

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

PROGRESS! FREE THOUGHT! UNTRAMMELED LIVES!

BREAKING THE WAY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.

Vol. 4, No. 28, Whole No. 106.

NEW YORK, MAY 25, 1872.

PRICE TEN CENTS.

TOLEDO, PEORIA

AND

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
By act of reorganization of the Company these
are convertible into the First Preferred Shares
of the Company, which amounts to only 17,000 shares,
into the Consolidated Bonds (recently negotiated
at Amsterdam) of six millions of dollars, which cover
the entire line of 230 miles of completed road, to-
gether 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
the mammoth iron bridges spanning the Missis-
sippi at Keokuk and Burlington. The income of the
road for the year will not sufficient to pay interest on
the bonded indebtedness and dividend on the pre-
ferred shares.

For terms apply to

Clark, Dodge & Co.,

Corner Wall and William Streets.

NEW YORK

SAVINGS BANK,

Eight Ave., cor. Fourteenth St.

SIX PER CENT. INTEREST

paid on all sums from \$5 to \$5,000. Deposits
made on or before August 1 will draw interest from
August 1.
Assets, \$2,473,303 05.
Surplus, \$300,372 95.

Safe and Profitable,

THE

CANADA SOUTHERN

FIRST MORTGAGE SINKING FUND, THIRTY YEARS

7 per cent. Gold Bonds.

AT

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 sub-
scriptions 200 miles (out of 290) have already been grad-
ed, 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. CHAP-
MAN, 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
investors.

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No. 10 WALL STREET.

100ft.

RAILROAD IRON,

FOR SALE BY

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the world.

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Deposit issued bearing interest at current rate; Notes
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**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. Inter-
est at eight (8) per cent per annum. Payable, semi-
annually, free of tax. Principal in thirty years. De-
nominations, \$1,000, \$500 and \$100 Coupons or Regis-
tered.

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

Maps, Circulars, Documents, and information fur-
nished.

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 under-
signed who unhesitatingly recommend them.

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BANKERS,

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

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and their correspondents.

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California, Europe and Havana.

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BANKERS,**

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SECURITIES, bought and sold on Commission.

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Bonds.**

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PAYING 60 PER CENT.

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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 denomi-
nations of \$1,000, \$500 and \$100.

This Road, 92 miles long, affords the shortest existing
outlet to Chicago, Toledo, Detroit, Fort Wayne, Logans-
port, 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 min-
eral 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.

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maps furnished by us on personal or written applica-
tion.

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SOLUTION & COMPOUND ELIXIR**

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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 STIMULATING effects upon the general system, is remarkably efficacious in all

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

ONE TRIAL CONVINCES!
Also, a 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 ALTERNATIVE Medicines known in the Profession, and renders this Pill without exception the very best ever offered.

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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, \$3.00 per Box
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Send for Circular of **POSITIVE CURES** to your Druggist, or to

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

Sold by all Druggists.

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11.

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MARVIN & CO.'S

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THE FREEDMAN'S SAVINGS AND TRUST
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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.

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Accounts strictly private and confidential.

Deposits payable on demand, with interest due.

Interest on accounts of certificates paid by check to depositors residing out of the city if desired.

Send for Circular.

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LINK-MOTION,

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Sewing Machine

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

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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.

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

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

Communications and inquiries by mail or telegraph, will receive careful attention.

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LADIES' PROTECTOR.

NO MORE COLD FEET—NO MORE DEFORMED LIMBS.

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The trade supplied at a discount.

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SET OF TEETH,

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

TEETH EXTRACTED WITHOUT PAIN

With Nitrous Oxide Gas.

No extra charge when others are inserted.

SPLENDID SETS, \$10 to \$20.

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LADIES' HAIR DRESSER,

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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.

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HARABA ZEIN,

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

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Postoffice address, till February, will be 132 Woodland avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.

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The Life, Speeches, Labors and Essays

OF

WILLIAM H. SYLVIS,

Late President of the Iron-Moulders' International Union; and also of the National Labor Union.

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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LEO MILLER,

OF NEW YORK.

