double the influence and efficiency of the society.

Our experience convinces us that it is impossible to delegate to an executive board all the responsibilities and power of the individuals who compose a society. We hear, not only among ourselves, but on every side, complaints of the inefficiency of organizations. We hear it said, "They have done nothing," "They are lifeless," etc.; while the facts are that they have attempted to delegate all their activity and efficiency to a few individuals. At first this may be doubted, because those individual members who are not of the board may, many of them, be earnest advocates of Spiritualism and workers for human progress; but we point you to the fact that if they do work it is not recognized as part of the labor of the organization, either state or national, to which they belong. In our opinion this very fact has two injurious consequences: one is to discourage individual effort; the other, to lessen the apparent ability and utility of organization.

Your board would have taken pleasure in presenting such a report as would have left every individual member credited with his or her entire labors, and made the society to consist of as many workers as members, rather than of so few as it apparently does under the present system; but of course we have no statistics at our command to show the amount of that work.

Yet, as every pebble helps to pile up the mountain, so all the missionary labor performed by the individual members of our society helps to sow broadcast the startling facts and glorious truths of this spiritual revelation, helps disseminate a knowledge which shall enrobe the soul with new and more glorious conceptions, as the sunshine clothes and re-clothes the earth with more beautiful and more sublimated verdure.

By the cheering love and inspiring words of dear ones who dwell in spirit life, we are being led, as willing students, up toward that high table-ground of spiritual perceptions, where life with its relations, laws and destiny stands revealed in such a light as makes this "vale of tears" a cheery ante-room to the brighter life beyond. Finding that there is in the public mind a demand for the consolations that Spiritualism affords, we can but look forward with many anticipations to the future labors of this association.

STACY TAYLOR, President of Executive Committee.

SUSAN C. WATERS, Secretary.

EVENING SESSION.—The meeting was called to order by the President. Dr. Henry T. Child, on behalf of the Business Committee, offered the following names, as officers for the ensuing year:

President—Dr. Levi K. Coonley, Vineland, N. J.

First Vice-President—Dr. Geo. Haskell, Ancora, N. J.

Second Vice-President—Orrin Paccard, Camden, N. J.

Secretary—Ellen Dickenson, Vineland, N. J.

Treasurer—Stacy Taylor, Crosswicks, N. J.

Executive Committee—Edward Vernon, Bordentown, N. J.;

John F. Chew, Camden, N. J.; Alfred B. Wilkenson, Camden, N. J.;

John Gage, Vineland, N. J.; Helen Hartley, Camden, N. J.;

Dr. Clapp, Trenton, N. J.; Benj. F. Reed, Gloucester, N. J.;

George W. Pressy, Hammonton, N. J.;

Grover Stewart, Newark, N. J.

They were unanimously elected. Mrs. Kingman delivered an able and eloquent address, and after a few remarks by Dr. H. T. Child, the meeting adjourned.

At a meeting of the Board of the American Association of Spiritualists, held at 634 Race street, Philadelphia, December 28, 1871; present, Victoria C. Woodhull, Anna M. Middlebrook, A. A. Wheelock and Henry T. Child; reports were received from Eli F. Brown, missionary, for the months of July, August, September, October and November.

On motion of Dr. Child it was resolved, that, on account of our financial condition, we dispense with the services of Eli F. Brown after the 1st of January, 1872.

A constitution for the United States of the World, prepared by Mrs. Woodhull, was read and considered.

HENRY T. CHILD, M. D., Secretary.

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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 Bailard,
Josephine S. Griffing,	Olympia Brown,
Catharine A. F. Stebbins,	Detroit, Mich.
Nannette B. Gardner,	"
Sarah Pugh,	Philadelphia.
Maria Mott Davis,	Philadelphia.
Mrs. Washington Bladen,	"
" Houn 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. Bodker,	Richmond, Va.
Mrs. M. H. Arnold,	Cheyenne, Wyoming.
" Amelia B. Rost,	"
Esther Morris,	ex-Justice of the Peace, Wyoming.
A. Frances Pulsbury,	Charleston, S. C.
Mrs. P. Holmes Drake,	Huntsville, Ala.
Hon. Mrs. Aaron A. Sargent,	Nevada, California.
Laura De Force Gordon,	"
Hon. Mrs. A. P. Ea,	New Hampshire.
Mrs. Gov. Ashley,	"
Lavinia C. Dunmore,	Baltimore, Md.
Anon M. Middlebrook,	Bridgeport, Conn.
Bella A. Lockwood,	Washington, D. C.
C. I. J. Nichols,	"

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

In this number of the WEEKLY we begin sending bills for the partly expired year, to which we earnestly request our subscribers to give their early attention. All of our readers know what it means to make a radical reformatory paper like the WEEKLY a success. It means the expenditure of thousands of dollars. We have spared neither labor nor expense to spread before the public the most searching analysis of all existing things in society, in church and State. We have endeavored to apply the principle of freedom and equality to all departments of life, and in the interests of humanity as a whole. And we have thousands of letters from all parts, not only of this country, but of the world, speaking in the most appreciative terms of our endeavors. We hope they have been so far successful as to merit the return of the very small subscription of two dollars per annum, to which we have reduced the WEEKLY.

Besides being the *only paper* open to the free discussion of all subjects, even the most radical, as well as that class of subjects mostly ignored by all other journals, involving the social relation, and including marriage, divorce, the proper functions and use of sexuality, and the scientific production of children, and their proper care and relations, it is also the cheapest, containing at all times almost double the quantity of reading matter that any other two dollar journal contains.

That sum merely covers the cost of the paper upon which it is printed. All the various other expenses in detail, connected with the publication, as well as our own services and expenses, we are willing to contribute to the cause, as we have done, and as we expect to do, asking only that our readers shall pay for the white paper, and this we now respectfully ask at the hands of those to whom bills will be sent in this present and several succeeding numbers.

One of our subscription lists was partially destroyed a few months since, and the memoranda connected with names in some instances effaced. Hence should bills be received by any persons who have paid, or which are irregular in any other manner, we will consider it a favor for the necessary information.

THE WASHINGTON CONVENTION.

Before another issue of the WEEKLY this convention will have met and begun the consideration of the gravest of human subjects. It is simply idiotic to say that it is the mere abstract question of the right to vote which is involved in the present issue. It is, on the contrary, the grand concentration of all questions in which human weal and woe are involved, since from the use of the right to vote all these questions must at last be solved. Those who deny that proposition deny that organization will have anything to do in a future perfection of society, the very first necessity of which is perfect organization.

The truth of what we say is admitted by our opponents in social matters, since they say that when women shall vote they will enact still more rigorous laws upon marriage. This we believe will be true, but it will be simply because they are ignorant of social science, which the increased rigor will soon develop. Then a great reaction will take place in favor of perfect freedom. However this may be, it does not hinder us from earnestly advocating suffrage, since we do it from principle. If the majority of women desire more rigorous laws, they will of course have them; or if they desire the utter abolition of binding social laws, they will be abolished; nobody can deny that.

Then it is presumable that at this convention there will not only be discussion on suffrage *per se*, but upon any subject which suffrage will affect when acquired. The platform will be so broad that there will be room for all reformers. Even the representatives of "the social evil" system may expect to be welcomed, to tell what they think suffrage will do for their subjects. So, if there are any people thinking of going there who are not willing to give their hands to any of God's children, coming from any of earth's highways or byways, they had best remain away. "The Exclusives" have had their convention. "The Inclusives" are to have theirs on the 10th, 11th and 12th of January. Let everybody and the rest of mankind be there. Let the publicans and sinners convene as in the time when Christ was wont to set at meat with them; and if he be not present in person, we trust his spirit will pervade the room and his teachings and principles be better exemplified than at the recent convention of those who have become such proper persons that they have forgotten to ask "Who is my neighbor," or in fact that they have any neighbors at all.

THE SECTARIAN'S GOD vs. THE GOD OF NATURE.

THE INITIATIVE FOR THE LAST CONFLICT—SHORT, BLOODY, DECISIVE.

One of the most prophetic movements the world has ever known has been launched. Authority, seeking control over the consciences of men, has again reached out its hand to enslave the world. Lurking behind the specious sentences of a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, stands, partly concealed and partly shown, the grim, gaunt visage of war—religious, fanatical war—a war such as the world has never known—a war universal, which will divide brothers and friends, make the son imbrue his hands in a

father's blood, drive the knife till it reaches the heart of sisters and brothers; invite servants to instill the deadly poison in a quiet morning meal—in short, a war such as can only be aroused by arousing the deepest, broadest, and at the same time the most terrible part of man's nature—that which most nearly relates him to his God.

This is the first real fruit of that exclusively pious and self-righteous people calling themselves the Young Men's Christian Association. Their first, last and only duty is to ostracise everybody who does not possess a certificate of character over the signature of some reverend divine who has felt called of God to preach his own conceptions of truth as the revealed religion of God, and to declare His judgments against everybody who fails to believe God is so limited and insignificant a personage as to be comprehended by any person of finite mind; even if he have all the prefixes and affixes which all the colleges can confer.

But we are glad that the call has been made just at this time. We have been telling the radical elements of this country and the world that they have got to unite against this already-organized crusade, which permeates almost to every centre of individuals in the country. What have those whom these Christians—God save the mark!—desire to compel to worship in their idolatrous manner got to oppose them with. Absolutely nothing. They have been lying supinely on their backs, crying out, "Peace, peace, when there is no peace," while their foes have been busy preparing the manacles with which to bind them hand and foot. Against this enemy, common to all progress, liberal people must be on their guard, or they will soon be regretting their blindness to what was prepared for them and under their very eyes.

We can inform our friends who jeer at organization for political purposes that their method of procedure will not avail against this enemy to humanity. They may preach spiritual truths until they are hoarse, and the progress of their enemies will scarcely note it. They may stand calling on the spirit world to come down and rescue them, and their cries will be unanswered.

Let us ask these good people who fear the name of politics what chance their mediums will have should this crusade succeed? They are blind if they do not see them stretched upon the terrible wheel—their limbs torn from their bodies or the licking flames curling and entwining around their writhing frames. What escape would there be for those who deny that the world was created in six days of twenty-four hours each; or for those who deny that God spoke to Moses from the bush; or for those who deny that the sun stood still at the command of Joshua; or for those who deny that there was a flood coming from forty days and nights' rain and that the ark contained all that was saved of created things; or for those who deny that Christ was the son of God, in any other sense than that in which all men are the sons of God; or, in short, for those who will not admit that a book which contains more inconsistencies and contradiction than any other extant is the direct, complete and only revelation of God to man?

The accomplishment of their present expressed purpose is the mere prelude to what they intend shall be the grand inauguration of the reign of their assumed authority in the name of God. The first step gained, they will relentlessly enter upon the second and the third. And can any reasonably enlightened person pretend to doubt what those steps would be? If so, we fear he has read history in vain. There has been more blood shed, more damning deeds committed, in the sacred name of religion than in all others put together.

And as the last contest for the right to rule over and own the bodies of slaves was the most terrible war for freedom, so also the last war which will be waged for the control of the consciences of men will be the most terrible of religious wars.

What this convention will be we all know before it has taken place. We know that all the modern scribes, Pharisees and hypocrites, who, for a pretense make long prayers, will be there. We know that the delegates will be so numerous that Thornd's Hall will scarcely contain them, and we know that all their proceedings will be begun and ended by prayers and benedictions, and that all their proceedings will be in the name of the Lord and His Son Jesus Christ.

It must not be imagined that we oppose the truths and precepts which Christ taught. Never. Not one who shall meet at that convention will more strenuously urge the propositions there to be considered than we urge these truths and precepts. They are true, but grand: their scope the universe; their subject humanity—a perfect band of mothers and sisters, and the Golden Rule their guide. They say, "Blessed are ye when man shall revile you and persecute you and say all manner of evil against you falsely," for the sake of truth. * * * "For so persecuted they the prophets."

But, thank Heaven, we know what the end will be. History will but repeat itself again. Despotism seeking to enslave God's free children will be stricken to the dust by the young and athletic Freedom, and then surely shall come the time when "nations shall learn war no more."

These people may think there will be an easy victory. So thought the twin barbarism lately killed in the South. They thought they had but to fire on Sumter, and their cause would be won. But great was the surprise when they did fire on Sumter to see the whole North rouse as if by magic, and when they had expected to find friends, revealing

nothing but desperate foes. So, too, when these later would-be rulers over men's souls shall fire on our Sumter, will an equally terrible vision spring up, and one that will never down until a perfect religious freedom is secured, as there was political liberty; never until it shall be made utterly impossible for such a thing ever again to be repeated.

But let this Justice speak what they propose, which we will review next week:

THEOCRACY VS. DEMOCRACY—CALL FOR A NATIONAL CONVENTION OF CHRISTIANS TO MEET IN THOMAS' HALL, CINCINNATI, JANUARY 31, 1872.

Government is instituted for man as an intellectual, social, and moral and religious being. It corresponds to his whole nature. It is intended to protect and advance the higher as well as the lower interests of humanity. It acts well for its legitimate purposes when it watches over domestic life, and asserts and enforces the sanctity of the marriage bond; when it watches over intellect and education and furnishes means for developing all the faculties of the mind; when it frowns on profaneness, lewdness, the desecration of the Sabbath and other crimes which injure society chiefly by weakening moral and religious sentiment, and degrading the character of a people. Acting for such purposes, government should be established on moral principles. Moral principles of conduct are determined by moral relations. The relations of a nation to God and His moral laws are clear and definite: 1. A nation is the creature of God. 2. It is clothed with authority derived from God. 3. It is under the dominion of Jesus Christ, the appointed Ruler of nations. 4. It is subject to the Bible, the Special revelation of the moral law. In constituting and administering its government, then, a nation is under obligations to acknowledge God as the author of its existence and the source of its authority, Jesus Christ as its ruler, and the Bible as the fountain of its laws and the supreme rule of its conduct. Up to the time of the adoption of the national Constitution, acknowledgments of this kind were made by all the States. They are yet made by many of the States. And in the actual administration of the national government the principle is admitted. But the fundamental law of the nation, the Constitution of the United States, on which our government rests, and according to which it is to be administered, fails to make, fully and explicitly, any such acknowledgment. This failure has fostered among us mischievous ideas like the following: The nation, as such, has no relations to God; its authority has no higher source than the will of the people; government is instituted only for the lower wants of man; the state goes beyond its sphere when it legislates religiously, or legislates against profanity or Sabbath desecration. The National Association—which has been formed for the purpose of securing such an amendment to the Constitution as will remedy this great defect, and indicate that this is a Christian nation, and place all Christian laws, institutions and usages in our government on an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of the nation—invites all American citizens who favor such an amendment, without distinction of party or creed, to meet in Thomas' Hall, Cincinnati, January 31, 1872, at 2 o'clock P. M.

