

# WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

PROGRESS! FREE THOUGHT! UNTRAMMELED LIVES!

*BREAKING THE WAY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.*

Vol. 4, No. 27.—Whole No. 105.

NEW YORK, MAY 18, 1872.

PRICE TEN CENTS.

TOLEDO, PEORIA

**Warsaw Railway**

Second Mortgage Convertible 7 Per

Cent. Currency Bonds.

Interest Warrants Pay-

able October & April.

Principal 1886.

We offer for sale \$100,000 of the above bonds in block. By act of reorganization of the Company these bonds are convertible into the First Preferred Shares of the Company, which amounts to only 17,000 shares, and into the Consolidated Bonds (recently negotiated at Amsterdam) of six millions of dollars, which cover the entire line of 230 miles of completed road, together with all the rolling stock and real property, to the value of more than ten millions of dollars. The road crosses the entire State of Illinois, and connects with the mammoth iron bridges spanning the Mississippi at Keokuk and Burlington. The income of the road for the year will net sufficient to pay interest on all the bonded indebtedness and dividend on the preferred shares.

For terms apply to

**Clark, Dodge & Co.,**

Corner Wall and William Streets.

**NEW YORK  
SAVINGS BANK,**  
Eighth Ave., cor. Fourteenth St.  
**SIX PER CENT. INTEREST**

Allowed on all sums from \$5 to \$5,000. Deposits made on or before August 1 will draw interest from August 1.  
Assets, \$2,478,808 05.  
Surplus, \$300,379 95.

Safe and Profitable,

**CANADA SOUTHERN**

FIRST MORTGAGE SINKING FUND, THIRTY YEARS

7 per cent. Gold Bonds.

90 and Accrued Interest.

The Road runs from Buffalo to the Detroit River, and is the Eastern link in the new

**Air Line from BUFFALO to CHICAGO,**

and has been under construction for about two years past by railroad men who have seen the necessity for a

**Steel Rail Low Grade Short Route**

between the great railroad systems which diverge from

**CHICAGO, TOLEDO AND BUFFALO.**

Among the builders of the road, by whose cash subscriptions 200 miles (out of 290) have already been graded, bridged, and made ready for the superstructure, a large part of the steel rails bought, all of the materials for the stations and a part of the equipment purchased, are:

MILTON COURTRIGHT, JOHN F. TRACY, DAVID DOWS, WM. L. SCOTT, HENRY FARHAM, R. A. FORSYTH, HENRY H. PORTER, JOHN M. BURKE, M. L. SYKES, JR., B. F. ALLEN, all Directors either in the Chicago and Northwest or in the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific; GEO. OPDYKE, of the Midland Road; JOHN B. ALLEN, SIDNEY DILLON, DANIEL DREW, J. S. CASEMENT, J. & J. CASEY, O. S. CHAPMAN, JOHN ROSS, DAVID STEWART, and F. H. WINSTON.

The road will be

**33 Miles Shorter than any  
Other Road.**

either built or in contemplation between Buffalo and Chicago, and will also shorten the distance between Toledo and Buffalo 23 miles.

THE MAXIMUM GRADE on the entire line does not exceed fifteen feet to the mile—and ninety-six per cent. of the road is STRAIGHT.

The road will be completed and in running order on or before December 21st of this year.

The principal and interest of the bonds are payable either in New York, London or Frankfurt.

We confidently recommend the bonds to all classes of stores.

**LEONARD, SHELDON & FOSTER,**

No. 10 WALL STREET.

**RAILROAD IRON,**

FOR SALE BY

**S. W. HOPKINS & CO.,**

71 BROADWAY.

**Banking House of HENRY CLEWS & CO.,**

32 Wall Street, N. Y.

Circular Notes and Letters of Credit for travelers; also Commercial Credits issued available throughout the world.

Bills of Exchange on the Imperial Bank of London, National Bank of Scotland, Provincial Bank of Ireland, and all their branches.

Telegraphic Transfers of money on Europe, San Francisco and the West Indies.

Deposit accounts received in either Currency or Coin, subject to check at sight, which pass through the Clearing House as if drawn upon any city bank; interest allowed on all daily balances; Certificates of Deposit issued bearing interest at current rate; Notes and Drafts collected.

State, City and Railroad Loans negotiated.

**CLEWS, HABICHT & CO.,**

11 Old Broad St., London.

**BANKING AND FINANCIAL.**

**The St. Joseph and Denver City Railroad  
Company's**

**FIRST MORTGAGE BONDS**

Are being absorbed by an increasing demand for them.

Secured as they are by a first mortgage on the Road, Land Grant, Franchise, and Equipments, combined in one mortgage, they command at once a ready market.

A Liberal Sinking Fund provided in the Mortgage Deed must advance the price upon the closing of the loan. Principal and interest payable in GOLD. Interest at eight (8) per cent per annum. Payable, semi-annually, free of tax. Principal in thirty years. Denominations, \$1,000, \$500 and \$100 Coupons or Registered.

Price 97 1-2 and accrued interest, in currency, from February 15, 1872.

Maps, Circulars, Documents, and information furnished.

Trustees, Farmers' Loan and Trust Company of New York.

Can now be had through the principal Banks and Bankers throughout the country, and from the undersigned who unhesitatingly recommend them.

**TANNER & Co., Bankers,**

No. 11 Wall street, New York.

**AUGUST BELMONT & Co.,**

**BANKERS,**

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Issue Letters of Credit to Travelers, available in all parts of the world, through the

**MESSRS. DE ROTHSCHILD**

and their correspondents.

Also, make telegraphic transfers of money on California, Europe and Havana.

C. J. OSBORN.

ADDISON CAMMACK.

**OSBORN & CAMMACK,**

**BANKERS,**

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**Rail  
Road  
Bonds.**

Whether you wish to Buy or Sell write to  
**CHARLES W. HASSLER,**  
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**AN UNDOUBTED  
Security,**

**PAYING 60 PER CENT.**

**MORE INCOME**

**THAN GOVERNMENT BONDS,**

AND

**9 1-2 per Cent on the Investment.**

**FIRST MORTGAGE SINKING FUND GOLD**

**BONDS OF THE**

**Logansport, Crawfordsville and  
South-Western Railway of Indiana.**

THEY BEAR

**8 per Cent. Gold.**

INTEREST PAYABLE QUARTERLY IN NEW YORK, FREE OF GOVERNMENT TAX, AND ARE COUPON AND REGISTERED.

The issue is limited to \$16,300 per mile, in denominations of \$1,000, \$500 and \$100.

This Road, 92 miles long, affords the shortest existing outlet to Chicago, Toledo, Detroit, Fort Wayne, Logansport, and intermediate points for the celebrated Block and Bituminous Coal of Parke County, as, also, for the large surplus products of the rich agricultural and mineral sections of the State which it traverses.

For the present we are offering these Bonds at 95 and accrued interest in currency, or will exchange them for Government Bonds, or other marketable securities, at the rates of the day.

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

**JONES & SCHUYLER,**

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In Chemical and Medical Science.



Dr. E. F. GARVIN'S  
SOLUTION & COMPOUND ELIXIR  
OF

# TAR

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

**PINE TREE TAR.**  
UNEQUALED in Coughs, Colds, Catarrh,  
Asthma, Bronchitis, and consumption.  
**CURES WITHOUT FAIL**  
A recent cold in three to six hours; and also,  
by its VITALISING, PURIFYING and STIM-  
ULATING effects, upon the general system,  
is remarkably efficacious in all  
**DISEASES OF THE BLOOD.**  
including Scrophula and Eruptions of the skin,  
Dyspepsia, Diseases of the Liver and Kidneys,  
Heart Disease, and General Debility.

**ONE TRIAL CONVINCES!**

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

**All Diseases of the NOSE, THROAT  
and LUNGS.**

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

**THE SOLUTION AND COMPOUND ELIXIR OF  
TAR**

is without doubt the Best remedy known in  
cases of

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

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

Solution and Compound Elixir, \$1.00 per Bottle  
Volatile Solution for Inhalation, \$5.00 per Box  
Tar and Mandrake Pills, 50c per box.  
Send for Circular of **POSITIVE CURES**  
to your Druggist, or to

**L. F. HYDE & CO.,**  
SOLE PROPRIETORS,  
110 E. 22d St., New York.  
Sold by all Druggists.

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**MARVIN & CO.'S**  
ARE THE BEST.  
**265 BROADWAY.**

**NATIONAL SAVINGS BANK.**  
THE FREEDMAN'S SAVINGS AND TRUST  
COMPANY.

(Chartered by the Government of the United States.)  
DEPOSITS OVER \$3,000,000.

185 BLEECKER STREET, NEW YORK.  
SIX PER CENT. interest commences first of each  
month.

Four per cent. allowed from date of each deposit  
for full number of days, not less than thirty, on sums  
of \$50 and upward, withdrawn before January.

DEPOSIT CERTIFICATES, as safe as Registered  
Bonds, and promptly available in any part of the  
United States, issued, payable on demand, with in-  
terest due.

Accounts strictly private and confidential.  
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JOHN J. ZUILLE, Cashier.

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LINK-MOTION,

LOCK-STITCH



# Sewing Machine

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

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**BLEES SEWING MACHINE CO.,**  
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Gold and Currency received on deposit, subject to  
check at sight.

Interest allowed on Currency Accounts at the rate  
of Four per Cent. per annum, credited at the end of  
each month.

ALL CHECKS DRAWN ON US PASS THROUGH  
THE CLEARING-HOUSE, AND ARE RECEIVED  
ON DEPOSIT BY ALL THE CITY BANKS.

Certificates of Deposit issued, payable on demand,  
bearing Four per Cent. interest.

Loans negotiated.  
Orders promptly executed for the Purchase and  
Sale of Governments, Gold, Stocks and Bonds on  
commission.

Collections made on all parts of the United States  
and Canada.

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**BARTON & ALLEN,**

**BANKERS AND BROKERS,**  
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Stocks, Bonds and Gold bought and sold on com-  
mission.

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The Best Pianos at the Lowest  
Prices.

And upon the most favorable terms of payment.  
We invite the attention of persons intending to  
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BANKERS,

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DEALERS IN GOVERNMENT SECURITIES,  
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Opposite U. S. Sub-Treasury.

We receive the accounts of Banks, Bank-  
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at sight, and allow interest on balances.

We make special arrangements for interest  
on deposits of specific sums for fixed periods.

We make collections on all points in the  
United States and Canada, and issue Certifi-  
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Union.

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

We buy and sell, at the Stock Exchange,  
miscellaneous Stocks and Bonds, on commis-  
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Communications and inquiries by mail or  
telegraph, will receive careful attention.

**FISK & HATCH.**

89-17

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AND

# LADIES' PROTECTOR.

NO MORE COLD FEET—NO MORE  
DEFORMED LIMBS.

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

The trade supplied at a discount.

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# SET OF TEETH,

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

TEETH EXTRACTED WITHOUT PAIN

With Nitrous Oxide Gas.

No extra charge when others are inserted.

**SPLENDID SETS, \$10 to \$20.**

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Between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets east side

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

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HAS REMOVED FROM HIS STORE TO THE

FIRST FLOOR,

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

CHATELAIN BRAIDS,

LADIES' AND GENTLEMEN'S WIGS,

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

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

**HARABA ZEIN,**

or FLESH BEAUTIFIER, the only pure and harm-  
less preparation ever made for the complexion. No  
lady should ever be without it. Can be obtained  
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Postoffice address, till February, will be 122 Wood  
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OF

**WILLIAM H. SYLVIS,**  
Late President of the Iron-Moulders' International  
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BY HIS BROTHER—JAMES C. SYLVIS,

Of Sunbury, Pa.

"We must show them that when a just monetary  
system has been established there will no  
longer exist a necessity for Trades' Unions."

—WM. H. SYLVIS.

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CLAXTON, REMSEN & HAFELFINGER,

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**LEO MILLER,**

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Will present to the public

**THE WOMAN QUESTION IN A NEW LIGHT.**

SUBJECT:  
"WOMAN, AND HER RELATIONS TO TEMPER-  
ANCE AND OTHER REFORMS."

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

**CHARLES H. FOSTER,**

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SEXUAL SCIENCE.

Physical and Mental Regeneration.

A Pamphlet of 60 pages, by F. B. DOWD. Priceless  
to wives and mothers, and such as are trying to be  
men. Price 50 cents. Address F. B. DOWD,  
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PSYCHOMETRIC AND CLAIRVOY-  
ANT PHYSICIAN,**

will diagnose disease and give prescriptions from a  
lock of hair or photograph, the patient being required  
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Terms, \$3. Money refunded when he fails to pre-  
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**LAURA DE FORCE GORDON,**  
Of California,

Will make engagements to lecture upon the follow-  
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III. "A Political Crisis."

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TEETH EXTRACTED WITHOUT PAIN.

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teeth for thousands with complete success, and with  
bad effects in any instance. All operations pertaining  
to Dentistry performed in the most careful and thorough  
manner, at reasonable price.

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76 Maiden Lane and 1 Liberty St.

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



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AN

EXHAUSTIVE ARGUMENT

AGAINST MARRIAGE LEGISLATION

By **C. S. JAMES,**

Author of "Manual of Transcendental Philosophy."

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

Address

**Alma, Wis.**

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

|                                                                                       |        |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| The Principles of Government, by Victoria C. Woodhull;                                | \$3 00 |
| Constitutional Equality, by Tennie C. Claflin;                                        | 2 50   |
| Woman Suffrage guaranteed by the Constitution, speech by Victoria C. Woodhull;        |        |
| The Great Social Problem of Labor and Capital, speech by Victoria C. Woodhull;        |        |
| The Principles of Finance, speech by Victoria C. Woodhull;                            |        |
| Practical View of Political Equality, speech by Tennie C. Claflin;                    |        |
| Majority and Minority Report of the Judiciary Committee on the Woodhull Memorial;     |        |
| Carpenter and Cartter Reviewed—A Speech before the Suffrage Convention at Washington; |        |
| Each per copy;                                                                        | 10     |
| per 100;                                                                              | 5 00   |
| The Principles of Social Freedom;                                                     | 25     |
| The Impending Revolution,                                                             | 25     |

#### POST OFFICE NOTICE.

The mails for Europe during the week ending Saturday, May 18, 1872, will close at this office on Wednesday at 8.30 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 lady whom we are able to count among our most respected friends. She is open to engagements to speak upon any subject of general interest—religious, political or social—anywhere in the States east of the Mississippi River. Terms, \$75 and expenses. We take pleasure in recommending her to our friends, as one of the most profitable as well as entertaining speakers in the field. Her address is box 778 Bridgeport, Conn.

#### THE INTERNATIONAL.

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

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

Section 2 (French).—Sunday, 9:30 A. M., at No. 100 Prince street.

Section 6 (German).—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 Delancy street.

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

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

Section 10 (French).—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) meets the second and fourth Sundays in each month, at 453 Fourth avenue, 8 P. M.

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 Myers', 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. Laugrand, 335 Fourth avenue, New York.

Spanish Corresponding Secretary, Majin Janer, 112 Lexington avenue, Brooklyn.

Italian Corresponding Secretary, Antonio Brumi, 621 East Twelfth street, New York.

#### THE TRUE REPUBLIC.

A SPEECH BY ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

The two great nations in the world to-day, still in the act of growth, are Russia and America. With their vast extent of territory and rapidly increasing population, it is almost impossible for the human mind to estimate the grandeur of their destiny.

All the other nations in the globe have reached the acme of their power; some are already hastening to their downfall, because, like the despotisms, monarchies and empires of the past, one and all are based on the old feudal idea that might makes right. In spite of Russia's gaining power and greatness, if she continues to center all the authority of society in a single arm, she too must share the same fate with those that have gone before her. For there is but one safe and stable basis of national life; that is, the equality of all the citizens.

This is our American idea, and here we have undertaken the experiment of self-government, and it is well for every thoughtful citizen to consider all that the experiment involves. Without territorial annexation, we shall have at the end of this century one hundred million of people. With the purchase of territory now proposed, we shall add greatly to this number. Forty thousand Chinese are already on the Pacific coast, but the entering wedge of 400,000,000 behind them. Ignorance, poverty and vice from every quarter of the globe are following here, and all this mighty multitude are to be educated into the rights and responsibilities of self-government. When we consider how difficult it is to teach one individual man to govern himself, to study the laws of his being and conscientiously observe them, though he suffers in his own flesh the penalty of every violated law, we may begin to measure the magnitude of the work before us.

And there is no royal road to this result, but it is all to be accomplished by the slow, sure process of education.

Do we not need to this end the enlightened statesmanship, the religious earnestness, the moral power, the refined sentiments and affections of every thinking man and woman kindled to the highest pitch of enthusiastic patriotism for this work?

Wise thinkers are to-day considering the future of this nation and the probabilities of our children realizing what our fathers proposed: a government in which all citizens shall be free and equal.

Some doubt the possibility of such a fact, and declare the idea Utopian. Some say it is feasible, but only in a much higher development of the race. Some say we have made the attempt and failed, and are now drifting towards centralization and Imperialism. But the philosopher, seeing that equality has been the one long struggle through the past, naturally infers that it must be the foundation of all true government, based on a great fact in human nature. We have not tried it yet, but are slowly struggling towards that idea; our experiment thus far has not been a failure, but as compared with nations that have gone before us, a grand success. We are not drifting towards centralization and the one man power, but bravely working for the rights of the man, for individual sacredness and development. The world is done with royalty and aristocracy; the industrial forces are everywhere organizing; science and labor in the workshops of nature are to-day prying the sceptres that must soon rule the world. All these appearances of centralization are but the remnants of feudalism, to be thrown off in the new growth of the nation. The dangers many apprehend from the bribery and corruption of some of our caucuses and cabals, by which an imbecile Buchanan may be foisted upon the country to-day, and to-morrow a stolid Grant, as evidences of individual and party depravity, are lamentable enough; but the fact that all this political infidelity is ridiculed, condemned, spurned, by the minds; that the popular protests keep pace with the frauds, is evidence that the recuperative virtue of the people is strong enough to resist and right these incidental evils in the nation's transition to higher freedom.

What we now need to meet the responsibilities of self-government, is the scientific education of the people. We must rid the minds of the American people of the idea that government is a machine carried on at Washington and the State capitals, and educate every father, mother, preacher, teacher, into the faith that they are part of the government, daily moulding themselves and the youth under their care for the high duties of American citizenship; that the ideas of virtue, religion, honor, justice, taught in the pulpit, school-house, at the fireside, will crystallize, in another generation, in the statutes and constitutions of the State.

The time when women are to vote is so near at hand that I begin to feel more anxiety now about our wise use of the ballot than its possession, for if we vote as blindly as the masses of men do; like them, our condition will not be much improved. Having talked about the rights of suffrage for twenty years, I would suggest to you to-day all that you can do with it, all that need to be done in the state, the church, the school and the home; for remember, the ballot is the great regulating power by which all our political, religious, commercial, educational and social interests are decided. If you will consider with me as briefly as possible all the great national questions we are called on to settle in our day, you will perceive that it is no light matter to make wise laws, to assume the grave responsibilities of self-government, to legislate in the no distant future, for the mightiest nation in the globe.

True government is based on laws as certain and invariable as the national sciences. It is as dangerous to trust the interests of a nation in the hands of ignorant rulers, as to turn children loose in a laboratory to compound chemicals and generate gasses. The result in the one case would be burnt fingers, disgusting odors, explosions, chaos; in the other, heavy taxes, protective tariffs, a rotten banking system, high rates of interest, a financial crash every ten years, justice bought and sold in the market place, bribery and corruption in the courts and every department of government; drunkenness and licentiousness licensed by the state, war, and a national debt, bloated wealth and gaunt poverty, side by side in our streets, a living contradiction of our theory of equality. When a Vanderbilt can make 20,000,000 in a day, when a Gould and Fisk can run an Erie railroad for years without a dividend, and the stockholders are powerless in our courts because the judges are bought up, it is time for the people to look into our financial and banking systems and into the kind of stuff of which our judicial executive and legislative officers are made.

We have already gone so far toward the realization of a true republic as to place the ballot in the hands of every man, the next step is to teach him how to use it, for a ballot without knowledge, is like a prayer without works. Self-government involves an understanding of principles, of measures rather than men or parties. Nothing can rescue power from the hands of the few but the education of the many; and nothing can secure this education to the many, like submitting to their decision, all acts of legislation. Wise men and women all over this land should be educating the enfranchised masses into a knowledge of the rights and responsibilities of self-government. We should assemble our workingmen together every

evening in our school houses, churches, halls, and teach them the philosophy of these great questions of national life. It is folly to talk of self-government if the people are led by a few wily politicians. It is the result of this ignorance and indifference of the people, that representative government in this country has become the rule of a privileged few at the expense of the many. To prevent this, let every state so amend her constitution as to leave all local offices and legislation, as far possible, in the hands of the people of the several townships, counties and districts of the state; submitting all state and national acts to their ratification.