Will present to the public

THE WOMAN QUESTION IN A NEW LIGHT.

SUBJECT:

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

Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, in a letter to Gen. Jordan, of Pennsylvania, says: "I had the pleasure of 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 eloquent speaker."

CHARLES H. FOSTER,

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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, Wellsville, Mo.

D. W. HULL, PSYCHOMETRIC AND CLAIRVOYANT PHYSICIAN,

will diagnose disease and give prescriptions from a lock of hair or photograph, the patient being required to give name, age, residence, &c. A better diagnosis will be given by giving him the leading symptoms, but skeptics are not required to do so. Watch the papers for his address, or direct to Hobart, Ind., and wait till the letters can be forwarded to him. Terms, \$3. Money refunded when he fails to report rapport with the patient.

LAURA DE FORCE GORDON,
Of California,

Will make engagements to lecture upon the following subjects:

I. "Our Next Great Political Problem."

II. "Idle Women and Workingmen."

III. "A Political Crisis."

Terms made known on application. Address, WASHINGTON, D. C.

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DENTIST,

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Between Twenty-eighth and Twenty-ninth streets,

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TEETH EXTRACTED WITHOUT PAIN,

By the use of Chemically pure Nitrous Oxide or Laughing Gas. Dr. W. has used it several years, extracting teeth for thousands with complete success, and with no 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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Mr. Kurtz invites to his cool and comfortably furnished dining apartments the down-town public, assuring them that they will always find there the choicest viands, served in the most elegant style, the most carefully selected brands of wines and liquors as well as the most prompt attention by accomplished waiters.

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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.



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 Carter 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 25, 1872, will close at this office on Wednesday at 12 M., on Thursday at 11 A. M., and on Saturday at 5 and 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.

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE EQUAL RIGHTS CONVENTION, HELD IN NEW YORK CITY, ON THE NINTH, TENTH AND ELEVENTH OF MAY, 1872.

The call for a "People's Convention," issued by Mrs. E. Cady Stanton, Isabella B. Hooker, Susan B. Anthony and Matilda Joselyn Gage, as the Executive Committee of the National Woman's Suffrage Association, and by Victoria C. Woodhull, Horace H. Day, Anna M. Middlebrook and others, in behalf of the "party of the people, to secure and maintain Human Rights, to be inaugurated in the United States in May, 1872," met, according to call, in Steinway Hall, on Thursday morning, May 9.

CONVENTION OF THE WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, STEINWAY HALL, MAY 9, 1872.

Mrs. Stanton called the meeting to order. A choir sang an anthem, the sweetness of which was greatly augmented by the pleasant voices of Mrs. Abby Hutchinson Paten and her brother, Henry, who sat in the front gallery. After a prayer by Mrs. I. B. Hooker, Mrs. Stanton announced that this meeting was not called to make a nomination for the Presidency, but to

TAKE THE INITIATIVE STEPS THERETO.

The reformers had been invited to consider a new platform. Some women had got together and had made a platform. They had enough of platforms made by men; they now had one of their own; it would be in print, and the friends present could read it and vote on it in the evening. She requested that this day should be regarded as a woman's day, and that the brethren present would hold their peace. Men had such loud voices, and some so dogmatical that they were apt to overslaugh women. As she returned to her seat, Mrs. Hooker suggested something to her, and Mrs. Stanton announced that some difficulty had occurred on account of an unexpected charge of twenty-five cents admission to all the sessions. This charge had been decided on in order to secure quiet and order. It is but fair to state that the impression of the public was that the morning and afternoon sessions were to be free, and a charge of twenty-five cents should be charged for the evening session—a large number of persons who came to the city to attend the Convention, retired from the doors on finding a charge, was to be made.

Mrs. Hooker then read the following platform and was followed by Miss Anthony, who read resolutions which were hostile to the election of Horace Greely, and admonishing the Conventions to be held in Philadelphia and Baltimore, that unless a proper recognition is given to the women of the land a Convention by the National Woman's Association will be held, and a Presidential ticket placed in the field.

Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker read

THE PLATFORM.

We, women citizens of the United States, in national convention assembled at New York, proclaim the following principles as essential to just government.

1. We recognize the equality of all before the law, and hold that it is the duty of government in its dealings with the people to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color, sex or persuasion, religious or political.
2. We pledge ourselves to maintain the union of the States, and to oppose any re-opening of the questions settled by the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the Constitution, which have emancipated and enfranchised the slaves and the women of the nation.
3. We demand the immediate and absolute removal of all disabilities now imposed on rebels and women, believing that universal suffrage and universal amnesty will result in complete purification in the family, and in all sections of the country.
4. We demand for the individual the largest liberty consistent with the public order, for the state self-government, and for the national administration the methods of peace, and the constitutional limitations of power.
5. We demand a thorough civil service reform as one of the pressing necessities of the hour. Honesty, capacity, and fidelity, without distinction of sex, should constitute the only valid claim to public employment. The first step in this reform is the one term principle, and the election of President, Vice President and United States Senators by the whole people.
6. We affirm that no form of taxation is just or wise which puts burdens upon the people by means of duties intended to increase the price of domestic products, and which are unnecessary for purposes of revenue. Taxes should not be laid upon the necessities; but upon the luxuries of life, that the rich and not the poor may bear the burdens.
7. The highest consideration of commercial morality and honest government requires a thorough reform of the present financial system. The interests of the people demand a cheap, sound, uniform, abundant, and elastic currency, to be a permanent measure of value, based on the wealth of the nation. This will be found in the issue of currency, or certificates of value by the government for all duties, taxes, and imposts whatever, which shall be legal tender for all debts, public and private; such currency to be the lawful money of the United States, and convertible at the option of the holder into government bonds, bearing a rate of interest not exceeding 3 per cent, and to be reconvertible into currency at the will of the holder.
8. We remember with gratitude the heroism and sacrifices of the wives, sisters and mothers throughout this republic in the late war; the grand sanitary work they did in the hospital, on the battle-field, and in gathering in the harvest at home, have justly earned for the women of the country the generous recognition of all their political rights by every true American statesman.
9. We are opposed to all grants of lands to railroads or other corporations. The public domain should be held sacred to actual settlers, an inviolable homestead secured to every man and woman.
10. We believe in the principles of the referendum, minority representation, and a just system of graduated taxation.
11. It is the duty of government to regard children and criminals as wards of the State; to secure to the one the best advantages of education, and for the other more humane legislation and better methods of reform.
12. We hold it is the duty of the government in its intercourse with foreign countries to cultivate the friendships of

peace, by treating with all on just and equal terms, and by insisting on the settlement of all differences by a congress of nations.

13. For the promotion of these vital principles and the establishment of a party based on them, we invite the co-operation of all "citizens," without distinction of race, color, sex, nationality or previous political affiliations.

At the close of the reading it was determined that the platform and resolutions should be open to discussion. Considerable confusion now arose by inquiries from the audience as to the authority by which these subjects were thrown out, and who were entitled as delegates to speak to the resolution.

Mrs. Hooker now came forward, and with decided, repeated and most resonant stamps of her little foot upon the floor, declared that the proceedings of this Convention must and should be done with decency and in order. After some further controversy, it was concluded that for peace sake the meeting should proceed for only a part, and not the whole of the interests represented.

Mrs. Middlebrook said that she had attended these meetings for two years, and the question of suffrage had been considered at these meetings; that we had come here under a general call to consider the questions of a new party and nominating candidates. We had bowed and begged of the present parties for twenty years in vain, and the time had come for decided action; and if this Convention refused to meet the responsibility, the Convention on Saturday would meet it. Mrs. M. retired amid loud and protracted applause, clearly indicating that she had struck the key note of the Convention.

Mrs. Stanton followed with a manuscript, historical of political parties in the past, how they originated and were destroyed, and was in the usual style of her able and finished productions, the audience listening with great respect.

Judge Carter followed, eulogizing free speech, and closed his exordium by extolling Victoria C. Woodhull.