WILLIAM STRONG,
United States Supreme Court, President of the National Association.

Vice-Presidents.—His Excellency, John W. Geary, Governor of Pennsylvania; his Excellency, John W. Stewart, Governor of Vermont; his Excellency, James M. Harvey, Governor of Kansas; the Hon. James Pollock, ex-Governor of Pennsylvania; the Hon. Marshall Jewell, ex-Governor of Connecticut; the Hon. William Murray, Supreme Court of New York; Felix H. Brunot, Esq., Pittsburg, Pa.; George H. Stuart, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.; John Alexander, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.; Charles G. Nazro, Esq., Boston, Mass.; Thomas W. Bicknell, Commissioner of Public Schools, Rhode Island; James W. Taylor, Esq., Newburg, N. Y.; Professor Taylor Lewis, LL.D., Union College, New York; Professor Julius H. Seelye, D. D., Amherst College, Massachusetts; the Right Rev. Charles P. McIlvaine, D. D., LL.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Ohio; the Rev. A. A. Miner, D. D., President of Tufts College, Massachusetts; the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, D. D., Baltimore, Md.; the Rev. J. H. McIlvaine, D. D., Newark, N. J.; Professor O. N. Stoddard, LL.D., Wooster University, Ohio; the Rev. M. Simpson, D. D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church; the Rev. J. Blanchard, D. D., President of Wheaton College, Ill.; John S. Hard, LL.D., Principal of State Normal School, New Jersey; the Right Rev. John B. Kerfoot, D. D., Bishop of the Diocese of Pittsburg; the Right Rev. F. D. Huntington, D. D., Bishop of the Diocese of Central New York; the Rev. T. L. Cuyler, D. D., Brooklyn; the Rev. Levi Scott, D. D., Bishop of the M. E. Church, Delaware.

A TRUE ORDER OF SOCIETY.

In the material relations of a true order of society there can be but two classes of people. Every person must either be a producer upon his own account or in co-operation, or he must be a servant of the producers and paid by them for the service required and rendered. There can be no such classes of people as there now are, who live and grow rich by dealing in the producer's wealth. Merchants of all kinds are the bane of society, and we will show why.

If Mr. Stewart had all these years been conducting his business in the interests of the people instead of Mr. Stewart's selfish interests, the forty millions he has accumulated would have remained with those who have consumed the goods he has sold; and the people generally have been that much above their present condition. Isn't that clear?

Now suppose that all the merchants were simply the agents of the people, transacting their business for them, is it not also clear that the immense fortunes realized by so many would remain with the people? We know we are venturing upon preoccupied ground, perhaps dangerous ground; but, nevertheless, we shall enter upon it boldly and shall speak the truth plainly, let it please or displease.

We have had talk enough about the wrongs of the laboring classes. We want something done looking to the amelioration of those wrongs. We want every person to be compelled to become a producer, with the exception of those whom the producers require to take care of their wealth—

their immediate and paid agents. In this way the total results of labor will remain with the laborers, instead of accumulating in the hands of non-laborers, and nobody will be able to live from the labors of another.

Every city should have immense markets, selling to the people all their supplies at cost, all of which, less transportation, should find its way back to the producer. And huckster, merchant and middle-men nuisances should be abated in the shortest possible time.

Citizen Allen, of Section 9 of the International Workingmen's Association, has brought this matter before the Federal Council, asking that the new charter for the city of New York should take a step in this direction by providing for taking the markets, street railroads and ferries from the companies and running them in the interests of the people. Of this proposition we shall have more to say at another time. It is a first step in the right direction.

THE ISSUE AT WASHINGTON.

The question for the consideration of the convention to be held next week has been considerably narrowed from what it was a year ago. Nearly all that we claimed then has been admitted. All the general propositions are granted. All there is now to combat is a subterfuge, the spirit of which is in direct opposition to our theory of government, and is comprehended in the following points:

Senator Carpenter says: First, That we have a republican form of government. Second, That the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment enfranchised "all persons." Third, That the second section gave the right to the States to deny the right to vote to any citizen for any reason. Fourth, That the Fifteenth Amendment restricted that right as to race, color and previous condition of servitude, but to apply to only one-half the negro slaves. The grand result of all of which is—that the States have the right to deny the right to vote to any person except to male negroes.

The propositions by which this line of argument is to be tried are as follows: First, To admit that a right exercised by one class of citizens may by government be denied to another class of citizens living under the same government, is to admit the right of government to deny all kinds of rights to all classes of citizens.

Query: Would a government which denied all rights to all classes of citizens be a republican government? If not, neither is a government under which all rights are not, but may be, denied to all classes of citizens republican in form.

Will Senator Carpenter show the defect in this? If he cannot his argument falls.

ANOTHER ISSUE FOR THE CONVENTION.

Justice Cartter, in his remarkable logic in the decision lately rendered, says that since the ballot has been made bad use of in some instances, hence the right to vote does not exist, except it is first conferred by government.

This line of reasoning is to be met by the following propositions:

There is no legally authorized government unless it is first instituted by the rightfully exercised right to vote. Hence, if our government is a lawful one, it must have first been instituted by the exercise of the right to vote. If that right did not exist in the people previously, our government is not lawful and binding upon the people, because if the right to vote must be conferred by government, government must exist prior to grant and exercise of that right. Perhaps Justice Cartter may enlighten the convention upon this point.

KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE.

First: That the greatest of all independent American journals—the New York Herald—has indorsed the EQUAL RIGHTS PLATFORM in the following language:

"The Fourteenth Amendment ordains equal civil rights to all citizens, and gives to Congress the power to enforce them by appropriate legislation, while the Fifteenth Amendment establishes equal suffrage or political equality for all citizens, of all races and colors."

Second: That the greatest of all Republican journals—the New York Tribune—has indorsed the EQUAL RIGHTS PLATFORM in the following language, written by H. G. himself:

"We pray that two bites be not made of the cherry (of disfranchisement or exclusion from suffrage). Either remove the disabilities of all (men and women) now ineligible to office, or of none. For partial enfranchisement will only intensify the demand for a measure of amnesty which leaves no room for seeking another. Let the year 1872 be ushered in with rejoicings, that the hateful past is forgotten and that EVERY NATIVE OR NATURALIZED CITIZEN, white or black, high or low, will henceforth know the Union as no harsh step-mother; but as the generous, loving, trusting guardian and protector."

Third: That the highest tribunal known to our government—the Supreme Court of the United States—established the law as follows, which has never been reversed:

"To be a citizen is to have the possession and enjoyment, or the perfect right of acquisition and enjoyment, of an entire equality of privileges, civil and political."

Also that the same tribunal has recently confirmed the deduction of the Equal Rights Platform from the Fourteenth Amendment, as follows:

"It is possible that those who framed the article were

themselves not aware of the far-reaching character of its terms; yet, if the Amendment does, in fact, bear a broader meaning, and does extend its protecting shield over those who were never thought of when it was conceived and put in form; and does reach social evils which were never before prohibited by Constitutional enactment, it is to be presumed that the American people, in giving their imprimatur, UNDERSTOOD WHAT THEY WERE DOING, AND MEANT TO DECREE WHAT IN FACT THEY HAVE DECREED."

Fourth: That the first attempted new departure of the Democratic party in Ohio, under the lead of Mr. Vallandigham, was a stout contention by him in committee, supported by one-half the remainder of the committee, for equality of political rights for all citizens, irrespective of sex, and that he only yielded the point when to contend longer would have been to split the committee.

Fifth: That Hon. Michael Kerr, in his New Departure letter to Judge Black, approvingly copied by the New York World and various other Democratic journals, made the following proposition as among the various results, which the Democratic party accepted as the legitimate fruits of the recent amendments: "8th, The equality of all citizens in political rights and privileges, including suffrage;" upon which he remarked, "Such, it appears to me, are the legal and constitutional pith and marrow of those amendments."

Sixth: That Hon. Lyman Trumbull, in an oration delivered at Galesburg, Ill., July 4th last, said "that woman suffrage was inevitable and must be granted when asked for."

Seventh: That Senator Morton, the mouthpiece of the Administration, maintains that "woman suffrage is the only way to ameliorate the condition of working-women."

Eighth: That General Butler has declared "that the Constitution of the United States has granted to women the right of suffrage as against all State laws whatever."

Ninth: That the New York World has shown conclusively, by a series of articles upon the amendments, that it was not only their intention but also their effect to transfer all control over citizenship from the States to the general government.

Lastly: That with such evidence and such authority, with us, it is simply idiocy to doubt as to what course women should adopt to secure the exercise of what is not only demanded by their best interests, but also guaranteed by the supreme law of the land.

REAL AND IMAGINATIVE VALUES.

The most stupid and short-sighted blunder ever perpetrated is to endeavor to measure the real value of actual wealth by the value arbitrarily attached to a piece of gold coin and called a dollar. To make it is to attempt to make all natural law and all relative value conform to something created without any regard to any law. A man may labor a week in his cornfield, and he knows just about what will be the result to him. He knows that it means so many bushels of corn, so much beef, pork and poultry, or so much food for himself. Now the real value of that corn is the amount of good to himself which he can get out of it, and it has no relation whatever to a gold coin or to any number of gold coins, except a scientific relation, of relative value. Now gold is produced, and whether it costs much or little, or whether produced in great or small quantities, it is held to be always of just such a value. If a man produce ten pounds of gold per day, his labor, under present conditions, is equal to that of at least a thousand men laboring in other industries. Hence it must be evident to everybody that the real value of gold depends just as fixedly upon its production as does that of any other product, and that to make a money standard of it by which to regulate all other values, is to attempt to make uniformity out of what can never be uniform.

Now values should not be made—in fact they cannot be made—to depend upon the result of industry directed in one channel of production, but they should depend upon the aggregated results of all industries in all directions, which bear certain natural relative values.

The usual theory of money is that currency should be issued upon a basis of coin. Now, is it not perfectly clear that there is not gold coin enough in the whole world to furnish a perfect basis for the issue of all the money this country requires to effect its exchanges with. This fact alone is destructive to the whole theory of specie payments. It cannot be done; and it is simple imbecility to talk of gold as money when our foreign debt every six months requires nearly all the gold there is in the country to pay its interest, while we produce only about forty millions per annum.

But says one, "We don't have to pay our interest in gold; we pay it with cotton, corn, pork, &c." Ah, ha! That is just what we have been trying to make you appreciate the significance of. It is not the gold after all that we want, but any other product of labor; and it does not matter a whit whether we have a single ounce of gold, so that we have enough cotton, corn and other commodities to exchange for the commodities of other countries which we require; and we certainly don't need it for our home exchanges, since we should use paper had we billions of it.

Now it seems so clear that a money based upon all the products of labor, gold included, would be just so much better than that based upon gold alone, as the total amount of such products exceed the total amount of gold, that we are at a loss to account for the sticking for a return to specie. What is the difficulty with our greenbacks? Are they not good money? Would they be worth any more if

every dollar of them had a gold dollar behind it instead of a bushel of wheat, as it has? Everybody knows they would not. But everybody does not know that to dethrone this god of gold is to take just so much power from the money-lenders; is to deprive them of just so much of the earnings of the working people, and which they expend all their genius planning means to secure.

The gold standard then is an imaginative one, arbitrarily fixed without any regard whatever to real value, and produces the same result in the community in comparison to what a real standard would that an imaginative standard of virtue and morality do in comparison to a true standard—fluctuation in prices—prosperity to-day followed by adversity to-morrow—demoralization—damnation.

WHAT A RETURN TO SPECIE PAYMENT MEANS.

Every money-lender and bondholder wants specie payment. That is, they want a thousand gold dollars for every thousand dollar bond. Now that bond probably cost the holder from four to six hundred gold dollars. If it run, say twenty years, with *gold interest*, he would receive, say four thousand dollars for the investment of five hundred; and mark you, every dollar of that will come directly from the producing interests of the country. When the entire debt shall be paid, the bondholders will not only have what they had before the debt was contracted, but also all the accumulated interest as well as the discount. But where will the people be? Just where the specie payment advocates intend they shall be—subservient and in slavery to them; just as poor as they were: just as poor as they are: just as poor as they always intend they shall be, that they may be slaves. Such are some of the beauties of an arbitrary money standard.

WHO SHOULD ATTEND THE CONVENTION?

Everybody who has the interest and the well-being of humanity at heart should without fail attend the coming Convention at Washington. Nothing should be left undone to make it the most imposing demonstration ever held in the country for any purpose. No one should attempt to excuse him or herself for non-attendance. Each individual should feel as though its success depended upon him or her, since it does so depend, in the relative sense. And each should also feel that weal or woe to the future of our country will come, just as this Convention is successful or otherwise in its purpose.

For once let the nation speak to Congress with voice so magnificent and thunder-toned as to command attention. Let them be made to know that women are terribly in earnest about this business of being, as Franklin describes it, held as slaves. Let them be shown that women know what their rights are, and also that they know how to get them if they are longer withheld; and rest assured they will listen, and that attentively.

We learn that the friends of the cause living in Washington will accommodate to the extent of their capacity such delegates and friends as do not feel able to pay large hotel bills, so that none should stay away on that account. We already have the most cheering news from all parts, and are led to believe that great good will be done.

Then rally, from the East, West, North and South, and strike a final blow for the enfranchisement of the mothers of humanity, over whom the fathers have held absolute sway already too long.