It has long been the custom in some cantons in Switzerland to submit many local laws to the people and they are so well satisfied with the system that recently four cantons, namely, Zurich, Thurgau, Lucerne and St. Gall adopted new constitutions, providing that twice a year and oftener, if necessary, the whole body of the people shall be convoked to approve or annul any fundamental changes in their constitution agreed upon by the Grand Council. Thirty days before each General Assembly every citizen is furnished with a copy of the laws to be voted upon and the absolute majority decides the question. If the Referendum, as this system is called, works so well in republican Switzerland, why not try it in democratic America. The objection urged against this plan is that the bills annually passed by Congress and the state legislatures are so numerous it would be impossible for the people to vote on them intelligently. Neither are our representatives able to do that to-day. Moreover, the fact that all acts must pass the severe ordeal of popular scrutiny would deter legislators from annually flooding us with a mass of needless, crude, corrupt statutes and compel them to enact fewer, simpler, wiser laws. This of itself would be a great reform and relieve the country of one of its chief political cares—excessive legislation. New York has already begun many reforms in this direction, which I will not stop here to rehearse. Among other things under our constitution, as it now stands, it is provided that no state debt can be created by the legislature, unless the law creating it and specifying the taxes necessary to liquidate it is first submitted to the people, and ratified by them at an election called for that purpose. These constitutional provisions embody the principle of the Referendum, and I see no reason why it may not be adopted by the state and Federal governments, submitting all important measures to the people such as taxes, tariffs, public debts, banking, donations of lands to railways, annexation of territory and declarations of war. Another method of increasing the power of the people is to enable them to elect by direct vote a larger number of the public officers. The President should be chosen by popular suffrage and not by the present cumbersome mode of the electoral college.

The offspring of an age, theory which has passed away; the office of the Vice President a useless public functionary, often a very inconvenient one to manage, should be abolished, the President chosen for one term only. Senators in Congress should be chosen by the people directly, not by the legislatures of their several States. Postmasters, internal revenue officers, and other functionaries of that class should be elected by the people of the districts where they discharge their duties, thus stripping the President of a power which enables him to make cowards, and knaves of leading politicians all over the union, and tempts him to accept gifts of money, lands, houses, horses, segars and dogs, in return for patronage bestowed, providing him with an army of retainers, for packing a convention to secure a renomination, though the people may be as tired of him as Sinbad was of the old man of the sea, and this principle should also be applied to the States in election of their officials, to compel aspiring politicians, who would rise to places of honor and profit to pass the inexorable ordeal of the crucial test of a republic, the ballot box. By restoring to the citizens this power that belongs to them, they will gradually throw off that incubus which hangs over the political parties in this nation like a perpetual nightmare; I mean the caucus system, whereby small men, ignorant men, corrupt men, are foisted into high positions, where only large brains, eminent capacity, and stainless purity should be found—a system, whereby half a dozen keen unscrupulous John Doe's in a midnight cabal virtually compel a mass of reasonably intelligent citizen to elect some supple subservient and may be, ignorant Richard Roe to a lofty position for which he is no more fit than Jack Shephard would have been for Archbishop of Canterbury, or than the captain of the Alabama to wear the star of the hero Farragut. Restore power to the people, they will even repudiate a system which virtually deprives a political party of all control over the selection of its candidates, and virtually drives citizens to the polls merely to register the decrees of a clique of meddlesome conspirators, calling themselves a convention of delegates. By abolishing caucuses and encouraging self-nominations, and reviving the old plan of making popular requisitions upon distinguished citizens to stand as candidates, and then by compelling all aspirants to office to face one another in open debate on the rostrum in the presence of the people whose suffrages they seek, mediocrity would soon shrink away, ignorance speedily drop to its level, corruption shrink before its own exposure, while the State would secure lofty talents, rare attainments, and spotless integrity in its chosen rulers. Two years ago the rival candidates for governor in the State of New York were serenaded in the same evening, and each made a speech. Mr. Woodford the Republican candidate said that Gov. Hoffman held his office, not by the suffrages of the people, but the fraudulent votes of his party; and Gov. Hoffman said Mr. Woodford had obtained his nomination, not by a fair vote of the members of the convention, but by the bribery of a certain clique. What kind of material is this for a state government. We are more favorably circumstanced than any other nation for perfecting human government, hence my unwavering faith in our success if we will but observe the cardinal principles of popular sovereignty, the ratification of all legislative acts, and a direct vote for the public officers by the people. However philosophers may differ as to the causes of the dangers that threaten us, we all know that that governmental machine left us by the Fathers with that paper of directions called the Declaration of Independence has not been run according to the rules of science, or its fair construction. If it had, all the people would have been crowned sovereigns—not men only, but women also.

You deny the capacity of woman to participate in the government of the State; you insist that she is not adapted to political affairs, and hence you deduce the exclusive rights of man to rule. Let us test his capacity by facts.

Precisely what would have been the result to the country if during the past fifty years its women alone had wielded the ballot, held office and administered the State and Federal Governments, I do not know, but we may safely assume that it would not have been worse than it has been under the exclusive political control of men.

Let us look at the results of the alternate domination of the two great parties in this Republic. For nearly fifty years before the advent of the Republican party, the Democrats, with here and there a brief interregnum, ruled the nation. The two prime articles in their creed were individual equality and anti-monopoly; and yet throughout their entire career they fos-



tered and protected chattel slavery, one of the most odious monopolies that ever cursed society, which in its full power, grown reckless and arrogant, attempted the life of the nation, whelmed the land in blood and piled up a mountain of debt that will weigh down the industry of the nation through the twentieth century. The sum total of the democratic male dynasty, is negro slavery, James Buchanan, the rebellion, Jeff. Davis, the bones of our sires and sons whitening on every Southern plain and a national debt over which financial sharks are gambling and fattening to-day.

Turn now to the Republicans. They organized their party in 1854. During the seven years they were pushing upward from a minority to a majority, inspired by the noble purpose of prostrating the slave power they did well; while the war lasted they were bound together by the strongest of ligatures the law of self-preservation.

But although the four years of Lincoln's administration saved the Union, it was a period in our history which will long be memorable for its official corruption and its utter disregard of individual rights and constitutional law. When Lincoln fell, the Republican regime gave us Andy Johnson, who convulsed the country four years, and only escaped impeachment by bribery. And now we have Grant, who like Haman of old, is determined to make all men bow to him. So far from regarding himself as the servant of the people, he requires the sovereign people to serve him. He is filling his own coffers, putting all his relations in office and tearing his party to pieces, and on the 4th of March, 1873, will leave the White House rich and infamous. The sum total of the Republican male dynasty is Andy Johnson, U. S. Grant, the subsidizing of San Domingo, the ostracism of Charles Sumner, (the purest politician America can boast), the orgies of the Ku-Klux at the South and the destruction of parties at the North.

It may be that the women would not have managed our politics any better, but they certainly could not have done worse. The old experiment having so signally failed, is it not best to try a new plan and see what will result from men and women legislating together.

When the life of the nation was threatened in the late rebellion there was one simultaneous shout to arms, for all saw the danger; are foes less to be dreaded because they are unseen and unheeded by the people?

Is it a greater evil to have the nation divided and the Union dissolved than to trust the administration of affairs to incompetent hands? Those accustomed to watch the opposing forces of society clearly see that graver struggles are at hand the next thirty years than any through which we have yet passed. Material questions of war and conquest are easily settled with rough hands and crude brains by force, but those we are to meet, for which we have no authorities, no precedents, need statesmanship of the highest, purest order.

Having thrown off the old theory, the right of the few to govern the many and adopted the opposite theory of equality, our work in a true republic is to regulate all the interests of society, trade, commerce, education, religion, social life, statute law, everything for the highest good of all.

The party that proposes to do this, and the men who know how to accomplish this work, are our divinely ordained leaders for 1872. Our institutions cannot endure the strain of another Presidential term of the corruption and misrule we are suffering to-day. The Democratic party died with slavery, the Republican party has done its work, let it now be gathered to its fathers and with the departed Whigs and Federalists be buried in the old family vault, and let us all say peace to its ashes.

As Mr. Butler, Mr. Riddle and many distinguished Senators, Congressmen, Judges and lawyers, have declared that the women of the Republic already have the right to vote under the Federal Constitution, and that this right is specifically declared in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments of the Constitution, we shall probably have a word in the selection of the next President. I, for one, would not name General Grant for two reasons.

1st. A military chieftain in the White House is not in harmony with the idea of self-government. Our civilization is one of peace, not war. Our conquests are to be gained by science, not the sword. If ballots are mightier than bullets, we want a statesman, not a soldier, at the head of the nation.

2nd. No President should be allowed to serve more than one term; then he would confine his attention to the duties in hand, and make the best record he could, and not demoralize the whole politics of the country by continually figuring for a re-election.

I might name Charles Sumner, though I do not believe in his political creed altogether, but he always stands firm as Gibraltar in his principles. He is a gentleman, a scholar, an orator, a philanthropist. Men say he is "overbearing" and "impracticable"; but so long as he overbears evil with good, the more of it the better; and while "impracticable" in politics means "can't be used by knaves and schemers," the more "impracticable" the better.

Mr. Sumner has always maintained a grand position in the Senate, with one invariable reply to all attacks on every question—I demand this or that, because "it is right." But, says some wily politician, it is not expedient. Expedient, he replies; in all God's universe I find no such law.

Such a man would be a worthy President for a party that would propose woman's suffrage, free labor, free trade, temperance, and the inviolable homestead. A party and a President that do not propose these much-needed reforms are not worthy the support of the American people. So long as bribery, fraud, oppression, and injustice are recognized as political necessities, it matters little whether Democrats or Republicans administer the government, the condition of the people is equally hopeless in both cases.

To know our errors in the past is to learn the right path for the future. Our voyage of discovery for the true secret of national life has been swift and perilous, but the electric light in our wake on the unknown sea has illumined the world, dazzling popes, kings, despots and Czars, giving new hope to the proud exile, lowly peasant and serf, and piloting all nations to safety and rest.

France, shouting "Vive la Republique," now follows our lead. She has been the only nation of the old world to lift up the banner of liberty, fraternity, equality, above oppression, ignorance and poverty, and wave it in the presence of nobles, popes and kings. Europe has watched her struggle to establish a Republic with a jealous eye, and witnessed her successive failures with keen satisfaction. America, too, the natural ally of France, has stood by with folded arms, and echoed the common opinion—"These Frenchmen are too mercurial; they have not the right elements for Republic"—complacently imagining that our success was the result of superior attributes. Remember our struggle was with natural obstacles, with the wilderness and savage life, while the adversaries of France are kings. She combats all the arts and weapons of old civilizations, hedged about her on every side, while an ocean 3,000 miles wide, without steamer or telegraph for a century, rolled between us and the natural foes of freedom on the Eastern Hemisphere. Yes, her's has been a most unequal struggle, for behind her victorious foe stand all the crowned

heads of Europe. But France, in sackcloth and ashes, sneered at by nations, bewildered in her long chase for freedom, is more powerful in the liberal ideas, in science, philosophy, religion and social life, that she has sown broadcast among all nations, than Prussia with her army of conquerors, her brave generals, her iron-hearted minister, and babbling old Emperor.

France, bleeding in every pore, has played football with royalty and pretension as no other nation has; her mobs and bloody revolutions are but the healthy reaction of a proud nation against oppression.

To a people who despise every symbol of aristocracy, what are palaces, veiled pictures of kings and queens, gardens, statuary, decorations, cloth of gold? Naught but hideous ghosts of a hated past that have lived and fattened on a nation's blood.

France, humiliated in the eyes of the world, with her armies scattered like the leaves of the forest before the wintry wind, with a foreign foe on her soil, rent with factions, is nevertheless nearer republican freedom to-day than with the usurper on her throne; for Louis Napoleon, his family and pretensions have all been swept away by the tide of war.

2d. Let us consider the reforms in our churches, or religious systems necessary to the building of a true republic. The province of the Church in all countries in the past has been confined to a preparation of the people for the future state, with but little reference to the duties of this sphere of action; but in our country this idea is somewhat modified. Here the clergy vote on secular matters, hold office, and have prominent opinions on questions of political economy. The religious element in man's soul has been played upon in the busy past, holding him a satisfied subject, serf, peasant, slave; making him servile and obedient to the authority of kings, popes, and masters, as representatives of God on the earth—their words his law. Hence all alike have laid great stress on these dogmas and statutes necessary to perpetuate their power, to the entire neglect of those laws of science that govern the moral and material world. The errors of the Church have consisted all along in substituting the customs of ignorance for the wisdom of nature in worshipping the invisible, forgetting the visible, in dignifying symbols, and degrading man.

All this kind of teaching belongs to the FEUDAL past, when humanity was cheap, and this life was considered a purgatory to purify the man's thorny suffering; but to educate republican citizens, capable of self-government, we must infuse into our people new virtue and self-respect. Though we are told in the beginning that "God made man in his own image," the church has taught us through the ages that men are miserable sinners, unfit to live, unfit to die. But science is fast changing our theology and metaphysics, and as man learns to conquer nature and control the elements, he feels new pride and self-reliance, and his old fears and superstitions pass away. If the church would hold her influence with the coming generation, she must keep pace with the spirit of the age, and substitute moral science for forms, dogmas, and abstractions. We had the whole world stirred up with the discussion, not long since, as to whether the Pope was infallible, when any man or woman with two grains of sense knows he is not—that we must go through many generations of growth, culture, development, before man born of woman will attain that point of perfection. It is of very little consequence whether the Pope is infallible, the conception of the Virgin Mary immaculate; whether Christians should be sprinkled when babies or dipped when twenty-one; whether the devil has a personality or hell a morality for us all. These dogmas lie astride the realm of reason. They drop of their own weight as the mind perceives truth, and its relations to the universe. The church will never do its part towards building up a true republic until it is homogeneous in its teachings of moral truths, good for all ages and latitudes. Our late civil war resulted, in no small measure, from the vacillating position of the church. While at the North Christians taught the doctrine that slavery was a sin, the sum of all villainies, at the South they taught that slavery was an institution sanctioned from the beginning by the Governor of the Universe. The Christians, in politics, differed quite as widely, while at the North, Chancellor, Kent, and Judge Story, taught the doctrine of Constitution. St. George Tucker and the revolution of 1798 taught the opposite doctrine of State sovereignty and secession to Southern statesmen. These civil and religious antagonisms, thrown into the political cauldron, produced the frightful carnage and unsurpassed cruelty and barbarism of our late war, for which every minister of the gospel and every statesman who failed to utter the brightest truth on this question stands responsible to-day.

There are other questions as important as slavery in which the church should now be forming and uttering its opinions, "The subjection of woman," "Labor and Capital," "Prohibition, War, Finance, Free-trade, Land Monopoly, Jails, Prisons, Capital Punishment and our whole criminal legislation.

Here in this city of churches with a thousand spires pointing to the heavens, in a stone's throw of where we are assembled, young boys are crowded together in fitting prisons, compelled to appoint sentinels of their own numbers every night to guard themselves against being devoured with rats and mice.

All these questions have their morals as well material bearing, which the nation should know and consider. In regard to woman the church should teach her essential equality and evenness with man, in accordance with the universal principles of both science and the Bible and not rest a question so momentous and far reaching in its consequences on isolated texts of scripture and the customs of heathen nations. Instead of reading the passage "wives obey your husbands," from the pulpit with the holy unction as is now done, this doctrine of woman's subjection should be thrown aside with the exploded theories of kingship and slavery embodied in the injunctions "Honor the king" and "Servants obey your masters."

On the relations of Capital and Labor, the church should not teach the people to-day to be satisfied in their rags, poverty, their ignorance and degradation; that these extremes in society are ordained in Heaven that Providence has in his wisdom made some rich, some poor, to call out the beautiful virtues of benevolence on the one side and gratitude on the other, from the text, "the poor ye always have with you," ignoring the real fact that these broad differences in classes produce cold, hard selfishness on one side and abject helpless slavery on the other. Peter Cooper, a careful observer, states that in New York poverty increases ten times faster than the population, a fact that cannot be explained away by foreign influx, for Commissioner Wells proved that immigration alone had added not less than \$580,000,000 to our natural wealth in three years. Multitudes of working women, all over our land, are in such extreme penury, that life is a burden; they wait for death and rejoice to find rest in the grave. On all sides we see that they who toil do not reap the results of their labor. There must be something wrong when they who toil not enjoying luxurious mansions, fragrant gardens, princely chariots and soft apparel, while the masses of mankind are wretchedly housed, fed and clothed, with no pleasures or amusements. Multitudes of God's children who have never seen the grass, the trees, the flowers, the rising or the setting sun. Let the church look deep for the

causes of this inequality and it will be found that the people need some moral teaching on financial questions, banking systems, taxes and currency. The oppressions we see in the world of work are not the result of God's laws, but wicked human legislation.

Now it is high time for the teachers of morals to give some thought to their practical every day questions and show us what science and religion united in these directions can do. The world is always ready to quote Bible in favor of oppression. Let me quote a little against one form of it in which all people are most lamentably benighted to-day:

Moses and the apostles thought it not beneath them to teach the people of their day the sin of usury. Lev. 25, 36 and 37. Take then no usury of thy brother, stranger or sojourner, Dent. 23, 19. "Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of anything," Psalms 15 and 15. Lord who shall abide in thy tabernacle, who shall dwell in thy holy will. He that putteth not out his money to usury nor taketh reward against the innocent. Eyekid 18, 19, Luke 6, 24, 25. If the Bible is good authority for matters of faith, it is equally good for practical action. If it is safe to die by its teachings, it is safe to live by them also.

"The fellowship of Buddha, Zoroaster and Mahomet with the Greek and Roman churches, who compose a very large majority of the professedly religious world, all put usury in the category of forbidden sin. Philosophers and moralists in all ages have protested against it. Aristotle says, "Money, a medium of exchange, is by nature sterile, and should have no legal right to increase except by passing through some form of labor." "Cato, and English writer of 1569, said usury is murder." Taking interest is a greater crime than taking life, for while the murderer kills one, usury swallows whole families, communities and nations. Reason, religion, history and legislation unite to condemn usury wrong in principle, and extortion in practice. When we bring science and religion to bear on this question, money will cease to be a merchantable commodity, it will be a medium of exchange, nothing more, as free as postage stamps, it will not grow on every bush, but the people will have what they need for business purposes without paying exorbitant interest if any. The monopoly of land is as fatal to national prosperity as that of money. English capitalists for centuries have compelled Irish people to pay over most of their earnings in rents and interests, and what are the results there? Let us take warning from the condition of that unhappy country and wisely shape our legislation for the interest of the masses. Though all nations are upheld by labor, yet in the old world men are held cheaper than any kind of property. In extending the franchise the British Parliament authorized household, not citizen suffrage; every blade of grass and bank bill votes there but no man yet. In this country we have recognized manhood; now let us secure its necessities by wise laws, giving every citizen an inviolable homestead, clothes, food, and the opportunity for education, time for rest and thought. These are natural rights in a republic and the foundation of individual and national virtue, for purity and ignorance are the cradles of vice and crime.

As the criminals in our jails and prisons are the legitimate results of the present extremes of wealth and poverty, we should treat them as unfortunate wards of the State and make these asylums places for reformation rather than punishment. To urge the abolition of the gallows as a relic of barbarism and radical reforms in the treatment of the criminal is well, but to do the broader work and show how legitimately these victims all spring from the extremes of wealth and poverty is worthy the office of the Christian teacher and philosopher. It is these grave inequalities that rouse all evil passions, envy, jealousy, hatred and malice that culminate in lying, theft, arson, murder and war.

When we behold how many suffer that the few may shine, the instinct of every generous soul must rebel. To give the congregations in our churches all over the land some suggestions in their moral duties on these questions, would do more to christianize this nation than all the wise disquisitions or abstractions that occupy so much thought and time in our pulpits to-day.

3d. What reforms in our schools and systems of education are necessary to a true republic? The present state of things in either branch of my subject is not to be readily changed; great ameliorations of any evils take time. Like political constitutions, educational systems are not made but grow; and within brief periods growth is invisible. Slow, however, as must be any improvement, even that implies the one of means, and among the means is discussion. Universal suffrage demands universal education. Monarchies and despotisms live only through the ignorance of the people; the life-blood of a republic is the intelligence of the masses. Our public school system is based on the right idea, making education free to the masses, with buildings and appliances of so high an order as to attract rich and poor under the same roof, thus benefiting the working classes by the superior manners of the rich, and stimulating the rich by the hardy ambition and application of the poor.

It needs but little observation to see that the curriculum as well as the discipline of our schools and colleges should be radically changed in many directions. The kind of education in a republican government where all are to share in its blessings, where the tendency is to equalize conditions, should differ essentially from the systems in the aristocracies of the old world where laborers are never gentlemen and families never die. But here where the tailor, the rail-splitter, and the tanner of yesterday may be President of the nation to-day, and those brought up in luxury be suddenly reduced to poverty, we see the need of educating all alike in the sciences and useful arts.

Herbert Spencer suggests an order of education especially adapted to our national necessities.