Mrs. Hooker explained that they were hampered by the regulations of Mr. Steinway prohibiting political discussion, and made an eloquent defense of Mrs. Woodhull's unselfish and earnest work for the cause.

Mrs. Hoadley, Mrs. Laura De Force Gordon, Mr. Banks and others followed, and at a late hour Jenny Collins put in an appearance and said a few words.

EVENING SESSION.

The evening session opened with a lengthy lecture by Mrs. Howland on "Godin's Social Palace."

At the evening session the attendance was very large, and at the latter part of the proceedings there was some disturbance among the audience with regard to parties making efforts to speak and opposing the platform which had been read in the morning session. Miss Kate Stanton presided, and called the meeting to order, and then introduced Mrs. Marie Howland, who said: "Our ears are filled with the glories of the nineteenth century, with laudations of the modern enterprise that has given us the railroad, the telegraph, and the steam printing press, and we hear loud praises of the democratic form of government from the advanced minds of all civilized countries, while the fact that there has never been a true democratic principle in the world seems to be utterly ignored. To-day the world is about ready for the inauguration of the democratic form of government, and the conditions are only delayed by such an accident as causes us in the solution to blunder. It was a blunder that has made the political leaders of the day proceed upon the supposition that the American eagle could fly straight with only one wing. Woman should be commanded to use her talents in teaching the organization of social harmonies. All compensations are adequate. The law of equilibrium rules everywhere, and the compensation for disfranchising one-half the race is terrible, mask the facts as we may. A great portion of the citizens are compelled to deplore the degradation of great masses of womankind, and they seem ready to admit that the degradation of woman is a worse spectacle than that of man. Woman, shut out from all voice in making the laws that govern her from the broader education of man, forced to submit to taxation without representation, denied the privilege of being tried by a jury of her peers, taught from the cradle that self-reliance and pecuniary independence were not to be sought by her, who but a fool can wonder that her life from the cradle to the grave is a pint-pot dance, and to secure the richest and best 'catch' in the matrimonial market the great object of life? For her part she considered it futile to expect from either of the political parties any recognition of their claims. The political parties have not quite risen to the place where justice counts as one of the factors in shaping action; they were as sincere in their contempt for demands for justice as the barons of the middle ages, but the time had arrived when woman should be recognized and take an active part in the government of the country."

The next speaker evening was Laura De Force Gordon, of California. She advocated very forcibly and eloquently the establishment of a new and independent political party to further their interests. She advised this new party to wait until after the conventions of the present great political parties, and if any of them put a woman suffrage plank in their platform to endorse the nominees of that party at their national convention. She would, she said, support Satan himself, or even Jeff. Davis, if nominated by a party which advocated universal suffrage, for, she said, no matter how the ballot is put into the hands of women, once it is there they can use it for or against whom they please, or for any reform they desire. But how could they gain power? Woman was in many instances without the means, dependent on men, who ignored their cause. She concluded by reading the platform of their convention, which she proposed be adopted by the meeting.

Miss Anthony seconded it, and

Mr. Wolf objected, and said it should be discussed throughout. He was received with applause mingled with hisses, during which the president left the chair.

Mrs. Woodhull appeared and said:

We have before us, in this country, the pitiful prospect of three political factions entering upon a great political contest in which not a single fundamental principle of government is involved. The most that can be said in their favor, is that they are going into a struggle to determine personal supremacy—to decide whether this or that wing of the Republican party, or the old fashioned Democracy shall hold the offices, eat the people's loaves and catch their fishes for the next four years.

'Tis true that contestants, as they have already argued, will talk loudly for the one term principle, of nepotism, of civil service reform, of a new and a humanitarian Indian policy, of revenue reform, etc., etc., but do you for a moment flatter yourselves that a single man of them all will ever stop to ask himself whether either one of these propositions is deducible from the basic principles of government? No! The most they know of the principles of government, or so far as it goes, the most they care for them, consists in devising the most ingenious methods and means to win the next election.