In the late debate on the Labor Bill in Congress, Mr. Campbell uttered this characteristic warning:

The gentlemen might as well set their sails to meet the coming storm. There had been a little procession in the streets of New York last Sunday. The men who took part in it meant business. They could not have their agents before Congress as the capitalists had, but they were coming. The clans were gathering; the reveille would soon be heard, and the call to the charge would soon be sounded. The conflict in 1872 between labor and capital would be one of the most remarkable events in the history of the country. The clans were gathering. They would come from the mountain top, from the valley, from the plains, from the far off frontier, from the sea, from the river and from the lakes, in one common union against the wrongs inflicted upon them, and the motto on their banners would be, "Equality of man before the law."

Evidently the clans are gathering. So, too, the Campbells are coming.

In the same debate Mr. Biggs, of Delaware, encountered Mr. Hoar, of Massachusetts, and they made the fur fly for a few minutes about the whipping post in the little State and the factory cruelties in the great one. The small Representative strutted and swelled like those little creatures in the frog and ox fable, cavorted around as if he was the State, and insisted that she was Biggs, the biggest in the Union.

Those souls who firm on truth rely,
Whose mental shafts through error fly,
Can well afford to work and wait
While battling crime in Church and State.

Wake! brilliant hope! begone despair!
Heaven's vengeance lingers in the air;
And those who fight life's battles well,
Hurl pious frauds and shams to Hell.

New York, Dec. 27, 1871.

A NEW ADVOCATE IN THE FIELD.

Phoebe E. Mathewson, of Lincoln, Nebraska, has been in the lecture field in the border States several months, meeting with gratifying success. We take pleasure in calling the attention of friends in that section to this eminently worthy lady, whose services will always be productive of great good.

The St. Paul Pioneer has taken new impetus by the addition of Bella French to its editorial staff. Mrs. French thus pleasantly tells of her little experiences:

This week I sever my connection with the *Progress*, as its senior editor. A wider field having been opened to me, I go thither to labor, hoping to enlarge my sphere of usefulness. Two years and a half since, then an invalid on crutches, with less than fifty dollars capital and with very little hope of success, I commenced the publication of the *Progress*. During that period I have filled, at different times, every position in the office, from devil to chief editor—have washed and made rollers; set type, done job work and made up forms; done press-work, mailing, writing, proof-reading and the hundred and one et ceteras, meanwhile keeping house and attending to the wants of a family, a large portion of the time without even the help of a servant. The battle with poverty, however, has been of little note beside my battle with the prejudiced portion of the people, who refuse to allow women their true place in the world, and who use their influence against those who step out of the beaten paths. But for all this the *Progress* has been a success. To-day it has the largest circulation of any paper in Fillmore County, and this week is issued from a large, new two-story office, just built by the present proprietors.

Of course, such a "person" cannot vote. Oh, no! She is too lively by half.

"Put yourself in his place" is a pithy bit of advice that carries an immense amount of meaning. The labor and capital question is precisely that one topic in which the acceptance of the maxim in its broadest sense will be found of signal advantage. The capitalist has to remember how it was with him when he was a workingman, and how it would be now were he to exchange positions with his employees. In like manner, the workingman has to suppose himself in the position of the capitalist, bringing brains and money to the common stock. This put-yourself-in-his-place spirit would smooth the ground and clear away many obstacles with which the prejudices of one-sided selfishness encumber the best cause.

The Legislature has passed the Woman's Rights bill which has been for some time under consideration. It provides that women of lawful age, married or single, shall be subject to the regulations, liabilities and penalties prescribed for men, have the same right as men to follow any trade, business or profession, and wherever, in the statutes, the masculine pronoun is used in connection with the right of any person to follow any of the occupations, it shall be deemed and construed to apply to women as well as men. All laws in conflict with the act are repealed.—*Litchfield (Vt.) Monitor*.

Good! Women have the same right to trade, and are subject to the same liabilities and penalties as men; that logically implies the right to help in government. We suppose such to be the meaning of the law; but perhaps some one will start up and say, "Oh, yes! that is what the written law means; but the legislators wrote what they did not mean."

THE NEW YORKERS are not so well off as the people are in Halle, Prussia. In the latter place, a few days since, an enthusiastic woman advocated free love doctrines, and was imprisoned on bread and water for two days. Mrs. Victoria Woodhull lectured to three thousand New Yorkers in Steinway Hall, and instead of going to prison on bread and water, pocketed the handsome proceeds of her lecture, and was reported in every New York paper the next morning.—*Natchez Democrat*.

The above has the ring of the fine old thought-crushing and soul-compelling regime. The newspaper is usually supposed to exist by freedom of speech, and it is a modern axiom that compression of gases increases their explosive force. Away in Mississippi those common-school truths have not got through the wool.

An old lady named Phoebe Bottum, not a weaver, but a dairy woman, made six thousand pounds of cheese last summer. She has no vote. Of course not. She has got along very well without one for eighty-four years, and she can last the rest of her time without going to the polls. All right. But just think, the boy that drives the cows to and from the pasture for that mother in Israel, and who cannot read the names on the voting ticket, can and does vote.

"WHERE there's a will there's a way, to break it the lawyers be praised!" was the ejaculation of Mrs. Hawes when she found herself owner of a million, instead of a few paltry thousands, that her dear departed intended to leave her. A wful temptation for judges, counsel and jurymen, the spectacle of a handsome widow suitor with a reversionary million hanging on their judgment. Whew!

WOMEN know so little, and they take no interest in political contests. That's so. By the way, brother, what's the name of your school commissioner to whom you commit the charge of your children, and who are the assessors of your district that lay the taxes on your property. What are their names, callings, characters and special fitness for their offices?

THE VOICE OF PRAYER.

BY WARREN SUMNER BARLOW.

AUTHOR OF "THE VOICES."

May woman (God bless her) have equal position
With man, under law, and in every condition.
Her "ballot," so gentle, like "snowflakes" descending—
With feminine features through laws interblending,
May round the rough angles of turbulent man,
That she in her genius may be all she can.
Her true intuitions, oft valued as naught,
Will reach a conclusion with flash of a thought;
While man with his reason, though massive and strong,
With ponderous assumptions comes plodding along

But pride, the bane of worldly strength,
Grew with our growth until, at length,
A viper coiled around our heart,
And chilled our blood by fiendish art.
Thus stupefied we ceased to pray,
While his cold coils extended lay;
Until a mother's burdened prayer
Electrified the midnight air:
With frenzied lamentations wild,
She prayed, "O give me back my child!
O God, return my darling boy,
And fill a mother's soul with joy!"

Her prayer was echoed far and wide,
It caught the breeze and kissed the tide;
Responses met her earnest plea
For Justice, Truth and Liberty.
Yet all the powers of hell were hurled,
To choke the prayers that shook the world!
Shall legal murder scourge the land,
Whose poison dens at every hand
Are portals to a drunkard's grave,
And women have no power to save?
O man, invoke her loving aid,
That all these evils may be stayed.

And though the blood of thousands slain
With iron hail, was shed like rain;
Though conflict raged most fierce and strong,
Though days were dark and years so long,
Yet Freedom's glorious banner rose
Triumphant over all our foes!

O hills and dales and laughing streams,
Kissed by the Sun's enamored beams,
Send your glad shout from sea to sea—
"One Land on God's green Earth is free!"

Then think, O man, in this glad hour
Doth Woman share thy freedom's power?
Remember—God bestows His care
Of sex regardless everywhere—
All are the equal children—all,
Of Him who notes the "sparrow's fall."
Must she who is thy counterpart—
The sunny side of every heart—
The part essential to the whole,
Not have a voice in self-control?

Must woman in her high behest,
Obey alone what man thinks best,
And bow to his supreme control,
A thoughtless, helpless, prayerless soul?
Be taxed like man, like man obey,
Moulded by him like potter's clay?

Must he who wins a loving heart
By his illusive, fiendish art,
Be not disgraced, though undisguised,
While she is ruined and despoiled?

Must she who rears her noble sons—
Her daughters fair, from little ones,
Have naught to say what laws shall bless
A mother's love and tenderness?

MAN AND WIFE.

Mr. Joaquin Miller is, as every one knows, a poet, a man of great talent, and just now one of the literary lions of European society. The following letter explains to the public some domestic matters which had been made the subject of comment. "It's nobody's business but our own," says the writer of the letter. That's so. But people will talk, you know. And whatever the indignation of the parties concerned, at the intrusive interference of meddlesome outsiders, those outsiders still persist in poking their noses where they are not wanted. With the rights or wrongs of Mr. and Mrs. Miller it is not our fashion to deal. The point that touches us is the interference of society, and the one-sided judgment of that same society. Mr. Miller is assumed in this letter to have deserted his family, and to have devoted himself to the cultivation and development of that God-like genius which was too sacred a trust to be put to the commonplace use of providing for his own. Be it so. Absolute individual freedom is our idea; and Mr. Miller has a right to use his instincts and faculties in his own way, provided only that in so doing no one else is hurt. But while good society pets and caresses the gifted and fascinating writer and suspends its standing orders in his favor, what would it do for the wretched woman who should abandon and neglect her offspring and desert her husband? What necessity, temptation, provocation or gifts of genius would extenuate her iniquity? Justin McCarthy, writing from London, tells us of the singular acceptance that Mr. Miller has found with the best people, whose gaping wonderment rises almost to hero-worship at the "curious ways" of the Pacific lion. As a neglected, deserted woman, society would exclude the wife from the taboored precincts of

fashion. A teamster who was licking his team with a fence rail answered a remonstrant against his brutality with "Then why are they mules?" So society asks in the case of the woman, "Why is she a deserted wife?"

[From the Portland Daily Oregonian, Nov. 6.]

To the Editor of the Oregonian:

SIR: As Joaquin Miller is now expected to arrive in Portland I deem it my duty to say a few words in his behalf to the people of Oregon. I have received many letters from different sources requesting me to disclose as much of his conduct toward his children as I will. Although I feel that these things concern no one on the face of the earth but my children and me, still he belongs to the world now, and I have remained silent until remarks have been carried so far as to make my children subjects of gossip, and deem it right now to ask a truce to charges and accusations, and request of you to behold the poet and receive him in a manner that will give due tribute to his genius and success. Mr. Miller has earned a fame, and an appreciation of his efforts should be awarded him. He is a man of literary culture and research; he has read constantly, industriously, and had command of the very best literature, ancient and modern.

It had been his sole ambition for years to go to Europe and acquire a literary fame. He felt, and justly, that he was gifted, and his mind being of a fine, poetic structure, and his brain very delicately organized, the coarse and practical duties of providing for a family and the annoyance of children conflicted with his dreams and literary whims. So, when he wrote to me that he would be absent in Europe five or six years, and in the meantime I need not expect to hear from him often, as he would be very busy, I asked for and obtained a divorce in the courts of Lane county, and your singer was loosed and free, and no longer chained to the annoying cares of a family. He could give his whole attention to his poems. I, myself, sympathize with him in his desire to have time and money to "tamper with the muses" and cultivate his taste and talent for literature, and I feel that all poets and authors will also sympathize with him.

I did not intend that my misfortune should be publicly known. Illness overtook me in Portland, and by irregularities of the mails and accidents we were cut off, for a time, from communication with our friends. My younger brother was with me, and I did not ask for assistance; but by accident my friends found me. I must ever remain grateful to them for timely and generous assistance; but they can bear me witness that I made no public complaint, and the charges made against Mr. Miller were not made with my knowledge. I was as much surprised to see them as any one. If, in five years of labor and complete isolation from my relatives and the world, I worked with him, and not even my nearest neighbor or dearest friend heard one complaint of murmur from my lips; if, through that long winter in Portland, I sewed humbly day after day and night after night as long as I was able, passed the offices and residences of our mutual friends, who were leading and wealthy people, and chose rather to let my babes come upon the verge of starvation than to blemish his reputation by letting my circumstances be known, it is not likely that after the day of hope came and all was over, I should publicly make known what I had tried so hard to conceal. As I said before, Mr. Miller felt that he had gifts of mind, and if his system of economy was rigid and hard to endure, it was, at least, a success; and if he needed all his money to carry out his plans, I am satisfied that he thus used it. The bitter experience of the past cannot come again. My babes lived through all, and I am more than satisfied. I am grateful, and all his well. The absurd statement of the *Eugene Journal*, that I had indignantly returned money that Mr. M. sent me, is incorrect; and his informers are as economical of truth as they are of affection for their own flesh and blood. It would be a sad time to show indignation toward a father when his babes were suffering for the necessities of life. Joaquin Miller does not claim that he has ever sent a dollar to his children, or provided anything for them in any way from the time of his leaving Oregon until about two months ago, when he sent me \$25. He has since sent \$50 to Mrs. B. Cook, for my little girl, and \$55 to my mother, who has the care of my younger children. He will doubtless make explanations which will be satisfactory to those interested when he returns. It is true that I had a home with my widowed mother, but the place was dreary and secluded, and there was not a church or a school-house within fifty miles of my mother's home. So I did not deem it a proper place to educate my children and I came away, bringing them with me, which was contrary to the decree of my mother, which gave the two older children to the care of my mother. As I brought them away, he was released by law from caring for them, and I have no reason to complain, nor can any one have, justly.

Two hundred dollars a year alimony was allowed, but as it was not secured, you will readily see that Mr. M. was entirely released from any obligations. The marital relations between Mr. Miller and myself are dissolved, but that does not prevent our holding our precious babes in mutual love and protection; and although there are many false sentiments in society in regard to these things, I beg the privilege of exercising my own judgment in regard to my duty toward the father of my children, and my children. As we are both mortals, it would be affectation in me were I to profess to take upon myself all the blame, but I ask to bear my full share. The many who feel an interest in him are of more consequence than the few who know and love me, and henceforth I would have you deal only with him as a poet and author. Pronounce your judgment upon his books, know him by his epic heroes. No mortal man can go beyond himself in any conception. When he attempts to, he only strikes against the border of his imagination and rebounds further back; and when man attempts to imagine a God he takes a step back, and puts upon the shoulders of his god wings which belong to a lower order of creation. Good sometimes comes out of evil; the most deadly pestilence exhales a delicate perfume, and our separation and sorrows produced the poems of "Myrrh" and "Even So." If I have, after all, recovered my health and sometimes smile at others do, I feel that I have some kind of apology. If I am not to-day the shadowy, faded woman that might be expected, I beg pardon; and if, as a facetious editor writes, I must go "down the stream of life alongside of Lady Byron, Mrs. Bulwer and the obtrusive wife of the author of 'Boz,'" let that be my punishment. M. M. MILLER.