1. That which prepares us for self-preservation, such as a knowledge of the dangers that surround us, and the laws of life; thus, food, shelter, exercise, etc. 2. That which prepares us for parenthood. 3. For citizenship. 4. For the miscellaneous requirements of life. "To prepare us for complete living is the function which education has to discharge, and the only rational mode of judging of any educational course is to judge in what degree it discharges such function." To decide on the wisdom or folly of our present system of education, we need but observe how wholly unfit the mass of the graduates of our schools are for the practical duties of life, and how ignorant or indifferent teachers are to the simplest laws of mind and body. When boys any girls leave home, they are entrusted with the care of themselves, and yet how little they know of the house they live in, of air, diet, dress, exercise, and how little they practice what they do know. The consequence is, full half of them are thrown upon society dyspeptics, consumptives, unhappy, anxious, morbid, vicious, insane, to fill our prisons and asylums—a tax on the state—when by the observance of a few simple laws they might have added immensely to its wealth and glory. A general in the late war told me he was amazed and mortified with his ignorance when thrown on his own resources. He could neither direct others how to provide for his daily wants, nor compound the simplest substance himself; he could not make a cup of coffee, a loaf

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of bread, or cook a beef-steak; mount an engine, a water-wheel, or construct a bridge; cure himself when sick, or prescribe for his men or horses. In fact, though he graduated at one of the best colleges, he was wholly unfit to meet the practical responsibilities of either peace or war. Another incident in the late war shows the superiority of practice over theory. At one point, it being necessary to cross a river where the roads were impassable and the bridges gone, the general called upon a West Point engineer to build a bridge. He said it would take three days. A sturdy lumberman from Maine said he could do it in three hours. So the general placed men at his disposal, and told him to go ahead, and to the astonishment of all he accomplished the work in that short time, and the army passed over. Books, schools, theories bowed before that simple, unlettered man, who had studied nature's laws. When scholars make more use of their hands, and laborers of their brains, when we harness thought and action together, the car of progress will move with more speed in the future.

This same lack of practical knowledge we feel at home as well as abroad. If the range, water-pipe, or window-weight, or door-lock, are out of order, the man of our households cannot adjust them. If the bread is sour, the beef dried to a chip, the coffee muddy, the women are equally helpless. If a husband is taken ill suddenly, his ignorant wife can do nothing for his relief but to kneel by his side and mingle her tears and prayers with his groans. Under such circumstances, how much more available would be science than sympathy. If the baby has a convulsion, the father and mother stand aghast, looking at each other, while Patrick runs for the doctor, and the child dies in the arms of his nurse. These parents understand, perchance, six languages. They can tell when all the English queens and kings were born and died. They can bound all the countries, and tell their capitals and chief rivers. They know all about the Greek gods and goddesses, but of babies, bread, beef, and progeny they know nothing. With the downfall of the aristocratic idea, will go the undue worship of the merely ornamental in education, and those who know the most of nature and her laws will be the heroes and Gods of the future. After learning the duties of self-preservation and parenthood, our youth need more training as American citizens. One lesson for them to learn is the broad difference between liberty and license. The sins permitted in our colleges, with the cruel treatment of freshmen, is educating our sons into mob law, rather than self-government; into the old aristocratic idea that priority and might make right, rather than individual sovereignty. Fortunately, the whip in our common schools is under consideration in many States, and already abolished in some.

Plato said long ago, whoever strikes a child degrades both the child and himself. However, Solomon's idea seems the more popular, not because any one believes that all the cardinal virtues can be whipped into flesh and blood, but because it is easier for grown people to vent their own impatience in kicks and blows than to unfold the virtues of children by the slow process of education or the purer one of self discipline. The dictates of passion and duty are often substituted, the one for the other, and we deceive ourselves in imagining that we do saintly work, when the demon of anger inspires every blow. After securing scientific ventilation and the teaching of ideas rather than words, the partial reform needed in our schools is the substitution of democratic government for the one-man power which the whip represents. All rights, privileges and penalties should be decided by a vote of the students, and the laws enforced by courts and juries of their own number. Thus they would be trained for self-government, and learn the benefit of wise, impartial laws, changing their position from that of subjects to rulers, and that of the teacher from tyrant and censor to judge, mediator or pacificator. There is one very important question agitating the public mind just now in regard to our schools, involving more questions of church and State than superficial thinkers imagine. Shall the Bible be read in our schools? The Catholics say no; we do not believe in the Protestant Bible. The Protestants would say no to a Catholic bible. Common sense says have no theology in the schools; reserve that for the churches. A simple moral lesson of love and unselfishness drawn from the character of Jesus would interest and profit all classes far more than the usual humdrum reading of chapters and sinless prayers. As our government is based on the principle of religious freedom, giving all men the right to worship according to the dictates of their own conscience, it seems just that all schools, supported by the State, should be free from sectarian bias. But, say some Protestants, we dread the spread of Catholicism in our country, and by reading the Bible to their children we may open their eyes to the absurdity of their faith.

Do you not see that this attempt to force the Bible down their throats, makes them obstinately shut their eyes and leave the schools. Let us know neither Protestant or Catholic in our school system, but keep them together under the same roof. The study of science will chase away their superstitions and friendly relations will in time teach them that Christianity is broader than church. Protestant pride is up on this point, thinking this demand is a blow at our religion. Have the American people so little faith in the Protestant idea of the right of individual judgment that they fear it will be overshadowed by a religion of dogmas and traditions that belong to the dead past. The fear of Catholicism is as great a bugbear in this country as that of Agrarianism and equally absurd. Railroads, telegraphs, free speech and universal suffrage have given new dignity to humanity, and just in proportion as a man nicely estimates himself, he thinks less of authority. The Catholic enfranchised, with no self constituted rulers in the State, must in time demand the same freedom in the Church. Leave people free to think and despotism falls by its own weight. Give them science enough to conquer nature and superstitions will fade away. Newton's discovery of the law of gravitation and Franklin's theory of electricity did more to overthrow priestcraft in France than all the writings of Voltaire and his school. Science is more powerful than sarcasm. If we would educate our children to love the truth, let them study these things where exact knowledge is indispensable. Would we make them noble and magnanimous, let them meet nature in all her grandeur and immutability. In the wonders of the planetary world, in the revolution of the earth, the successions of the seasons, the days and nights, learn the wisdom of eternal law. Its majesty in boundless forests, mountains, lakes and rivers; its beauty in our sunsets, trees and flowers; its tenderness in the instincts of the humblest forms of life, and from the harmony that pervades all, and learn to model human government obedient to law.

Having briefly considered the changes in our politics, religion, and school education, necessary to the realization of a true republic, let us, in conclusion, consider the most important branch of this subject. What needs to be done in the home to secure national virtue, strength and stability?

Clearly to establish a republican government in the family, adapting the laws to the best interests of husband, wife, children, servants, and giving all a voice in its management, and not, as now, subjugating all to one will—to a headstrong servant, child, wife or husband, to the continual vexation of all the rest. How can we hope to ground republican citizens in

the broad principles of justice and equality if we teach the doctrine in the family that there must be one divinely ordained head, "who can do no wrong," to rule and reign absolutely, no matter how disastrous the dynasty may be. This idea was in harmony with that of the church and state in the feudal regime, but it is all out of joint with a republican form of government, and the Protestant religion, that recognizes the right of individual judgment in all things temporal and spiritual. As the social lies at the foundation of the religious and political, and as all national faith in divine and human laws has its source in the individual, we cannot too carefully decide the principles on which home life should be based, for whatever code of morals or form of government are adopted there, will be reflected in the religion and politics of the country. All our theories, experiments in Church and State, have thus far been partial failures, because the family has never been based on the principles of justice and equality, but ever on the old feudal idea that "priority and might make right." And this idea is sedulously educated into the minds of children, not only in their own unreasoned subjection, but in that of one of the parties to whom they are subject.

Their first observations of government are often of virtue and wisdom, subject to brute force or imperious will, to crippling avarice or selfish sensationalism. A mother teaching them on one hand moral principles, on the other respect for the authority of a father, who, in his life and government, sets all principles at defiance. They see the mother in her daily life with them calm and dignified, reflecting all the beatitudes of a saint—with him anxious and sycophantic, reflecting all the servile habits of a slave. They see in their divinely appointed head a despot, whose word is law, to whom the wife and children must ever yield without question or debate. Such is life in many households. As human nature, no matter how young, or of what sex, is not made of such pliant stuff, but is ever in a condition of chronic rebellion against arbitrary authority; we find wife and children combining by art and management to secure their ends, to circumvent the will they dare not meet. And here is the cradle, not only of domestic infidelity and social duplicity, but of religious hypocrisy, political trickery and the wholesale bribery and corruption in every department of commerce and trade, wise men deplore to-day.

Hence, to build a republic on the subjection of woman is basing a nation upon burning volcanoes, to end in frightful convulsions and death. It is only in the shadows of despotism, that the seeds of rebellion take root and grow. Until we substitute the republican theory in the family, for the feudal idea of the past, we cannot take the first step toward political regeneration; and what, say you, does the republican idea here involve? I answer, the wife's personal freedom, private judgment, primary independence, and equal partnership. As the mother's moral status decides that of her sons, if statesmen are to have clear ideas of justice, they must not be cradled in oppression.

Social reorganization involves so entire a revolution in all established theories, that but few thinkers feel themselves able to cope with so vast a problem. But it can no longer be avoided. In the march of civilization the social theory of the feudal regime must be superseded by one more in conformity with the liberal ideas in government and religion that mark the age in which we live.

The same law of equality that has disorganized the State, building republics in the ruins of despotisms, monarchies and empires, that has rent the church, exalting individual judgment above popes and bishops, dogmas and traditions, that has freed science and industry from spiritual and temporal domination, making these classes the teachers of civilization; this same power has roused new antagonisms in social life, kindling the fires of rebellion, in every domestic altar, never to be quenched until woman's personal freedom is as complete and unquestioned as the man by her side. This is the last and most subtle type of slavery to be banished from the earth, the last link to be broken in that hoary chain of oppression that has so long crippled the human race. By the same powers of development that man's blind faith in the authority of kings and Popes has been gradually superseded by new respect and reliance in himself, has woman's blind faith in collective manhood been substituted by new faith in herself. It is as disastrous to the whole idea of a true republic, to the highest and best interests of the race, to teach all womankind to submit to the authority of man as divinely ordained, as it is to teach all mankind to bow down to the authority of Kings and Popes as divinely ordained. The accident of a Papal succession, on equal birth, does not successively induce the capacity of queen, a dominion or a kingdom, neither does the accident of sex involve the capacity to govern a family.

From the general discontent of woman in all countries, it is evident that this last vestige of feudalism must now disappear. We are waging to-day the same double warfare with both the temporal and religious powers to secure woman's freedom that the industrial and scientific classes have waged since the 11th century to conquer the places they hold to-day.

They are narrow thinkers, dull readers of the past who do not see that the demand for each successive reform, is but an entry against violated law that sooner or later must be heard and obeyed. The momentum that carries nations onward, is not the result of the preconceived plans of individuals and classes, but the accumulated wisdom of the ages, that compels step after step in progress, that cannot be blocked by the puny statutes of legislators, nor perverted by the stale platitudes of theologians. As the true relations of the sexes is the basis of social life, the question is what shall it be? The temporal regime in its codes and constitutions says "master and subject," the spiritual regime in its creeds and ceremonies echoes back "master and subject." Even the Positive Philosophers who gather up the threads of history and weave them into problems so clear and demonstrable that all can read the lessons of the past, fail at this point, and they too respond, "master and subject." From the depths of woman's soul, she hurls back this falsehood of the ages; hoary with vice, crime and abominations, to be remembered only as a dark shadow of the dead past, unfit to dim the rising sun of the new civilization. The world welcomes the day.

DEATH.—I cannot agree with my sage, oftquoted friend, Dr. Johnson, in his views on the subject of preparation for death. When Boswell once in conversation persecuted Johnson on this subject, whether we might not fortify our minds for the approach of death, he answered in a passion, "No, sir! Let it alone; it matters not how a man dies, but how he lives! The art of dying is not of importance, it lasts so short a time!" Good living may be a good preparation for death. And friendship will recall the good deeds of those who are taken suddenly away from our sight and dwell upon them as proving that they were prepared. And it may be charitable to suppose that they who destroy their own lives have made due previous preparation. "Familiarize yourself early with death," said Mouncriff. "It is only dreadful for those who dread it."—S. B. Noyes.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

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

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

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

## THE BASIS OF REFORM.

## NUMBER X.

We have seen that certain primates are not sufficiently refined to enter the human system. It may be interesting to inquire into some of the means by which these are prepared for that purpose. There is a natural attraction, an appetite which originates in the system; and man seeks instinctively for that which will satisfy it. In the culture of plants and the rearing of domestic animals man has accomplished immense results in bringing numerous elements into the proper condition for the use of his system. Plants, which were not at all adapted as food have been rendered of the highest value to man.

The earth's metal and metalloid substances undergo changes in the organisms of plants and animals which fit them for man's use. Lime from the rock is poison, while that which has been through vegetable and animal bodies is adapted to man's use. Metallic iron must also be prepared in the laboratory of life below man, in order to be adapted to his use; and the other primates, which I need not name, must go through similar changes. So we see that man, by the culture of plants and the improvement of the breeds of animals has done much towards producing better physical conditions for himself. The presence and association of these plants and animals act favorably upon man's system.

The knowledge of the fact that his system needs all these things for its perfect development will aid man in procuring them. The capacity to receive a portion of each of the primates in some of their compounds, already exists, and it is necessary for them to be properly prepared and brought within the reach of the human system and they will be received therein.

Many of the angularities which characterize humanity to-day are the result of a want of certain elements in the human system which would harmonize it; and when the time comes that man shall have obtained these, such will disappear.

The defective condition of the physical systems of parents, either from inharmony of the elements already contained or from a want of others, stamps itself upon children, and many hereditary taints result from the latter cause.

When the proper equilibration of the systems of parents is obtained, children will not be born with so many angularities and such tendencies to disease as now mar so many of them.

The admixture of the various races on our continent has done much to remove these causes, and would do much more if it were judiciously carried out.

Proper associations of all kinds, especially proper marriages, would do much to supply the human system with those elements which they need.

Many of the elements pass from one system to another in your daily intercourse; the iron of the blood and the phosphorus of the nerves are carried magnetically and invisibly from one to another.

The pleasurable sensations which result from this interchange often leads to marriage; and as this may be but temporary, so such unions can only be temporarily happy, the basis of supply being exhausted, and instead of strength and happiness resulting from a continuation of this association, it is no longer a union; nervous exhaustion, physical prostration and disease result from such intercourse, and where a legal marriage compel such persons to hold close and intimate relations while they are robbing each other of the essential elements of health, discord, disease and inharmony must ensue. I will consider the true marriage which is permanent and monogamic in a future article.

There are many persons who are suffering intensely from the causes just enumerated who are devoted to each other on certain planes of their being, and who really think they love each other, and wonder why their health is so sadly impaired, little dreaming their physical systems are poison to each other.

Such persons generally find relief when they are separated from each other, and may be restored to health by this means. ARISTOTLE.

## DO THE PEOPLE RULE?

## OF WHAT USE ARE SENATES AND PLATFORMS?

That the people of New Jersey want another railroad between Philadelphia and New York city, no one pretends to doubt; and the Lower House of that State recently passed a bill chartering the same. It was defeated in the Upper House by 13 to 5 or 6, the purchase being grossly conspicuous. Gov. Joel Parker, nominee of the Labor party for Vice-President, strengthened the hands of the existing monopoly by signing a bill to enable the company to issue additional stock without the usual taxation proviso, whereby the State is defrauded of about \$60,000 which should have been paid by rich monopolists, who thus shift the burden on the very class which the so-called Labor Convention at Columbus pretended to represent by the act of the man whom they have nominated for Vice-President?

Do the people rule in New Jersey?

In California, the extent to which land grants have been carried, greatly to the injury of the State, is such that both the Democratic and Republican parties have an anti-subsidy plank in their respective platforms. A bill recently came up in the Assembly "to enable Stanislaus county to vote \$150,000 in bonds to an Irrigating Company as a subsidy. Speaker Shannon, (Republican) in a long speech, advocated strongly not only this particular subsidy, but subsidies and land grants generally. He was asked how it was that he, having subscribed to an anti-subsidy platform, could consistently take this position. He replied that he had subscribed to this platform with a mental reservation, as both platforms contained an anti-subsidy plank, and he had to stand on one or the other! The subsidy bill passed by 46 to 22; and this in a Legislature every one of whom must have been elected on an anti-subsidy plank by anti-subsidy votes.

Now there are lessons to be drawn from this. 1. Platforms are held to be binding by professional politicians, and consequently in selecting or voting for a candidate, the only basis of



judgment should be his preceding acts and votes. "Mental reservation" is a convenient expression, and will cover any amount of fraud, perjury and lying. 2. The system of electoral districts and the method of nominations, inseparable from that system, and do not permit the people to select their own candidates, so that at present neither majorities or minorities are represented. It would be quite easy to represent both, by electing all candidates at large, dividing the whole number of votes cast by the number of candidates to be elected, and all such candidates receiving the number of votes equal to the quotient to be at once declared elected; the surplus of votes received by any candidate over that number being distributed by him to such other candidates as he may see fit. The occupation of the Shannon "mental reservation" class of political tricksters would of course be gone, as honest men are easily found and easily known in every community. 3. The referendum would put a complete extinguisher upon such tricks should they by some means manage to get elected in sufficient number to do any harm.

As to the working of the present system, which manufactures cowards and sneaks by wholesale, even out of honest men for raw material, here is the opinion of a Democratic paper of this city, the *Patriot*, which it would be very difficult to parallel from papers of opposite politics:

"The rule of gag, the rule of intimidation, the rule of suppression, of caucus smothering, has prevailed in Congress so absolutely of late years, that members are not able to realize yet that a question may be actually and publicly discussed on its merits, and irrespective of some foregone conclusion in regard to it, which no abuse nor defence can altar."

Now the mere extension of the suffrage to women, to which the advocates of woman's rights are urged by a certain class of "jurists" to confine themselves, would leave these evils almost untouched. Whether the right of franchise is boldly denied by force, or fraudulently stolen by means of caucuses, primaries and nominating conventions, matters little as to results. The minority of intelligent, cultivated, honest men are as completely disfranchised to-day as are all women; and will continue to be as long as the district system is maintained. To be allowed to go through the motions of voting is no great privilege that I can see, unless the number of voters entitled to a representative can get one of their own choice, and not be cajoled by the fiction of a representative who represents nobody and nothing but political schemes. Let, however, the advocates of woman suffrage join the advocates of other reforms equally or more imperative, and the whole can be secured at a less cost than a mere fraction; not only would, in that case, all citizens secure the *show* of a franchise, but the *reality*. To the latter a complete minority representation is indispensable; compared with this issue, the Presidential contest is but insignificant.

A. CRIDGE.

Mrs. WOODHULL: You have asked my opinion on the subject of "The legal right of women to vote in political elections in America." I beg leave to submit to you the following:

The beginning of Republican government in this country is clearly established at the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. The intention of the people in establishing a government, and in assuming the power to govern themselves, was clearly set forth; and that intention became effective through the subsequently perfected national independence and severance of the colonial connection with Great Britain.

Here then is a people declaring that governments are instituted amongst men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. This government, thus instituted, has no other just power except what is derived from the consent of the governed.

The force which destroyed the power of England, was that government thus instituted, and every subsequent infringement upon the consent of the governed is a clear fraud upon the people who instituted that government. Thus the basis of our government is perfect political equality amongst all the governed, for which the founders of this government appealed to a just God, and to the opinions of mankind, for support in an honest struggle. Upon this issue we won, and became entrusted with the functions of nationality.

The Constitution of the United States emerging from this basis did not attempt to carry out the declared object for which the new government was instituted, but says that, "We, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish this Constitution for the 'United States' of America."

We were thereupon at once sent to the "States" for our Government, deriving its just powers immediately from the consent of the governed; and in examining the constitutions of the various States, we find that such consent is only given and expressed through the public elections by certain "qualified voters." It is not enough that a person is "governed;" that person must also be qualified, viz: a man twenty-one years of age or upwards. Hence, one of two things must logically follow: Either that "women" are "not governed" or that the government existing over them has "no just power."

Women as citizens (and this they have always been, just as men) cannot be said to be disqualified, except "as women" or they would not be "citizens." Hence, women citizens are disfranchised on that account only.

The Constitution of New York, Article 1, starts on the broad principle of equality, in order to lay a foundation for the idea, that it has legitimate powers derived from the governed. It says in Section 1: No member of this State shall be disfranchised or deprived of any of the rights or privileges secured to any citizen thereof (except for crime). Women citizens are certainly "members of this State," yet they are expressly disfranchised in that same Constitution, and excluded from giving their consent to the government! Thus also in this State, as under the Constitution of the United States, does it logically follow that women are either "not governed" or defrauded of their right to vote; and the Constitution of New York, as well as the Constitution of the United States, and the government existing under either, do not derive their powers from the "consent of the governed," and are, therefore, illegitimate deductions from the sources from which they sprang.

The flagrant wrong perceptible chiefly in other States, where slavery existed—brought on the late rebellion.

The government did "not derive its just powers from the governed." The slave and the woman had no voice. "The white man's" government was a tyranny imposed upon, not derived from "the governed," and the fabric of the United States did undergo "a change" as a result of that rebellion which "did" restore the government to one of "consent" in the Union, from one of coercion by the States.

The XIV. and XV. amendments to the Constitution did it. Those amendments were the acts of the States and their adoption as the supreme law of the land upset the former relation of citizens of the States to the respective States, and the States surrendered to the "Union" the control of the Status, as well as the fealty of the citizens of the State, and gave it to the Union.

