

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

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

VOL. 4.—No. 11.—WHOLE No. 89.

NEW YORK, JANUARY 27, 1872.

PRICE FIVE CENTS.

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BANKERS,
No. 59 Wall Street, New York.

Gold and Currency received on deposit, subject to check at sight.
Interest allowed on Currency Accounts at the rate of Four per Cent. per annum, credited at the end of each month.
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Collections made on all parts of the United States and Canadas.
73—85.

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LOANERS' BANK
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
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22 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK.

CAPITAL.....\$500,000
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This Bank negotiates LOANS, makes COLLECTIONS, advances on SECURITIES, and receives DEPOSITS.
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FIVE PER CENT. INTEREST paid on CURRENT BALANCES, and liberal facilities offered to our CUSTOMERS.

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FISK & HATCH.
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AND
DEALERS IN GOVERNMENT SECURITIES,
No. 5 NASSAU STREET, N. Y.,
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Communications and inquiries by mail or telegraph, will receive careful attention.

FISK & HATCH.

76—83.

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FOR SALE BY
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71 BROADWAY.

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78 to 103.

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Surplus, \$300,272 95.

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BROKERS,
IN GOLD, STOCKS & BONDS
No. 7 NEW STREET,
NEW YORK.

59.

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

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

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Buy and sell at current market rates, the FIRST MORTGAGE EIGHT (8) PER PER CENT. GOLD BONDS of the ST. JOSEPH AND DENVER CITY RAILROAD COMPANY.

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

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56

Rail Road Bonds.

Whether you wish to Buy or Sell write to

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No. 7 WALL STREET,

New York. 62-74

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Principal & Interest Payable in Gold.

Seven per Cent. Semi-Annually

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

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

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

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9 Wall Street, NEW YORK CITY,

Financial Agents of the R. & O. Company.

56

81

MARKET SAVINGS BANK,

82 NASSAU STREET, N. Y.,

Six Per Cent. Interest Allowed.

Interest commences on the 1st of each month.

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Secretary.

WM. VAN NAME
President.

60-86

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In Chemical and Medical Science.



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SOLUTION & COMPOUND ELIXIR

TAR

FIRST AND ONLY SOLUTION ever made in one mixture of ALL THE TWELVE valuable active principals of the well known curative agent.

PINE TREE TAR.
UNEQUALLED in Coughs, Colds, Catarrh, Asthma, Bronchitis, and consumption.

CURES WITHOUT FAIL.
A recent cold in three to six hours; and also, by its VITALISING, PURIFYING and STIMULATING effects upon the general system, is remarkably efficacious in all

DISEASES OF THE BLOOD.
including Scrofula and Eruptions of the skin, Dyspepsia, Diseases of the Liver and Kidneys, Heart Disease, and General Debility.

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Volatile Solution of Tar
For INHALATION, without application of HEAT. A remarkably VALUABLE discovery, as the whole apparatus can be carried in the vest pocket, ready at any time for the most effectual and positively curative use in

All Diseases of the NOSE, THROAT AND LUNGS.
THE COMPOUND

Tar and Mandrake Pill.
for use in connection with the ELIXIR TAR, is a combination of the TWO most valuable ALTERNATIVE Medicines known in the Profession, and renders this Pill without exception the very best ever offered.

The SOLUTION and COMPOUND ELIXIR of

TAR

is without doubt the Best remedy known in cases of

CHOLERA AND YELLOW FEVER.
It is a Specific for such diseases, and should be kept in the household of every family, especially during those months in which

CHOLERA AND YELLOW FEVER
are liable to prevail. A small quantity taken daily will prevent contracting these terrible diseases.

Solution and Compound Elixir, \$1.00 per Bottle
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Tar and Mandrake Pills, 50cts per box.

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SOLE PROPRIETORS,
110 E. 22d St., New York.

Sold by all Druggists.

LYRIC HALL, SUNDAY EVENING DISCOURSES

By CORA L. V. TAPPAN,
EVERY SUNDAY, AT 7:30 O'CLOCK, P. M.
COMMENCING DECEMBER 31, 1871.
Introductory Addresses by Mrs. Mary F. Davis and
Mrs. C. B. Wilbour.

AT TRENOR'S LYRIC HALL,
Sixth Avenue, Reservoir Square and 42d Street, N. Y.

The friends of Mrs. Tappan will be glad to learn that she has accepted an invitation to deliver a series of discourses in this city; (where among so many pulpits and rostrums not one is occupied permanently by a woman,) it is known to all familiar with the progress of liberal ideas, that she is one of their most advanced, as well as eloquent representatives, spiritual, exalted and humane. Of her wondrous powers, the distinguished poet, critic and scholar, N. P. Willis, wrote and published fifteen years ago, with other equally approving words: "I am perhaps, from long study and practice, as good a judge of it as in the use of language as most men; and, in a full hour of close attention, I could detect no word that could be altered for the better—none indeed (and this surprised me still more) which was not used with strict fidelity to its derivative meaning. The practical scholarship which this last point usually requires, and the earnestly unhesitating and confident fluency with which the beautiful language was delivered, were critically wonderful. It would have astonished me in an extempore speech by the most accomplished orator in the world."

The attendance and co-operation of yourself and friends respectfully solicited.
By order of Advisory Committee,
H. M. RICHMOND, 13 Clinton Place,
Chairman and Treasurer.
JAMES M. FARNEWORTH, Organist.
New York, December 25, 1871.

MRS. M. D. TRACY,
CITY EMPLOYMENT BUREAU,
GENERAL BUSINESS EXCHANGE,
517 WASHINGTON ST
BOSTON.

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LOCK-STITCH



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Call and examine. Send for circular. Agents wanted.

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EXHAUSTIVE ARGUMENT
AGAINST MARRIAGE LEGISLATION,
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EVERY REFORMER!

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WALLKILL VALLEY RAILWAY COMPANY

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MEAD & CLARK,

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ERASTUS F. MEAD,
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By exchanging U. S. Bonds for the Bonds of the WALLKILL VALLEY RAILWAY COMPANY, you increase your income over 40 Per cent., and your Principal about 25 Per Cent., and get a security EQUALLY safe.

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 4½ to 6¼ o'clock. Interest commences on the 1st of every month following the deposit.

CHARLES K. GRAHAM, President.

G. H. BENEDICT, Secretary.

A REMARKABLE WORK

BY

ROBERT DALE OWEN.

Just published.

THE DEBATABLE LAND

BETWEEN THIS WORLD AND THE NEXT.

By Robert Dale Owen. Author of "Footfalls on the Boundary of Another World," etc.

A large handsome volume, beautifully printed and bound. Price \$2.

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.

G. W. CARLETON & Co., Publishers,
Madison Square, New York.

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FIRST MORTGAGE

LAND GRANT BONDS.

7 3-10 PER CENT. GOLD INTEREST.

Issued at the Rate of \$16,000 a Mile on Completed Road.

The Company has Valuable Lands in Eastern Nebraska, granted by the State.

The Union Trust Company of New York, trustee for the bond-holders, receives the proceeds of all land sales, and whenever accumulated to the amount of \$10,000, will apply the same to the redemption of bonds.

The road, completed to Burt County, has in large part been built by cash subscriptions and County donations.

Two-thirds of the bonds issued have been sold.

PRICE 90 AND ACCRUED INTEREST.

For descriptive pamphlets and maps apply to the agents,

KOUNTZE BROTHERS,

Bankers, No. 12 Wall Street, New York.

LEO MILLER,

OF NEW YORK,

Will present to the public

THE WOMAN QUESTION IN A NEW LIGHT.

SUBJECT:
"WOMAN, AND HER RELATIONS TO TEMPERANCE AND OTHER REFORMS."

Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, in a letter to Gen. Jordan, of Pennsylvania, says: "I had the pleasure of conversing with Leo Miller, Esq., in New Jersey, and I most cordially recommend him to our friends in your State as a gentleman of rare talent and character and a most effective and eloquent speaker."

CHARLES H. FOSTER,

TEST MEDIUM.

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AND

LADIES' PROTECTOR.

NO MORE COLD FEET—NO MORE DEFORMED LIMBS.

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The trade supplied at a discount.

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OR MRS. C. A. GAYNOR,

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(Successors to D. Marley.)

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CHINA, ARTICLES OF VERTU.

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A BEAUTIFUL SET OF TEETH,

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

TEETH EXTRACTED WITHOUT PAIN,

With Nitrous Oxide Gas.

No extra charge when others are inserted.

SPLENDID SETS, \$10 to \$20.

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Between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets east side.

ROYAL HAVANA LOTTERY.

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DRAWN EVERY 17 DAYS.

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

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WM. DIBBLEE, LADIES' HAIR DRESSER,

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HAS REMOVED FROM HIS STORE TO THE

FIRST FLOOR,

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

CHATELAINE BRAIDS,

LADIES' AND GENTLEMEN'S WIGS,

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

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

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BARTON & ALLEN,

BANKERS AND BROKERS,

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Stocks, Bonds and Gold bought and sold on commission.

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

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

The Principles of Government, by Victoria C. Woodhull.....	\$3 00
Constitutional Equality, by Tennie C. Claflin.....	1 50
Woman Suffrage guaranteed by the Constitution, speech by Victoria C. Woodhull;	
The Great Social Problem of Labor and Capital, speech by Victoria C. Woodhull;	
The Principles of Finance, speech by Victoria C. Woodhull;	
Practical View of Political Equality, speech by Tennie C. Claflin;	
Majority and Minority Report of the Judiciary Committee on the Woodhull Memorial;	
Each per copy.....	10
per 100.....	5 00

POST OFFICE NOTICE.

The mails for Europe during the week ending Saturday, Jan. 27, 1872, will close at this office on Wednesday at 11 A. M.; on Thursday at 11 A. M., and on Saturday at 5 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).—Sunday, 9:30 A. M., at No. 100 Prince street.

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 Thursday 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.

Section 35 (English).—Meets every Friday evening at Myers', 129 Spring street, at 8 o'clock.

APOLOGETICAL.—The report of the proceedings of the Washington Convention necessarily excluded from this issue of the WEEKLY much interesting International matter, and other matters relating to Reformatory movements, including the Constitution of the new Federal Council of the I. W. A. referred to the Sections on Sunday, January 14, and the remainder of the proceedings of the First Annual Conference of the Land, Labor and Financial Reformers, held in this city on the 9th, 10th and 11th instants. The next issue will contain full reports of these kindred movements. Meanwhile, the members of the several Sections of the I. W. A. will not too hastily adopt the new Constitution which has been submitted to them. It contains many features which, if the Sections desire to be faithfully and honestly represented, will at once insure its rejection. W. W.

MRS. A. M. MIDDLEBROOK.

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

NOTICE TO CLERGYMEN.

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

The Annual Baxter Hop will come off at the Academy of Music January 25. This will be one of the most select and elegant reunions of the season.

LEGAL MAXIMS APPLICABLE TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

BY JUDGE UNDERWOOD.

In all controversies between the king and the subject, the government and the citizen, the grantor and the grantee, the promisor and the promisee, the wise and the ignorant, the learned and the unlearned, the rich and the poor, the powerful and the helpless, the man and the child, the master and the servant, just and wise judges will seek by every reasonable construction to guard the rights of the unprotected, in the spirit of the Divine maxim: "Those who are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak."

Senators will remember that after the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment some obscure newspapers in Kentucky and elsewhere suggested that, though the franchise was by it granted to the black man, it would need State legislation to perfect the work and repeal the State constitutions. Senators will also remember how indignantly the suggestion was repelled, and that we were assured that the Constitution of the United States was the Supreme law of the land, and by its own proper force expunged the word *white* from every State law and constitution; and that all, even the most hostile and Democratic States, were silent, and acquiesced in this view of the case. It is true Congress, to punish guilty offenders against this constitutional provision, did find it necessary to enact an enforcement law, with proper penalties; and we now ask a similar enforcement law in behalf of female citizens, for we claim that the same amendments which expunged the word *white* from State constitutions did also expunge the word *male*, and that when black men were thereby enfranchised your mothers, your wives, your sisters and your daughters were in like manner enfranchised.

THE WASHINGTON CONVENTION.

[From the Washington Patriot, Jan. 11.]

Washington is invaded again by the women of the land, and this time they come with a more determined purpose than ever before. The Stone-Howe party, which was here some time ago, was an advanced guard of skirmishers to open the way for that which has now burst upon us, for it cannot be questioned that there is more brains and vigor in the wing of the grand army marshaled by the ladies whose names are given below than in the other wing, which is fighting to the same end, but has not taken quite such an advanced position.

The woman suffrage movement is one that cannot be ignored. There can be no doubt but that the advocates of the cause are gaining not only ground but strength, as during the three sessions held yesterday the audience was made up of some of our most prominent citizens, both male and female. There seemed to be an evidence of terrible earnestness on the countenances, which served to infuse fire and enthusiasm into the leaders of the movement.

The earnestness of the women having the cause in charge, of course, cannot be doubted, and in order to make the convention as effective as possible, the best available talent has been brought forward. Miss Anthony, who reminds one of Senator Trumbull, is on hand ready to combat any argument that may be sprung by the opponents of the cause. Mrs. Woodhull, the enthusiast and able legal advocate, is ready and willing to argue the question from that standpoint. Mrs. Stanton, the good, matronly-looking dame, whose face is adorned with smiles and full of sunshine, makes converts by her lucid reasoning and happy, winning ways, while others of well-known ability lend aid with their powerful voice and argument.

Just before 10 o'clock the leaders made their appearance on the stage. First came Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, in a heavy black silk, trimmed with taste, and cut after an approved modern pattern. She has a handsome face, and is of portly proportions. Then followed Miss Susan B. Anthony, a woman evidently well over the forties, of angular features and wiry, active frame. Not endowed with a handsome face, but full of vim and logic. She was dressed in a wine-colored silk, with two narrow flounces of the same material. Her white collar was relieved with a blue tie. Victoria C. Woodhull came next, and was greeted with applause. She wore her usual plain suit of blue broadcloth and a double-breasted chinchilla coat trimmed with black velvet. She is quick of movement, and of well-developed form; has a pleasing face. Her hair is cut short, and is given to a slight curl.

Mrs. Joslyn Gage appears to be about forty-five years of age, and of firm and decisive character; not comely, nor yet bad looking. She has an eye of magic attraction and a lily-white complexion. She attired herself for the occasion in a brown poplin, with a sash of the same material, a jockey hat and feather, and kept her neck inclosed in a boa of mink.

Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker, a prominent mover, has a full, intelligent face and ruddy complexion. In speaking she displays a full set of pearly-white teeth. Her hair, of iron gray, is arranged in many ringlets, which fall over her forehead. She was dressed in black silk, with a profusion of blue silk ribbons flowing from her neck. A black bonnet, which she wore during the sessions, served on the whole to make up a most becoming attire.

Mrs. Wright, old enough to have voted long, long since, is of a demure turn of mind, if her countenance is to be believed. She seemed to take deep interest in the proceedings. Her body was adorned in a black alpaca, trimmed plainly; an Astrachan coat, of good size; a black bonnet, with black and white ruche, and a huge white scarf.

Mrs. Ricker, a sister of ex-Representative Ely, is a beautiful, charming and good widow, said to be rich and not over forty. She wore a dark-blue dress, without wrappings, the only ornaments being a profusion of military buttons. She wears her hair a la Woodhull, cut short.

Mrs. E. L. Daniels has a peculiar expression of countenance, hard to read. She is said to be a spiritualist, and probably converses at all times with the good people of the other world. She is not handsome, nor yet uncomely. She wore a dark blue dress and coat, and a dapper little hat, with the tail of some domestic animal for an ornament.

Mrs. B. A. Lockwood, too well known to be described, wore a green poplin, trimmed with green plaits of black velvet, black velvet coat, and brown hat.

Dr. Mary Walker wore her usual costume of breeches and long monk-like coat, a pair of number three shoes, and her hair arranged in curls.

Among the others on the stage were Laura De Force Gordon, Mrs. Elizabeth Bladen, of Philadelphia; Miss Laura C. Smith, of California; Miss Maggie Saxton, and others.

MORNING SESSION.

A few minutes past 10 o'clock the assemblage was called to order by Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the president, who said:

This is the fourth convention we have held in Washington, and the effect of the same can hardly be estimated in the education of American people toward female suffrage. We now propose to tell you what we are going to do. I feel more anxious about how women will vote than in their speedy voting. So many political questions are seen in the horizon that woman's influence is needed to guide safely through all storms the ship of state. We propose to change tactics. Instead of petitioning Congress for our rights we propose to fight and settle the question before the courts, unless Congress gives us the declaratory act this winter, which I think they will.

We have reasoned for twenty-five years, and we now propose to take our rights. If we don't get them we will organize a government outside of the bogus republic, and carry on one of our own, and as soon as it is well organized all the great and wise men of the nation will come to our side. A grand way to celebrate our centennial anniversary of independence would be by giving the franchise to the women. [A Voice—"If not sooner?"]

Miss Susan B. Anthony was then introduced, who said that for the past two weeks she had been in a snow bank in the Rocky Mountains, and had with much difficulty succeeded in reaching Washington in time to attend the convention, but that she was glad she was here.

Now, we ask no new guarantee from the Government. We only ask that our sex be protected by the Government in the exercise of our rights in the several States. We have been appealing and petitioning Congress for the past twenty years. We are here now in earnest. Since I was last here, one year ago, I have traveled fifteen thousand miles, and spoken one hundred and eighty nights out of the three hundred and sixty-five. After delivering my speeches I always took occasion to take a vote of such as believed themselves entitled to the ballot, and I assure you it was almost a unanimous one with the women composing the audience.

She then spoke of the increased Republican votes in the Territory of Wyoming since the enfranchisement of women, and how attempts were made to repeal the law which gave them the ballot. She stated that any party that put woman suffrage in its plank, she was pledged to support. President Grant, in his message, has remembered all classes and conditions of men to Congress, but never said woman once, and we have made up our minds that he is not the women's candidate for the White House. [Applause.]

Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull was the next speaker, and delivered a short address on the relations of Spiritualism, to political reform, claiming that it recognized the doctrine of equal rights. She wanted all evangelical bodies to organize for political purposes against all class rule and legislation. The duty of the hour was to overthrow all inequalities before the law and to inaugurate justice.

Order is God's first law, and is observed wherever individualized mind does not interfere to obstruct. Organization among humanity corresponds to order in nature, and without it humanity expend their power with inadequate results.

Our Constitution contains all the elements of a perfect government. It is based upon the spiritual idea that all men and women are born free and equal, and alike entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. To these broad propositions nothing need be added. They are sufficient for all circumstances and adequate for all emergencies. It is only required that they be completely developed in form and practice.

Until Spiritualism dawned upon the world, humanity did not conceive the full glory and grandeur of freedom, equality and justice. But an appreciation of these sentiments has come to some souls, and they burn with a desire for all humanity to enjoy the inestimable benefits of their full realization in practice.

Then let Spiritualists and all Reformers tear from their political banners the names of Democracy and Republicanism, which have become a stench in the nostrils of all thoughtful people, and throw to the breeze that more comprehensive name, "Equal Rights," which is the compound essence of equality and justice; and let them battle for it stoutly and devotedly, never faltering until it shall be planted on the dome of the Capitol at Washington in the hands of the Goddess of Liberty, in whose keeping it may be trusted for all future ages. From that centre of political power its elevating and ennobling influence shall radiate in all directions, even to the circumference of the country, and, extending its encircling arms, gradually encompass the whole earth, reducing all nations, climes and tongues to a common brotherhood, owning but one Father, and He the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, which will be the Spiritualization of humanity.

This is the destiny of Spiritualism which comprehends all reform and the duty of Spiritualists. Now as to the methods by which this should be pursued. First: All Spiritualistic teachers whose souls are lit up by angelic inspiration or wisdom should at once address themselves to organizing the masses of Spiritualists into co-operative bodies to act in concert upon all political questions. Their platform should be so comprehensive as to include all that is good in Democracy and Republicanism, and should be so perfectly humanitarian as to irresistibly draw all good men and women to its occupancy. There is a singular proclivity in the American mind. It will always desert the less for the more perfect, so soon as its proportions become manifest.

How long do you think Democracy would exist or Republicanism have place and power were there a party to arise based on perfect right and justice? You know they would suddenly fade from sight, and the new and true as suddenly burst in all its splendor upon the startled, waiting world.

Since Spiritualism is the most comprehensive and humanitarian of all religions, it should also become so in its politics. It is a false idea that religion and politics have nothing to do with each other. Religion should be the basic idea in all things, and that thing in which it is lacking may be safely considered as but temporary or transitional. Aye, let politics become Spiritualized, and we may then hope for blessings to flow from government, and for it to be a system emanating from all the people, to be administered for the

interests of all the people, by the consent of all the people, by those who are the servants of the people and thus the servants of humanity.

This work is not the work of Spiritualists, simply as such, but as the representatives of an idea to which humanity entire may give in their allegiance. They, however, should form a centre around which all radicalism can with consistency concentrate. There is no other separate body representing radically progressive ideas so powerful and so well distributed throughout the country as are Spiritualists; which is another reason why they should seize upon this auspicious moment to strike the knell that shall carry dismay to all who stand barring the Car of Progress.

Surrounded by staunch, strong and firm friends, the President of the National Association of Spiritualists stands as the present bearer of the standard of the Equal Rights party. But she does not sound this trumpet-call to rally simply because she is the bearer of the standard, but because the standard is one of equal and exact justice, belonging to all humanity, whom she desires shall be brought to their birthright, and she will yield it to the first comer who shall be considered more worthy or more capable to bear it than she is. She is only ambitious for victory that principles may triumph. She would now gladly retire to the ranks. She has, as gallantly as she knew how, breasted the dark clouds and storms that have risen over her path, but she has done so devoutly and reverentially, always recognizing that she is but a humble instrument of those who command the armies of heaven and desire to accomplish the conquest of the inhabitants of the earth; though sometimes weary and almost fainting by the wayside, by the help of the good angels she will neither permit the banner to trail in the dust nor resign it until the victory is either won or another, stouter, braver and better, shall be sent to bear it on to victory.

The duty of the hour, then, is that all people in whose souls there has dawned a comprehension of the better government which shall descend from heaven, long foretold by prophets and seers, should rally to the overthrow of everything that is against the spirit of the new and true, and to the inauguration of it in its place. With equality and justice as your motto, you should supplant caste and favor, and lead the way to the ultimate elevation of the world to the plane of a common brotherhood.

Upon the conclusion of Mrs. Woodhull's address the following resolutions were read by Mrs. Joslyn Gage:

RESOLUTIONS.

Whereas, In the adjustment of the question of suffrage now before the people of this country for settlement, it is of the highest importance that the organic law of the land should be so framed and construed as to work injustice to none, but secure, as far as possible, perfect political equality among all classes of citizens; and whereas, all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside; be it

Resolved, 1. That the privileges and immunities of American citizenship, however defined, are national in character and paramount to all State authority.

2. That while the Constitution of the United States leaves the qualifications of electors to the several States, it nowhere gives them the right to deprive any citizen of the elective franchise which is possessed by any other citizen—the right to regulate, not including the right to prohibit the franchise.

3. That, as the Constitution of the United States expressly declares that "no State shall make or enforce any law that shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States," those provisions of the several State constitutions that exclude women from the franchise on account of sex, are violative alike of the spirit and letter of the Federal Constitution.

4. That, as the subject of naturalization is expressly withheld from the States, and as the States clearly would have no right to deprive of the franchise naturalized citizens, among whom women are expressly included, still more clearly they have no right to deprive native-born woman citizens of this right.

5. That justice and equity can only be attained by having the same laws for men and women alike.

6. That, having full faith and confidence in the truth and justice of these principles, we will never cease to urge the claims of women to a participation in the affairs of Government equally with men.

The resolutions, on motion of Mrs. Stanton, were laid on the table for discussion.

Mrs. Stanton again advanced to the front, and stated that some time since she had endeavored to induce the members of the New York Legislature to strike the word male out of the statutes at the time they were discussing the propriety of eliminating the word white therefrom. She was told to wait until they had gotten the negro safely into the political kingdom, and then the women's turn would come next. Well, we are still waiting, and patiently, too, although the negro has been safely in the political kingdom for some time. The noble women who have been agitating this question have been called "strong-minded." Now, strong-minded women are not all that have been ridiculed; the weak-minded ones are too. The strong-minded are ridiculed for a principle, and the weak ones for a panier. I would rather be ridiculed for a principle than a panier. [Immense applause.] Now, the Bible says: "Honor thy father and thy mother;" but the Constitution of the United States says otherwise. Some say it will degrade women to vote. Not so. When we infuse this element into politics you won't find the voting done in a green grocery or in a rum-hole through the shutter, but in a church.

Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker then spoke in relation to Mrs. Woodhull's allusions to Spiritualism, stating that if it recognized equal rights, it was that far at least right. If Spiritualists have brains enough to comprehend and soul enough to come up to the position to which Victoria Woodhull invites them, Spiritualists will rule the world. She then went on to say that she did not intend to allow side issues to swerve her from her work; that her whole time would be devoted to the cause of securing for women the right to vote. I am no believer in the exclusive use of terms. I believe every human being is evangelical who loves his God and his neighbor as himself. We, too, believe in the power of spirits of whom Paul has spoken, and that they are with us to-day in every good and honest work. If any are doubtful whether our work is of the Lord or devil, let them come and hear us and then combat our arguments.

Upon the conclusion of her remarks a recess was taken until 2 P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

A few minutes past two o'clock the afternoon session was

called to order. The large hall was filled to repletion with an audience composed of many of our best and most valued citizens. Mrs. Stanton introduced Mr. Burlingame, of Rhode Island, as the first speaker, remarking that the convention did not believe in the proscription of men, but rather allowed them to have a hearing.

REMARKS OF MR. BURLINGAME.

I sympathize with this movement. It commands my respect and admiration. I have come here unexpected and unsolicited, because I think my wife and other women should have the same rights as the colored man, Irishman and "Heathen Chinee." I believe in this movement, because I believe it to be right; it is the most important question of the times. The speaker then reviewed the objections against female suffrage, and pronounced them all weak, and closed with allusions to the many heroic deeds of illustrious women now a part of history.

Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker then presented the following report, in relation to the work of the association for the past year:

REPORT.

The work to be done in the future is precisely what has been recommended during the past year by every member of the committee in public and in private.

1. Women should attempt to qualify and attempt to vote in every State election or otherwise, according to opportunity. This action not only serves the purpose of agitation of the whole question of suffrage, but it puts upon men, our brothers, the onus of refusing the votes of their fellow-citizens, and compels them to show just cause for such proceeding. If it could be well understood that every woman who believes she has a right to vote, would actually test her right by an appearance at the polls before and at the next Presidential election, the question as to nominees for that office would contain a new element, and the views and preferences of this large constituency would receive serious consideration at the hands of President-makers in both the great parties of the country.

2. Women should study the question of their present rights and duties, and make their views known in public and in private to the utmost extent of their ability. In a time like this, when the interests of our whole beloved country are at stake, when political corruption is appalling, and men are paralyzed with fear because of the threatened failure of republican institutions, ignorance and indifference on the part of women, who are the natural protectors of purity and honor, whether in the family or the State, are sins against God, their country and their own souls.

3. Men and women should pour out money like water for the propagation of these views. A copy of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution of the United States, together with an argument on the fair interpretation of these documents, should be put into every family in the United States which has a reading member in it. Your committee are able and willing to send these documents directly into these homes—one at a time, carefully directed and franked by members of Congress, who believe they are making a patriotic and legitimate use of the franking privilege by thus educating their constituents in the first principles of a constitutional government—a government founded upon personal liberty and personal responsibility. Half a million dollars appropriated by Congress itself for this simple purpose would inaugurate a reign of patriotism and purity scarcely dreamed of as yet by the most powerful lovers of their country. But Congress has not yet even printed the able reports from the Judiciary Committee of the House, and the few copies we have been able to send out have been the gift of a private individual. Women must educate themselves—men must help them. The latter hold the purse-strings; and so surely as they desire peace, plenty and the perpetuity of republican institutions, they must see to it that women are supplied with the sinews of war. Moral warfare costs not only heart's blood, but treasure. Women are offering their very souls in behalf of mankind. Can men do less than empty their pockets for the good of the race?

And there is one thing more that men can and must do before the reign of justice and equality can be inaugurated. They, being voters, must pledge themselves in their own breasts, and to one another, that they will vote for such candidates in either party as are in favor of woman suffrage, and for no others. Such proceedings would settle the question in less than a year, and the peaceful working of a new regime would prove the wisdom and patriotism of these faithful souls before the whole world. We confidently believe that there are at least 300,000 voters to-day who desire to share the burdens and responsibilities of government with their mothers, wives and sisters. Let them combine and speak the sovereign words, "Principle before party," and the day is won.

The political aspect is eminently encouraging. In the language of our call:

"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 no distant future, there is no one so momentous and far-reaching in its consequences as woman suffrage."

In commenting on the above, she said that no woman has any right to allow any man to represent her. Women have the right to be heard for themselves, and she hoped all women would use all the influence they had to induce the Judiciary Committee of the Senate to give them a hearing this week.

THE REPORT ADOPTED.

Miss Anthony—The adoption of the report is moved. It is moved and seconded that the report be adopted. If there are any comments to be made, now is the time to make them.

Miss Anthony—The report is adopted.

A letter was then read from Mrs. Paulina W. Davis, dated at Naples, expressing the hope that the work of the convention would be productive of much good.

SHARP CORRESPONDENCE.

The following letters, which are self-explanatory, were then read:

MRS. GAGE TO MRS. DAHLGREN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 8, 1872.

Mrs. Admiral Dahlgren:

MADAM: The National Woman Suffrage Association is to hold a three days' convention the present week, in Lincoln Hall, commencing on the morning of Wednesday, the 10th. Nothing would afford the officers and speakers of the convention greater pleasure than to hold a debate, during some session, with yourself and your friends, upon the question of woman suffrage. As you have publicly expressed your op-

position to woman's enfranchisement, not only through the papers, but also by a petition against it to Congress, we feel sure you will gladly accept our invitation and let us know your reason for the faith that is within you.

Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, as president of the association and convention, will afford you every opportunity for argument, and will herself enter the list against you. Not only Mrs. Stanton, but all members of the committee cordially extend this invitation for debate, to be held at any session most convenient for yourself.

An early answer is desirable.

MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE,

Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements.

MRS. DAHLGREN TO MRS. GAGE.

Mrs. Matilda Joslyn Gage, Chairman Committee of Arrangements:

MADAM: Mrs. Sherman and myself are this morning in receipt of a note from you in which you invite us, in the name of the "officers and speakers of the National Woman's Suffrage Association," to hold a debate upon the question of "woman suffrage," and mention that "Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, as President of the Association and Convention, will afford every opportunity for argument, and will herself enter the lists," etc.

In reply to this invitation, for which we thank you, in so far as it may have been extended in a true desire to elicit fair argument, we would remind you that in the very fact of soliciting us to "hold debate" on a public platform on this or any other question, you entirely ignore the principle that ourselves and our friends seek to defend, viz., the preservation of female modesty.

The functions of men and women in the State as citizens are correlative and opposite. They cannot be made common without seriously impairing the public virtue.

Our men must be brave and our women modest, if this country may hope to fulfill her true mission for humanity.

We protest against woman suffrage, because the right of petition may safely be considered as common to all, and its exercise most beneficial.

We publish written articles, giving our "reasons for the faith that is within us," because we may, consistently with the home life and its duties, make such use of whatever talents God may have confided to our keeping. To these printed articles, in which we have fully and at different times explained our views, we are happy to refer you.

We likewise hold that an appeal to the public made in this manner is much more likely to evolve a clear apprehension of this important subject, as presenting a strict issue to the reasoning faculties, and one undimmed by those personal-ities which generally are indulged in during the course of oral debate.

I am truly yours,

MADELINE VICTOR DAHLGREN.

Washington, January 9, 1871.

Mrs. E. L. Daniels, of Boston, was introduced. The speaker was evidently a Spiritualist, and talked about the death of our Saviour and the ingratitude of the Masonic Fraternity. She then said that men were weak and vacillating like women, and that women would not love them if they were not. Upon the conclusion of her remarks, Miss Anthony advanced to the front and said: "I am temporarily in the chair, and it is contrary to all red-tapism for the chairman to talk, but I am going to talk." [Laughter.]

Now, if man filled the bill for everything that was good, and legislated in our own interests to our own satisfaction, I would not give up so long as the ballot was withheld. You are none the less a slave because you are a petted slave, or because you are kindly legislated for. Those women who do not desire the ballot do not look into the cause of the sufferings of thousands of women, because they themselves are provided for. I want the door of every workshop and government office opened for women. If every law were generosity more than justice to women, I should still stand up for the rights of women. Woman's condition to-day is like the caged bird—petted and well-fed, perhaps, but still restrained in natural rights. By ignoring us the right of representation, we are distressed as much as was John Hancock or Patrick Henry. You may just as well recognize our rights now as to keep us begging at the doors of Congress.

Mrs. Joslyn Gage stated that it was going the rounds of the press that the illiteracy of American women was on the increase. If this were so, she urged that the ballot was an educator, and should be given at once to women to counteract the same.

The next speaker introduced was Mrs. Laura C. Smith.

All true women realized that their strength was in their womanhood, and they would never sacrifice it without loss of power. Throughout nature we find the positive and negative, the masculine and feminine elements harmoniously blended. Only in government are they divorced, and the result is confusion and corruption. Our design, therefore, is to introduce this needed element into the science of government; and we demand an exalted and perfected womanhood in its divine strength for this great work, and not masculine women, who are burlesques upon manhood.

She alluded to the influence of the ballot in the hands of woman in redressing human wrongs. Suffrage for her sex, as she understood it, meant education for the ignorant, work for the idle, redemption for the outcast, equal rights for all. When mothers realized the responsibility of the home, they would establish a new system of education for their sons and teach them that moral and physical purity is as essential for them as for our daughters; they would no longer smile upon the seducer and frown upon the seduced. To-day these victims of society are shut out of all places of instruction, amusement and worship, while their seducers fan the daughters of upper tandom in the dress-circle of our theatres and embrace the delicate daughters of fashion in the mazes of the intoxicating dance, their mothers looking on with approving smiles. The sentiment expressed by the matrons of our day to the effect that "a reformed rake makes the best husband" must no longer be expressed save as it is accompanied by the frank admission that a reformed prostitute makes, as a natural conclusion, the best wife. Our young maiden must insist upon the same purity in her love as he demands from her; and when our daughters say to the libertine who seeks them in marriage, "I will not clasp in troth plight the hand that has lured a sister down to social destruction—I will not accept a place in a heart that has been the sepulchre of a sister's honor"—then, and not till then, will men realize that they can only purchase the society of noble women by the sacrifice of every degrading vice.

Mrs. Smith then enlarged upon the law of transmitted tendencies, and closed with a desire upon the part of the audience to hear her again.

Just after the speaker concluded, Mr. Kilgore, of Penn-

sylvania, arose in the audience and moved the appointment of a committee of five on resolutions.

Mrs. Anthony said that she proposed again to overstep the conventionalities of red tape, and announced the following committees, which were accepted, and a permanent organization effected.

On Organization—Mrs. Hooker, Mrs. Wright, M. T. Davis, Mrs. L. C. Smith.

On Presidential Convention—Miss Susan B. Anthony, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Mrs. L. De Force Gordon, Edward M. Davis.

On Resolutions—Mrs. M. E. Joslyn Gage, Mary F. Davis, William F. Channing, Carrie S. Burnham, Ellen C. Sargent, John Gage, D. Y. Kilgore.

On Finance—Miss Susan B. Anthony, Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood, E. L. Daniels.

The convention then took a recess to 7:30 P. M.

EVENING SESSION.

The convention reassembled at 7:30 o'clock P. M., at which hour Mrs. Cady Stanton, followed by Mrs. Victoria Woodhull, Susan B. Anthony, Isabella Beecher Hooker, Dr. Mary E. Walker, and other notables connected with the woman's movement, made their appearance on the platform and took their seats.

Mrs. Stanton taking the chair called the meeting to order, and announced as the lecturer of the evening Mrs. Victoria Woodhull, who on being referred to stepped quickly to the stand and commenced her lecture.

[The length of this speech prohibits publication in this number. It will be given in full in the next, as will also the Constitution of the United States of the World in the succeeding number.]

Mr. Drury, following Mrs. Woodhull, said that he appeared with considerable diffidence. He thought when men came forward to advocate the cause of women, it looked like Beelzebub appearing to plead the cause of justice.

He thought the woman question and the question of human rights inseparable. The woman's platform is the platform of every working man, because by it they could see that there is no freedom when woman is a slave. Upon this platform is discussed the principle of the abolition of all class privileges, and the social and political equality of all the people. It is for this equality we are here to-night, to bid God speed to the platform which is to give liberty and equality to the world.

The principle of the woman's platform is already being placed in the platforms of the laboring men's associations. It has been been contended that woman has no right to place herself on the same plane with man. This question of voting must come. It has gone through all the phases which such questions have to go through. Like the anti-slavery question, it has to go through the three phases of ridicule, argument and then adoption. Argumentatively, the women have gained their position, and now the only thing to wait for is the adoption.

The speaker approved heartily of the new constitution launched out to-night by Mrs. Woodhull. This new constitution will rally around itself all the radical and liberal judgment of the people. It will divide the country into conservatives and liberals, and the grand majority will not be on the side of monopolies and capitalists. These two sides must come forward, and when they do come, the great army of the workingmen will be on the liberal side, and the solution of the question of political and social equality will then have been accomplished.

Our position is this: That labor is entitled to all it creates, and that no one has a right to take advantage of any portion of that labor to enrich himself and crush the laborer. We demand that the equality, politically and socially, for woman exists, not only as a right, but as a duty on the part of man to give the right of suffrage. There can be no rights without duties, and no duties without rights. We do not conceive a state of society can be just when any other condition exists.

Dr. Mary E. Walker followed, saying that they were there to discuss the subject of human rights. She was here to support the Constitution of the United States as it is. She was opposed to every species of disunion or revolution. She was a friend of the working man and woman. She was a working woman, and had always been. The time is fast coming when the condition of the laborers will be bettered. But how ridiculous to talk of revolution. She stood on the Constitution as it is.

Mrs. Stanton then introduced Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker, who briefly stated that in some form or other the women would be heard by the Judiciary Committee of Congress this week. She was sure that this would be done. Last year the speaker tried to have a hearing before that committee, but failed. This year the committee of the associations had made another attempt in an appeal to Mr. Trumbull, who had promised to try and get a hearing for them before that committee. She had received a letter, which she read, from Mr. Trumbull, announcing that the women's memorial had prevailed with the committee so far as to obtain for them a hearing before the Judiciary Committee next Friday morning, at 11 o'clock.

Mrs. Hooker said, so far so good. What was impossible this time last year is to-day possible.

It has gone forth to the country that the women are to have a chance to defend their right to vote before their Representatives in Congress. Every politician in the country knows what this means. It settles the question of woman's rights, and the speaker invited all present to be at the Judiciary Committee rooms on Monday next to hear the result.

The meeting then adjourned to assemble again this morning at 10 o'clock A. M.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

[From the Washington Patriot.]

The second day's session of the National Suffrage Convention was held yesterday in Lincoln Hall, and was even more numerously attended than the day before, and with the best class of society. By some means, a mystery to even those having the convention under their charge, a man, judging from his looks, evidently on the verge of lunacy, entered, bearing with him a huge banner, having on one side the inscription, "Inasmuch as ye have not done it unto the least of these, my brethren, ye have not done it unto me; depart from me ye who work iniquity," and on the reverse were four medallion figures, representing the white man, the negro, the Indian and the "heathen Chinese" in full fellowship, overtopped by the passage, "One is our father, and ye are our brethren." This banner is intended, as the party who bore it testifies, to represent the cardinal principles of the progressive woman's movement, and on the 1st of January twelve months ago was borne in procession through the streets of Philadelphia, with a white man as ensign, flanked on either side by a colored man and an Indian.

Among the new-comers who appeared on the stage was Mrs. Laura De Force Gordon, of California, a handsome brunette, with a clear, sparkling eye and glossy, curly hair. She was neatly attired in a black and white barred poplin.

MORNING SESSION.

The convention was called to order a few minutes past eleven o'clock by Mrs. Wright, who introduced as the first speaker, Mrs. Elizabeth Bladen, of Philadelphia, who said: "I do not demand suffrage as a gift, but as an acknowledgment of that which already belongs to me. I want to urge all within hearing of my voice to secure public opinion in favor of suffrage; to use pluck in the matter, for real pluck is the origin of success in everything, illustrated even with the inferior order of creation. There are many offices now held by men which could be well filled by women, and the holding of which would give them lucrative employment. Women would make good postmen, it is light work, and the Government should intrust such duties to them. Many women would publicly advocate female suffrage were it not that they are afraid of attracting public attention. The main thing in success is to create public opinion in favor of the cause."

Upon the conclusion of the speaker's remarks, Mrs. Laura De Force Gordon was introduced by Mrs. Wright.

Miss Anthony advanced to the front and stated that Mrs. Gordon was one of those dug out of the mountain snow banks. I want to say that Mrs. Gordon was regularly nominated for the State Senate of California last August, and that she canvassed her district and received over one hundred and sixteen votes, which was within one vote of an election. All along the line in the far West the suffrage question is becoming a matter of fact. You now listen to a woman regularly nominated as a candidate for the State Senate of California.

Mrs. Laura de Force Gordon, a rather handsome woman, then appeared on the stage and said that it was true she had been dug out of a snow bank, and had scarcely thawed out. Since Miss Anthony has spoken of my Senatorial canvass, I am loth to allude to it. Three years ago I delivered the first lecture on woman suffrage in San Francisco ever delivered on the Pacific coast; it was hard to get even a corporal's guard. From that primitive beginning, by dint of hard work, Territories had granted woman the ballot. She then spoke of how she had endeavored to have the word male stricken out of the statutes, and the vacillating course of politicians with regard to lending a helping hand; how, when the woman's petition was presented to the California Legislature, an honorable member moved that it be referred to the Committee on Swamp Lands. She argued that politicians were given to the doctrines of neutrality where a large number of votes were concerned.

Now, those in favor of female suffrage disclaim any sympathy with either the Republican or Democratic party; all political parties are humbugs. Both will talk nonsense and try to pacify us just so long as any of our number have influence to help them to positions of honor and trust.

And now to a few Republican politicians in California: They were strong woman suffragists so long as they could make a point in favor of their own party. When an independent candidate—a woman—loomed up in the political horizon, they wrote letters deprecating the same. We ask our rights on account of a divine inheritance, and not on account of any concessions of either the Republican or Democratic party.

Miss Anthony, without introduction, then advanced to the front, and said that the previous speaker had touched on a subject in which she was interested. It is this: If any party put a woman's suffrage plank in its platform, and nominate candidates in accordance therewith who are above-board in favor of woman having the ballot, that party is my party, and that party will I support. [Applause.]

I shall take the stump for that party at the next presidential campaign. [Laughter.] Women have a name and principle of their own. We have a kite to fly ourselves. Any party that is a woman's suffrage party I am in for—[applause]—and I will help to fly its kite; but I am not willing to be the last little paper knot in the tail of any political kite. [Laughter and immense applause.]

Just after finishing the above sentence, the speaker removed from her shoulders her shawl, and, with a vengeance, threw it to the rear of the stage. The action was quite vigorous, and produced roars of laughter. Resuming, she said, you may laugh at me just as much as you please, for I am just as mad as I can be. You think we came here for notoriety. Now, I have been speaking in this cause for over twenty years, and have been called everything but decent. Think you, if I desired notoriety, I could not secure it much cheaper. People tell us to wait—that our time is coming. Now, I have waited long enough, and I propose to wage war, and get all suffrage women to take the field against subtle politicians. We are not politicians. I set my heel on that party—[stamping her foot]. [Applause.] That party has been in power since the war, and one scratch of the pen could have enfranchised women. Still they tell us to wait. I charge that those composing it are not Republicans. Some one says I am mad. Victoria Woodhull was mad last night, but she did not begin to be as mad as I am now. [Laughter.] She has been abused, but not half as much as I have. I have been on the public platform for twenty years as an advocate of equal rights, and have been scoffed and scorned. You have killed off women in a moment by pointing at them the finger of scorn, but we don't propose to die so easily now that our cause carries strength. I don't propose to proscribe any class; I should gladly welcome all the infamous women in New York and sit side by side with them on this platform if they were willing to make speeches in favor of freedom. [Applause.] They shall stand by my side—I will be their champion. I will take by the hand every prostitute I can find who seeks to escape the inequalities of that law which places all womanhood at the mercy of manhood. [Immense applause.] I care not for the history of any woman any more than that of any man who shall step on this platform. I want you to understand you can't scare me if you do others. When I heard of a woman on Wall street, I went to see how a woman looked among the bulls and bears. Women have the same right there as men.

Who brought Victoria C. Woodhull to the front? I have been asked by many, why did you drag her to the front? Now, bless your souls, she was not dragged to the front: she came to Washington from Wall street with a powerful argument and with lots of cash behind her, and I bet you cash is a big thing with Congress. [Uproarious applause.] She presented her memorial to Congress, and it was a power. I should have been glad to call it the Dickinson memorial, or the Beecher memorial, or even the Anthony memorial.

It was a mighty effort, and one that any woman might be proud of. She had an interview with the Judiciary Committee; we could never secure that privilege. She is young, handsome and rich. Now, if it takes youth, beauty and money to capture Congress, Victoria is the woman we are after. [Laughter and applause.]

Women have too much false modesty. I was asked by the editors of New York papers if I knew of Mrs. Woodhull's antecedents. I said I didn't, and I did not care any more about them than those of Congress. Her antecedents will compare favorably with any member of Congress. I will not allow any human being, wearing the form of manhood, to ask me to desist working with any woman; for what woman is to-day is the result of man's handiwork.

I have been asked, all along the line of the Pacific coast, what about Woodhull? You make her your leader? Now, we don't make leaders, they make themselves. If any can accomplish a more brilliant effort than Victoria C. Woodhull, let him or her go ahead and they shall be the leaders. [Applause.] The fountain-head of this movement is in dispute. Spiritualists say they began it. I am a Quaker, and the Quakers say they sounded the tocsin. Then the Abolitionists claim it. Next, I presume, the Presbyterians will claim it. Mrs. Hooker will, perhaps, say it was the Beecher family who originated it.

[Mrs. Hooker, shaking her head: No; you must take that back.]

Now, all I want is that all shall come together on the platform of equal rights to all, and work for woman suffrage. We don't indorse any sect, breed or political power. We don't indorse temperance, labor reform or Spiritualism, but we do emphatically indorse woman suffrage. Now, do you understand our platform?

(A Voice: Yes. Long live Miss Anthony.) [Laughter.]

Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker complimented Miss Anthony on the principle she asserted, that she didn't believe any of God's creatures have the right to say "I am holier than thou," and read with fine effect the following poem:

If a hand hath such a stain
It will ne'er come white again;
Let it not drop idly then,
It may save God's race of men;
It may work with him below,
Where the white hands fear to go.

Looking up and reaching down,
There is neither scorn nor frown;
In that service day by day,
Evil marks shall wear away;
She that washed Christ's feet is known
In heaven by that act alone.

Mrs. Lockwood then brought to the front a huge petition of great size and weight, having the names of those who petition Congress for the declaratory act. She spoke as follows:

MRS. LOCKWOOD'S SPEECH.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I appear before you impressed with the fact that a lesser luminary gives no light in the presence of a greater, that a prophet has no honor in his own country, and that one whom you know so well, at least through that most correct of mediums, the public press, can hardly have power to interest you anew. And yet I speak because I have a consciousness of an innate individuality which none other can represent. I am not my father, my brother, my husband, my sister, but myself; and as such an Infinite Jehovah holds me accountable for the thoughts of my heart, the words of my mouth, the acts of my life.

As regards this great moral and political question of woman's emancipation—for it is none other for which we contend—it shall be if necessary my life work. We have asked you to open to us more avenues of labor; we have been met with scorn. We have asked for equal pay for equal work, and it has not been granted. We have asked to be ordained to preach the Gospel of Christ, and ministry and laity have held up their hands in holy horror. We have asked to study and practice medicine that we might protect our own sex, and we have been scoffed at and stoned. We have asked that the doors of law schools might be opened to us that we might know the legal enactments by which we are bound, and they have been barred in our faces. We have asked to be protected in our right of property, and we are taxed without our consent; and it is wrested from us in the face of justice, without even the hearing of our protest. Not even are our infant children sacred to us. We have asked to vote that we might remedy these evils, and we have been caricatured by the public press—denounced as brazen-faced and immodest—as unfaithful wives and incompetent mothers. In the words of immortal Henry, on the eve of our memorable revolution, "Our petitions have been slighted—our remonstrances have received additional violence and insult," and we have been spurned with contempt from polling places and offices of registration.