VASSAR COLLEGE is an educational establishment for women. Miss H. W. Terry, of New Haven, is good enough and capable enough to be the principal. But she is not

good or capable enough to vote or to assist in making the laws by which the thousands of young women who shall pass under her care shall live. Any 'longshoreman, or lumberman or canal-boatman is wise enough and virtuous enough to choose legislators and rulers for these born queens of the West.

MODERN CHRISTIANITY.

BY L. C. P.

See you pile of richest marble,
Lifting high its stately dome,
With fretted arch and solid buttress,
Fit to make for kings a home.

See how through the rich stained window
Rainbow colors softly blend;
Glancing back from velvet cushions,
On which wealthy sinners bend.

Far above, 'mid inland arches,
Gorgeous frescoes meet the eye;
While below, on softest carpets,
Falling footsteps quickly die.

Just beyond, down in a cellar,
Lies a babe and mother dead;
They died in sight of all this grandeur,
Starving for a loaf of bread.

Christ, who taught those golden precepts
That Christians all profess to day;
Taught them, wandering, sore and bleeding,
Fainting, dying by the way.

Offered prayers from gilded churches,
While the poor in suffering die,
Weighted down with sins so selfish,
Will never reach the throne on high.

MORE SPIRITUAL SEANCES.

THE HAND AND FACE OF A WOMAN, YET NOTHING MORTAL.

To the Editor of the Sun.

SIR: I have here written you a detailed account of a number of seances held with Dr. Slade, at 210 West Forty-third street. I will state beforehand, however, that I am not a convert to spiritualism by any means, nor do I pretend to give the cause of these extraordinary occurrences. I only give the facts as I witnessed them, and as any one else may, provided they pay the price, see for themselves.

FIRST INTERVIEW.

Alone with Dr. Slade, daylight, back room, second floor. He sat at an end of a plain table, no cover on, and I sat at one side. We joined hands on top of the table. Raps or knocks heard under and against the table. Dr. Slade asked, "Will any of the spirit friends present write on the slate?" Many sharp raps against the table. Slade said that meant yes. He now took an ordinary slate, and placing thereon a piece of pencil half as large as a grain of rice, held the slate under the table, but up against the leaf thereof. In twenty seconds we heard something writing on the slate, and in one minute withdrew it, and four words were written on it, signed by the initials of Slade's deceased wife, so he said. I saw the writing and read it. The pencil was too small to have caused the writing by sliding the slate against the board. This experiment was repeated, and writing always came on the slate, but the signatures were sometimes those of my own deceased relatives. How he got those names I as yet knew not. I looked under the table. All was open and fair so far as I yet saw. There were no wires or springs to be seen. My purported spirit friends would generally write such sentences as this:

"DEAR JOHN — I am happy to see you investigating this beautiful philosophy. Your grandfather,

JACOB B. —"

A MYSTERY.

I think I had seven or eight such communications. Now, I do know that the signatures were correct, and I believe that no other person than myself in New York knew any of those deceased persons. The query was now twofold; how was the writing accomplished and how did Dr. Slade get the names, for not one of the deceased persons ever lived within hundreds of miles of New York. Some of them had been dead for over forty years, and Dr. Slade was an entire stranger to me. Now, while we were talking about these things, a chair standing about five feet from us rose about one foot high, and stood apparently on nothing for two or three seconds, and then dropped to the floor. It was an ordinary cane-bottom chair. I examined, and found no wires or appliances of any kind attached to it or about it. I was careful not to examine too closely, so as to excite suspicion, but inwardly resolved to bide my time and call on a few more occasions.

SECOND SITTING WITH DR. SLADE.

No other persons present. Sat at table as before, and the results, such as writing on the slate, and raps against the table quite similar to the other interview. On this occasion I was permitted to hold one end of the slate, and still the writing appeared, but the side of the slate furthest under the table was pulled downward about four inches during the time the writing was going on. As I was asked by Dr. Slade to sit close up to the table, and did so, it was, of course, impossible for me to see under the table. There might have been, so far as I knew, a hole in the floor, and some person may have come up through it and written as described. I made no mention of this suspicion, but signified readily my astonishment at the results. Sometimes Dr. Slade held an accordion under the table, holding by the bellows end, and it was played on. During this time I was asked as before to sit close up to the table, placing both my hands on the centre of the table. I asked, kindly as I knew how, whether the spirits would play for me, and I did hold the accordion as he had, and it played for me also. I was then sitting so near that I could not look under the table. The power that pulled the accordion seemed like that of some person. I looked under the table afterward, but saw nothing, nor had the carpet any appearance of having been disturbed. After this one spirit, so called, wrote on the slate,

"LAY IT ON THE FLOOR."

Dr. Slade did lay it on the floor, and laid a long slate

pencil beside it, not on it. Again we joined hands, and writing was again done on it, and the pencil was found on the slate. Repeated this experiment, and there was written on the slate the word "Believe." During these operations I felt something pulling at the bottom of my pants about as strongly as would a child a year old. Repeated all these experiments, and got signatures of many others beside my own deceased relatives. One was a Dr. Rush, of whom I learned that he was Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia. Dr. Slade seemed to become somewhat exhausted during these performances, as though a portion of his electric power might be used for the purpose—indeed, he says such is the fact. He says quietness on our part

IMPROVES THE MANIFESTATIONS.

but that our concentrated thoughts assist none at all. In fact, we were much of the time conversing during the period of the writing. Just before we closed this sitting, the Doctor went into a trance, rose to his feet, and approached me as a Master Mason, giving the signs, grips and pass-grips of the order correctly, and proceeded to tell me, on the strength of our brotherhood, that these things were true, and that he (or the spirit in him) was very happy to see me investigating the subject; that my organism was such that they (the spirits) could not yet attack me as they wished, but that if I were to sit three times more they could do so. Dr. Slade then came to consciousness, and said the spirits were gone. So I went away, too, to give other folks a chance, at "five dollars a sitting, and busy all the time."

THIRD INTERVIEW WITH DR. SLADE.

Time 8 o'clock at night. We were alone. Said I:

"Doctor, are you a Master Mason?"

"No," said he. "Why do you ask?"

"Are you a Freemason?" said I.

"No, sir."

I then told him that he had given me signs at the last meeting which made me ask, and he reiterated that he knew nothing whatever of the order.

We then sat at the table as before, and Dr. Slade held the slate under the table, when writing began immediately. On this occasion one side of the slate was written over in a plain, legible hand, and signed by a Dr. Purvis, who Dr. Slade said was his guiding spirit friend. The purport of the communication was that the spirits were getting together in the room in order to give myself some remarkable demonstrations. I took the liberty on this occasion to examine the small piece of pencil; and I found it was worn off on the sharp corners, as though it had really accomplished the writing. I also watched to ascertain whether any small wire could come down the Doctor's sleeve to do the writing, but I was still baffled. After we had read the communication referred to, we sat in silence, and I heard unmistakable

RUSTLINGS ROUND THE ROOM.

One ordinary five-foot gas burner was burning, and consequently the room was quite light, though I could see no spirits. While we were thus watching, the lid of the water-pitcher flew open and remained so. It was standing on the marble of the pier-glass, and about ten feet from us. I examined the pitcher; it was about one-third filled with water, and there was no hole through the marble, nor was there any cord or other appliance above it so that an outside person could have raised the lid. While we were talking about this phenomenon the rocking-chair began to rock. It was all alone. The chair rocked hard—that is, the full swing of the chair—for about two minutes, and then slid up to the table where we were and still rocked about half a minute. It slid about four feet. Now, though it might have been rocked by some appliance coming up through the floor, yet it could not have slid so far by any such agency without my finding it out afterward. In fact I was almost despairing of finding a materialistic explanation for these

MULTITUDINOUS WONDERS.

After this the performance was changed. The little unknown was again pulling my pants, and I made bold enough now to sit at the table in such a way that I could see who was putting his hand up through the floor to thus divert me. But, strange to me, the pulling continued a little while, though I could see nothing, even while I looked, and yet the light was sufficient. Something pressed on my foot about as hard as would a year old child standing thereon. While this was going on I felt something coming up against my back as though some person was leaning against me. I said nothing but sat still. Dr. Slade now remarked that he saw a spiritual body leaning against me. Remember I felt it first, that is, say half a minute before the doctor saw it, or said he saw it. This was the first evidence I had had that he could see the mysterious power, for his description of its position coincided exactly with how it felt. Now, I take it that when a rocking-chair rocks all alone it is not good evidence for Dr. Slade to say he can see a spiritual body when I cannot so see it. But when I feel something

PRESSING HEAVILY AGAINST MY BACK,

and yet there be no tangible motion present, and Dr. Slade does there and then, without the aid of moving bodies, say he sees a spiritual body, my own feelings are the corroborating witness that he is not laboring altogether under a hallucination.

I turned round to look, but saw no living thing, nor anything whatever that could have pressed against me. The Doctor then took the slate and laid it on my head and again the writing came upon it, signed by my deceased uncle, saying by and by I should see more wonderful things than these. Immediately after this my chair, with me on it, was turned one-third round. I weigh 240 pounds. I could detect no power whatever doing this. In fact, I feared now I never should be able to make materialism account for these phenomena. While I was looking at one part of the room, some other part would be in "demonstration," and then again something came and rubbed the back of my head upward. I looked for it, and saw nothing. Finally the Doctor went into another trance and made me another short speech, stating that the spirits were anxious to do all they could in order to convince me of a spiritual existence, and then, after giving the Masonic salutations, bade me good night. When the Doctor awoke he inquired whether he had been saying anything.

FOURTH INTERVIEW,

under similar conditions; no other person present; writing on the slate as before, save that now the slate did approach so near the edge of the table that I was compelled to admit in my own mind that the Doctor had no accomplice. I now took the liberty of sitting in such manner that I knew no human being could do the writing without my having seen it done. I next held the slate alone, and the same power wrote as before, but not so strongly and plainly. While I was holding my hand under the table, something touched

my thumb and back of the hand. It stroked me. It pressed on my knee; it encircled my wrist, as though it were a lady's hand, soft, delicate and cold; and as I so sat, near the table, a hand, large, white, cloud-like, came up between me and the table. I saw it. It came several times, perhaps for five minutes. This cloud-like hand caught hold of the end of my dangling watch-chain, and pulled it clear through the button-hole of my vest. The hand dissolved or melted away into nothing every time I looked at it, say in two or three seconds. My other hand was during this time on the table, and Dr. Slade's hand lay on mine. I next asked the Doctor to sit back, and have no connection with me. He did so. The mysterious hand still stroked my hand under the table, but much lighter and weaker than before. The Doctor then took a seat distant about eight feet, but on this occasion the hand and power failed to touch me. Thus ended the fourth sitting.

FIFTH SITTING.

Alone with the medium. Time, half-past eight in the evening. Same room, but we sit in the same position at the table, having previously suspended a black curtain alongside and above the table. A square hole eight by ten inches was cut in the centre of this curtain (by order of spiritual instruction on the slate). Dr. Slade then turned down the light till the room was quite dark. In one minute a face like a person's appeared at the hole in the curtain. Slade then went into a trance and spoke these words to me:

"My friend, tell the medium he must sit still, so that we can control the currents of electric power which we draw from your bodies in order to show ourselves."

Slade then woke up and I told him the orders. Well, we sat still once more, and then a face appeared in full at the aperture. It was such a face that having seen it once no man could forget it, nor was it such a face as any living mortal could counterfeit. It was the face of a woman about twenty years of age, but of that transparent, phosphorescent character like the hand I had previously seen. It looked me square in the face, pleasantly, for about twenty seconds, and then gradually (like a rainbow) dissolved. B.

New York, Nov. 30.

JUSTICE CARTER'S DECISION REVIEWED.

BY PROF. S. B. BRITTAN.

MESSRS. EDITORS: In the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, Justice Carter recently delivered an opinion—on the question involving the claim of woman to the ballot—which I propose to review. I have seldom read a legal opinion, coming from a man of accredited judicial attainments and high position, that more clearly revealed the incapacity of the author to comprehend a great political question. Judge Carter evades the real issue by a species of circumlocution and false logic that is utterly unworthy of the Supreme Bench. He virtually denies the essential and inalienable right of the citizen to express his political preference by the ballot, even when the Constitution has made the necessary provision therefor, until he is authorized to vote by some special act of legislation. Not only has this assumption no apparent foundation, either in fact or reason, but it is at war with the cardinal principles of our political system. If the right of the citizen to vote—in other words, to express his will in the choice of his rulers—does not exist in the fact of citizenship *per se*, it certainly does not exist at all. Let us here come into close relations with the subject.

Civil government must have a lawful beginning somewhere, or it can have no legitimate existence anywhere. Now suppose we admit the assumption of Justice Carter, that no one can be qualified to vote until the right is conferred by some special act of legislation. How, then, shall a lawful legislative assembly be organized? Who shall be the first members of that body, and how shall they be chosen? Who shall establish the validity of laws enacted by legislators who have no proper claim to the places they occupy—whose every act is usurpation? Is it not manifest that until we are authorized to express our preferences, in the selection of our rulers and the adoption of a specific form of government, there can be neither Constitution, laws, legislators nor officers duly empowered to perform the executive functions of civil government? Justice Carter's political theory presumes that even a free representative government must, *ex necessitate*, have its origin in an arbitrary assumption of power by men who have no right to govern, for the obvious reason that they could not, in the nature of the case, be elected to office by a people qualified to vote. If the government be founded in lawless usurpation, and its ministers have no proper commission to execute its decrees, when, where and how shall the functions of such a government be legalized? Happily, the rights of mankind are subject to no such arbitrary limitations as are recognized in the opinion of Justice Carter. They are neither restricted to particular nationalities nor to certain periods in history. Political and geographical boundaries at most only interfere with their proper recognition and restrain their exercise. Legal rights, however, defined in the interest of an unworthy ambition, are but the accepted political interpretations of our rights under the laws of Nature. While the latter are forever inextinguishable, mere politicians may not comprehend the fact in their indecent haste to minister to their selfish instincts.