Horace Greeley (and he ought to know), says the Republican party has accomplished its mission. And most people will agree that his philosophy in this respect is good. It needs no one to tell us that the Democratic party is defunct, although its lifeless corpse stalks about in our midst, occasionally, as in the case of Tammany, giving olfactory evidence of decay.

Now, if indeed these things be so, there must soon be a new party looming up in the political horizon, and I think that the women of this country ought, at least, to have a little something to say as to what shall constitute the basis of that party.

The Republican party built upon the question of negro slavery. African slavery being among the things that were, its basis is gone and it must necessarily fall in pieces, as it is rapidly doing. A new party must build upon some new and vital question—something which justice demands shall be remedied. Is there one of this sort being now discussed by Republican or Democrat? No! Everything that they have as yet put forth is old and stale, not to say rotten with decay. Sum up all of their stocks in trade, and comparatively, they amount to nothing outside of the personalities engage, *pro* and *con*. Do you ever hear any of their questions debated in our lyceums clubs and conferences, where the really wise men and women congregate? No! Because these people are engaged discovering and discussing principles.

Now these two classes of people are they who represent the antipodes of modern society. Upon the one hand are the politicians, haranguing the masses and marshaling them to the polls to carry elections on the other hand are the people who discuss vital and fundamental questions, but who are so disgusted with politics as to turn sick at the stomach at the bare mention of political contamination from political action. And both these class of people are increasing every day.

Now, is it not easy to see what the situation demands? It seems to me that it is this: These people who all these years have been studying and analyzing principles, holding aloof from politics, must now begin to put their acquirements to some practical use. Each different set must come together and form the stones which they have been separately squaring and hewing into symetric form, build a new governmental structure which must not lack a single hewer's stone. All must unite, all contribute to the work their several special parts, else the structure will be incomplete.

Nor need it be feared that the various stones which have been in preparation will not fit perfectly together, for they have all been squared by an infallible rule bequeathed us by our fathers which will cause them all to be bound in unity. That rule is the Declaration of Independence—those self-evident truths discovered by the great men of former ages when struggling to find a foundation upon which to build.

They say that all men are created equal, which our present government denies; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, which our present government denies; that among these inalienable rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, which our present government denies; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, which our present government denies. And it is because they who framed the constitution did not square its parts by these declarations, that we are now verging into political anarchy.

Almost the first words of the constitution, "and the electors in each State shall possess the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures," are interpreted to be a flat denial of the first words of the Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal;" while the words of its last amendments, that "no State shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States," are construed to permit a square contradiction of the last words of the Declaration, "that government derives its just power from the consent of the governed."

Now here is the point to which every one's attention should be called, for it is vital; If the wording of so important an instrument as the Constitution of the United States be so vague, so negative, so faulty and indefinite, as to admit of a variety of interpretations, keeping the people in a constant state of expectant uncertainty; and requiring a century of time to decide whether fully one-half of the citizens have any political status at all—if the language used is so treacherous as all this I say it ought to be changed; and a change can be made which will amend all its indefiniteness, much more readily than in a single direction, since in a general movement, all the elements of reform will concentrate to accomplish their several purposes,

whereas if but a single point is sought, none will give it their support except those who are specially interested in it.

I take it for granted that women who profess to be suffragists, are not only honest in their profession, but that they want it now. The only question there is then, is as to what are the most practicable, reliable and expeditious methods by which to obtain what they want.

It is useless to merely continue to go over the arguments by which the right to suffrage has been established. Every person capable of reasoning from cause to the effect knows that in a government which exists by the consent of the governed, that women, as well as men, have the right to participate. No proposition which it is possible to make can be more clearly self-evident than this. But our wise governors, who have appointed themselves over us, set up the pretentious assumption that they only are invested with the right to possess the government, while we must await their gracious pleasure in extending the right to us. Divested of all strained legal points and learned disquisitions on constitutional law, made in order to discover *how not to do it*, and just so simple a matter as this is, is the question of a man's political equality with man.

A recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States reversing a decision of the Supreme Court of the State of Georgia perfectly sustains all that we have claimed. The decision, is that this government is no longer a government of sovereign states, but of the sovereign people. This conclusively shows that the Supreme Court holds that the fourteenth amendment reversed the order of citizenship, which logically destroys the interpretation put upon the first article of the Constitution. But Congress will take no notice of this, but will continue to contend that the States may disfranchise women.

A year ago I said before this Convention, that if Congress did not, in that time, fully, frankly and unequivocally acknowledge our right to share in the government with men, that we should proceed to call another convention to frame a new Constitution and to erect a new government. I am aware at that time, that most people thought it an idle threat, and also, that as many still think it was an idle threat.

Nevertheless, the idea of a new Constitution has been launched—a form even has been proposed—and a convention has been assembled to consider the necessity for such a revolution, and when I say that this radical action is the only action that will reach the hearts of the people, the evidence that has been pouring in to me ever since the idea was launched, warrants it, and also, that it is the center around which the future government will aggregate; and nothing short of this will move the masses. Permit me to quote some language which I would have had instead of the present enactments, called laws, which control the suffrage.

ARTICLE XIII.

SEC. 1.—1. All persons born, or who shall have been, or shall hereafter be, naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside.

2. The citizens of the United States shall be divided into two classes, to wit: adult citizens and minor citizens.

3. Adult citizens shall consist of all citizens who shall have attained to the age of eighteen years and upward.

4. Minor citizens shall consist of all citizens who shall not have attained the age of eighteen years.

5. All adult citizens except idiots and the insane shall exercise the elective franchise at their pleasure, for all purposes, subject to the following regulation only:

For all United States officers without reservations;

For all State officers and Representatives to Congress, after a residence in the State for three months;

For all other officers, after a residence within the limits of their jurisdiction for one month;

When not restrained of their liberty, being charged with, or after conviction of and restraint for, some crime. In all other cases the elective franchise shall be absolutely unbridled.

5. All citizens, while serving in the army or navy of the United States, or as officers of the United States, shall be entitled to vote for United States officers only, except as may be provided by Congress for officers within their respective organizations.

Now this language is positive, decisive and clear. There can be no chance for quibbling over it; no drawing of inferences that the States have the right to regulate the suffrage, and that the States include only men.

Since the impotent report of the majority of the judiciary of the House of Representatives; the luminous decision of Chief Justice Carter, who argued upon the principle that, since some men make bad use of their votes, hence no women ought to be permitted to vote; the enlightened position assumed by the Republican party through that remarkable mouth-piece, Senator Carpenter, who told me last winter when I informed him that this bogus government would have to be upset that I had better be cautious or I should find myself in Fortress Monroe; and that grand consolidation of all the quibbling that all the Senatorial quibblers could invent—the unanimous report of the Senate judiciary against the memorial of Stanton, Hooker, and others, which followed closely upon the heels of a declaration made to me, in confidence, by a Senator, that the Republican party had decided it would not do to pass a Declaratory Law on the eve of the presidential election—since all these things have occurred, I have, again and again, carefully and critically examined the so-called great charter of our liberties and I unhesitatingly assert it to be my candid belief that, in the hands of unscrupulous men, it may be made the instrument of a despotism which no free man could endure. And I need not tell you that politicians are becoming most unscrupulous, only lacking the opportunity to show their hand in this direction. At best, the Constitution requires a deal of interpretation to make its several parts go well together—quite too much to ever permit of a general interpretation being definitely settled upon. The great reverence that exists for it arises from the fact that so little is really known about it. I think I am within bounds when I say that I can quote passage after passage from it, which not one in a hundred thousand of the

people as a whole, can tell whether from the Constitution or from some other instrument.

Moreover, it is stained with the blood of hundreds of thousands of our noblest sons and brothers, and this simply because of the ambiguity of its language. From beginning to end it is a mass of mere negations of which I confess I am sick and disgusted. I want to see the people of this country rise to character and principle and demand a change from negations to affirmations.