This capitulation by the States of their State sovereignty is the result of the conflict which realized the pledge to the

world of "We, the people of the United States" having "formed a government" deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed," do ordain and enact as follows: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States."

Now a State which cannot control the status of its own inhabitants in which every person is a citizen of another Power recognized by the State itself, is not a *Sovereign* State, nor does it possess the first element of a Sovereignty, viz: Power and Control over the Political rights privileges and immunities of its own inhabitants. Hence upon this concession by the States—the previously existing State Sovereignty passed irrevocably to the Union, and there is hereafter no dual loyalty, such as rendered it dubious, if such a thing as treason against the United States could exist,—there is no longer any citizenship of the United States as separate from citizenship of a State.

Citizenship became *nationalized* and *universal* in persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof. It became localized only by residents in any State where such citizens shall reside; therefore any constitution or any law in any State, which abridges the privilege or immunity of any woman citizen is in violation of the constitution and laws now existing, which hinder or prevent women citizens from voting, and are abridgements in violation of Article 15 of amendments. Article 15 declares it a right to vote which shall not be denied nor abridged by the U. S. or by any State. This declared right is only the open and honest return to first principles, viz: that the government, through the expression of the governed "by voting, shall derive just powers, and then be "a government" without which it is only a usurpation. In those amendments to the constitution is the fulfillment of the promise of this people to the world upon its entrance amongst the family of nations, but it should be a just government, and not a spurious infraction upon the rights of the governed, such as *circumstances* had compelled it to be toward the slave and woman hitherto. The slave's right to vote is now undisputed; the right of women to vote is equally clear, logical and legal, and no sophistical, juridical reasoning can permanently stand in the way of woman's right to vote and the consequent privilege to hold office. The books are full of all kinds of decisions that are now brought into the discussions upon this subject, but you will please observe that since the adoption of these amendments the cases in court have not yet given rise to a clear decision upon the question of a woman citizen's right to vote. Elementary treatises are numerous but none deviate from the principles of equality amongst all citizens which can at all reach the present status of men and women under the Constitution of the United States as it is, and be applicable thereto. The right of women citizens to consent to or dissent from the government by vote was clearly established at the institution of the government as an essential basis for a just government, and it became established by positive supreme law, through the adoption of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. The action of the States by their voluntary approval of these amendments, transferred from the States to the Union the control and power over the whole subject of citizenship, and established by enactment the right to vote. Nor can the States now hinder or prevent woman citizens from voting at political elections without violating the principle and intent of the Constitution as amended by the people of the United States.

Equal political rights amongst all the citizens and to exercise the same, is now the fundamental law in this great Republic of America. Yours truly,

J. D. REYMERT.

## GREELEY'S HONESTY.

MESDAMES EDITORS: Theodore Tilton seems to persist in holding up Horace Greeley as a sample man for honesty. How can that be, if candor and honesty are at all identical in meaning? Mr. Greeley has been shamefully *un-candid* in discussing the woman suffrage question with Mr. Tilton. Yet Mr. Tilton maintains that he is honest. The *Golden Age* editor says he uses two dictionaries in his office. Will he please inform the public what kind he consults to define the word "honesty?" can an *un-candid* man make an *honest* President? Yours, for truth and honesty,

A. GAYLORD SPALDING.

CHAMPLIN, Minn., May 1, 1872.

BRENTWOOD, April 27, 1872.

To the Editor of Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly:

DEAR SIR: Will you allow me space for the correction of one out of several press errors in my letter published in your issue of May 4? You make me speak, repeating the error three-several times, of "Septemizing" human conceptions. What that word may mean I have no idea. What I said was "systematizing." Yours truly,

HENRY EDGER.

## "THE USE AND ABUSE OF SILENCE."

Your judgment of human nature will enable you to enlighten me on a subject in which many people differ—that of "silence." It is thought a matter beyond woman's control, but the place you have given to woman's superiority will entitle you to a judgment. Some people, who are too still to comprehend their own motives, often exclaim against talking because they don't know how to talk, and if they do open their mouths, the chance is they put their foot in it. That disturbs the understanding. So, with some, silence is a virtue; but how is one to know what theory is within if it comes not out? Discussion of the subject reminds me of an anecdote of Coleridge, who was a great talker. From frequent reproaches he began to think that there must be some wisdom in silence, and so waited anxiously for an illustration, which he was not long in getting. Having been invited to a large dinner, at which some of the intellectual lights of the day were to be present, he was unusually silent, determined to see the uses of it for, once. There was a large company present. Some chatted, and some did not, but he noticed one gentleman who, for the space of three hours—the time allotted for an English dinner—never spoke one word, but nodded in silence for all the courtesies of the dinner table, and he thought, "Now I will test the benefit of silence, for when he speaks he will speak the words of wisdom." The tedious hours passed until dessert was served, when, in the breathless silence, the silent individual, on the appearance of the "apple dumplings," not being able any longer to contain himself, burst out, "Them's the jockeys for I," since which time Coleridge asserts that silence more frequently comes from ignorance than wisdom. You often hear, "Oh! my husband liked me because I did not talk much," but it is astonishing how much taken with a woman—a good talker—these self-same husbands are at times.

Men are proverbially selfish, and at times assume to themselves the superiority which they know in their hearts belong to their associate women, and they delight in the companion-

ship of a *noodle* whom they fancy they can lead by the nose anywhere, but I tell those gentlemen that the same weakness which leads a woman to them will also lead her from them, and from my experience, if I seek a lasting friendship, it will be in the heart of a woman with sufficient strength of character to retain a feeling once assumed. I dread those easily influenced women, and agree with Fanny Fern, that there are sometimes, under the appearance of strength of mind, softer sensibilities and more womanly feelings than in the simplest nature. I hate your too soft women, for when the moment of trial comes you will find the women of mind in the right place. There is nothing more detrimental to human happiness than what is called easy influence; by that the husband is led from his wife, the wife from her husband, and the child from the parent.

Look to the parentage of our great men; you will find that they have all had mothers with unusual strength of character, and to the strong influences of those mothers do they owe their success. Bacon, Milton, and our Irish Curran, O'Connell, and many others, all owed their success to the strong influences of their parents. Each succeeding generation must show that to the mothers' strength of character is due all the success of the child, particularly the son, and weakness of parents has almost become a crime, for it fills our prisons and penitentiaries. When I hear people say "She is a strong minded woman," I know the future of her child. This is a subject of much more importance than people think, for the strength of the Republic depends on it. The time has passed when the people discarded knowledge. "It is power" now, and I sincerely hope will so remain.

Hoping you will consider and report your views on this matter, I am, Mesdames Woodhull and Claflin, respectfully,

LIZZIE

## SLADE'S VINDICATION AND THE "INVESTIGATOR."

The *Boston Investigator* never manifests so little candor as when he attempts to say some things against Spiritualists. He has found a "mare's nest" in the New York *Sun's* late expose, and derives a word of comfort in the fact that the *R. P. Journal* seemed to endorse that expose. The same mail that brought the *R. P. Journal* to his office brought copies of the *American Spiritualist* and WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY, in which were letters written to the New York *Sun*, by M. Morton, exposing the expose in that luminary to the contempt of all lovers of truth and candor everywhere, and which said paper refused to publish. He constantly insists that he wants the evidence of Spiritualism, whilst he ingeniously contrives to keep such evidence away from both himself and his readers. A vein of bigotry runs through the columns of his paper, which will accept nothing as truth which has not first been filtered through the brains of those "known to be right." Had he been as anxious for the truth of the matter as he was far the expose of Slade, he would have laid his pen down until he should have ascertained the truth of the matter. Now that Slade has been triumphantly vindicated, will he have the candor to make the acknowledgement to his numerous readers, who have been misled by his former article? Verily, Horace is very conscientious about giving his readers any mischievous truths, and we cannot expect that he will allow them the privilege of investigating the facts for themselves. When the brains of Brother Seaver are no more, what will the poor readers of the *Investigator* do for some one to tell them what to think?

D. W. H.

(From Students Journal.)

## A PATRIOT'S PRAYER.

God, who shields our noble Land,  
Spread o'er Summit, Vale and Strand,  
Holy Hope, and Peace for all.  
Hear this Prayer, inspire the Soul!  
Be our Faith as pure and true  
As the Heaven's spotless blue.  
And let charity abound  
Everywhere—the world around.  
Keep us peaceful, glad and free,  
Glorious in Liberty!  
Home of Freedom, ever grand,  
God protect our happy Land!  
And as Science shall ascend  
Human Errors to amend,  
And as knowledge lifts the veil  
Human Follies to curtail,  
And as Thought in full array  
Shall give action proper sway,  
And as Liberty of Speech  
Shall us Virtue's Beauties teach,  
So, Oh God! let all rejoice,  
Praise Thee with a Nation's voice!  
Let us not by feeble Bands  
Bind to us all other Lands;  
But let Soul to Soul be bound  
Uncontrolled by Charts or Sound;  
O'er the Earth, where Man doth dwell,  
Let our Hearts in Friendship swell.  
Keep us peaceful, glad and free,  
Glorious in Liberty.  
Home of Freedom! our own Land,  
God preserve thee ever grand!

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The above Anthem, although composed by Hon. J. D. Reymert for a special occasion, the Norwegian Festival, 17th of May, is worthy of preservation as an expression of noble sentiments, grateful to patriots everywhere.

SPIRITUAL LECTURES.—Anna Middlebrook, the celebrated Lecturer on Spiritualism, will continue her course of lectures to-morrow afternoon, at half-past 2 o'clock and in the evening, at half-past 7, in Republican Hall, (Howard's Building).—The audience last Sunday evening, was one of the largest that has attended since the course commenced. Speaking of these lectures, the Providence *Journal* says:—

"One of the most remarkable 'speaking mediums' in New England is at present among us, discussing to crowds of hearers, on Sundays as well as week days. We allude to Anna Middlebrook, who lectures every Sunday afternoon and evening in the smaller Hall in the Howard building. These discourses, all of which are on religious subjects, are delivered while the medium is in a 'trance state,' in which condition it is asserted that departed spirits made use of her physical organism to communicate with mortals. Although we have not had the pleasure of hearing Anna Middlebrook, many of our friends who have, speak in high terms of the excellence and high religious tone of her discourses. Her remarkable flow of words, the correctness and clearness of her enunciation, and the earnestness with which she speaks, are said to be very striking. At the close of her discourses, she invites the audience to put any questions to her they please."

It has been true by example," and History is Biography. One who has given "Parallel Lives" add, that the great derived from it, with circumstances of our own times, the best of our run nearly or quite. The philosopher absorbed with the moment, the subject how, at another not absolute direct the influences of law and custom and scenery;—but selfhood. That life is directed so to minister to them thwarting them.

Here again is what the attention of the circumstances conducts you through a distant civil beside, to the close example, both because no history close similitude. Among the use, we have seen Hon. James D. Iyer of this city, industrious life prominence, have led distinguished in many true friend character.

Mr. Reymert descent. He was summit of fifty like his may, feel look down upon many years of

With the advantage education, he learned only sixteen years on but the gifts to Christiana, the year's industry, college. With his and soon again among his mother's social reception polite life in E learning, the poetry, and round our subject felt stances. There, fascinating memory of chivalry and the imagination; give atmosphere; sophic insight a grandeur's mode cloud-capped mountain Here he commenced tal powers and to ture—languages pursuits; and e knowledge was i necessarily spent because of having opportunities of anything like st when the centre is the will to know not mould the ance of reason; the master of a fine port, prof So the subject of self closely to but fitting himself f After five year glowing descript to this country. Lake." The ves three hundred seventy days, th to make market relieve or allevia mert expended a he was, on land secured him she some kindness of gratitude a bed After a short t the Mercantile I then El Dorado canal-boat ticket way as sailor an time our real b quite literally in immigration, th tion soon brou energetic spirit. lectures, establi structured roads; practiced law. the constitution Union; was for Representatives, Elector, Justice, Consul, Receive tary; and held, He was fond chiefly to the in busy man are fo



## BIOGRAPHY.

HON. JAMES D. REYMERT.

[From the Student's Journal.]

It has been truly said that "History is Philosophy teaching by example;" and it may be as truly said, that the essence of History is Biography. How well that may be realized by every one who has given himself the pleasure of reading Plutarch's "Parallel Lives" of eminent Greeks and Romans. We may add, that the greatest utility of the best part of history is derived from it, when it treats, not of men living in ages and circumstances remote from our own, but of men and women of our own times. They show us in some degree how to make the best of ourselves and our circumstances, because their lives run nearly or quite parallel with our own.

The philosophic reader of Biography will not be so wholly absorbed with the mere details as to overlook how, at one moment, the subject acts upon or modifies circumstances, and how, at another time, he receives from them impressions, if not absolute direction. And among circumstances, there are the influences of ancestry, nationality, and race—of religion, law and custom—of language and literature—of atmosphere and scenery;—but chief among all these circumstances is the selfhood. That selfhood is most master of itself, when the life is directed so wisely that all the surroundings are allowed to minister to the noblest sentiments and purposes, instead of thwarting them.

Here again is revealed the superior importance of Biography. History as contradistinguished from Biography diverts somewhat the attention from the study of the reciprocal influence of the circumstance and centre-stance. History, as it were, conducts you through the streets of human affairs, and instructs by a distant civility; but Biography takes you to the cheering fireside, to the converse of a friend, who instructs you more by his example, both because of the more intense interest, and because no historical distance obscures the close similitude to ourselves.

Among the useful instructors by such example, we have selected for this occasion, the Hon. James D. Reymert, the well-known lawyer of this city, whose studious habits and industrious life have secured him a merited prominence, wherever his professional engagements have led him. He is also worthily distinguished in politics, and is blessed with many true friends, the prize only of noble character.

Mr. Reymert is of Norwegian and Scotch descent. He was born in Norway. From the summit of fifty years a hardy constitution like his may, feeling itself young and strong, look down upon a very gradual descent of many years of usefulness.

With the advantages of an ordinary school education, he left the paternal home, when only sixteen years of age, with little to depend on but the gifts of nature, and made his way to Christiania, the capital, where he, after one year's industry, graduated in the mercantile college. With his diploma he returned home, and soon again departed for Scotland, where, among his mother's relatives, he found that social reception which gave him the benefit of polite life in Edinburgh—the elegant seat of learning, the beautiful home of tradition, poetry, and romance. In this fair country, our subject felt the plastic hand of circumstances. There, every spot was attractive by fascinating memories; its legends and records of chivalry and religion excited and enriched the imagination; its beautiful scenery and pensive atmosphere attuned the mind to philosophic insight and meditation, and its chaste grandeur moderated the influence of the cloud-capped mountains of his native land. Here he commenced his development of mental powers and tastes; classic and polite literature—languages and law, became his favorite pursuits; and every opportunity of acquiring knowledge was improved, aside from the hours necessarily spent in earning a living. Many, because of having to work for a living, neglect opportunities of mental improvement until anything like study becomes distasteful. But when the centre-stance is strong, when there is the will to know and to do, circumstances do not mould the individual beyond the allowance of reason;—the spirit of manhood, like the master of a noble vessel, makes the destined port, profiting even by adverse winds.

So the subject of our sketch, despite his having to apply himself closely to business, made constant progress in knowledge, fitting himself for the responsibilities and honors of life.

After five years thus spent in Scotland, he was moved by a glowing description of America, in *Chambers' Journal*, to come to this country. He sailed from Glasgow in the "Lady of the Lake." The vessel, with its few cabin passengers and about three hundred Scotch and Irish emigrants, was kept at sea seventy days, the voyage having been unnecessarily prolonged to make market for the ship's stores at exorbitant prices. To relieve or alleviate distresses of the poor emigrants, Mr. Reymert expended all his little capital, and to complete his trial, he was, on landing, robbed of his baggage. Some Providence secured him shelter with a good old Scotch dame, who, for some kindness of his in the past, gave him as tribute of her gratitude a bed upon the floor in a cellar.

After a short time, by the advice of a Scandinavian friend in the Mercantile Library, he resolved to go to Wisconsin, the then El Dorado of America. His best coat purchased him a canal-boat ticket to Buffalo; thence to Milwaukee he paid his way as sailor and assistant engineer. Thirty years ago, at the time our real hero arrived in Wisconsin, that Territory was quite literally in a state of nature; but, with a great current of immigration, the needs of educational and political organization soon brought into requisition his well-informed mind and energetic spirit. He started and edited newspapers, delivered lectures, established schools, farms, mills and hotels; constructed roads; discharged the duties of several offices, and practiced law. He was a member of the convention to form the constitution under which Wisconsin became a State of the Union; was for four or five terms, a member of the House of Representatives, and also of the State Senate; was a State Elector, Justice, District Attorney, Swedish and Norwegian Consul, Receiver of the United States Land Office and Depository; and held, also, a variety of other public positions.

He was fond of agriculture, and had extensive farms devoted chiefly to the improvement of stock. The foot-prints of this busy man are found in many places; and in the pages of the

legislative acts of Wisconsin in its earlier days are found many marks of his ripe reason and sound statesmanship. Amidst the hardships of the pioneer, while thousands of uneducated foreigners settled on the rich soil to pursue their business of making homesteads for themselves and for other coming thousands, the influence and labor of such an active cultivated man, full of enthusiasm for the glorious work of giving energy and direction to civilized society, can easily be imagined.

He was nominated for Congress on the Douglas ticket, when that statesman, his particular friend, competed for the Presidency. To effect this nomination, his earnest friend, Mark M. Pomeroy (the celebrated "Brick") and Mr. Hall, ex-Speaker of the House, in the absence of a steamer, paddled one hundred miles in a birch canoe, down the river to Prairie du Chien, where the Congressional Convention was held. In the campaign Reymert and Pomeroy stumped over a district of two hundred miles by one hundred, stretching from Illinois to Lake Superior, each making two or three speeches a day for six weeks, on no day journeying less than twenty miles in a buggy or on horseback. But the fame of the "Little Giant" and a wonderful stumping energy did not suffice. He next engaged with vigor in the organization of the volunteer army to suppress the rebellion. Shortly afterward he was called to New York in connection with important suits pending in the Supreme Court of this State. In 1862 he permanently established his law office in New York, and has since that time been a prominent member of the New York Bar. He is at the head of the firm of Reymert & Cornell, of Nassau street. Two years ago he was nominated for Judge of the Court of Common Pleas by nearly all the organizations opposed to Tammany Hall. Tammany was then too strong for any opponent, and he was defeated. But far better was it to be defeated in opposition to that corrupt political power than to have received honor at its hands. He has the honor of having opposed that power when to oppose it was neither easy or fashionable.

In his extensive law practice, ever variety of controversy occurs. In Admiralty, his familiarity with shipping and mercantile business and his commercial education give him par-

him. He improvised a hospital; a man was found who had been a convict in Norway, and whose good behavior in prison had gained him his pardon; he applied for a position in the hospital, for the purpose, as he said, to do as much good in the world, if he could, as he had done evil. He was made chief steward. The contagion continued to spread. There was but one physician who had the courage to attend; but in a short time brave young Dr. Squires fell before the scourge; another doctor was too far off to do much good. Mr. Reymert quickly mounted his horse and rode to Milwaukee for medicine and help. He met there Dr. Lissner, just arrived from Norway. Mr. Reymert presented him with a horse, saddle, and saddle-bags of medicine, and off they rode on the double-quick to the scene of action. In three days this physician was in his grave. In two days more the convict steward died. In that week Mr. Reymert buried in coffins made at his mill and in graves dug by his men, one hundred and ten persons.

One ever-memorable night, while his wife and child were asleep, the servant sick with an attack of cholera in the ante-room, and lying stupefied with laudanum, without Mrs. Reymert knowing that the servant was sick, he went to a neighbor's house near by, to look after the family, who had visitation of cholera. The husband had fled, the old grandmother was sick, and unable from age to comprehend the dreadful situation. The two little children were fast asleep, and the mother was drawing near her end. He watched by her, and in half an hour she died. He ran to the mill; no soul was there. He shouldered an empty coffin and carried it to the plank-road; put it in a spring wagon and drew it by hand to the house; lifted the dead body into it; went for the trusty old grave-digger, and with his help and the grandmother's buried her daughter before morning—returning to his home without Mrs. Reymert discovering his absence.

In the winter of 1851, Ole Bull, the famous violinist, his early friend, came with a number of Milwaukeeans to pay Mr. Reymert a visit. The array of carriages was considerable, and they all expected to be well received, but not so warmly as it happened; for his fine large residence had just been burned, and from the yet smoking ruins, a few things had been saved and were heaped in the middle of the floor of a little log shanty in the neighborhood. His friends assembled in the cabin and surrounded the pile. Ole Bull played his "Carnival of Venice," and all gave three loud cheers for the "Stars and Stripes, and for old Norway." The meeting was a happy one, and merry as a Christmas fete, even amid the ruins.

In 1844, one early spring morning, when the ice came down with the torrent, and the Milwaukee river rushed along swelling over its borders, a little apple-boy with his basket attempting to cross a frail floating bridge fell, and while trying to save his apples, slipped into the river basket and all. The basket floated on the water, but the boy was gone. Quick as thought Reymert threw off his coat and hat and plunged in where the boy had fallen. He at once perceived that the eddy had sent the boy back under one of the hollow floats on which the bridge rested. And here he found him. He dove below the bridge with him and brought him out alive. It was a chilly bath in April.