Justice Carter runs away from the real question before him when he says, "that the legal vindication of the natural rights of all citizens to vote, would, in this stage of popular intelligence, involve the destruction of the civil government." This does not aim at a wise solution of an important political problem. It rather looks like a vain attempt to conceal the real issue, or to divert public attention from the subject. It was not the matter of intelligence, as a prerequisite to the possession and use of the ballot, that this honorable expounder of the laws proposed to decide. It was a question of right founded, not on the degree of intelligence, but on the distinction of sex. With this question fairly before the court, we readily perceive that a discussion of the dangers of universal suffrage—growing out of a lack of intelligence in the community—is wholly irrelevant. It cannot be presumed to so much as touch the real question, unless the Judge assumes, by implication, that nearly all men in this country are fit for the ballot, while all American women are too ignorant to be intrusted with such an instrumentality of power.

The Judge reasons illogically when he refers to the misuse in our great commercial centres as integral in our system, or otherwise as an inevitable result of a democratic form of government. In this manner he is pleased to discount our republican institutions and the character of the American people. If these evils prove anything, they contribute to

illustrate the danger of a political system that puts the ballot in the hands of nearly all bad men while it is withheld from all honorable women. This limitation of the elective franchise has probably had much to do in securing the triumph of political knavery in the caucus and ruffianism at the polls. But if we take New York as an example (of late the worst governed city in the country), the systematic abuse of power is clearly not the fault of our system. The evils are not justly attributable to the extent of the suffrage; but on the contrary, they are plainly to be traced to the culpable neglect of multitudes of our law-abiding citizens. This is demonstrated beyond controversy by the result of the recent municipal elections, in which the Ring was completely smashed, and the organized gang of political demagogues and public thieves were forced, by a righteous and indignant public sentiment, to retire from office stamped with the brand of lasting infamy. It is possible, then, for even New York to be governed by honest men under the present system, and it would be no less possible if the suffrage were universal. Why, then, should a grave Judge—on the fallacious plea of looking after the public safety—dishonor our system of government by insisting on such limitations of our political rights as practically subvert the democratic idea of government? Why expose the Supreme Court of the District that embraces the National Capital to the severest criticism by giving expression to such shallow sophistries and illogical deductions as we find in the tangled web of this legal opinion?

Justice Carter admits that the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution makes women citizens; but he assumes that it does not thereby confer the right to vote. But what is citizenship without political rights? If one may not so much as lay the hand on the symbols of power, our citizenship is but a name and a sham of insufficient interest to merit serious consideration. Strange as it may appear, the learned Judge presumes that half the members of the body politic are in a state of total political paralysis, and that condition is normal. In other words, they are incapable of exercising the legitimate functions of self-government. This hypothetical citizenship that is meaningless and amounts to nothing; that may claim no prerogatives of its own, and is utterly destitute of even the semblance of real power, is at best a "tinkling cymbal," that will scarcely suffice to amuse the Socrus for an afternoon. We incline to the opinion that the attempt to tickle the fancy of women with such small straws as this is an undignified occupation for a Judge of the Supreme Court. An American citizen without rights is as poor as a king without either throne or sceptre, and as powerless as the fugitive whose empire has just fallen beneath the heel of the conqueror. When we can have millions of citizens without political rights, we may expect to have philosophers without wisdom, saints without virtues and landlords without so much as a title to a single foot of the earth's surface.

According to the legal authority under review the Constitution cannot secure the right to the ballot. In the judgment of the Court the Amendment referred to only confers "the capacity to become voters. * * * It is a constitutional provision that does not execute itself." Of course not; and we wait to see any form of law that possesses the voluntary power required in its execution. The constitution is not an automatic machine. Not one of its provisions nor any similar form of law was ever endowed with the power of self-execution. But it is the proper business of those who are charged with the high responsibility of administering the government to see that the Constitution and all laws made in pursuance of its several provisions are faithfully executed. If the Constitution secures nothing absolutely; if it only contemplates political possibilities, it is altogether a work of supererogation. The Author of our being provided for all the possibilities of human nature in the creation of Man. His work is complete. It requires no amendment at our hands, and the man who should seriously propose to confirm the laws of Nature by a special legislative enactment would be treated as a lunatic. Now if the Constitution does secure the rights of citizenship, is not that enough? If any further legislation was demanded to make that instrument binding alike on the individual and the community, we have it in the ratification of the same by the several States. Where, then, shall we discover the necessity of special legislation to invest the native American with such rights as already belong to him? Who shall presume to deprive him of his possessions under the laws of Nature and the Constitution of his country? Who shall dare to rob him of the inheritance bequeathed to him by the fathers of the Republic?

If the Constitution is the fundamental law of the land, it cannot require local legislation—beyond the ratification of its several provisions by the different States—to invest it with supreme authority. The notion that the very Amendments designed to secure the free exercise of the natural rights of the individual, in his political relations, really accomplishes no practical result, but only renders it possible for him to become a voter, provided the right to the ballot shall be subsequently granted by the subordinate authorities of his own State, looks very much like a tacit acknowledgment of State Sovereignty. The inculcation of this political heresy culminated in the late rebellion, which baptized the nation in blood and tears, and covered the continent with a funeral pall. We are not surprised at the puerilities and absurdities of crazy politicians, but we certainly did not look for the reappearance of this infernal dogma, disguised in a legal opinion and emanating from the Supreme Bench. Will some power from above or beneath,

"Some spirit of health or goblin damned."

banish the restless ghost that still haunts the minds of Democratic politicians, and even ventures to appear, in "such a questionable shape," within the precincts of the Supreme Court?

It is true that the State may have power to adopt Justice Carter's narrow political interpretation of our rights. Under an absolute despotism one man may determine the political status of every other man. In an aristocracy or an oligarchy a few unscrupulous persons govern the many, qualifying their liberties by such arbitrary restraints and absolute limitations as scarcely leave to the millions so much as the shadow of political independence. But the power of either individuals or States to do such things does nothing to establish the justice of their deeds. The ability to act often transcends the right to act; and hence the one cannot be measured by the other. This country exercised the power to uphold slavery for nearly a century, but it never possessed the right for a single hour. No one will deny that the State has power to do wrong, but in this acknowledged capacity for evil, we shall look in vain for its justification. Men who believe in the divine right of kings and cardinals to enslave mankind, may govern by the mere force of superior might; legislators may manufacture

the machinery and implements of despotism, and States may sacrifice the liberties of the people; but the claims of justice and humanity are the same through all periods and in all countries. True, the rights of man may not find adequate expression in the statute law; they do not vary to suit the caprice of our rulers; they are never modified by the election returns; they are not subverted by imperial decrees, nor can they be overthrown by revolution. They existed before the state, and they will outlive the State. Thus, while the measure of political power possessed and exercised by the people varies under different forms of government, and, indeed, under the same government at different periods, the rights of human nature are everywhere and always the same. Firm as the pillars of the Universe, they will remain when all existing political institutions shall have perished—

"When the sweeping storm of Time
Has sung its death-dance over our ruined fane
And broken altars."

Trusting that among the evidences of the increasing intelligence of the times we may be able to discover some proofs of superior wisdom among those who occupy the high places of honor and responsibility, I remain, for Liberty and Equality, yours truly,

S. B. BRITTAN.

LABOR AND CAPITAL.

LECTURE BY MRS. VICTORIA C. WOODHULL AT SPRING GARDEN HALL.

A large audience assembled last evening at the hall Broad and Spring Garden streets, for the purpose of hearing Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull deliver her lecture on the great social problem of "Labor and Capital." At 8 o'clock Dr. Henry T. Child introduced Mrs. Woodhull, as follows:

It is a fact established by all history, sacred and profane, that the presentation of any truth, especially if it be of a radical character, startles mankind and awakens opposition more or less bitter and unrelenting, according to the plane on which they live.

The martyrdom of the different ages is an index of the conditions of the people. It is to be hoped that the world has passed the period when physical torture shall be meted out to those who are the pioneers and mouthpiece for the presentation of truth and light to it; and may we not hope that the enlightenment of the age will ere long soften, if not banish, the harsh and cruel slanders which are now so freely heaped upon those who are the instruments for the utterances of radical truths.

Another significant fact, presented alike by history and our present experiences, is that whenever a new truth, however radical it may be, is given to the world, the very shock which it produces gives a place for some grand truth which had been rejected. Thus the world accepts all except the last grand utterance. The lesson which this brings cannot be lost upon thoughtful minds.

It is my pleasant duty this evening to introduce to this audience one who, having given to the world some of the most ultra and radical, and, consequently, agitating sentiments, that it has ever received, has had a double portion of fierce denunciation and slander from many; while, on the other hand, she has the warmest, most hearty sympathy and approval of some of the purest minds and best thinkers of the age. I now have the pleasure of presenting to you Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull, the lecturer of the evening.

Mrs. Woodhull spoke, substantially, as follows:

Three great questions, each based in human equality, the immediate future must solve, namely, Political Rights, Social Order, and Moral Responsibility. The first unattained, the second is impossible, and the third preposterous. The first attained, the second will be organized, and the third naturally follow. Every human being is entitled to certain inalienable rights, of which no constitution or law can dispossess him; but every human being is also subject to certain duties flowing from the possession of such rights, which he should no more evade than he should be deprived of their possession.

Therefore it is that we find humanity a body of interdependent persons, every individual of whom sustains certain dependent relations to the aggregate, and is entitled to certain protection from the aggregate, against infringement by others. The interest and rights of each individual are, therefore, merged in a community of interests and rights, and the legitimate functions of government are to maintain and protect, so that by no possibility may the community of interest be made subservient to individual interest, or to special interest of any number of individuals less than the whole.

From this position, which principle and reason sustain, it follows that my first postulate is true; that social order cannot exist unless political right is equally possessed by all among whom it is sought to be maintained; for if a government is organized to maintain it, in which but a portion of the community participate—or worse still, in which a portion are denied participation—there is a departure from the principle of equality of right among the members of the community, which must ever prove fatal to humanity.

So long as inequalities exist among the members of a community, first made possible and afterward maintained by law, so long will there be inharmonies in the community. This is a self-evident proposition. And so long as there are inharmonies in the community, there can be no equality of moral responsibility, because the inharmonies arising from unequal distribution and exercise of rights, to which all are equally entitled, places those who are below equality at the mercy of those who have usurped this quantity, and who are thus above equality. In such condition equal responsibility is not justice, and hence our second postulate is maintained.

As there are three great questions pressing for settlement, so, too, do these questions find their legitimate basis in three great principles, which should guide every action of individuals and communities, and by which all results should be tried; and these are—freedom, equality and justice. With the first the second should be maintained by the ruling of the third, which would be perfect government, since the purposes for which government is organized would be secured to every individual.

Having thus laid down her ground-plan, Mrs. Woodhull proceeded to show that, regarded from her standpoint, the existing state of government in this country was anything but that which she had described.

She spoke at considerable length upon the inequalities of condition found in our land, the rich and poor, saying that such a state of things was opposed to the true principles of democratic government. She assailed "corporate monop-

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lies," as being likewise opposed to these principles, as was, too, the unequal division of land, in which she maintained all should have a common right. She denounced also the governmental system of protection and the means employed for collecting the revenue of the country. Having thus passed in review the land, protection and revenue systems of the country, she proceeded to the discussion of the remedies of what she considered to be the present evils under which the country labored.

On this head she said: I tell you that the first principles of life have been utterly lost sight of, and that we are floundering about in the great ocean of material infidelity. If we would attain to better things we must stop short in our present course and come back to the point of departure, to wit: to the fact that we are a community of brothers and sisters, owning one Father, the Supreme Ruler of all, and build from that greatest of all human facts.

A party which would become successful and remain in power must plant itself in this fact and never lose sight of it in its legislation. It must at all times be firm in the advocacy of all growth and reform which come from the action of fundamental principles. All sectionalism, all favoritism, all specialism must be swallowed in the greater interests of the whole. Whatever would detract from the good of the whole, no matter how much supposed individual or local benefit it promises, must be discountenanced.

Such a party, she prophesied, if not organized, conditions would develop which would make it a necessity without organization.

In conclusion she said: Let every person who would be counted among the consistent, plant himself upon the principle of human equality, and, while demanding for himself all human rights, conceding to all others equal human rights. If but a nucleus of such persons is formed at first, their influence will be contagious and will rapidly spread, until the time come when this people will have become repossessed of the rights of which they have permitted themselves to be unwarrantably robbed. Then may the ultimate of a republican form of government be attained, and its happy citizens labor together in harmony for the common advancement of humanity.—*The Philadelphia Press.*

DARWIN'S DECLARATION OF FAITH.

1. Religion is the effort of man to perfect himself.
2. The root of religion is universal human nature.
3. Historical religions are all one, in virtue of this one common root.
4. Historical religions are all different, in virtue of their different historical origin and development.
5. Every historical religion has thus two distinct elements—one universal or spiritual and the other special or historical.
6. The universal element is the same in all historical religions; the special element is peculiar in each of them.
7. The universal and the special elements are equally essential to the existence of an historical religion.
8. The unity of all religions must be sought in their universal element.
9. The peculiar character of each religion must be sought in its special element.

RELATION OF JUDAISM TO CHRISTIANITY.