We have now come fully to understand that the ballot, and that alone, will give us the moral and physical power (for voting is but the representative of physical force) to protect ourselves. We are asking for that, and we believe we are asking intelligently, knowing the ground on which we stand.

As the English people considered the Bill of Rights and the Magna Charta wrung from King John as the great bulwark of English liberty, so do we consider the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, made in the defense of human liberty, our bulwark.

We have right on our side, the most faithful and successful of all advocates; and we demand, in the name of justice and humanity, that equality of rights and privileges shall be granted to every American citizen. The memorable memorial of Victoria C. Woodhull to Congress last winter, and her unanswerable argument before the joint Committee, has explained to you more clearly than I can our position under the Constitution. The arguments of the most eminent lawyers of the land in our behalf; the judicial decision of the eminent judges of our own city, and those of Virginia and Wyoming, with the veto message of the Governor, who dared to be true, and could afford to be just, has carried conviction to every reasoning and impartial mind.

We come to you, perhaps, with no new arguments, except the progressive tendency of the age toward liberty and equality; and that element of to know and to do already far too deeply infused into the mind of the American woman to be suppressed; we come like one presenting a just bill for payment, asking for that which is our due, presenting it in proper form for more than twenty consecutive years, but told each time that we need something, but not so much, that the payment of this whole debt is not for our good, that it is not expedient, our debtors being the judges.

Annoyed, insulted, wearied out with this child's play, we now earnestly and determinedly demand a settlement that shall render to us our own, which no man hath a right to

take from us. Suppose all the debtors in the land should refuse to meet their obligations and to render justice because they, seeing only one side of the matter, should deem it inexpedient, giving for answer that they did not know what use we would make of it, or what the results would be.

Results are with God! It is ours to do right. This bill of ours has been examined by legal examiners and they have pronounced it genuine; it has been submitted to referees and they have decided in our favor, and still our rights are withheld. Congress itself has opened the doors in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

This child's talk about social disorganization, family bickerings and deserted children, is merely the scarecrow of the hour. Does the exercise of any right or privilege change the nature of either men or women? Would the maternal love of a mother for her babe be less because she had acquired the power to shield and protect it? Would she love her husband less because equally with him she shared the burdens of the household or even of church and state? Is it the experience of the world that responsibility renders people less trustworthy? and that justice renders them less affectionate? Have oppression and proscription ever accomplished their ends? Will a woman be less womanly, less noble, less grand for feeling that a moral responsibility rests upon her for the welfare and prosperity of her city, her town, her state, her country? Has this been the result of our observation with reference to the black men who have so recently clamored for similar rights? Have they deserted their wives and children and fallen into a state of anarchy and confusion? Have they become morally degraded because permitted to vote? Pope says, "What can we reason but from what we know," and do we not know that these children of Ethiopia, but yesterday the ignorant, oppressed, degraded, despised slaves of a proud people, are to-day clothed and in their right mind—aye, literally clothed in purple and fine linen, clerks and officers in our marble palaces, lawyers, ministers, editors and doctors in our midst, sitting in our halls of legislation, aye, in the two wings of yon proud Capitol itself; and to-day their school-houses and their church spires are dotting every corner of the land.

It is apparent to every thinking mind that the inception and the progress of this humanitarian reform, the so-called "Woman Question," has its origin in the onward march of the civilization of the age. If it is possible for the great scroll of time to roll backward into heathen and primitive darkness, and this vast continent to become the savage wild that Columbus discovered, then is it possible for this question of woman's enfranchisement to pass into the sea of oblivion, and be remembered only as a thing of the dead and buried past, an *ignis fatuus* of the mind. But if this great and glorious civilization, upon which hangs the hopes and the eyes of the world are fixed is to march steadily onward until the whole world is regenerated, it must lift and glorify and redeem the mothers who conceived it—

Till heart to heart and hand to hand
In equal honor each shall stand,
And from the talent jointly given
Shall offer incense unto heaven.

Upon the conclusion of which she was presented with a handsome basket of flowers by Mrs. Dr. Walker.

Major Dr. Walker rushed forward and said, "I am here to protest against the imputations cast upon Congress."

Miss Anthony—This convention stands adjourned until 2 P. M.

Before the managers of the movement had retired from the platform, and while the crowd were leaving the hall, the little man with his banner mounted the stand, and whirling round his standard, proclaimed in a loud voice that God made no distinction of race or color, and did not recognize the difference between the sexes. At this point he was approached by Miss Anthony and other prominent leaders of the convention, who demanded who he was, and that he should leave the stand. Against this he protested, and maintained his ground till he was compelled to retire by the officiating members of the convention of the "sterner sex."

AFTERNOON SESSION.

A few minutes after two o'clock the meeting, which completely filled the hall, every seat being occupied, was called to order by Mrs. Stanton.

Mrs. Hooker then rose, and after a few words, expressing her gratitude at seeing such a goodly number of people present, proposed the singing of a song of patriotism, viz.: "My Country, 'tis of thee, Sweet Land of Liberty, of thee I sing," which was sung in very good style by the audience; after which Mrs. Hooker again came forward and briefly spoke as follows:

MRS. PRESIDENT AND MY FRIENDS: I desire to state one fact in connection with the petition which we have already spoken of, signed by a portion of the women of this land who are in favor of woman suffrage, and that is, that thousands are the names inscribed upon that roll, yet they do not represent one tithe of all the women who are in favor of this movement. The fact is, my friends, that we have done with petitions; all I now ask of Congress is simply to protect me in my right. Governor Buckingham, of my own State of Connecticut, when he presented our petition in the Senate, made the truthful remark that, to his own knowledge, there were upon that scroll the names of women of position and character, of high social standing, and virtue unblemished, "whom," he said, "I can and do most sincerely endorse." And while speaking of Connecticut, let me tell you one thing that will show you what rights a woman has there, for instance, to her own wages, which will show you how greatly a reform is needed. The law of the State upon this subject is as follows: If a woman gets first to her employer, and asks for her wages, she can have them; if her husband comes first, he can have them. Simply a race, you see; and you may imagine who comes first.

Mrs. Stanton then came forward, and, after offering an apology for having detained the audience a few minutes, before calling the meeting to order, introduced Mary F. Davis, wife of Andrew Jackson Davis, a lady of some forty summers, or thereabouts, becomingly attired in a black alpaca, with velvet trimmings, and ornamented with a fine lace collar and red scarf. The speaker commenced by stating that she was a Spiritualist, according to her own and Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull's term; but, she said, more than that, I am a woman, and as such I am here on this platform, before you, to speak for myself and women. When I received the letter from Mrs. Stanton calling upon all friends of this great and good cause—rich and poor, high and low, the washed and unwashed alike—to be present, and that they would be welcomed here on this platform, then I felt that this was the place for me also. I heard yesterday read here Mrs. Dahlgren's letter, and her objections to meet us here, because it

is not consistent with her notion of womanly "modesty." All I have to say in answer to that is, that if that noble and good woman who sold her jewels to raise the funds by which Columbus was enabled to follow out his great idea was not immodest, then are we, who do our utmost in furtherance of another great cause, not immodest? And if Joan of Arc, acting as she did, was never yet considered immodest, why, then, is that slur cast upon us?

If Queen Victoria, reading her message to Parliament, is immodest, then we are so, too; and if the mother who rushes to the rescue of her child is immodest, then, indeed, are we also immodest; for we are rushing to the rescue of humanity!

Men should be brave and women modest; this is one of the most important planks in our platform, and we, therefore, quite agree with the sisters who are opposed to us, but really only differ from us in seeing "modesty" in a somewhat different light. I think that the woman who frequents fashionable parties in fashionable attire, such as it is nowadays in the ball-room and at evening parties, is immodest; and I think further, that the men who are also there, with their minds and imaginations fired by these immodest presentations, are not brave—cannot be brave, while planning the seduction and ruin of those who flit around them. The first step to the moral, as well as social, elevation of woman is the ballot-box. Women in their present position have no right to be women; they cannot, under existing circumstances, develop into their full beauty and purity. They are always and inevitably driven to the wall, and will always be, until they hold the ballot in their own hand. Not until then, when woman shall become really and truly a citizen, will that large class, called outcasts and prostitutes, diminish in numbers; political disfranchisement is the first step toward their emancipation; and, knowing this, how can we, then, resist the call to come forward here to speak for those who are speechless? I cannot think of this without remembering that poor girl, Alice Bowlby, with whose sad history and horrible fate we are all familiar; I have wept, not for her alone, nor for that young man who was her companion, and, alas! became her ruin, alone; nay, not for her poor, wretched mother, who sits in her grief, with a heart bowed down in sorrow and despair, alone; but for the thousands of those who were once beautiful and good, but are now termed outcasts, and trod under foot by society. There is not, nor will there ever be, rest for me while they are left to perish!

That woman may begin her noble work of the elevation of man and woman alike, she must first be endowed with an education which shall be commensurate with that of the appalling responsibility which, as a mother and trainer of the young, rests upon her shoulders; she must be placed where her best faculties can be properly developed; and if freedom will accomplish this, then, by all means, she should have it. No man, claiming the proud title of American, should rest while woman is kept a menial and a slave; nor can the true and honorable statesman feel at ease until her shackles are removed, and all women endowed with, at least, political privileges! [Applause.]

After this lady had finished,

MRS. STANTON

announced to the audience that they had received a great number of letters from the leading men of the labor reform and temperance parties. Among these was one from Mr. Alexander Troup, of New Haven, addressed to Mrs. Woodhull, which was read aloud. In it the writer said, that, in his place, there seemed to be a great diversity of opinion as to woman suffrage, and the proceedings of the party, and of the present convention, were closely watched. He should think that the first and greatest necessity to insure success, would be for the leaders in this movement to set themselves the example of practicing what they preach, and, if they want the ballot, obtain it, as there exists no power, or law, which can, in justice, deprive a single woman of her right to vote. The writer announced that he was a strong advocate of the principle that women should have an equal chance with men in every respect, socially and politically; and, as regarded the latter, he would call it to the remembrance of those women who do not desire to vote that even if they acquire the right, they are not compelled to do so, but that the matter is then left entirely to their own choice.

Enlarging upon this sentence, Mrs. Stanton declared that that was exactly so, and that voting, after that right, as regards women, should be no longer disputed, but would remain altogether a matter of choice; but that she for one did not want to vote, because she had all the qualifications necessary; she could read the Constitution, owned two hundred and fifty dollars worth of property, and, when she last consulted the family Bible, had found that she was over twenty-one years of age. [Laughter and applause.] And as to modesty, according to Mrs. Dahlgren's interpretation, that should not keep her back; she, for her part, would be much prouder to see her daughters vote than to see them present themselves in fashionable society in the manner and dress in which a great many ladies do it who still claim to be exceedingly "modest."

She next proceeded to state that at the commencement of the present convention invitations had been sent out to several Senators and Congressmen to come here and speak on their platform, and their answers were now coming in fast, but all pleading that they had so many engagements to fill and were so busy that they could not possibly come; "but," she continued, "my friends, we have those here who make the Senators and Congressmen, and we shall unseat the honorable gentlemen who can't afford to come here."

Mrs. Stanton next introduced

MR. THEODORE BANKS,

of New York, one of the bright, particular stars of the International Society, who, in a short speech, giving considerable evidence, as he himself said, that he was not accustomed to speak to such a large, intelligent and critical audience as that here assembled, explained the connection between the Internationals and the workingmen generally and this movement. He said, when approaching the city of Washington this morning, he felt proud to know that he was going to demand the power of the ballot for his sisters, whom to enslave was to enslave himself. And he was happy indeed to have acquired some influence among workingmen, since now that he could use it in behalf of such a cause, which is not simply woman's rights but the rights of humanity. It was, he said, as "correct" that women should have the right to vote as it was that the negro should be free. Mrs. Woodhull's success in the advancement of this great cause was, he thought, simply owing to the fact that she dares to tell the truth, and dares to bear the consequent criticism of the world. The woman question is a question of human rights, and we have got either to have that or to be slaves. The Internationals and the workingmen will rally—what do they care for Congress? not

one cent—and the working people of the world will come to the front, for they understand this question of human rights a great deal better than the people who sit in Congress do.

Mr. Banks, after this declaration, finished, to again give place to Mrs. Stanton, who, as the next speaker, introduced Mr. Ira Davis, of New York. This gentleman, she said, appeared as the representative of thousands of laboring men. The speaker himself, after stating his position, launched forth into quite a lengthy speech, during which he reviewed the Constitution as it is, and insisted that it was necessary for the people to send up their petition for that instrument to be amended, that full justice might be done to women, and the right given them to vote; "for we never can have justice, peace, or virtue, until the instrument called the Constitution shall correspond to the spirit of it." He fiercely attacked the Senate and House of Representatives, "whose members," he said, "waste their own breath, and other people's money, in their squabbles and squabbles over the re-election of President Grant, or election of somebody else." He finally maintained that our Constitution should be so amended that the people, instead of the President, shall exercise the veto power.

After Mr. Davis had again taken his seat,

MISS SURAN B. ANTHONY

read letters, bearing upon the subject under discussion, which had been received from Miss Amy Post, of Rochester, and from several members of Congress. Among these was one from Gen. J. A. Garfield, politely declining the invitation which had been sent to him to appear upon the platform. Miss Anthony stated, in this connection, that when she had last seen this honorable member, he had said to her: "Well, to tell the truth, I don't know but that it is about as you say; that if women were to vote, we should be deprived of our pet vices." These, Miss Anthony continued, these pet vices mean chewing, drinking and smoking, with a few other "pet vices" which she would not mention. Letters, politely declining to be present, were also received and read from Messrs. Dawes and Hoar, of Massachusetts.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 11, 1872.

MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON—Dear Madam: I thank you for your thoughtful invitation to be present at Lincoln Hall to take part in the proceedings, but regret to say that other engagements will prevent my doing so.

I remain, yours very truly,

H. MITCHELL.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 11, 1872.

MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON—Madam: I have the honor to acknowledge your kind invitation to attend your Convention, and regret that my engagements are such as to prevent me from accepting the same.

Very respectfully,

JOHN LYNCH.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 10, 1872.

MRS. E. C. STANTON—Dear Madam: Your courteous inquiry of this day is before me, and, thanking you for your kindness, I have to state that my official duties in the House and in Committee are such as to absorb my entire time and strength, and I shall therefore have no leisure to attend your Convention. I am, with great respect,

Very truly yours,

M. C. KERR.

WASHINGTON, January 11, 1872.

MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON—My dear Madam: Other duties will prevent me from accepting your polite invitation to address the convention now in session. I judge, from the list of distinguished speakers in attendance, that your time will be more usefully and agreeably employed than in listening to me.

Wishing you all success, I am yours very respectfully,
Geo. F. Hoar.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., Jan. 1, 1872.

MY DEAR MRS. WOODHULL: I had hoped to be present at the Convention of the National Suffrage Committee in Washington, the 10th inst., and on, but my engagements oblige me to remain here. I therefore send a word of greeting, and bid you all God-speed in the effort to make our government in fact what it is in name. We have dilated on our characteristics on Fourth of July and other occasions most unctuously, and with great self-gratulation quoted our national Declaration that life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness were fully assured, also much else in a similar strain, while all the time the actualities of the government have given the lie to all our professions.

Slavery existed in half the land; the chattelizing of humanity was an established institution, which was protected by church and State. Both these instrumentalities met the anti-slavery reformers, but at length the country was roused, and the institution fell, at a terrible price. All through the struggle it was found necessary to combat the hoary errors and usages which clustered around both, especially the church. It became necessary to assert the natural and inalienable prerogatives of woman, her right to act in the grand army of freedom, and act for humanity. On this question the Anti-Slavery party succeeded, and finally the opponents of woman were forced to yield, finally sinking into insignificance. The present movement for free, unrestricted, impartial suffrage is the legitimate outcome of the anti-slavery movement, enforced by the great spiritual movement which has been developed within the last twenty-five years. Spiritualism from the outset has had a free platform, and in the order of its philosophy has known no sex. It was a John the Baptist to prepare the way and educate the public mind to be ready to act when the end of slavery should be proclaimed.

That has come; parties are now arrayed against each other without any radical dividing lines between them. The Democratic party is but the shade of a shadow; the Republican party coheres only by the force of public plunder. The time for a new departure has come, and the point d'appui is Woman Suffrage. But I cannot dilate. I can only send a word of cheer, and say, Move on. The people must rule, not sections, fragments or cliques. For Progress, Equal Rights and Humanity,
Fraternally, Wm. Foster, Jr.

UNITED STATES SENATE CHAMBER,

WASHINGTON, Jan. 10, 1872.

MRS. E. CADY STANTON: Your note asking me to be present on the platform of your convention, etc., is duly received. But the fact is, I am driven nearly to death with work. I have to be present in the Judiciary Committee of the Senate to-morrow, to hear the argument of your associates upon the proper construction of the Fifteenth Amendment; the Supreme Court are after me in several causes, including that of Mrs. Bradwell, of Chicago, claiming admission to the bar; so that I am compelled to ask you to excuse me from attending where I could neither be useful nor ornamental.

Female suffrage is sure to be finally adopted. I regard it not as a matter of woman's rights, but of man's rights; and rely upon it to do more to reform the abuses of our present elective system than can be accomplished by penal laws, with soldiers and marine to enforce them. Go on, dear lady, and success is sure to crown your efforts.

Yours truly,
MATT. H. CARPENTER.

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 1, 1872.

To the National Committee for Woman Suffrage at Washington, D. C.:

MESDAMES: The State Central Committee of California, through its undersigned officers, takes great pleasure in seconding the nominations made by you of the Hon. Mrs. A. A. Sargent and Mrs. Laura De Force Gordon to represent California in the effort to induce Congress to pass a Declaratory act to the effect that women are already citizens and have the right to vote under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

These ladies, having been duly elected, will soon be with you, accompanied by several others who are well known for their interest and earnestness in the cause of Woman Suffrage.

Since Mrs. Gordon's residence on this coast she has devoted much of her time to the advocacy of the rights of her sex, and has the honor of having given, some six years since, the first lecture upon Woman Suffrage delivered on the Pacific coast.

We commend Mrs. Gordon as an unselfish, earnest and untiring worker, worthy the confidence and respect of all the friends of our cause.

MRS. ELIZABETH T. SCHENCK, President.
MISS JENNIE PHELPS, Secretary.
MRS. ANNA FULLER, Treasurer.

But by far the greatest interest was awakened by the reading, by Miss Anthony, of the following letter from

THE REV. HENRY WARD BEECHER:

BROOKLYN, January 1, 1872.

MY DEAR MADAM: Your letter of December 30, in which, after conference with Mrs. Stanton, you invite me to take part in the Washington convention in behalf of woman suffrage, is duly received.

I am engaged during the whole week of the convention with lectures in Massachusetts and Maine. I cannot say that I am so sanguine of the immediate or new admission of women to the rights of suffrage. But of its ultimate accomplishment I have not a doubt, since justice and expediency combine in requiring it. That manhood is, on the whole, made better and stronger by a direct participation in the duties and responsibilities of active citizenship, notwithstanding incidental evils, is becoming the sentiment of the civilized world; nor is there any reason to doubt that, in spite of temporary and incidental evils, the same advantages would accrue to womanhood. In every wise and Christian movement for the education and enfranchisement of woman I hope always to be in sympathy.

I am, respectfully, yours,

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

MRS. VICTORIA WOODHULL.

The reading of this letter was followed by loud and prolonged applause by the audience. Mrs. Stanton then rose and introduced Miss Addie Ballou, of Wisconsin. The speech of this lady was principally in defense of the outcasts of society, whose cause, she said, she was pledged, by a solemn vow, to plead, and whose champion she was. She said that she often went to all the bad places where women are not expected to go, simply because she was a woman to her innermost soul; and, besides, as all women are, she was curious to see and learn all she could. It was the fate of woman, ever since that first woman—Eve—to be curious; Eve, in her curiosity, plucked the apple from the tree of wisdom, but then, you know, she only took a bite, while Adam gobbled down the whole rest of that apple, which probably accounts for men being so much wiser than women.

Mrs. Laura Cuppy Smith said: Mrs. Woodhull told you last night that we were already citizens under the provisions of the fourteenth amendment, and that we should no longer petition Congress; but if they failed to pass a declaratory act we should launch our bark Constitution and rally about us the People, who make Congressmen and Presidents. We shall pass our measures over the heads of Congressmen, and leave them to be educated by the results. [Laughter and applause.] It is generally supposed that the press and the pulpit lead the people; it is false; the people restrain the press and contro. s the pulpit. While in California it was my good fortune to mingle socially with many members of the press. Bohemians there, as everywhere, are enlightened, intellectual men, posted upon all the great questions of the day, and sympathizing with progressive ideas, but when, having written their best thoughts, they submit them to the power behind the throne, they are met with this response: "This is true, but we are caterers to the public taste and must feel the pulse of the people." They are not ready for these ideas," and the editor-in-chief draws his pen through the glowing periods of an inspired brain, and substitutes commonplace. Ministers of the Gospel dare not investigate or take interest in such progressive theories. Elizabeth Barrett Browning declares the qualification for a Bishop to be that he shall not "love truth too dangerously, but ever prefer the interests of the Church." Country clergymen visiting our large cities hang upon the outskirts of spiritualism, take a peep at the "Black Crook" and venture to call upon Mrs. Woodhull, but would not dare indulge in these luxuries save in secret and away from the watchful gaze of their congregations. The people intimidate and repress those who are too weak to utter their convictions. Henry Ward Beecher's power and influence are limited by the extent of his courage. Proportionate to his daring in uttering his sacred convictions will be the measure of his power.

Victoria C. Woodhull's popularity is founded upon her high-souled vindication of the truth as she apprehends it.

According to the press of New York, that city was shocked beyond redemption at her Steinway Hall speech, yet conservative, puritan Boston, through its Parker Fraternity, invites the immediate repetition of this shocking speech, and Music Hall, crowded to its utmost capacity, failed to accommodate the eager throng that came to hear the exponent of Social Freedom. "Verily the world moves," and truth alone to-day will command the masses.

I have alluded to Victoria C. Woodhull. I am not a hero worshiper, but my whole soul does homage to the principles of which I deem this grand woman to be the inspired representative. [Great applause.]

In the few remarks made by this lady a sensation was

created. The earnestness of her manner, the apparent truth of her convictions and the real gift of imparting to an audience her own enthusiasm riveted the attention of the audience. She answered the objection against suffrage that its tendency would be to unsex women.

Mrs. Smith closed her remarks by stating that neither she, nor her sisters on the platform, were there for their own sake, but for the sake of their children, and those who should come after them. We stand here, she said, advocating the truth as we understand it; realizing that we are opening the door for thousands of men and women who shall come after us, to their elevation to a diviner man and womanhood—to such glorious results as you cannot to-day foresee.

Mrs. Stanton, after stating that a meeting would take place to-day at the regular morning hour, notwithstanding the hearing granted by the Senate Judiciary Committee, which comes off to-day, at the Capitol, at 11 A. M., then adjourned the meeting until the evening session.

EVENING SESSION.

[At the evening session the feature was an eloquent speech by Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton—"The True Republic"—which want of space prevents our publishing. Suffice it to say that its matter fully warranted its title.]

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

[From the Chronicle.]

CLOSE OF THE CONVENTION—GROUND GAINED—BRILLIANT PROSPECTS.

Yesterday morning, at eleven o'clock, the committee appointed by the National Women's Suffrage Convention, composed of Susan B. Anthony, E. C. Stanton, M. Joslyn Gage, E. L. Daniels, Isabella Beecher Hooker and Victoria C. Woodhull, appeared before the Judiciary Committee of the Senate of the United States, for the purpose of urging favorable action in behalf of woman suffrage. Senators Trumbull, Conkling, Frelinghuysen and Carpenter, of the Judiciary Committee, were present. The occasion attracted a large number of people to the Capitol, for it was the first time in the history of our Government that a hearing has been given to women by a Senate committee. A large force of police were required to keep the passage and hall clear, so great was the eager curiosity of the crowd gathered at the Capitol to witness the novel and important scene. The committee room was filled to its utmost capacity. Altogether it was a scene for a historical painting, and as such it might, perhaps ought to be, perpetuated.

MRS. ISABELLA BEECHER HOOKER

opened the proceedings by an argument before the committee which has been highly complimented by all who heard it. Indeed, several Senators have spoken of it as an able production and worthy the gifts of a statesman.

