

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

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Vol. 4.—No. 25.—Whole No. 103.

NEW YORK, MAY 4, 1872.

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Steel Rail Low Grade Short Route

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Among the builders of the road, by whose cash sub-
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either built or in contemplation between Buffalo and
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The road will be completed and in running order on
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THE WOMAN QUESTION IN A NEW LIGHT.

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

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EXHAUSTIVE ARGUMENT
AGAINST MARRIAGE LEGISLATION,

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

Principles of Government, by Victoria C. Woodhull;	\$3 00
Constitutional Equality, by Tennie C. Claflin;	2 50
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Practical View of Political Equality, speech by Tennie C. Claflin;	
Majority and Minority Report of the Judiciary Committee on the Woodhull Memorial;	
Printer and Cartier Reviewed—A Speech before the Suffrage Convention at Washington;	
Each per copy;	10
per 100;	5 00
Principles of Social Freedom;	25
Impending Revolution,	25

POST OFFICE NOTICE.

The mails for Europe during the week ending Saturday, May 4, 1872, will close at this office on Wednesday at 10 A. M., on Thursday at 11 A. M., and on Saturday at 11 A. M.

P. H. JONES, Postmaster.

MRS. A. M. MIDDLEBROOK.

Recently we gave our readers some account of this talented woman 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 readers, as one of the most profitable as well as entertaining speakers in the field. Her address is box 778 Bridgeport, Conn.

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 its members are permitted to speak (unless by special invitation), and none but members are allowed to vote. The general 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).—Meets in 66 and 68 Fourth street, in the N. Y. Turn Halle, every Thursday evening at 8 o'clock.
- Section 7 (Irish).—First and third Sundays at 3 p. m., at 26 Mulvey street.
- Section 8 (German).—Sunday, 3 p. m., at No. 53 Union Square, Williamsburgh, L. I.
- Section 9 (American).—Wednesday, 8 p. m., at No. 35 East Twenty-seventh street.
- Section 10 (French).—Meets every Thursday at the N. W. corner of Fortieth street and Park avenue, at 8 p. m.
- Section 11 (German).—Thursday, 8 p. m., West Thirty-ninth street, between Eighth and Ninth avenues, at Hessel's.
- Section 12 (American).—Will meet Sunday evening, 28th instant, at 35 East 27th street.
- Section 13 (German).—Every Friday, at 805 Third avenue.
- 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 8 o'clock, 129 Spring street, at 8 o'clock.

INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

All persons desiring to become members of, or to form sections, and trades unions or societies wishing to affiliate with the International Workingmen's Association, can procure all the necessary information and documents by addressing the regular officers of the Federal Council of North America, as follows:

- English Corresponding Secretary, John T. Elliot, 208 Fifth street, New York.
- German Corresponding Secretary, Edward Grosse, 214 Madison street, New York.
- French Corresponding Secretary, B. Langrand, 335 Fourth avenue, New York.
- Spanish Corresponding Secretary, Majin Janer, 112 Lexington avenue, Brooklyn.
- Italian Corresponding Secretary, Antonio Bruni, 621 East Eleventh street, New York.

THE GENERAL COUNCIL; TWO FEDERAL COUNCILS OF THE U. S.; AND THE TWELFTH SECTION OF THE I. W. A. OF N. A.

We had not intended to say anything upon this matter to bring it more prominently before the public, until it should have been made a little more definite. But we are in receipt of a large number of letters from persons contemplating the formation of sections, especially among the Spiritualists of the country, asking the cause of the suspension of Section 12, which require some sort of explanation. Besides the suspension of the Section was made public by other means than our own, for which we cannot be held responsible; and our duty as journalists demand a treatment of the subject strictly in accordance with the facts involved.

The following was published in full in the New York World of April 15:

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION, 33 RATHBONE PLACE, LONDON, W. C.

I.—THE TWO FEDERAL COUNCILS.

ART. 1.—Considering that Federal Councils are but instituted in order to secure in every country to the workingmen's movement the power of union and combination. (Sec. 7, general rules.) That consequently the existence of two rival central councils is an open infraction of the general rules.

The General Council calls upon the two Federal Councils at New York to unite and act as one provisionally, until the meeting of the American General Congress.

ART. 2.—Considering that the efficiency of the Provisional Federal Council would be impaired if it contained too many members, who have only recently joined the I. W. A.

The General Council recommends that such new formed sections as are numerically weak, should combine among themselves for the appointment of a few common delegates.

II.—GENERAL CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES FEDERATION.

ART. 1.—The General Council recommends the convocation for the 1st of July, 1872, of a general Congress of the delegates of sections and affiliated associations of the United States.

ART. 2.—To this Congress will belong the appointment of the Federal Council of the U. S. It may, if convenient, empower the Federal Council thus appointed to add to itself a certain limited number of members.

ART. 3.—The same Congress will have power of determining the by-laws and regulations for the organization of the I. W. A. in the U. S., but such by-laws and regulations must not contain anything contrary to the general rules and regulations of the association.

SECTION XII.

ART. 2.—Considering that Section No. 12 of New York, has not only passed a resolution, by virtue of which each section possesses the independent right to construe according to its fancy, the proceedings of the several Congresses, and the general rules and regulations, but has moreover fully acted up to this doctrine, which, if fully adopted would leave nothing of the I. W. A. but its name;

That the same section has never ceased to make the I. W. A. a vehicle of issues some of which are foreign, while others are directly opposed to the aims and purposes of the I. W. A.;

For these reasons the General Council considers it its duty to put in force administrative resolution 6 of the Basle Congress, and to declare Sec. 12 suspended till the meeting of the next General Congress which is to take place in September, 1872.

ART. 2.—Considering that the I. W. A., according to general rules, is to consist exclusively of workingmen's societies. (Art. 1, 7, and 11 general rules.)

That consequently Art. 9 of the general rules to this effect: "Every body who acknowledges and defends the principles of the I. W. A. is eligible to become a member," although it confers upon the active adherents of the International the right either of individual membership, or admission to workingmen's sections, does in no way legitimate the formation of sections exclusively or principally composed of members not belonging to the working class;

That for this very reason the General Council was some months ago precluded from recognising a Slavonia section, composed of students;

That according to general rules VI., the general rules are to be adapted to the local circumstances of each country;

That the social condition of the U. S., though in many other respects most favorable to the working class movement, peculiarly facilitate the intrusion into the I. W. A. of bogus reformers, middle class quacks, and trading politicians;

For these reasons, the General Council recommends that in future no American section be admitted, of which two thirds at least are not *wages laborers*.

ART. 3.—The General Council calls the attention of the American Federation to resolution third, of the last Conference relating to a section or sections, or separatist bodies pretending to accomplish special missions, distinct from the common aim of the association; viz., to emancipate the man of labor from his economical subjection to the monopolizer of the means of labor, the which lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence.

REMARKS.

The above very remarkable emanation of the despotic Will resident in the G. C. at London, England, has been transmitted to this country through communications addressed to the Secretaries of each of the rival Federal Councils here, but the persons whom it most nearly concerns, namely, the members of the 12th Section, have not yet officially received any information either of the commencement or termination of proceedings against them, under which it appears that as a section they have been arraigned, tried, convicted and sentenced without a hearing being accorded to them, and even without their knowledge. Comment upon such unwarrantable conduct can scarcely be necessary. It seems to us to be utterly inexcusable, and that the actors therein ought to be held to a strict account.

Citizens of any country pretending to the possession or enjoyment of the least civil freedom intensely hate and guard against arbitrary arrests and punishments. Nothing is ever permitted to be transacted judicially in their name upon *ex parte* testimony beyond the mere service of a notice to the accused to appear and answer the plaintiffs. And meanwhile, the accused is presumed to be innocent. But in this case all ordi-

nary rules governing the administration of civil justice appear to have been reversed.

Not only does this Council (about one-half of the members of which, if we are not greatly misinformed, have now no constituents, since they have from time to time been added to fill vacancies occasioned by retiring members) presume thus to indict one of the most active Sections of the I. W. A. in the United States, that one to which, more than any other agency, (though we say it who perhaps should not say it), the organization is indebted for the progress it has made in this country during the last year; but acting *ex post facto*, it declares that action criminal to-day which was yesterday, under its own Rules and Regulations, not only innocent, but praiseworthy; and it proceeds to inflict punishment accordingly. Yesterday, any Section might take the initiative; speech was free and the press was free. The way to equality was through liberty. To-day nothing must be thought or spoken, or written or printed, and nothing must be done without permission of the power ruling the deliberations of the G. C., sitting at No. 33 Rathbone Place, London, W. C.

The first authorized official edition of the "Rules" of the I. W. A., distributed in this country, contained the following—Article No. 7:

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

Now, a large majority of the Sections here were organized under that edition of the rules containing this article. Is it keeping good faith, or is it even common fairness to suspend those Sections which, availing themselves of the liberty accorded thereby, take the initiative in all matters tending to the general progressive improvement of public life? because forsooth, a private Conference of delegates held in London, at which the Sections in the United States were not represented, have since revised the Rules in such a manner as to omit the above article. It strikes us that the only just course to pursue under such circumstances would be to say to those Sections, "what you have done was laudable and justifiable, but hereafter you must do so no more," instead of depriving them of their International character by an arbitrary decree, of which and the reasons for its proposed issue, they were designedly kept in profound ignorance.

But the reasons assigned for the suspension of section 12 are as destitute of truth as the manner in which the suspension was accomplished is unjustifiable. Section 12 has passed no resolution in virtue of which each section possesses the independent right to construe according to its fancy the proceedings of the several Congresses and the general Rules and Regulations. A proposition was submitted which might be so construed, and after a discussion, which continued through two or three meetings, it was amended so as to provide, that in the first instance each section *must* decide for itself, since the Rules required each member to accept and sustain the principles of the I. W. A., but that where there was a difference of opinion an appeal should be taken to the G. C., which should be recognized as the final arbiter. Surely there is nothing in this which is objectionable, unless the G. C. desire for membership in this country no persons but mental as well as physical slaves, which, if it does, it will not find. Here, at least, there is no mental slavery imposed by anybody's authority.

Nor is it true that the "same section has never ceased to make the I. W. A. a vehicle of issues, some of which are foreign, while others are directly opposed to the aims and purposes of the I. W. A." Ordinarily, a defendant in a judicial proceeding is entitled to a "bill of particulars." Where are the specifications in this case? They have not been accorded, because they cannot be created. We say that Section 12 has not made the I. W. A. the vehicle of any other issues than those which are logically and legitimately deducible from the language in which the proceedings of the several Congresses and of the G. C., and even of the private Conference held in London last autumn (above referred to), has been printed. Moreover, we say, that John Hales, General Secretary of the G. C., in a letter to the Secretary of the Dundee Republican Club, (who had written to ascertain the principles of the I. W. A.), published in the WEEKLY of December 23, 1871, made the I. W. A. the vehicle of precisely the same issues. Were they then, as proposed by him, either foreign or directly opposed to the aims and purposes of the I. W. A.? If so, why is he retained as General Secretary? Why not suspend him? Or, are the citizens of the United States to be excepted from the general rule governing the Propaganda of the I. W. A. throughout the world? In this decree of the G. C. its authors presume to recommend that in future no American section be admitted, of which two thirds at least are not wages slaves. Must they be *politically* slaves, also? As well one thing as the other, for the one condition follows the other as regularly as that the sun rising in the East gives light by day, and setting in the West is succeeded by darkness through the night.

It may be said that section 6 of article 2, of the revised Rules, confers an absolute right to suspend any branch until the meeting of the next Congress, and that the G. C. may act with or without reason, and with or without any notice to the parties concerned. If this were so, the letter of the authority and the spirit and purpose for which it was conferred, should determine its meaning and how it should be exercised. Justice and equity are before and above all mere forms. But this section of article 2 does not apply to Section 12. The case of Section 12 falls within the terms of Section 7 of the same article, which provides that "in case of differences arising between societies or branches of the same national

group, or between groups of different nationalities," the G. C. shall decide such differences, subject to an appeal to the next Congress, but no power of suspension is accorded. The entire interest at issue here has grown out of differences between Section 1 and Section 12. The last-named Section would be willing to accept a decision of the G. C. against it, and take an appeal to the Congress, but it has a right to denounce its suspension as an act of usurpation and tyranny which the comparatively free citizens of America will never submit to, either within or without the pale of the I. W. A.

And we may be again referred, as we have already been, by F. A. Sorge in the columns of the New York World for a justification to the last clause of Article 17 of the Resolutions of the London Conference, in the following words, to wit:

The Conference gives warning that henceforth the General Council will be bound to publicly denounce and disavow all organs of the International which, following the precedents of the *Progress* and the *Solidarity*, should discuss in their columns, before the middle-class public, questions exclusively reserved for the local or federal committees and the general Council, or for the private and administrative sittings of the federal or general congresses.

But this, too, is inapplicable to the case of Section 12. Woodhull, Claflin & Co., publish the WEEKLY, in which they print articles, and papers and documents relating to the I. W. A., and each member of the firm belongs to Section 12, but that Section is not responsible for the contents of the WEEKLY, and has no right to interfere with the business of its editors and proprietors. The Section is responsible for the integrity of its own members, certainly, but what is publicly spoken in a public meeting, may be publicly printed in a public newspaper, without violating the rule. Nor has the G. C. ever indicated what the subjects may be that are exclusively reserved for the local or Federal Committees.

Finally, Section 12 is in no way responsible for the dissolution of the old C. C., or for the existence of two rival Federal Councils. The old Committee expired under the terms of its Constitution on the first of December last. The only legal way to prolong its existence was proposed by the delegate of Section 12; but his proposition, namely, "that the officers of the committee be officially authorized to issue a Call upon the different Sections to elect delegates to a new committee to which the old business might be referred" was rejected, and the Committee adjourned *sine die*. The formation of two rival Federal Councils was the logical result. Which is regular we cannot say, since it is the province of G. C. to decide; but this we do say, that a large majority of the Sections, and of the adherents of the I. W. A. in America are represented in that Council, of which JOHN T. ELLIOT is the English speaking Corresponding Secretary.

Moreover, after the dissolution of the Central Committee and on the day the various re-elected delegates were to assemble, a number of delegates, who had previously desired to exclude Section 12, by concerted action met an hour before the usual time for meeting, organized a new Council, and appointed a committee on credentials, which was instructed to report adversely to all Sections not comprised of two-thirds wages laborers, and Section 12 was not to be admitted upon any terms whatever. When the other delegates arrived they found this extraordinary machinery in full operation. Of course they would not submit to any such despotic rule as that, and assembling at another place, organized a separate Council, which has continued to transact business and to act as propagandists with harmony and success. With this branch of the I. W. A. nearly all of the newly formed sections have affiliated, while scarcely any have joined what is known as the "Sorge Faction." This latter Council have utterly ignored the existence of the other branch, and denied its right to admit unrepresented Sections; while the former Council have always kept open a standing invitation to all sections to come in.

Just one, and but one, sensible suggestion can be found throughout the whole of this extraordinary manifesto of the G. C. It is in the Article where it is stated that the efficiency of Councils is impaired by the admission of too many members, and it is recommended that the several sections should combine among themselves for the appointment of common delegates. But we doubt if its authors fully appreciated the forms of organization to which a faithful application of the principle must lead. It involves the substitution of local self-government in place of the centralization which has hitherto marked the progress of the I. W. A., and which is just now producing consequences that if not speedily obviated, must result in its disruption. We (*Americans*) may be supposed to understand our own political status, at least quite as well as our fellow citizens of other nationalities residing beyond the seas. Our form of government is Municipal, State and National. To become a political power the I. W. A. must conquer possession of the forms of government. To this end the sections must be organized by primary election districts. As many sections as may be included within a Municipal district must combine to elect a delegate to a municipal Council. So, likewise, as many sections as may be included within an Assembly district must combine to elect a delegate to a State Council. So, also, as many sections as may be included within a Congressional district must combine to elect a delegate to a National Council. The Municipality first, the State next, and the Nation last.

In this manner only a new government may be formed to take the place of the old, when the work of that has been finished. Nor would it be necessary to prescribe that two thirds of the members of the sections should be wages laborers. It would be far more reasonable to decree, though even that would be absurd, that two thirds of the members should be their own self-supporting employers. The intrusion into the I. W. A. of

"bogus reformers, middle class quacks and trading politicians," is mostly to be feared from that class of citizens who have nothing better to depend upon than the proceeds of wages slavery.

We sincerely hope that all the differences of the I. W. A. may be amicably adjusted, upon the principles of freedom, equality and justice, but it cannot be expected that Americans, with American ideas, either can or will submit to any foreign systems of arbitrary control. And if for following this peculiarity of the American people, the General Council in London see fit to discard them, they will have to form an International of their own to meet American ideas of governmental justice. But to our own mind there can be but one true interpretation or Internationalism, and that seems to us, must be against Class Legislation, such as is represented in the resolutions which we have printed.

ELEMENTS OF ORDER—WOMAN.

(From the International Herald, London, Eng.)

CONCERNING SPHERES.

"Wherever there is an ascendant class, a large proportion of the morality of the country emanates from its class interests, and its feelings of class superiority. The morality between Spartans and Helots, between planters and negroes, between princes and subjects, between nobles and roturiers, between MEN and WOMEN, has been for the most part the creation of these class interests and feelings; and the sentiments thus generated react in turn upon the moral feelings of the members of the ascendant class in their relations among themselves."—JOHN STUART MILL.

In considering the question of spheres, of which politics is one, I purpose, as briefly as I can, to examine whether woman would deteriorate if admitted to the full enjoyment of power, and, also, how far politics is likely to unsex her. It is said that it appears from her mental constitution that she is ordained to be subordinate to man. This argument extended a little further would defeat all human liberty. Slavery could be vindicated and upheld wherever it should appear that the master had the superior mental organization. The principle would give the power of government to a select few, with the best endowed minds, and exclude the great mass of the people from any participation in the affairs of the State. It would utterly subvert the principles of republicanism. The same reasons which operate to establish self-government for the mass of mankind, seem also to establish the right of woman to be represented in the councils of State. I have only to maintain that woman is a rational, moral being, and disposed to obey the law, in order to establish her capacity to vindicate her rights. She must fall below the average moral endowments before she can be justly excluded from any moral work which concerns her happiness, or that of the community. Government is a moral institution, in which all nature and enlightened moral beings under its influence, who have an intelligent and abiding love of justice, have a right to be actors. But, it is inquired, would not any attempt to place "weaker" faculties on a par with stronger ones be unsuccessful? I answer, that great success has attended such an experiment in the Republic of the United States of America, where, for more than half a century without any nice discrimination as to the comparative strength of the mental faculties, the Americans have substantially placed all native adult male citizens on a par as to the right of representation under the United States Government, ever since its organization. The great mass of the American male citizens through the polls of their elections, and the general result has been satisfactory to the friends of free government. In England, too, we are nearing this point of male suffrage, despite the cabalistic hallucination that we have arrived at "household" suffrage. But it is said that man has a better endowment than woman of the reasoning faculties, causality, and comparison. I hope I may be pardoned for conceding this to be true, merely for the sake of the argument. It is sufficient for my purpose that woman is conceded to be a rational moral being. But granting to man superior reasoning faculties, these alone will not make him a better legislator than woman; he must have a better moral endowment also, for legislation is a moral work. But grant him a moral superiority over woman (which is unfounded in fact) then he would be better qualified for the business of legislation; but so also is one man better qualified for this work than another, and yet all men are alike eligible to the legislative office. Suppose man on account of these superior endowments would legislate best, that would not exclude women from voting for the legislative body. Allow man to be exclusively eligible to the representative office, the question still returns, by whose votes is he to be chosen? And ought not women at least to participate in the exercise of the elective franchise?

Human rights take their origin in the mental constitution; all men have the same mental attributes, and therefore we must concede to them the same rights. Although at the same time we perceive that one man has far more liberal endowments than another, yet we hold that the right does not depend upon the degree, but wholly upon the character of the mental manifestation. The laws have never distinguished between the grades of intellectual endowments with a view to the ascertainment of human rights. Sanity is all that the law looks to either in reference to rights or duties. In the social state all sane men of mature age are possessed of equal rights, and the laws devolve upon them equal responsibilities. He who has the least instinctive attachment to existence has the same right to the protection of life as he who loves it most. The prodigal's right of property is as sacred to the law as the miser's; the small possessions of the poor, as the ample stores of the rich. So that the greatest intellectual endowments confer no more of the rights of humanity than the most ordinary mental capacity—and in the eyes of justice, the rights of the humble are as sacred as those of the great. It is of no importance then to establish woman's mental inferiority, even if it could be done, with a view to disprove her rights; for, if we concede to her the attributes, we must concede to her also the rights of humanity. The arguments which establish human rights upon a natural foundation, establish them to be inherent in woman as well as in man. But perhaps all this will be conceded, the argument being not so much against her abstract rights as against her power to vindicate and defend them; or in other words, against her participation in civil government.

What then is the function of government? It is simply the protection of human rights. For whose benefit it is established? For the benefit of all who have rights to protect. We hold that government is the mere offspring of rights, which institute it as their means of defence and vindication. Hence it will be perceived that woman's rights are as sacred to the law as man's, and that her concern with government is as great and important as his own. If so why is she excluded from acting in reference to that which so immediately concerns her? She is

a rational moral being, endowed with rights. Is she not the very being to guard them? Throughout the sensitive creation does not each being act for himself in assertion and defence? But of all others is not a rational moral being especially ordained for self-control and self-vindication?

It is thought that politics will unsex woman, that she will "lose her tender little ways and bashful modesties, and the bloom be rubbed off every enjoyment." This is but the revival of an old cry of tyrants, now masquerading as Liberals and Conservatives, that the people are incapable of self-government. As an exhausted receiver defines the sphere of a rabbit suffocated under it, so imprisoning conditions within which the ages have bound woman limit her natural right to life. While men's functions and opportunities are of their own choice, women are forced on them by circumstances. Man's duties and avocation send the soul outward; woman must stay at home with her heart. What right has one adult citizen to forcibly determine the status of another? The sphere of a slave is the circle described by his driver's lash; the sphere of woman free is the realm her heart fills, the range and height of her faculty. The ability of one marks the present sphere of that one, but leaves all space this side of God to enlarge upon. It is said that woman cannot engage in politics, or other business, because she must marry; but she is compelled to unpaid toil of many kinds, besides child-bearing, if married. Will it require more effort to go to the town-hall twice than it does to attend the church fifty-two times a year. Politics are made merely a matter of business, the ways and means to certain ends. Principle is the what, policy is the how of affairs. The Queen of England is conceded to be, in the gentler traits, a model to her sex, though she rules an empire which encircles the globe; will our queen of hearts be less a woman when dropping a piece of paper into a box?