10. The idea of a coming "kingdom of heaven" arose naturally in the Hebrew mind after the decay of the Davidic monarchy, and ripened under foreign oppression into a passionate longing and expectation.
11. The "kingdom of heaven" was to be a world-wide empire on this earth, both temporal and spiritual, to be established on the ruins of the great empires of antiquity by the miraculous intervention of Jehovah.
12. The Messiah or Christ was to reign over the "kingdom of heaven" as the visible deputy of Jehovah, who was considered the true sovereign of the Hebrew nation. He was to be a priest-king—the supreme pontiff or high-priest of the Hebrew Church, and absolute monarch of the Hebrew state.
13. The "apocalyptic literature" of the Jews exhibits the gradual formation and growth of the idea of the Messianic "kingdom of heaven."
14. All the leading features of the gospel doctrine concerning the "kingdom of heaven," the "end of the world," the "great day of judgment," the "coming of the Christ in the clouds of heaven," the "resurrection of the dead," the condemnation of the wicked and the exaltation of the righteous, the "passing away of the heavens and earth," and the appearance of a "new heaven and a new earth," were definitely formed and firmly fixed in the Hebrew mind in the century before Jesus was born.
15. John the Baptist came preaching that "the kingdom of heaven is at hand." But he declared himself merely the forerunner of the Messiah.
16. Jesus also came preaching that "the kingdom of heaven is at hand," and announced himself as the Messiah or Christ.
17. Jesus emphasized the spiritual aspect of the Messianic kingdom; but, although he expected his throne to be established by the miraculous intervention of God, and therefore refused to employ human means in establishing it, he nevertheless expected to discharge the political functions of his office as king and judge, when the fullness of time should arrive.
18. As a preacher of purely spiritual truth, Jesus probably stands at the head of all the great religious teachers of the past.
19. As claimant of the Messianic crown, and founder of Christianity as a distinct historical religion, Jesus shared the spirit of an unenlightened age, and stands on the same level with Gautama or Mohammed.
20. In the belief of His disciples, the death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus would not prevent the establishment of the "kingdom of heaven." His throne was conceived to be already established in the heavens, and the early church impatiently awaited its establishment on earth at the "second coming of the Christ."
21. Christianity thus appears as simply the complete development of Judaism—the highest possible fulfillment of the Messianic dreams based on the Hebrew conception of a "chosen people."

CHRISTIANITY.

22. Christianity is the historical religion taught in the Christian Scriptures, and illustrated in the history of the Christian Church.
23. It is a religion in virtue of its universal element; it is the Christian religion in virtue of its special element.
24. The Christian Scriptures teach, from beginning to end, that "Jesus of Nazareth is the Christ of God"—that is the Hebrew Messiah. This, the Christian confession, was declared both by Jesus and the Apostles to be necessary to

salvation or admission into the "kingdom of heaven."

25. The Christian Church, from its origin to the present day, has everywhere planted itself on faith in the Christian confession, as its divinely appointed foundation—the eternal "rock" against which the "gates of hell shall never prevail."

26. The Christian confession gradually created on the one hand the theology, and on the other hand the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church. The process was not, as is claimed, a corruption, but a natural and logical development.

27. The Church of Rome embodies Christianity in its most highly developed and perfect form, as a religion of authority based on the Christian authority.

28. Protestantism is the gradual disintegration of Christianity, whether regarded theologically or ecclesiastically, under the influence of the free spirit of protest against authority.

29. "Liberal Christianity"—that is, democratic autocracy in religion—is the highest development of the free spirit of protest against authority which is possible within the Christian Church. It is, at the same time, the lowest possible development of faith in Christ—a return to the Christian confession in its crudest and least developed form.

30. Christianity is the religion of Christians, and all Christians are believers in the Christ.

31. The Christian name, whatever else it may include, necessarily includes faith in Jesus as the Christ of God. Any other use of the name is abuse of it. Under some interpretation or other the Christian confession is the boundary line of Christianity.

FREE RELIGION.

32. The Protestant reformation was the birth of free religion—the beginning of the religious protest against authority within the confines of the Christian Church.

33. The history of Protestantism is the history of the growth of free religion at the expense of the Christian religion. As love of freedom increases, reverence for authority decreases.

34. The completion of the religious protest against authority must be the extinction of faith in the Christian confession.

35. Free religion is emancipation from the outward law and voluntary obedience to the inward law.

36. The great faith or moving power of free religion is faith in man as a progressive being.

37. The great ideal end of free religion is the perfection or complete development of man—the race serving the individual, the individual serving the race.

38. The great practical means of free religion is the integral, continuous and universal education of man.

39. The great law of free religion is the still, small voice of the private soul.

40. The great peace of free religion is spiritual oneness with the infinite one.

41. Free religion is the natural outcome of every historical religion—the final unity, therefore, toward which all historical religions slowly tend.

RELATION OF CHRISTIANITY TO FREE RELIGION.

42. Christianity is identical with free religion so far as its universal element is concerned; antagonistic to it so far as its special element is concerned.

43. The corner-stone of Christianity is faith in the Christ. The corner-stone of free religion is faith in human nature.

44. The great institution of Christianity is the Christian Church, the will of the Christ being its supreme law. The great institution of free religion is the coming republic of the world, the universal conscience and reason of mankind being its supreme organic law or constitution.

45. The fellowship of Christianity is limited by the Christian confession; its brotherhood includes all subjects of the Christ, and excludes all others. The fellowship of free religion is universal and free; it proclaims the great brotherhood of man without limit or bound.

46. The practical work of Christianity is to Christianize the world, to convert all to Christ and ensure their salvation from the wrath of God. The practical work of free religion is to humanize the world, to make the individual nobler here and now, and to convert the human race into a vast co-operative union devoted to universal ends.

47. The spiritual ideal of Christianity is the suppression of self and perfect imitation of Jesus the Christ. The spiritual idea of free religion is the free development of self and the harmonious education of all its powers to the highest possible degree.

48. The essential part of Christianity is that of self-humiliation at the feet of Jesus, and passionate devotion to his person. The essential spirit of free religion is that of self-respect and free self-devotion to great ideas. Christianity is prostrate on its face; free religion is erect on its feet.

49. The noblest fruit of Christianity is a self-sacrificing love of man for Jesus' sake. The noblest fruit of free religion is a self-sacrificing love of man for man's own sake.

50. Christianity is the faith of the soul's childhood; free religion is the faith of the soul's manhood. In the gradual growth of mankind out of Christianity into free religion, lies the only hope of spiritual perfection of the individual and the spiritual unity of the race.

MRS. BELVA A. LOCKWOOD, A. M.

The simile of the oak and ivy and man and woman in their married relations is so common as to be accepted by the generality of people as orthodox—a sort of law like unto that of the Medes and Persians; and when a woman is endowed by nature with a strong mind and a determined will she is looked upon as a *lusus nature*, a dangerous iconoclast who tears down sacred images that the world has set up, and before which generations have in adoration bowed. A custom sanctified by the usages of centuries passes current as a direct emanation from God—a sort of second edition of the laws of Moses, whose fiat is not to be disputed.

A woman who dares to think her opinions and judgment (no matter upon what foundation formed) the equal of and entitled to the same amount of respect as those of an average man, opens the vials of wrath of respectable conservatism, and "those pure wives and mothers who don't want to vote" lift up their domestic skirts in chaste horror, lest they be soiled by contact with her who considers it her right to cast a ballot for those who are put in power over her, and who has the moral courage to face the world and say it.

Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood, A. M., is not a twining vine to

wind round a sturdy oak and cling to it for protection and support, but rather a sturdy oak herself, and fitted to stand beside her chosen companion and bear equally with him the balmy breath of prosperity's spring or the chilling blast of adversity's winter.

A woman who, when left a widow, deliberately decides upon going to college rather than entering into the more "domestic" and "womanly" occupation of taking in washing or of doing general housework on a farm, is not a person very apt to cling to any man for protection and support, but rather is apt to stand beside him before the world as a respected companion and sympathizing sharer of the struggles of life, putting her shoulder with his to the wheel and calling upon no Hercules but her own indomitable will for help.

Belva A. Bennett was born at Royalton, Niagara County, New York, October 24, 1830, the second of five children, all of whom were raised upon the country estate of their parents. At the age of twelve she was well grounded in grammar, geography, arithmetic, algebra and elementary philosophy. She attended the common schools of her native place, and her studies were directed into intensely practical channels, and her time was economically disposed of instead of being wasted over merely showy and ornamental courses. In after years the German, French and Spanish languages were added to her repertoire; and she now gives occasional lessons to her friends in the two former.

So thoroughly versed was she in the studies pursued, and such was the consideration and esteem in which she was held by her neighbors, that before she was fifteen she was called upon to teach in the school where she had lately been a pupil. In this undertaking she was so successful and gave such universal satisfaction that she concluded to follow the advice of her friends and her own inclination and pursue teaching as a permanent occupation.

Salaries for teaching in those days were not what they now are, and Miss Bennett deemed herself fortunate in being able to secure for her earliest efforts such ridiculously small sums as \$5, \$6, \$7 and \$8 per month.

At the age of eighteen she married Mr. Uriah H. McNall, a young farmer, and leaving her school, she entered upon the new duties of housekeeper without a servant, and was a valuable assistant to her husband as well as a true companion.

Before a year had elapsed Mr. McNall met with such a serious accident that his system became enfeebled to a degree that consumption eventually seized upon him, totally incapacitating him for active business, and the whole management of the farm fell upon the young and inexperienced wife. While affairs were in this condition she became the mother of a daughter, and her husband, after a lingering illness, died, leaving her a widow before she was twenty-two years of age.

During his illness she took care of him and her child, and managed his business in detail under the disadvantageous conditions which always accompany the affairs of a man who is wholly unfitted in body for any kind of labor, and who does not realize that his mind is also impaired, and that it is a very difficult task to carry out imperfectly digested plans, and half-given directions. After the death of Mr. McNall she conducted the farm with wonderful energy, and to this day farming neighbors speak of her making excellent bargains in stock, of her measuring the lumber she sold, directing the disposition of farm produce, writing her orders and receipts in a business-like manner, and, *mirabile dictu!* yet able to cook a dinner, or make a dress or bonnet as well as any of her more "womanly" neighbors.

A year after her husband's death she determined upon completing her education, having become weary of her monotonous, and, it seemed to her, aimless life; so she entered the academy at Gasport, N. Y., where she studied geometry, German, anatomy, physiology and book-keeping, keeping house meanwhile and boarding five brothers and sisters, all students in the same seminary. Completing the course, she accepted a pressing invitation to teach in the district where she had resided as wife, mother and widow. She received twelve dollars a month and board for herself and child.

She taught at this place two years, at the end of which time, greatly to the astonishment of her friends and neighbors, she resolved upon going to college, an almost unheard-of thing in those days in a country town. And close upon the heels of her determination she moved to Lima, N. Y., where she entered the Genesee Wesleyan College, and faithfully pursued to the end the severe course of study marked out by the able faculty of that excellent institution, despite the advice of friends and their assertions that "boys might go to college; girls should get married." She was now of an age to think for herself, and as she had earned the money she spent in educating herself, she very properly questioned the right or propriety of such admonitions. With unflinching courage she toiled up the steep and rugged hill of science, stopping occasionally upon the weary way to cull flowers in her path, which she sent to the village papers—*Moore's Rural New Yorker*, the *Western Literary Messenger*, *Boston Office Branch*, *Ladies' Repository*, the *Lockport Daily Journal*, and other publications—but only in a few instances attaching her name to her poetic gems.

The remark of Judge Baker in reference to an essay read by her before a crowded audience in Middleport, that it was "an effort worthy of a man," had not the significance that was intended to be conveyed, for the essay was one that the

[CONTINUED ON PAGE 16.]

ART AND DRAMA.

Booth's.—We Americans are not given to undervaluing ourselves or the age in which we live; nor has the old Horatian line about praising the by-gone times much hold on the public faith. And why should it? Are we not the sublimated quintessential extract of all the ages? By the law of evolution, why shouldn't we be wiser and every way worthier than our ancestors, and why should we not wipe away the dust of those prejudices, whose sole foundation is their mouldy antiquity? We read of Garrick, Betterton, even of Kean and Kemble, but who can believe in traditions of past greatness when measured against the evidence of present actualities? As well affirm the superiority of Alexander over Napoleon.

"Julius Caesar" has been put before us in a setting worthy the noblest of Shakespeare's historical plays. The scenery and costumes of the modern stage are so perfect and the illusion so complete that it is impossible to suppose a satisfactory result in a period when the drama was poor in all such effects. The actors who strutted their little tour with the entumbrances of court costume and heavy wigs, as we see them now in the old comedies, must indeed have had wonderful powers; or, as is more probable, the audience must have been more easily pleased and less fastidious than our modern play-goers. The perfection to which scenic art has been carried, and the careful elaboration of details, are a triumph in Mr. Booth's management. Any one of the plays that he gives us in his revivals is a study, and the very best and most interesting commentary on the social habits of the age represented that can be offered to us. Here we have the streets and edifices of old Rome before us in dimensions that cheat the imagination; and in the completeness of the illusion they are a near approach to the magnificence of the great city. The set scene of the Senate House, in which the assassination takes place, is after the well-known picture by Gerome, in itself one of the most impressively dramatic pictures of the day, although the arrangement has not been strictly followed. In the picture, Pompey's statue is placed at the side in the left foreground—Booth's Pompey's statue (a by no means deceptive counterfeit by the way) is at the back of Caesar's consular chair. Thus, when Caesar falls, he falls not wrapping his mantle round him at the feet of his great rival, but at the foot of the steps that go up to his own throne. Thus the great thought of retribution is, in some measure, weakened. The whole action is here so rapid, and the confusion and tumult of a mighty catastrophe whose report shall last throughout time are so great, that the spectator of the reality before him has no time to note small differences; even in the mimic representation the mind is aghast at the immensity of the situation.

The transaction is in itself of unexampled grandeur, and the few spoken words force home to our conviction that by this one event the government of the world was cast into the balance, and the whole course of history affected. The greatest mind may well fail to grasp the thought in all its vastness, but even the dullest cannot but take in some impression of its enormous force.