Advancing to the table, at which sat Senators Trumbull and Carpenter, she unrolled a manuscript and began the music. She first read the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution, and averred that under its provisions none could deny that citizens of the United States were not entitled to the elective franchise. Now, what is the meaning of the word "citizen" as there used? It is said by the opponents of female suffrage that if women vote it destroys the intent of the amendment, as it never was the intention to include them within the scope of its provisions. She assumed that the intent of the amendment had nothing to do with the question, which simply was, What is the fact? That fact was that women were citizens just as much as the negroes, who have already been given the elective franchise by virtue of its ratification.

In the next place, it is said that the word citizen has two meanings—a legal and political one. This we do not concede; for no American, male or female, can be called a citizen of a State who is not entitled to all the rights and immunities of the highest classes of society. Now, if the word citizen, as implied by lexicographers, means voters, none are willing to admit that a class can be excluded and a class favored. The word citizen means either a voter or merely a resident of the nation; it cannot mean an alien.

To show that the word citizen meant a voter, the speaker read the fourteenth amendment, substituting the word "inhabitant" in place of the word citizen, to amplify how ridiculous it would read if such word had been used, and to sustain the argument that a citizen cannot mean other than a voter. The fifteenth amendment confers no new right; but the language of it clearly implies a pre-existing right to vote, and protects a right already granted.

Now, to say that a citizen does not mean a woman as well as man is sheer nonsense. Suppose, in the order of things, woman should be given the ballot, and should gain control of the legislative and judicial functions of this government. Then, suppose we should assert boldly that the word citizen did not include "men," what would be the result? Why, you might as well distinguish the meaning of the word in a broader light, and bar from without its definition those whose hair was not of a particular color as well as make sex a barrier. If men were thus disfranchised by women it could not stand a constitutional test.

It is said again, it is not fair to take advantage of a law not intended to include women. We answer, we have been too long unfairly dealt with to allow such a glorious opportunity to escape.

She concluded by saying that her right to vote was guaranteed in the preamble to the Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence. Black men and women need no other charta than white men.

I will never consent to vote under any enactment which treats me as an alien. I am free-born, and claim to be an American citizen.

You say we have no precedent for giving the women the ballot. Gentlemen, the precedent was made in 1776 by the Declaration of Independence, and we are making it to-day. She then presented a book, containing the signatures of five or six thousand women asking for their rights, and pledging themselves to work hand in hand with their brothers and fathers in their grand effort for the elevation of womanhood. She had hoped to present the book to Congress, but that body referred them to this committee.

MISS SUSAN B. ANTHONY

was the next speaker. She held, in common with the previous speakers, that women had rights, and that they should be respected. The Republican Congress said to them before the colored man was liberated, "Wait till we free the negro and give him a vote, then we will take up your case." But have they done as promised? No, they have refused us our rights, although they have given them to the negro. She asked that they report soon favorably, or unfavorably, if they must, so that they can assemble their friends and count

their strength and forces. In conclusion, she hoped that she had impressed her ideas upon the committee, so that they would think favorably of her remarks.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON

then made an exhaustive argument, covering the whole ground of the controversy.

ARGUMENT OF MRS. STANTON BEFORE THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE.

GENTLEMEN OF THE JUDICIARY: We appear before you at this time to call your attention to our memorial asking for a "declaratory act" that shall protect woman in the exercise of the right of suffrage. Benjamin F. Butler, early in the session, presented a bill in the House to this effect that will soon, in the order of legislation, come before you for consideration in the Senate of the United States. As you well know, women are demanding their rights as citizens to-day under the original Constitution, believing that its letter and spirit, fairly interpreted, guarantee the blessings of liberty to every citizen under our flag. But more especially do we in our memorial claim that our title-deed to the elective franchise is clearly given in the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments. Therein for the first time the Constitution defines the term citizen, and in harmony with our best lexicographers declares a citizen to be a person possessed of the right to vote. In the last year the question of woman's political status has been raised from one of vague generalities to one of Constitutional law.

The Woodhull memorial, and the able arguments sustaining it, made by Mr. Riddle and herself, and the exhaustive minority report of Messrs. Butler and Longbridge, have been before the nation for one year, and as yet remain unanswered; in fact, the opinions of many of our most learned judges and lawyers multiplying on all sides, sustain the positions taken by the "Woodhull Memorial." As our demands are based on the same principles of Constitutional interpretation, I will not detain you with the restatement of arguments already furnished to you all, but state a few facts and general principles showing the need of some speedy action on this whole question.

As gentlemen hold seats in Congress to-day by the votes of women, the legality of their election involves the question whether or not their constituents are legal voters, and ultimately this question must be considered in the Senate as well as the House.

In some States women have already voted; in others they are contesting their rights in the courts, and the decisions of different judges differ as widely as the capacities of men to see first principles.

Judge Howe, Judge Carter and Judge Underwood have given their written opinions in favor of woman citizenship under the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments. Even the majority report of the Judiciary Committee, presented by John A. Bingham, though adverse to the prayer of Victoria Woodhull, admits the citizenship of woman. In the late cases of Sarah Spencer against the Board of Registration, and Sarah E. Webster against the Superintendent of election, the Judge decided that under the fourteenth amendment women are citizens.

Now we do not ask to vote outside any law or in open violation of it, nor to avail ourselves of any strained interpretations of constitutional provisions, but in harmony with the Federal Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, and our own theory of just government.

The women of this country and a handful of foreign citizens in Rhode Island, the only disfranchised citizens, ask you to-day to secure to them, as you have to the masses of the people, a republican form of government to protect them against the oppression of State authorities, which in violation of your amendments assume the right not merely to regulate the suffrage, but to abridge and deny it to these two classes of citizens.

The Federal Constitution in its fourteenth amendment clearly defines for the first time who are citizens:

"All persons born and naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the States wherein they reside."

No one denies that "all persons" in the fourteenth amendment is used without limitation of sex, or, in other words, that not men only but women also are citizens. Whether in theory the citizenship of women is generally admitted or not, it certainly is in practice. Women pre-empt land; women register ships; women obtain passports; women pay the penalty of their own crimes; women pay taxes, sometimes work even the road tax.

In some States even married women can make contracts, sue and be sued, do business in their own names; in fact, the old Blackstone idea that husband and wife are one, and that one the husband, received its deathblow twenty years ago, when the States of New York and Massachusetts passed, first, property bills, securing to married women the property they inherited in their own right.

"Individual rights," "industrial conscience and judgment," are great American ideas underlying our whole political and religious life. We are here to-day to ask a Congress of Republicans and Protestants for that coming act that shall secure to 15,000,000 women the right to protect their persons, property and opinions by law. The fourteenth amendment, having told us who are citizens of the Republic, further declares that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the 'privileges or immunities' of citizens" of the United States. Some say that "privileges and immunities" do not include the right of suffrage. We answer that any person under government who has no voice in the laws or the rulers has his privileges and immunities abridged at every turn, and when a State denies the right of suffrage it robs the citizen of his citizenship and of all power to protect his person or property. Without some act of Congress regulating suffrage for women as well as black men, citizens of the United States in Washington Territory, Utah and Wyoming and Kansas, who in these are voters and jurors, and who in this one State vote on school and license questions, would be denied the exercise of these fundamental rights in toto in all the States of the Union, and no naturalization papers, education, property, residence or age could help them. What an anomaly is this in a republic! A woman who in Wyoming enjoys all the rights, privileges and immunities of a sovereign, by crossing the line into Nebraska, sinks at once to the political degradation of a slave. Humiliated with such injustice, one set of statesmen answer her appeals by sending her for redress to the courts; another to submit her qualifications to the States; but we, with a clearer intuition of the rightful power, come to you who thoughtfully, conscientiously and understandingly passed that amendment defining the word "citizen," declaring suffrage its foundation right. How are women "citizens" from Utah, Wyoming, Kansas, moving

[CONTINUED ON PAGE 13.]

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THE OPPOSERS OF THE NEW DEPARTURE.

If there is one thing which occurs among the different branches of reform more contemptible than any other, it is the practice of people and journals in misrepresenting their opponents. A cause or a schism that has to be maintained by such means is certainly one that proclaims its own weakness, and one that needs but to be let alone, since it will die of its own shortsightedness.

We nevertheless find people who in most other respects are clear and strong, but in their adaptation to time and circumstances are utterly inadequate to any emergency. They know something will occur, and they stand still and simply watch its coming, making no effort to clear its pathway, but sometimes even absolutely throwing clogs in its way. They remind us of a certain General in the late war who was always famed for his masterly inactivity.

The action of the recent convention at Troy, and that more recently of the Board of Trustees of the American Association of Spiritualists in this city, is the particular mark at which a certain set of trimmers aim their shafts of ridicule and bitterness. If they are so sore over those doings, and have so much fault to find with those who did them, why were they not at the convention to stop all such proceedings? But with their complaints of the spiritualists for what they have done, or for what they have failed to do, we have no controversy. We presume they did as they thought best, or as they were acted upon to do.

But when others who withheld themselves from the Convention attempt to misrepresent the meaning of the action of those who were there, it becomes our right and duty to call their attention to the fact that, though they may attempt to be themselves blind to facts and their legitimate sequences, they cannot throw dirt in the eyes of Spiritualists generally to the extent of blindness. And when a journal attempts to speak for the Spiritualists, who have several other and more powerful advocates speaking differently, it puts itself very much in the position of the ostrich with its head in the sand. We suppose the next performance will be to read all its opponents out of the Spiritualists' ranks. This, indeed, already seems imminent, since we are informed that the American Association is the tail of "the not very highly elevated kite" of "God in the Constituted People."

But the confusion of ideas from which such similes emanate becomes evident when we are informed by it that "principles" are "dogmas" from which a platform is to be constructed "fraught with danger," "and to be erected at the expense and suffering of the masses," by "the good men and women who were inveigled into it."

From this lucid analysis we are to suppose that there is nothing now being executed at the expense and suffering of the masses, solely for the aggrandizement of the few. Oh, no! Everything is lovely now. Everybody is happy, free and comfortable. Nobody is tyrannized over nor robbed of his birthright. No. Oh, no! There is nothing of which to complain in politics now. Equality reigns supreme and justice sits enthroned in all our halls of legislation and offices of administration, and everywhere the laborer is worthy of his labor. And this perfect state of things the

American Association of Spiritualists, by its "New Departure," is to attempt to disorganize and destroy. A most damnable conception, surely enough.

But as that journal proceeds it parts with common sense, as well as with consistency. It talks of "this government!"—mark the words—being ruled "by any religious party." We think it about time that this government should be ruled by those who should constitute the government. What conception of Democracy is that which separates our theory of government from the people and places it in the people's servants? But it is not to be expected of those sort of people who live in the clouds, ascended from things of crude materiality, that they should know anything about our system of government, or of the legitimate sequence of any proposed new action.

It is asserted that if, under the "New Departure," the Spiritualists should take the place of the present party in power, "the tyrants" paralyzing grip would be placed upon every hand that wields a liberal pen, and every paper that did not sustain such a party would be ostracized." Religion, even Spiritualism, is dangerous to liberty! and those persons, so frightened of religion, would not have Spiritualists take a single step as reformers in government. Eminent wisdom! The wisdom of the Infinite, we are told it is.

But it talks of dictation. Who has dictated, and what has been dictated? Haven't a body of people a right to speak their opinions and act their convictions? If there is any thought of dictation it seems to us that it lies upon the opposite side of the house. We are certainly innocent of having heard anything at all of dictation as to whom Spiritualists shall sustain for official positions." But we presume if some of the "Spiritualists of America" shall see fit to vote for Grant for the next President that this terrible American Association will be obliged to permit them to do so. We have never heard any Spiritualists say a word as to whom Brother Jones, Smith, Brown, &c., should support. In fact, we believe that among those "dogmas" to which we have referred there was one that declared the right of every individual to act according to his own choice, absolutely unabridged by any interference whatever.

But it suits purposes and persons to not only prevaricate and misrepresent, but even to tell some little white lies. And all earnest and honest people can afford to permit them to enjoy that slight bit of comfort to their heart's content, especially since they cannot perceive the difference between a religious organization for political purposes and a political organization for religious purposes, but puts one as the tail to the other.

We are further told the "New Departure" is so far a departure from common sense and common propriety as to at once neutralize all the evil it might instigate. We are made very happy by so gratifying an assurance. All evil is neutralized, and the departure is free to perform all the good it proposes. Can't our kind brethren lend the "New Departure" a helping hand under such circumstances?

But we really must protest against anybody setting himself up to tell who are honest or who dishonest Spiritualists. This function belongs to certain godly people who reside in Boston, and we shall not permit their business to be interfered with or taken away by any wrangling over the "New Departure."

Again, it appears to us that if somebody would stick a little nearer to the consistent, he would lose none of his influence. He talks of "ostracizing," as if somebody had already been ostracized. We have not heard or seen the word used in this connection except by the aforesaid protestor. We must confess that his mode and speech border on ostracism, if they do not really mean it. We pass over in silence all contemptible personal allusions made by this person, who so grandiloquently parades "ostracism" and "honest Spiritualists." They are sunk so low in the slough of personal spite that we really must be excused from attempting to fish them out or from ever caring what they mean or what is their animus. It is sufficient that they have an animus.

"Honest Spiritualists belong to different political organizations." Whew! what wonderful information. And these different political organizations own them—is that it? They must perforce remain a part of, and act with, their organizations, that they may continue to be honest Spiritualists. If any honest Spiritualist should by any means chance to detach himself from their organization and become a member of a new organization, he would, by reason thereof, we suppose, cease to be an honest Spiritualist. Well, we shall at least know just where the New Departure stands. It can have the support of none but dishonest Spiritualists and the "riffraff."

But we are sick of this talking from the side of despotism. It is always the government over the people; government ruling the people. And it is because the people do belong to these organizations that such stupidity is more than half true. All such cringing to aristocracy should be discountenanced by a free people. They should insist that they are not only the organizations, but the government as well, both of which they should be. And if the "New Departure" accomplish anything, one of the first things it will accomplish will be the rescue of the people from government and the investiture of themselves with all its functions.

They must be either knaves or fools who pretend to say that a departure whose whole substance consists in the effort to individualize human right, seeks to control the people.

A departure seeking to make every individual man and woman a positive component part of government, cannot be misunderstood by a person who can read and understand language. Hence these people who persist in doing so are not fools. They know that individual freedom of action does not mean ruling the government. Why, then, do they continue to harp upon it?

But we shall now proceed to indict these people who "belong to different political organizations." Nor need we to go about to prove that the political situation is not the lovely one that journal would have it inferred. Everybody who reads the papers knows that corruption stalks boldly about in all the different organizations. They know that the people are continually swindled for the "benefit of the few." And yet "honest Spiritualists" should stand calmly by and let it proceed. Even more, should continue to uphold it by their votes as members of the party in power. If ever a poor enslaved people needed to be departyized—delivered from mere party rule to rise to that of the domain and maintenance of principles, this people indeed require such delivery.

If in the place where Republicanism sits enthroned, justice and equity is not substituted at the next turn of the party wheel, the honest Spiritualists of the country will be responsible for it. Shall they, then, remain in the organization and by their support continue it in power for such purposes as recent investigations have developed? This organization says it will not do to pass the "Declaratory Act" this session of Congress, since to do so will be to destroy the Republican party! A consummation sufficiently to be deprecated, we suppose these people assume, to prevent "honest Spiritualists" from extricating themselves from its corruptions and rule. Against all such sycophancy we shall continue to enter our protests, and it will not be our fault if the really honest Spiritualists, by their votes, continue the present order of things. And we here and now appeal to every lover of freedom, equality and justice, not only among the Spiritualists but among all other reformers, to at once and forever cut loose from the different political organizations and ally themselves to that one whose sole purposes are the public benefit to be attained by a political system built upon individual sovereignty and scientific principles, and not the mere desire to either acquire or perpetuate any party or power.

There will be a new party in the next Presidential election, whose platform of principles will be human rights, as opposed to all forms of despotic control; and whose purposes will be to inaugurate a new system of government which shall distinctly recognize that the people themselves are the government, and that those whom they shall choose to represent them are simply their servants, paid to carry out their desires, and not to rule them. In short, that shall secure the rule of the people to themselves, taking it away from government.

Will honest Spiritualists support such a scheme? Time will answer us. How do brothers Jones, Smith and Brown know but what this "new departure" is that "system of philosophy which, when fully understood, will take the place of all religious systems." We assert that it is. Let them take it up, and instead of assertion, which is too cheap stuff, disprove it if they can, and cease their false pretenses. We call them to order, and state the point to be: That they shall cease judgment upon a cause which is not in their court at all, nor within the jurisdiction of their court.

HUDSON TUTTLE'S VERBIAGE.

We have received several letters asking when we should make our answer to Hudson Tuttle's attack upon the action of the American Association at Troy, and we suppose the same anxious friends will be still more anxious now that he has "opened the fight" on Social Freedom. To be frank with our friends and readers, we must say that, in the first instance, we are not responsible for what was done at Troy; and in the second, confess that we carefully read his six columns in the *American Spiritualist*, and found nothing to answer.

In our speech on the Principles of Social Freedom we carefully analyzed the relations of humanity to government, and deduced therefrom certain basic propositions. From them, as a foundation, we proceeded to elaborate and apply them to existing conditions. If our propositions were without foundation, our deductions were wrong. But if our premises were sound, so also were our conclusions inevitable.

Mr. Tuttle utterly ignores our premises. Hence, his rhodomontade amounts to nothing. He has no controversy with us until he disposes of our premises. Hence, we conclude that both articles to which we refer have the same inspiring fountain which is made so palpable in the former that it is not necessary to mention it here or to apply it to the latter.

Mr. Tuttle cannot comprehend a principle of, or a proposition regarding, freedom, but wanders about in a suppositional creation of his own, that enacted law and moral sentiment are one and the same thing. That is not our fault; it is his misfortune. He plays at hide-go-seek, mistaking it for analysis; and strings out words with neither head, tail nor body to his argument. Really our friends must excuse us.

In deference, however, to our friends, and to what we were wont to suppose Hudson Tuttle to be, we have read the article a second time, and are bound to repeat that we find nothing in his pretended review of our "Social Freedom" which was not answered over and over again in the speech

itself, but about which every old granny is forever frightened. No matter how clearly the truth is demonstrated they always assume that a single failure in the application of a general principle should condemn it.

We beg our readers to first read Hudson Tuttle carefully and then re-read our Principles of Social Freedom, and we are mistaken if they will not find him, as we have, supporting every position he attacks, though he appears to think he has demonstrated their fallacy. A mind of comprehensive grasp must at once distinguish between our arguments, of which he makes use, and his assumptions, which are purely personal, having no reference to the subject abstracted from our personality.

For instance, Mr. Tuttle complains that we gave no definition of love; and before the statement is cold proceeds to devote several paragraphs to quotations from our definition of that sentiment, and complains that we call all things love while some were better described by lust, thus making us answer the objections which he raises.

Again, he quotes our summing up of the results of marriage, and innocently places it to the credit of law instead of morality. This clearly demonstrates his incapacity to distinguish between morality and legality. In his estimation, whatever is legal must be moral; but in his philosophy the contrary does not follow.

And, finally, he asserts that we are "ignorant of human nature," having forgotten that he previously said, we make "a strong point in depicting the abuses of marriage." Verily, Mr. Tuttle, the culture of grapes does not, in your case, conduce to consecutive thought. We submit to the good sense of our American readers whether we should waste time—valuable in other directions—to spend upon such confusion, even though it be from one whom they, in common with ourselves, have regarded with a sentiment approaching reverence.

We will be exceedingly obliged to Mr. Tuttle if he will inform us who, among the "very old," are responsible for the doctrine of social freedom, deduced from the inalienable constitutional right of the individual to liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and from the self-evident proposition of the sovereignty of the individual as opposed to compulsory control by other individuals.

THE VITAL QUESTION.

Notwithstanding the general wandering in the clouds of the *Tribune*, it now and then catches a glimpse of some of the realities of life that are upon us in the present, and upon us for solution. It is a grand advance for the *Tribune* to have made to be able to discern some of the actualities of life that will not down at its general bidding. But it is quite a different affair to comprehend the causes and propose the cure for them. The *Tribune* in one number soundly berates everybody for seeking to uncover the social condition, and in another boldly flies a shaft into its very heart, from whose wound spurts the vile stuff which is concealed beneath the surface, which every exertion is made to keep clean and unsullied. Anything inside, but for the sake of humanity don't let it break out. We say humanity needs a powerful diaphoretic treatment. If it do not soon have it, nothing but emetics and cathartics will answer, and perhaps emeto-cathartics even will be required to prevent the entire dissolution of our present system of society, from which, however, the spirit of association will rise, free and pure, to build better.

But listen to the *Tribune*:

Of marriages in muslin we hear of but few; in fact we hear of few at any time. Young men of small salaries and penniless young women nowadays find every month too chilly to cross the threshold of that house in which poverty is so apt to put out the fire on the hearth, and love so uncertain about kindling it again. They are exhorted by practical people of the past generation to remember how their grandfathers married, with only, very likely, the provision of an ax to cut down the trees in their clearing, and the plenshing of a few pots and pans, wooden chairs and a feather bed. Those were the days, they tell us, when sturdy men were hard-fisted and honest, when their sturdy wives washed and knew the ways of the churn instead of the piano, when dozens of hardy children grew up within their gates into habits of frugality and honor. The young man with a small salary dawdling at the opera, and the penniless young woman who spends her time in making hats for herself and singing *Ah! Non Giunge*, are bidden to go and forthwith do likewise. The whole of this moneyless, æsthetic, non-marrying generation are exhorted to "Awake, arise, or be forever fallen;" to betake themselves to hard work and rearing children without delay.

Now, all this advice sounds eminently strong and sensible; but is it practicable? In two generations, not only the tastes and habits, but the very nature of American men has altered, under the influence of city life, in a degree which, whether for better or worse, is actual and absolute. Nine out of ten of these educated poor young men would prefer death at once to the life of a pioneer; drudgery for the bare necessities of food and clothes, exile from the world of books, music and art; the perpetual sight of a shabby, overworked wife whom they could not relieve, and shabby children to whom they could give neither culture nor refinement. The mere possession of wife and children, instead of being a reward, would add to the chagrin and discontent which would grow more bitter with the intensity of their love. How many of the delicate, pretty girls who fill our streets, too, are fit to do their grandmother's "stent" of work at wash-tub, churn or broom? Weak backs and dyspeptic stomachs are facts not to be sneered or scolded away. The young people in town realize the situation; they are not willing to remain single, so they shrewdly look out for rich partners. They are anxious to put love into their lives, if possible, but regard it as a necessity to put money in their purse at the same time. Where

is the remedy? Marriages grow to be more a matter of stocks, furniture and dress with every generation. The children, born of much luxury and little love (if born at all), become more feeble in mind and body and shorter lived, until foreigners who judge us from our cities, may well question whether Americans in the next century will inherit America. The problem is just this: How can a young man and woman, with the necessities of educated and refined people and not strong health, afford to marry and bring up children on a small income?

True! every word true; and isn't it a shame 'tis true? And isn't it the greatest shame of the whole that marriage is getting to be more and more a question of bargain and sale? What must be the results to society of such mercenary traffic in the things that form its basis? What but deterioration, constant and increasing? The children born of such condition, what of them? The *Tribune* tells us plainly. The doom of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Now when we realize that such things really exist, we must begin to feel a consciousness that there is something fundamentally wrong somewhere. There is something fundamentally wrong. It is in the fact that something approaching freedom exists unaccompanied by common justice. There is no justice in a system of society that permits the distribution of its material necessities so as to evolve such conditions. There is no good reason why, in a free country, there should be such distinctions in the possessions of the comforts of life. There is no justice in a system of society that permits one person who labors not at all to become possessed of enough accumulated wealth to make a thousand above want, while thousands, who labor all the time, in sun and storm, still suffer for the common necessities of a very common life.

But our fathers, while grasping for political freedom, engrafted upon our country a system of social bondage, copied from European customs, utterly at war with the spirit of general freedom and common justice. And the older we grow the more sensibly we shall feel it, since the evils aggregate more and more rapidly as the years advance. Suppose we keep on in the same course that has produced the results pointed out by the *Tribune*, where shall we land in another hundred years?

This is a serious matter—more serious even than the worst alarmists have even hinted at. And it requires quick and decisive remedies, before the entire body social becomes impregnated with the deadly virus. And that remedy is the leveling of material distinctions. The people who hoard their wealth, wrenched from the hands of industry, and feast and fatten upon it, must be made acquainted with the fact that this is an absolutely necessary remedy. In fact, that their own salvation depends upon its application.

The entire processes of law that have brought about the present material castes in society must be reversed until something near equality shall be reached. All special legislation must be abandoned. Every industry must stand or fall on its own merits, and not by support from other industries. And every person must be made to produce his own support or earn it as the paid agent of the producer.