Women in Parliament, at salaries of £500 a year, could hardly be more damaged or damaged than as waiter-girls or mistresses of those august legislators. If politics are vicious, it is high time they were cured, for sound "policy" always coincides with substantial justice. The plea that women will be rudely treated by men at the polls, so far as it has any weight, only proves that male ruffians should be disfranchised; but "this chivalry objection comes about two centuries too late, for the courtesy of men has increased as the freedom of woman has been accorded." If men are so bad they cannot be trusted to vote with women, ought they to vote for women? Those accustomed to govern in schools, able to teach more than males can learn, will not consent to be life-long vassals of boys they educate. The mother of nine children, successfully raised and started in life; why prefer a whiff of cigar smoke to her, for Legislator, President, or Queen? Government has been made a bloody, barbarous thing, chiefly because it ignores ethics of which woman is the clearer and most steadfast exponent.

"For contemplation he and valor formed;
For softness she and sweet attractive grace.
He for God alone; she for God and him."

was a poet's idea, which Paul put in this presuming way: "Neither was the man created for the woman, but woman for the man." It is because we have thus stepped between conscience and God, severed the moral law of gravitation which binds finite sovereignties to the creative centre, that our social astronomy is so sadly distracted. If the heavenly bodies are viewed as revolving around the earth, their movements appear chaotic and inexplicable; but when you reckon from the sun as centre, the watch in your pocket may be timed and regulated by their exact and wonderful whirl through space. Whoso makes woman a satellite of himself is behind Copernicus in practical science; if he quotes the Bible let him listen to Jesus, who applauded a woman for not attending to house-keeping. If his dinner is uncooked, and his house deserted, it may be a divine voice which beckons her forth, and sordid avarice which bids her stay and grind in the prison-house of his selfishness. By whose decree is one immortal being insphered within, and made a martyr to the private interests of another? We have no fears that, dowered with liberty, she will be less feminine, for nothing unwomanly can prevail among women. More respected in a shop or counting-house, than in the kitchen, a girl acquires character and self-control in proportion as her sphere enlarges. The magnetic, thrilling touch, graceful form and movement, this animated beauty and use, has laws, tendencies, and a career of its own. Superstitious bats may denounce the rising sun as a "reform against nature," for night is their day; but rose and violet welcome light, and are adorned in its redeeming presence. Woman "as God made her" we wait to see; having already too much of the man made woman. Her artificial, superinduced, enervated nature, may disappear, but nature will revive and prevail.

Per Contra, let us briefly review—

MEN'S RIGHTS.

A gentle bachelor fears conscriptions of war may invade his peace if woman vote, and that our rulers may draft for husbands. Fatally married the wife controls one-third his property, while he loses claim to any share in hers. He can deed nothing away without her signature, and has no use of her credit at the shop or store, while she can buy heavily on his account, and law compels him to pay the uttermost. Withdrawing from his lordship's imperial no highness she may levy perpetual alimony on him for a living, while he must delve to earn it, and count himself lucky to be rid of her at that. A gay creature, blushing behind her fan, outwits an elegant fop in lavender kids, who thinks all the girls dying to marry him, ensnares him in an engagement, provokes him to break it, and in damages for breach of promise, carries of the bulk of his fortune. If this be his fate now, who can protect him when the "suppressed sex" are free, and he is obliged to risk his charms in an open market? Armed with jealousy and cunning, in the absence of better weapons of defence, ignorant, frivolous, exacting woman now often drags man down; her subjected conviction being fruitful in vices of artifice and power, of unnatural dependence and imperious self-assertion; the aggressor, as usual, suffers most. Imbruted mind is the reflex result of the exercise of arbitrary power, and those who trample on the weak are the first to cringe to the strong. None but base nature assume to rule equals, or domineer over inferiors. We must count it, therefore, the first and chief of man's rights to *undo*, without asking, this injustice to woman; for in so far as he deprives her of vigor and scope does he harm himself. Alas that any man can wish woman perishing in luxurious inactivity, wedded to vice or imbecility, impaled on a needle, or starving in a garret, to be contented! Double as many superiors to Elizabeth Browning, Margaret Fuller, Charlotte Brontë and George Sand are buried under our household, sewing shop, fashionable and factory life. England has one Stuart Mill, America one Emerson, but it were unlucky to have two; for why should nature be so given out as to repeat herself? In requiring woman to be the shadow of man, we mar creative intention, and rob society of the better service which intuitive sense waits to enter. The value of self-supporting independence doubtless suggested the remark of a wit: "A

wife is a fortune to be the great in gender, nun appendage, of to herself, have account to be wrong we enact lessened but irresponsible and beneficent if it is usury, owns Shakspeare Like It." "Fate," becoming forced, and so many energetic influence, practical against us; "whole year may often have the faces. The vicinal subjection artifice, or by and social well, overflow in to bless mankind, the very matter, when the our ignorance philanthropy press," is a vast natural causes eastern to the and Sampson, of whom were America to-day, former, invol wanders from in practices the not be dismissed Prince of Evil and may yet The old the stonement w with words, fo essentially un tions has "co man to one w Abyssinian sav domestic prob heads and bra husbands are b least, to prov London men a time and unscr ploze traditio arity of norm nation, but th ruled and wil tion as she is sible to law, b secure recogni If frivolous of nature has a s creating a ma to silence her may not the In my next ical Washing

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May 4, 1872.

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

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THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE.

We have a long and attractive communication from Brother L. H. Carpenter of Battle Creek, which we should be glad to publish, but our limited space forbids it, since nothing can be abstracted from it without destroying its connection and meaning. Nevertheless we are made glad of such evidence of our own aged friends, who have lived more than three-score-and-ten years and whose years have not accustomed them to run in old fashioned ruts of thoughts.

MINOOKA, GRUNDY CO. ILL.
April 15, 1872.

Editors of Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly:

I heartily endorse your principles and call for a convention in May. I think it none too soon to look at the deplorable state of the country at large. Three fifths of the working farmers in this vicinity are bankrupt with their families, and all through the selfish villainies of the monopoly.

The farmers, as workers, do all the labor, and the merchants get the golden slice from their tables and homes. If things continue so many months longer, all must eventually loose their homes as they cannot meet the mortgages in time to save them. Go where you will—in house or cot, in village or town, in stores or saloons, you hear the self-same story of destitution, despair, etc.

Curses heavy and deep are hurled at the monopolists and boards of trade. A change must come either by revolution or ballot, very soon; we, or as a people, are damned.

Yours for liberty,

JOBIAH BUXTON.

A LOGICAL VIEW.

MESDAMES WOODHULL & CLAFLIN: In your issue of February 3, I find an article from Maxwell, in which he criticizes Mrs. Woodhull's paragraph on free love, thinks it ambiguous and faulty because it does not assert the "do as you would be done by" principle; the "moral duty of justice and equity" between lovers which he thinks should instigate each of them to sacrifice his or her own inclinations for the happiness of the other. Now, I understand Mrs. Woodhull to speak of that mutual spirit-blending love, which binds two congenial soul in one, in scripture phrase, "makes of the twain one flesh," enables them to anticipate each others' wants, being already inclined to supply or relieve them by virtue of that mutual love, thus rendering the sacrifice of inclination in so doing impossible. To talk of such sacrifice is simply absurd. But, really, which would be the most happying to George—a kind act performed by Mary, gushing forth, as it were, spontaneously from the deep fountain of her in-dwelling love; or prompted by a sense of duty, involving a sacrifice of inclination? No, friend Maxwell, it seems to me that to talk of mutual lovers needing a sense of duty to prompt them to acts of "justice and equity" toward each other, would be like attempting to warm the rays of a tropical sun with the glimmerings of an iceberg. Where love is wanting a sense of duty may be required to secure "justice and equity," but where love and wisdom abound, there will, I think, be small need of that sense of that duty.

Now, it should be the joy of all well-wishers of humanity that we have one paper that can afford to be free.

Yours for Progress, B. H. LEWIS.

"Matilda" writes us from Providence, R. I.: The Spiritualists of Providence are apparently awakening to an appreciation of the great truths revealed to them, and to this much of merit may be accredited the teachings of Mrs. F. Kingsman, who has recently ministered here. A woman whose prepossessing appearance, fine mental endowments, prolific experience, and above all her glowing self-sacrificing zeal for the cause which she has recently espoused cannot fail to place her among the first and most attractive of those who promulgate these divine principles. Her lectures in the place commanded full and attentive audiences; have been marked by a close application of the divine plan to the needs of humanity; and were embodied in lofty and sublime thoughts. These gifts when known will entitle her to the patronage of all societies who would be edified in matters pertaining to their highest interests and happiness, thus securing the warp and web for weaving the golden links of purity and harmony whereby poor humanity may be bound in one common brotherhood.

A. H. Clay, of Pottstown, N. Y., writes us as follows:

I observed in *The Banner of Light*, several speeches delivered by yourself, on different subjects, in which my own thoughts on the same subject are reflected. Therefore, I write as a duty, to let you know that you do not stand alone in the matter.

I am sure that all the mischief and suffering in the world has grown out of the idea of worshipping false gods; and it seems to me that all the world should easily see this. To worship one God would displace all dispute in reference to the matter; then the foundation on which to build our social structures would be laid, "good will to all mankind." I make this broad assertion that the world belongs to God's children equally—that no one has a right to enrich himself or herself by selling it out to others; nor have the whole people got this right to do so to make a few rich at the expense of the many. In nature we see a place for everything, and everything in its place; so God created a place for all His children; but man left his proper place and violated God's law. We are now paying the penalty. Look at the trains of mischief in the world; gaze upon it as you would upon a Photograph, and see the sin of the world. Then imagine the whole world a united joint stock company—a place for each and each in place, need-

ing no money, the enemy of equality, consequently no one could put another's accumulated labor in his pocket or safe, and make use of it to enslave. Christ always taught this doctrine. Our social structure was nearly always uppermost in his thoughts and conversations. Hear him: "Love one another;" "Do as you would have others do to you." All of which clearly anticipated means that would answer this end; under this lies the true worship of God.

Viola E. Archibald, of Watseka, writes thus:

I wish to express my gratitude for your kind response, and highly appreciated generosity, although so unexpected. Though unspoken, my spirit has gone out to you in gentle remembrance, and thank offering to the Guiding Band that surround and uphold, prompting words of inspiration, giving encouragement to the crushed, saddened heart; strength and vigor to the laborer, already in the fields; striking terror to the heart of the usurper, for he knows his house is built upon the sand, and it cannot long withstand such fearful lashings of the waves below, and the terrific thunderbolts above. But it must fall, and as was said of old, "great will be the fall thereof." I have just been reading your criticism of the *World's* comments upon Laura Fair, I am glad your hand flinched not to grasp tightly the surgeon's knife, and scalpel, lay bare, and probe deeply, this foul, loathsome, social excrescence. Too many members of the press, stand ready with palliative poultice, and fresh, white bandage, to bind up, and conceal all traces, if may be, of putrefaction. Ah! my dear sirs, you have poulticed too long, and though you may try vigilantly to cover all vestige, the noisome odor thereof cannot be bandaged. My soul burned with indignation, to see and feel how reely, man may pour on woman's defenceless head, the veil of his holy (?) wrath; when perhaps, he himself, is even now living a life of erratic madness, and his diabolisms threaten him, of his own Cares and Penotes. There is many a woman behind the grates, could tell fearful tales of blasted hopes and lives, enacted under the broad cloak of marriage, or legalized prostitution. I say let every woman take the law in her own hands, and whoever approaches her against her wishes though it be her own husband, shoot him down, as any other beast bereft of decency. When man learns he must respect and regard woman's personality; or he will be forced by power of bullet, some of this crushing woman down to the earth, and then spitting their foul remorse, and offering all manner of indignities afterward, will cease; I fear not until then. She has no suffrage, property, or legal rights, worthy of notice. Then what other course for self protection has she? I do not advocate mob law, but if indignity and insult is offered, let them abide the consequences. Let her understand she is nothing but game with 99 100 of mankind, and that no person or power can or will help her if in trouble, and all the stock she takes in the other securities will go down immediately below par. But, with the determination, "myself shall be my friend," under all circumstances, she will most efficiently muzzle every low dog's mouth, and create the respect of all worth having. Oh, had I the power of unstamping upon every one of my sisters consciences in letters of living light the necessity, the stern necessity, of self reliance. It seems to me the greatest possible revolution now pending is that of opening the spiritual vision of humanity, and its practical application to this earth plane. My most fervent wishes are with you, that you may be enabled to attain the acme of your hopes, which represents the necessity of 17,000,000 sisters and as many more of the inevitable companion, either for weal or woe. (If there are any thoughts herein contained that you think would benefit any other, you are at liberty to publish, but I would prefer the true name be suppressed, as I do not wish to come before the public in *propia persona*, until I am free from him whom the law recognizes as my husband, with power to insult when it pleases his own sweet will, and which he has not hesitated to take advantage of. I stole this, that you may understand my encumbered condition.

13 CHESTER SQUARE, BOSTON, MASS., January 4, 1872.

Mrs. VICTORIA C. WOODHULL—My Dear Madam: Last night I was drawn by an irrepressible power to be present at Music Hall, that I might look upon the personal, and hear the living voice of the woman whose energizing thoughts had become revealed to me the first time, but a few months ago. Exultantly I listened to every statement, madam, that you made, either in argument or in illustration of your subject, and I followed you with scrutinizing care from the establishment of your premises, through the processes of your analysis, and your closely compacted arguments, until you reached your inevitable conclusions, and I do affirm that for the first time assuredly, have these momentous principles found a first advocate in one who discerns the primal causes, with rare clear-sightedness and strong sense, honorably enunciates the hideous evils, and presents their cures, and fearlessly discloses the ultimate logical issues deducible from her principles.

The tyrannies, social and governmental, that exist at this moment in every land, are crushing manhood out of men, and keeping women dwarfed and helpless, and all the while the Juggernaut of civilization with its multiplying demands is advancing inexorably, intensifying the evils of all conditions, and yet tens of thousands seem unable to discern the sources of their suffering, but believe that the accumulations of mere material wealth is the panacea for love that glows on the altar of your own pure heart, and to your uncompromising worship at the shrine of truth, I render my homage.

You were listened to last night by an English gentleman and English man, and no more fervid sympathy and admiration encompassed you than what went out from them. I trust that the high intelligences who instruct you, may guide you to

wife is a fortune—when she is poor." As the adjective is said to be the greatest enemy of the noun, though agreeing with it in gender, number, and person, so woman is an adjective, an appendage, of man; is useless or worse to him, and a mockery to herself, having an inalienable right to be a noun, a person accountable to infinite intelligence. Since in correcting wrong we enact right, men's actual influence will not only be lessened but vastly increased, by abolishing the despotic and irresponsible power they now wield. If authority is natural and beneficent, the votes of a world united cannot overthrow it; if it is usurped, the quicker it falls the better. It was Shakespeare, we believe, who wrote "As You Like It." Fascinating weakness, "sweet irresponsibility," becomes a nullity, or hostile, when allegiance is forced, and suggests truths in an old maxim, "as many slaves, so many enemies." Since we offer a premium to adverse influence, practical sense and persuasive eloquence are turned against us; "measures which statesmen have meditated a whole year may be overturned by a woman in a day," and often have they conquered a nation by simply making up faces. The victims of false deference on one hand, and tyrannical subjection on the other, they win through diplomatic artifice, or by sacrifices inconsistent with personal sanctity and social well-being. Impulses, which rightly directed would overflow in tenderness and rectitude, invigorate, adorn, and bless mankind, now take the sexes to houses of assignation, and the very materials with which perfect society will be constructed, when the builder arrives, are added fuel to flaming heats of ignorance kindles. The "social evil," which despairing philanthropy says "no law can restrain and no power suppress," is a vast business system of supply and demand, whose natural causes and retributive results point outcast and outcasters to the ways of healthful sanity. Not to quote Solomon and Sampson, the reputed wisest and strongest of men, both of whom were conquered by women, why in Europe and America to-day are men of genius, writers, statesmen, and reformers, involved in family feuds, tenants of desolate homes, wanderers from what should be domestic quiet, or indulging in practices they dare not defend as right? These things cannot be dismissed with a sneer, or religiously attributed to the Prince of Evil; for the devil is only unexplained adversity, and may yet turn out to be Deity in disguise. The old theory of natural depravity and vicarious stonement will no longer serve to darken counsel with words, for the instincts and attractions God made are not essentially unclean. Conjugal law, which in all ages and nations has "confined women to one man, has never confined man to one woman." Virtuous lawgivers who urge war on Abyssinian savages and Mormon polygamists, should first face domestic problems at home, whose solution will require clearer heads and braver hearts than have yet appeared. In Utah husbands are responsible for their wives—required by law, at least, to provide them bread. In Boston, New York, and in London men are quite as much married, though in a clandestine and unscrupulous way. Spectacle book-worms may explore traditions of the past, grave divines declaim against laxity of morals, conceited stoics affect to be superior to fascination, but the fact remains that woman, incarnating love, has ruled and will rule man for better or for worse, just in proportion as she is assured or denied a right to herself. Not responsible to law, because unrecognized by it, she is now driven to secure recognition of her existence by depravity or rebellion. If frivolous or perverse, it is the result of false conditions, for nature has a seriously honest intent in creating a woman as in creating a man. If he makes badness a necessity, and bribes to silence her moral sense, designed to call him to order, why may not the "weaker vessel" plot to upset the stronger?

In my next I propose to introduce to your readers "A Political Washing Day." E. H. H.

CHURCH AND STATE.

To those to whom this couplet has been a terror, we commend the following wise words of Ambrose Caston Cudden, taken from the *International Herald*, of London, England:

"But my observations and searching inquiries stayed not here. I found other things which required an equally vigilant scrutiny, and on the need for this scrutiny, the many perversions, absurdities and superstitions I discovered 'The Church,' had opened my eyes; and in that other equally artful and cunning contrivance called 'The State,' I saw before me another monster evil, another self-constituted authority of the self same character and corrupt influence, as that which I had already abandoned. I found 'The State' to be a like combination of men, who assume and exercise undue temporal authority and dominion over mankind, and receive profit by their own made laws, and appropriate to themselves and their minions all the world's wealth and money, to gratify their thirst for arbitrary power over their fellow men, and to indulge themselves in ease and affluence, vanity and pride; while they thereby create and perpetuate poverty, hardships, misery and degradation to the industrious useful millions, without themselves doing any useful thing on earth.

The two artificial authorities of Church and State are essentially one and the same imposition on the people; they aid and support each other, neither could live without the other. As the union of the soul and body is necessary to constitute human life of a man, so the alliance of the two tyrannies is necessary to make one perfect tyranny over the whole man, corporal and spiritual. This monstrous assumption exercises absolute control over both body and soul, and as far as possible, entire dominion over the industrious wealth-producing nations on the earth.

This unholy and unjust authority has been triumphantly wielded throughout all nations called the Christendom for many centuries, especially from the time of Constantine, by church and state, in the name and under the pretence of true religion and civil government. And the very same dogmatic tyranny, only somewhat modified and modernized, is still being exercised. All the laws that have been made by rulers, churchmen or statesmen, all the wars that have been waged by governments, all the churches, palaces, colleges and prisons that have been built, all the priests, clergy and preachers that have been educated, all the mandates and edicts issued by kings or ministers, all their secret diplomacies, all the discussions in parliaments and congresses, and all the imposts they exact all the world over, have been and continue to be mainly for the one object and purpose of upholding this double monster tyranny which has ever stood in the way, blocking up the path of freedom, and hindering social progress and human happiness."

Bishop Simpson has recently rendered an ecclesiastical decision which is not so complimentary to the United States Senate as it might be. It seems the appointment of Dr. Newman to the chaplaincy of the Senate, after his pastoral period in Washington had expired, raised a question of church government which Bishop Simpson promptly decided by saying that, under the general law of the church, he had the power to appoint chaplains to reformatory institutions, and he considered the United States Senate to fall within the scope of the rule.

visit England, that you may there proclaim among the women and men of high culture and exalted rank the lofty principles of life that animate you, and which urge an utterance wherever there is suffering and established tyrannies, that you may there experience how sincere and genial is the support to unfeigned loyalty, to principle, so unostentatiously, modestly and reverently proclaimed.

To the unselfish womanly love that glows on the altar of your own pure heart, and to your uncompromising worship at the shrine of Truth, I render my homage.

Subscribing myself, dear Madam, yours in sincere sympathy,
E. V. INGRAM.

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., April 2, 1872.

MRS. VICTORIA C. WOODHULL: Sustained as you are by armies of brave and true women and men, and by the angelic hosts of the spirit world, you need no words of encouragement from me, yet I wish you to know that there are thousands of progressive spirits throughout this far Western country, and that nearly all of them with whom I have come in contact, endorse your views upon all the great questions of the day. Many others are with us at heart, but have not the moral courage to declare themselves publicly for fear of ostracism in society or of injury to their business. As to myself, I wish my thousands of friends in Missouri and elsewhere to know that I have enlisted for "during the war," in the army of reform, and that I mean to fight, with voice and pen, and sword if necessary, until injustice and oppression shall be driven from our land. I will not rest until women enjoy all the rights and privileges in our Government enjoyed by men; till the laboring classes cease to be oppressed by the rich; till full political, religious and social freedom be guaranteed to all. The revolution is begun and must run its course, and woe to those who place themselves in its way, or attempt to arrest its progress.

JOHN R. KELSO.

Elizabeth Valerie Ingram of 73 Chester square, Boston, Mass., forwards her name that it may be placed on the pronouncement for the enfranchisement of women and the inauguration of a true liberty in America.

A sojourn of nearly three years in the United States has disclosed to her that the much vaunted liberty in this country is but a mockery and a lie. She has perceived that from the Senator to the herdsmen there but exists a system of multiplied tyranny of the lust of power and the greed of gain, created only by the inexorable limitations of individual conditions; but that true and lasting liberty which rises on a reverence of each man for another, has not yet begun to exist.

April 9, 1872.

FLORENCE, March 28, 1872.

MY DEAR MRS. WOODHULL: A large package of papers from you met me on my arrival here, and were, I assure you, as welcome and as refreshing as cold water to a thirsty soul. Thanks, or as the Italians would say, *mollo grazia*; it is very pleasant to be kept *en rapport* with events and people in our own country.

Rapid as is the progress of reconstruction in this old nation newly consolidated, the moral atmosphere seemed stagnation in Naples. In Rome I felt at once the spirit which was breathing upon the people; there I came at once into the sphere of the liberals, and found it one of enthusiasm akin to that which has always, in all ages, animated the real reformer, that supernatural impulse which never deceives, and ultimately triumphs over all obstacles.