Among Mr. Reymert's famous law cases, is what has been widely known as the "Petersen Abandonment Case."

"A woman came from Canada with her two children and her sister. She claimed to be the wife of a Norwegian tailor, residing in New York, whose name was Petersen. She swore that she married this Petersen eight years before; that the two children were his; that he had deserted her, and she had ever since sought him, and had now found him here living with another wife. The sister swore likewise that he was the husband of the Canadian woman and father of her children; that she herself had boarded him and his wife at her own house in Canada for nearly one year. A Roman Catholic priest, brought forward as a witness, swore that he fully identified Petersen as the person whom he had married to the Canadian woman at the time and place averred by her. The marriage certificate was produced. The three witnesses mentioned fully described and identified the man who stood before them; and the children bore such marked resemblance to him, that strangers were astonished. Petersen was arrested and tried for abandonment, and charged with bigamy. He denied that he was the man whom the plaintiff had married; that he did not know the woman at all; that he was living in New York or in Chicago at the time she said he was in Canada; and that he had been married in New York; that his first wife had five children; they were all dead; and that he thereafter had married his present wife here, and lived with her ever since; that he had never been in Canada. Over thirty witnesses were examined, some brought from distant States. The midwife, who had known him for many years, testified, and his traveling companions from Switzerland on his first arrival here were brought to the stand. The most minute circumstances in his life, were proven. The mistaken identity was established, and the man acquitted.

Mr. REYMERT is conversant with several different languages; in each of which he has achieved in his editorial career, a reputation as an elegant and able writer. The contributions for the famine-stricken in Sweden were much increased by his well-known poem, "The Famine in Sweden." Another meritorious poetical production of his, "The Battle of Hafurdsfjord," describes in verse Baling's famous picture, so entitled.

Mr. Reymert was married at the age of twenty-three, to Miss Caspara Hansan, a Norwegian lady of intelligence, amiability, and culture. Two of their children, Miss Cassa, and the father's namesake, are accomplished, and enthusiastic photographers. Five of their children trim the lamp of faith, and attract the thoughts of loved ones to their celestial home.

It would be natural to infer, what is the fact, that a man so energetic as Mr. Reymert, of such fine natural powers, so well educated by books and experience, of such varied and thorough knowledge of law (by reason of study, by practice, and by requirement of numerous official positions), so faithful to his clients, so uniformly successful in many suits most warmly contested, of ardent, sincere, and lasting friendship, should have an amount of legal business that simply overwhelm a man not of indomitable energy, of fiery vivacity, of large and easy working mental powers, and of iron constitution. He is one of nature's noblemen, and does not need to put on a frigid dignity so called. His warm and sympathizing heart has often caused him to give without money—even refusing it—his legal knowledge to defend or avenge injured innocence and poverty.



ticular advantages, as well as his extensive knowledge of foreign laws, customs and languages. In Bankruptcy, in Patent cases, in Real Estate controversies and Will cases—in fact, in nearly every branch of law—he has signalized his ability.

As a speaker, he is clear, emphatic, fluent and logical; as a writer, he has no mean talent "to appoint a moral or adorn a tale." He is jovial and happy; neither rich nor poor; devoted to his friends (and to his enemies when he has them); is big-hearted, full-blooded and truthful in his whole nature.

He advocated woman's cause and woman's rights, "because," says he, "right wrong's no man." He is the workingman's advocate, because, as he well says, 'tis work that makes the man, and to advocate work is to elevate manhood; and he proves the sincerity of his profession by his deeds, for the poor man has his services as devotedly as the rich. The law, with him, is the grand shield under which all are entitled to rest in peace. Through it, right is made triumphant, and the weak are made strong. It is a crushing weight upon iniquity, and a terror to evil-doers. It holds its outstretched arms over every human enterprise; and as order is Heaven's first law, so, to establish order is the object of every human law, and the duty of every lawyer to enforce it.

We copy from another sketch a number of interesting incidents which serve to illustrate Mr. Reymert's energy, his adequacy for emergencies, his self-sacrificing kindness of nature, his buoyancy of spirit that triumphs over adversity.

In 1852, while living on his farm, which embraced about three thousand five hundred acres, and was stocked with about two thousand sheep, twenty horses, and a hundred head of cattle, a little Western village was there laid out, with mills and workshops, hotel, printing office, etc. While engaged in constructing roads and in making other improvements, employing more than a hundred workmen, a flock of emigrants sought his place, filling the log cabins on his farm. They brought the ship-fever and cholera. A pestilence raged; death took off victims every hour; all transient persons fled; Reymert was the only active organizer amid the panic; his wife being in confinement with his last-born son, there was no escape for



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Delegates to the Apollo Hall Nominating Convention will find comfortable hotel accommodations at the Coleman House, Twenty-seventh street and Broadway, or at Libby and Putnam County Houses, on Fourth avenue and Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh streets—all convenient to Apollo Hall. Headquarters this Convention at 35 East Twenty-seventh street, where any required information can be had from 9 A. M. till 12 midnight.

## THE REFORMS DEMANDED.

Vital and radical reforms in government will be demanded by the convention which meets in Apollo Hall Friday and Saturday. Among them, it is fair to presume the following will be named:

The destruction of all monopolies of whatsoever kind, and the return to the people of the natural wealth of which they have been defrauded by law.

The complete social, political, industrial and educational enfranchisement of every citizen of the country.

The abolition of all usury laws, and the establishment of a free money system.

Minority representation, which it is decided is, under our present system, unconstitutional. But finally, the referendum which really involves all the others named, since when the people legislate for themselves they will be enabled to enact such laws as will exemplify freedom, equity and justice.

## THE CONVENTIONS.

The National Woman Suffrage Convention will hold their sessions in Stienway Hall, on Thursday and Friday, at 10 A. M., and 8 P. M.—two sessions each day.

On Friday and Saturday the Party of the People to construct a new political party, based upon human rights, will hold their Convention at Apollo Hall, corner 28th street and Broadway,—first session Friday, 12 M. All delegates who propose to take part in this movement will meet at Apollo Hall at 10 A. M. to obtain the proper credentials from the Committee on Reception of Delegates, which will be announced in Stienway Hall and in the daily papers. It must be remembered that this latter is not a Mass Convention, in the sense that would admit of any and everybody to take part in the proceedings; but in the sense that all who are favorable to the movement may participate. It must be seen at once, that if enemies to the movement were to be permitted to come in, that it might be taken advantage of to pack the Convention, and thus to interfere with its deliberations, if not, indeed, to break it up altogether; of which intent there are numerous rumors already afloat.

The day session of Friday will be occupied by the delegates in permanently organizing the Convention. On Friday evening Victoria C. Woodhull will deliver, in Apollo Hall, a speech on the demands of the present crisis, and will be followed by others noted for their devotion to reform. Saturday session will be occupied in the regular business of the organized Convention, and the evening session by speeches by the most noted attendants of the Convention, who will be duly announced by the daily papers and by programme.

This slight deviation from the original plan for the convention has been made necessary from the fact that those who desire to present their views to the convention are so numerous that they could not be crowded into Thursday—day and evening—and Friday and Saturday evenings. Therefore it is decided to continue the convention for speeches, in Stienway Hall, Friday, and also to organize the other convention in Apollo Hall upon the same day.

One remarkable feature will be noticeable in these conventions. Women will, for the first time, discuss all the various subjects involved by political economy. The people for once will have the opportunity of comparing the methods proposed by women with those they have been so accustomed to have men propose. We do not fear that women will suffer by the comparison. These conventions are the topic of conversation in all quarters, and the enthusiasm manifested by the delegates from the country already arrived, bespeaks a flood of excitement to follow their action, if just and judicious, and withal defiant to present tyrannies. Nothing tame and compromising in character will create a ripple upon the surface of the anxiously waiting mind of the country. But let existing conditions be probed to their very center, exposing all the villainess and injustice, and wave after wave, each successive one rising higher and higher, and becoming broader, will flow outward from New York, and rapidly envelope the whole country.

## PROGRAMME AT STEINWAY HALL.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the President of the National Woman Suffrage Association, has handed us the following arrangements for the Convention in Stienway Hall, regarding speakers and subjects:

Elizabeth Cady Stanton—Presidents and Parties.  
Mary Kellogg, Putnam—Finance.  
Jane Graham Jones—What is Representative Government?  
Harriet S. Brooks—The new Declaration.  
Frank Crocker—The Duty of the Hour.  
Mrs. H. B. Burton—Free Trade,  
Susan B. Anthony—What I saw in Cincinnati.  
Victoria C. Woodhull—The impending Crisis.  
Laura De Force Gordon—Land Monopoly.  
Isabella Beecher Hooker—Democracy.  
Matilda Joslyn Gage—Minority Representation.  
Mary J. Davis—Jails and Prisons.  
Jane S. Griffin—Work and Wages.

## DELEGATES TO THE CONVENTION.

The question has frequently been asked who are entitled to be delegates to take part in the Convention which is to assemble in Apollo Hall Friday and Saturday, for the purpose of forming a new political party, and nominating candidates for President and Vice-President.

We answer that the Committee of Arrangements, at its session, held last Saturday, decided as follows:

That delegates shall consist, First, of all persons present who have signed the call, or signified their desire so to do.

Second, All persons being duly authorized representatives of organizations and bodies of people.

Third, Of such other persons as shall signify their desire to participate in the deliberations, to the Committee on Reception of Delegates, being pledged to, and vouched for as being in favor of, the movement to be inaugurated.

These precautions are absolutely necessary, since without them enemies to, as well as friends of, the Convention, could take part in its proceedings, even to the extent of stultifying all proposed action.

## WHAT SHOULD THE CONVENTION DO?

It should first enunciate the principles of freedom, equality and justice, based upon the self-evident truths laid down in the Declaration of Independence, and then inquire whether there is anything in existing constitutions and laws which stand in the way of the exercise of such principles, and the possession of such rights as naturally follow from them. If it be found that our present Constitution and laws are in opposition to the declared self-evident truths, laid down by our fathers as the rule by which to govern the construction of Constitutions and laws, then to set in operation such methods as will abolish such inconsistent and tyrannous laws. And having acted decisively upon these points, which are of vital importance, it should then select candidates to represent the principles, and they should be selected, not with any special regard to availability, but strictly with regard to their being the embodiment of the principles. Candidates should be sought to fit the platform, not the platform constructed to fit any special candidates. And nobody should be thought of in connection with candidature, who cannot, who, indeed, did not stand squarely as exponent of the platform, before it was constructed. It should then go to the people determined to fight it out upon that line, until victory ensues, knowing no such thing as defeat.

CREED RESPONSIBILITY.—A woman dies without the church rites (Catholic.) The husband and two daughters go mad. Whose is the fault? Will the Clergy please take notice and answer? Rev. Meyram D. Wood, of Atlanta, Georgia, was convicted in court of seducing a woman. No church is given; but he belongs to some one of the numerous sects, and we want to know if this is the fruit of sectarian religion, or is Spiritualism to blame?

\* Bro. Cole, a Second Adventist, mingles piety and westernisms, after the following fashion:

Many of you know that for some time I have thought of coming West to labor, where, as my brother Nat—pray that he may be converted—says, "they bore with a big auger," and where there is not so much danger of conflicting appointments as East.

## SECOND ADVENTISTS.

Elder Grant, the champion debater of this erratic sect, is making frantic efforts to convince the people of the Rocky Mountains and Pacific slope that the day of the Lord is at hand, and that sinners will be annihilated, and that will be the end of the poor devils. We find the "crisis" a growing concern, but the frequent disappointments resulting from miscalculations will bring the immediate coming of Christ into dispute. Some contend for '72 as the auspicious time; others '73, '75; and '80 comes in for some prognosticators. The most of them, however, go on much as though they were not certain when the event will occur. In one respect these deluded creatures are superior to their orthodox brethren. Instead of stewing, boiling, broiling and roasting sinners to all eternity, with an increasing capacity to endure, and a corresponding intensity of pain, they destroy the wicked root and branch, for which the wicked ought to be exceedingly thankful. This will be a great economy in the matter of brimstone, and the amount of woe! woe! with which they have been threatened, as well as much more creditable to God, than taking his vengeance on infants not an inch long, as the old Electionists were wont to preach.

If by preaching the Day of Judgment at hand they could compel even a small degree of humanity inside and outside the churches, we should say amen! But the preachers have been founding pulpits and bibles for eighteen hundred years, holding sinners, "hair-hung and breeze-shaken, over fiery billows of burning and eternal damnation," and yet the world has grown worse and worse, until to-day we have in New York one million of cannibals, worse than any Feejee Islander, for they first kill and then eat; but New York cannibals, from A. T. Stewart to peanut peddler, devour their victims alive; taking a slice daily from the living body, and then stimulating the wounds into healing, that more slices may be taken.

Past inaccuracies in computation should not deter us from a candid and thorough search for the whole truth on this subject. There's pluck for you. Failures should not discourage. If you fail, try again, and keep on trying, as the day is sure to come, tho' we cannot say exactly when.

## 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.

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.

Mrs S A Vibbert, Mass.  
Josephine P Cranston, Mass.  
Mary J Holmes, Tenn.  
Evelyn P Goodell, Conn.  
Martha McGowen, N Y.  
Libbie Flint, N Y.  
Catharine C Knowles, N Y.  
Lillie DeZosie Wood, Washington, D C.  
Emma A Wood, Washington, D C.  
Nancy M Bunce, Conn.  
Hannah M Comstock, Conn.  
Lavinia C Dundore, Maryland.  
Adelia M Gardner, Maryland.  
Amanda Easley, Maryland.  
Amie E Hathaway, Maryland.  
Kate C Harris, Maryland.  
Ellen M Harris, Maryland.  
Mercy Clark, Maryland.  
Ellen J Mellon, M D, Penn.  
Laura Curtis Bullard, New York.  
Cornelia H Eastman, Mich.  
Mrs J Sumner Evans, New York.  
Frances Dingman, Conn.  
J. N. Gardner, Maryland.  
Thomas J. Warrington, Maryland.  
Halloway Latham, Conn.  
Marcus Swazy, Conn.  
Maj. W. G. Brown, Asherville, N. C.  
Q. R. Fuller Walker, New York.



Ann E. Hunt, Ohio.  
 Mary S. Latham, Conn.  
 Sarah J. Swazy, Conn.  
 Anna Whitehead Bodeker, Richmond, Va.  
 Jane Graham Jones, Chicago, Ill.  
 Harriet S. Brooks, Chicago, Ill.  
 Martha C. Wright, Auburn, N. Y.  
 Edward S. Wheeler, Mass.  
 Francis L. King, Mass.  
 C. L. James, Wis.  
 L. K. Comley, M. D. New Jersey.  
 J. E. Hoyt, Chicago, Ill.  
 J. C. Steinmetz, New Jersey.  
 Doctor A. G. Wolf, Conn.  
 Laura DeForce, Gordon, San Francisco, Cal.  
 Elizabeth Avery Merriweather, Memphis, Tenn.

THE PARTY OF THE PEOPLE TO SECURE AND  
 MAINTAIN HUMAN RIGHTS, TO BE INAUGU-  
 RATED 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 purpose 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, regardless of race, sex, nationality or previous condition; and especially Labor, Land, Peace and Temperance reformers, and International 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, Ill.  
 Ellen Dickinson, Vineland, New Jersey.  
 Theodore H. Banks, New York City.  
 Mary J. Holmes, Memphis, Tenn.  
 Ira B. Davis, New York City.  
 Laura Cuppy Smith, Cal.  
 E. H. Heywood, Princeton, Mass.  
 Ellen Goodell Smith, Philadelphia, Penn.  
 Hon. J. D. Reymert, New York City.  
 Marilla M. Ricker, Dover, N. H.  
 Horace Dresser, New York City.  
 Marie Howland, Hammononton, N. J.  
 A. G. W. Carter, Cincinnati, Ohio.  
 Addie L. Ballou, Terre Haute, Ind.  
 Hon. H. C. Dibble, New Orleans, Louisiana.  
 M. S. Townsend Hoadley, Lynn, Mass.  
 R. W. Hume, New York City.  
 Martha P. Jacobs, Worcester, Mass.  
 John M. Spear, San Francisco, Cal.  
 E. Hone Whipple, Clyde, Ohio.  
 John Brown Smith, Philadelphia, Penn.  
 Col. Henry Beeny, New York City.  
 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. Toohey, Providence, R. I.  
 Belva A. Lockwood, Washington, D. C.  
 Jonathan Koons, Taylors Hill, Ill.  
 W. F. Jamieson, Chicago, Ill.  
 Dyer D. Lum, Portland, Me.

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.  
 S. T. Fowler, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 John Orvis, Boston, Mass.  
 Carrie Lewis, Cleveland, Ohio.  
 Jane S. Griffin, New York City.  
 Michael Scanlon, New York City.  
 Joshua Rose, New York City.  
 Louise B. Flanders, Malone, N. Y.  
 Jane M. Wilson, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 John Little, New York City.  
 J. T. Elliott, New York City.  
 Thomas Haskell, West Gloucester, Mass.  
 Mrs. A. E. Mossop, Sturgis, Mich.  
 D. B. Marks, Hallsport, N. J.  
 J. H. Severance, Milwaukee, Wis.  
 Josiah Warren, Princeton, Mass.  
 Jane Case, Oswego, N. Y.  
 Frances Rose McKinley, New York City.  
 Danvers Doubleday, New York City.  
 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.  
 Mr. 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, Middleton, Ct.  
 Ellen M. Child, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Wm. 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. 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.  
 Thomas W. Organ, Yellow Springs, Ohio.  
 Mary A. Leland, 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.

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 Cockett, 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.

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 Hauden, Buffalo, N. Y.  
 — Larabee, 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. Donne, 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, Hammononton, N. J.  
 M. B. Randall, Hammononton, N. J.  
 Wm. 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, Hammononton, N. J.  
 E. J. Woolley, Hammononton, 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. Pepoon, 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.  
 Mary S. Latham, Noank, Conn.  
 Mrs. Adeline G. Priest, Damariscotta.  
 Marcus Swasey, Noank, Conn.  
 Mrs. Eliza Newton, Minneapolis, Minn.  
 Mrs. M. E. Cole, Minneapolis, Minn.  
 Miss Frances Cole, Minneapolis, Minn.  
 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. Cangor, Battle Creek, Mich.  
 Fred S. Robbins, Watkins, N. Y.  
 Christiana A. Robbins, Watkins, N. Y.  
 Mr C Simpson, Watkins, N. Y.  
 J S Brown, Watkins, N. Y.  
 L B Brown, Watkins, N. Y.  
 C M Higgins, Watkins, N. Y.  
 E Sprague, Watkins, N. Y.  
 Thos Imus, Watkins, N. Y.  
 L Aldrich, Watkins, N. Y.  
 Henry Aldrich, Watkins, N. Y.  
 Diana Aldrich, Watkins, N. Y.  
 J Draper, Watkins, N. Y.  
 B A Draper, Watkins, N. Y.  
 Mrs Margaret Eason, Watkins, N. Y.  
 Mrs Libbie Holbrook, Watkins, N. Y.  
 Mr Elias J Eason, Watkins, N. Y.  
 A Hall Burdick, Hart, Mich.  
 Laura J Burdick, Hart, Mich.  
 E A Stillman, Canada, N. Y.  
 C J Thacher, Cleveland, Ohio.  
 Thomas Lees, Cleveland, Ohio.  
 F H Barnard, Rockford, Ill.  
 John Cox, Windsor, Cal.  
 A Habel, New York City.  
 Dr A Rogers, Lincoln, Neb.  
 Solomon W. Jewett, Rutland, Vt.  
 Increase Van Deusen, Kirkland, O.  
 Maria Van Deusen, Kirkland, O.  
 O N Bancroft, Tom's River, N. J.  
 Jennie Moore, Vineland, N. J.  
 Otis F Porter, Bridgeport, Ct.  
 J G Eustis, Leeds, Mass.  
 S B Eustis, Leeds, Mass.  
 Ezra B Ely, Newfield, N. J.  
 Charles Bishop, Longhill, Ct.  
 William Smith, Geneva, Wis.  
 Cyrutia Smith, Geneva, Wis.