The National Woman Suffragists issued a broad and glorious invitation for all people to join with them for the purpose of "forming a new political party upon principles which shall meet the vital principles of the hour;" and right nobly has it been responded to by representatives from all the various reformatory movements of the country. I need not to enumerate them; they are all here, and anxiously waiting to see what they who have toiled so long and well for suffrage are going to do in which they can join, and while advancing their own special causes, also aid those who co-operate with them.

Many of these people have emerged from a long political hermitage, to which they retired in disgust for politics. In the movement incipiently formed by the call referred to, they saw an opportunity for renewing political action, with the prospect of accomplishing some good.

And I repeat they are here to ask the women of the country to unite with them, and in one grand, consolidated political column, to hurl themselves against present despotism. They ask that the line of battle be made large enough to admit them to the combat, and the position to which they may be assigned they will maintain until the victory shall be gained, whether that be in a year or if it shall require a decade.

And remember what I say: if our campaign be well planned; if we maintain a solid front and remain true to principles justice and right will conquer. A short, sharp decisive fight may indeed give us immediate victory; while a course of masterly inactivity, consisting merely of feints upon the enemy, with occasional attempts at negotiation, will render us a laughing stock for them, rather than a foe to be feared as we may and ought to be.

Therefore, I hope all the friends of all humanitarian reform will clasp hands with each other, rather than to longer compromise with despots and tyrannies by separately affiliating with a common enemy; clasp hands together, to inaugurate a political revolution, which shall secure justice, liberty and equality to every citizen of the United States, which can then become the model republic.

The eyes of the world are upon this convention. Its enemies have sneered and laughed at the idea of combining reformers for any organized action. They say that women don't know enough to organize, and therefore are not to be feared as political opponents. And I am sorry to say this criticism is not entirely without foundation. I even have heard some professed reformers say they don't want anything to do with those who don't belong to "our clique," even after having invited those not of "our clique" to join them, but I trust this policy may not succeed. I trust that they who have made this call will carry it out in good faith; and I think that those who have come here in response thereto, have a right to demand that it shall be so carried out, or a good reason assigned for not doing so. It is to be hoped that women have not so early as this learned the tricks of their brother politicians. Their invitation has gone before the world; and so, also, has the acceptance; and the world will judge the use that shall now be made of them.

All persons who have come to this convention with views beyond talk without action, will convene to-morrow at 10 o'clock in Apollo Hall, Twenty-eighth street and Broadway, then and there to carry out the purposes announced in the calls. This will be a convention of delegates consisting of all persons who have signed the call and all who come as representatives of organizations from all parts of the country, and in short, of all persons who are in favor of the movement.

And that convention will form a new political party with which to clean out those who for years have insulted women, and ground the industries of the country into the earth. They will construct a platform upon which all branches of reform may stand, and they will make nominations to exemplify the principles. And I trust that every man and woman who can rise from selfishness into the humanitarian, will lend that movement their earnest and continued support.

A gentleman proposed that the convention adjourn until to-day, and then meet at Apollo Hall.

Mrs. Anthony said the convention could not do so; they had engaged the hall, and would continue the convention to-morrow. She had now been connected with the organization for twenty years, and had been greatly deceived by other cliques.

A lady said they wanted more than the organization.

Mrs. Gordon said this was the National Woman's Suffrage Convention and the only one she recognized, and she hoped all who could would be present to-morrow at 11 o'clock.

A gentleman said he had contributed towards the payment of the hall, and asked why some action was not taken by the meeting. The platform had been seconded, but not put regularly.

Miss Anthony said the President had gone, and she acted in her place, and now announced the meeting adjourned.

A gentleman, in a stentorian voice, put it to the meeting whether or not the meeting should adjourn to meet to-morrow at Apollo Hall. The response was greatly in favor of it; and on the question to meet in Steinway Hall, the voices were then

minority. The ladies on the platform then hastily made their exit from the hall, the audience following.

FIRST DAY, AT APOLLO HALL.

Considerable discussion has occurred regarding the object of the Convention. A portion of the woman suffragists, who did not desire to take political action, and who objected to both calls that had been made, as looking to the consolidation of various reform movements into a new political party. This point formed the general subject of discussion during the remainder of the day and evening, but was finally decided as had been previously agreed upon—the continuation of speaking during Friday, at Steinway Hall upon the various methods proposed by women, and the organization of the Delegate Convention in Apollo Hall, for distinct party action.