Immediately after our arrival we learned that Pere Hyacinthe was to speak two evenings from that day at a hall adjoining the Argentine Theater. Hastening to the ticket office we found numbers there on the same errand as ourselves, and with a like want of success. "Impossible, madam, we have issued the very last." Disappointed, but not hopeless, we took our way to a friend, who crushed our hopes at once by saying, "I am so sorry, but I have only one ticket left, and I have bidden my maid to take me there to-night, even if I am insensible." Here was the spirit; I so love an enthusiasm that ignores suffering for the sake of truth and right. It was rightfully her place and not mine, and so I yielded to my fate of exclusion as gracefully as I could. Long before the hour the streets were packed with eager, earnest men and a few women.

The speech was, as I learned, mild and Christian, setting forth the demands which his party have made, that the church be reformed, and the Bible be given freely to all the people.

Gavazza followed and I judge from what I saw and heard of his speech, that he is one of the reformers who gives a knock down denunciation, and if he has not driven every one out of the hearing of his voice, makes his argument to prove his position.

On the Friday following this meeting we were in St. Peter's to hear the Vespers. The Pope's chapel was crowded to suffocation, and still the people came. Gradually the tide flowed toward the High Altar. Thinking that the Pope might possibly be going to say High Mass there (we slipped down from our holy seat a *Prie-dieu* where we had rested our tired feet, and shocked numberless poor Italians, who felt that to sit thus at our ease was a mortal sin). And passing out into the nave we saw that the Tribune above the High Altar was ablaze with light, and that it was already crowded with a solemn, sad-looking audience.

The prayers commenced almost immediately after the close of Vespers; the responses were deafening, for there were few if any, less than ten thousand people on their knees.

It was unendurable, and we made our way out, and back to the great door, where we listened to the strange sound which was like the roar of the sea when a strong wind has wakened its depths; it was all a mystery to us, for we knew that only

on Easter and great church festivals were these candles on the Tribune lighted.

Inquiring of one who, like ourselves, was a spectator what all this meant, his reply was, that it was sympathy and prayers for the Pope, and a protest against the meeting of Pere Hyacinthe, and these prayers were to be held for three days. Poor old man, little did he know what was next to come. Two weeks ago Mazzina died in Pisa; the Sunday following it was announced that the Patriot's bust would be carried to the Capitol.

The procession was to form at eleven. By half-past nine eager faces and rapid steps were bent toward the Evrio, and soon both sides were thickly hedged with a quiet crowd of spectators. One or two carriages passed up the street scattering wreaths of laurel and bay leaves and flowers on the way. At eleven the procession began to pass where we stood on the steps of a church, and where we had been for more than an hour waiting in the hot sun. The artisans were first, and all handicrafts were represented; on some of the banners was inscribed "Mazzina, the working man's father." "Mazzina, the laborer's friend." Next came the Liberal Club, composed of men of high birth, and many of wealth, and connected with the new government. Will there be no women among them, was the thought which arose in our minds, for still they came and as yet there are none. The carbonarie were conspicuous with the yellow flower in the lap button hole on the left side.

Next came the Free-thinkers with their white banners and only these dignified words, "Free-thinkers," inscribed thereon. They were a noble looking set of men and in their midst half a dozen women dressed in deep black, with bowed heads; one or two were leaning on the arm of the gentleman with whom they walked, the others like the men were shoulder to shoulder. After these our own flag borne by a young man who will in the future mark this as a white day in his calendar of his life.

Now comes the car drawn by four white horses with a statue of liberty holding above the head of the bust a wreath of laurel. There was no shouting or hurraing, but a quiet lifting of the hat and the wreaths and flowers previously scattered were thrown upon the car till the black pall was covered.

Behind the car were numerous small banners with the names of other patriots who had died for Italy, and after these were the wives, children and friends of the fallen. The procession had widened like a mighty stream and swept into its ranks many who perhaps did not understand all its deep significance.

It was not a pageant, there were no military trappings, no nodding plumes, no music, but the beating drum to which they kept step; to us it seemed the throbbing of the great heart of the nation, and was the most impressive hour I ever passed. Glancing into the faces of our party I saw their tearful sympathy and was rejoiced that we had not left Rome before this demonstration.

The procession was one hour in passing. After it was over I turned to a friend who was in Paris during the siege and whose whole heart was in sympathy with this demonstration, and said, "Will this be any better understood than was the Commune? Will they recognize this as the fruit of the seed sown in the past and watered with the blood of nations?" "Alas! I fear not," was her reply; "for they send people to see and report whose eyes are not yet unsealed. I have been talking with one who said Mazzina was a dangerous man—a disturber of the peace, ambitious and discontented."

If Victor Emanuel's eyes are unsealed he will read the signs of the times and act for the truth. There is, however, very little hope that he is sufficiently enlightened to establish his throne in justice or sway his scepter in righteousness. He is interested in education, and gives his countenance to every movement in that direction.

Our noble countrywoman, Mrs. Emily Merriman, has her work well in hand for the establishment of a college for women. The Government are ready to give her aid, and encourage her to go forward just as soon as her health will permit.

At her house I met Madame Ermina Fua Fusinata, who was called by the Government to fill the chair of Belles-Lettres in the new Normal school of Italy. She is a poet of eminence—a strong, earnest, pleasing woman, refined and graceful in manner; she is, nevertheless, a well-read politician. Listening to the conversation between these two noblewomen, so hopeful of the future of the Church, so sanguine of success in their plans for the education and development of women, I felt rebuked for my want of faith, for in their success it will be indeed the removing of mountains, but the promise is "According to your faith it shall be done unto you." One little story shows what their work is to be. An Italian count said to a lady who was pleading the cause of education: "I would not marry a lady who could read and write, for she would then have correspondents and write billet doux and flirt and waste time reading." This was said in perfect earnestness, and is an illustration of what the Equal Rights cause has to contend with; and yet I shall not be surprised any day to hear that Government has conferred a limited suffrage upon women of fortunes, of noble birth, etc., but that will be only the beginning of the work, the social, the most important part of all, still remains untouched.

This is holy week and the churches are all alive here, the picture of the Virgin painted by St. Luke, has been uncovered, and to-day the miserie is to be sung; they are going to make up here for the Pope's haughtiness, for he wills to have no music in the Sixtine Chapel, and will not bless the people, because his temporal power is abridged.

It pleases his holiness to shut up the Vatican, and the mosaic works, and admit visitors only by permission, and at very great inconvenience to them. It pleases him to be regarded as a

martyr, to hide himself in his splendid apartments, and to withhold his blessings on Easter. It pleased him to place Victor Emanuel under the ban, but no misfortune has befallen him, since, on the contrary, he has prospered and grown into the affections of the people with marvelous rapidity since those shells were thrown against St. John Lateran. It gave one a strange feeling of pain, and yet of triumph, to see those seams and gashes in the old walls of that beautiful church; pain that it had been injured thus, triumph that the bonds of superstition were being broken, and that the Pope was by his own acts, hastening the freedom of thought among the people.

There will be no very strong demonstrations while Pius Ninth lives, but no other Pope will ever hold sway in Rome over the consciences and over the lives of the people, as he has done in the past.

During Lent every man, woman and child must confess and have their ticket of communion; failing of this, they are liable to be taken from their families and imprisoned.

A Catholic lady of high standing, culture and a thorough knowledge of what she affirmed, told me that she had known a mother taken from her babe and imprisoned for no other offense than failing to present her ticket of communion. It is not so very difficult to obtain these if one has money; they may be purchased without confession; but if there are conscientious scruples about confession and an absence from the imposed duty, woe to the delinquent; trials, vexations, imprisonment and loss of worldly goods are the results. I do not write from prejudice, but from actual knowledge, and the half of what I have observed and known is not even hinted at in this letter. Yours, as ever,
PAULINE WRIGHT DAVIS.

CARDINGTON, Morrow Co., O., April 14, 1872.

The thoughts below were suggested on reading the *Religio* of the last week.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL:—Courage, dear sister. Yours is the high prerogative to "contend with wild beasts," or with elements in humanity more tyrannical than they. Deep down in the human heart the volcanic fires of hell are burning and seething to-day, as they have never before in all the past. Yours is the mission, in part, to uncup the infernal pits that are burning out the very heart strings of humanity. While the smoke and flame of the hitherto pent up conditions ascend in unbroken columns, be not dismayed or in the least thrown off of your balance; for it will not be "forever and forever." It is but the "breaking up of the foundations of the great deep" of man's undeveloped conditions, which must have a channel through which to elaborate its morbid, ignited conditions. Go on in the majesty of your divine womanhood, and a constellation of bright angels will ever cluster around your person, and impress your mind with words of burning truth that will call out and burn up the dross of human wisdom. The consuming fires that laid waste the commercial bazar of the West are but as the spark compared with the mental fires with which your spirit has to contend. Many are the noble workers in the form that appreciate your mission in the ranks of a cosmopolitan spirituality, and daily there are added to their numbers such as will stand firm to the banner of progress—equal rights for all, when the time comes that will try the hearts of women and of men. "That great day, for which all other days were made," cannot be far in the future. Then will the faint-hearted, and those who are slow to accept a universal philanthropy—a religion and a government that is cosmopolitan in its character—call upon the rocks and the mountains to hide them from the presence of the brightness of that coming day. For the sake of the truth you must expect to be misrepresented, vilified, and treated with all manner of supercilious contempt by half-fledged reformers, who stand upon their dignity among the sects and isms of the day. Thus, it has been the lot of all true reformers in the past, and thus it will be in the future, until the great spiritual, humanitarian work, which you have so boldly inaugurated, is consummated in fruition.

T. M. EWING.

A HEAVY BLOW AND SORE DISCOURAGEMENT.

So the Utah flourish of trumpets is, after all, a fizzle! What will brother Newman and his henchman do? Even the White House with the Methodist Church to boot, failed to bring the Mormons to time. And then again, brother Newman could not succeed in re-electing to the United States Senate his dear brother Harlan, with francs *ad libitum* to back him. What are we coming to?

Now my sympathies are keenly aroused for our dear brother, and I venture "humbly to sojest" that brother Newman, McKean and Harlan, together with all the "irrigation" law speculators, headed by Senator Nye, and all the gamblers, black legs, liquor sellers, ruffians and rowdies of Salt Lake City and the mining regions round about march around that city and blow ram's horns, *al la Jericho*, whereby an earthquake or some other miraculous agency will so shake up these Mormon reprobates as to compel the surrender of the said city and all it contains to said McKean, Newman, Harlan, Nye and their co-operators aforesaid. That being accomplished, a handsome present from the proceeds to the incumbent of the White House would be in order; after which it would be well to determine the punishment to be administered to those audacious judges of the Supreme Court who have dared to question the legal sagacity of Messrs. Newman and McKean!

ANTI PROCUSTES.

LAND GRANTS NOT NECESSARY FOR RAILROADS.

Those who uphold the right of Congress to give away what belongs neither to members of that body nor (exclusively) to the whole people *now* born, allege that these grants and subsidies are necessary in order to open up communications with remote districts. Were their position correct, it might be shown that we are paying too dear for our whistle, by creating immensely rich corporations to control legislatures in their interest, in order that our population may be scattered a little faster than it otherwise would be; the present extent of the scattering, independent of railways, being only necessitated by that monopoly of land, without cultivation, in the older States, which the land grant policy extends to the newer territories. And, again, if railroads are so indispensable as represented, and private enterprise is so inadequate to their construction (I grant neither premise except for the sake of argument) then it would be cheaper for the government to build them than pay four or five prices to companies to perform the service, as has been done in the case of the N. P. R.R., according to the widely-published advertisements of its agents.

I have before mentioned the fact that the Texas Pacific Com-

pany years very soon which it vir when a land pay a comp to do for no greasing, au road withou And now Salt Lake a public sent main on la House has a Constitu pany abo with the t privilege o Texas Com Texas Pac And no sonable rec some sessio hurried thi dent who s fair comp

My DEAR very pleas document vention. I give you al only the g takes no d But this misunderstand an estimat even an i however, I for any on first and fo is based on We cou ful influen could poss lies the w President even than aspira We aim tion. WH instructor. This is language, be assume with pecu use them. tute a pos science, it his ideas preme. I ever so m dices. Po nized as s perience. I am ve claims of a searchi quite awa had both sideration I think w 1. The ally by se that they simple c in setting to be don else do it in a sma opinions, without a ing for a working fore I ma way it is in which which p change philosophy useful, n old-time for buildi devolv in which and prej ing the g these are outside t above it. political and suppr enment immense glance of lation of a word, n ligion. Now t vacant. school t that is j should b and the poet ideas of as many enumer Integer The cul the suppr Again office of not fulfil The meo social an letters— noblest

pany years ago were willing and anxious to build that road very soon after the war, only asking Congress that right of way which it virtually refused, session after session, to grant. But when a land grant was appended, Congress was quite ready to pay a company for doing that which it would not permit them to do for nothing. In other words Congressmen wanted a little grease, and there are no means to make grease out of a railroad without a land grant.

And now comes the converse of the operation. The "Great Salt Lake and Colorado River R. R.," wanted a land grant; but public sentiment has compelled Congress to shut down, in the main on land grants, generally and particularly, though the House has refused to put the matter in the decisive form of a Constitutional amendment prohibiting such grants. The company above named, however, failing to get a grant, are now, with the two other companies asking and competing for the privilege of building a road connecting the Union with the Texas Company. The Pacific asks only a right of way as the Texas Pacific did years ago.

And now will they be granted this apparently reasonable request, or will they be put off until the close of some session a land grant can be tacked on to another bill and hurried through, promptly receiving the signature of a President who signs all such bills, but lets those intended to secure fair compensation to actual settlers "go over?"

ANTI PROCRUSTES.

BRENTWOOD, L. I., Sunday 7,
Archimedes 84, March 31, 1872.

MY DEAR MRS. WOODHULL: I have thought much since the very pleasant but the brief interview I had with you of the document you showed me, the call for a Cosmopolitical Convention. In those few moments it was impossible for me to give you any serious judgment in the matter. I could make only the general observation that the body to which I belong takes no direct share in practical politics.

But this statement standing by itself is open to very wide misunderstandings. It might be supposed to indicate too low an estimate of the importance of political action proper, or even an indifference to public and social interest. To you, however, I need hardly say that for us Positivists, more than for any one, political, social, and moral interests came ever first and foremost. Our abstention from direct political action is based on the very opposite of indifference or disdain.

We count, in a word, upon exercising a much more powerful influence upon political action in the long run than we could possibly attain by any direct participation in it. There lies the whole secret of our policy. No matter who may be President of the United States, there is a higher office, we say, even than that. It is to that higher office that we directly aspire.

We aim at nothing less in fact than the supreme social function. What then is that? Simply and purely that of public instructor.

This is an office, moreover, which is not, to use democratic language, in the gift of the people. It is an office which has to be assumed by him who is competent to fill it. To it applies with peculiar force the maxim: "The tools to him who can use them." If, as we believe, Auguste Comte really did institute a positive social science and an equally positive moral science, it is certain that man will ultimately have to learn his ideas from those who can teach sciences so manifestly supreme. It would be so none the less were their teachings ever so much repugnant to our wishes and preconceived prejudices. Positive knowledge is certain in the end to be recognized as such, were it only by force of the sharp lessons of experience.

I am very far, however, from asking any one to admit the claims of the positive doctrine to be veritable science without a searching and rigorous investigation, which, moreover, I am quite aware very few are competent to institute, even if they had both time and inclination. But there are some few considerations bearing on this subject of political action, which I think will be found easily appreciable.

1. There are many things which can be done quite as effectually by setting to work to do them as by passing a law to enact that they shall be done. It needs no positive science, only simple common sense, to perceive the sound policy involved in setting to work one's self to do any good thing that needs to be done, instead of waiting to pass a law to make somebody else do it. 2. Some of the worst evils in society depend but in a small degree upon the law. They result from different opinions. Change the opinion and the evils will disappear without altering a single word in any of our laws. 3. Agitating for a change in the law, may often be the easiest way of working a change in opinion. Yes, I grant that, and therefore I make no opposition at all to any such agitation. In its way it is useful, and is helping on the grand end. The cases in which this is so are, however, mostly, perhaps, those in which public opinion is in a great degree prepared for the change. The more radical, underlying principles need a calm philosophic teaching rather than mere agitation. Agitation is useful, moreover principally to destroy, whether institutions or old-time prejudices and errors. Calm meditation is necessary for building up. And a social reconstruction is the work really devolving upon the age into which we have been born; a work in which popular agitation, appealing necessarily to passion and prejudice mainly, has no share beyond that of merely clearing the ground. 4. There are some things, many, many, that are altogether outside of the province of the civil government. And these are the most important things, too. They are not only outside the province of the civil government, but they are above it. There is nothing whatever to be done in the purely political sphere in regard to all this large class of important, and supremely important questions, but to force the civil government to take its dirty hands off and keep them off. The immense importance of this class of questions can be seen at a glance on enumerating only a few of them: Marriage, the Regulation of the Sexes, the Regulation of Human Propagation; in a word, all questions of Education, Manners, Morals and Religion.

Now this office of Public Inspector is at this day essentially vacant. I speak not here of the pedagogic branch of it; the school teacher is very useful in his way, but it is of his teachers that is just now the question. The vacant office is that which should be filled, but is not by the pulpit, the professional, aye, and the consensual; by the medical and legal professions; by the poets, artists and savants. Perhaps one of the grandest ideas of the positive doctrine is, that this office, regarded to-day as many different offices, as we see at a glance by the above enumeration, is in reality only one. Human nature is an Integer; it is one thing, the sublimest thing in our universe. The culture and development of human nature is a one art—the supreme, the sovereign art.

Again I say that this office is to-day essentially vacant—this office of Public Instructor and Counsellor. The pulpit cannot fulfill it, for it is ignorant of man's physical organization. The medical profession cannot fulfill it, for it is ignorant of social and moral science. The artists—including the men of letters—are prostituting such talent as they have (and the noblest talents are in this day of anarchy sighing in obscurity)

in making money. The savants (such as they are) are grubbing among specialties.

Ah! but the press! the press is the great public instructor in this age! Angels and ministers of grace defend us! The daily newspaper! Of all the foul and sly things in our midst that prostitute themselves to power and self, the foulest and the slimiest is this newspaper press! Lying deliberately, adopting as its very trade the systematic deception of the people, now in the interests of party, now in the interest of any one that will pay for it, rigidly shutting out all sincere efforts to enlighten the people (popular enlightenment being fatal to its own repas-like supremacy), yet at the same time engrossing nearly all the reading time of nearly the whole of our modern population, the newspaper press has now at last become—in its ascending period it was of course otherwise—the greatest obstacle to the dissemination of real knowledge among the people that has ever been invented. The Papal Index Expurgatorius was nothing to it. The only really powerful argument that I know of for the existence of the devil, is the present power and influence of the daily newspaper!

It were enough to cite the way it has treated myself, my dear madam. These cowardly assassins behind a mask know, each one of them, that in his foul insinuations he is basely, damnably lying. Not one of them dares write over his own name the ribaldry safely spewed out there, this cunningest of the inventions of hell—anonymous journalism!

That the charge I thus make is true of the press generally, I call to witness, not merely the daily experience of each one of us, but the distinct admission of one of the greatest lights of regular orthodox journalism, the *Nation*. This *Nation*, by the by, does its lying in a manner so much less gross, even so decorous, that it is all the more mischievous; and it is so much the more culpable for the virtuous airs put on and the severely moral principles in the name of which it assumes its accustomed tone of infallibility. But its evidence against its own craft—whose office it does its best to magnify, in a limited sense even to really elevate—is plainly unimpeachable. In a recent number (14th March, 1872,) it says: "The phrase 'newspaper charge' is now all but a synonym for a downright falsehood, of which no sensible man would take any notice." And the same article, treating of the recent onslaughts of the *New York Times* on Insurance Superintendent Miller, it winds up by remarking that "the principal fact revealed" by the investigation of the Legislative Committee into the charges of the *Times* is that the persons who wrote the articles against Miller are such that, upon their own showing, it would be unsafe upon their anonymous evidence "to convict a hungry dog of having robbed a larder."

No indeed! For a hundred reasons the newspaper press can never fulfil the office in question. I do not discuss here the services that may yet be rendered to the popular cause by irregular heterodox papers like your *WEEKLY*, the *Golden Age* and some others; but these, although eminent, are only temporary and transitional. The office of public instructor, of public and private counsellor, social, legal, medical, moral counsellor, is an office now vacant, and we intend to take possession of it. It is for this that we abstain from direct interference in political action. For the essential fact in regard to this office is that it must of necessity be fulfilled by an organized body. Isolated individuals can never adequately fulfil it. An isolated individual can give no sufficient guarantee even of good faith, to say nothing of competency. It is having to seek for its instruction and counsel at the hands of isolated individuals, and mercenaries at that; the worst feature of all of our present anarchy, that exposes the popular mass at this day to the pretensions of a thousand impostors, who every now and then make them wade knee-deep in their own blood.

Now I could faintly enlist the co-operation of your sex, especially of the most advanced of your sex, and your own personal co-operation first and foremost, in this grand task of the age, the organization of the new body of public constructors, destined to replace the present incompetent crowd of priests, parsons, doctors, lawyers, art-profaners, sham scientific grubbers. The more because the positive doctrine recognizes distinctly that without the co-operation of woman, this body can never be formed, and especially can never fulfil its office. Nay, more: woman is necessarily its right hand as well as its essential inspirer. Science has to *separate* our conceptions, all the way up from mathematics to morals. But whence do we derive the essential substance of our moral conceptions? Whence but from the spontaneous aspiration of woman. Let science ever so perfectly systematize our moral conceptions, its systematization is finally valid only when it shall have been ratified by your sex, ever constituting as does the moral providence of humanity. It is not true that women must correct her spontaneous aspirations by the light of science, save in a minor degree; the dominant truth is that speculation must guide itself by the feminine aspiration. Nor is this conception with us any mere sentimentalism. It is the sober conclusion of moral science itself, which it stands ready to make good against all cavillers.

If it were not for making this letter too long, I would like to go on to point out how even the question of the true relations between labor and capital, which seems on the face of it so fairly to belong to the temporal order, to be a question so entirely within the sphere of the civil government, is nevertheless not capable of solution independently of this grand problem of re-organizing on a basis entirely independent of the civil government, the supreme function of public instruction. To do this I would have to tear to shreds unmercifully several pet propositions of the Labor Reformers, of the Internationals and of your own Cosmopolitical platform; you know how deep is my sympathy with the International Association. How my heart bounded with enthusiasm at that glorious "communion of saints" we had at the Casino in Houston street on the day made a red letter day to me by the happiness of my first introduction to you. It is not a practical error or two in the programme of that association that can hinder or seriously mar that sympathy. Still it is humanity that you and I love, not the physical-toiler class separately and exclusively. We love the mechanic for the sake of the man beneath the apron. We feel sympathy with the blackened and hardened hand for the sake of the willing service it renders to our common mistress, and are but anxious that we also may, in our sphere of toil, render a service to Humanity that shall be at least as effective as his. But only the selfish demagogues whose love for the workingmen is nothing but an eager desire to use them as stepping stones to their own power; to be used, of course, as we always see all demagogues use power, as soon as it is once fairly in their grasp. Who would expect that the men who have at the cost of great labor attained some positive knowledge should pretend to conform their ideas to the rude guesses of the crowd who know simply that they are oppressed and ill-used, but by the very nature of the case, cannot have any real knowledge of the remedy. It is the true function of the thinker to enlighten the masses, not to flatter either their vanity or their vices.