The cast brings forcibly to mind the last time this play was brought before the public, and some painful recollections are inevitable. Criticism is for the most part comparison, and a comparison of the two performances will naturally arise. In general terms the respective excellences of the leading characters seem pretty nearly balanced. The part of *Brutus* seems peculiarly fitted to the popular idea of Mr. Booth's individuality. We most of us suppose that Mr. Booth is of grave, almost melancholy temper, given to abstract thought and the unraveling of the eternal relations of things. To this his extreme sedateness of demeanor and his Italian cast of features have in great measure contributed. Even in *Romeo* there are a certain philosophic spirit and self-control manifest, while his preference for the measured step and slow is apparent in all his gestures, which, even under excitement, seem the result of intellectual rather than of emotional impulse. The grand self-poised character of *Brutus*, superior to fate and serene alike in prosperity as in adversity, would naturally fit with this assumption of Mr. Booth's own personality, and he could thus adequately render the promptings of the great soul which, despite affection, could slay *Caesar* to save Rome, which not even the death of *Portia*, his best-beloved, the stay and support of his hope in life, could shake, and which in the quarrel scene with *Cassius* stands calm, though not indifferent, against his "brother's" petulance and injustice like a great rock against the buffeting of the angry sea. Mr. Booth gives to *Brutus* an expression so perfect that it leaves nothing to desire; so perfect, indeed, that there is no room even for praise; it is the thing itself; and we would not praise *Brutus* for that he is *Brutus*. The exquisite touch of humanity that distinguishes *Brutus* invests him with our sympathy. His justice is Godlike, not even for *Caesar* and for *Caesar's* great qualities will he withhold the fatal stroke. But *Brutus* has affections broad and deep: a nature womanly in its tenderness. His love passage with his wife is an instance of this; his gentle consideration for the tired boy, and his indulgence to his weary soldiers. All this is exquisitely rendered by Mr. Booth, who gives us sensibility without weakness, therein completing the perfect portrait of a man whose matchless character left room only for the regret of his enemies in the moment of success.

Mr. Barrett's *Cassius* is a portraiture more exciting than that of *Brutus*. His wounded vanity in the overshadowing ascendancy of *Caesar's* fame, his self-contempt, his fractious and petulant disposition, his worldly estimate of other men, his calculation of chances, make *Cassius* a better subject than *Brutus*—more stimulating to the curiosity of the audience, and in degree taking the lead in the progress of the play. He is chief conspirator, is himself passionate, and plays on the passions of others. In some sense

Cassius is a less difficult because more interesting character. But this shall by no means detract from Mr. Barrett's excellence in its rendering. If there is more room for show, that show is none the less admirable. Calm equanimity is supposed to belong to Mr. Booth; so to the audience nervous susceptibility has always seemed Mr. Barrett's peculiarity. The irritability of *Cassius*, which impels him almost to shed tears in the heat of his passion, the raindrops that accompany the thunder cloud, though it do not accord with the Roman immobility of *Cato* or *Brutus*, is perfectly consonant with the emotional Italian nature. The strongest point of Mr. Barrett's action was in his outburst—"Marc Antony!"—after the assassination, and in the splendid play which marks him in all that scene, and especially in the growing distrust he manifests of *Antony's* intentions.

Mr. Bangs as *Marc Antony* made a success that more than satisfied the hopes of his friends. His voice is against him; and it is severely tried by comparison with Booth's masterly elocution and Barrett's melodious intonation. Some of his action is singularly ungraceful, and he is more demonstrative and energetic in the famous speech than comports either with his dangerous position or with his own tact and discretion. *Marc Antony*, if he ever really made such an address, would have understood how to kill a reputation with a shrug. "They are all honorable men," was the simple statement of a fact, not the insinuation of a doubt. The finest shades of intonation and the lightest gestures are enough in *Marc Antony's* oratory until that final burst, when he rushes from the tribune and devotes the conspirators to the infernal gods. But whatever my own idea of Mr. Bangs' imperfections, there can be no question of his painstaking earnestness, nor of the approval of the house, for he takes all the honors which are accorded very sparingly to the other actors.

Of Mr. Waller's *Julius Caesar* it is impossible to speak with praise. The foremost man of all his time, the finest gentleman and most accomplished soldier and statesman, could neither have ranted nor preached. Shakespeare, giving him credit for all the fine qualities, makes him just a little inclined to bombast. If "we were two lions, littered in one day, and I the elder and more terrible" smack of egotistic lustian, *Caesar* was still a lion heart. Mr. Waller makes him strutting and stogy, with here and there a strong tendency to preaching, and without any grace of action or delivery. Mr. Waller can do better, as witness his *Henry VIII.*, and I cannot understand whence he gets his idea of great *Caesar*.

Among the little parts Robert Pateman does well with his *First Citizen* and D. C. Anderson does excellent business as *Lagarius*. Miss Bella Pateman as *Portia* makes all that can be made of her small part.

STEINWAY HALL.—The weather on Christmas night was not in itself of a quality to tempt those who had comfortable homes and dry rooms to walk abroad and make sonnets to the moon or any other goddess of the night. But spite of weather and spite of the other attractions extant, the name of Kellogg in the "Messiah" had sufficient magnetic potency to draw the largest audience that Steinway Hall has seen this season. We have of late heard so much repetition of one name, the cynosure of excellence, to the exclusion of all others, that we have, most of us, forgotten that we have or ever had any indigenous celebrity worthy the affection and admiration of native-born Americans. In so saying, I would not be taken to undervalue or depreciate any imported talent or foreign graces. Nilsson the divine, for example, is very lovely, very charming, very everything that is admirable and attractive. She commands the suffrages, discriminative and unpurchaseable, of upper-tendons, and above all things, she is a splendid example of the magnificent uses of good management. The best wine remains in the cellar untasted and unknown if the host do not hang out his bush. Our own Kellogg used to be of some account ere the Northern enchantress stole away our hearts. She is just as "cute," just as "nice," just as "awful jolly" as ever she was. Time has not staled her attractions nor has her voice lost its quality. Only she is not so well managed as she ought to be. And fashion does so love change; indeed, if there were no change there could be no fashion, and so it is to be hoped and believed all things work for good.

And the "Messiah" was good, and Kellogg was good. The "Messiah" was given by the Mendelssohn Union, and specially appropriate to the great festival. The chorus was numerically strong, though, as it seemed to me, unequally balanced, the alto being weak for the work it had to do. The choruses were given with vigor and unanimity—the time well kept, and all the voices going together, a point observable in the sustained runs and slurred passages which are characteristic of the Handelian score. These are not easy, even for the soloist, but very difficult of mastery in the union of a large choir. And here the excellent training of the society was apparent. The mighty "Hallelujah" was, of course, the grand attack, and received the plaudits of the audience. Audiences feel it a point of honor to listen attentively to certain pieces, dramatic and musical, and it is of course to give vent to one's feelings, not so much always for what they are at the moment as for what we have been accustomed to think them. But to my mind the best chorus of the evening was "And With His Stripes," which was admirably executed, as also its successor, "And We Like Sheep," in which the quick succession of the separate voices come in with precision and effect. The "Glory to God," a bright, clear, decided movement, was also very well rendered.

Miss Kellogg opens as soprano in "There were Shepherds," and here her firm, decided attack showed her readiness and fine training. She opens right out at the first note, and the clear, flute-like voice goes through the audience free from all support or encouragement by the instruments. "Rejoice greatly," also by Miss Kellogg, did not content me; it seemed unequal. A trial of strength ensues in the two next, "He shall feed his flock," by the contralto, Miss Sterling, and "His yoke is easy," by soprano, Miss Sterling's rich voice and dramatic expression

came out splendidly. The music, as with all Handel music, does not call for *lours de force*, but for the most solid culture and the most sustained execution. And Miss Sterling showed her mastery in a thorough rendering, which warmed up the audience and brought an encore with decided and imperative approval. This applause drew out our American nightingale, and she gave a grand burst in "His yoke is easy," for which she was also called, but gracefully declined to respond. Her success was in "I know that my Redeemer liveth," the vocal expression of perfect faith and comforting assurance in which the beautiful voice of the singer so sinks into the soul that hard indeed must be that heart which is not penetrated. This was simply "perfect." No other word fits. After a waiting breath of unspoken, tearful praise and wonder, the whole audience burst out with a tremendous applause thrice renewed; to which Kellogg the fair, content with her laurels, smiles sweetly and signifies "I cannot."

The basso has much work in this oratorio, and some of the noblest airs in the whole range of musical composition. Those magnificent airs, "The people that walked in darkness" and "Why do the nations," were given with the skill and care that Remmertz always exhibits, but in "Behold I tell you a mystery" and "The trumpet shall sound" he was by no means equal to himself. The gratification of the evening to me was in Miss Kellogg's appearance, partly for her really exquisite voice, partly because I detest mere favoritism.

VINDYKE.

The Cercle Français de l'Harmonie will give their fancy dress ball at the Academy of Music on the 15th January. Every one knows that this is the brightest bit of the gay season. The advertisement will be found elsewhere.

OBITUARY.—The musical profession and a large number of personal friends will hear with great regret of the death of Mr. Theodore Hagen, which event occurred early Wednesday morning, resulting from an attack of disease of the heart. Mr. Hagen was the publisher and editor of the *Weekly Review*, and was a critic of ability besides being a practical musician.

Another public loss is the death of James H. Hackett, the greatest impersonator of Falstaff that this generation has seen. He died full of years and honors.

NEW MUSIC.

Messrs. Ditson & Co. have lately published the following new music:

"A part," a contralto song by J. R. Thomas, is ornamented by a fine likeness of Mrs. Zella Seguin. It is charming and effective and, with the three others forming the set, will prove desirable acquisitions to the collections of contralto singers.

"This Loving Heart of Mine," by Charles A. Cable, is sweet and taking, particularly the concluding strains.

"The Mountain Sylph," by Fr. Hensler, is a brilliant song suitable for the concert-room, with a highly ornamental accompaniment.

"Barney, say you not forget me," a song and chorus by Frank Dumont.

"Unspoken Love," a song by the lamented Claribel, set to music by Madame Sainton-Dolby, is an original melody of the sentimental school.

"Secret Love," by G. Lange, is a pleasing melody for the piano in the popular style.

"Grand Duke Alexis Welcome March," by J. W. Turner, will prove attractive, if only for its artistic and correct vignette of our late royal visitor.

"Roses and Thorns Galop," by C. A. Fuller, is simple and dashing.

Peter's Musical Monthly for January appears with a new and improved title-page, and contains the usual amount of popular vocal and instrumental music.

"SUCH AS I HAVE I GIVE THEE."

BY S. H. BROWN.

I have no treasure such as men most value—
Silver and gold and gems,
With which the great adorn their princely raiment,
And kings their diadems.

I have no Tyrian robes, no costly ermines,
No trappings grand and gay;
I dwell within a humble moss-grown cottage,
From splendors far away.

Yet I will give thee, O afflicted brother,
Such as I have received;
For thou art most unhappy, grief-worn, wretched,
Discouraged and bereaved.

My soul's best sympathy, sincerely proffered
(No smooth, unmeaning talk),
Shall hearten thee; my hand both strong and willing,
Bid thee to "rise and walk."

And thus, God helping, thou shalt gain new courage,
New faith, new hope, new strength,
Till thou forgettest weakness, pain and halting—
Erect and sound at length.

WOMAN ITEMS.

The city charter of Memphis permits women tax payers to vote.

Twenty women work as organ tuners in Estey's factory, at Brattleboro, Vt.

Mrs. Sarah J. Hale is still in her 84th year, at work on the *Lady's Book*, with which she has been associated during half of her life.

Vaccination parties are the rage out West in these small-pox times. Sentimental lovers delight to receive the virus from their sweethearts' arms.

A young lady on her way to be married was run over and killed. An elderly single lady remarked: "She has escaped a more lingering and horrible destiny."

Hats of the kind just now worn by ladies are said to be a reproduction of the styles worn for the last hundred years by the women of one of the Swiss cantons.

"The Dream of a Day" is the title of a novel by the Princess Alice, one of Queen Victoria's married daughters. A day is quite a long time for a dream to last in some married lives.

A Woman's Rights vigilance committee has been established in Liverpool. It is to watch the legislators, and prevent as much as possible what is called vicious legislation, or legislation which discriminates in rights or penalties between men and women.

Mary, Queen of England, who burned at the stake so many Protestant heroes, is reported by Bishop Burnett as saying in explanation: "As the souls of heretics are hereafter to be eternally burning in hell, there can be nothing more proper than for me to imitate the divine vengeance than by burning them on earth."

In the Circuit Court at Washington on Wednesday the suit of Mrs. E. A. Pollard against J. E. Lyon, for damages for breach of contract, was concluded by a verdict for \$1,000 in favor of the plaintiff. Mrs. Pollard sued Lyon for the alleged violation of the contract which he had entered into to lease her the St. Cloud Hotel in Washington, and won her case.

Miss Hall, Harnesville, Kan., is the address of a rather active lady, even in the live West. She was a Washington Treasury clerk, then a boarding-house-keeper, then a speculator in real estate. She has dabbled in business of various sorts, and when she has nothing else to do she writes for the newspapers. That's Hall.

A lady is reported to have said when on the witness stand, "Give me the least grain of truth for a basis, and I will ruin the character of any woman in the world." This seems neither wise nor witty. Had she said, "Give me a free use of lies and I can rear up a structure of slander as high as the great pyramid," she would have been nearer the fact.

Mrs. Phoebe E. Mathewson, a new Western lecturer, is rapidly making a reputation. She is enlisted in the Woman's Rights cause, and is described as possessing a sweet voice, pleasing manner and a pretty face. The Council Bluffs *Times* attributes to her exertions the conversion of lots of Nebraska editors. She may be addressed at the Western Lyceum Bureau, Kansas City, Mo.

If anybody thinks the ladies won't vote, let them only give them a chance and see. The good people of our neighboring town, Greeley, decided to vote for a postmaster the other day, and let the ladies vote if they wanted to. Ninety-eight ladies voted, and here is what the *Tribune* says about it: "It was quite amusing to see men who hitherto have been decided opponents to woman's suffrage become remarkably active in getting them out to vote; indeed, some of those who worked hardest in bringing the ladies to the polls were men who had been in the habit of speaking of the act as improper and indecicate."—*Wyoming Tribune*.

FEMALE SUFFRAGE.—THE EXACT STATE OF THE CASE.—The Legislative Council on Thursday failed to pass the bill repealing the female suffrage act over the Governor's veto. The vote was strictly party—five Democrats voting to pass the bill over the veto, and four Republicans voting not to pass the bill over the veto. Failing to receive two-thirds of the votes of the Council the bill was of course lost, and the original act stands on the statute book unchanged. It is well known that several Democratic members, of both branches of the Legislature, were in favor of letting the law remain as it was, and were only forced into the support of Mr. Castle's bill as a party measure. As matters now stand it would seem to be a measure adopted by Republicans and opposed by Democrats; but such is not, strictly speaking, the case. The same views on this subject are entertained by members of both parties, viz.: That since the experiment of female suffrage has been begun in our Territory, since the subject is attracting considerable attention everywhere, and since "none but good results are made manifest, the law should remain un repealed." It should be submitted to the test of further experiment. This is the feeling very generally entertained by persons who are not advocates of female suffrage at present, but are willing to give the matter the fullest, fairest, possible trial; and then let the people decide whether they will have it longer or not.—*Wyoming Tribune*.