There must be no distinction of sex in this matter. Women as well as men must "make their own living;" and a condition of society that forbids this is false to the core. It must necessarily become diseased, since it invites those conditions from which disease comes. Every person who idles away his or her life subsists from the labor of some other person, who is therefore robbed. It is not what a people spend that makes society poor, but it is the number of non-producing persons whom it supports. And the *Tribune* theorists may twist this proposition just as much as they please, the point cannot be escaped. Beside supporting all the non-producing people, labor also pays all the taxes and all the expenses of government, as well as the debts of war. What else but destitution can be expected when such oppressive tyranny weighs down the working classes. Do they tell us that this is not so? We reply it is, and facts and figures prove it. The capitalists have more money to-day than they had before the war. The workmen have less. Where has the capitalists' increase come from? From the soil, the loom and the anvil. They who toil over them have produced this excess, and it has been transferred to the bank accounts of those who do not waste their time in the slow processes of production.

Some method to remedy these things has got to be devised. A scheme to remedy them has been devised, and the calm consideration, not only of the classes who suffer from this oppression, but those who feed upon it, is earnestly invited to it. A system of government which in conspiracy with capital produces these things must be changed or overthrown, and a new and a better one instituted in its place. To accomplish this is the work of the remaining years of the first century of our independence.

CONGRATULATORY.

We are happy to be able to congratulate Mr. John M. Morris, senior editor of the *Washington Daily Morning Chronicle*, on the birth of a beautiful daughter. Mrs. Morris has always been one of the foremost in the ranks of social and political reform. She is a noble and glorious woman, the graces of whom, combined with the sterling worth of the husband and father, we trust may be reproduced in the child, and society be benefited. Happy would be the prospects of all children could they be born and reared under influences similar to those under which one begins life's journey.

OUR THANKS FOR LABOR SAVED US.

We have occasionally been the recipients of letters similar to one which Michael Scanlan has answered so caustically and timely that we adopt it as our own, and respectfully refer our subscribers, when they find themselves afflicted in the same way, to this characteristic and incomparable extract from the *Irish Republic*:

LYNCH LAW.—There was a fellow in Garryowen some fifty years ago named *Cumilum*. He was a lusty giant and fond of faction fighting. As the factions never fought more than once a quarter, *Cumilum* gave one of his friends an ounce of tobacco once a week to *bate* him, so as to keep him from getting rusty before the great bating day between the Garryowen boys and the Thomond boys came around. We are in the same predicament. We receive so many flattering letters from our numerous friends, that we certainly should grow rusty with pride if we did not receive letters like the following:

NORTH ADAMS, Mass., Dec. 21, 1871.

Mr. Michael Scanlan:

Sir: I cannot understand why you send to my address, without my order, your filthy, demoralizing rag. Please do not do so again.

CHARLES LYNCH.

Somebody paid for this paper and ordered it to be sent until the subscription ran out. An Irish waiter who was told to give his guests soup before anything else was the finest illustration of obeying orders we ever read of. Guest—Have you roast beef, waiter? Waiter—We have soup, sir. Guest—Have you turkey, waiter? Waiter—Soup, sir. Guest—Let me have chicken. Waiter—Soup, sir. Guest—No; damn it! I don't want soup. Waiter—Look here, sir! my master said soup first; and the devil a bit ye'll get to eat until ye ate soup first! So we say to our graphically irate friend Charley, somebody paid for your paper for a year, and the devil a stop we'll stop sending it until the time is up. So, swallow our soup red-hot and it will burn the bigotry out of your bowels. Faith, we thought Charles Lynch was some jolly fellow, rich in spirit, but too poor in pocket to pay for his paper, and that some millionaire had paid for him. Now we find out that he is a poor devil, very poor in charity, in intelligence, in heart; and we have no doubt but he is correspondingly rich in the good things of life. This is the way conversion always works. A plethoric stomach, like a beer vat, is full of mash. Along comes the brewer and puts a little yeast in. Pullaloo! Then the working and the bubbling and the rising begin. By-and-by the spirit is drawn from the mash and the rest is given over to the hogs and cows. Our friend Charley is the beer vat full of mash. The fellow who paid for the *Irish Republic* threw yeast into this vat. Now the working is commencing. The above letter is the first writhing. Work away, "me" boy, we only want another month to get the pure spirit out of you, and then you will throw your mash—bigotry, rage, uncharity, etc.—to the dogs. We will wager that before another month our good friend, Mr. Lynch, will be getting up subscribers for us. Who will take us up? If he don't, we shall write songs about him and trace his pedigree back to Lauvri Lynshoch, the great king, who was his own father and grandson at the same time.

It would be impossible to fully appreciate the pith of the above unless it be known who Charles Lynch is. It is not plain Charley Lynch at all, but Rev. Charles Lynch, of the first Catholic Church of North Adams. We congratulate the good Catholics of that town upon the strict guard that is maintained over their morals by Charles Lynch, though we are not overladen with respect for his evident desire to remain "incog.," which we cannot refrain from frustrating.

INQUIRIES ANSWERED.

Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly:

My friend allows me to read your splendid periodical occasionally, for which I certainly feel much obliged, although I frequently read some surpassingly strange paragraphs therein; but I am unable to quote verbatim from the paper, as I have none at hand to quote from, which I much regret, but, although not able to quote the precise language, I will endeavor to write the sentiment contained in the *WEEKLY*. Now, to be candid, do you hold and promulgate the doctrine that it would be advisable and right for an appropriate pair of educated and enlightened human beings to marry for a year with the express or implied understanding that the marriage contract, so far as the parties thereto are capable of ending the same, shall then terminate, end and be held for naught.

Again, is there any sound, logical reason in favor of such limited intermarriage which would not be just as forcible and conclusive when applied to marriages for a night as when applied to marriages for a year. Do not believe for a moment that in making such inquiries my object is to ridicule any one's sentiments, for such is not the fact.

Again, do you base or claim the right to vote because you and all other ladies born in the United States, of American or Yankee parents, are citizens? If so, would not the idea of voting on the ground of citizenship apply with equal force to persons under twenty-one years of age, idiots, madmen and convicts. If the crude ideas thus foisted for your consideration are of no account, of course you will not insert them in your paper.

Very respectfully and truly your friend,

M. T. ARNOLD, Farmington, Mich.

What we hold as to marriage is that, if you choose to marry for a night, a year or a life, we have no business to forcibly or by law prevent you; and that you nor any other person, or any number of other persons, can determine who, when and how long we may love. Hence as marriage should depend upon love, its continuation must also depend upon love. If people find themselves so well mated as to live and love a whole life, so much the better. But if they find after a year, or any other time, that they hate instead of love, why then it is prostitution to continue sexual relations, and a law that would compel it is an infamous law.

You are in the same blindness in regard to voting. It is not a question of minority against woman, any more than it is a question of the same against man. If you reason

because minors should not vote that women should not, why do you not also reason that men should not vote because minors should not? If a man twenty-one years of age shall vote, why shall not a woman of the same age also vote? If a woman twenty-one years of age shall not vote, why shall a man of the same age vote? It is a question of equality, not of minority; and a question as to whether men have, in a republican government, the right to prevent other citizens from exercising the same rights exercised by themselves, when other conditions are equal. In other words, have men any right to usurp power over and rule among women against their consent?

As to idiots, insane and criminals, do you not see that men and women are equally excluded? But what good reason can you give why a sane woman, equally with a sane man, should not vote? We get almost out of patience at the stupidity of men when they reason in this blind and assumptive manner.

Why should not a child be President, or Governor, or a legislator? Why are ages and different ages affixed to different rights and privileges? Can you tell? If so, you answer your own objection as well as we can answer it. Had you subscribed for and regularly read the WEEKLY for the last year, you would not have come before the public so ignorantly. All these questions have been fully discussed in its columns, beside many others of equal general import.

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.]

THE BASIS OF REFORM.—No. V.

EQUILIBRATION CONTINUED.

I have spoken of physical equilibration, which is the basis of health, and mental equilibration, which means true sanity; the third condition of the triune nature of man is soul equilibration.

Physical equilibration is the basis on which that of the mental nature must rest, and the two are essential for the conditions of the soul which I am about to present for consideration.

Man, as a being, possessed of an immortality, of identity, with continued consciousness, owes this to his soul nature, and is not conscious of it until he has reached a certain degree of physical and mental development.

There is a large class of human beings who are unconscious of the existence of their souls, and some of these boast that they have none, fancying that the physical and mental natures cover the entire ground of humanity, and that the latter is simply the result of the former, and will perish with it, as the flame expires when the fuel is consumed.

It is well known that the physical is the organ or instrument through which the mental expresses itself, but an instrument is never equal to the power that constructs and uses it.

It is not, however, so much to prove the existence of the soul as to suggest the means for its development that I present these thoughts to the world.

The soul nature is similar in its character to the mental—composed of faculties higher in their order and capacities—and yet these may be illustrated to you by your knowledge of the mental faculties.

Intuition, which is soul perception, does not belong to the mental nature; it is the power of perceiving the interior and spiritual realities of all things, even the most grossly material. Animals have instincts and a certain amount of mental power, but none of the interior perception in regard to the soul of things.

These soul perceptions or intuitions are divided into a number of faculties, each of which expresses itself through a particular organ.

Thus there is a perception of the interior natures of material things, the earth and all inanimate objects, and this may be cultivated so as to become very valuable to humanity.

Second, there is a perception of the interior nature of living beings which is susceptible of like cultivation. These perceptions are essential to the attainment of the highest degree of knowledge in the domain of science and national history. Scientific men in either of these fields will find that a reliance on the intellect alone will not enable them to attain the highest standard. When the intuitions of the soul upon these particular branches are awakened and act in conjunction with the intellect, the man becomes a philosopher. There is a faculty of the soul the function of which is to perceive the existence and conditions of other human souls, and this intuition gives the true key to a knowledge of human character. Another faculty of the soul perceives the presence and condition of human souls that have passed out of the earthly form. There are other faculties of the soul which perceive and comprehend the interior essences of all divine

principles, and without the action of these mankind have a very imperfect conception of principles, and are continually falling into error. We are to consider the proper means of cultivating these faculties. ARISTOTLE.

"WHO WILL ELECT THE NEXT PRESIDENT?"

Under this caption the *Nation* has a leader comprising two careful summaries of electoral votes in the respective States. Taking the latest elections for Representatives in Congress as a basis, there would be 182 Republican against 175 Democratic electors. Later State elections would indicate 226 Republicans to 131 Democrats. But as many contingencies might influence the votes of the larger States where so nearly balanced as in New York and Pennsylvania, the latter summary is not regarded by the *Nation* as implying, by any means, that the Republican candidate will walk the course. For instance: The officeholding section of the Republican party in New York claim as an indorsement of them and of their candidate the entire result of the anti-Tammany movement—a sure method of losing enough votes of honest Democrats and Republicans next November to defeat Grant in that State, should he be nominated. The Labor Reformers in California, without whom that State could not have been carried at the last State election, prefer Julian; and it is doubtful if that State could be carried for Grant.

The *Nation*, considering the various issues that may arise, and especially that "a large portion of the Republican press—particularly that portion of it which a Frenchman would call 'inspired' from the White House—have been proclaiming defiantly that General Grant and nobody else shall be their candidate," and the personal issues to which, in case of his nomination, the contest must be narrowed, thinks that it "can satisfy all candid readers that the contest will be a close one, and that, indeed, the parties are so nearly balanced that very trifling agencies may turn the scale."

Now, let us see where some of those "trifling agencies" are.

When the administration bore down on the Mormons it was presumed that as they had no votes nothing could be lost, while much capital might thus be made among these religious and moral (?) people who are so anxious to pull out the mote in Utah and leave the beam in Washington, where a few days ago only fourteen Congressmen in succession offered a destitute young girl who recently applied to them for a position that which she needed if she would surrender her person in exchange. It is to be presumed that the administration concluded to pitch into polygamous Mormons instead of polygamous Congressmen, on the principle of "hit 'em again, they've no friends." And so they pitched in, but have so far failed to hurt any one much except themselves, arousing, however, a feeling of deep indignation and apprehension among liberal minds generally, which, if condensed into votes, may be an agency sufficient to "turn the scale." If Salt Lake City does not prove to Grant a Moscow it will be because liberal thinkers are not sufficiently practical.

The land and labor questions, to which I have recently adverted in detail, are two more "agencies" that, judiciously handled, would alone prevent Grant's re-election. The Civil Service movement, on the part of the administration, is an eleventh-hour measure to actualize an absurdity—baptize it "Civil Service Reform," and then cry down the genuine article because the counterfeit is a failure. The New York and Yorktown Custom Houses sufficiently prove this. A *Tribune* correspondent states that the collector of Yorktown has no office there, though he draws rent for one, resides at his hotel 25 miles distant, is a member of the Virginia Legislature, has next to nothing to do and keeps two deputies to do it; salaries about \$3,000 per annum. In Buchanan's time the concern cost about \$800 per annum, and must have been rather a "fat take" at that. A Civil Service Reformer who votes for Grant must be grossly ignorant of current events.

How the Woman Suffrage question is to affect the Presidential election it may be premature as yet to state. It will not work in Grant's favor; how much it may work against him depends upon contingencies.

There is another "agency" by no means "trifling" that will work against him. Party trammels are daily weakening; the idol of "regular nomination," like many other idols, is losing its worshippers. Despite of drilling by professional politicians, the percentage of bolters is on the increase, and the fact is gradually getting through the hair of political managers that a numerical majority of the party does not necessarily imply the ability of a small clique of wire-pullers to elect whomsoever they may see fit to nominate; fealty to the people is gradually but surely superseding fealty to the party. It is not probable that on a direct vote (and any other for President is a swindle) Grant could secure one-third of the voters; and it is doubtful if any machinery for packing conventions can secure him a majority of the electors.

I conclude, then, that the Equal Rights party, or those collectively who adhere generally to its principles, can secure the defeat, either in the nominating convention or the electoral college, of any candidate for the Presidency who does or will persecute for opinion's sake; who undertakes to carry the authority of the State, except for protection, within the sacred precincts of the home; who does or will deliberately turn the public service into an engine of private emolument or oppression; who sides with the monopolist or speculator against the settler; who unduly favors any

religious creed; or who seeks to incorporate in the laws or Constitution any provision recognizing any religious views. All these Grant has done. If the advocates of Equal Rights choose to exercise this power, they can probably exercise a very great influence in the nomination of the next President, and can certainly prevent the election of any whom they determine vigorously to oppose. There is one, nominated by the Labor reformers of California, whose nomination by the Republican convention (and in his case consequent election) it may not be difficult to secure; one whom all can trust—the experienced, "tried and true" opponent of monopoly in all its forms—Julian, of Indiana.

ANTI-PROCRUSTES.

PACIFIC COAST MATTERS.

SAN FRANCISCO, July 29, 1871.

Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly:

I send you copy of a letter written some time ago, and not then forwarded:

Field is here, and, I am informed, is pulling wires to obtain the indorsement of the Democrats of this State for the Presidency, and sought to have his brother-in-law, George E. Whitney, who made the affairs of the Clerk's office of the United States Courts so horribly odious, nominated for the Assembly on the Republican ticket, from Alameda or Contra Costa, I don't know which, in order to manage, or help to manage, the next Legislature (which is to be pretty much British and their satellites) into electing John B. Felton, who (although a good fellow) is Field's co-worker, and not ignorant of the Bulkhead schemes, to the United States Senate, where Field wants a friend on the impeachment proceeding now pending.

Gorham, another of Field's co-workers and henchmen (both agents of foreign capitalists), is to be the mock or straw candidate for the Senatorship, if no one else can be found to play the role, for the purpose of keeping other Richmonds out of the field for Sargent, etc., etc. Bah! it is really nauseating to contemplate.

Popular representative government with us is practically at an end, because the people have no share in the choice of their public servants, nor in the governing power.

Foreign capitalists, at the dictation of the rulers of the "Invisible Empire," nominate all the candidates of both parties for public office, and the people are only allowed to exercise the barren privilege of voting for the representatives or agents of a foreign hostile power, and for which the people are expected to feel extremely grateful to the money-crats.

A foreign unfriendly power dictates the making and interpreting, or, rather, misinterpreting of our laws, and dominates over all the powers of the nation, and has annihilated or nullified some of our most cherished rights and institutions, and destroyed the greatest safeguards of popular republican government.

In fact, such has been the powerful influence exercised by this insidious foreign power on our internal affairs, that it compelled Congress—through its own venality, it may be, but I hope not—to reduce the tariff on foreign importations to the extent of \$80,000,000 during a short period of time, and that, too, as I view it now, with imperfect lights before me, for the sole benefit of foreign capitalists or importers. For instance, an English firm doing business in Liverpool ships to its agency or branch English house in New York ten thousand tons of Liverpool salt, so called, upon which there is a tariff say of five or ten per cent. or less. The salt arrives in New York, and the tariff having been abolished, is sold to the American consumer at precisely the same price at which it was sold before the tariff was abolished, and thus no one would be benefited but the foreign capitalist and the legislator, if venal enough to betray the high trust reposed in him by his constituents.

So with coal, English monopoly of tea, upon which the tariff was reduced forty per cent., and other commodities too numerous to mention; and, if I be correct in my premises, we have had legislated out of our pockets into the pockets of foreign capitalists in this way about \$80,000,000. We also see that Mr. Boutwell is making strenuous efforts to pay off the debt, even if it cripples the whole industries of the nation, in order that the foreign bondholders may realize enormous profits. Again see the dangerous privileges granted to the Pacific Mail Steamship Company's steamers, because there is English capital invested in the concern.

Such statesmanship will eventually bankrupt the nation, and our wealth is fast being absorbed in this and other devious ways, and the best part of our public domain has passed into the hands of foreign capitalists, in the shape of large grants to nominal trustees of railroad corporations, for the benefit of foreigners. The shipment of articles of foreign growth (of the value of \$3,000,000 every thirty days), from the steamers coming here from China and Japan, over the Pacific Railroad, as now done, can be made one of the most dangerous means of committing frauds on the revenue yet devised. What is the use of locks and bars when the bonded warehouse is managed as it is, and cars switched off to order? Of what benefit are railroads to this country, if all the earnings are sent out of the United States, or are re-invested for the benefit of foreigners?

The plan of the conspirators, taking the examples furnished by the history of all republics (which form of government cannot exist permanently without pure morals, simple habits, public spirit and eternal vigilance on the part of the masses), is to first establish a plutocracy and privileged class—monopolizing the distribution of all the offices of honor and emolument—which has already been accomplished with us; indulgence in excessive luxury; expensive and showy style of living; increase in the number of the numerous secret orders (from which the offices are filled, to keep alive the trappings and titles of nobility before the masses), pack our Grand Juries with their conscienceless creatures, to secure immunity from indictment and punishment, systematically demoralizing the masses by the unfaithfulness exhibited in public and private life, among those they love to look up to for an example; distract their counsels; create loss of confidence in rulers and the administration of justice, and then a monarchy is to follow upon the first general insurrection of the people, in a moment of desperation, which can be precipitated (as the great Rebellion was) at any time of general poverty and depression of business (or otherwise), through the instru-

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mentality of the numerous secret societies, which exist to an alarming extent all over our beloved country, with their prime movers in monarchical countries, and the skillful embitterment of class and sectarian animosities and prejudices—the respectable, law-abiding people always ready to invest dictatorial powers in the hands of the one strongest or most ambitious, whether demagogue or patriot, in order to be saved from the dreadful consequences of anarchy, misrule and violence, such power never being laid down or surrendered back to the people peaceably, after its violent or peaceable assumption.

A Fenian or Catholic can always be betrayed by the nation's enemies into commencing a riot with an Orangeman. This is unfortunate, but it is still true, and we must not therefore allow any of our adopted citizens to be exasperated by the foreign conspirators in our midst, because they want to make our country the battle-ground to fight out the issues they so skillfully make and set on foot, in order that foreign interests may be advanced and ours retarded. If we flaunt a red flag in the face of a mad bull, of course we must expect to see him exasperated. It is not he who strikes the first blow who is at fault, but he who makes the first blow necessary.

In the matter of the High Commission reference of our claims to the arbitration of foreign monarchical powers, they might just as well have been submitted to the discretion of the British House of Lords—Exeter Hall, concentrated perfidy—inasmuch as England controls the action of the whole brood of crowned cormorants, and they are now hobnobbing with her Majesty and her Lords, spiritual and temporal. It may be that our High Commissioners have obtained such advantageous concessions in our favor from the other High Masonic Jesuits that the fangs of the monster may be rendered powerless for harm. Time alone will tell, as it did of High Masonic, British President, James Buchanan, who conspired with the High Masonic dignitaries of Exeter Hall (and heads of the rebellion) while our Minister to England, although the conspiracy of silence does not always succeed, if its purposes does, inasmuch as I obtained an inside view of the workings of the British Foreign and Colonial offices which would cost me my life at the hands of assassins if they did not know that my papers are where they cannot reach them, and which would tell the story.

I am delighted to learn that the threatened war with England was evaded, provided the honor and dignity of the nation has not been sacrificed at the shrine of our shoddies or English flunkies. But I am heartily ashamed of some of our public men for allowing our governmental policy to be shaped by this league of haughty kings, and carried into practice by the "Barons of the World's Exchequer" and their retainers and henchmen, who are colonized in various places all over our distracted country, and who are fast sapping the very life and substance of our people.

There is but a very small proportion of the satellites of the high British Jesuits who ever become faithful citizens at heart, because they hold in effect that once a subject always a subject, and that their legal allegiance, so called, to our government is assumed for a purpose (from necessity, they say, when admitted to citizenship), and is wholly subordinate to their natural allegiance, which the English Foreign Office claim they always owe their native sovereign; and they carry this dogma so far as to claim that an oath administered under our laws is not binding on their conscience, mythical or real. Hence we find our Custom House, Internal Revenue Department, etc., etc., filled with the English and Scotch, English Jews and English flunkies, holding these views in order to favor their own countrymen, to evade the tariff, etc., and build up a plutocracy at our expense.

These foreign political Jesuits (many of them graduates of our churches and Young Men's Christian Associations, to seal them as respectable and above suspicion) are always playing on the religious and other prejudices of the Irish and other people in our midst to carry out their dangerous designs against our government.

Even the labor exchange has been taken possession of by some of these outlandish harpies.

You must be careful, therefore, if you come down here, not to run against this English interest, or you will have the *Bulletin*, *Call*, *Alta*, and may be the *Chronicle* and other papers, at work destroying your reputation, for they are all run in the interests of Great Britain and the Pacific Club, which is a branch of Tammany; so beware, or you may be expatriated also from your native land. Tammany is a British, Masonic, Jesuitical Ring, which, with its ramifications, the Americas, Pacific, and other clubs of like ilk, in all great commercial and industrial centres, are branches of the monster London club, whose devilish work is to create discord, mislead, plunder and destroy governments and peoples, for the benefit of the "Invisible Empire" and the "Barons of the World's Exchequer," and which is managed by the British Foreign and Colonial offices, whose maxim is *Divide et impera*—divide and rule; failing in which, *Ruin*—and which maxim or policy is usually accomplished through British wooden horses, to wit: Masonic, Odd Fellows, Orangemen and other Rings of secret societies, treaties of amity and commerce, loud and obtrusive professions of a desire to advance the cause of charity, religion, progress and the fine arts, and other good works, which more effectually secrete the enemy inside than did the famous fabled wooden horse of Troy.

David Dudley Field, Cyrus W. Field and Jim Fisk, et al., manipulate for English interests on the Atlantic Board, and steer Tammany in and out of difficulty, to suit Exeter Hall.

The immense accumulation of wealth by the foreign capitalists and their hordes of locusts is generally sent to the banks of England, France and Germany, from their branch banks, which are unfortunately permitted to do business here, much to the injury of our people.

Forty-four million dollars worth of bullion and coin left New York recently for England, within a period of six months (stealing it, may be, in part of Tammany and its branches), and probably at least \$30,000,000 left this State within the same period of time, so you see these foreign cormorants have got their fingers on our throats and money bags.

Capital doubles itself every ten years at least, and the more foreign capital we allow to be invested in profitable American enterprises in America the poorer we become and the less home capital will be invested. In fact, foreign capital is like a sponge, and is fast absorbing native capital, and we see it had sufficient power to procure a decision or two, relieving it from paying any tax, because it does not want to contribute anything to the support of the country which it is employed to rob and then destroy.

All the carrying trade from England and from many other places to this port is done principally in English ships. That business and others is managed to the exclusion of Americans, and the country is literally cursed with foreign

insurance companies, sapping the life-blood of our people with its drain of premiums, without even investing a dollar, except for the fitting up of spider-web offices.