My sympathy with the International, in spite of all mistakes, springs not only from its being a fraternization among the several nationalities but from the demonstrable necessity of the working classes obtaining as such political power; a ne-

cessity springing from the selfishness and narrowness of the actual governing classes, constantly stimulated as are both the selfishness and narrowness by the newspapers, and in attaining power the workingmen, taught by experience, and even by reflection, as we can see already, will modify their programme, as I need not stop to show now, however, because I shall be constantly returning to the subject in the pages of the *WEEKLY*; almost the only journal in the United States that I can confidently rely on never to turn traitor to the cause of free inquiry. But the workingmen are necessarily an integral element in the new educational organization, if only as a back-ground of support and influence. The social reconstruction, at all events, can be finally accomplished only by the free union and co-operation of the three elements: the Thinkers, women and workmen. This is the very center and core of the positive policy announced by August Comte, and (without being in the slightest degree comprehended) received by politicians and newspapers with sneers and derision, already giving place, however, to pale fears in the presence of so many unmistakable tokens of a final, nay, even approximate realization.

But what has all this to do with the Cosmopolitical Convention? Well, nothing, perhaps, very directly. It is simply the reason why we positively can take no part in it, notwithstanding our profound sympathy with its essential ends. It is not the practical errors in the programme that would keep us away; these will spontaneously disappear in time. But the other work, really above as well as beyond all directly political action, demands of those who would actively engage in it a personal abstention from the activities proper to the lower sphere. For the most fundamental condition of all in the normal and perfected social order is the entire separation between the educational organization (Church) and the practical or industrial organization (State). To directly superintend practical affairs is one thing; to cultivate the ideal is another and very different thing. No doubt we want to bring the practical chiefs under the influence of the ideal to the utmost possible extent. But each order of functions must be free in its own sphere. Material power and wealth, the very things the practical direction deals with, have no sort of function in the spiritual (educational) sphere, beyond the furnishing of certain material instruments; and indeed mankind has had an abundant experience of the inevitably corrupting influence of material power and wealth upon a priesthood, be its doctrines ever so sublimely pure, and an educational organization cannot help being a priesthood, whether it call itself so or not. Radical Reformers ought, moreover, to be above all superstition about a mere name. Let the sublime Religion of Humanity triumph ever so much over the dead superstitions of the past, we still must not go back to any form of Theocracy. Positivists, at all events, will protest against it in every shape to the bitter end.

We have perforce, therefore, to choose in which sphere we will act; in the higher sphere, the spiritual, the educational; or in the lower sphere, the material, the purely political. Those of us who care most for immediate results, which just because immediate cannot possibly be radical, will choose the political sphere. Those of us who are more for the ultimate, the Radical, the Ideal, will choose the Spiritual sphere. Very cordially yours,

HENRY EDGAR.

HANNIBAL, Mo., February 5, 1872.

MRS. VICTORIA WOODHULL: Through the kindness of one of your patrons I am permitted a perusal of your weekly issue, freighted with the progressive spirit of the age, with which I find myself by nature so much in sympathy as to occasionally (in my humble way) put forth a little canonizing from a true radical standpoint. The social problem, however, is to me a little more difficult of solution. If I remember correctly, in your able Steinway Hall effort, you endorsed the sentiment of a complete concentration of affection whereby the union and blending of the magnetic and harmonizing of the spiritual forces become perfect as the best and only means of obtaining the highest fruition of happiness in the matrimonial relation. Now if this proposition is true, which I believe, would not freedom of the affections tend inevitably to weaken and ultimately destroy the union that would otherwise exist, thereby bringing to thousands the disastrous consequences of a total alienation of all attachment beyond the usual ties of friendship. And again, since the union in perhaps a large majority of instances, is only partial, and the intellectual status of mankind at present precludes the possibility of its being otherwise, would not freedom of the affections be sure to produce dissolution in a large majority of instances throughout the land? Who of us would be willing to assume the responsibility? Again, as we ascend the scale of human improvement and perfection of character, we can reach, in our imagination, a condition whereby our highest ambition and pleasure would consist in throwing aside all selfishness and unreservedly yield ourselves, souls and body, to the relief of suffering humanity. In this condition only can we see how order and harmony would exist without the restraints of the law, or even the restraining influence of individual will power. But do the masses appreciate a sentiment of this kind, or is it possible for them to appreciate it. Why then cast before them pearls, the value of which they know not, or treasures, the diadems of which they will trample under foot. Respectfully yours,

P. N.

There is no difficulty in solving the social problem if principles form the basis of our argumentation. But if we go about it in utter disregard of all fundamental truths, we may strive forever and never attain it. And it is because no definite principles are used, that so much confusion does exist among those who discuss the problem. The whole question lies just here: Have individuals the right to determine their love for themselves, or have others the right to determine it for them? If it is answered that the right exists in the individual, then the problem is solved. If, on the contrary, it is answered that it exists in others, outside of individuals, then also is the problem solved, since in either case the way is very clear. But it is not answered either way by those who question the first answer. They denounce the conclusion as false, as horrid, and as everything that is bad, but they fail to say what their solution is. Hence we are left in the dark as to what they propose. They are like those who say, "Down with the King," without having anything to take his place.

Our views as to ultimate conditions may or may not be correct, but principles are self evident truths. In them we cannot be mistaken. If freedom be right, it matters not whether it leads to monogamy or to universal love. There can be no question about the principle of freedom. There may be honest difference in regard to what the exercise of that principle may lead, therefore we should not trouble ourselves about what will come, but ought to be vigilant as to the principles on which we base our action.

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

"The Voice of the People," will be found on the 4th and continued on the 10th page.

CONVENTION DELEGATES.

Will all friends of the new political movement who have the convenience, please inform the Committee of Arrangements as early as possible, how many delegates to the convention they will accommodate during the convention? Address this office.

THE MAY CONVENTION.

In response to many inquiries we repeat that the Convention is to continue three days, the 9th, 10th and 11th. The 9th will be occupied exclusively by the National Woman Suffrage Association, which, since women are for the first time to take steps for political action will permit them to take the initiative and to put forth the methods by which they propose to meet the issues now before the people for settlement. This is also due to them because it is by their invitation that the other reformatory elements have been induced to come out of their political stupor and to take active measures to accomplish their reforms.

On the 10th the Convention will be merged into the more extended sphere, and continued during the 11th, the suffragists acting in concert with all others for the formation of a new political party. Both calls clearly set forth this idea, and with the exception that the second, or the call responsive to the first, is somewhat more specific in its language, legitimately mean the same thing. In fact, there is but one call; but there were very many, who, not being active woman suffragists, could not legitimately sign the first, and desiring to inform the public of their proposed action, respond to the invitation of the National Woman Suffrage Association, by making a secondary call themselves stating that they proposed to join with the Suffragists. We state this thus explicitly, in order that the inference may not be drawn that there is any difference between the several movements which propose to combine into a grand one, and to fight it out upon the line that shall be agreed upon until victory shall ensue.

The enemy, always busy, have already started the impression that there is not entire harmony existing between the two calls; that some of the suffragists are fearful that the other reform will swallow suffrage, and make them but indifferent allies; but no friend of reform need be told that their movements can never hope for success lacking the aid and support of women. Woman suffrage stands, and must continue to stand, at the very head of the list of desirable attainments. With it secured, all else would follow, since women are more deeply imbued with a sense of natural justice and equity than men are.

Associations and bodies of people at a distance, who cannot send delegates to the Convention, can be represented by friends residing here. Such should forward the proper credentials to their delegates, or, in case they chose so to do, to the Committee of Arrangements, who will assign them representation.

All the principal railroads have assented to the issuing of the usual half-rate tickets to the delegates, and the method by which this will be done will be announced next week.

To forward the duties of the Committee of Arrangements, it is desirable that all delegates intending to be present at the Convention send in their names as early as possible, and those who desire to speak, their subject and the time required. All speakers should prepare their manuscript so that the entire proceedings of the Convention may be correctly published, and

should not consume time to exceed thirty minutes—fifteen preferable.

No person will be excluded from the convention on the 10th and 11th, as it has been intimated. Of course delegates alone will be entitled to vote, a certain part of the hall being set apart for their occupancy. The business of the convention will be transacted in its day sessions—the evening sessions being set apart for set speeches, and an admission charged to the same. These arrangements do not apply to the proceedings of the first day—the 9th.

We feel constrained to say that the convention is an assured success, which will cause a quaking among the dry-bones of the old political parties, and carry consternation to our governors who have so long occupied the offices of trust and excluded us from all participation with them.

Let the people remember that this is to be the renewal of the Declaration of Independence in broader and more decisive terms than ever, and that a new epoch in the history of civilization will date from this convention.

PEOPLE'S CONVENTION.

The undersigned citizens of the United States, responding to the invitation of the National Woman Suffrage Association propose to hold a Convention at Steinway Hall, in the city of New York the 9th and 10th of May.

We believe the time has come for the formation of a new political party whose principles shall meet the issues of the hour, and represent equal rights for all.

As women of the country are to take part for the first time in political action, we propose that the initiative steps in the Convention shall be taken by them, that their opinions and methods may be fairly set forth, and considered by the representatives from many reform movements now ready for united action; such as the Internationals, and other Labor Reformers,—the friends of peace, temperance, and education, and by all those who believe that the time has come to carry the principles of true morality and religion into the State House, the Court and the market place.

This Convention will declare the platform of the People's Party, and consider the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, who shall be the best possible exponents of political and industrial reform.

The Republican party, in destroying slavery, accomplished its entire mission. In denying that "citizen" means political equality, it has been false to its own definition of Republican Government; and in fostering land, railroad and money monopolies, it is building up a commercial feudalism dangerous to the liberty of the people.

The Democratic party, false to its name and mission, died in the attempt to sustain slavery, and is buried beyond all hope of resurrection.

Even that portion of the Labor party which met recently at Columbus, proved its incapacity to frame a national platform to meet the demands of the hour.

We therefore invite all citizens, who believe in the idea of self-government; who demand an honest administration; the reform of political and social abuses; the emancipation of labor, and the enfranchisement of woman, to join with us and inaugurate a political revolution, which shall secure justice, liberty and equality to every citizen of the United States.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.
ISABELLA B. HOOKER.
SUSAN B. ANTHONY.
MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE.

Anna W. Spencer, Philadelphia, Penn.

You are respectfully requested to authorize, at your earliest convenience, the use of your name to the above call, addressing your reply yes! or no! to Mrs. Isabella B. Hooker, 10 Hubbard st., New Haven, Conn.

THE PARTY OF THE PEOPLE TO SECURE AND MAINTAIN HUMAN RIGHTS, TO BE INAUGURATED IN THE U. S., IN MAY, 1872.

We, the undersigned citizens of the United States, believing the time has come for the formation of an entirely new party whose principles shall meet the vital issues of the hour propose to hold a Convention in the city of New York, on the 9th and 10th of May, 1872, for the purpose of constructing a platform and considering nominations for President and Vice-President—the first so broad as to include every human right, and the last, the best possible exponents of every branch of reform.

Some of the reasons, which render this step necessary, are as follows:

We charge on the present Government, that in so far as it has not secured freedom, maintained equality and administered justice to each citizen, it has proven a failure; and since it exists without the consent of the governed, therefore, that it is not a republican government.

We charge it with being a political despotism, inasmuch as the minority have usurped the whole political power, and by its unscrupulous use prevent the majority from participation in the government, nevertheless compelling them to contribute to its maintenance and holding them amenable to the laws, which condition was described by its founders as absolute bondage.

We charge it with being a financial and military despotism; using usurped power to coerce the people.

We charge it with using and abusing millions of citizens who, by the cunningly devised legislation of the privileged classes, are condemned to lives of continuous servitude and want, being always half fed and half clothed, and often half sheltered.

We charge it with gross and wicked neglect of its children, permitting them to be reared to lives of ignorance, vice and crime; as a result of which it now has more than five and a half millions of citizens over ten years of age who can neither read nor write.

We charge it with having degenerated from its once high estate into a mere conspiracy of office-holders, money-lenders, land-grabbers rings and lobbies, against the mechanic, the farmer and the laborer, by which the former yearly rob the latter of all they produce.

And finally we indict it as a whole, as unworthy of longer toleration, since rivers of human blood, and centuries of human toil, are too costly prices to be demanded of a people who have already paid the price of freedom; nevertheless, such was the price demanded and paid for a slavery, which, in point of human wretchedness, was comparatively as nothing to that which still exists, to abolish which it promises to demand still more blood and greater servitude and toil.

In view of these conditions, which are a reproach upon our civilization, all persons residing within the United States, regard-

less of race, sex, nationality or previous condition; and especially Labor, Land, Peace and Temperance reformers, and Internationals and Woman Suffragists—including all the various Suffrage Associations—as well as all others who believe the time has come when the principles of eternal justice and human equity should be carried into our halls of legislation, our courts and market-places, instead of longer insisting that they shall exist merely as indefinite, negative and purposeless theories—as matters of faith, separate from works, are earnestly invited to respond to this call and, through properly constituted delegations to join with us, and in concert with the National Woman Suffrage Association to help us to inaugurate the great and good work of reformation.

This reformation, properly begun, will expand into a political revolution which shall sweep over the country and purify it of demagogism, official corruption and party despotism; after which the reign of all the people may be possible through a truly republican government which shall not only recognize but guarantee equal political and social rights to all men and women, and which shall secure equal opportunities for education to all children.

Victoria C. Woodhull, New York City.

Horace H. Day, New York City.

Anna M. Middlebrook, Bridgeport, Conn.

L. E. De Wolf, Chicago, Ills.

Ellen Dickinson, Vineland, New Jersey.

Theodore H. Banks, New York City.

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Addie L. Ballou, Terre Haute, Ind.

Hon. H. C. Dibble, New Orleans, Louisiana.

M. S. Townsend Hoadley, Lynn, Mass.

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Elvira Hull, Vineland, N. J.

Dan'l W. Hull, Hobart, Ind.

E. G. Granville, Baltimore, Md.

Jonathan Watson, Titusville, Pa.

Mrs. S. H. Blanchard, Worcester, Mass.

Newman Weeks, Rutland, Vt.

John Beeson, Chapinville, Conn.

Mrs. B. W. Briggs, Rochester, N. Y.

George R. Allen, New York City.

J. H. W. Toohy, Providence, R. I.

Belya A. Lockwood, Washington, D. C.

Jonathan Koons, Taylors Hill, Ill.

W. F. Jamieson, Chicago, Ill.

Dyer D. Lum, Portland, Me.

Thomas W. Organ, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

Mary A. Leland, New York City.

B. Franklin Clark, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dr. E. P. Gazzam, New York City.

William West, New York City.

Hon. C. C. Cowley, Boston, Mass.

L. K. Coonley, Vineland, N. J.

Moses Hull, Vineland, N. J.

Hon. John M. Howard, New Orleans, La.

Prof. E. Whipple, Clyde, Ohio.

Harvey Lyman, Springfield, Mass.

L. Bush, Jamestown, Tenn.

Mrs. J. H. Severance, Milwaukee, Wis.

T. Millot, New York City.

Cornie H. Maynard, Buffalo, N. Y.

B. S. Brown, Buffalo, N. Y.

S. J. Holley, Buffalo, N. Y.

Harriet B. Burton, New York City.

Frances Kingman, New London, Conn.

Hannah J. Hunt, Delta, Ohio.

Fred. S. Cabot, New York City.

T. C. Leland, New York City.

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Dr. J. H. Hill, Knightstown, Ind.

Geo. R. Case, Norwich, Conn.

Alfred A. Smith, Council Bluffs, Iowa.

Lucy Coleman, Syracuse, N. Y.

Mrs. Dr. Raymond, Syracuse, N. Y.

Mrs. George, Syracuse, N. Y.

Mrs. S. D. Forbes, Syracuse, N. Y.

Mrs. C. B. Forbes, Syracuse, N. Y.

A. Orvis, Rochester, N. Y.

Dr. A. G. Wolf, Mystic River, Ct.

Emily B. Rood, Fredonia, N. Y.

Nathaniel Randall, M. D., Woodstock, Vt.

Thomas Marston, Philadelphia, Pa.

Otis F. Porter, Bridgeport, Ct.

Seward Mitchell, Coonville, Me.

Thos. J. Schofield, Nephi City, Utah.

D. C. Coleman, Philadelphia, Pa.

Daniel Wood, Lebanon, Me.

C. S. Middlebrook, Bridgeport, Ct.

Nettie M. Pease, Chicago, Ill.

Angela T. Heywood, Princeton, Mass.

John Hepburn, Milwaukee, Wis.

W. H. Dibble, Middletown, Ct.

Ellen M. Child, Philadelphia, Pa.

Win. H. Westcott, Philadelphia, Pa.

Mary J. Thorne, Philadelphia, Pa.

Alfred H. Love, Philadelphia, Pa.

C. B. Rogers, Philadelphia, Pa.

J. H. Rhodes, M. D., Philadelphia, Pa.

Lavina A. Dundore, Baltimore, Md.

Mercy Clark, Baltimore, Md.

Geo. F. Seward, William G. W. J. K. D. Tar. Lydia C. F. T. M. E. B. C. L. M. A. Amy Henry John Jennie Dr. E. C. H. Frank Anna

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H. S.

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Geo. F. Kittridge, Buffalo, N. Y.
Seward Mitchell, Coonville, Maine.
William Hanson, Elmira, N. Y.
G. W. Madox, Ellsworth, Me.
J. K. Ingalls, Yates County, N. Y.
D. Tarbell, E. Granville, Vt.
Lydia A. Schofield, Philadelphia, Pa.
C. Fannie Allyn, Stoneham, Mass.
T. M. Ewing, Cardington, Ohio.
E. B. Foote, M. D., New York City.
O. L. Suttleff, Wooster, Ohio.
C. L. James, Alma, Wisconsin.
Milo A. Townsend, Beaver Falls, Penn.
Amy Post, Rochester, N. Y.
Henry T. Child, M. D., Philadelphia, Penn.
John M. Sterling, Kiantone, N. Y.
Jennie Leys, Boston, Mass.
Dr. E. Woodruff, Grand Rapids, Mich.
C. H. Pollok, New York City.
Frank Crocker, New York City.
Anna Kimball, Parker, New York City.

NOTE.—All who wish to unite in this great movement and who, in good faith, approve this call, will address in writing, with full name, to either of the above—who will immediately verify and forward to the undersigned for the Committee of arrangements in New York.

Tickets of Admittance to the Convention prepared for each Delegate, will be ready by the 8th of May—and to avoid confusion, no person will be admitted to the floor of the Convention without such tickets.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL,
44 Broad street, New York.
Or, B. FRANKLIN CLARK, Sec'y Com.,
55 Liberty street, New York.

NEW YORK, March 30, 1872.

We yield from our crowded columns space for a few of the names of delegates received, and not yet published.

Before the assembling of the convention we hope to print an extra containing the names and residences of all the authorized delegates:

Jane B. Archibald, Washington, D. C.
Mrs. M. E. Otis, Damariscotta, Maine.
J. W. Stuart, Broadhead, Wis.
Edwin A. Teall, Buffalo, N. Y.
Thomas Evans, Buffalo, N. Y.
Miss E. Woodcock, Minooka, Ill.
Solomon M. Jewett, Rutland, Vt.
Charles Cookett, Dexter, Maine.
Martin Smith, Dexter, Maine.
Elizabeth Ewing, Cardington, Ohio.
Josiah Buxton, Minooka, Ill.
Charles Woodcock, Minooka, Ill.
Richard Woodcock, Minooka, Ill.
Miss M. A. Woodcock, Minooka, Ill.
Miss J. Woodcock, Minooka, Ill.
Ed. F. Blackmond, Buffalo, N. Y.
J. Lewis Schrader, Buffalo, N. Y.
Stephen Andrews, Coonville, Maine.
D. D. Flynt, Dexter, Maine.
Fisher M. Clark, New York City.
John M. Kelso, San Francisco, Cal.
Louis L. Bender, Buffalo, N. Y.
Thomas Richmond, Hancock, Vt.
James S. Gamage, Damariscotta.
Mary C. Hebard, Rochester, N. Y.
Eunice P. Smith, Coonville, Maine.
Emily F. Tilton, Coonville, Maine.
Chas. W. Hebard, Rochester, N. Y.
Mary C. Wight, Rochester, N. Y.
A. L. Gamage, Damariscotta.
Mrs. Georgie W. Gamage, Damariscotta.
Harry Smart, Buffalo, N. Y.
Robt. D. Whitney, Buffalo, N. Y.
Joseph Wharf, Damariscotta.
J. H. Ford, Geneva, Wis.
Frances A. Flanders, Coonville, Maine.
E. T. Pierce, Coonville, Maine.
Geo. M. Taber, Springfield, Ohio.
J. Raymond Talmadge, Calumet Harbor, Wis.
M. McDonough, Buffalo, N. Y.
Charles Hauaden, Buffalo, N. Y.
Larrabee, Boston, Mass.
Mrs. L. G. Waterhouse, Sacramento, Cal.
Mrs. E. E. Gibbs, Sacramento, Cal.
D. E. Gamage, Damariscotta.
Mary J. Morrill, Coonville, Maine.
Hiram F. Magoon, Coonville, Maine.
S. L. O. Allen, South Newbury, Ohio.
David Cocks, Pleasantville, N. Y.
Elizabeth G. Wise, St. Joseph, Mo.
W. H. Overocker, Buffalo, N. Y.
F. Todd, Buffalo, N. Y.
Elizabeth Valoria Ingram, Boston, Mass.
Mrs. Angeline T. Gamage, Damariscotta.
H. S. Doune, Pottsville, Penn.
Geo. N. Bauer, Buffalo, N. Y.
Mort. D. Kenyon, Buffalo, N. Y.
Abram T. Gamage, Damariscotta.
Mrs. E. A. Burrill, Port Jervis, N. Y.
Cecelia Morey, West Winfield, N. Y.
Mrs. E. P. Woolley, Hammoniton, N. J.
M. B. Randall, Hammoniton, N. J.
Win. E. Coleman, Richmond, Va.
Benj. T. Shewbrook, Buffalo, N. Y.
Geo. W. Irwin, Buffalo, N. Y.
William S. Flanders, Coonville, Maine.
Mrs. Geo. Pratt, East Granville, Vt.
Joseph P. Smith, Clayville, N. Y.
David Mills, Hammoniton, N. J.
E. J. Woolley, Hammoniton, N. J.
Charles Gamage, Damariscotta.
Holloway Latham, Noank, Conn.
Phebe Cross, New Lenox, Ill.
Wm. T. Bailey, Buffalo, N. Y.
Wm. McK. Gatchell, Buffalo, N. Y.
Willie E. Tracy, Afton, Minn.
George E. Tracy, Afton, Minn.
James Pecard, Wis.
Mary K. Pecard, Wis.
Carrie Gade, New York City.
John H. Davis, Hyde Park, Penn.
Richard Harris, Williamsburg, L. I.
Daniel B. Hulburt, North Amherst, Ohio.
Eliza A. C. Hulburt, North Amherst, Ohio.
Ruby M. Pepon, St. Kirtland, Ohio.
W. Snow, Lone Rock, Wis.