Matilda Snow, Geneva, Wis.  
 James J. Vrooman, Geneva, Wis.  
 Mary Vrooman, Geneva, Wis.  
 J. H. Ford, Geneva, Wis.  
 D. F. Starky, M. D., Wilmington, O.  
 Julia A. Starky, Wilmington, O.  
 T. G. Hawes, Wilmington, O.  
 Nancy Hawes, Wilmington, O.  
 Henry Lorish, Wilmington, O.  
 Rev. J. J. Brown, Wilmington, O.  
 Dan'l Hunnicut, Wilmington, O.  
 Mrs. Dr. Hunnicut, Wilmington, O.  
 David Terrill, Wilmington, O.  
 Margaret Terrill, Wilmington, O.  
 Anna Terrill, Wilmington, O.  
 G. W. Fisher, Wilmington, O.  
 Joel E. Thompson, Wilmington, O.  
 C. B. Moore, Wilmington, O.  
 C. W. Thomas, Wilmington, O.  
 Mrs. Andelia Hull, New York City.  
 Charles Winterboon, New York City.  
 John J. Lands, New York City.  
 Marian Childs, Brooklyn, L. I.  
 Rosalie Boadford, Brooklyn, L. I.  
 D. S. Cadwallader, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 M. W. Robinson, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 J. R. Barry, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 M. W. Baldwin, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 G. D. Henck, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Peter Holbrook, Jacksonville, Vt.  
 J. W. Talbot, Emerson, Neb.  
 I. W. Lloyd, Emerson, Neb.  
 E. Y. Cosnell, Emerson, Neb.  
 Ory T. Davis, Emerson, Neb.  
 D. Pound, Emerson, Neb.  
 E. R. Talbot, Emerson, Neb.  
 F. H. Cornell, Emerson, Neb.  
 R. P. Pound, Emerson, Neb.  
 S. T. Kinnaman, Emerson, Neb.  
 R. L. Shangle, Emerson, Neb.  
 W. C. Lambert, Emerson, Neb.  
 E. Mitchell, Emerson, Neb.  
 S. J. Davis, Emerson, Neb.  
 Rochester Hedges, Emerson, Neb.  
 Dr. A. Rogers, Emerson, Neb.  
 O. A. Warner, Emerson, Neb.  
 E. J. Warner, Emerson, Neb.  
 L. B. Smoyer, Emerson, Neb.  
 Reynolds Coonel, Emerson, Neb.  
 W. B. Stone, Emerson, Neb.  
 S. O. Mitchell, Emerson, Neb.  
 R. A. Nedge, Emerson, Neb.  
 M. Still, Emerson, Neb.  
 Martha Conway, Emerson, Neb.  
 Sarah O. Harner, Emerson, Neb.  
 Eliza A. Cornell, Emerson, Neb.  
 Addie E. Smoyer, Emerson, Neb.  
 Dorcas H. Cornell, Emerson, Neb.  
 D. H. C. Stone, Emerson, Neb.  
 John M. Kelso, San Francisco, Cal.  
 Louis L. Bender, Buffalo, N. Y.  
 Caroline S. Huddleston, Lotus, Ind.  
 Thomas D. Lane, Boston, Mass.  
 Sarah A. Drake, Boston, Mass.  
 Samuel W. Turner, Cleveland, Ohio.  
 Rhoda Turner, Cleveland, Ohio.  
 Ellen J. Miller, Philadelphia, Penn.  
 Orville Griffin, Smith's Basin, New York.  
 Peter H. Cooper, Sandy Hill, New York.  
 O. A. Davis, Ashland, Oregon.  
 G. Nelson Johnson, Lynn, Mass.  
 Miss M. Phillips Johnson, Lynn, Mass.  
 Alonzo L. B. Havington, Salt Lake City.  
 J. R. Backus, Terre Haute, Ind.  
 Hannah J. Scott, Berlin Heights, Ohio.  
 Edwin Marble, Lynn, Mass.  
 Lou Marble, Lynn, Mass.  
 J. J. Gurney, Abington, Mass.  
 Mrs. Abigail Thompson, Whitehouse, O.  
 Mrs. Mary Greenfield, Whitehouse, O.  
 Mrs. Roxa Greenfield, Whitehouse, O.  
 Mrs. Addie Greenfield Kilpatrick, Whitehouse, O.  
 E. A. White, Clinton, O.  
 J. M. Hawthorn, Greenwood, Kan.  
 Mrs. T. Brovton, Grand Haven, Mich.  
 Mrs. Mary M. Sheldon, Grand Haven, Mich.  
 Mrs. M. C. Slayton, Grand Haven, Mich.  
 Mrs. C. F. Barnes, Grand Rapids, Mich.  
 Mrs. M. O. Randall, Brockport, N. Y.  
 Lydia A. Hutchinson, Reed's Ferry, N. H.  
 D. S. Cadwallader, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 M. W. Robinson, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 G. D. Henck, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Mrs. Martha N. Holcombe, Bridgeport, Conn.  
 Mrs. Almira Gibbons, Granville Corners, Mass.  
 Mrs. Charlotte A. Noble, Granville Corners, Mass.  
 Mrs. Nancy L. Carpenter, Granville Corners, Mass.  
 Mr. Hiram Clark, Granville Corners, Mass.  
 Susie Rockwell, Battle Creek, Mich.  
 F. H. L. Willis, M. D., New York City.  
 Love M. Willis, New York City.  
 Ann Lemon Davies, Neosho, Mo.  
 R. Rice, Portage City, Wis.  
 Sophia E. Rice, Portage City, Wis.  
 Alida Jones, Cornville, Me.  
 Miss Clarrie Scott, Minneapolis, Minn.  
 Loron A. Scott, Minneapolis, Minn.  
 David L. Hewitt, Minneapolis, Minn.  
 Mrs. A. Holcomb, Buffalo, N. Y.  
 Mrs. S. Petrie, Buffalo, N. Y.  
 John Swain, Buffalo, N. Y.  
 Alden Whiteman, Cornville, Me.  
 Ellen Maybee, 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.  
 Joseph Mason, Maquoketa, Iowa.  
 Fletcher Wilson, Maquoketa, Iowa.  
 David B. Hale, Collinsville, Conn.  
 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.  
 Mrs. W. V. Maynard, Buffalo, N. Y.  
 H. A. Maynard, Buffalo, N. Y.

Mrs. E. M. Gillis, Buffalo, N. Y.  
 C. M. Hancox, Titusville, Pa.  
 May Isabella Bowen, Titusville, Pa.  
 L. C. G. Hancox, Titusville, Pa.  
 Mrs. Anna Dustin, Minneapolis, Minn.  
 Mrs. John Swain, Buffalo, N. Y.  
 Mas. Eliza Litchinstein, Buffalo, N. Y.  
 B. Litchenstein, Buffalo, N. Y.  
 Emeline M. Stevenson, Maquoketa, Iowa.  
 Hiram Stephenson, Maquoketa, Iowa.  
 George A. Gray, Maquoketa, Iowa.  
 Mrs. Alvira Dustin, Minneapolis, Minn.  
 Mrs. Viola Godfrey, Minneapolis, Minn.  
 E. B. Wood, Hart, Mich.  
 Huldah Wood, Hart, Mich.  
 Mrs. M. F. Johnson, Buffalo, N. Y.  
 Bishop A. Beals, Versailles, N. Y.  
 Mrs. Eliza Butler, Buffalo, N. Y.  
 Mrs. Lizzie Scott, Minneapolis, Minn.  
 Mrs. Harriet Hewitt, Minneapolis, Minn.  
 Miss Eva Johnson, Minneapolis, Minn.  
 S. D. Wood, Pentwater, Mich.  
 Mrs. Tillie Wood, Pentwater, Mich.  
 Marion Rosenkrans, Dakota, Wis.  
 L. D. Akin, Titusville, Pa.  
 O. Nervins, Titusville, Pa.  
 S. Nervins, Titusville, Pa.  
 Mrs. Maria Barnes, Dakota, Wis.  
 N. H. Barnes, Rose Hill, Miss.  
 Mrs. Laura Jones, Rose Hill, Miss.  
 Alonzo A. Jones, Omro, Wis.  
 J. O. Barrett, Glen Buelah, Wis.  
 Ruth W. Scott Briggs, West Winfield, N. Y.  
 Mathilde J. Anneke, Milwaukee, Wis.  
 Edith Mashier, Afton, Minn.  
 Flora Tracy, Afton, Minn.  
 A. Pepoon, St. Kirtland, Ohio.  
 Rosetta B. Harlow, Cornville, Me.  
 Sarah E. E. Bowen, Titusville, Pa.  
 S. H. Wortman, Buffalo, N. Y.  
 Mrs. T. K. Hord, Buffalo, N. Y.  
 F. M. Spooner, Buffalo, N. Y.  
 Anna A. Norwood, Titusville, Pa.  
 Stephen Norwood, Titusville, Pa.  
 C. H. Plumley, Buffalo, N. Y.  
 D. Hicks, Senora, Georgia.  
 E. G. Curtis, California.  
 John Southard, Pontiac, Mich.  
 Mrs. S. C. Crossland, Buffalo, N. Y.  
 John F. Crossland, Buffalo, N. Y.  
 Mrs. James Delano, Buffalo, N. Y.  
 Eloise O. Randall, Hammonont, N. J.  
 O. Mills, Hammonont, 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.  
 Elizabeth T. Schenck, San Francisco, Cal.  
 Margaret Morrison, San Francisco, Cal.  
 Sarah Fosburg, San Francisco, Cal.  
 Dudley Willett, Washington, Iowa.  
 Dr. Vickers, Washington, Iowa.  
 M. A. Trego, Washington, Iowa.  
 Cornelius Bigford, Washington, Iowa.  
 Amanda Wasseltne, Washington, Iowa.  
 Mark D. Bradbury, Maquoketa, Iowa.  
 Emeline Bradway, Maquoketa, Iowa.  
 Geo. C. Bradway, Maquoketa, Iowa.  
 Cornelia B. Stevenson, Maquoketa, Iowa.  
 Thorndike Leonard, Grafton, Mass.  
 Ruth A. Mills, Vineland, N. J.  
 Dr. C. Hawhurst, Battle Creek, Mich.  
 J. K. Dearth, Battle Creek, Mich.  
 Mrs. Rebecca Grosjean, Titusville, Pa.  
 Mrs. Sarah Hancox, Titusville, Pa.  
 Mrs. Fannie M. Bowen, Titusville, Pa.  
 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. August White, Watseka, Ill.  
 Mary A. Crowe, Titusville, Pa.  
 George Haskell, Titusville, Pa.  
 Fannie M. Bowen, Titusville, Pa.  
 Mrs. F. A. Edison, Watseka, Ill.  
 Ira Nevens, Cornville, Me.  
 John Curtis, Cornville, Me.  
 D. E. Flint, Titusville, Pa.  
 O. M. Hunter, Titusville, Pa.  
 L. B. Hunter, Titusville, Pa.  
 Chauncey Barnes, Athens, Ohio.  
 Sarah J. Swasey, Noank, Conn.  
 Oliver Gamage, Damariscotta.  
 George H. Gardner, N. D., Cornville, Me.  
 Mary F. Hopkins, Fremont, Ind.  
 E. Hovey, Buffalo, Mo.  
 Tom. Blatherwick, Titusville, Pa.  
 O. Easton, Titusville, Pa.  
 D. A. Easton, Titusville, Pa.  
 A. B. Flint, Titusville, Pa.  
 J. B. Campbell, Springfield, Mass.  
 Jennie Latham, Cornville, Me.  
 Mrs. Lucy J. Carr, Minneapolis, Minn.  
 Mrs. L. Stitts, Minneapolis, Minn.  
 Emily Austin, Titusville, Pa.  
 Thos. Austin, Titusville, Pa.  
 Melissa Hayes, Titusville, Pa.  
 George Dustin, Minneapolis, Minn.  
 Maria J. Wilson, Maquoketa, Iowa.  
 A. M. Wood, Titusville, Pa.  
 Ida J. Wood, Titusville, Pa.

Lewis Wood, Titusville, Pa.  
 Emily R. Bradway, Maquoketa, Iowa.  
 Isabella Gray, Maquoketa, Iowa.  
 Eliza Bradley, Maquoketa, Iowa.  
 Ella Smith, Maquoketa, Iowa.  
 F. W. Tibbals, Titusville, Pa.  
 S. B. Crain, Titusville, Pa.  
 Chas. Bradway, Maquoketa, Iowa.  
 Lucinda Nast, Maquoketa, Iowa.  
 Mary H. Hench, Titusville, Pa.  
 J. Q. Hench, Titusville, Pa.  
 Sarah L. Tibbals, Titusville, Pa.  
 Mrs. E. Wood, Buffalo, N. Y.  
 Mrs. Thomas Rathbun, Buffalo, N. Y.  
 Ephraim D. Fish, Titusville, Pa.  
 Mrs. E. B. Fish, Titusville, Pa.  
 L. A. Chase, Titusville, Pa.  
 Mrs. P. A. Richards, Titusville, Pa.  
 George Porter, Maquoketa, Iowa.  
 J. K. Millard, Maquoketa, Iowa.  
 Miss Ardie Phillips, Minneapolis, Minn.  
 Carra A. Hazen, Titusville, Pa.  
 Frances E. Bowen, Titusville, Pa.  
 H. M. Richards, Titusville, Pa.  
 Mrs. Emma Turner, Minneapolis, Minn.

## THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

THE CINCINNATI DEPARTURE A GRAND FIZZLE.

WITHOUT PRINCIPLES AND WITH STULTIFIED CANDIDATES.

Pilate and Herod were reconciled over the execution of Jesus. Free trade and protection; treason and loyalty; national currency and national banks; land-grabbers and home stealers, all united for the purpose of beating poor, declining Grant. Every shade and stripe of political opinion was represented in the Cincinnati Convention. No attempt was made to harmonize the discords by any legitimate method. All differences were oversloughed in the determination to have a change of rulers, for better or worse; who can tell? We have resulting, a party without platform, and candidates without expressed principles. There is nothing new, nothing cardinal in "civil service reform," nor yet in "one term." The land reform plank was stolen in full from the labor party, and was never endorsed cordially by the leaders of the radical party in or out of Congress. But let us look at this thing, the like of which has never been.

The preamble is a series of allegations against Grant and his friends. Believing that a new party is necessary to the good of the country, they appeal, as "Liberal Republicans," to the honesty and patriotism of the people in the following propositions:

1. The equality of all men before the law, and the duty of government to mete out equal justice (as if justice could be unequal) to all races and sexes.

ANALYZED.—Men are to make and execute the laws; women and men are to receive and suffer them equally. But the women are to have no voice in their making; and this these Solons call "equality" and "equal justice."

2. Not to reopen any of the questions settled by the recent amendments.

Here is a distinct pledge against universal suffrage, which flatly contradicts the allegation of "impartial suffrage" in the fourth proposition.

3. General amnesty for all.

Treason is no longer a crime; and loyalty is no more a virtue. It is a trivial and pardonable affair to plot political revolution, to slaughter a million of the best men of the country; to waste five thousand millions of dollars, and spread devastations, physical and moral, over forty millions of people, all in the interest of capital and against the rights of labor. All just men would depreciate general condemnation; would favor mild measures; but no statesman would estimate the offences of arch traitors so cheaply.

5. The government has become an instrument of party ambition, therefore no President should be elected a second time.

The remedy does not antidote the disease. One term cannot prevent the consequences of incompetency and abuse of patronage. It has serious evils:

1. It denies us the services of a good President, should we get one. 2. It subjects us to the chances of a worse one. 3. It stimulates sinister motives to "make hay while the sun shines," and this is no better than to use patronage for perpetuation. 4. It furnishes no guarantees, and can furnish none that the nominees will not reward their friends and punish their enemies, if elected; or that any subsequent incumbents will not do the same thing. It is simply a party platitude which good men would carry out, and bad ones repudiate. That's all.

6. Low taxes—not burdensome—economical, sufficient to pay the expenses of the government. Protection and free-trade belong to congressional districts, wholly free from executive influence.

Here is incompetency, ambiguity and dodging with a vengeance! It shows both ignorance and cowardice, mingled with deceit. Revenue and its methods constitute one of the chief problems of civil government. Situated as we are on the eve of a new era in politics, overburdened with public debt and other expenses, with the old doctrine of revenue by tariff, the public have a right to demand and expect a declaration, a thesis and a method on these great problems. They ask bread and get a stone. Evading responsibility is an acknowledgement of incompetency. They do not understand these subjects, and dare not trust themselves to a definition. That they belong to Congress legislatively no one will dispute; but Congress has failed to solve them; that they belong to Congressional districts, integrally and severally, is a political lie; that they belong to the country, and especially to a reform party, to define and improve, will not be denied. But the "Reform Liberal Republicans" have very liberally farmed out this part of their work without a solitary way-mark to guide the wondering and wandering voters to the haven of truth and right. On

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such vague, desultory, non-committal stuff—trash—they appeal to the patriotism of the country. It is an insult to the school children, and that insult is flaunted into the faces of millions of intelligent voters, and they are expected to follow such leadership.

#### 8. A speedy return to specie payments.

When, where, how, why, is not provided; not even suggested. This in the face of the fact that specie basis and payments have always been *financial failures*; the fact that for ten years we have not used or needed specie in business or banking, and the fact that we have never had so good a currency as now; that rates are adjusted to the present premium on gold, and that intrinsic values are not altered by either condition. Why did not those blundering blockheads give to the country an idea—a theory of finances which would have superseded specie payments, and cleaned out Wall street at one blow?

The answer is easy: Capital was there, and does not want a sound and just system of finance. Or, if you want it milder, they did not know how. In either case the proceeding is a fraud on the country.

#### 9. Gratitude to the soldier!

Another sop. Why did they not say distinctly that they would do justice to the rank and file, as they do it to the officers? Soldiers cannot live on *gratitude*; and the Government gives them starvation, while it gives officers a superabundance. Cant. Every word Cant!

#### 10. Stolen from the Labor party!

11. Government should cultivate foreign relations by a just policy.

Nobody will say nay. But what kind of policy? What is the justice of the policy?

12. To promote these principles, and give success to these nominees, we invite everybody, without regard to previous political preferences.

This is the *mess*—the feast of fat things in Reform—the repast to which the country is invited. Such presumption of leaders, and such assumption of ignorance in the people, has not been exceeded in the history of our government. They may have the machinery to force the diluted dose down the throats of the people, and they may not. Should the Democrats nominate judiciously they may win, provided no new condition intervenes. In either case we cannot be worsted. The present is so bad that change is desirable with all the liabilities. The Democrats cannot go much further in making treason respectable, and they cannot get up a platform that pretends to so much and provides for so little.

The Cincinnati Convention proves clearly: 1. That the statesmanship of the age is a failure. 2. That the people have lost confidence in public men. 3. That they are utterly bewildered, and willing to follow any *ignis fatuus* into the mire, imagining that they are going to a place of safety.

The Convention itself was a caucus on a grand scale; no regular system of delegates, no legitimate expression of the popular will. It had a prepared slate, expressed nothing, and demanded stultified candidates.

It utterly failed to apply civil service reform to itself or its nominees, and is, therefore, a bold lie, on its face, as a reform convention—a cheat and a fraud from the beginning to the end; and, therefore, not to be trusted as to any of its promises, or the promises of its stultified candidates.

The labor party failed in many essentials, and is floored by this contest—badly demoralized by those whom it trusted. The Republican liberal radicals have failed to meet the just expectations of the people. The temperance movement does not properly belong to national politics in any sense, and amounts to nothing. The Suffrage Convention meets this week; the Grnat convention meets in Philadelphia; the Democrats may meet and nominate a platform of principles, and candidates who understand them have yet to be produced. Notwithstanding the eclat and hurrah, the people are considering, and the sudden ebullition of particular friends must not be accepted as a final decision.

#### THE "R. P. JOURNAL"—JUDGE EDMONDS—CARPING CRITICS GENERALLY, AND MRS. WOODHULL.

"For, whereas there is among you, envying strife and divisions, are ye not carnal? For while one saith I am of Paul, and another, I am of Apollos, are ye not carnal?"

From the beginning until now, men and women have been willing to dispute about the honors, and the method of evolving truth, rather than to contend for the truth itself.

Personal controversies are of little value to the world, and usually are detrimental to good feeling and fair dealing. In this way the truth is often more hindered than helped. It is a source of regret that the friends of progress cannot tolerate in others the things which they themselves daily practice.

Notwithstanding all past history is before us to teach us that no man has a right to dogmatize, we find this class to abound in connection with the new revelations. The coming men and coming women, with leadership, kingship, queenship, and panaceas for all wounds abound now more than at any other period known in history. It must needs be that offences come—that there should be wide differences of opinion; but when we remember how much in error most of us are, and how many frailties and faults we each have, it seems to me that our newspapers and prominent defenders might leave traduction to our common enemies. I more particularly allude to the course of the *Religio P. J.* in regard to Mrs. Woodhull and Dr. Slade and the course of Judge Edmonds and others in regard to Mrs. Woodhull.

There seems to be a growing disposition on the part of a number of the teachers of these new things, to set up a stand-

ard to establish a Shibboleth, by which we shall be known, and through which we shall enter the Kingdom. But I fail to see that any person has the sight to say what Spiritualism, is or is not; what subject shall or shall not be associated with the phenomena, or science of Spiritualism.

If Spiritualism be a science, then all other sciences must be co-associated and harmonious with it; and the association of science is optional with each individual, and it is not the business for any one to say them nay. Mrs. Woodhull did not elect herself President of the American Association of Spiritualists, and if she did, that association comprises but a small part of the entire body, and has no power to bind any one in thesis or practice. If she transcends her authority she will doubtless be displaced. If Mrs. Woodhull's purposes and opinions were not fully known prior to her election—if she is now promulgating doctrines antagonistic or new, then there would be at least a constructive breach of trust. But as no such charge can be sustained, and as that body does not claim to dictate creed or practice, I cannot see what right Judge Edmonds, or any other person has to protest or denounce.

If allowed to give my opinion, I would say that we have entirely too much of supersensuous hifalutin nonsense; that we have discredited ourselves too much from the more practical and important questions of Labor, Suffrage, Social Science and other subjects inseparable from human welfare, and essentially necessary to soul growth.