May the Lord deliver our beloved land out of the hands of its internal and foreign enemies, is the constant prayer of your friend,
W. HASTINGS.

The following additional preamble was offered by Wm. Hastings, Esq., at a meeting held in San Francisco some weeks previous to the late election, and withheld from the public by the press. The resolutions will appear in our next issue:

Whereas, There exists in our midst an organized band of conspirators, public enemies and monopolists, who, by force, fraud, perfidy, usurpation and corruption, have seized upon, and now wrongfully use as their own, the organized political machinery of both of the great political parties of our common country; and whereas, they have enrolled therein or foisted upon the same, the mongrel law-breaking, law-despising, law-defying, law-nullifying, nondescript, perfidious, party-splitting, discord-creating, political Jesuitical element, professing to be either Republican or Democrat, but which assumes any name or guise that may best suit the design and subserve the purposes and interests of their masters, and is at present in the pay and under the control of said conspirators, public enemies and monopolists—which element legitimately belongs to neither party, but is despised, contemned and spurned by the honest men of both, as the common enemy of such parties, and of all law, order, republican government, Christianity and civilization; and whereas, through said vile instrumentality, said conspirators, public enemies and monopolists are rapidly making popular representative government, as mal-administered, odious to the God-fearing, law-abiding, respectable, liberty-loving multitude of our fellow-citizens; and whereas, through and by means of said law-despising, law-nullifying, liberty-destroying, chaos-creating element, acting in conjunction with the imported mercenary, virulent, false-doctrine-teaching, truth-suppressing, fact-falsifying, plutocracy-henchmen, bohemian minions of royalty of the foreign press are established all over the land, dividing our counsels and distracting and misleading our people and parties, and in conjunction with our native hybrid, un-Americanized, artificial shoddyite toadies, vile panders to royalty, and to an effete, degenerate, corrupt, immoral and demoralized, non-producing aristocracy (whose despicable airs and foreign mannerisms they awkwardly affect, and seek to transplant and perpetuate, to the great shame, scandal and disgrace of all true lovers of self-government, and the simple manners and pure, unostentatious lives of our pious, tolerant, republican ancestors), and other hostile forces, combinations and secret associations, together with the subsidized, un-Americanized press, and the colonies of British and native agitators, apostles of free trade and corruptionists of Exeter Hall, domiciled and infesting and cursing our nation; and whereas, this band of conspirators have practically deprived the most virtuous of our citizens of all share in our common government and birthright, monopolized the distribution of all public offices of emolument, honor and trust (as a means to plunder the commonwealth, in order to corrupt those who ought to be and who ostensibly are the people's public servants, but conduct themselves more like the people's masters); and whereas, such band control all the departments of our Government, State and Federal, suspending or obstructing the execution or administration of our laws, when they cannot conveniently be perverted and wholly subverted without danger to the agents of the conspirators, and have deluged the land in fratricidal blood, prevented a reunion of our people, destroyed our commerce, carrying trade, commercial supremacy and national prosperity (and have, and are advocating doctrines destructive of our national manufacturing and shipbuilding interests), depleted our treasury, absorbed the metallic circulating medium, and absorbed and monopolized a large portion of our public domain and other wealth, public and private—packed our grand and petit juries with their conscienceless creatures, in the interests of the Ring—usurped sovereign powers—excluded our national currency from the Pacific States and Territories—corrupted, when not naturally corrupt, our judicial and law officers, procured judicial misconstructions of the Constitution, by forewarned judges, and the same to be overridden by legislation, notoriously in violation of its letter and spirit, in order that the people might become accustomed to witness the organic law of the land, treated by the judicial, legislative and executive departments, as an instrument of no force, sacredness or binding validity; and whereas, they have defrauded and are defrauding the revenue, controlling and using the treasures of the United States mints and other public moneys, destroying the purity of our elections to defeat the people's will, etc., etc.; and whereas, by means of such and other illegal combinations and associations, said conspirators, public enemies and monopolists have perpetrated their vile tools in office, and politically ostracized pure public-spirited men therefrom, and deprived the people of their inalienable constitutional right of making political nominations, leaving to them politically nothing but the naked, barren right of voting for their enemies' candidate and not their own, or one or two, or at most three sets of public plunderers, under the thin disguise of party names, and have substantially brought to an end popular representative government, and established on the ruins of the same an anti-republican, anti-American government of wealth (with a privileged class, separate from and hostile toward the great mass of the people and republican government and institutions), bound together by secret oaths, secret signs, grips, secret patents of nobility (issued by foreign potentates, under whose direction and control they are), pride of wealth (illegally obtained), false education and usurped political power; and whereas, said band of conspirators, public enemies and monopolists are rapidly absorbing and amassing in their own hands the remainder of the commonwealth of the nation, and impoverishing and demoralizing a large portion of our fellow-citizens, and inaugurating and hastening national bankruptcy and national dishonor, and are seeking to weary, fatigue and disgust those attached to the pure administration of the affairs of our government, the lovers of law, order, equal rights to all, and unaffected or unassumed Christianity, and perpetrated other schemes, conspiracies and treasonable villainies, for the purpose of causing them to abdicate self-government, or to acquiesce in the deprivation of their rights, so that a great central arbitrary, uncontrollable, imperial, dictatorial power may be built up, under which the vile, corrupt, violent, Jesuitical and inordinately ambitious may monopolize still further the honors and emoluments which rightfully belong to the whole body politic of our common country.

WORLD ERAS.

There was an epoch in the world's history when a Babylonish monarch "could slay whom he would, could keep alive whom he would, could put down whom he would, could lift up whom he would."

But this concentrated individual despotism was speedily shared by the nobility, whose will, expressed in the Medo-Persian law, controlled the monarch.

From that date there has been a gradual but unequivocal progress toward the exercise of legislative power by the masses, with their ensuing freedom from class domination.

During the present century laws have not been so much the creation of a few nobles as the expressed will of the more numerous capitalists.

Beneath the unrestrained sway of Nebuchadnezzar, his despotic will alone distributed favors; under the Medo-Persian regime the nobles had a voice in this patronage; while now, subject to capitalistic rule, probably one-fifth of the human race share the world's favors.

Beyond all question no previous era has ever seen the physical luxuries of life so largely participated in by the various members of the human family.

But however much superior the sway of the capitalist may be to that of Nebuchadnezzar, it is absolutely impossible (so long as the distinguishing characteristic of human nature is self-seeking) for any section of the race to have controlling power without witnessing special favors granted to that section, and at the expense of the community. As capitalists do not constitute more than twenty out of every hundred, the remaining eighty must bow to the behests of their masters.

A mighty stride toward universal freedom was made by our forefathers, when they refused to be fettered by the hereditary titled rule and entailed estates of Europe.

Yet to-day, though no individual by birth has controlling influence over another, and all are declared to be equal and equally entitled to the results of their labor, yet existing wealth has such supreme power over all legislative bodies that it is rapidly dividing the public domain among its millionaires.

Any association of great capitalists can, under one pretense or another, double the share value of their railways, and can levy tolls from the community to pay interest upon this fictitious valuation, without any effective voice being raised in lawful opposition; while if a handful of laborers combine to enforce a more just return for their service they speedily experience the power of the land, invoked for their suppression.

It needs no prophetic voice to declare that the emancipation of the masses which heretofore has marked the world's course, will progress to its ultimate solution—freedom.

That a new era is rapidly dawning, with all the speed which belongs to this electric age, in which "this subtler of civilization," now so devoid of power, so little regarded, shall have its due influence in legislative bodies, and freedom, with healing on its wings, shall bring relief to the oppressed and down-trodden of every race.

Chaddsford, Pa. C. BRINTON, JR.

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

NO. III.

One of the points in the new schemes of finance is, that by some contrivance or other money is to be prevented accumulating. The current phrase is that we must have a kind of money that cannot be monopolized. Just as though accumulation were in itself an evil, irrespectively of the purposes to which it may be applied! Or, as though the whole of our progress, everything that differentiates us from the root-diggers of Arizona, were not due directly or indirectly to accumulation!

How, by any possibility, could a steam engine ever be built but by the aid of accumulation? Our present mode of accumulation may be ever so defective; it may be accomplished by means which work incidentally intolerable oppression; for which reason, among others, it may possibly be ever so necessary to substitute other modes of accumulation; but nothing whatever can change the fact that accumulation in some form or other is one prime social necessity. Whence it irresistibly follows that it is altogether beside the mark to attack the so-called monopoly of money. The bad method of accumulation can be abolished only by replacing it with a good method.

In order to erect a steam engine it is manifest, even at the first glance, that we must have materials of which to make it, implements of various kinds to assist in its construction, and above all a stock of food and other supplies to minister to the necessities of the workmen engaged in building it. It is no caprice of tyrants that imposes this necessity. It is a necessity founded upon the unalterable nature of things; in other words, it is an immutable natural law. It springs from the fact simply that—quite irrespectively of talk—no steam engine ever can be possible without materials to make it of, tools to make it with, and sustenance for the workmen while making it.

To accumulate money is to concentrate power over the stocks of materials and provisions; for that is the real function of money—power over these stocks. To scatter money among the people is to disperse these stocks. To disperse

these stocks is—human nature being human nature—to annihilate them. Suppose our financial reformers try their hands at thinking out the inevitable consequences of the destruction of our stores of subsistence; say, for example, of wheat and flour.

And did these sages of finance reform, or any of them, ever hear of the "large scale," with its "economies and efficiency?" But where is the sense of lauding the "large scale" and anathematizing "accumulation?" Are they not one same thing? If not, will some one be so good as tell me wherein lies the difference?

HENRY EDGER.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY VS. AMERICAN LABOR.

THE "COMMUNE" DEFENDED BY AN F. F. V.—A BASIS FOR UNION AGAINST NORTHERN OLIGARCHISTS AND SOUTHERN SCALAWAGS.

"The Irrepressible Conflict between Labor and Capital," by B. E. Green, of Hopewell, near Dalton, Ga., is the title of a pamphlet of 110 pp. (Franklin Publishing Co., 121 Pennsylvania avenue, Washington, D. C.), comprising a preface and postscript to a translation of "Cassagnac's History of the Working and Burgher Classes, in which the origin, nature and objects of the much-calumniated French Commune are historically explained." The pamphlet, however, treats almost exclusively on American topics. Its gist may be defined as follows:

John Adams and other leading Federalists had decidedly monarchical and aristocratic proclivities, their objects being essentially the same as those of Northern capitalists, viz., to centralize government, cheapen labor and increase the costs of subsistence, while the laboring classes of the North and the slave-holders of the South desired exactly the reverse, and became naturally political allies. Slavery and the Pacific Railroad land grant were among the minor issues which brought on a war hinging essentially on the preceding questions—an issue of centralization (which directly tends to monarchy) against State Rights, which as directly involve Republicanism. While the institution of slavery necessitated social equality among whites, the tendencies of Northern society are to class distinctions based on wealth which must finally take outward form, if not energetically checked and changed, in corresponding forms of government, so that "those who fought under Grant and Sherman, carried fire, sword and famine into the South in the interests of centralization and monarchy," thus advancing in the execution of a plan which they had not conceived and of which they were not even aware. He finds the origin of the dogma that "free labor may be made cheaper than slave labor" in Cassagnac's book, that writer "proving demonstratively that all voluntary emancipations on a large scale have been made for the benefit of the master, to get rid of the care and expense of supporting the slaves; and that the invariable result of all emancipations has been to produce four classes, viz.: hirelings, beggars, prostitutes and thieves. The corollary is that pauperism increases competition in the struggle for the means of existence, and increased competition tends to a further reduction of wages below the cost of feeding and clothing a slave, and taking care of him in infancy, sickness and old age." This result was had in view by Northern capitalists and their allies, and is being successfully worked out under the auspices of the Republican party, as evidenced by the increased cost, on the whole, of subsistence, particularly in houses and rents, garbled statistics to the contrary notwithstanding.

The abolition of slavery, he claims, divorced Southern capital from Northern labor. On September 1, 1870, Attorney-General Akerman, at Atlanta, said that labor and capital, previously in the South in the same hands, had been divorced by emancipation. Labor, however, "is the feeble party, the poor deserted wife, left without alimony and with a brood of hungry children crying for bread and dependent on her for support."

The author has, perhaps, too favorably characterized the tendencies of slavery and the actualities of slave society. It is probable, also, that had not the aristocracy of the North aided to demolish the aristocracy of the South, the true Republicans of the North would have had to demolish them both—a work of generations; now they have but one to deal with; for the influence of slavery was decidedly against intellectual development, in favor of land monopoly and opposed to reforms of every description. Even the scant measure of justice embodied in the Homestead bill became practicable only in the absence of Southern Congressmen caused by the civil war.

The most practical interest, however, attaches to the author's views and facts relative to the attitude and tendencies of the party now in power—the monarchical, centralizing, pauperizing, despotizing tendencies of that party (not that their opponents are any better), he forcibly and truly delineates.

There are, however, some facts not mentioned not mentioned by Mr. Green, fully proving that several leading men of the Republican party are fully identified with agencies directly calculated to pauperize the people at large by keeping them off the public lands as much as possible and sustaining speculators and monopolists. The same Attorney General Akerman, who, in September, 1870, at Atlanta, announced the "divorce" between capital and labor at the South, about the same time did his best also to "divorce"

the laboring classes of the North from the public lands by deciding that a settler on what was supposed to be public lands had to take his chances, in case it was unsurveyed, as to its being a railroad grant, the railroad company in such cases taking his improvements without compensation. To remedy this gross injustice, a bill passed both Houses of Congress, enacting that in all cases where a railroad company thus displaced an actual settler such railroad company should compensate him for improvements. This bill Grant (it is said at Delano's instigation) omitted to sign. Senator Harlan, of Iowa, ex-Secretary of the Interior, under the thin gloss of an Indian treaty, sold 800,000 acres of public land to a speculator. On that land there are, I believe, over two thousand settlers, who are endeavoring in the courts and Congress to establish the illegality of the sale.

Senator Pomeroy, another bright light of the Republican party, is also said to be actively interested in defrauding, by similar operations, present and future generations of their rightful patrimony, in connection with sundry Kansas railroads. Grant keeps livery servants and drives fast horses. Chandler, Mr. Green says, made a great display of liveries in Europe.

The most important and practical consideration in connection with this pamphlet, however, is that it indicates where additional recruits to a coalition of minorities may be looked for. He says that "no one at the North or West, not one in ten thousand at the South, indulges in the delusive dream of a restoration of negro slavery."

When an "F. F. V." so far "accepts the situation," translates a work, the facts in which justify the "much calumniated French Commune," makes a special study of the labor question, and even becomes a delegate to a labor convention, it would seem to be by no means a hopeless task to consolidate the apparently heterogeneous elements of opposition to the State church, centralizing, oligarchic, office-holding, land-monopolizing section of a party which now controls Cabinet and Congress, and repeats the worst features of the Roman empire in its decay, despite the tendencies of modern thought, the spirit of the Constitution, and the habits of the people. Cannot the thinkers of the South so control enough of its workers as to enable both to join hands with the labor party of the North with the advocates of equal rights and no preferences, no subsidies, representation of minorities, civil service reform and impartial suffrage against all political tricksters, monopolizing combinations and oligarchic schemes? Who will thus harmonize in a unity which embodies the corollaries of both the advocates of the Union and of State rights on the basis of individual sovereignty as to rights and unity as to functions;—as to rights, *pluribus*; as to functions, *unum*?

ANTI-PROCRASTES.

HORACE GREELEY AND FREE-LOVEISM.

BY GEORGE STRONG.

When a boy of thirteen, I had a friend in a middle-aged man, who was a rabid Southern Democrat. He took the New York Herald, the Daily News, and also two or three so-called religious papers. The Herald was constantly throwing billingsgate at Horace Greeley. Ben Wood's News was giving him fits for not being what they called a nigger worshiper. The religious papers were giving him hell on account of his heterodoxy, and my friend was continually filling my ears with accounts of his slovenliness and love for black wenches. From the information that I got from these and other like sources, I very naturally concluded that Horace Greeley was an ogre and the worst man in the country, and the Tribune, which I had never seen, I thought was a kind of a "Venus Miscellany." For about five years I circulated all kinds of second-hand lies about him. At the end of that time, I learned that, instead of being a rascal, he was as honest a man as there was in the country, and I heard a great many good things about him, which are too numerous to mention. When I had found out his true character, I immediately set about exploding the lies that I had formerly told about him, and with pretty good success, as I was careful now to show proofs of my statements.

My experience in regard to the believers in Free Love, though not of so long continuance, has been somewhat similar. I had a half-formed idea that they were a depraved set, who rushed into each other's arms at first sight on the public thoroughfares. This opinion was confirmed by my readings in the religious and sensational papers, and by the corner loafers and orthodox people with whom I came in contact.

Recently I have become acquainted with a dozen of the most prominent of the so-called horrible Free Lovers. I was greatly surprised to know that these people were Free Lovers, because they were truly religious, respected and well-known public characters, and among the best men and women in the country, and most of them married people, whom no one would have the impudence to say were anything but true to each other. I saw there was a mistake somewhere, and I made diligent inquiry to find out the proper definition of Free Love. Its exponents informed me that it simply meant eternal constancy to the beloved or loved one, and not a promiscuous interchange of sexual intercourse with every one to whom one might take a fancy. This, they thought, was very bad, leading to dis-

ease and destruction. But at the same time not so bad in some respects as legalized prostitution or cohabitation with a wife whom one could not respect or love, which first leads to nervous disorders, and then to idiocy, consumption, impotency and death. Eternal constancy to the beloved or loved one. Here, then, was the true definition of Free Loveism, and on searching my heart I found that I in reality had long been a Free Lover, though I had not known it, and had consequently unconsciously railed at and satirized myself; and now I know that this has been the case with many other people.

I am acquainted with a young man who has got a wife, a rather good-looking shrew. Perhaps they loved each other when just married, but there is not a bit of it now on his side. There may be some lust on hers.

Spite of her hysterical and gossiping interruptions he has studied hard, and in the past four years has learned something, while she has grown more ignorant and pigheaded than ever.

She was jealous of his mother, sisters, brothers and all other male as well as female acquaintances, and made night and day hideous with her howlings without reason. Finally she herself introduced to her husband a very beautiful and modest woman, and he saw the contrast between her and his wife in mental and physical beauty were so great that he could not help but instantly fall desperately in love with her. From that moment he thought, as he had often before, that it was not only unhealthy and disgusting, but also wicked, to cohabit with his wife, and though of an amorous nature, and not one chance in a thousand that the new love will ever be his, he has since passed through all kinds of temptation and yet remains true and continent to the only woman that he ever loved—and this man is a Free-Lover.

What think you that one who was not a free-lover would have done under the like circumstances? To have kept up the outward semblance of peace in the family he would have gone on with the legalized prostitution—which, by the way, is as bad as masturbation—with his wife, and ruined his health and also his moral nature by playing the hypocrite. Or he would, if able, have kept a concubine, or patronized the brothels, or have ravished the beloved one, no matter how much she might be opposed to it without marriage. Thus being true to no one. At the same time he would have blown through a conch-shell to all the world around him an Atlantic cable length of anathemas against free-loveism and its votaries.

Where a married couple are of the same bodily temperament and exactly the opposite in mental, said couple cannot live together happily, even were they both fourth-proof angels.

Dr. E. B. Foote, of 120 Lexington avenue, New York, author of that wonderfully true book, "Plain Home Talk and Medical Common Sense," tells me that he has treated upward of three hundred thousand patients for chronic complaints, and that of the diseases afflicting these, more than half, where the parties are married, arises, he knows, from matrimonial infelicities, and he believes if the exact truth were known he could say a still larger number.

If the whole tribe of reviewers on this planet should dip their pens in hell-fire and gall, and sail rough shod into Dr. Foote's chapters on sexual magnetism and starvation, they could not overthrow them, because they are the naked, radical truth, though they are filled with free-loveism, which is almost the only rotten egg that is now left to throw at American agitators. All the old epithets that used to defile their reputation have turned into trophies of their march, and are worn as wreaths of laurel. Yes, to have been an abolitionist is simply an honor now; but to be an infidel is mostly to be suspected of sending bread to the poor instead of tracts, and of practicing the golden rule instead of repeating the liturgy. So says a witty writer who calls himself A. Hanks. Whoever he is, he is a hunke dori chap, for what he says, though not taken from the Gospel, is nevertheless gospel truth.

So lady and gentlemen Free Lovers all over the land, do not be alarmed at the foul abuse and insane drivings of the ignorant and hypocritical multitude. God has given you a noble work to do and filled you with a divine enthusiasm in order that you may accomplish your object. He has also given you brains to work with, for zeal without knowledge is like a college without a tutor. And here you have an immense advantage over your orthodox opponents, for while you are studying the nature of man and the spirit of the age, they are going over moth-eaten Bibles and musty commentaries to discover the whereabouts of the ten lost tribes of Israel.

Though you may weep nights be brave day times, and remember what Goethe, the Mesto, said, "Who patient is, and right, his day shall yet arise."

[The following are samples of hundreds of letters lying on our table, mostly marked "private."]

COONVILLE, Me., Dec. 25, 1871.

Tennie C. Claflin:

MY DEAR SISTER: I feel that I must write to thank you for your good sisterly letter to Mary Bowles, since you show a true and noble spirit, which, if possessed by every one, there would be no prostitutes, as they are called, but all would be a band of brothers and sisters. I must also thank you for your bold letter, entitled "Virtue! What it is, and what it

isn't." The and women Since writin you and you in the mar enough for prayer of al Your frien

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isn't." The world is greatly lacking in bold, good men and women, though there is no lack of bold bad men. Since writing the above, Tilton's *Golden Age* reports that you and your sister Victoria held the tassels of the banner in the march of the Internationals, which is surely glory enough for one day. Blessings on your heads will be the prayer of all true souls everywhere.

Your friend and brother in the love of good will,

SEWARD MITCHELS.

Woodhull, Claflin & Co.

MESDAMES: I have just been perusing a pamphlet speech, "The Principles of Social Freedom," which is so villainously spoken of by the press of the day. It is the grandest speech I ever read. I want a lot to distribute in this city and elsewhere. What is your price for them?

J. MANNING HOLLIS.

Springfield, Mass., Dec. 30, 1871.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS.

BY GEORGE STRONG.

The women, I think, are as good as the men,
And a great deal better, thinks every spruce belle;
And they ought to be paid an equal price when
They do the same work, if they do it as well—
Why not? I should like to have somebody tell.

I should like to know why Mrs. Lucretia Mott
Cannot go to the polls, and all others who feel
That their rights are invaded by all who would not
Let them cast in their votes; while Patrick O'Neill
May repeat twenty times, and lie, cheat and steal.

I should think that to vote she has as much right
As you, or as I have, by ballot or hand;
For the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments at sight
Proclaim that all persons who live in this land
May vote if they please, so I understand.

Well, she is a native, but still cannot vote,
For the reason that custom and tape are so stont;
So, ladies, stand back, of whatever note,
It will take us two years at least to find out,
That the law as it stands is abused, without doubt.

And then the high courts, in two years or more,
Will decide that the women, in part or in whole,
Are equal to men, and that they have the power
To keep out the party that will not cajole
The fair sex to join them and eat from their bowl.

With both bowers in their hands, the ace in their pocket,
The lords of creation will at length, *en masse*,
Pat their hands to the work, their names on the docket,
And allow her to vote; though so late, alas!
"The reform against nature" will yet come to pass.

KURTZ'S RESTAURANT.

Kurtz is an institution all by himself. Everybody knows Kurtz. Everybody has an affection for Kurtz. And everybody wishes Kurtz may live a thousand years and continue in his present profession. Notwithstanding the agreeable personal qualities of Kurtz, should he fail in certain preparations by which he tickles the palates of his friends, we fear their attachment for him might also fail. This is no disrespect to Kurtz, however, since it shows the tendency of the characteristics of his customers. Be this as it may, Kurtz proposes to spread his table with all the delicacies of the known world, and such also as he can obtain from the other. He holds forth at 23 New street, 60 Broadway, 76 Maiden lane and at 1 Liberty street, at either of which places he receives his hungry and thirsty friends.

IDOLATRY.

The element of worship is natural to man. Superior power will make itself respected when other attributes fail. Religious and spiritual are used interchangeably, synonymously. Both are expressed through the same faculties, which fact demonstrates the untenable position of the Atheist that religion is merely a sentiment. Notwithstanding the frequent denial, man is by nature a religious being. His manifestations vary as do individuals—some being religious on one plane, others in another direction and on a plane totally different.