Lydia D. Wheeler, Neosho, Mo.
Mary E. Burton, Neosho, Mo.
Wm. Beales, Meney Creek, Minn.
Lemuel Parmley, Hammond, La.
Wm. Hopkins, Fremont, Ind.
J. H. Bemis, Mt. Airy, N. C.
Susan W. Bemis, Mt. Airy, N. C.
Myra N. Chase, Afton, Minn.
Prof. J. H. Cook, Columbus, Kansas.
Frances A. M. Cook, Columbus, Kansas.
Nulan M. Chase, Afton, Minn.
Leonard Newcomb, Afton, Minn.
L. G. Thomas, Lone Rock, Wis.
Mrs. L. G. Thomas, Lone Rock, Wis.
Mary Laten, Lone Rock, Wis.
Abby Newcomb, Afton, Minn.
Eliza Newcomb, Afton, Minn.
Mrs. W. Snow, Lone Rock, Wis.
W. H. Willis, Dixon, Ills.
M. A. Willis, Dixon, Ills.
Edith Mashier, Afton, Minn.
Flora Tracy, Afton, Minn.
A. Pepon, St. Kirtland, Ohio.
Rosetta B. Harlow, Cornville, Me.
George H. Gardner, N. D., Cornville, Me.
Mary F. Hopkins, Fremont, Ind.
E. Hovey, Buffalo, Mo.
J. B. Campbell, Springfield, Mass.
Jennie Latham, Cornville, Me.
George C. Waite, Cornville, Me.
James Ormsby, Milwaukee, Wis.
Geo. W. Pryor, Mt. Airy, N. C.
Lucett E. Pryor, Mt. Airy, N. C.
M. C. Cangar, Battle Creek, Mich.
Susie Rockwell, Battle Creek, Mich.
F. L. Willis, M.D., New York City.
Jane M. Willis, New York City.
Ann Lemon Davies, Neosho, Mo.
R. Rice, Portage City, Wis.
Sophia E. Rice, Portage City, Wis.
Aleda Jones, Cornville, Me.
Alden Whiteman, Cornville, Me.
Ellen Mysee, Portage City, Wis.
Lizzie Scott, Minneapolis, Minn.
P. E. Collins, New York City.
Mary D. Andrews, Bradford, N. H.
M. Milleson, Battle Creek, Mich.
P. Brinkerhoff, Battle Creek, Mich.
Mary L. Congar, Battle Creek, Mich.
Mrs. M. J. Edison, Watseka, Ill.
Mrs. Daniel Edison, Watseka, Ill.
A. C. Edison, Watseka, Ill.
Mary A. Ross, Cornville, Me.
James N. Jones, Cornville, Me.
John Woodsum, Newfield, N. J.
Capt. E. P. Ely, Newfield, N. J.
Thorndike Leonard, Grafton, Mass.
Ruth A. Mills, Vineland, N. J.
Dr. C. Hawxhurst, Battle Creek, Mich.
J. K. Dearth, Battle Creek, Mich.
E. Stiles, Battle Creek, Mich.
Mrs. A. C. McDonald, New York City.
Wm. Rowe, Jersey City, N. J.
B. S. Walters, Mt. Pleasant, Iowa.
H. Angusted White, Watseka, Ill.
Mrs. F. A. Edison, Watseka, Ill.
Ira Nevens, Cornville, Me.
John Curtis, Cornville, Me.
Chauncey Barnes, Athens, Ohio.
Sarah J. Swasey, Noank, Conn.
Oliver Gamage, Damariscotta.
Mary S. Latham, Noank, Conn.
Mrs. Adeline G. Priest, Damariscotta.
Marcus Swasey, Noank, Conn.
C. H. Plumley, Buffalo, N. Y.
D. Hicks, Senora, Georgia.
E. G. Curtis, California.
John Southard, Pontiac, Mich.
Eloise O. Randall, Hammoniton, N. J.
O. Mills, Hammoniton, N. J.
Chauncey Paul, Vineland, N. J.
D. M. Allen, South Newbury, Ohio.
Minerva L. Green, South Newbury, Ohio.
Col. H. Winchester, Lower Lake, Cal.
Hannah F. M. Brown, Chicago, Ill.
George A. Bacon, Boston, Mass.
Nancy Brown, Pella, Iowa.
R. Carrall, Titusville, Mo.
Mrs. M. E. Wade, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mrs. C. M. Shaw, Pella, Iowa.
N. M. Strong, Fredericktown, Ohio.
H. S. Brown, M. D., Milwaukee, Wis.
Mattie J. B. Long, North Amherst, Ohio.
Hiram Belden, North Amherst, Ohio.
Mrs. Belden, North Amherst, Ohio.
T. Hulburt, North Amherst, Ohio.
Nellie Hulburt, North Amherst, Ohio.
B. M. Lawrence, M. D., Clinton, N. J.
P. R. Lawrence, Clinton, N. J.
John Caruthers, Baltimore, Md.
James Frist, Baltimore, Md.
Helen O. Easley, Baltimore, Md.
Clementine Averill, Milford, N. H.
Mrs. S. O. Averill, Milford, N. H.

ANNA DICKENSON AND "WE, THE PEOPLE."

On the evening of the 19th inst., this distinguished lectress spoke in Cooper Institute to a fair audience upon "We, the People." Horace Greeley presided, introducing the speaker in a few words, which, when compared with recent writings of his as to how he should consider the advent of a daughter of his upon the rostrum, was, to say the least, remarkable; that is, if anything from so wonderful a philosopher can be considered remarkable. Upon the platform was Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Kate Stanton, and Theodore Tilton, well-known woman suffragists, who thus apparently indorsed the objects of the meeting, which previously were well understood to be against the nomination of General Grant and in favor of the candidate to be nominated at Cincinnati. The introductory portion of the lecture consisted of a somewhat critical review of the various ills from which the country suffers, which she declared to be the result of political indifference on the part of the people. She argued, and rather conclusively too, that whoever neglects to attend to his—(forgetting her)—political duties, for-

feits his citizenship. Political duties, she said, are as important as any performed by the people, and they who neglect them were false not only to their own interests as individuals, but also to the claims of society upon them.

She spoke at length of the extent of ignorance and comparative indifference with which education is regarded. Even in Massachusetts, which has the best system of common schools of any State in the Union, there were thousands of children who never crossed the threshold of the school-house door last year. On every hand there is pauperism, beggary and crime. "We, the people," graduate many of our children in the schools of vice and then punish them for being criminals.

She then asked the very pertinent question, "Who are the government?" and proceeded to answer that "we, the people," are in scarcely no sense the governing power; but that the heads of the vast railroad corporations of the country control all the important legislation. They are constantly demanding more and more, and Legislatures and Congresses are continually granting it.

She discussed the caucus and primary system in vogue as the most corrupt of all possible things, consisting of, on the one side, of greedy office-seekers, and on the other of the ignorant rabble whose first and last desire is the means of obtaining their regular rations of whiskey; and altogether drew a forcible and correct picture of the means through which corruption creeps into all departments of political and governmental action.

Up to this point we imagined she might be laying a broad basis for the application of remediable principles; for the advocacy of fundamental propositions about governmental reform. Upon no reformatory stand had we ever heard a more favorable or promising introduction for thoroughly radical and reformatory propositions. We expected her to proceed and show how these things could be remedied. Having given a picture of the effects from which so much wrong and misery is experienced it was natural that she should explain her methods for curing educational ignorance and indifference; the prevalence of crime and destitution; for abolishing the all-powerful railroad corporations, and for destroying the ills which corrupt the fountains of political power.

But just here the scene changed. From the Reformer she descended to the politician. From general principles she shifted to special movements. She overhauled the present administration in such a manner as must have induced thoughtless people to imagine that it is responsible for all the terrible condition which she had depicted; and then as she came to the opposition movement—the Cincinnati Convention—to still further imagine it is to be sovereign remedy for all.

The one term principle and civil service reform are the great Panacea which shall heal all diseases of our political systems, correct all the abuses of which she complained, and banish all the terrible pools of corruption and fraud; since these two remedies compose the stock in trade of the Greeley-Sumner-Schurz movement.

And why does the present Administration fear this proposed Cincinnati Convention? Why does it not abuse and traduce the late labor convention and the woman suffrage conventions? Because, in the first there is strength, and in the remainder, weakness. The old abolition party conventions carried dismay into the then existing administrations. It had the elements of power; and if but a hundred men and women were present, their action portended coming destruction. But the present administrators had no need to fear the men and women who meet in labor and suffrage conventions. There is nothing but weakness in them. There are no principles at stake and in question, which gives them vitality. There is no danger to be feared from their action—a highly complimentary allusion, we take it, to those whom we have named as being upon the platform.

We waited patiently to hear some word about equal suffrage and citizenship, but the subject was carefully avoided, though in an indirect way she several times gently combed the philosopher's scanty hair, under which operation his "sorehead" evidently winced. She said she did not form one of the people, that she had no political duties. But she diligently neglected to say whether she desired to form one of them, or if she desired political rights. Upon these, to us, important points, she was as non-committal as an experienced male politician.

It may be, however, that she is in the same condition that her former teacher in political economy recently announced himself to be in; he did not know the cure for the ills he had pictured, which, by the way, were very like those she had painted, but certainly, we must confess, more powerful lights and shades and more vivid and life-like character.

It seems so strange to us that those who so well comprehend conditions cannot peer through and behind them and realize from what they flow, as well as what would produce opposite results. It cannot be possible that Anna Dickinson supposes that the vindication of the one term principle and the adoption of civil-service reform will stop ignorance, crime, railroad monopolies and corrupt caucuses. And yet she presented no other method, and left her audience to draw the conclusion, after having carefully considered the inconsequent connections of her speech, that she really offered the best remedies she possessed.

But considerate minds can scarcely fail to conclude that this is a purely politic move in the interest of a movement which, to say the most, simply proposes to substitute for one set of accomplished politicians who occupy executive offices another set not a whit better. The same Congress which has put all this unlawful power into the hands of General Grant, would have required Charles Sumner to execute the same laws. General Grant has not demanded the enactment of these arbitrary

laws which, as Miss Dickenson avers, are the methods of the soldier rather than the civilian. How is it that Grant is so much more the soldier than the civilian? Did four years of war upset and remodel the long years of his previous civil life? Nobody will pretend it. It would, however, be doing an injustice not to say that the effort of Miss Dickinson was a masterly political speech, more able, convincing and effective, more chaste and elegant in diction, and evinced more comprehensive intellectual grasp than did either of the male speakers at the recent mass meetings of the Liberal and Administration Republicans held at the same place. We could only wish that her talent could be available to the interests of humanity in a broader sense than is prophesied through the rather limited platform upon which the Cincinnati convention is to stand. In this, in principle, insignificant affair, she sinks all the demands and needs of her sex. She forgets that they are in a still more degraded condition than are the negroes for whom she once pleaded so earnestly and effectively, and ignoring their petitions, she blindly hoists the flag of the party which will not listen, much less consider, whether women have any political status at all, or the laborer is worthy his hire, leaving the first to be the prey of the other sex, and the last to be the prey of privileged classes—the railroad land and money monopolists.

ARE PERSONALITIES EVER JUSTIFIABLE?

"And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye."

"Woe unto you, scribes, pharisees, hypocrites! for ye devour widows' houses and for a pretence make long prayer: for ye make clean the outside of the cup, but within are full of extortion and excess; for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful without, but within are full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness; ye outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within are full of hypocrisy and iniquity: ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell?"—St. Matthew xxiii.

"Moreover, if thy brother (or thy sister) trespass against thee, go tell him his fault."—St. Matthew xviii, 15.

Without hesitation we answer, yes! and to this affirmation, add: that they are, under certain circumstances, not only justifiable but often a duty, which if neglected or ignored, work either against the general public welfare, or that of the individuals concerned.

There are certain principles by which all individual and collective action should be governed. Those principles, if they are understood at all by the people, are almost altogether ignored by them in practical every day life. And where in individual instances there is an attempt made to put them to practice almost the whole world seems to be in conspiracy to defeat the purpose. Hence it becomes next to an impossibility for anybody to fully exemplify in practice the great rule of rights possessed and exercised and rights accorded and respected.

By no means would we have it understood, when we say that personalities are justifiable, that we mean the adoption of the law, given, as the Bible informs us, by God to Moses "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," and a mean act for a mean act; nor on the other hand do we, in its literal sense, believe when a person commits an invasion of another's right, that the person so intruded upon is bound to offer the opportunity to commit the same offence again. Admitting, if the Bible Christian insist that we shall, that both those laws were given of God, it does not signify that they are always to remain in force; indeed, we are told that the law given of God to Moses, it was found necessary to almost, if not quite, reverse in Christ's time. Why then, shall it not be deemed possible that even the law of Christ may be necessarily modified. The Law of Moses was one extreme of the rule of life; that of Christ was the other extreme. It is fair to presume that the mean between the two extremes will eventually be the law. Moses law was entirely the law of force; Christ's law was entirely the law of love. The final adjustment of the two, the law of wisdom, will be the ultimate or third development of the rule of human intercourse.

We are verging on the age of wisdom. It is already beginning to be realized that love is not the highest law of order; nor the broadest rule of life. The law of force and of love, in their generally accepted sense, is essentially selfish; people rule by force; it is to carry out some selfish purpose—some personal end; and if by love, it then is for the sake of a selfish gratification or purpose, or for some personal motive. Love, especially, is most emphatically selfish in its present form of acceptance. But when either force or love is made use of for the good of humanity; when from the selfish and the individual the executive rises into, and merges with the humanitarian and universal, then wisdom supercedes; and it is just this step which representatives of advanced humanity are endeavoring to take to-day.

It was necessary that this analysis should be made, that what we shall say may not be misunderstood. We might, however, justify it by quite a different method, and one that is in common practice. If a person steal material things, commit a personal assault or trespass upon property rights, the law takes hold of the case and either restrains or punishes the offender. This, however, is not the legitimate method; that consists in the community protecting itself against the despotism of individuals who, by their acts, demonstrate that they are liable to trespass upon other people's rights; that is if a person, by repeated practices, shows a proclivity to steal, it is not only the right but the duty of society to take measures that will effectually prevent the further practice of such a proclivity.

Now carry this practice into the more refined departments of life; into the life and character of individuals, as well as to

their property and persons, and apply it there, and it would require that people who are continually meddling with what is none of their business, be so dealt with as to make it impossible that their efforts should be productive of harm. This is not the law of retaliation, but the law of protection.

We have upon the rostrum in the columns of the WEEKLY, and in private conversation everywhere, advocated the rights of social freedom, which people choose to call free love, and since they so choose, we choose to accept it.

If it be any satisfaction to our enemies to call our principles, Free Love doctrines, and us Free Lovers, we assure them we have not the slightest objection. Now, Social Freedom means freedom in the Social relations, as well for the demon as for the angel; it means that each individual is entitled to determine for him or herself what love shall be, and declares their right to exercise it unrestrained, so long as they find consenting parties; in which practice nobody's rights are encroached upon. It does not say that one person shall have full license to practice his or her love, or lust if the term better describe it, with or without the consent of the parties, being its object. It not only demands the most perfect freedom on the one hand, but the most ample protection against tyranny on the other hand; of course this recognizes the rights of the most animal part of mankind to the use of their natural powers, by which they have been entrusted by God, by virtue of their creation; but it ought not to be forgotten that it also recognizes the same right for the most spiritually refined. There is, as everybody knows there is, a regular line of progressive unfoldment in sexuality, from the lowest to the highest. Some there are who know nothing but passion in the sexual relation, while on the opposite extreme there are those who are evenly balanced in all the divisions of human life—in the passionate, the intellectual and the moral. Social Freedom recognizes all these various degrees of unfoldment, and while, according to each the legitimate expression of its condition, protects each from being compelled, against its will, to follow the despotic dictates of any other.

But there are a certain class of people who, either in honest ignorance or in downright maliciousness, continually affirm that such a doctrine is an outrage upon virtue, and that we advocate it in order to justify our practice of its lowest acknowledged degree, and not only that we do it for that purpose, but that we "are horrid women, who wallow in sensualism." Now, we have just as good a right to claim that we advocate social freedom for the purpose of justifying the practice of its very highest conditions, and it would be equally as legitimate as the opposite affirmation.

But what we do mean to say is, that whether it be the lowest, the highest, or the mean between them that our condition represents, it is nobody's business but our own, and we shall not stoop to explain it either to satisfy the curiosity of intermeddling hussies, the low vulgarity of the sensualist, nor yet the fastidious virtue of so called respectable society. It is simply none of their business. Our theory accords to each of these classes all the rights and freedom we claim, and they have no authority to demand explanations from us, nor we from them.

But, as we have said, certain classes of people—or we should rather say certain individuals, since there are but few people of any class who do not have sufficient business of their own to attend to, to forbid giving attention to the business of other people—we say certain individuals have interpreted free love to mean a low and vulgar form of sensuality, and insist that we are special representatives of it in that form.

But mark you, they do not make these charges about us simply as individuals, but as representatives of movements in which we are engaged, and by thus attempting to defame us to defeat the ends sought by the movements. They thus take their intended abuse of us out of the realm of pure personality and lift it into that of a general character, and we wish it to be distinctly understood that it is on this plane that we retort, if indeed we do retort at all, which until now we have refrained from doing.

We are engaged, for instance, in the cause of woman suffrage, and we advocate those methods by which we think it will be best advanced. Others, also, engaged in the same cause advocate different methods; and instead of stopping to show the superiority of theirs, over ours, set about abusing us as Free Lovers, at the same time declaring that suffrage has no relation to free love. We ask them: Why, then, do you lug it into the controversy? They cannot even go to Albany to influence the Legislature in favor of suffrage without taking special pains to have it understood that they "do not belong to that vulgar free love clique at all, in fact, that they have nothing to do with them;" which, by the way, was not required, since from the arguments presented; their hearers must have discovered that, without the allusion to free love. If the arguments they have at hand are not sufficiently strong to show the rightfulness of their methods, they had better stay at home and construct others, rather than to drag in "outside questions" to be used for the sake of the prejudices it is expected they will invoke. And we mean all this for the good of those who practice it.

If these people would present the principles of social freedom as we present them, we would thank them for every time they would make use of their power to aid their cause; but we shall object from this time out, to their taking these words away from their legitimate connection, and using them with their own definitions, or arguments to forward their plans and to damage ours. Suppose we are all they would have it understood we are, what would they have to do with a truth or a just method? A little more judicious consideration, Madames, if you please, and it will not only be more

becoming, but considerably more safe. You at least, shall not longer attempt to damage a cause by blackguarding its advocates.

We make no objection to your holding your meetings; we even have and shall again, attend them; but you ought to think twice about your own glass houses, before you cast very large stones to damage ours; you may also advocate your methods of procedure, and if we find them superior to our own we will gladly adopt them; but you will be wise to not oppose our methods by your vulgar abuse of us personally. You are perfectly free to attend or to stay away from our lectures; but it will be a little more prudent for you to modify your vulgarity about us, of which you make use to prevent others from attending. And if by chance we should ever innocently call at the residence of any of you who are ashamed to have other visitors know you receive us, we beg you to be honest enough to decline admitting us, and if any of you think, from anything we have done, that we are revengeful women, we ask you to remember that we have patiently endured all your vile taunts and insinuations and innuendoes for two long years without a retort. Patience sometimes even ceases to be a virtue. We think it has become so in our case.

But we should never notice any of your malicious brutality and vulgarity if we did not know that all your professed sense of shocked modesty and outraged virtue is the most complete sham, the most pretentious fraud. As long as we could we credited you with honesty and ignorance, but facts too palpable have come to our knowledge to longer admit excusing you on that ground. We know why you denounce free love; you fear the exposures it would bring. You think by shutting off its growth that your own personalities, which you have such a horror of the world's knowing, will be exposed to the purifying breath of publicity. Hence you desire to stifle our advocacy of the principle of social freedom, and to injure our influence wherever, whenever and in every possible way you can.

You have put before the public everything in our whole life which could be raked up that was true, and finding that did not answer, manufactured facts to order *ad libitum*. What say you now to a slight change of programme—to the presentation to the public of what is known to be true of your own lives. Do not understand us to question the right you had to such practices. By no means. But it is not healthful either to your own or to public morals for you to hypocritically denounce in others what you privately practice or have practiced yourselves. You ought not to be permitted to steal and then go crying "stop thief" to direct attention from your booty and fasten the guilt upon others. When people see this done and do not expose the fraud, they are held to be accomplices with the real thief. Can you make the application of that suggestion?

We earnestly desire to be excused from any and all part in everything having even the appearance of personality. But we have no idea that the course pursued so long will now be suddenly changed. But so surely as time rolls on and the attempt to blacken us and thus to interfere with the principles we advocate continue, interpreting our theories to suit yourselves, and then holding us up as the exponents of such base interpretation, so surely shall we expose the hypocrisy of your pretentious virtue, by the fullest exposition of the facts of your lives, and if that be what it pleases some to denominate revengeful action, then we shall be revengeful. But we disclaim any such motive in advance; and in place of it declare that the sole inducement will be to make it for ever afterward impossible for you to effect any more harm by the practice of your proclivities for interfering with what is none of your business.

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE.—Continued.

CLEVELAND, Ohio, April 12, 1872.

SISTER WOODHULL: Having just read in the *R. P. Journal*, your letter to S. S. Jones, in which you have clearly defined your position in the general sense, and his remarks quite as clearly defining his, I felt as though I could not keep silent, and hope every one who stands with you will, as I do now, send you tokens of respect and appreciation, and more than this, a moral and sympathetic support to aid you to maintain the position and standard you have taken in the work of righting the wrongs the blaze of spiritual light has shown to exist in our whole social and political structure.