W. F. JAMIESON is engaged in the political campaign for equal rights, and will answer calls in Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois and Iowa. Terms made known upon application. Address, Albion, Mich. Subject—"Victoria C. Woodhull and her Defamers."

HYGIENE OF SEWING-MACHINES.—The Boston *Medical Journal* of Dec. 15 has an article of two columns under the above heading. According to this authority the source of the evil arising from the use of the sewing-machine, and which evil prevails to an extent that is not generally appreciated, lies in the treadle. To produce motion a downward movement of the heel is requisite, which is at once an unnatural and injurious exercise, calling into action certain muscles not intended for use in that way.

Dr. Sapp, of Cleveland, Ohio, a physician of eminence, has given especial attention to the evil alluded to, and has been at work for several years to produce a movement based upon sound physiological principles. This he has succeeded in accomplishing, and we are glad to be informed that, unlike most inventors, he is in a fair way of reaping the benefit of his valuable and humane invention.

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SUBJECT:
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Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, in a letter to Gen. Jordan, of Pennsylvania, says:
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CONTENTS.

Prefatory Address to the Protestant Clergy.
Book I. Touching communication of religious knowledge to man.
Book II. Some characteristics of the Phenomena.
Book III. Physical manifestations.
Book IV. Identity of Spirits.
Book V. The Crowning Proof of Immortality.
Book VI. Spiritual gifts of the first century appearing in our times.

The scope of this book is broad. One-fourth of it is occupied by an Address to the Protestant Clergy, reviewing the present attitude of the religious world in connection with modern science and with modern ideas touching the reign of law, human infallibility, plenary inspiration, miracles, spiritual gifts. It sets forth the successes and reverses of early Protestantism and asks their explanation. It inquires whether it is Protestant theology or Christianity that has been losing ground, for three hundred years, against the Church of Rome. It discusses the effects on morality and civilization and spiritual growth of such doctrines as vicarious atonement, original depravity, a personal devil, an eternal hell. It inquires whether religion is a progressive science. It contrasts Calvinism, Lutheranism, Paulism, with Christianity. Inspiration it regards as not infallible, yet an inestimable gift of God and the origin of all religions—a gift for all ages, not confined to one century nor to one church; a gift pre-eminently appearing in the Author of our religion.

But the main object of the book is to afford conclusive proof, aside from historical evidence, of immortality. It shows that we of to-day have the same evidence on that subject as the Apostles had. More than half the volume consists of narratives in proof of this—narratives that will seem marvelous—incredible, at first sight, to many—yet which are sustained by evidence as strong as that which daily determines, in our courts of law, the life and death of men.

This book affirms that the strongest of all historical evidences for modern Spiritualism are found in the Gospels, and that the strongest of all proof going to substantiate the Gospel narratives are found in the phenomena of Spiritualism, rationally interpreted: Christianity, freed from alien creeds, sustaining Spiritualism; and enlightened Spiritualism sustaining Christianity.

Finally, the author gives his conception of the foundation motive of Christian morality and Spiritual progress, as set forth by Christ himself.

It is a book eminently suited to an era like the present, when the debatable land of morals and religion is freely explored, and when men are disposed to prove all things ere they hold fast to that which is good.
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[CONTINUED FROM PAGE 13.]

most accomplished magazinist in the country might well have been proud of, the writer of it having long excelled all competitors during her collegiate course, male and female, in this particular. At eighteen she had attained such excellence as an easy and graceful writer that she was selected to read an original production before the Wilson Collegiate Institute of New York. What was then eminently proper before a select and cultivated audience is now deemed "unfeminine" before the vulgaris. While in college Mrs. McNall was elected President of the Woman's Literary Society, and was invited to prepare a history of Christian Missions, which was read in the college chapel to an appreciative and enthusiastic audience.

Absorbed as she was in her multitudinous pursuits she yet found time to teach a Bible-class, to visit the sick and afflicted, and cheer and encourage the despondent. As the Seminary Anniversary and College Commencement approached, she prepared to present herself to the College Board for matriculation. Advanced in many of her studies beyond the required regulations, there were others that required close thought and attention. The frivolities and amusements of her companions were unheeded, and all of the hours of the institution not positively demanded by sleep were devoted to study. This was the second college class that had admitted women to its sacred precincts, and many earnest thinkers were not yet fully of the belief that women were capable of mastering a complete classical course. President Cummings asked her with much earnestness, as she registered her name, if she fully intended to complete the course. She was surprised at the query, for with her, to undertake was to complete. She applied herself with so much assiduity that at the end of the first year she had exceeded her own expectations, and found her name entered in the list of Juniors. At the close of the following term she was again promoted to the Senior Class, from which she graduated with honor June 27, 1857. Four days before her graduation, she was elected almost unanimously, over fifteen competitors, preceptress of the Lockport Union School, the central high school of the city; and this without her solicitation. It was a compliment paid her by friends who had known the struggle of her youth, and her determined effort to rise above her position.

She accepted this situation reluctantly, at the earnest request of President Cummings, who represented it to her as a duty. She had previously determined to make the West her field of labor, whither her parents had removed, taking with them her little daughter, whom she had not seen for two years. To stop short of this cost a severe struggle between maternal love and duty. At the close of the summer term, however, she was permitted to visit her family and to clasp her child, now seven years of age, to her bosom. She remained in this school for four years, preparing in the meantime her daughter for the junior department, and taking her sister through the entire seminary course.

James Atwater, Superintendent of Schools and Professor of Mathematics, who taught with her during this time, says of her: "I regard Mrs. McNall as a lady of great energy and executive ability. She has filled her position for four years to the entire satisfaction of the official board and of the pupils and patrons of the school." Dr. Allen Steele, her pastor, said: "I always found her a most prompt and efficient worker in our Sabbath Schools, Missionary Society and all of the benevolent enterprises, both of church and town." The Lutheran minister made very flattering mention of her in a sermon, and held her up as a model to his congregation, so great had been her Sabbath School work, teaching for consecutive years each Sabbath a large Bible class, a mission class of boys and an infant class. Such was the spirit and manner of her work that she secured the respect and good-will of the entire community. She was constantly occupied, out of her regular hours of teaching, in visiting the sick and relieving the distressed. At the time when Kansas was struggling to free itself from mob law and slave power, she, in connection with Miss Helen E. Holmes, collected money and clothing for her unhappy people. An exhibition of the school also netted a considerable sum.

As Secretary of the Niagara County Teachers' Association, and an ardent lover of the cause of education, her voice was often heard in the knotty debates, and not unfrequently an essay from her pen enlivened the session. The editor of the *Niagara Cataract* said of one of these, "It was beautifully conceived, beautifully written, beautifully read." As one of the Committee on Receptions at the meeting of the State Teachers' Association, in Lockport, she found homes for three hundred lady teachers, and in behalf of the lady teachers of Lockport, presented in a very neat and appropriate speech the President of that association with a very large and elegant bouquet, arranged by her own hands. At a similar meeting at Elmira, she was appointed one of a committee to take subscriptions for the *New York Teacher*, called upon to report, remarked that he had found himself

so far outstripped by a lady before he had thought to begin, that he had concluded not to work at all. It was at one of these meetings that she first met and made the acquaintance of Susan B. Anthony, who was pressing the claim quite strenuously, even then, of the rights of women. Here also, and in county institutes, she met Thomas K. Beecher, Chas. W. Sanders and many congenial minds of both men and women. While at Lockport she received, as a reward of merit, a State Teacher's certificate. During her connection with the school, under the excellent discipline of E. A. Charlton, it had increased from about eighty pupils to seven hundred. Amid all of her labors she was a continuous student, re-reading nearly the whole of her college studies and giving special attention to vegetable and animal physiology, botany, mineralogy and etymology, in which studies she found pleasant companionship with Dr. J. W. Grosvenor, the teachers' organ of the State. Before the close of the afternoon session she had nearly fifty names on her list; when the chairman of the committee (a gentleman) being then Professor of Science in the school. At the breaking



MRS. BELYA A. LOCKWOOD, A. M.

out of the war in 1861, many of the older young men of the school volunteered in the service. A mass meeting of the women of the city was called, which was very largely attended, and a society of all the churches formed, of which Mrs. B. A. McNall was made President. Accustomed to organize and arrange into classes hundreds of young women, she was not long in arranging into committees this mass of earnest, generous womanhood, and next day Ringueberg Hall was like one vast beehive in cutting, basting and stitching all the belongings and accoutrements of the soldier. It was not long before that gallant regiment, the Twenty-eighth New York, were clothed, fed and sheltered by the women of Lockport. Many of them sleep in honored soldiers' graves; some still live with honorable scars and a proud record.

Mrs. McNall continued President of this Association until she left the city in September, having resigned her too arduous duties to accept the position of preceptress in the Gainesville Female Seminary, in Wyoming County, New York. The school building was soon afterward burned, and she remained in this quiet, little puritan town but one year: but during her stay conducted two large Bible classes, one of adults in the church and one of young women in the school, and conducted a weekly prayer meeting, besides her routine of school duties. The monotony of her life here was varied by long walks in the woods with the girls of the school, in search of new specimens of plants, and among her writings at this time we find "Reminiscences of Silver Lake," "The Falls at Portage," and "Chestnuting on the Banks of the Genesee." She afterward opened a school in Hornellsville, New York, assisted by other teachers, but finding the society uncongenial, and the school, though large, paying but poorly, she, at the earnest solicitation of friends, was persuaded to remove to Owego, New York. She here purchased of Judge Parker the Pumpelly estate, situated on the banks of the Susquehanna, where that beautiful river makes one of its most graceful curves, and opened a Seminary for young ladies. Here, absorbed in educational and religious pursuits, she remained until after the assassination of President Lincoln. She was elected Lady Superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal Church Sabbath School, and was sent as a delegate to the State Sabbath School Association, which met in Syracuse in 1865.

Again wearied with overwork, into which her ever-active hand and brain continually plunges her, she sold out her

beautiful estate, which she had purposed to make the home of her declining years, and which her own hands had beautified and cultured, placed her daughter in the seminary at Lima, and came to Washington. Teaching a portion of each day in Miss Harrover's Seminary, she spent the residue of her time in investigating and examining all the interesting and time-hallowed spots in and around that historic city. She then took an extensive trip, in company with friends, visiting all places of interest from Washington to Richmond, including White House Landing, Yorktown, Jamestown, Fortress Monroe, Norfolk, City Point and Petersburg. Sailing from Richmond to New York she visited that metropolis; from thence to Albany, Lockport, Niagara Falls, Battle Creek, Jackson, Chicago, stopping at each place long enough to make herself familiar with all points of interest, and to understand its geography, facilities and resources. Spending a month on the prairies of Illinois, visiting her family friends, and enjoying the vast ocean of corn and flowers, riding mostly on horseback; then she returned in September to Washington, visiting on her way Indianapolis, Cincinnati, the Blue Ridge mountains and Harper's Ferry.

Constantly impressed with the idea that it was her duty to teach, because she had qualified herself for that profession, she opened a school for young ladies in Union League Hall, October 8, 1864, and with the assistance of her daughter and a competent music teacher conducted a very flourishing school until her marriage with Dr. E. Lockwood in March, 1868. Previous to this she had conceived the idea of visiting Europe, and without counting the cost of stemming public opinion and the conventionalities of society, applied to the Department of State to be sent as Consul to Ghent, that office being then vacant. She carefully prepared herself for the examination, being familiar with the languages, especially the French; re-read international law and the Constitution, and gave special attention to the Consular Manual. But it is not always brains or culture that fill offices, but the more special qualification of sex. Disappointed in her application, she turned her attention to the acquisition of the Spanish language. The year following her marriage, nearly twenty years from the birth of her first child, a daughter, Jessie, was born to her. This child was a wellspring of delight—a living sunbeam in the house to both her and her husband. But alas for human hopes! she died at the age of eighteen months, after having endeared herself to all who knew her.

After this severe blow—finding consolation only in severe mental exertion—she resolved to pursue the study of law, and regularly applied for admission to Columbia College,

hardly dreaming that so reasonable an application would be denied. Dr. Geo. W. Samson, then President, replied to her by letter that it was deemed by the Faculty and College Board that "her presence would distract the attention of the students," and declined to admit her, after having invited her to the opening lectures. The next year the National University Law Class was formed, and in connection with it a class for ladies was opened, fifteen entering their names. Among others, Mrs. Lockwood expects to complete the course during the present year.

Her husband and she have ever been strenuous advocates of temperance reform, and two years ago she sent into Congress a petition, with nearly a thousand names, for a prohibitory law. When asked if she could do anything to further the bill presented by Mr. Arnell, giving to women equal pay for equal work, she at once drew up a form of petition, printed it and sent copies broadcast for signatures, securing seven hundred names on her own paper, and making a trip to New York to secure the influence of the two Women's Conventions then in session there. The bill in a modified form was carried. She has now a petition of twelve hundred names, taken up by herself the present year, for a Declaratory law; being one of the most earnest and indefatigable workers on the Woman's Rights platform. She has circulated at home and abroad, during the present year, more than ten thousand documents. Her memorial to Congress, last winter, asking that the word "male" be stricken from the Territorial Constitution of the District of Columbia, was an able document. It was published in pamphlet form and widely circulated. So also was her address to the Committee on Laws and Judiciary, to legislate on the subject after the Organic act went into effect.

At the last election, wearied by being refused permission to register by arrogant men in petty power, she opened a registry for women at her own house, and about seventy women entered their names. She is not turned aside from her purpose by the difficulties in her path, nor the ridicule of the press; but with a word here and a document there she marches steadily onward toward the goal of success. Too busy for society, but generous to a fault, the poor and oppressed find in her ever a true and self-sacrificing friend. When the veil shall be lifted and the scales shall fall from our eyes we will be anxious to erect a monument to one who was willing to sacrifice herself that others might reap the reward.