Throughout Christendom, there is no grosser form of idolatry, or none carried to a greater extent, than the popular idol-worship bestowed upon Jesus and the devil. These two constitute the most important personalities in the Trinity, which Theodore Parker was wont to declare really consisted of four—God and the Holy Ghost being regarded as of secondary consideration.

The degree of worship which a person rendered to these myths was long since taken as a standard to judge of that person's religious character. They were religious in proportion as they professed to worship these, rather than the Deity.

Neither the memory nor the record of man runneth back to a time when he was not an idolater. The order of idol-worship seems to have been first the sun, the moon and stars; then angels, spirits, men, animals and images or representations of some sort.

One can be employed in no grander missionary work or perform a more serviceable duty to humanity, than to lessen the idolatry of Christians for Jesus and the devil.—*Geo. A. Bacon.*

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

This learned and distinguished gentleman, it is known, from the detailed reports in the daily journals, was rudely treated on Friday at the Woman's Convention. The thoughtless persons, few in number we are pleased to say in defense of our city for order, decorum and courtesy to a stranger, were over-anxious to hear a woman speak, we charitably determine, and this inspired their unruly conduct. Certainly no personal unkindness could have been intended to one of so high a character as we know Mr. Andrews enjoys. The foolish manner of those who were actors in the disturbance should assure him, as it did many present, of this self-evident fact.—*Sunday Gazette, Washington.*

KATE STANTON.

Miss Kate Stanton, sparkling, brilliant and bewitching as ever, honored our sanctum with her presence a few days ago. She is running over full of engagements to deliver her new and celebrated speech, "Whom to Marry," with which she made her debut at Tremont Temple, Boston, before an immense audience. Her reception was a most flattering success, and a just tribute to the talent and application of Miss Stanton. She has also spoken since at Portland and Calais, Me., Newport, R. I., Norristown and Templeton, Mass., and is off again for a dozen other places. May the continuous success she deserves ever follow her earnest devotion to truth and freedom.

A GALVESTON TEXAN.—Your article, though interesting, is too local and too devoted to mere superficial politics and the man mode of managing nominations and elections to be suitable for our paper. Help us give woman the ballot and we will remedy the political state of things you depict in Texas.

THE BEGGAR AND THE BANKER—WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE?

"Stand out of my way!" said a rough, surly voice, under my window, one day as I sat musing over the bustling scene below me, at my lodgings in Chestnut street.

"Your honor will please to recollect," replied a sharp and somewhat indignant voice, "your honor will please to recollect that I am a beggar, and have as much right to the road as yourself."

"And I am a banker," was retorted still more gruffly and angrily.

Amused by this strange dialogue, I leaned over the case, and beheld a couple of citizens in a position which a puglist would probably denominate squared, their countenances somewhat menacing, and their persons presenting a contrast at once ludicrous and instructive. The one was a proud, lordly-mannered man—appareled in silk, protecting a carcass of nearly the circumference of a hoghead; and the other a ragged and dirty, but equally impudent and self-important personage; and from a comparison of their countenances, it would have puzzled the most profound M.D. to determine which of their rotundities was best stored habitually with good victuals and drink.

Upon a close observation, however, of the face of the banker, I discovered almost as soon as my eye fell upon it, a line bespeaking humor and awakened curiosity, as he stood fixed and eyeing his antagonist; and this became more clear and conspicuous when he lowered his tone and asked, "How will you make that right appear?"

"How?" said the beggar; "why, listen a moment and I'll teach you; in the first place, do you take notice that God has given me a soul and body just as good for the purposes of thinking, eating, drinking and taking my pleasures as He has you—and then you may remember Dives and Lazarus just as we pass. Then, again, it is a free country, and here, too, we are on an equality—for you must know that here even a beggar's dog may look any gentleman in the face with as much indifference as he would a brother. I and you have the same common master; are equally free; live equally easy; and are both traveling the same journey, bound to the same place, and both have to die and be buried in the end."

"But," interrupted the banker, "do you pretend there is no difference between a beggar and a banker?"

"Not in the least," rejoined the other, with the utmost readiness; "not in the least, as to essentials. You swagger and drink wine in company of your own choosing. I swagger and drink beer, which I like better than your wine, in company that I like better than your company. You make your thousands a day perhaps; I make a shilling perhaps; if you are contented, I am; we are equally happy at night. You dress in new clothes; I am just as comfortable in old ones, and have no trouble in keeping them from soiling. If I have less property than you, I have less to care about; if fewer friends, I have less friendship to lose; and if I do not make as great a figure in the world, I make as great a shadow on the pavement; I am as great as you. Besides, my word for it, I have fewer enemies; meet with fewer losses, carry as light a heart and sing as many songs as the best of you."

"And then," said the banker, who had all along tried to slip a word in edgeways, "is the contempt of the world nothing?"

"The envy of the world is as bad as its contempt; you have, perhaps, the one, and I a share of the other. We are matched there, too. And besides, the world deals in this matter equally unjust with us both. You and I live by our wits instead of living by our industry; and the only difference between us in this particular worth naming is, that it costs society more to maintain you than me—I am content with little, you want a great deal. Neither of us raises grain or potatoes, or weaves cloth, or manufactures anything useful; we, therefore, add nothing to the common stock—we are only consumers; and if the world judged with strict impartiality, therefore, it seems to me I would be pronounced the cleverest fellow."

Some passers-by here interrupted the conversation. The disputants separated, apparently good friends; and I drew in my head, ejaculating somewhat in the manner of Alexander in the play—is there, then, no difference between a beggar and a banker?

But several years have since passed away; and now both these individuals have paid the last debt of nature. They died as they had lived, the one a banker and the other a beggar. I examined both their graves when I next visited the city. They were of similar length and breadth; the grass grew equally green above each; and the sun looked down as pleasantly on the one as on the other. No honors, pleasures or delights clustered round the grave of the rich man. No finger of scorn was pointed to that of the poor man. They were both equally deserted, lonely and forgotten! I thought, too, of the destinies to which they have passed; and of that state in which earthly titles exist not; where pride and all the circumstances which surround this life never find admittance. Then the distinctions of time appeared indeed as an atom in the sunbeam compared with those which are made in that changeless state to which they both had passed.—*English Republican.*

[CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7.]

into other States, to be protected in the rights they have heretofore enjoyed, unless Congress shall pass the bill presented by Mr. Butler, and thus give us a homogeneous law for suffrage from Maine to Louisiana?

You did not leave the negroes to the tender mercies of the courts and States. Why send your mothers, wives and daughters suppliants at the feet of the unwashed, unlettered, unthinking masses that carry on elections in the States! Would you compel the women of New York to sue the Tweeds, the Sweenys, the Connollys, for their inalienable rights, or to have the scales of justice balanced for them in the unsteady hand of a Cardozo, or Barnard, or a McCunn? Nay, nay; the proper tribunal to decide nice questions of human rights and constitutional interpretations, the political status of every citizen under the national flag, is the Congress of the United States. This is your right and duty, clearly set forth in article 1, section 5, of the Constitution, for how can you decide the competency and qualifications of electors for members of the House of Representatives, without settling the fundamental question on what the right of suffrage is based? All power centres in the people. Our Federal Constitution, as well as that of every State, opens with the words, "We, the people." However this phrase may have been understood and acted on in the past, women to-day are awake to the fact that they constitute one-half the American people; that they have the right to demand that the Constitution shall secure to them "justice," "domestic tranquillity," and the blessings of liberty. So long as women are not represented in the Government they are in a condition of tutelage, perpetual minority, slavery.

You smile at the idea of women being slaves in this country. Ben. Franklin said long ago that they who have no voice or vote in the laws, or the election of those who administer them, do not enjoy liberty, but are absolutely enslaved to those who have votes and to their representatives. I might occupy hours in quoting grand liberal sentiments from the fathers—Madison, Jefferson, Otis and Adams—in favor of individual representation. I might quote equally noble words from the statesmen of our day—Seward, Sumner, Wade, Trumbull, Conkling, Schurz, Thurman, Groesbeck and Julian—to prove "that no just government can be formed without the consent of the governed;" that the ballot is the Columbiad of our political life, and every man who holds it is a full armed monitor. What do lofty utterance, logical arguments avail, so long as men, blinded by old prejudices and customs, fail to see their application to the women by their side. Alas! gentlemen, these are your subjects. Your selfish interests are too closely interwoven for you to feel their degradation, and they are too dependent to reveal themselves to you in their nobler aspirations, their native dignity. Did Southern slaveholders ever understand the humiliations of slavery to a proud man like Frederick Douglass? Did the coarse, low-bred master ever doubt his capacity to govern the negro better than he could govern himself? Do cow-boys, hostlers, pot-house politicians ever doubt their capacity to prescribe woman's sphere better than she could prescribe it herself? We have yet to learn that with the wonderful progress in art, science, education, morals, religion and government we have witnessed in the last century woman has not been standing still, but gradually developing to an equal place with the man by her side, and stands to-day his peer in the world of thought.

American womanhood has never worn iron shoes, burned on the funeral pile, or skulked behind a mask in a harem, yet though cradled in liberty, with the same keen sense of justice and equality man has, she is still bound by law in the swaddling bands of an old barbarism. Though the world has been steadily advancing in political science, and step by step recognizing the rights of new classes, yet we stand to-day talking of precedents, authorities, laws and constitutions, as if each generation were not better able to judge of its wants than the one that preceded. If we are to be governed in all things by the men of the eighteenth century, and the twentieth by the nineteenth, and so on, the world will be always governed by dead men. The exercise of political power by women is by no means a new idea. It has already been exercised in many countries, and under governments far less liberal in theory than our own. As to this being an innovation on the laws of Nature, we may safely trust Nature at all times to vindicate herself. In England, where the right to vote is based on property and not person, the *femme sole* freeholder has exercised her right all along. In her earliest history we find records of decisions in courts of her right to do so, and discussions on that point by able lawyers and judges. The *femme sole* voted in person when her husband represented her property, and voted in her stead; and the moment the breath went out of his body she assumed again the burden of disposing of her own in come and the onerous duty of representing herself in the government. Thus England is always consistent; property being the basis of suffrage, is always represented. Here it is based on "persons," and yet one half our people are wholly unrepresented. No one point in government has been so much discussed and changed as "who constitutes the governing power."

We have declared in favor of a government of the people, for the people, by the people, the whole people. Why not begin the experiment? It suffrage is a natural right, we claim it in common with all citizens; if it is a political right, that the few in power may give or take away, then it is clearly the duty of the ruling powers to extend it in all cases as the best interests of the State require. No thinking man would admit that educated, refined womanhood would not constitute a most desirable element and better represent the whole humanitarian idea than a government of men alone.

The objections to Mr. Butler's bill, demanding of Congress a declaratory act, all summed up are these: 1st. This is too short a cut to liberty. It is taking the nation by storm. The people are not ready for it. The slower process of a sixteenth amendment would be safer, surer and do more toward educating the people for the final result. To all of which I answer the women, at least, are ready and as well prepared for enfranchisement as were the slaves of the Southern plantation. There could have been no plan devised to educate the people so rapidly as the startling announcement in the Woodhull memorial that women already had the right to vote. It had raised more men to thought on the question, stirred the bar and bench of the nation, with a new and fruitful source of litigation, it has inspired woman with fresh hope that the day of her enfranchisement is at hand, given the press of the country solid arguments for their consideration, and changed the tone of the speeches in our conventions from whinings about brutal husbands, stolen babies and special laws to fundamental principles of human rights.

This question has been up for discussion in this country

over thirty years; it split the first anti-slavery society in two, was a firebrand in the world's convention, and has been a disturbing element in temperance, educational and constitutional conventions ever since, and it is high time it took a short cut to its final consummation. There have been many shorter cuts to liberty than this is likely to be, even with a declaratory act at this session. Why multiply amendments when we have liberty and justice enough in the spirit and letter of the Constitution as it now is to protect every citizen under this Government?

The simple opinion of a Chief Justice a century ago, without any change in legislation, settled in one hour as great a question of human rights as we now submit to your consideration. Lord Mansfield, presiding in the Court of Queen's Bench, listening to the arguments in the famous Somerset case, with higher light and knowledge, suddenly awoke to the truth that by the laws of England a slave could not breathe on that soil, and he so decided, and the negro was discharged. Slavery was abolished in Massachusetts in the same way, without any amendment of her constitution or new legislation, simply by the decision of her Chief Justice. So you perceive, honorable gentlemen, we have two precedents for the "short cut" we propose to liberty.

Second—Some object that it was not the "intention" of the framers of the original Constitution, nor of the amendments, to enfranchise women.

When ordinary men, in their ordinary condition, talk of the "intentions" of great men specially inspired to utter great political truths, they talk of what they cannot know or understand.

When by some moral revolution men are cut loose from all moral moorings, and get beyond the public sentiment that once bound them, with no immediate selfish interests to subserve—as, for instance, our fathers in leaving England, or the French Communists in the late war—in hardship and suffering they dig down to the hard-pan of universal principles, and in their highest inspirational moments proclaim justice, liberty, equality for all.

Visiting Chicago not long since I saw great pieces of rock of the most wonderful mineral combinations—gold, silver, glass, iron, layer after layer, all welded beautifully together, and that done in the conflagration of a single night that would have taken ages of growth to accomplish in the ordinary rocky formations. Just so revolutions in the moral world suddenly mould ideas, clear, strong, grand, that centuries might have slumbered over in silence; ideas that strike minds ready for them with the quickness and vividness of the lightning's flash. It is in such ways and under such conditions that constitutions and great principles of jurisprudence are written; the letter and spirit are ever on the side of liberty; and highly organized minds, governed by principle, invariably give such interpretations; while others, whose law is expediency, coarse and material in all their conceptions, will interpret law, Bible, constitution, everything in harmony with the public sentiment of their class and condition. And here is the reason why men differ in their interpretations of law. They differ in their organizations; they see everything from a different standpoint. Could ideas of justice and liberty and equality be more grandly and beautifully expressed than in the preamble to our Federal Constitution?

It is an insult to those Revolutionary heroes to say that, after a seven years' struggle with the despotic ideas of the Old World, in the first hour of victory, with their souls all on fire with new-found freedom, they sat down like so many pettifogging lawyers and drew up a little instrument for the express purpose of robbing women and negroes of their inalienable rights. Does the preamble look like it? Women did vote in America at the time the Constitution was adopted. If the framers of the Constitution meant they should not, why did they not distinctly say so? The women of the country, having at last roused up to their rights and duties as citizens, have a word to say as to the "intentions" of the fathers. It is not safe to leave the "intentions" of the Pilgrim fathers, or the Heavenly father, wholly to masculine interpretation; for by Bible and Constitution alike women have thus far been declared the subjects, the slaves of men.

But able jurists tell us that the "intention" of the framers of the document must be judged by the letter of the law. Following this rule, the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia has decided that the Fourteenth Amendment does affect the status of women: that it advances them to full citizenship, and clothes them with the capacity to become voters.

The exact language of Judge Cartter, who spoke for the Court, is as follows:

"All that has been accomplished by this amendment to the Constitution, or its previous provisions, is to distinguish them (women) from aliens, and make them capable of becoming voters. In giving expression to my judgment, this clause does advance them to full citizenship, and clothes them with the capacity to become voters."

If so much has been done we have already gone beyond the "intention" of the founders, if, as some say, they did not intend to touch the status of woman at all. But with or without intent, a law stands as it is written—"Lex ita scripta est." But in regard to the intention of the framers, Theodore Tilton, in a published letter to Charles Sumner, says: "I happen to know that a number of able men, including Matt. Carpenter, George W. Julian, General Ashley, Judge Woodward, of Pennsylvania, and others, either during the pendency or after the passage of the new amendments, discovered in them a title-deed to woman suffrage, and some of these legislators voted for, and others against, these amendments on this account. Furthermore, this discovery, being thus promulgated before the amendments were adopted, became immediately thereafter the basis of a powerful and widely-echoed demand for the enforcement of this construction."

The true rule of interpretation, says Charles Sumner, under the National Constitution, especially since its additional amendments, is that anything for human rights is constitutional. "No learning in the books, no skill in the courts, no sharpness of forensic dialects, no cunning in splitting hairs, can impair the vigor of the constitutional principle which I announce. Whatever you enact for human rights is constitutional, and this is the supreme law of the land, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood, at the conclusion of Mrs. Stanton's argument, presented petitions covering immense rolls of paper, and containing nearly 20,000 names of women asking for the right of suffrage.

Senator Trumbull thanked the ladies for the prompt manner in which they had dispatched their business, and said that the matter would be taken into respectful and earnest

consideration, and that a report would be made as early as possible.

The committee then held a session with closed doors, when it is understood an informal discussion took place on the subject.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

By far the largest audience since the assembling of the convention convened in Lincoln Hall for the afternoon session. Every seat was occupied, and the passages filled with people who manifested their interest by standing.

Promptly at 2 o'clock Mrs. Stanton and her friends appeared on the platform.

Mrs. Stanton came forward and told of the grand and respectful hearing they had had before the Judiciary Committee. She felt somewhat aggrieved that they had been denied the hearing in the Senate chamber, but consoled herself with the thought that before another year they would be heard there. The signs of the times indicate the formation of a third party, in the presence of which both the old parties may well tremble. Those who enjoyed these conventions would enjoy those of the future more. We shall assemble in convention all over the country. Women would do well to now throw away all yellow-covered literature and take up the studies pertaining to the science of government. Men and women were about to move together in parallel lines. Let the high morals of the household be carried into legislation. No hope of honest and brave men until we have a better form of womanhood.

Upon the conclusion of Mrs. Stanton's remarks, the following resolutions were presented by Mrs. Gage and adopted:

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That as the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States have established the right of women to the elective franchise, we demand of the present Congress a declaratory act which shall secure us at once in the exercise of this right.

As the recognition of woman suffrage involves immediate political action, and as numbers as well as principles control parties,

Resolved, That we rejoice in the rapidly organizing millions of Spiritualists, labor reformers, temperance and educational forces now simultaneously waking to their need of woman's help in the cause of reform.

Resolved, That the movement for the enfranchisement of woman is the movement of universal humanity; that the great questions now looming upon the political horizon can only find their peaceful solution by the infusion of the feminine element in the councils of the nation. Man, representing force, would continue in the future as in the past, in the New World as in the Old, to settle all questions by war; but woman, representing affection, would, in her true development, harmonize intellect and action, and weld together all the interests of the human family—in other words help to organize the science of social, religious and political life.

Resolved, That our thanks are due to Governor Campbell, of Wyoming, for his veto, and to the Republican members of the Legislature of Wyoming, for their votes against the bill disfranchising the women of that Territory.

Resolved, That the thanks of the women of America are due to Hon. Benjamin F. Butler for introducing, so early in the present session of Congress, a bill to enfranchise woman under the Constitution, and also to Hon. Wm. Loughridge and to the Hon. Benjamin F. Butler, for their admirable minority report, at the last session, sustaining the Woodhull memorial.

THEO. TILTON HEARD FROM.

Mrs. Gage then read the following telegram:

NEW YORK, January 12, 1872.

VIC. C. WOODHULL: Theodore Tilton's brother is at the point of death. He will not come to Washington this week. I send you one thousand tracts and five hundred papers.

FLORENCE GORDON.

Mr. Andrews, of New York, was then introduced. He said that the women of the country were making history to-day. I said to Miss Susan B. Anthony when she left the Judiciary Committee room this morning, "I congratulate you on the death of the woman suffrage movement; dead because it has fulfilled its mission; it is now only a question of time; Congress cannot ignore or deny it; the movement is virtually conceded to-day."

I said to Mrs. Stanton, "Allow me to congratulate you on your election to the United States Senate, for that is only a question of time." I should have congratulated Mrs. Hooker upon her being the future Chief Justice of the United States. This is one of the days that will go down to posterity as did the day the Declaration of Independence was ratified. This is but the beginning of the end; the verdict has already been rendered, and at this very hour.

From the whole of jurisprudence, including ordinary law, common and statute, we rise, through ethics, or the spirit of the laws, into the broad science of society, which, for the first time within the last ten or fifteen years, has been admitted into the popular list of the sciences, and has been recognized by the learned world as a distinct science. It is only now that human society is just coming to be regarded as a proper realm of science; and from the proper point of view of science, as such, all the reform movements of the day are regarded as somewhat empirical, or, as the doctors would say, quackish, from the fact that they are not guided by definite knowledge of all the forces at work in society, and by their relations to each other.

From this scientific or more reflective point of view, it is not certain that the ballot is the last word of political wisdom. A democratic republic is, undoubtedly, the best form of government for a highly intelligent people that has ever existed, but it does not follow that it is the highest form that ever will exist. Freedom is a good thing, but freedom is simply opportunity. What will, what ought, indeed, to grow out of that opportunity? We know pretty well what has existed below and prior to republicanism; it may be requisite that we begin to inquire if there be not something above and subsequent to it.

Every year, and sometimes several times a year, I have put into my hands a ballot containing from one to twenty names, for all sorts of offices, and I am asked to vote for those men. Not one in ten of them do I know, and many of them I never heard of before, and I have no opportunity or method of knowing them. And even if I did know them, I very likely know nothing of the particular nature of the duties of each of these multitudinous offices. And finally, if I do happen to know both the men and the offices, I very likely know nothing whatever of the fitness of these particular men respectively for these particular offices, and yet I am probably a citizen of more than average intelligence. I am, in other words, invested with the appointing

power (in part, and for my fraction of the elective franchise) of a set of men about whom I know, very likely, nothing, to a set of offices, of the detailed duties of which I know as little, or less; and the duty of making a right choice is made incumbent upon me. Now, I know very well that neither you nor I would deal in this helter-skelter and chance-begotten way in selecting agents to transact for us our own private affairs. This is the highest to which empirical political knowledge has attained; but I know that it is neither common sense nor science, and that it can not be a finality; and I appeal to science to tell the world what there is in the future higher and better than this republican contrivance of the ballot. I accept it as the best for the hour. I accept it as a necessary stage through which the progressive development of the world must pass; but I listen for the word which science shall utter upon a domain to which science has only just now for the first time reached. I believe that it is a great triumph for humanity to achieve the ballot, but I know that there remains more beyond it still to be achieved. What I mean, stated more clearly, is, that I believe in the future scientific organization of government, industry and the household, and that this organization will, in the end, mainly supersede the use of the ballot, and that the new reform party of the future will tend directly to that object.

The word organization is in one sense unfortunate. There has been an enforced and arbitrary kind of organization of great strength, and a bulwark of despotism in the past; and now comes liberty and the sovereignty of the individual disrupting such organization. Reformers are therefore skittish of the word and of the idea which they entertain of organization. And yet organization is exactly what they need and want and must have, and can not afford to do without. Organization is a means of the economy of power; is, in fact, power and the augmentation of wealth and the source of every good thing. But then I do not mean by organization anything which is not so spontaneous as crystallization. Hence, I say, scientific organization, or organization by attraction, is to be a new and later achievement in society than the mere acquisition of the concession of rights.

But we must reach the ulterior goal in part through ordinary reform and the machinery of political parties. A new party is about forming which will take a great step in the right direction. Perhaps the nucleus of that party, the equal rights party, or the like, is now in this hall.

Here is the first complete fusion of three or four great branches of the great army of reform. There is, first, a politico-social branch, namely, the woman's rights party, which already has its two wings, the woman suffragists proper, and the social movement. Then there is a scientio-religious branch, the Spiritualists, with its two wings, tending toward the science and toward the religion of this movement respectively; and, in fine, an industria-politico-financial branch including the workmen's party, with two main branches, the trades unionists and the Internationalists, together with the financial reformers, to all which we may add the temperance people and the Socialists proper. All these parties are now, as I say, in a state of fusion, for the first time harmoniously and conjointly represented here.

The politicians can not afford either to neglect or to offend such a movement. It is an uprising of the people. It means work. It is more and more earnest every day. It is gathering strength. Unless effectually conciliated by one or the other of the existing parties it will be itself the great, and the greatest party of the immediate future. The people are liable any day to stampede from the Republican and Democratic parties and join the new party by the million.

The Judiciary Committee of the Senate can not afford either to ignore the women's memorial, this day argued before them, nor to postpone it, nor to reject it. No party was ever confronted before at the height of its prosperity by so much earnestness based on such incontestable right, and these two are immense elements of success. Place aux Dames.

Mrs. Hooker then yielded to a loud call for

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

When this remarkable woman came forward she was received with much applause. In a few earnest words she "thanked her brothers and sisters for their approbation, but her heart was too full for utterance. Besides there are many friends here who have come from distant places, having earnest words to say to you, and whom I, equally with you, should desire to hear. Thanking you for your appreciation and encouragement, I shall go home from this convention more determined than ever to boldly push the Car of Progress.