Thousands of weary souls, bowed down under a pressure that was crushing earthly existence, because, being compelled to exist and live in conditions not in harmony with their development—under laws and conventionalities not suited to their spiritual attainment, under laws and customs made to suit the convenience and immoralities of the rude animal spirit still ruling our whole social and political structure, took a new lease of life; and feel assured, dear sister, they all join in blessing the "woman who dared" to say, what woman alone could have said, with any effect upon the masses, making questions that were before struggling in by-ways to be heard now taking their place as questions of importance and human interest and spiritual welfare on the open field of public debate.

It cannot be otherwise than thus; minds will view your position and formulate it in perfect keeping with their spiritual attainment, and in doing this, each one is obliged to show his or her locality, and spiritive progressive attainment.

Spiritualism thus far, a light that shines into the mental and moral surroundings of humanity, has found millions able to comprehend the situation to that degree, and in their mental vision they were a decided and distinctive departure so far as theories were concerned from their old standards of mankind's actions here, and their relation to the life beyond, and it is very gratifying that even so many are thus able theoretically to see the mistakes that we were living under, and have boldly

stepped out to battle against error in theories, but it cannot be expected for a moment in any mind except those who refuse to see, that the effect this spiritual light has brought, will stop and always dwell in the field of theoretical action, and the introduction of facts to overthrow false religious teachings. Not by any means. It must push forward, and in the overthrow of false theories it must supplant false, social and political formulas upon which our whole social structure is built, with formulas that harmonize with the intelligence the new lights give us.

One thing seems plain enough to become an axiom—that our whole structure with all its social and political forms, are forms that were but the deductions that grew out of false theories against which our spiritual guns have turned; that if the religious theories of the present and past are false, all else must be false; therefore, all those who do not sustain the position you assume that "both church and state are indivisible, are those who are still more or less under the powers of darkness and false theories of the past, not yet fully born out of them. This new departure is to me grand and significant, for it means the complete birth out of darkness into a glorious light and righteous liberty, and must, in the end, overthrow the present false and immense standards, and in their place erect the temple of human justice and equality, according to individual soul needs. If to do this is a "New Disgrace," please count me in its work, and in conclusion will say, what I have frequently said and wish to spread broadcast over the land, that in our wholesome structure, and all that is built upon it, there is not in a single plank or institution a moral one. It is false and immoral from top to bottom, and from centre to circumference, for it is wholly and totally built upon the selfish and wild animal spirit, and all who approve "this new departure," have still left in their natures the still governing spirit of selfish and immoral tendencies.

If the great mass of Spiritualists "reject your theory as pernicious," as Bro. Jones says, it only shows their relationships to still false and immoral action, and, as it stands, Spiritualists as a mass are no better than the believers in old theology, because they enter into all the schemes both of trade and political pollution, and have not in them yet enough of the heaven of this new life left to lift them out from immoral to to moral practices.

Free lust and free hate are the offspring and the constant interchange of society as it stands.

Free love, the child of the future, that which is struggling to rule in every department of human interest is the beautiful angel of light, which when, free lust and free hate take their departure, enters into the soul, and when fully incorporated in the heart of the masses will transform this world of wretchedness, crime and immortality into "the kingdom of heaven" where alone dwells righteousness and purity. And this is what Spiritualism and this new departure means to do; not in beautiful theories unacted; not in poetic words and phrase, to cover over pleasingly vice and corruption, not alone in the comprehension of laws and principles that govern the starry heavens, rocky formations, and the chemistry of nature, but in that grandest of all grandeur, the highest and most sublime department, the human soul and its relationships to one another, and the universe of life around, in beautiful action, in kind loving impulses, in good deeds, in unselfish motives. And in the transformation, old things built upon false theories must pass away and the new departure and its spirit take their place.

F. SKINNER.

DEAR VICTORIA AND TENNIE: No excuse is asked for this, I have borne my indignation long enough, and now it bursts and I boil over. Fearing it will take too long for you to do so, I pen a line. Ere I knew THE WEEKLY, the *Religio P. Journal* was my favorite. I am sorry to say that I am fast losing "my first love." The *Journal* is not content with allowing the introduction to its columns of low, vulgar correspondence, but we are treated editorially in anything but a spiritual manner when reference is made to a certain woman, Victoria C. Woodhull, not "Woodhull Claflin Blood," as our "friend" of the *Religio* has it, issue of April 6, 1872. Were I to give rein to myself, I should certainly say something in keeping with the spirit of the *Journal*, and thus depart from one of your (THE WEEKLY'S) aims. I am only too sorry that a journal professing to be spiritual, should, by its own election, level itself with the secular press.

If any one doubts this, a perusal of the above number of the *Religio-Philosophical Journal* and the previous issue, will convince them of the justice of my strictures. As it will take a "long time to write or speak that which we are now ignorant of," so it will "be a long time" before the *Pioneer of Thought* can be understood. Natural or unbiased minds are "few and far between," comparatively, and we may not be surprised to find even an editor of a Spiritual paper giving plain signs of the non-comprehension of argument in favor of fundamental truths. If Bro. Jones fathers the "arguments" spoken of, I will say to him, asking his pardon for the reminder, to remember that one can present argument but cannot give understanding; a mild term, my dear sir, for brains. But if thou wouldst "hang thyself," continue thy pandering to people's prejudices.

Allow me, my dear Mrs. Woodhull, to conclude with an expression of unbounded admiration of your labors in behalf of truth and humanity. Tens of thousands, no doubt, love you, who have not the courage or opportunity to communicate the fact.

GEO. HARDCASTLE.

QUINCY, ILL., April, 1872.

WOMAN AND SYMPATHY.

Western Lyceums would do well if they engaged Mr. W. W. Broom to lecture on "Woman's Power and Works," and on "The Law of Sympathy, from History and Experience." He is a speaker who is strongly recommended by Wendell Phillips. The Eastern Press has often praised him. His New York Lectures on the "Richardson-McFarland Case" attracted much attention, and were carefully reported by the New York Herald. His present address is, "W. W. Broom, Rochester Depot, Lonaire Co., Ohio." We hope committees will secure his services.

"IS SAUL ALSO AMONG THE PROPHETS?"

Respecting an extraordinary case of Kleptomania, a recent Tribune editorial has the following:

"If Civilization had ever brought half the skill and energy to bear upon the making of a man that she has upon a machine, science would have comprehended and known how to treat this disinherited child of nature."

More than this; said "child of nature" need never have been disinherited at all. But this bringing "skill and energy upon the making of a man" is just what we call *stirpiculture*, and like any other science, the very first condition of its existence and success is that freedom of experiment which the Tribune so bitterly opposes. The sentence, as it stands, is all we could ask, as far as it goes; but to it might have advantageously been added the following:

"Further and better:—Science, unimpeded by church dogmas, State tinkering and social censorships, would have so instructed us in the laws of sexual attraction, conception and gestation, that children would be born free from uncontrollable and injurious impulses, and with inherent attractions for the true, the good and the beautiful."

[N. Y. Tribune please copy if it dare.]

ANTI-PROCRUSTES.

BOSTON, March 29, 1872.

MRS. VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.—Dear Madam: Courtesy compels the above address, while my heart dictates but the tender one, beloved Sister. I can no longer withhold the offer of my love and gratitude for the work, great and incomprehensible, that you are accomplishing. This comes to you through tears of regret that even yet the world smiles and crowns with thorns those who are bearing crosses for humanity, yet through these tears, I look up with rejoicing that you so finely, bravely stand on the Calvary to which the Great Spirit has called you.

As little ready for your divine mission as unworthy the great truths you are proclaiming; as ungrateful as ever; as unmindful of the voice of God, whose omnipotent exchequer to man is not to be stayed by arrogant earth-cries; as doubtful ever of God's guidance, the world doubts and denies you as it has all the reformers of the ages; until crowned with success, they are transfigured from Nazarene's unworthy recognition, to very sons and daughters of God; then the world worships. But the infinite Father wills that you work on despite opposition, scorn and neglect; and I know that for you, angel sent as you are, in place of doubt shall come divine trust; in place of calumny shall come coronation, in place of rejection shall come from the world, glad acclamations of acceptance and the compensation of love universal and abiding for a leader, who, from one of the noblest heights of truth yet reached by human soul under angelic guidance, has so dauntlessly called to the struggling millions to come up higher into a fuller freedom of truth and love. And by all the world's great need of reform, by the unutterable hope I have within my soul to aid in lifting up the broken lines of earth, in binding up the broken hearts, I bid you "God speed" on your glorious way, and by this benediction that rises in my heart, you may know the sacred, fervent "God be with you" that comes a benison from Heaven to you from my beloved spirit band.

O may we all, brothers, sisters, toilers as we are in the white harvest field of the spirit, call to each other from whatever height we stand upon, with love and sympathy, and thus cheer and brighten the way to nobler ascents for each other forever. Sincerely Yours, With love and for the truth JENNIE LEYS.

ANSWER.

JACKSONVILLE, November 27, 1871.

MRS. VICTORIA WOODHULL: I have just finished reading your abominable lecture on free love, as reported for the Missouri Democrat. Were it not for the crowds of men and women who hear you, and who probably will to some extent be influenced by you, I would not concern myself so seriously about the matter. I would like to know if you believe the Bible? If so, how do you interpret the 32d verse of the 5th chapter of Matthew? and what do you think of the 19th chapter, reading from the 3d to the 10th?

Another thought that I must suggest to you is the vast responsibility you are taking upon yourself in leading men and women to hell by your actions and influence. Surely the spirit that prompted such words as those contained in your lecture is none other than that of the Evil One. You say you speak as one having authority in these matters. Where did you gain such authority? The "thousands of heart-broken men" who consulted you as a clairvoyant must have been wholly lost to all self respect before they would consult with a woman of your professed principles on the subject most sacred to right-minded persons—their marriage relations. The confessions of such men as these must have been could hardly invest you with unimpeachable authority.

It is women of your stamp who are most influential in producing domestic discord—women who are educated and gifted, and who can clothe their foul ideas in respectable dress, until the victims of their arts are thoroughly demoralized and ready to receive the atrocious ideas in all their monstrosity. Now, because I desire your salvation, I entreat you to search the scriptures, and thereby see what is your duty to yourself, humanity, and God, and let this thing of free love, as you call it, but which in reality is nothing more than the lust of the flesh severely alone. It will as certainly lead you to the regions of eternal wretchedness and burning, as it will to misery and contempt here. I send you this word of warning because I feel it to be my duty to rescue you if possible, from the foul pit into which you have descended.

If you do not repent, and accept the mercy offered to you, I expect, in the great day of judgment, when the Judge shall say to you, "depart from me thou worker of iniquity," to say—Amen! Yours, etc.,

MRS. SARAH A. HIGGINS.

Our good sister Higgins is evidently somewhat in the shadow of ignorance about the social relations. We have forwarded her all the necessary documents to remove her into the light of knowledge, and hope she will not refuse to be thus transferred.

PHILADELPHIA, April, 1872.

DEAR TENNIE CLAFLIN: Your speech is both prudent and powerful. But yet you labor under a mistake, which destroys much of your argument.

Marriages are all natural; for none marry, who, at the time of marriage, do not believe that they either do or may love the other party. But many soon find out that they made a mistake and then and not until then marriage becomes unnatural.

No law forces such unsuited mates to remain together; for the law provides divorce. What then keeps such unsuited mates together? Firstly, the cost and the sometimes unreasonable conditions of the divorce laws. Secondly, public opinion, that spectral despot; and here, Madam, you have the whole cause of the social cancer in a nut shell: Let divorce be speedy, cheap, and respectable. People shall marry,

whenever they please. Do not say anything against marrying. But if married and they find out they cannot love each other, and they do not divorce themselves, then they become morally prostitutes.

This is the front you wish to make. Strike at the present divorce laws and you gain it. To fight marriage is simply to fight a shadow. If you need legal points against the divorce law to show its absurdity, let me know and I will furnish some.

Respectfully,

VAN TRONK.

"People shall marry whenever they please." Add to this the logical sequence that, people shall *unmarry* whenever they please, and we will quite agree with you. But when almost the whole world constantly carp at us because we claim that marriage is not necessarily a union for life, of one man and one woman, we are excusable for saying something against marriage as interpreted by them, backed up as they are by the lexicographers, one and all. Change the definitions of marriage, to comport with the natural relations of the sexes, and we will say nothing against it. But if we should say nothing against marriage, why should we say anything in favor of divorce? which is its opposite. If marriage as at present practiced, has nothing fundamentally wrong in it, why must divorce be advocated to cure something which does not exist? It seems to us that these matters are such as law has no rightful control over. "We would say as Pope makes "Eloisa" say to "Abelard":

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

We do not, however, object to a law regulating marriage, any more than we do to a law regulating suffrage; but we do object to a law which virtually prohibits marriage, and for the same reasons that we do to a law which prohibits suffrage, since both interfere with the right of the people to the pursuit of happiness. It is one thing to protect each individual in the pursuit of happiness; but quite a different thing to prohibit such pursuit, or to say its course shall never change.

PHILADELPHIA: 526 North Twenty-first street.

MY DEAR SISTER: This is the fraternal greeting by which I addressed thee a month ago, asking to be excused for the familiar salutation from an entire stranger. As I learn thee never received that letter, I now take the liberty of again expressing my heartfelt sympathy and interest in the great work of reform in which thee is so nobly laboring, which I could not have done had I not the assurance of thy friendly reception last Thursday eve, when introduced to thee by our friend Mrs. Middlebrook. The loving kiss received then assured me that my expression of sympathy may not be an intrusion. I will quote from my first letter, as that was written under the fresh inspiring gratitude of a full and thankful soul for the noble utterances it had just drank in. I said, I have just read "The Principles of Social Freedom," which thrilled my soul with gratitude for the noble spirit willing to advance such ideas; and I venture, in an humble way, to give a "God speed" to thy noble mission, and a "grateful reverence" to the dear woman willing to brave the condemnation and scorn of many, yet dauntless in her expressions of the high and holy truths presented to her. It is not a matter of wonder that a large portion of the people are not prepared for such radical innovations on the customs of society; but was the world ever prepared for any great reform, or appreciated the reformer until some noble spirit, standing at the helm, guides the soul of humanity into the haven of a higher life? Though 1800 years have passed since Jesus blessed mankind through his mediumistic powers, I doubt if here to-day he would be tolerated any more than others who, like him, are blessing the world by their ministrations. Since thy election as President of the National Association of Spiritualists, I have read all I could of thy teachings. I was delighted with the lecture on "Children, their rights and privileges," and thy address to Spiritualists; then when thee spoke in our so-called city of "Brotherly Love," a few weeks since, how glad was I to gaze upon thy face; tho' not having the privilege of pressing thy hand, my spirit went forth silently to greet those noble utterances for the rights of woman, and after reading "The principles of social freedom," I must confess my whole soul thrilled with the grandeur and nobility of the truths contained therein, until I wept tears of loving grateful tenderness toward the author of them, and of regret that those who so harshly condemn can not see the light from the bright mountain top whereon she must have risen to have conceived such unselfish and heavenly attainments. Though I can not yet accord with all the views held forth, yet thee presents them in a light worthy of deep thought. Thy definition of "free love" is so freighted with divine expressions and sublime truths, that I feel they are indeed "words fitly spoken, like apples of gold set in pictures of silver," and worthy to be treasured in the inner sanctuary of every living heart. The world is not yet prepared for their fulfillment; but all honor to the Heaven-born courage that will bravely utter such sentiments and with language clothed in such purity that its spirituality must be felt by all who will listen or read.

It seems to me this social question needs a great moral courage, combined with a deeper purity than any reform the world has ever known; it is because it concerns every man, woman or child in their highest, holiest and most sacred relations of life, and that a woman should have seen its approach and heralded its coming, is a cause of joy, while for those who condemn and seek to injure she came in the fullness of divine love break forth that holy prayer, "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do."

Press forward in every good word and work, dear sister, cheered by the guidance of the dear angels and that beautiful promise given from "on the heights" by the loving Jesus, "Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you and say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake."

Many living hearts are thanking thee for uplifting the veil to the world's dim vision of this exalted freedom of love, though it rejects and scorns it now. Falter not (though thy path is often "weary and heavy laden" with human denunciation), in casting upon the waters of life this picture of perfected and heavenly love. "Like bread cast upon the waters it will return after many days" to bless and brighten the lives of humanity.

Excuse my Quaker style of addressing thee, I use the plain language it is most natural to me and more expressive of my feelings. I am a birth-right member of the "Society of Friends," but Spiritualism is the religion of my conviction and adoption.

I beg pardon for intruding so long a letter upon thee. I will send it by Mrs. Middlebrook, our friend and sister, whom I

learned to love during the last month. She is a beautiful speaker and noble woman.

With a happy New Year's greeting, and the hope that the fair, white pages of the coming year will bear a noble record to heaven of the good work accomplished; and with another assurance of my soul-sympathy flowing toward thee in every good word and work, I am, fraternally and cordially, thy sister in the cause of truth.

LYDIA A. SCHOFIELD.
Will these please accept these pictures of our dear Lucretia Mott? They are the earliest and latest taken of her—the first about the age of 40—the last only a few months since. Beautiful in youth, and just as beautiful near the golden setting of her earthly life.

These may have her pictures, but I felt that I would like to send thee these.
L. A. S.

THIEVES AND ROBBERS.

MENDOTA, La Salle Co., Ill., March 18, 1872.

(1.) The products of a person's labor may be taken from him without his knowledge or consent, without the actor incurring the moral turpitude of theft or robbery; as when a full and just equivalent of the product taken, has been left for the owner, in its stead. (2.) The products of a person's labor may be taken from him with both his knowledge and consent, and yet the actor incur the moral turpitude, both of theft and robbery; as when one party, in the exchange of products, supposes that he is receiving the equivalent of his product, while he is not, and the other party knows that he is not; or, as when one party is so situated that he must consent to accept less than the equivalent or do worse, while the other party in exchange knows that he is receiving, of others products, more than he is giving. (3.) The substance of these two propositions may be thus stated—The essential element in the turpitude of robbery or theft consists in taking the products of others, without giving the equivalent. (4.) Whether the instrumentality used in effecting this, may be a larger brain in the market, or a stronger arm in the forest, morally the fact is the same. (5.) A man who has in his possession thousands of times more of the product of others than it is possible for one person to have produced, must of necessity have what he has not a right to, if proposition No. 3 be true: provided that the act may be permitted by the government for a limited time, as for one lifetime, as a bonus or premium to promote some public good, after which it should revert to the public.

The remedy. Impose a tax of from one to eighty per cent. on incomes.

How appropriated. First.—Pay the national debt; Second.—With this income tax, and a direct tax, purchase all the land individually owned within the United States, at a full and just valuation; excepting homesteads of perhaps ten or twenty acres; taking perhaps fifty years to finish the work. "Free soil."

To carry out these and other ideas, it is proposed to organize another political party.
JAMES ADAIR.

POLITICAL.

WORK FOR THE CINCINNATI REFORMERS.

PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS FROM A PRACTICAL MAN.

GENTLEMEN: As a citizen, therefore a sovereign, I have a personal interest in all movements which make or mar the common weal. My rights are equal to those of any other citizen, and no more—in or out of office, in or out of your Convention. Inasmuch as your action must affect me as an integral part of the nation, and as you are not a legal body with power to enact organic law, or statute; and, therefore, bind me without my consent, and as you exclude me by the terms of your Call, I address you and the country from my standpoint of citizen and student of the present status and tendency of my country.

Five sets of national candidates are now in process of incubation—have an embryonic existence—may be actualized. This is proof of great differences of opinion on national topics—wide-spread dissatisfaction with men and measures—of a disintegrating process, dangerous to the civil and social compact; it is now confusion; it may be revolution and chaos.

Other conflicting elements further complicate the functions of government, and increase the peril. It will not do to cry Peace! Peace!! when there is only antagonism and conflict; the very conditions and causes of insurrection and convulsion.

Your responsibilities are in the leaders of these divisions of opinion—and especially on that branch now disintegrating the dominant party, adding to the confusion, and proposing to construct a new party of reform and progress on the same basis, and out of the materials of the old party.

I will not, at this point, impeach your motives, self-constituted leaders as you are, having assumed your position without consulting the people. But a blind virtuous impulse is no guarantee of a scientific thesis of government, or practical methods of administration. The demand of the hour is: What do you propose to do now—do you propose to do—and what guarantee do you propose to give more than your illustrious predecessors have given, and which ever have been ropes of sand?

Your call was a blunder, and shows lack of fitness for your self-imposed responsibilities; that you do not appreciate the situation, or you wilfully suppress it. That call should have been general, and without any specific declaration of principles. The situation demands a convention of the people—a committee of the whole on the state of the Union. Your call is essentially partisan; usurps the prerogatives of the convention, and contains nothing new except Civil Service Reform—which you propose to carry out with a slight variation from the Grant party, which anticipated your movement in its announcement.

All other questions were left just as they were. If you mean reform you will take the measures necessary to reform, among which you may find the following:

1. No slate, prepared beforehand, should be tolerated in the convention one moment.
2. The convention should announce a thesis and a method.
3. It should compel the candidates to give a thesis and method.
4. It should give the country the best materials, regardless

of antecedents, services, claims, availability, position or any other consideration, except that of supreme statesmanship.

To accomplish these essential and important objects each person who allows his or her name to be used by the convention, should be required to go before the convention with a thesis and method anterior to any declaration by the convention. This will give the convention not only an opportunity to judge the men, but to construct a platform; and it will give to the country the means of judging both the convention and the candidates.

2. The candidates should be pledged not only to "civil service," but all other reforms, so as to reduce the expenses to the minimum and increase the benefits to the maximum. You owe this to yourselves, and to the country. We are entitled to the best men whether in the hovel or a palace. The place to begin "civil service reform" is in your own convention. The people will then have reason to hope it will be carried into the Government. But if you ignore your own doctrine, our hopes are blasted. This is what I fear you will do.

Conventions construct platforms, which mean anything or nothing, and then make availability the condition of standing to them. The animus of this movement is to beat Grant. The argument is "Civil Service Reform," a shade of difference, all other questions stand as they were. That personal ambition and pique enter largely into the contest is apparent. The press and leaders give us nothing new on the old issues. Finance, tariff, free-trade, land reform, suffrage, class legislation, labor and capital, revenue and taxes. The eternal Indian muddle stands as monuments of incompetency in politicians. They do not even know of the most important movement of all the ages, graduated tax the regulator of production, accumulation and distribution, on equitable principles, which will stride like a giant throughout the land, crushing out all opposition. In my office are 3000 names to the petition in a single Ward in the City of New York, (Ward 17).