But Judge Edmonds says, "My object was to prevent, if possible, the use of Spiritualism, or any of its Organs of Work for the advancement of such topics." These he calls "ephemeral and immature subjects;" and "I confess I cannot see, and if I cannot, how can we expect others to do so, how we can reconcile" etc., etc.

Now, I must humbly ask what right Judge Edmonds has to attempt to direct this movement to suit his own particular views or those of his guides, nor yet set his eye-sight up as the standard for all other eyes.

There are those who think that all sciences are co-related—that a knowledge of all the sciences pertaining to this sphere will better qualify us for the next step in the scale of being; and so thinking, they have the right to associate one or more together as suits their taste in this matter.

Yea verily, if in their ignorance they associate things really dissimilar, I am not sure that any one has the right to interpose a barrier and prevent them. I have carefully examined the article which the Judge summarily condemns, and can find nothing demoralizing or contrary to that law which is written in the nature of things; and, therefore, nothing impure.

The writer, A. C., says, "Prostitution is attributable mainly to too great sternness in sexual moralities, critically and scientifically considered." This allegation is true or false. A knowledge of the point involved is essential to a proper remedy. Judge Edmonds does not deny, and does not attempt to prove the opposite, he only dogmatizes his opinion, which is worth no more than any other man's opinion, notwithstanding his role of dictator. We have the *stern* rule now, and have the *prostitution*, they have a less stern rule among less civilized people, and less prostitution. No dictum can settle this controversy. It demands experiment; and the facts are so far with the writer.

Those who are dissatisfied with the course and doctrine of the WEEKLY should define their own position. What constitutes marriage? what purity? what prostitution? When they have done this, we shall be able to see the difference and their superiority, and, therefore, their right to dictate and restrain. The better way for these arrogant dogmatizers to protect Spiritualism, is to state or define the truth so clearly and positively that the error becomes thereby exposed. In the face of the wish of these fearful friends of Spiritualism to keep it free from all side issues, we have coming through the same law, lengthy dissertations on natural sciences, on political economy, on social relations and evils, the spirit world itself thus blending these forbidden and antagonistic subjects.

The Law now deals with marriage and prostitution. The subject has three phases—the *natural*, the *legal* and the *moral*, or social. It is on us, and we cannot ignore it if we would.

Now, as I understand Mrs. Woodhull, she does not publish a paper with one idea alone and one method of treating that one idea for propagation. She allows all subjects and permits both sides, which is the only proper method of discussion. The paper was commenced without any reference to Spiritualism, and is not now devoted especially to that subject. It is, in fact, devoted to suffrage, and all other reforms connected with human growth and happiness. Spiritualism is only one of them. She is herself a medium, professes to be inspirationally directed, and the intelligences by whom she professes to be guided, push her out in the way she is going.

I do not stop to consider whether they or she are right or wrong. I only know that she has a right and must in honesty follow her own intuitions, and Judge Edmonds has no right to dictate to her or any other person. I know, further, that those who have criticised have failed to show the true way; have failed to point out a remedy for the wrongs in controversy.

It may be right for S. S. Jones to pursue towards Mrs. W. and Dr. Slade a course grossly unjust, and illogical; but it will not prove creditable, and I would hope not acceptable to his readers.

Mrs. Woodhull is willing to be stoned by those who have not sinned in thought, word or deed. It is not her private or public life that we have a right to discuss, it is the truth or falsity of her doctrine, and against these we should support the truth, which alone can make us free.

In conclusion: Mrs. Woodhull cannot injure Spiritualism. The cause of christianity has been the platitude of quack theological doctors, who imagined that God and the truth were in

danger, and needed their assistance to preserve and disseminate. The curse of Spiritualism is the offered service of self-constituted censors, and conservators, who imagine that without their special aid Spiritualism will be ruined. Just here we are afflicted with "too great sternness" in spiritual moralities, and moralists, who would fetter the truth and the expression of it, having not yet learned that great truth that it is better to believe a lie in the exercise of your own faculties, than the truth through another; that falsehood is a good as truth, and the devil (evil) the chief of all reforms. Let us have liberty, equality, fraternity, individual responsibility, free discussion—toleration, charity, and the Eleventh Commandment—"Mind your own business, and let God and the spirit world attend to theirs in their own way,"—and all will be well.

JOHN B. WOLFE.

#### SPEECH OF VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

BEFORE THE AMERICAN LABOR REFORM LEAGUE, SUNDAY EVENING, MAY 5, 1872.

#### Friends of the American Labor Reform League:

It seems to me that one of the saddest mistakes that reform makes is, to set up, as a rule, that it has nothing to do with politics; that its mission is high and above the political atmosphere which contains so much miasm and pestilential vapor; and that its special method is education—diffusing the various methods involved in it.

This mistaken idea has obtained among mankind, from the fact that reform has heretofore been confined to the intellect, to morals and religion, with which existing laws have not interfered to either advance or hinder it; while like movements in government have always been denominated Revolution. In consequence of this and following the established order and methods, we now have a certain class of people who talk a great deal about "revolution," entirely ignoring the argument that in the establishment of the popular vote, the day for revolutions of the old kind is passed.

It may, however, be objected to this side of the proposition that the popular vote has not yet been established—even that a no inconsiderable majority of the people are still beyond the power of the vote. While it must yet be admitted that so far as present practice goes this is true. It may be argued, however, that all there remains to be accomplished is to enter upon the record an already rendered judgment to complete the original proposition.

It is demonstrated and admitted that we have a right to look behind the law, which is interpreted to limit the vote, back to the intent of the people for whom the law was framed; and when we arrive there—when we get beneath the mass of incongruities called the Constitution of the United States, down to the Declaration of Independence, out of which it sprang, there we find that the sort of government contemplated by those who, by it, declared themselves free from British rule, was one of justice; and that such a government was defined to be one that existed by consent of the governed, and not by the consent of a part, or even of a majority, but by the governed. Now, if those who talk loudly about political equality, after the fashion of the Philosopher Horace, can convince the world and establish the fact that women are not governed why, then, I will subside, and admit that the Constitution, as interpreted by those who have possessed themselves of the political machinery, may be a just government.

But to return to the former proposition. It may very harmlessly be admitted that the function of education is a higher function than that of politics is; and when the effects that flow from them, do not interfere with the spread of the reform contemplated by Education, that it may proceed regardless of politics; but when laws exist which stand in the very face of reform, barring its advance, it then seems to me the most absurd of the many existing absurdities, to assert that reform has nothing to do with politics. Existing laws that stand in the way of reform, must be replaced by those that contain the principles of reform. If reformers know of any way to accomplish this change except by the election of legislators who will pass them, I, for one, would be forever grateful to them for the information, since how to get the obnoxious phases of government replaced by the acceptable, is the problem of the age.

But the American Labor Reform League may reply: our numbers are so small when compared to the opposition that it would be useless waste of strength to attempt to act against the politicians. Standing alone, that objection, it would seem, must hold; but if placed beside a dozen similar objections, raised by as many different phases of reform, and considered as related to all of them, and all of them to it, the case is materially changed.

Now, all genuine reform is one at bottom—is one and the same thing—that is to say: as between several different branches of reform there is no clashing, either of interests or principles. The rights which labor demands do not interfere with those that woman demands; while neither of them stand opposed to the advocates of Peace or of Temperance; but on the contrary all of these spring from a common principle of human right.

Now, what is the logical deduction to be obtained from this fact. It is, that instead of several reforms working alone in straight lines, that they double up their strength and pull together; and my word for it, if this be done, and they give a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull all together, events, which are now against them, will change direction and go in their favor.

It is also the slimsiest objection it is possible to think of that one reform loses strength by coalescing with another reform. I have heard many labor reformers say; "We have a



we can do to carry our own measures, without loading ourselves down with Woman Suffrage; and I have heard woman suffragists make the same objection against other reforms. But we have only to test this proposition by a well-known rule of pure mathematical extraction to prove its character. If two horses have separate loads, as heavy as each can move, and the two loads be consolidated into one vehicle, and both horses harnessed to it, they will move it with much more ease than they previously moved the separate loads. Nor is this all; the load will also move with a greater momentum, and coming in contact with opposition, will remove it from its path with increased ease, proportionate to the increase of weight and velocity.

Now just what is true of this common illustration, is true of reform of all kinds. In this country we have several small, and some large loads of reform, each being tugged away at by reformers, and some of them scarcely moving at all. Now let them all put their loads upon one grand car, and harness themselves all to it, and they will stand even appalled, at the headway they will make, not only in increased rapidity of movement, and weight of motion; but also in moral power. I tell you my friends, our enemies respect nothing so much as they do numbers. I don't care how popular or how just your hobby may be, get another hobby to hitch to it, and you will find your popularity will be proportionately increased.

I did not come before you to-day to talk to you of principles. I suppose you have resolutions without number, containing for the hundredth time or less, the same principles done up in different language. All of us, at least, begin to know what equity means, and if we do not it will be hard to teach us from a set of resolutions. But let me tell you what may teach what equity is, to those who do not yet comprehend it. Just construct a machine that will manufacture equity, and you can then show everybody what it is. You can exhibit the machine and demonstrate what the results of its operation must necessarily be. I sincerely believe that such a machine constructed upon the principles of justice will do more to teach equity than all the mere enunciations of principles that have ever been made.

Now what do I mean by a machine that will manufacture equity? Why, I mean a government, or rather an organic law to take the place of that which manufactures a stuff which is a disgrace to civilization; I mean the embodiment of all the principles which reformers have been enunciating into a working model, by which our future political and social relations shall be regulated; I mean the amendment of the Constitution of the United States, by striking it all out after the first word, and inserting a consistent instrument in its place carrying out the self-evident truths set forth in the Declaration of Independence, which include every principle demanded by every real reform.

The Constitution of the United States is a working model of government, lacking all basis of principle, and what does it turn out? A horde of office-holders, land-grabbers and thieves of labor, gracefully ensconced from public view, behing the convenient screens of civil-service, railroad corporation and banking institutions. Now I want to see a government arise to take its place that will measure equity to the true source of the wealth of the country—the present unrequited and ignored laborers instead of these leeches who, through due forms of law, first rob labor of all it produces, and turning, lend to labor what they have stolen to still further increase its burdens.

There is a convention going to meet in Apollo Hall the 10th and 11th which will be composed of representatives of various reformatory movements. Their intention is to coalesce and to begin a regular systematic campaign against the common enemy. They are getting sick of the guerrilla sort of warfare; everybody fighting on his own hook, as well as of bushwhacking in small squads without concert of action. They are going to form a line and fight it out upon it if it takes until '76 or even '80.

I have a kind of general interest in all these various forces that are to marshal into battle array, and I hope that this League will add its strength to the general army, and take active part both in the organization and in the campaign. It is in this way alone that any of us may hope to achieve in a reasonable time, that for which we toil.

#### TIT FOR TAT.

On the Pacific Slope they have virtuous female lecturers who freely denounce their betters, as well as in New York City. Among these is a Mrs. Frost, who has been indulging freely in vituperation, and claiming an excessive amount of that commodity so scarce and so little known in New York that the possessors find it necessary to advertise their surplus wares.

Mrs. Dunniway, editor of the *New Northwest*, goes for Mrs. Frost after a fashion that would suit this locality:

THAT "NIPPING FROST" AGAIN.

This woman slanderer, this flippant-tongued simpleton, this brazen-faced sham, this bilk and cheat, who perambulated through Oregon and Washington last fall, making frantic efforts to induce all men to believe that all women were as bad as herself; who went away indebted for advertising and hall rent from almost every town she visited; who took up with a fifth-rate showman and passed him through the country, sometimes as her uncle, sometimes as her husband, and with him made a raid into Victoria lecturing upon the downfall of the United States Government; who purchased large quantities of Victoria merchandise and decamped without making payment; who purchased a city residence for \$3,000, and a farm for \$15,000 from the honest-minded subjects of Queen Victoria, and forgot to make her payments; who did more good in the great Northwest by lecturing against woman suffrage than ten thousand of her class could do in speaking in its favor—has begun to "nip" the Californians. She recently lectured before a large audience in Sacramento, in which she said that none were woman suffragists except free lovers, infidels and lewd women. Her "male" must have been lately engaged in

giving her lessons in grammar and elocution, for Sacramento papers say nothing about her style of murdering the king's English, which made so much fun for the Portland reporters.

Our readers will remember that she, while here, made great boasts about her "virtue," which she thought would be ruined forever if she should once vote. Here is what Hon. John A. Collins, a noble man and brother, a conscientious helper in the great woman movement, and an uncompromising advocate of justice and fair dealing, tells about her in the *Pioneer*:

"When Mrs. Emily Pitts Stevens, at the close of her lecture, extended to Mrs. Frost her hand and congratulated her upon her ability to make so effective a discourse on the wrong side of the question, she exhibited the generosity of a noble nature. When Mrs. Frost, withdrawing her hand, repulsed Mrs. Stevens with the pharisaical remark, 'I'm a virtuous woman, and want nothing to do with your free love class,' or words of similar import, Mrs. Frost demonstrated to our mind that she was not only a conceited, cold and heartless woman, but as pretentious to her virtue as to her knowledge of facts.

"We hope the opponents to our cause will interest themselves in giving Mrs. Frost an extensive hearing in every city, town and school district in this State. We hope woman suffrage friends will be sure to attend her lectures. Such labor on her part would stimulate those women who believe in suffrage, but are now idle and indifferent, to action and effort, to secure the great object for which we labor."

#### INTEREST THE BANE OF THE PEOPLE.

BY C. H. POLLOCK.

It has always been a source of great gratification to me, to hear my views on all national topics more ably and fully expressed than I can express them myself, but, hereafter, instead of waiting for others to come out, publicly with my opinions, I shall step to the front and announce them myself, without fear or favor. Although there are so many parties in the field for the Presidential succession, there are only two questions in my opinion, involved, viz.: republicanism or monarchy, and they hang, and will turn on the financial policy of our country. If the policy which has been pursued during the past three years be continued, there is nothing that will prevent the rapid accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few, and establish a moneyed aristocracy on the ruins of the republic, and crush the hard-fisted, honest laborers of this country, as they have been throughout Europe. To allege a fact is not to prove it. I will prove it. For example, the government treasury ring or syndicate for the past ten years has been playing fast and loose with the peoples money, and with the overwhelming amount of our National debt, at its large rate of interest, demands more from the laborer than he can possibly earn. This is not seen in a calculation of two or three years; but just take the savings of two young men for a life time. Suppose they save over and above their expenses, one dollar per day each year of three hundred days, per forty years and four months, they will have saved \$24,000; but they deposited every six months their surplus earnings in a savings bank, or loaned it on bond and mortgage at seven per cent. during the forty years and four months, and after that period during the next twenty years and two months, they did not work any, but spent from their capital \$15,000, for personal expenses; we find the two men to be worth a trifle over five hundred thousand dollars (\$500,000) accumulated as follows, viz.: \$24,200 by their own labor, and \$475,800 others earned for them. Thus it will be seen that the power to accumulate value, given by the law to money, is greater than that given to man to produce in a ratio of 20 to 1, and therefore I hold that it will be utterly impossible in a few years hence to pay the interest on the national debt, to say nothing of the principal, and at the same time maintain a republican form of government. The life assurance companies use as one of their strongest arguments while soliciting your application for a policy that statistics prove that out of all the solid men throughout this country only about two out of every hundred ever leave any property to their heirs after their estates are settled up. Why is this? I would say that after the government puts money in circulation on a false basis through the treasury ring, it goes to the people and is loaned at all kinds of rates, which, if we assume the average to be one and one-half per cent. per month, we will find that the subtle power of interest, like that of gravitation—great but little heeded—will just permit a fraction less than two per cent. of the people to have everything, while the ninety-eight and a fraction per cent. have "no home, no friends, no shelter but the open sky." The people have become apathetic through disappointment, especially during the past eight years, as every man they elevated to power has disappointed them. Every party promises to do much for the overworked and poorly paid laborers, male and female, but they do nothing. I will be charitable enough to believe that a very large majority are ignorant both of the cause and the remedy, while the balance, having been wine and dined *ad nauseum*, forget their promise and are content to wax fat at the public crib. We hear continually of the conflict between capital and labor. Capital is as indispensable to labor as labor is indispensable to capital, and the people who have taught kings that there is no despotism so stupendous against which they have not a remedy, may yet teach our Presidents and our Congress that their safest study is the welfare of the masses. Since we find that our financial policy contains the seeds of its own death and must inevitably bankrupt the people, we should look this question fairly and squarely in the face and settle it. Let us take a peep at the Bank of England and see what that simple creature has done for the Queen's subjects at the expense of nearly every other people, but more especially their affectionate cousins of the United States of America. The Bank of England issues paper money to the extent say, of \$1,000,000,000 on government securities. This makes paper balance paper. It gives the bank no ability to pay specie. The Bank notes for \$1,000,000,000 have no value, except in so far as they are secured by the bonds, and the bonds are not secured by the bank, but by the property and productive industry of the people of England. Her people deposit gold and use her paper, and consequently she always has gold to loan. This is all very fine fun for England; but death to every country borrowing money from her. Paper money is what she uses, the gold she loans to usury. Suppose we borrow \$25,000,000 (that amount would have paid about one week's expenses of our late war) for say one hundred years, agreeing to add the interest every six months until the principal becomes due, we would have to pay her over twenty-five thousand millions of dollars (\$25,000,000,000). This is as certain as any other mathematical calculation. The rate of seven per cent. interest compels farmers to give the value of one farm every ten years for the use of another, the tenant of one manufactory once in the same period for the use of the one occupied; and the passengers and transporters upon each railroad and canal, to pay a sufficient fare or freight to construct at the expiration of that period, another railroad or canal. It is manifest that the producing classes are unable to fulfil such requirements. If you think the people will make one more

effort for liberty before their chains are riveted, I will show them a beautiful and peaceful solution of the difficulty and the road to prosperity and happiness for all. I must ask your pardon, as you have done so much for the enfranchisement of women, for not expressing myself on that subject. The enfranchisement of woman is as sure as the revolution of the earth. The party asking for power and trust from the people, which does not make that a solid plank of their platform, will be overwhelmed as by a tidal wave. Why not have a lady for President next term? England has a Queen. Maria Teresa, Empress of Austria, had no rival. France was the wonder of the world while Josephine was Napoleon's support—when he put her away he fell. Take the female element out of the churches, out of our theatres and operas, and our best men would remain away; and if you would have our best men in political positions, you must admit the refining influence of the female element. Your memorial to Congress was unanswerable. If there was a particle of gallantry or chivalry left in our legislators they would insist on their wives, mothers, sisters, and last, but not least, their sweethearts taking part in government. As you have been the champion, you ought to receive the unanimous nomination and be elected *viva voce*. I am a Democrat, but will not be led by any of the old leaders, who have so often disappointed the people. Let them slide and the people will rally around the old flag of liberty, and save the country.

#### VICTORIA.

Thy soul hath caught its fire from off God's altar,  
To grand and noble works thy life is set apart.  
Thou canst not in thy journey pause or falter,  
Thy mission is to purify the human heart.

Thou art a leader in God's army, battling for Truth,  
And dream not thou art marshalling, but hope forlorn.  
For thy life's path was marked from early youth,  
And round thy brow is seen the light of coming morn.

Thou shalt rise above conditions that enthral,  
And standing forth in thy grand womanhood  
A leader prove, who marshalling in advance of all  
Love's forces, shall win grand battles for human good.

And on thy regal brow thou'lt wear a crown  
Not earthly, but placed there by hands divine,  
Which from the upper spheres are reaching down  
To lead the ever more, while clasping thine.

And when thou dost grow weary of thy fight,  
Then shall thy spirit catch diviner power  
For conflict, and unseen forces in their might  
Shall guide and aid thee in each doubting hour.

Thou need'st not fear for they are by thy side,  
Hosts who will never more desert or leave thee,  
But through all thy life, though weak or weak betide,  
Thy steps attend to lead thee on to victory.

HORACE M. RICHARDS.

BUFFALO, April 22, 1872.

#### SOME STRAY SHOTS.

BY C. L. JAMES, OF ALMA, WIS.

Mrs. Lockwood and Mrs. L. S. Hall Graffan, applicants for admission to the bar, have passed their examinations credibly. —*Chronicle*.

AND NOW a woman takes her place as attorney at our District Bar. A petticoated lawyer! What would the *ante-bellum* city of Washington have said could it have known? —*Chronicle*.

At a meeting held in Washington, April 22, Eliza M. Tibbets was chosen a delegate to the Cincinnati convention.

WHAT MARRIAGE DID AT HONOLULU.—The American missionaries introduced a penal law of marriage into the Sandwich Islands. They failed to teach the unmarried women "virtue," but succeeded in teaching them abortion, which is one of the chief causes of the reduced population.

FEMALE ATTORNEYS.—In the District Supreme Court, yesterday, applications for admission to the bar of the District were presented by Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood and "Miss Lydia A. Hall," and were referred to a committee recently appointed for the examination of applicants. Why the latter should make application under her maiden name, when she was recently married to a Mr. Graffan, is a mystery.