Mrs. Ada Ballou, from the audience, rose and placed Victoria C. Woodhull in nomination for President of the United States. The nomination was subsequently put and unanimously carried, notwithstanding the fact that Miss Anthony "thought it a little premature, and that Mrs. Stanton, Mrs. Hooker, Mrs. Gage and herself all had claims to be considered, but not because they wanted office.

A handsome collection was then taken up.

Mrs. Laura Cuppy Smith came deprecatingly forward, urged by Miss Anthony. She did not feel like making a speech. She alluded to the necessity of educating our daughters to be their own protectors. A woman fortified by principle needed no protection save her own integrity of purpose and good common sense. Men always respected a woman who respected herself. She told several anecdotes in proof of her statement, and proceeded to say that the women who were conducting this movement had no idea that they should enter the kingdom of political equality on "flowery beds of ease;" they had come upon that platform urged there by deliberate conviction, and were satisfied if even the martyrdom of the mothers purchased the emancipation of their daughters from every yoke. We do not wish women to imagine that this work can be accomplished without a struggle. Garibaldi said to his soldiers: "Ye who are in love with wounds, starvation and death, follow me!" I say: "Ye who prefer truth before personal happiness, who are in love with trial, privation and sorrow, ye who are inspired by a sacred purpose and know no such word as Fail, follow us."

Miss Anthony also spoke of the right of free speech, and mentioned it as the old difficulty over again; but, after all, it was a kind of retributive justice. The time was when the rabble would not hear women; now the rabble will not hear men.

EVENING SESSION.

Notwithstanding an admission fee of fifty cents was charged for the evening session, the hall was handsomely filled.

The proceedings were opened with singing, after which that discreet, self-poised and very able defender of the cause, Mrs. Gage, addressed the meeting.

MRS. M. JOSLYN GAGE'S SPEECH.

The argument before the Judiciary Committee to-day was

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the culmination of long ages. The seed of to-day was sown far down in the past. Geologists tell us that marks of rain-storms which occurred hundreds of years ago are visible now in the solid rock, and that the direction of the wind at that time may also be plainly seen by noticing the slant of the rain-drop marks. So in woman's demand to-day for self-government, we find the rain-drops of past thought—we find what was the direction of men's minds at an early age of the world. All great leaders in the past promised more liberty, greater freedom to their followers. Political equality has been the dream of the ages, but only within the last hundred years has this dream of freedom begun to be realized. Where were human rights before that day? Where were the rights of men before that day? Did they come into the world newly created then? Did declarations and constitutions create those rights at the time of the Revolutionary War? Were a band of men born into the world who possessed natural rights never before possessed by human beings? The world has gained its growth through protest. Every religious or political reformer is a protestant. Where do people get their right of protest unless within themselves? All protests against tyranny come from within. When the old Revolutionists protested against the exactions of King George's government they found that right of protest within themselves. They found their right to life and liberty and self-government within themselves.

Although it is less than a hundred years since the first government which recognized human rights was instituted, the scales have dropped from the eyes of many men besides Americans, and all nationalities, European, Asiatic and African, have come to the United States to enjoy their natural right of self-government. The lesson of human rights is one easily learned. Foreigners have not only learned it, but also American wives and daughters. We would be dullards, indeed, did we not read the lesson too. Women have been interested in these questions of natural rights ever since the first protest was made by the Colonies. Mercy Otis Warren bore a powerful hand in bringing about the Revolution. She was consulted on all the important questions of the day, and was a member of that committee of correspondence which did so much to educate and develop the sentiment of liberty in the Colonies, and her brother, James Otis, was indebted to her for many of the ideas he gave the world.

That taxation without representation is tyranny was a fundamental doctrine of the women of 1871. In 1770, six years before the Declaration of Independence, the women of New England made a public combined protest against taxation without representation, and entered into a league. This league was formed by the married women, but the young ladies soon held an anti-tax meeting. These young ladies publicly declared they did not take this step for themselves alone, but they protested against taxation as a matter of principle, and with a view to benefit their posterity. These protests were the real origin of the famous "tea party" in Boston harbor. They were made more than five years before the commencement of the Revolutionary war.

The history of the world, the history of our own country, shows the rights of any class are not safe in the hands of any other class. We arraign this Government at the bar of its own faith. The Constitution of the United States was founded upon the principle of the Declaration of Independence.

The faith of this Congress—of this Government—is founded, first, on the Declaration. The whole spirit of the Declaration is, that those who are not protected and sustained by a government in the enjoyment and exercise of their natural rights do not owe that government allegiance. It is the faith of the Government that government derives its just powers from the consent of the people for whom it makes laws. The legislative bodies make laws for fifteen millions of women. By their own faith their will over women is unjust, a usurpation and tyranny. It is the faith of this Government that taxes should not be imposed upon persons without their consent. We arraign this Government as tyrannous and contradictory of its own foundation principles when it taxes woman, as it now does, not only without her consent, but in absolute opposition to her wishes. It is the faith of this Government that every person has an inborn right to a trial by a jury of peers. We here arraign this Government at the bar of its own faith, and to-day demand from it a strict adherence to its Charter of Rights.

The Declaration of Independence is not a mere formula of words; it is the judgment bar of the American Government, and by it the country lives or dies.

A hymn specially composed for the occasion was then sung to the tune of "John Brown's Body," the audience joining in the chorus with thrilling effect.

SPEECH OF LAURA DE FORCE GORDON.

Women asking the right of suffrage, some think, is strange. To me it is strange that the necessity for the demand ever existed. You men, born free and equal, and conscious of your own power and greatness, may not appreciate the force of our wonder that the necessity exists. A century has passed since the Declaration of Independence, and to-day one-half of the population are still asking for their rights. As an American citizen I claim that the exercise of suffrage in this country is right. What says the Declaration? "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." This means to me that whatever means may be taken to secure suffrage, the ballot is a divine right, for through the ballot the consent of the governed can only be given. If you say it is not a right you array yourselves as in favor of tyranny. The moment you do this you become an apologist for the "Divine right of kings." Great Britain can recognize the ballot as a privilege, America must recognize it as a right. The ballot as a privilege offers a premium to ambitious schemers. The ballot is a right as sacred as that of a choice in religion. The settlement of this question is more important than all the religions of the world, for without civil liberty there is no security for religious liberty. In the right of suffrage is involved the only protection an individual has under the laws. The ballot is our insignia of rank. It declares the sovereignty of its possessor. It is a sceptre of power. Is this a trifle? Men are found stupid and apostate enough to ask what advantage the ballot is to woman. You can neither take this right from us nor extend it to us. It is ours. It is necessary for the elevation of woman and the purity of man.

If you want a church built the women raise the money. Women have devoted much time to religious subjects. Men, however, make charges of extravagance against women. There may be some truth in it. Women should have something more to do. Women respond to every sacred duty. The original mistake of government was that of not planting a clause in the Constitution specifying the circumstances under which suffrage might be exercised. Woman suffrage will elevate men, because it will make better mothers. It is

a necessity, because the condition of the State demands it. The government will soon fall from its own corruption unless a purifying element is brought into it. The salvation of the country depends upon the extension of suffrage to women. Like a home, the government wants a woman in it. Voting does not interfere with men's avocations. Why should it with women? We must have our own political organizations. We must have it—will not wait for either party. We have determined in California to work out our own salvation, unless it is given to us before the next Presidential election, or a revolution will be the result, springing from a fusion of all the liberal elements of the country. We shall march to victory, peaceably if needs be, forcibly if we must. [Immense cheering.]

SPEECH OF C. FANNIE ALLYN.

This speech was replete with appropriate similes, apt comparisons and quotations, and had for its object the development of the tender and emotional sentiment pervading the question of woman suffrage. She closed by improvising about two hundred lines of poetry really elegant in its rhythm and structure.

The closing words of parting were uttered by the great executive officer of the movement, Miss Anthony, and the convention then adjourned *sine die*.

The spirit of the convention throughout was deep and fervent, as marking the work of those thoroughly in earnest. Most of the meetings were largely attended. The convention as a whole was one of the most commanding and successful of any gatherings ever held on the continent in the cause of woman suffrage.

THE MEANING OF THE RECENT WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONVENTION.

To the Editor of the Chronicle:

The recent Convention of the National Woman Suffrage Association has a political significance which may escape the superficial observer. A number of the representative women of the country came together, not to ask, but to demand suffrage as an existing constitutional right. The formal request of these women was made to Congress in the memorable hearing on Friday, the 12th instant, before the Judiciary Committee of the Senate. The noble arguments of Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker and Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton on that occasion present fully the grounds of constitutional law and public policy on which they rest their demand.

The two sets of resolutions adopted by the convention express or imply its objects. Those which appear on the surface may be summed up as follows:

First—A demand for an immediate declaratory act by the present Congress, securing to the women of America the exercise of the right of suffrage founded on the guarantees of the original Constitution, and confirmed and established by the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments.

Second—A welcome to the Spiritualists and labor reformers, as well as temperance men, who came forward and proposed to place themselves on the woman suffrage platform.

Third—A declaration that the enfranchisement of woman is necessary for the peaceful solution of the great questions now looming up on the political horizon, and that her help is needed to organize the science of social, religious and political life.

Fourth—A summons to the women of the country to claim and exercise forthwith the right of suffrage, and an appeal to the people everywhere to sustain them in so doing.

This programme is sufficiently spirited, but it conveys only a small part of what actually transpired and was accomplished in the convention. In the first place, Mrs. Woodhull, the President of the American Spiritualists, came forward in the first session of the convention, and stated in eloquent words that the religious body which she represented (perhaps the largest in the country) had hitherto purposely refrained from organization or collective action during their period of withdrawal from the other sects, but that now they proposed to organize their immense latent power, and to wield it politically on the side of woman suffrage.

The second important event was the appearance of the representatives of the labor reformers, with the proffer of their whole political strength in aid of woman suffrage.

The politicians have hitherto regarded with complacency the supposed impotence of the labor movement, resulting from its internal divisions and the crudity of its notions and measures. Those who are well informed know that that day has now passed, and that within the year all bodies representing the interests of labor in America, as well as Europe, will be affiliated with the International Association. This will assure simplicity of action and a unitary direction to the forces of labor never before seen in American politics. The proposed industrial reforms of the International are co-operative and constructive, not communistic, and will awaken no reaction among the laboring class in this country. And one of the fundamental principles of the International Association, the world over, is the industrial and political equality of the sexes.

It will be seen, therefore, that the National Woman Suffrage Convention represents the convergence of three movements, and marks the date, in each instance, of the birth of new and powerful organizations, which propose to work together according to the political requirements of the present year.

The new organization and new departure in the woman's movement are as follows: A large body of American women have determined to take part in the approaching Presidential election. In one county of California, at least, the definite organization for this purpose has already commenced. The representative women who met in Washington have respectfully asked the Republican majority in Congress to give them at once a declaratory act of enfranchisement. If this should be done they anticipate that the gratitude of the women of the country will insure to the Republican party a lease of power for many years, on the condition, however, which will necessarily become the universal prerequisite of political success, that the Republican party shall deal justly and considerately with the paramount interest of labor, now first foreshadowed in the bill pending before the Senate to establish a labor commission. In case of the refusal or delay of the majority in Congress to pass the declaratory act, so eloquently pleaded for before the Judiciary Committee, the women propose to defeat the Republican candidate for President whoever he may be. It may be stated that the number of women already pledged to take an active part as speakers in the approaching Presidential campaign is large, and that among them are several whose power of influencing great multitudes is hardly excelled in this country.

In estimating the political effect of the combinations now

forming, it may be sufficient to say that those persons who have only a superficial or outside acquaintance with the organizations referred to will be least liable to form a correct judgment as to their probable success when acting together.

W. F. C.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

Men professing independence are not independent if they are afraid to tell the truth when a proper time exists for its expression. Concerning the prominent woman whose name stands at the head of this article, we propose to speak the truth—to reiterate a few facts of history. Victoria C. Woodhull, in her personal appearance and address, is a gentle lady. She charms all who come within the influences of her presence, and attaches such to her as friends. She is an eminent truth-teller. Touching the faults and blemishes in the record of her life, she tells the truth herself. Anything beyond what she tells resolves itself into the form of unwarranted and malignant strictures, the offspring of jealousy or depravity, and from which the names of but few women are free in this wicked world. Well-judging men—those who know anything of the world—are not apt to eagerly credit irresponsible reports affecting a lady's character. They also know enough to know that a woman with a face like Mrs. Woodhull's, one radiant even with an angelic expression, is not and cannot easily be a bad woman. "Impossible!" echo those who know her. Another fact: she is generous to the poor. The great precept of the Divine Master in this regard has in her a fervent and conscientious disciple. Her hands are white with charity. She herself is not a slanderer. Her remembered words and printed speeches will be recalled in vain for one word of slander against a fellow mortal. She is a modest woman. It is her devotion to a cause in which her heart and tremendous energies are enlisted that inspires her. It is the advancement of the cause, her interests in humanity, and not personal pride nor ambition which impels her onward. She is a popular woman. This fact in this community needs no argument to sustain it. She is heroic and self-sacrificing, and would not hesitate at anything, not even to the laying down of her life for truth. She is a devout believer in immortality, and in the "communion of the saints," and in that sense a Spiritualist. All who are believers in immortality are Spiritualists. This dogma is infallible. From it there is no escape. We understand that Mrs. Woodhull will soon deliver a lecture in this city. She will have a large audience, beyond any question, if we may judge from the intense anxiety to hear her so plainly and continually exhibited at every session of the Woman Suffrage Convention held during the current week in this city. Constantly, upon opportunity presenting itself, loud cries were incessantly made uttering, "Woodhull—Woodhull," imperatively demanding her presence.—*Sunday Gazette, Washington, D. C.*

THE WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

In this thing of "Woman's Rights" there is a good deal to be said on both sides of the question, as Sir Roger de Coverly's silent gentleman remarked and as has since been remarked by many people, conspicuous for their loquacity. Regarding what is now generally known as the Stanton-Woodhull-Lockwood faction that closed its annual convention meetings in this city on Friday evening, one cannot but admire the zeal and energy and indomitable perseverance of the ladies, whatever opinion one may hold of the ideas it is their avowed design to propagate. However one may denounce as enthusiasts or fanatics the acknowledged captains of a movement, one cannot but accord its meed of admiration to those who place themselves in the van and carry the war, even though but of words, into the enemy's country, that country the world; the question at issue, involving a disruption of time-honored institutions which the voice of antiquity and the seal of Heaven itself would seem to have placed above dispute. Mistaken in views though these women may be, and mistaken in the means they employ to gain certain ends, we yet cannot but recognize in them an earnest purpose and an entire devotion to the cause in which they have enlisted.

Of course it is impossible to say what effect the combined and persistent effort may have had upon Congress, nor is it possible to foretell future results.

Inasmuch as continued dropping will wear away the hardest stone and mountains are leveled by comparatively slow degrees, the final success of this Woman's Reform movement may at least be regarded as among the possibilities of the human race, and it might be well for statesmen to ponder on the grave consequences resulting from the introduction into our political life of so large and important an element of our nation.—*Sunday Gazette.*

ELIZABETH LA PIERRE DANIELS.

This highly gifted and beautiful woman, favorably known to many of our residents from her visit to this city four years ago, and more particularly so from the success which attended her personal effort in securing a patent for a very useful domestic article of her own invention, was present as a delegate from Massachusetts to the National Woman Suffrage Convention. It gave us much pleasure, we confess, to again greet this very estimable and thoroughly cultivated lady. Ever alive to the necessities of her race, and prominent in every humane effort which goes to increase human happiness, Mrs. Daniels will soon develop to the public an original and novel financial thought, which, if practically consummated, will arrest the attention of the entire country. We earnestly wish her complete success in her plan and newly inspired and important mission of good.—*Sunday Gazette.*

THE INTERNATIONAL AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Section Twenty-three of the International Workingmen's Association in this city on Saturday passed the following resolution with regard to woman suffrage:

Resolved, That we have observed with sincere gratification the broad and generous sympathy with the movement for the emancipation of labor manifested by the National Woman Suffrage Convention, in session in this city during the past week, and that we take especial pleasure in expressing our entire sympathy with the movement for the enfranchisement of woman, and our readiness to co-operate with its advocates in their efforts for the accomplishment of the end for which they are laboring.—*Washington Chronicle.*

**APPROACHING NEW ERA,
The Coming Man to be a Woman
Confidently Predicted!**

The closing lecture of the Present Term of the Spiritual and Progressive Association of the Eastern District of Brooklyn, N. Y., will be delivered by
ELDER FREDERICK W. EVANS,
Of the Shaker Fraternity, Mount Lebanon,

on
THE GREAT NEEDED REFORMS OF THE DAY!

Read the printed public notices in the *Golden Age* and other popular New York weekly papers.
* * * Theodore Tilton, also Victoria C. Woodhull, are expected to be present.

"The Coming Man to be a Woman," prophetically declared! "Great Events impending over Society!" "Their Hidden Causes!" "The Seven Worlds One Within Another!" "Wheels Within Wheels," with other relative topics, will be interestingly explained and graphically delineated.
At the Large Hall of the MASONIC TEMPLE, corner of Seventh and Grand Streets, Williamsburgh, N. Y., on Wednesday evening, January 31.

N. B.—All advocates of equal rights should attend.
Deputations from the Woman's Rights movement and from Temperance and other Reformatory Societies invited.

* * * Tickets of admission, 25 cents. Doors open at 7, lecture to commence at 8 o'clock precisely.

H. B. CLAFLIN & CO.,

**DRY GOODS, CARPETS,
HOSIERY AND WHITE GOODS, LACES AND
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"THE BEST IS THE CHEAPEST."

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738 BROADWAY, New York City.

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UNION SQUARE.**

SECOND FLOOR NOW OPEN.

Bronze, Majolica

ROYAL WORCESTER AND OTHER FINE

PORCELAIN.

London Cut and Engraved Glass.

FREDERICK KURTZ'S

DINING ROOMS

23 New Street and 60 Broadway

AND

76 Maiden Lane and 1 Liberty St.

Mr. Kurtz invites to his cool and comfortably furnished dining apartments the down-town public, assuring them that they will always find there the choicest viands, served in the most elegant style, the most carefully selected brands of wines and liquors, as well as the most prompt attention by accomplished waiters.

**HOME
INSURANCE COMPANY,**

No. 135 Broadway.

Branch Office... No. 586 Sixth Avenue.

Capital . . . \$2,500,000

Assets, over 4,000,000

This Company having provided for all its Chicago Losses, without borrowing a dollar or disturbing a single Bond and Mortgage, invites the attention of the public to the following Certificate of Hon. George W. Miller, Superintendent of the Insurance Department of the State of New York, that the Capital has been restored to the full amount of Two and One-half Millions of Dollars.

CHAS. J. MARTIN, Pres.

J. H. WASHBURN, Sec.

**INSURANCE DEPARTMENT,
ALBANY, N. Y., Dec. 27, 1871.**

Having on the 10th day of November, 1871, made a requisition, directing the officers of the Home Insurance Company, of New York, to require the Stockholders of said Company to pay up the sum of One Million Five Hundred Thousand Dollars deficiency then existing in the Capital of said Company, and upon due examination made, it appearing that the said amount of One Million Five Hundred Thousand Dollars has been duly subscribed and fully paid in, in cash, I hereby certify that the capital of said Company has been fully restored to its original amount of Two Million Five Hundred Thousand Dollars.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my official seal on the day and year above written.

GEORGE W. MILLER,

(L. S.) **Superintendent.**

8 PER CT. GOLD

First Mortgage Sinking Fund Bond,

(COUPON AND REGISTERED.)

**INTEREST PAYABLE QUARTERLY,
FREE OF**

Government Tax,

**ISSUE LIMITED TO \$16,300 PR. MILE,
OF THE**

**LOGANSPOUT,
CRAWFORDSVILLE**

AND

**Southwestern Railway,
OF INDIANA.**

Price 92 1-2 and Accrued Interest.

This road, 92 miles in length, 70 of which are in actual operation, runs southwesterly from Logansport to Rockville, passing centrally through five of the wealthiest and most productive counties of Indiana, hitherto without railway facilities, and penetrating for twelve miles at its Southern terminus the celebrated Block Coal Fields of Parke county. It affords the shortest existing outlet to Chicago, Toledo, Detroit, Fort Wayne, Logansport and all other intermediate points for the Block Coal (now in such large demand), Lumber, Cattle, Grain and other surplus products of this rich agricultural and mineral section of the State.

For the present we offer a limited number of these First Mortgage Bonds at 92½ and accrued interest, in currency, or will exchange them for U. S. Bonds or other marketable securities at the rates of the day.

At the above price these Bonds yield to the investor 60 per cent. more income than the Bonds of the United States, and we unhesitatingly recommend them to all classes of investors as offering the most ample security and liberal returns.

Further and full particulars, with pamphlets and maps, furnished by us on application.

JONES & SCHUYLER,

No. 12 Pine Street,

FINANCIAL AGENTS OF THE COMPANY.

**A GRAND
Fire Relief Concert,**

ACADEMY OF MUSIC, N. Y.,

FEBRUARY 22, 1872,

In Aid of the Sufferers by Fire in the Northwest.

\$100,000

TO BE DISTRIBUTED TO TICKET-HOLDERS.

**\$25,000 for \$2,
\$10,000 for \$2, \$5,000 for \$2,
\$3,000 for \$2, and**

**10,115 OTHER PRESENTS,
Making**

\$100,000 IN GREENBACKS.

BANKING HOUSE OF WELLS, FARGO & CO.,

84 BROADWAY,
NEW YORK, December 9, 1871.
To the Public: The "Northwestern Fire Relief Committee" have opened with our Banking House a SPECIAL DEPOSIT ACCOUNT, known as "THE TICKET-HOLDERS' FUND," with directions that the whole amount deposited shall be by us paid out to such holders of the Grand Fire Relief Concert Tickets as become entitled thereto.

This Fund will be paid by us, at our Banking House, No. 84 Broadway, New York, upon the order of the said Committee, in accordance with the above instructions. Respectfully,
WELLS, FARGO & CO.

TICKETS. \$2 EACH.

Address all communications and orders for tickets to
NELSON CROSS, Chairman.

General Office, 267 Broadway, N. Y.

7 PER CENT. AND ALL TAXES.

**The Connecticut Valley Railroad First
Mortgage Bonds,**

FREE OF ALL TAXES in Connecticut; free of income tax everywhere. Interest payable January and July in New York. Road running; stock paid up larger than mortgage; road already employed to its utmost capacity.

For sale at moderate discount, by

ALLEN, STEPHENS & CO.,

Bankers, No. 12 Pine street, New York.

A FIRST-CLASS

NEW YORK SECURITY

AT A LOW PRICE.

The Undersigned offer for sale the First Mortgage Seven Per Cent. Gold Bonds of the Syracuse and Chenango Valley Railroad, at 95 and accrued interest.

This road runs from the City of Syracuse to Smith's Valley, where it unites with the New York Midland Railroad, thus connecting that city by a direct line of road with the metropolis.

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OFFICE OF THE METALLURGICAL CO. OF N. Y.,
38 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, Jan. 16, 1872.

The undersigned, the President and a majority of the Trustees of The Metallurgical Company of New York, do hereby certify that the Capital Stock of The Metallurgical Company of New York is Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand Dollars (\$250,000), divided into Twenty-five Thousand (25,000) Shares of Ten Dollars (\$10) each; that the full par value of each and every share has been paid in, and that the entire amount of the existing debts of the said Company do not exceed the sum of Two Thousand Five Hundred Dollars.

CHARLES W. BROOKE, President.
THOMAS F. WELLS,
THEODORE FABER,
THOMAS C. LOMBAUD,
Trustees.

Being a majority of the Trustees duly elected by and for the said corporation.

City and County of New York, ss.

Martin E. Twyford being duly sworn according to law deposes and says, that he is the Secretary of The Metallurgical Company of New York, a corporation duly formed under an act passed the 17th day of February, 1848, to authorize the formation of corporations for manufacturing, mining, mechanical, chemical and other purposes, and that the foregoing reports as to the amount of capital and of the proportion thereof actually paid in and of the amount of the existing debts of said corporation is a just and true report of the affairs of said Company with relation thereto, and that the said report is signed by a majority of the Trustees duly elected by and for the said corporation.

MARTIN E. TWYFORD.
Subscribed and sworn to before me this 17th day of January, 1872.

WM. W. MANN,
Notary Public City and County New York.