The men who lead this movement have had charge of the questions for years, and up to this time have exhibited no symptoms of a high order of statesmanship, have given no proofs that they understand the great questions demanding solution, or that they are entitled to hold the reigns of government, any more than those whom they would expel.

They are the same men who selected Grant, for availability, and now propose to select another man for availability to beat Grant. They acted on false principles then, they propose to act on the same principles now; "Civil Service" is a veil of gauze covering up alike their intentions and defects. They were, mistaken before—they may be now. Is there not a necessity then for such rules as I have adduced?

Are these leaders willing to retire to private life? Having failed to guide the ship of State safely, is this a reason why they should insist on holding the helm longer?

How many of them are not seeking office? How many of them will lay down their purse-onal ambition on the altar of their country? How many who would not make gigantic efforts to sit enthroned on the necks of the people?

The average politician is of average morality. A change from one man to another of the same class, will be no guarantee of improvement. It cannot make Statesmen out of politicians, honest men out of political kleptomaniacs.

Let the true Reformers in all conventions organize and insist on applying civil service reform to the Presidential candidates who are to execute this new role, and to all other candidates for popular suffrage. Administer the medicine at home.

J. B. WOLFF,

510 Pearl street, New York.

A SIGN OF THE TIMES.

From the New York Herald of Sunday, the 21st inst., we copy one of the most remarkable indications that have as yet appeared in the political horizon. The article itself is a most powerful argument in favor of the movement in which we are engaged, but it is not more remarkable than the fact that it should have a place in the New York Herald, which apparently is so earnest an advocate of the re-election of General Grant:

HENRY WARD BEECHER FOR PRESIDENT—A NEW RELIGIOUS POLITICAL PARTY TO BE FORMED IN NEW YORK—HENRY WARD BEECHER PROPOSED AS ITS CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES.

To the Editor of the Herald:

It has been announced and it is now generally understood among the more radical and progressive classes throughout the United States that a National Convention of the various bodies, organizations and movements which represent the revolutionary spirit of the country, as relates to political, social, religious, and educational reforms, is to be held in Steinway Hall, in the city of New York, the 9th and 10th of May proximo. The object for which the Convention has been called is a purely political one, namely, to form a coalition, if possible, of all those classes of citizens everywhere that are devoted more to the principles of justice, of truth, of freedom and equal rights than to the success either of the Republican or the Democratic parties; and in case the Convention shall agree upon a definite course of political action to be pursued, to nominate candidates for President and Vice President of the United States for the next Presidential term.

The Convention referred to is expected to be composed of representatives of the following organizations, viz.:—The National Labor Party, the International Workingmen's Association, the Woman Suffrage party, the Temperance party, the Peace party, the Spiritualists, the Liberal or non-Evangelical Christians, the Free Religiousists, the Free Thinkers, the Free Lovers, the Land Reformers, the Socialists, Communists, Positivists, Harmonists, etc. Now, the question arises, "How or upon what theory is it expected that a convention representing such a variety, if not a diversity of ideas, will so far fraternize, fuse and consolidate as to come to an understanding that will be satisfactory to the different elements composing it, promote the ideas they respectively represent, and secure the earnest and undivided support of all the elements thus represented in the present political campaign? How is such a convention to agree upon candidates who would represent so many reforms or movements? Who will the candidates probably be?"

Each class of voters represented in the convention may be supposed to have its favorite exponents, its great champions, leading spirits and ideal representatives of what it conceives to be the important issue of the times, and whom it would prefer to have as the Chief Magistrate. For instance, the labor party has already nominated Judge Davis, of Illinois, as its choice, and it may be unwilling to drop him and go for a coalition candidate. Then there are the Spiritualists, with their favorite, whoever he may be—may be Wendell Phillips. Next, the woman suffrage party may clamor to have Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton or Theodore Tilton or Victoria C. Woodhull nominated. The temperance party may urge the nomination of George Francis Train or some other temperance champion. The Spiritualists may want Andrew Jackson Davis or Robert Dale Owen, and the other factions, likewise, may each have their champion and leader, to be nominated if they can. Here, then, is a probability of a very wide difference of honest opinion coming together, and an opportunity for disagreements, schisms, confusion, and defeat of the objects in view, unless the wisest counsels are allowed to govern, and a spirit of concession and of mutual support and dependence prevail in the sessions of the Convention. The individuals above named are known to the public as the exponents of the special phase of radical thought and reform. If any of them should be nominated at the New York Convention, it is, to say the least, doubtful whether they would receive the undivided support of the different factions or bodies to be represented in the Convention. Indeed, it is not improbable that the nomination of any of them might result in some of the parties to the convention entirely withholding their allegiance and support to the nominee and the new party, and thus endanger the success of the whole movement. It seems to be plain that some sort of compromise will have to be effected before a candidate can be selected who would stand any chance of election or of receiving the whole vote of all the classes holding the convention. Now, the course which a wise policy would indicate in such a state of things as the one most likely to meet the exigencies of all classes, would be not to press the nomination of any person for the Presidency who is notoriously identified with, or the recognized champion of any special phase of reform, for the reason that such persons, however good and competent they may be, are generally unpopular, distasteful and obnoxious to the popular mind. The convention should select a candidate who is friendly and tolerant, or at least not unfriendly and intolerant, to the various ideas animating the new party, and one, if possible, who is well and favorably known to the public, and to whom, if elected, the people would look up to with confidence and respect. As fulfilling these requirements in an eminent degree—greater, perhaps, than could be found in any other individual—may be named

MR. HENRY WARD BEECHER, OF NEW YORK.

Mr. Beecher's character, abilities and fame are world wide, and would in themselves be a tower of strength to any party that would choose him for their candidate. His history and antecedents are known to everybody. His influence is already felt over the civilized world. His sermons, lectures and speeches have been more widely and generally read the past twenty years than the utterances of almost any contemporaneous public teacher. Furthermore, Mr. Beecher is a liberalist, in his views and teachings. Some would consider him very radical. He, for instance, has from his own Plymouth pulpit endorsed the Internationals and eulogized the Paris Communists: he has admitted the main points of Spiritualism; he has surrendered the infallibility of the Scriptures, or dogma of plenary inspiration; he repudiates the doctrine of eternal punishment; he favors woman suffrage and the equality of the sexes; he is the patron of temperance, peace, toleration, progress. In a word, Mr. Beecher is a man of reasonable ideas, honest and frank, possessing a mind open to the convictions of reason and truth and the intuitions of his soul. Of his devotional nature it is quite unnecessary to speak.

Taking this view of the New York Convention and Mr. Beecher, it is questionable whether there is a person in the United States who combines in himself so many of the elements of success as a candidate for the Presidency as Mr. Beecher, and who would at the same time represent to an equal extent the radical and progressive character of the proposed new party. Perhaps the strongest opposition to the nomination of Mr. Beecher would come from the anti-ecclesiastical class, for the reason that he is a Christian minister, and that his church proclivities might bias his judgment in favor of ecclesiastical laws and measures to the detriment of the cause of justice, freedom and religious liberty. But it will be well for this class to remember (and the writer of this is of that class himself) that Mr. Beecher is not a narrow-minded bigot in religion and morals, but reasonably liberal and moderate in his views, and, furthermore, that no anti-Christian or infidel candidate would, if nominated, secure one-half the support from the people of the United States which Mr. Beecher would. If the New York Convention nominates a man or woman for President who is the representative of some "one idea," unpopular, incomprehensible and distasteful to the people at large, the result may be the signal defeat of such candidate and party, and the cause which will be made to sustain the shock will be injured, perhaps, retarded for years, instead of promoted. In the estimation of many people there is a certain degree of odium, of unpopularity, a lacking of respectability, which attaches for instance, to the agitation of woman's rights, spiritualism, skepticism, free love, sexology, etc. The several reforms are now making rapid progress in revolutionizing public opinion; but, should the devotees of these reforms run a candidate for the White House solely on these issues, there is no probability it would meet with anything but defeat, and the cause, as well as the candidates, would be made the butt of partisan abuse, calumny, misrepresentation, ridicule and reproach. These reforms are too young and yet too tender to endure the giant kicks and bruises they would inevitably get in a contest with the brute forces of political warfare during the excitement of a Presidential campaign. What utility or wisdom would there be in running the gauntlet of popular condemnation when nothing can be gained, but much may be lost?

On the contrary should Mr. Beecher receive the nomination of the New York Convention, that gentleman would stand a fair chance for election next November. The only point of difficulty about the matter will be whether the new party could frame a platform of principles which Mr. Beecher could conscientiously accept and stand upon. Unless the proposed new party make some such compromise and such a nomination as is herein indicated, the chances of the new party for political power would seem to be a forlorn hope. Can the several factions which the new party is to embrace make the necessary concessions, sacrifices and compromises, which the success of the movement and the necessities of the case demand? Can Mr. Beecher reciprocate in like manner, and accommodate

himself to the exigencies of the times and the progressive spirit of the party that, possibly may thus choose him as the candidate or the Presidency of the United States? Can the proposed new political coalition place upon their ticket the name of any man of equal strength and popularity which would in the least degree represent the principles and spirit of the party? What other person could the new party begin to elect in the present campaign? Would Mr. Beecher, even if defeated as the candidate of the new party, suffer any loss, either politically, socially, or morally, by accepting such a nomination? Would not he, and the new party also, be strengthened, consolidated, and made more powerful for the future, even should such a nomination fail of election next fall? The writer of this frankly admits that Mr. Beecher is not his first choice. He could name several persons whom he would prefer should occupy the Presidential chair; but he knows very well they would stand but a very poor chance for election, even if nominated by the Convention. As long as we cannot at present elevate to the Presidency the persons who would be our first choice, let us do the best we can in that direction. None of the existing political parties in the United States can nominate a candidate who would answer the make-up of the proposed coalition near so well as does Mr. Beecher, and if he be not the *beau ideal* of the new party, he is much nearer to it than any Democratic or Republican candidate will be. If the New York Convention nominate Mr. Beecher it would, at any rate, be taking a step in the right direction, and with it a fair prospect of a popular campaign and final success. Both the Democratic and Republican parties are in a state of rapid decomposition and dissolution. Let the live, progressive, but at present despondent, members of those parties unite with the new national party to be formed at the New York Convention next month and nominate a popular, progressive man like Mr. Beecher for President, and the next 4th of March he will be inaugurated President of the United States. E. F. B.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., April 17, 1872.

WOMEN ON THE TOWN.

In looking over the files of the *Banner of Light*, in a number of date 27th February, 1869, we find an article under the above caption, which seems so *apropos* in the present that we reproduce it here. Especially do we commend to the consideration of our readers the paragraph in which the *Banner* prefers that better term, at once broad and comprehensive—Human Rights:

"Abandoned women"—that's the phrase in common parlance. Abandoned of whom? Not of God; for owning, loving all, "his mercy endureth forever;" not of Jesus, for from that pure, affectional soul there still comes the gentle words, "neither do I condemn thee—go and sin no more;" not of the angels, for there continues to be "joy in heaven," when, through angelic pleadings and intercessions, an erring one is brought to repentance; not of the spirits of the "just made perfect," for they delight to minister to the least and lowliest for redemptive purposes; not of philanthropists, or reformers, of the good or the true. Abandoned of whom? If by anybody, by those passionate men instrumental in their temporary ruin, and such of their sister sex as, from a vivid consciousness of being themselves human, with a taking tendency to the weakness of yielded temptation, put on the extraneous airs of a purity too exalted to touch or snatch from further degradation a sister, once pure as the crystal snow, and still God's child, bearing the divine image. These pretensions, not Jesusonian, are thoroughly Shakspearean—"If thou hast no virtue, assume to have it."

In the sight of God, angels, heavenly hosts, and constellations of philanthropists on earth quite unknown to fame, there are no abandoned women, no abandoned men, for God, heaven, sympathy, mercy, love and redemptive efforts are over and around all.

Under the oily crust of city life there lies half-concealed a huge, hideous vice, that often those who are too delicate to talk about, are not too delicate to practice. It is frequently termed the "social cancer." With venomous roots pushing out and down in every direction, it is the destroyer of inward peace, the enemy of happy households, and fatal to the mental and spiritual growth of the soul.

Saying nothing of Brooklyn and adjoining cities, New York alone has, at least, twelve thousand of those styled "abandoned women." The actual census of 1858 gave the number then as seven thousand eight hundred and fifty. The increase of population, with the demoralizing influences of the war, have numerically greatly increased this ghastly army. Credible testimony proves that more than one half of these frail women are under twenty years of age. After fully yielding themselves to bodily trade and traffic, their average life is less than four years. Wines and champagnes, midnight revelry, and poisoned rum, with back-brain indulgences, reduce the earthly of fresh beautiful girlhood to loathsome masses of disease, to be hidden away quietly, tearlessly in paupers' graves.

Besides these twelve thousand public fallen ones, it is estimated there are thirty thousand who are either kept as "mistresses," or frequenters of houses of assignation. Were the full names of these published in the city dailies, as they are kept in the soul's memory-chamber, and read by angels, it would produce a most fearful social earthquake. Dazzling behind marble halls and imposing brown fronts, are the glittering fruits of sin, as under silks, Parisian laces and "Grecian bends" are aching, cankering hearts, and souls too, stung with keenest remorse.

Great social crimes abound most in populous cities, under sanctimonious pretences to piety and respectability. Fifth avenue, Fourteenth, and even Bond street, were shocked, a few years since, from reading in the New York morning papers of a licentious husband, rich in this world's goods, being conducted by a friend to a house of infamy and there finding his own wife awaiting her paramour. Each, till then, had supposed the other faithful.

The facts touching these cancerous crimes are apparent. Enough of statistics. Causes and remedies are the subjects that most interest living thoughtful men. With the more positive and guiltier sex, it is generally animal indulgence and violent outbreaks of passion, rooted in ante-natal perversions, often intensified by rich diet, tobacco, liquors and other stimulants. Relative to the other sex, in a majority of cases, the primal causes are ante-natal tendencies, psychological susceptibilities and stern life necessities. Not choice, but poverty, love of costly dress, temptations to indolence, harsh treatment of parents, sensual grossness of husbands, and the wiles and false promises of seducers—these are the more immediate and prominent causes.

Full one-third of the women wandering in towns and cities, under the gaslight, are driven into the streets and dens of pollution from pressure of poverty and extreme want. Think of it! Woman, with the original seal of innocence and sweetness upon her countenance, compelled to choose between starvation and prostitution!

Society—another name for gilded sham—and even women in the higher walks of life, of whom we are heartily ashamed, will, while smiling upon, waltzing and flirting with the libertine full fed and gay, turn sneeringly away or mercilessly trample upon the starved victim of his lust. To the fallen sister their language virtually is: "I am holier than thou!" Heaven save us from a pharisaic self-righteousness! "None is good (absolutely good)," said Jesus, "but one; that is God. A boasting, satisfied, selfish, do-nothing purity will find itself outside the walls of the city celestial long after negative, erring women have, though fiery trials and severest discipline, been permitted to pass into those upper kingdoms of God to put on robes of beauty. Sainted sisters, ye who are safe from terrible temptations, because moving in circles above penury, and walking in the sunlight of noble souls, be sparing of the stones you hurl at those who fell, through miserable wages, psychological influences, and a fashionable world's crushing coldness!

Efforts of Magdalen Societies, in this country, have done something; but the "Midnight Meetings of London have done more for this class in England. A living writer tells us that—

"To one of these meetings an afflicted mother sent her own daguerotype, in hopes that her erring daughter would recognize the face, and be won by its mute pleadings to a better life. The picture was passed around in several meetings, until at last it met the eye for which it was intended, and the guilty girl burst into tears, and set off for the home of her childhood."

The evil is patent. Where and what the remedy? Centralized into a sentence, it is this: *The independence of woman!* Make her, or help her to make herself, socially, maritally, politically and financially independent, and you have laid the axe at the root of this deadly upas tree. Systematized, the method will bear this general statement: A full recognition of woman's primal equality with man.

Ignoring such special as "woman's rights," "man's rights," "freedmen's rights," "Indians rights," "Chinamen's rights," "children's rights," we prefer that better term, at once broad and comprehensive, HUMAN RIGHTS! As related to woman, they may be classified in this wise:

I. The right to vote, hold office, and select that life vocation best adapted to her glowing genius.

II. The justice and moral necessity of paying her the same wages paid to men for the same amount of labor accomplished.

III. The exercise of the same privileges that are granted to men in such civic advances as look to friendship, courtship, love and the marriage relation.

IV. The creation of such a high public sentiment as shall gladly guarantee equal rights to all, with no rivalry save that which would strive to build up, beautify and bless the most souls.

The constituents of our social edifice should not be cemented by the force of interest, habit or circumstance, but by virtue, integrity, purity, justice, sympathy and love—the mightiest principles in the universe of God. Society constituted of individuals, should look after the highest interests of each member, remembering that whatever benefits even the least, benefits a world-wide humanity.

Theorists must make their reform-theories practical. "What have you done?" is the question the angels ask. To gossip, tea-party fashion, about these "unfortunate women upon the town," amounts to nothing. Up and do something! To talk about their condition deplorably, to pray for them devotedly, to think of them tenderly, to shun them in the streets gracefully, to speak of them sisterly, is talk—cheap talk! nothing more. Away with this silver-tongued hypocrisy! Do something! Redeem them! and the blessings of the angel world shall be yours.

STRAY SHOTS.

The authoritative mandate has at last been promulgated, and trailing dresses on the street are declared positively vulgar, while those that just touch are not the thing at all. All the spring costumes sent over from Paris are made short enough to clear the ground. Take a reef in your skirts, demoiselles.

On Sunday, the 14th inst., the Bostonians were engaged in establishing an "unquestionable basis for a Christian education in our common schools." Well, when all the Christians in our community have agreed upon such a basis, the people will doubtless act upon it; but not till then. As a matter of precaution, when the various members of the Christian churches meet together, the police ought to be well represented, or there will be some tall skirmishing.

"And what is life?—A little strife,
Where victories are vain,
Where those who conquer do not win,
Nor those receive who gain."

Workers should remember that the present money system dates back only three centuries. National debts and paper money (their consequence) not more than two centuries. One of our contributors, has discussed the question of the legalization of usury, which first took place in Christian Europe in the sixteenth century. We cut the following notice of his lecture from the Long Island City *Press* of the 20th instant:

LECTURE BY PROF. R. W. HUME.—That able exponent of Internationalism, Prof. R. W. Hume, delivered a lecture on "Usury, or Interest on Money," at Smithsonian Hall, last Tuesday evening. There was a fair attendance, and all who came were well repaid. The Professor is, probably, the ablest and most logical speaker in the city, and one of the ablest in the State, clear and concise in his arguments and a deep thinker. His lectures are well worth listening to, whatever may be the subject chosen by him to speak on. His ideas are contrary to ours on many subjects, and are termed impracticable theories, yet his manner of handling any subject makes it interesting. We should be glad to give the lecture entire in *The Press*, but the crowded state of our columns forbid anything more than this brief mention of the speaker and the subject. May we be favored with more such lectures and rejoinders.

A MARBLE-HEARTED MAN.—In a leader headed "Daniel E. Sickles," published in the N. Y. *World*, of the 20th inst., may be found the following interesting and charitable item:

"We have repeatedly and deliberately called Sickles an acquitted murderer—a man who shot the alleged seducer of his wife, and afterwards excited the loathing and disgust of gentlemen and men of honor by creeping back to the bed which

he had killed another man for defiling—cohabiting again with the dishonest wife whose shame he had published to the world, and proved in a court of justice, as a means of saving his neck from the gallows; —etc. —etc."

If this doctrine be correct, and it is the inevitable result of the present servile ecclesiastical and legal position of woman, for her there is no door to be left open for repentance. If General Sickles and his wife agreed to forgive and forget the past, what right has any third party to interfere in the matter? If it was an affair between two men, would any one officiously dare so to act? But it was a difference between a man and a woman, and, in that case, the latter is commonly held as fair game to be attacked by the world. Except she accepts in silence and humility the absolute slavery of her present position, woman has no rights which man feels bound to respect.

THE CHRISTIAN RADICAL—CHRISTIAN PARTY AND CHRISTIAN JUSTICE.

The *Christian Radical*, published in New York and Pittsburgh edited by Daniel Schindler (a slight modification of swindler) and J. K. Funk (not Peter) both professed followers of the Lamb, pretends to be both *Christian* and *Radical*. In doctrine it contends for purity of heart. In Christian experience it insists on the direct, clear "ultimate science" of the testimony of the spirit of God (Holy Ghost), that we are his children by special regeneration as well as natural generation. Its columns abound in declarations against vices of all kinds, and insist that the eyes shall not look upon evil, the tongue speak of it, nor the hands handle it. It even goes so far as to declare that whiskey traffic is a less evil than obscene pictures and books.

After all this pretension one would suppose that it must not descend to falsehood for the purpose of calumniating and otherwise injuring even a woman; that this Holy Ghost science of salvation, derived from Jesus, whose companions were publicans and sinners, and harlots, and who declared that such should reach heaven before the Pharisees, would have taught these self appointed Vicegerents of the meek and lowly Saviour, that truthfulness is an essential element in Radical Christianity, that charity is another, and justice should crown all Christian graces; but it is all a mistake.

After carefully reading, and finding myself fully justified in the foregoing description, I turn to page 8, of April 11, and find these words: "Mr. Woodhull, one of the husbands of Victoria Woodhull is dead. Col. Blood still prevents Mrs. Woodhull from being a widow."

This proposition asserts—First, that Mr. Woodhull was, until his decease, the husband of Victoria Woodhull; Secondly, that Col. Blood was at the same time, the husband of Mrs. W., and still retains that relation; Thirdly, that Mrs. W. sustained marital relations to both these men at the same time: id est, that she was a bigamist, until the death of Mr. Woodhull.

Now then, it is not true that Mrs. Woodhull was the wife of Mr. Woodhull at the time of his death, nor at any time since she was divorced from him, any more than if they had never been joined in legal wedlock. If the *Christian Radical* meant that she was his mistress, it should have so said, and been prepared with the proofs.

The law joins and the law separates—Jesus himself justified divorces—Moses, before him, allowed the man to send out his wife penniless with his own written bill of divorce; no court trial—no defence from the woman; he went further, he allowed the woman to divorce herself, under certain circumstances. A divorced man is not the husband of the woman from whom he is divorced. In the face of this, these Christian ministers, for the sake of pandering to the popular clamor, declare that Woodhull was, at the time of his death, the husband of Victoria Woodhull, from whom he had been legally separated, and assert by inference that as such husband, he had enjoyed marital rights, and that thus Mrs. W. was living with two husbands at the same time.