PROGRESS OF WOMAN'S RIGHTS.—The judges of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, in revising the new code prepared by the commission to codify the laws of the District, have ordered the word "male," in connection with admission to the bar, to be stricken out, thus opening the way to women to practice in the courts here. Mrs. Lockwood, and other advocates of woman's rights, to whom the fact became known yesterday, were greatly rejoiced, regarding this action of the court as a prodigious stride towards the attainment of the object they have in view. —*Washington Star*.

MARRIAGE AND PROSTITUTION.—It is common to hear some wretch defend prostitution on the ground that to suppress it would be to increase "private irregularities." This is no idle assertion. The experiment has actually been tried. By severe laws, the Empress Maria Theresa, of Austria, succeeded in putting down prostitution for several years, and she revoked her edicts at last, because it was found that when prostitution ceased, regard for the law of marriage ceased also. He, then, who talks of marriage as opposed to prostitution, means marriage and prostitution, "now and forever, one and inseparable."

MARRIAGE VIRTUALLY ABOLISHED.—The decision rendered in Illinois a few years ago, and since confirmed in New York and elsewhere, that any woman who lives with a man has a right to the same interest in his estate, for herself and children, as if they married, has removed all pecuniary inducements to women to put themselves under the penal law of marriage. Let us show them the danger and misery of such a course, and in a very few years we may make the accursed institution as odious as it now is popular, and with the aid of this new and admirable feature of the common law secure the repeal of all special legislation on the subject, and put the relations of persons who still choose to go through the matrimonial pen-word on precisely the same footing of natural justice as those of all other persons.

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## STRAY SHOTS.

OUR DELAWARE DEITY—the whipping post—is again set up in Great Britain and Canada. Now for the thumbsticks, the steel boot, the rack and the gridiron, for which the world was indebted to the Episcopal and Roman Catholic churches. Up with them all! There is no law, and no Mr. Bergh to prevent cruelty to the animal, man. The dark ages forever! Hurrah!

PRACTICE VS. PREACHING.—The New York *Herald* of the 30th ult. reads a homily to sinners on the late earthquake at Antioch and the late eruption of Vesuvius. In the same paper, the column following the report of those incidents is headed,

"CHICKASAW JOCKEY CLUB."

"Blind Tom the winner of the sweepstakes hurdle race—Grand cocking main on the track."

Under such distressing circumstances, its piety is really ex-cruciating.

PLAGIARISM FROM SHAKESPEARE.—The New York House of Assembly, having passed the charter by a large majority, have lately endorsed the Governor's veto upon it by an equally large majority. This is the way our modern Dogberrys write themselves down—"asses."

SCIENCE VS. CHRISTIANITY.—It is reported that the "*Popular Science Monthly*" is ruled out of the reading room of the Y. M. C. Association, because it contains an article by Herbert Spencer. Never mind. Science can stand the shock. "*I pur si muove.*"

PROGRESSING BACKWARDS.—Manning, the R. C. Archbishop of Westminster, has just issued an edict to his clergy, forbidding the employment or admission of women as singers in the church choirs. By the piper that played before Moses, but this is hard on those who strive to emulate their sister Miriam in the modern Catholic churches.

OMINOUS.—Hauteville, of the *Evening Mail*, says:

"Large gold daggers are worn in the hair and at the belt, and some ladies wear a little imitation pistol suspended by a small chain at the side."

In this woman-murdering age, it would be prudent, on the part of the wearers, to keep the former "sharp," and wear the latter "real and ready for use."

## SONNET—"GIVE ME THY HAND!"

BY ALFRED FORD.

When Death comes to thee, and demands thy Heart,  
Where wilt thou have to seek it? Will it be  
A busy roamer in the crowded mart,  
Searching for gains with fond avidity?  
Or will it fare with Pleasure's noisy throng,  
Where clink the cups, where jound is the sound of strings,  
With festal chorus and enticing song,  
And woman's rights and rustle of love's wings?  
Or will it fare in some dark silent nook,  
Sacred to Pallas and her learned bird,  
Where fixed afore a taper and a book,  
It lists to sounds that ear hath never heard?  
Where wilt thou find thy heart when Death thou bravest?  
Or that thou scornest? Or with that thou lovest?

## VICTORIA C. WOODHULL'S ARGUMENT IN FAVOR OF FEMALE SUFFRAGE.

On the 10th of January, 1872, before the Washington Convention, at Lincoln Hall, Victoria Woodhull delivered the ablest argument that has ever been made in favor of Women Suffrage. When we say that the conclusions made upon her premises were as irresistible as any ever made by the great jurists, Webster, Reverdy Johnson or Calhoun, we simply state the truth.

She simply smashes Carpenter's logic as a boy would a mushroom by tramping upon it.

The Nation's dunces at the capitol, who imagine because they were elected to the Senate, either through merit or bribery, that they necessarily possess the intelligence to combat the doctrines advanced in favor of our political rights, have seen proper to differ from the ablest champion of her sex's rights.

Every man and woman of the land possessing ordinary intelligence and satisfied that if a citizen of the United States has a right to vote, all citizens have, unless for some reason they are expressly prevented. Women are citizens of the United States just as much as men.

By what power, and from what authority did man derive the right to vote?

From the establishment of a form of government recognizing the citizenship of man. In other words, the men of this government made in, and incorporated into its fundamental law their rights, or rights which, in its formation, they assumed belonged to them. Did they include women? We answer yes—not by the use of the name woman, but by the use of the word man.

The rights of man are the rights of woman. Man includes woman. They are inseparable in political communities, and in every instance where women are denied the same political privileges that men exercise, it is simply an usurpation by man and a violation of every principle which enters into and underlies the foundation of this government.

Women have the right to vote, practice the professions, sue and be sued, and the man or party that sets himself or itself up against this clear and plain right, is simply kicking against the pricks of logic and coming events.

By the amendments to the constitution, our liege rulers undertook to slip in the negroes alone. By those amendments, Victoria C. Woodhull claims that women are enfranchised. Her argument upon these provisions is not only clear and logical but eloquent and unanswerable.—*Kansas Democrat*, Feb. 5, 1872.

"For ways that are dark and tricks that are vain."—The Massachusetts State Senate is peculiar.—*Boston Traveller*.

CHRISTIAN CHARITY.—We see by an exchange paper that the Rev. Robert W. Hatfield, Methodist minister, said recently in a discourse against the theatre and opera, in which he denounced actors and singers, that Nilsson, Parepa-Rosa, Charlotte Cushman, Patti and some others, were "a nest of unclean birds." This world must seem very black to such a fanatical mind,—its sweetness all obscured, its roses hidden, and all of its glorious charities fruitless, unless squared by some special tenets of faith. It was of this class that Sterne said—"I pity the man who can travel from Dan to Beersheba, and cry, 'it is all a barren!'" How much of human sympathy would be found in the composition of these self-elected saints?—*Globe*.

The public library of Cincinnati has been open on Sundays about a year, and the experiment has proved the wisdom of the policy. Mr. W. F. Poole, formerly librarian at the Athenaeum in this city, is the superintendent, and the library has greatly prospered under his management. It already contains forty-two thousand volumes, and is increasing at the rate of more than a thousand volumes a month. Mr. Poole was originally opposed to opening the library on Sundays, but has become convinced by the experiment that it is the true policy, while the most active opponents of the open library are the beer-seller, whose business is affected by it. The Sunday use of the library has steadily increased from the opening. Let us go and do likewise.—*Herald*.

Mosheim says, "Among the Grecian sects, there were some which declared openly against all religion," e. g., Epicurus and his followers. Regarding the state of opinion during several centuries B. C., Gibbon says: "The various modes of worship, which prevailed in the Roman world, were all considered by the people as equally true; by the philosophers as equally false; and by the magistrates as equally useful." "The spirit of inquiry, prompted by emulation and supported by freedom, had divided the public teachers of philosophy into a variety of contending sects; but the ingenious youth, who, from every part, resorted to Athens, and the other seats of learning in the Roman Empire, were alike instructed in every school to reject and to despise the religion of the multitude."

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Clark, Dean, address care *Banner of Light*, Boston, Mass.  
Child, Dr. A. B., address 50 School street, Boston, Mass.  
Child, Henry T., M. D., 634 Race street, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Cooper, Dr. James, Bellefontaine, Ohio.

Cowles, J. P., M. D., Ottawa, Ill.  
Currier, Dr. J. H., 39 Wall street, Boston, Mass.  
Cummings, Lewis F., inspirational speaker, address care of *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, Chicago, Ill.

Cowles, Mrs. L. H., semi-conscious, truce, and inspiration lecturer, Clyde, Ohio.

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Daniels, Mrs. E. L., 10 Chapman street, Boston, Mass.  
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## ULTRA-RADICALS IN COUNCIL.

NO QUARTER FOR RICH MEN—INTEREST, LAND MONOPOLY, DRONES, AND WAR DEBT TO BE ABOLISHED—"THE LIBERAL NONDESCRIPTS HEADED BY GREELEY" REBUKED—INTERNATIONALISM CRITICIZED.

[From the N. Y. World, May 6.]

E. H. Heywood said that when this association last year bore rather heavily on trades-unions, there was so much disposition to applaud on the part of newspapers and rich men, that they began to feel that they had said something that should not be said. They had found that the prominent organizations which had undertaken to defend the interests of labor were disposed to exert themselves in the interest of small classes. Mr. Heywood read the following intensely radical resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That since equality before the law is a primal fact or natural and civil order, which it is both unjust and impolitic to ignore, we regard it as the first duty of labor reformers to assist in delivering woman from the degradation to which the ignorance, stupidity, lust, and avarice of men have consigned her, and we will not work with or cease to denounce any individuals or associations not struggling for her complete political, financial, and social emancipation.

2. *Resolved*, That since service is the source of wealth and the only equitable basis of exchange, interest, rent, and profits or dividends are inadmissible except for work done, and property not founded on a labor title is none the less theft because stolen according to law.

3. *Resolved*, That while one may justly own and expend property to the extent of his earnings, the right to an income is purely imaginary; that an idle property class, like the old slave-holding class, are a burden and a nuisance in any community, and we welcome every honorable means to cancel the present generally false titles to wealth and restore it to its rightful owners.

4. *Resolved*, That the legal sanction of government must not longer be given to profit-making piracy in any form; and we favor the limitation by statute of ownership in land and other natural agents to the labor cost expended thereon; the abolition of telegraphic, banking, trades-union or other corporations charging more than actual cost for values furnished, and the repudiation of all so-called debts, the principal whereof has been paid in the form of interest.

5. *Resolved*, That co-operation as usually taught is a delusive cheat, being merely the admission of larger numbers to share profits which no one may honestly take; that working people are doomed to vassalage as long as they covet opportunities to steal, and until co-operative associations rigidly limit dividends to the amount of stock originally invested, and conduct their transactions on the cost basis, they deserve the severest condemnation.

6. *Resolved*, That the manufacture of money should be as free as the making of boots and shoes or any other commodity; and the recent effort of Southern railroad companies to relieve themselves from high rates of interest imposed by the national bank scheme of their North-eastern masters by issuing bills of credit, was a wise and timely exercise of national liberty; and we favor the circulation of petitions to Congress and the State Legislatures for the repeal of all laws which forbid free banking, so that individuals and associations can furnish their own money anywhere at cost.

7. *Resolved*, That the Republican and Democratic parties, with the liberal nondescripts, headed by Horace Greeley, are all pledged to the continuance of abuses against which we revolt; and the so-called labor party, in consenting to the continued disfranchisement of woman, in conceding the right to take interest on money, in favoring prohibitory tariffs and the exclusion of the Chinese, forfeits its claims to the support of intelligent reformers, and renders its own success at the polls both impossible and undesirable.

J. K. Ingalls said: To try to solve a mathematical problem while leaving out a principal constituent part of it, is like what most labor reformers have done. If the right of men to the soil is ignored, they will find that they will only have at best a change of master. Government cannot furnish a day's work to any man unless it can control the elements with which the work is to be done. But if the laborer has the right to reach forth and use the elements, why need the government interfere? The speaker discussed the plans of the Internationalists as to the government assuming control of the lands and leasing them, and said leases would accumulate in the hands of capitalists as titles do now. The land tenure all over Europe has been founded upon this very system. Kings owned all the land, and leased it to the nobles; and finally, when hard pressed, sold it to them. Titles should be in individuals. The system of land tenure is the great obstacle to co-operation. But no entire redistribution is needed. Government still has plenty of lands. Those that have been monopolized by our commercial and financial systems alone need redistributing. The

principal of limitation, as it applies to the control of those material elements by the use of which production is to be realized, is what is needed.

Mr. Hume said that the International idea of land tenure was like that stated as the original tenure by Moses. Man, he says, was given control of all beasts and living things, but not of the land except during its use. Teemseh and all the Indians understood this. He said he could not sell land because it belonged to all the Indians on the continent. Mr. Hume gave a curious reason for the strike of the agriculturists of England. He said that Gladstone angered the peers by stopping the business of turning their younger sons into army officers. The peers then got up a coalition with the skilled mechanics, and as an offset to this Gladstone stirred up the soil-tillers to give the peers something to do at home.

## AFTERNOON SESSION.

J. B. Wolf opened this session, advocating a graduated tax as the remedy for the evils of poverty and crime. He commenced by asserting that the elements are common property, from which we are allowed to take sufficient for our normal necessities; that capacity is a gift of nature, costs nothing, and may not be employed against the common rights in elements or products; that the purpose of government is protection; that limitation is the principle in protection, and therefore it is the duty of the government to exercise its functions to prevent alike excessive wealth and excessive poverty. He contended that every man should render an equivalent for all taken from the common storehouse, or from the products of human labor. He argued that wealth is the property of producers; that collection, by the laws of trade, cannot confer right of property if equivalents have not been rendered, and that government does no wrong in restoring it to rightful owners.

Mr. Wolf exhibited 3,000 signatures from a single ward in this city praying for the application of this method of regulating production, distribution and redistribution.

Mr. Ormsby said: If it were possible to make the situation worse, it would be done by the graduated tax. If this scheme were feasible, which it is not, it would only increase the corruptions. First, you must have the lawyers, who would take bribes immeasurably. There is no escape from these frauds. We see them, for instance, in the matter of bail. A man must not bail himself with his own property, but Tweed and many others do it. The speaker agrees with Mr. Greeley that rich men are very useful. Civilization consists in the accumulation of labor. The sum of all progress would be obtained if we would truly look out for No. 1. Why don't those who earn the money save it. (A voice: "Because the law takes it.") Every dollar got by Stewart is received in return for an equivalent. Honest men could not be found to handle the money obtained by the graduated tax. Most of the speakers here desire to increase the power of government. This is wrong. He thought it very probable. Mr. Wolf could get 6,000,000 signatures to his paper, because it was always popular to divide other people's property. Co-operation is the true remedy, though so many reformers sneer at it.

Mrs. Daniels spoke in favor of repudiating the public debt. When the war broke out the voice of the people should have been obtained to learn whether they wished money and men spent for the bloody struggle. It was sprung upon them by their rulers. Therefore the debt was not in accordance with the popular will and is unjust. The only mistake of the South was their insisting on taking the black man forcibly with them. Mrs. Daniels made an eloquent plea for the maintenance of religion, and acknowledged that woman is inferior to man in reasoning faculty.

[REPORT CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK.]

## BILLIARD TABLES.

The game of billiards has become one of the permanent institutions of the world. Perhaps no game combines so many of the requisites of amusement, exercise, and intellectual discipline as does this. It has none of the objections urged against many other sorts of amusement. Even the religious people who abjure cards play billiards. One of the necessities of a good game of billiards is a good table. No matter how excellent a player a person may be, he will play a poor game upon a poor table. It may seem almost superfluous to call attention to the fact, since it is so well known; nevertheless, we may re-echo the general sentiment when we say to our readers, if you want to purchase a billiard table, be sure and buy one of the PHILAN & COLLANDER manufacture, and it will not disappoint you.

Flowers are one of the few things in life that bring us unmixed pleasure. They are the most innocent tribute of courtesy or affection, as acceptable in the day of feasting as in the house of mourning. Florists are thus in a sense public benefactors. Hodgson, at No. 403 Fifth Avenue, from among the palaces takes us away to the sights and odors of the country with his rustic work, his gnarled boughs, and curiously crooked seats, his fragrant flowers and beautifully assorted bouquets.

Of all the ornaments now devised for beautifying gentlemen's grounds, there are none that can surpass rustic work, either in grandeur, beauty, utility or durability. It may be introduced almost anywhere if the surroundings are in the least rural; in many cases it can be placed where nothing else could be, often times converting an eyesore into a place of great beauty, and yet ornamental and useful. As it is, there are few that have either the taste or good judgment for the judicious arrangement of the materials out of which the best rustic is made. To make or design rustic objects, the maker or designer must exercise good judgment as to the best place for his object—whether it is a house, bridge, vase, basket, or any of the many objects that may be formed of rustic work—for if the object is in a bad position, be the object ever so good, it loses half the effect, or even becomes an eyesore. There must be something rural in the locality, something in tone with the object. Perfect taste is required for the form of any object, although in anything rustic the form will be much modified; yet there must be an original design to give meaning and grace to the object. In all cases, unless working with straight material, nature must be followed as nearly as possible, avoiding right angles or anything that looks formal; every piece should look as if joined by nature. This not only gives beauty but stability to the work. To all this must be combined the skill of the builder, to give strength, finish and neatness to the whole work. Many people think that as a matter of course carpenters can build rustic, but there are few if any that can give that natural rusticity so necessary to it. It is a trade by itself, and requires men with a natural taste and inventive genius. Some men work at it for years and cannot do it creditably.

There is nothing that may not be made in rustic work, from a dwelling house to a cage, a bridge to a card basket. Many of the vases are filled with plants and look very handsome, with ivy half hiding the wood-work, and fine flowering plants capping the whole and making it a thing complete in itself. There are also many fine baskets filled. Certainly nothing could be more ornamental or better in a window than one of these. But these things to be appreciated must be seen; for large constructions, we would advise any one to visit the grounds of Mr. Hoey, at Long Branch, or Peter B. King, Esq., on the Palisades overlooking the Hudson, or General Ward's estate.

THE CELTIC WEEKLY.—This new literary journal has been received by the press and the people with a warmth of welcome which indicates its worth and merit. From a host of press notices we select the following:

"THE CELTIC WEEKLY.—The first number of a new illustrated romantic and patriotic story paper, entitled 'The Celtic Weekly,' has been received. It contains eight pages of five broad columns each, and is replete with spirited and irreproachable tales of fiction, which are admirably illustrated, sketches, bits of humor, history, wit and wisdom, and records of pleasing and marvellous adventure are also given. John Locke is the editor, M. J. O'Leary & Co., New York, are the proprietors. Among the authors are John Locke, Dr. Waters, Dennis Holland, Dr. Julius Rosenberg, Mrs. D. Madigan (nee Callanan), Marie O'Farrell and others. The subscription price is \$2.50 a year, and the price per number is six cents."—Brooklyn Eagle.

"The Celtic Weekly" is the taking title of a new paper, starting in a new path, with the well grounded hope of securing a class of readers which no other like publication has yet reached. In size and style it is similar to the 'Ledge.' Its columns are filled with a variety of entertaining matter—stories and poems—in which the Celtic element appears, but does not overshadow all else; notes on literature, art, etc.; wood cuts embellish the pages, and we doubt not the new paper will find numerous admirers. It is published by M. J. O'Leary & Co., and mailed to subscribers for \$2.50 a year."—New York Evening Mail.

The paper is for sale by all newsdealers throughout the United States and Canada. Mail subscribers address M. J. O'Leary & Co., P. O. Box 6,074, New York City. Agents wanted in every town in the Union. Liberal terms given.

THE "Pioneer" of March 27, is by all odds the brightest issue its publisher has sent out in a long time. Its leader is capital and the editorial generally good. We suspect the new contributor, Mrs. Hanks, must have acted as editor. We are acquainted with the usages of her pen and are sure we recognize it in the article referred to. The selections are good also. Two fine articles from Mrs. Shepard's series on the relation of capital and labor, appearing on the first page; and our friend J. B. W. (Wolf), has a fearless and logical argument in favor of Mrs. Laura D. Fair. We congratulate Mrs. Pett Stevens on having so able an assistant as Mrs. Hanks.

COSMOPOLITAN CONFERENCE meets every Sunday at 2:30 P. M., in the nicely fitted up and spacious hall, southwest corner of Bleeker street and the Bowery. Seats free, a collection being taken up to defray expenses of hall and advertising. Council of Conference every Wednesday evening, at the house of Ira B. Davis, 35 East Twenty-seventh street, near Fourth Avenue.

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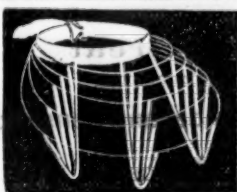
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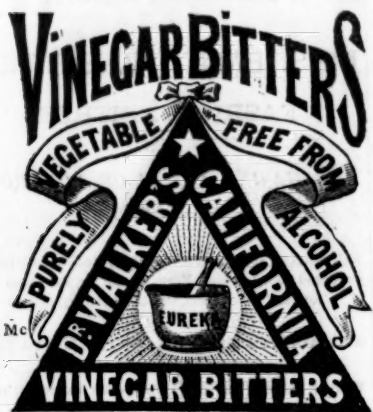
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