All the facts of this case have been sufficiently presented time and again—her defence and explanation—clear, full and complete, showing a magnanimity beyond that of common mortals, are familiar to the whole reading public. Among the greatest and most heinous wrongs I have ever witnessed is that of attempting to convert a virtue of highest degree into a vice of the lowest degree, solely for the purpose of suppressing the truth—the particular truth essential to curing the evils of our present social system.

Suppose it all true, would not the practice of Jesus have saved these impostors from entering into this dirty work by falsifying the facts? Jesus did not reprove the woman with many husbands, nor for the one with whom she was living; nor yet the woman taken in adultery. He only said: "neither do I condemn thee, go and sin no more."

Here was no misconception, perversion, or abuse—not a word of the kind. And yet these Christian men who pretend to be guided by the Spirit of God in obeying the teachings of Jesus do not hesitate to make charges which they cannot substantiate, and traduce the virtue of charity, reckoned by that old fogey Paul as the greatest of all gifts and graces—above faith and hope, the first of which is a condition of salvation.

How these Christian men and the readers of the *Christian Radical* can reconcile such conduct with even common morality, omitting the higher Christian graces, is a logical problem I shall not undertake to solve. A sin against the truth—a sin against the truth for the perversion and suppression of the truth, is an offence second to no other. Stealing is respectable business compared with falsehood and slander.

It is not much wonder that the morals of the community deteriorate under such ministrations. O Tempores! O Mores! O Christian Charity! O Christian Ministers!

JOHN B. WOLFE,

NO WRONGS, NO CRIMES.

All crimes are but the effects of wrong producing causes, either from organization, education or situation.

Mr. G. F. Train, in a recent article of your WEEKLY, says, "that the crime of infanticide is greatly on the increase and should be stopped, or the Anglo Saxon race will be superseded by the Irish and Germans."

The cause should first be removed which is forced maternity, the sin against the Holy Ghost, if there be such, and is the cause of nine-tenths of all the evil and inharmonious of earth life.

Men have too long put all the burden and responsibility of child bearing upon the mothers, not even allowing them to say whether they were prepared to assume the duties and pains of maternity or not; claiming her entire obedience to them as a marital right even to the expense of the health and happiness of both mother and offspring.

Few are the men who will forego a selfish gratification for the sake of the one they have sworn to love and protect (?)

I have listened to bitter complaints from this source, enough to convince me that the fabled hell is often to be found in the bed-chambers of legal prostitution.

The very first right of woman is the right to herself? This is inalienable and can never be surrendered without a wrong being done, and which often extends its direful effects to the third and fourth generation; and the first step toward a regeneration, or rather a right generation, is to make pure love the bond of union between the parents, that children may be born with the love forces in their natures instead of that of hatred and vicious propensities.

Women must inaugurate this reform, for men do not make laws that shall abridge their privileges or to aid much in moral progress.

Men have, in a great measure, left virtue and social respectability to the women to take care of, as they had little inclination or ability to resist temptation or to support a moral code bearing equally upon themselves. But as woman's nature is more spiritual and stands nearer the divine life, so is she more capable of living virtuously and chaste. Pure love never seeks to inquire its object, and if just usurps its place, then love soon dies out and leaves the heart an empty shrine.

When I hear people cry out against free love, I know that they are ignorant of its nature and power. For with all the laws and ceremonies that man has ever invented to bind this transient God, he has utterly failed to chain him for an hour if the subtle law of soul union did not hold his roving pinions.

Human laws, at best, are but as the outer covering and protection of that inner law of love, which operates upon the magnetic currents of life in a manner as unaccountable to him who feels its power as to those who so often stand ready to condemn. May the time soon come when this divine principle, which has so many times been crucified, shall be resurrected to a higher life and wear no more its crown of thorns.

LUNA HUTCHISON.

OWENS VALLEY, Cal., July 3, 1871.

MESDAMES EDITORS.—Your correspondent "F." in your last issue asks whether I duly considered the subject of Foreign Missions before writing my communication of February 27. To this inquiry I can truly reply in the affirmative. It causes have been to me a subject of much prayer and reflection for many years, and the thought to which utterance was given in the article on which he comments, was not the offspring of the moment, but the result of a deep rooted conviction. "F" asks "how the contributions of money by the advanced or ritualistic churches will prevent the teaching of the doctrines which are now taught among the heathen by the missionaries who are now there?" Or would we "have the advanced or ritualistic churches send out their own men?" The answer to both these questions is simple. The contributions of the advanced churches would, I admit, as matters now are, do but little to propagate Catholicism, but were the facts to be known that they were contributors to the foreign cause the result would soon be visible. At present the missionary work abroad is entirely in the hands of the Evangelical party, and Evangelical men are sent out almost exclusively. Those holding advanced views feel a delicacy in accepting a support from the present society on the same ground that they would refuse a stipend from the Evangelical Education Society while preparing for the mission. Although the objection in the former has not the weight that it has in the latter case. Now if the Catholic school did their part in sending the gospel to foreign parts, how many young men are there who instead of settling down in country parishes or accepting assistant's positions in our city churches, would go out into that broader vineyard—the heathen world? As for following up and noting out the teachings of the present missionaries, there is no use to make this a special object any more than in our large cities; but we feel assured that the Catholic cause must triumph wherever it goes; it matters not whether heathenism, Protestantism, or both combined, be its opponent. To repeat what was said before, why should we delay to plant the church in all her purity, till Protestants have obtained a firm footing? Why not take advantage of the opportunity, and by establishing the church win the heathen from his idols to her altar, without allowing him to come in contact with the chilling influences of Protestantism.

In the case supposed, "of one of the faithful having the sum of fifty thousand dollars or more which he wishes to give for the support and extension of the church," "F." reasons without data. He says: "If we may judge from the past, such a sum of money would gain for the church but a very few persons in Africa or in China." "If we may judge from the past," but what right have we to do this. How can the progress made heretofore be compared with that which would be made were Catholic missionaries in the field? This is what has never been tried, and we know not what would be the result; but if we may judge from what has taken place in both England and America since the introduction of "ritualism" and the progress which has been the result of that movement here; we can prophecy an issue far different from what has been yet witnessed. Again, we have the promise, "cast thy bread upon the waters, for thou shalt find it after many days."

Now, granting that fifty thousand dollars would at present do but little to advance the cause of Christ in Africa or in China, are we at liberty to argue that this state of things will continue forever? A foundation must be laid (and of course out of sight) before any superstructure can be raised, and the sooner the foundation is completed so much earlier will the fruit of our expenditures become visible; and it is yet to be seen, whether in the long run, a given sum of money will not yield as bountiful a return in heathen as in Christian lands.

The plan advocated by "F." is assuredly not that commanded by Christ and carried out by the Apostles—"Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature"—and how was the injunction obeyed? Before the dawn of the second century, "Christ, and him crucified," had been preached to well nigh every people of the then known world.

Churches were established in nearly every principal city; the seed was planted and the apostle passed on to another district. According to "F's" idea, no effort should have been made to evangelize the world until Christianity had obtained entire sway in Palestine; all the energy and zeal of the faithful should have been concentrated there, and when all were converted there, but not till then, might the gospel have been preached beyond its borders. This, may be earthly wisdom, but surely it is not heavenly.

"Notwithstanding our missionaries have been so long in Africa and in China, if they should be withdrawn, it is to be feared that the missions would entirely fail;" if this is so, it is one of the strongest reasons why we should continue to sustain them; looking at it from a financial point of view, the great sums which have been expended on these fields have made the way for other, and it may be more successful efforts, and it is to our interest to support them until able to sustain themselves, for it we allow them to go down, all the expense, both of men and money which has already been met, will be lost, and the same thing have to be gone over in the future when the time comes we can afford the means, energy and zeal to take them the gospel.

In regard to the progress Christianity has made in heathen lands, many things have to be taken into account before branding it as a failure. Missionaries have to contend with prejudices of the very bitterest kind, and against obstacles the most formidable, but does the progress of the church in America, this Christian land, so far exceed that in the foreign field, that the latter should be abandoned? Compare the statistics (my figures are from the church almanac of 1872, and the Spirit of Missions, and are open to correction). The whole number of clergy in the American church is 2,900, of these twenty-seven are foreign missionaries, leaving 2,873 in the United States, the population of which is 39,555,983. The whole number engaged in teaching the heathen, including clergy, both foreign and native, catechists, teachers and ladies amount to 61. The heathen population of the world is 924,000,000. Looking at these figures, has the proportionate progress been such that we should cease to aid foreign missions?

Once more. The American branch of the church Catholic has solemnly declared itself to be a missionary body, and every member of it to be of a missionary society. Is then the advanced party being a part of the entire whole, justified in refusing to bear its share of the common burden?

Figures show that home contributions have never suffered by liberality to the foreign cause, but, have rather been increased. In helping others we help ourselves.

Call missions "sentiment," or what you will, it has the command of CHRIST on which to rely, and the example of Apostles and martyrs to follow. Under such guidance, and in such footsteps can it be wrong? W. P.

March 9, 1872.

BUFFALO, N. Y., April 1, 1872.

TENNIE C. CLAFLIN—Dear friend of humanity: Why should not a stranger send thee fraternal greetings? Why not offer thee the right hand of fellowship? Why not send thee earnest, soul felt congratulations, bidding thee Godspeed in thy noble work, and asking of thee to be brave, and strong, and patient?

Thou also, with thy sister, art a "sower of seed," and grandly hast thou entered thy field of labor. Bravely hast thou scattered truths, germs, and in abundance. Through the coming years, shall humanity reap the harvest. Thy truthful, plain-spoken words, will reach many a crushed spirit, comfort many a suffering soul, and heal many a broken heart, who blessing thee for thy noble championship, will take courage to battle for themselves.

What matters scorn and contempt, ridicule and abuse, so thou win at the last? Truly hast thou made a grand beginning. Angels, loving spirits, the dear ones gone before thee, shall attend upon thy steps, and help thee to future victories. God bless thee. HORACE M. RICHARDS.

The Universal Peace Union will hold its sixth annual meeting at one of the rooms of the Cooper Institute, on Wednesday, May 8, at 11 o'clock A. M., and 3 and 8 o'clock P. M.

The Second Annual Convention of THE AMERICAN LABOR REFORM LEAGUE, will be held in New York City, Sunday and Monday, May 5th and 6th, in Cooper Institute: Room No. 18, Sunday the 5th, day and evening; in Room No. 24, Monday 6th, afternoon and evening.

John Orris, Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull, J. K. Ingalls, E. H. Heyward, Miss Kate Stanton, Mrs. E. L. Daniels, T. H. Banks, Miss Jennie Collins, Geo. B. Drury, Albert Brisbane, William Hanson, and other speakers are expected.

The third annual meeting of the "American Anti-Usury Society" will be held in Hall 24 Cooper Institute, on Monday, May 6, at 10 o'clock A. M.

MRS. FRANK CROCKER.

Subjects:—1st. SCRAPES. 2d. (TO BE ANNOUNCED.) There are many new lecturers in the field, though but few, we think, that can equal this lady; young, brilliant and witty, a fine conversationalist, she is a "rara avis" both on and off the platform.

A woman of impassioned strength and force of mind, of great intellectual culture and ability. A star of the first magnitude.—Free Press.

Very seldom do I meet with a voice so full and clear—with such distinct and perfect articulation. It is a rare and exceptional one.—J. T. Leonard, Boston, Mass.

In general get-up and style, Mrs. Crocker equals if not excels the "best dressed woman" now on the platform. Her lecture is a literary treat.—Franklin News.

A woman of great wit and brilliant talent; has brains and knows how to use them.—Daily News.

A power which we have been compelled to acknowledge in private life, in public, with all her fervid eloquence, wit and brilliancy, she cannot fail of soon ranking all others now in the field.—Free Democrat.

Terms, \$50.

THE NEW HIBERNICON.

This Panoramic View of Ireland on exhibition at the St. James Theatre, Twenty Eighth street near Broadway, is one of the most entertaining amusements in the city. It comprises views of the most celebrated historical cities and scenes in the Emerald Isle. These are interspersed with sundry characteristic songs and dances by "Barney," the Guide, and his lady-love, "Norm," who, with the French Dancing Master, make up an evening's entertainment, which is quite a relief to the common place performance of theatres in general, and nightly receives the rapturous applause, of crowded houses.

The second quarterly convention of the New Jersey State Association of Spiritualists and Friends of Progress, will be held in Jersey City, on Wednesday, May 8, commencing at 10 o'clock, a.m., holding three sessions. A cordial invitation is extended to all interested in the great reforms of the day, especially those designing to attend the People's Reform Convention in New York, May 9 and 10. The convention will be held in Union Hall, corner of Grove and 4th streets.

Speakers to be in attendance—Mrs. Susie A. Willis, Horace Dresser, L. L. D., H. T. Child, M. D., Victoria C. Woodhull, Grover C. Stewart, A. A. Wheelock, L. K. Coonley, M. D., and we expect Cephas B. Lynn. Order of exercises on programme.

L. K. COONLEY, Pres.

ELLEN DICKINSON, Sec'y.

VINELAND, N. J., April 10.

INDIANA STATE ASSOCIATION OF SPIRITUALISTS.

To the Spiritualists of Indiana, Greeting:

We hereby announce to the friends of Spiritualism in Indiana and elsewhere, that the Sixth Annual Convention of the "Indiana State Association of Spiritualists," will be held in Westerfield's Hall, in the city of Anderson, Madison county, Indiana, commencing Friday, May 24, 1872, at 10½ o'clock A. M., and continue in session over Sunday. Each local Liberal Society and Children's Progressive Lyceum in the State will be entitled to three delegates and one additional delegate for each ten members over twenty, and each county where no society exists will be entitled to three delegates. All friends of the cause are cordially invited to attend. Everything possible will be done to make the convention both pleasant and profitable.

We are authorized to announce that the Hon. Robert Dale Owen, and other good speakers will be in attendance and take part in the convention.

Anderson is a thriving place, situated thirty-four miles north-east from Indianapolis, on the Bellefontaine railroad, and has an active society of Spiritualists and a Children's Progressive Lyceum in successful operation. Speakers at the convention will be entertained free, and board procured for others at a low rate.

By order of the Board of Trustees.

(Attest.)

J. R. BUELL,

Secretary of Indiana State Association of Spiritualists.

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind, April, 1872

LECTURER'S CO-OPERATIVE UNION.

AN IMPORTANT MOVEMENT—NO MORE MONOPOLY OF BUREAUS AND OF BRAINS.

The necessity and utility to speakers and societies, of some more equitable method to meet the demands of the rostrum, as an educator, is too apparent to need discussion. It is proposed to form one or more Co-operative Unions of Lecturers, for the mutual benefit of themselves and the public they serve. The following objects are sought to be attained:

1. Systematic, practical education on all the great political, social and moral subjects now under consideration.
2. To furnish a good article at a reasonable price, and thus place the benefits of this source of pleasure and profitable instruction within the reach of the poor.
3. To equalize the compensation of those engaged in a common work.
4. To provide a contingent or insurance fund for the benefit of those who may need extra help in cases of sickness or misfortune.
5. To provide in cases of necessity the data necessary to the exhaustive study of the subjects to be discussed, so as to offer in every case the most practical solution of the question under consideration.

To this may be added such other measures as may be deemed useful and necessary to the accomplishment of the organization. The purpose and plan have already received the approval of a number of the most efficient thinkers and workers. The mere statement of what we propose is all the argument necessary. Correspondence, and suggestions are solicited from lecturers and societies, that we may have the wisdom of all from which to perfect our organization. We are ready now to supply lectures on Graduated tax, the great equalizer of surplus products, and solution of the capital and labor controversy, Finances—Tariff and Free Trade; Criminal jurisprudence, including prisons, prisoners, capital punishment—Penal sanctions to law, and their true basis. Suffrage, Land reform, Wages, Social science, Moral science, Medical lectures. The scientific cause and cure of Asiatic cholera, The purposes, functions, powers, and methods of government including the referendum (final approval of the people) with a feasible plan of actualizing, etc., etc. As soon as organized, we propose to arrange, correlated subjects into courses, adapted to particular talents of speakers, and let these courses as far as practicable follow each other, so as to diversify, and systematize the work.

No \$50 bonus will be required of lecturers; and no per cent. will be demanded to enrich one at the expense of the many. Our purpose is to equalize compensation, and equivalents between the speakers and the public.

All the members of this union must be competent to give satisfaction—to render an equivalent for the compensation.

The subject and its proper presentation is of more importance than the agent. The union should guarantee competency in every lecturer; and therefore must use care in selection. The union will be amply provided with lecturers to meet any reasonable demand. The slate presented herewith shows the drift of this movement to be eminently practical.

It is desirable to hear the suggestions of our best thinkers, and therefore we solicit correspondence. Address,

JOHN B. WOLFF, Sec. Graduated Tax Association,

510 Pearl street, New York.

Reform papers are earnestly solicited to copy the above.

SECOND MORTGAGE**8 PER CENT.****CONVERTIBLE BONDS****INDIANAPOLIS,****BLOOMINGTON****Western Railway****At 82 1-2 AND INTEREST.**

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NEVADA, Capt. FORSYTH, April 24, at 2:30 A. M.
WYOMING, Capt. WHITNEY, May 1, at 1:00 P. M.
MINNESOTA, Capt. MORGAN, May 8, at 3:00 P. M.
IDAHO, Capt. PRICE, May 15, at 11:30 A. M.

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WASHINGTON, ROUSMAN, Saturday, May 4
VILLE DE PARIS, SCAMUNT, Saturday, May 18
PEREIRE, DANKE, Saturday, June 1
Price of passage in gold (including wine), to Brest or Havre, First Cabin, \$125; Second Cabin \$75.
Excursion tickets at reduced rates.

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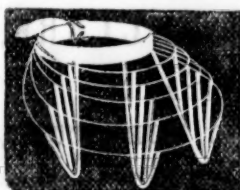
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Mrs. Laura Cuppy Smith.

This lady, who has spent six years in California, receiving the highest encomiums from the press of the Pacific coast, cannot fail to please Associations desiring an earnest, eloquent and entertaining lecture.

SUBJECTS:

- I.—Woman in the Home, the Church and the State.
- II.—One of the World's Needs.
- III.—The Religion of the Future.
- IV.—The Social Problem Reviewed.

NOTICES OF THE PRESS.

To those who have not heard this lady lecture, we would say, go by all means if you would desire to hear an earnest, well-spoken discourse, with an unbroken flow of well-pronounced, grammatical English. We have our own ideas about woman's mission and how far she unsexes herself when she ventures to lecture men, yet spite of our prejudice we were carried away by her words last evening at Maguire's Opera House.—*San Francisco News Letter.*

This lady pronounced a remarkable address last night at the Hall opposite the Academy of Music. Remarkable because of the extreme beauty of language and opulence of fancy, and interesting on account of its tender and grateful sentiment.—*The Daily American Flag, San Francisco.*

She never hesitated an instant for a word, and she has always the most appropriate. Her voice is sweet and melodious, her enunciation pure and distinct, her attitude and gestures very graceful indeed.—*Sacramento Correspondent Santa Clara Argus.*

Mrs. Laura Cuppy Smith gave an interesting and instructive lecture last night to a large assemblage at Maguire's Opera House, which if delivered by some peripatetic male pedagogue with a large reputation, at a dollar per head admission, would have received unbounded eulogiums from the press.—*San Francisco Examiner.*

Laura Cuppy Smith, one of the best educated and most talented lady lecturers we have ever listened to.—*San Francisco Figaro.*

Mrs. Cuppy Smith possesses great talent as a speaker, and, standing before her audience in her simple, yet elegant attire, with a spiritual face, which seems to index the emotions of her mind, commands the attention and respect of all her hearers.—*San Francisco Morning Call.*

Maguire's Opera House never contained a greater throng than convened to listen to an erudite lecture on Radicalism, by Laura Cuppy Smith, last evening.—*Alta California, San Francisco.*

Mrs. Laura Cuppy Smith has proven herself to be a lady of rare culture, added to great natural eloquence. To say that she ranks among the first of all who have addressed an Omaha audience, whether male or female, is but doing her justice.—*Wm. L. FRABODY, Chairman Relief Committee Y. M. C. Association.—Omaha Republican.*

Walking majestically through the splendid gardens of literature and philosophy, calling, as she went rapidly on, the richest gems of inspired genius: riveting the profound attention of all her charmed hearers. Such women you seldom meet. Her praises are on the tongues of all the people.—*Omaha Tribune.*

She is a fluent speaker, using elegant language, and with far more than ordinary argumentative powers.—*Omaha Herald.*

She is an educated, refined lady, and one of the best lecturers we ever heard.—*Omaha Republican.*

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For Female Complaints, in young or old, married or single, at the dawn of womanhood, or the turn of life, these Tonic Bitters display so decided an influence that a marked improvement is soon perceptible.

For Inflammatory and Chronic Rheumatism and Gout, Dyspepsia or Indigestion, Bilious, Remittent and Intermittent Fevers, Diseases of the Liver, Kidneys and Bladder, these Bitters have been most successful. Such Diseases are caused by Vitiated Blood, which is generally produced by derangement of the Digestive Organs.

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Cleanse the Vitiated Blood whenever you find its impurities bursting through the skin in Pimples, Eruptions, or Sores; cleanse it when you find it obstructed and sluggish in the veins; cleanse it when it is foul; your feelings will tell you when. Keep the blood pure, and the health of the system will follow.

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Bilious, Remittent, and Intermittent Fevers, which are so prevalent in the valleys of our great rivers throughout the United States, especially those of the Mississippi, Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, Tennessee, Cumberland, Arkansas, Red, Colorado, Brazos, Rio Grande, Pearl, Alabama, Mobile, Savannah, Roanoke, James, and many others, with their vast tributaries, throughout our entire country during the Summer and Autumn, and remarkably so during seasons of unusual heat and dryness, are invariably accompanied by extensive derangements of the stomach and liver, and other abdominal viscera. There are always more or less obstructions of the liver, a weakness and irritable state of the stomach, and great torpor of the bowels, being clogged up with vitiated accumulations. In their treatment, a purgative, exerting a powerful influence upon these various organs, is essentially necessary. There is no cathartic for the purpose equal to Dr. J. WALKER'S VINEGAR BITTERS, as they will speedily remove the dark-colored viscid matter with which the bowels are loaded, at the same time stimulating the secretions of the liver, and generally restoring the healthy functions of the digestive organs.

Scrofula, or King's Evil, White Swellings, Ulcers, Erysipelas, Swelled Neck, Goiter, Scrofulous Inflammations, Indolent Inflammations, Mercurial Affections, Old Sores, Eruptions of the Skin, Sore Eyes, etc., etc. In these, as in all other constitutional Diseases, WALKER'S VINEGAR BITTERS have shown their great curative powers in the most obstinate and intractable cases.

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