As early as 8 o'clock A.M. of Friday delegates from various States and Territories began to congregate in Apollo Hall. The committee on the reception of delegates from the provisional committee of arrangements were busily engaged examining credentials of delegates, and furnishing them with tickets entitling them to take part in the convention. All persons who had signed this call, and all persons having credentials from whatsoever authority, were made members of the convention, no other test being required—an entirely new method of composing a political convention.

On entering the Hall delegates found it hung with various mottoes among which were the following:

- “Government protection from the cradle to the grave.”
- “Public employment the remedy for strikes.”
- “Interest on money is a direct tax on labor, to support wealthy paupers.”
- “Naturalization of land, labor, education and insurance.”
- “The unemployed demand work of the government.”
- “The world is our country, to do good our religion.”
- “The products of the past should be the equal inheritance of the living generation.”
- “The laws must be submitted to the people.”
- “Equal rights, peace, and co-operation.”
- “What lack I yet?” “Jesus said, go sell all thou hast and give to the poor.”—Matthew, xix., 21, 22.

Neither said any that what he possessed was his own; but they had all things in common.”—Acts, vi., 32.

At 12 M. Mrs. Martin called the meeting to order, and the choir sang “Hail Columbia,” at the close of which Theodore H. Banks, Chairman of the Provisional Committee of Arrangements, appeared at the front and said:

“I move that Geo. W. Madox, of Maine, be our Temporary Chairman.”

Carried unanimously.

Mr. Madox, on assuming the chair, spoke as follows:

THE ADDRESS OF THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.

Fellow-citizens and friends of liberty, equal rights and distributive justice, representative from the different States and Territories of this country, and those of you from across the water of the Old World, imbued with the spirit of liberty, justice, righteousness and courage, we welcome you here, also to aid us in inaugurating justice into form, righteousness into a possibility, publishing to the down-trodden and crushed millions on this planet the method and form of a complete emancipation from ignorance and its concomitants, poverty and its attendants. Thus will hope and faith be given to the possibility of seeming and realizing the good time coming of which so many have had faith and died without the sight.

We recognize on this platform the lovers of humanity of whatever race, condition, nationality, color, sex or creed, and Internationals, we invite you to come with your grandest and noblest thought, and deposit them in the garner of this convention, out of which we will frame such a platform of action, such method of procedure as shall find acceptable response in the heart and head of 7-10 of the people, sweeping over the country like a whirlwind, scattering the old dead fragments of present and past parties, rings, lobbies and rulers like chaff before the wind, heralding upon our banner the people are sovereign.

I certainly feel proud that you have selected me to introduce to you the incipient organization of this convention, by making me your temporary chairman, and while I have faith in the possibility of enacting justice into law, and righteousness into form as deep and abiding as the grand hills and rock-bound coast of my present and native State, I will never falter in my efforts to lift the masses into a higher plane of thought and action through the elective franchise in the hands of the sovereign to whom all the acts of the people's Agent must and shall be submitted.

Thanking you for the honor you have conferred upon me and promising to serve you to the best of my ability, we will proceed at once to the business of the organization.

Harriet B. Burton, of Kentucky, and Sarah N. Todd, of Lynn, Mass., were chosen Temporary Secretaries.

Anna Kimball, of New York, moved that the Chair appoint a committee of thirteen on permanent organization.

Adopted.

The committee was appointed, and retired.

The several committees were then ordered to retire, and the following resolutions, prepared by Stephen P. Andrews, were read by Harriet B. Burton:

Resolved, That the two fundamental principles of government and of the life of mankind are ORDER and FREEDOM, which have always, hitherto, been in conflict, and frequently in fierce antagonism, but which are, nevertheless, destined to be married and reconciled with each other.

Resolved, That the reconciliation of Order and Freedom in the government and social life of mankind is the grand problem of sociology, or of social science, and one which is awaiting solution at the hands of the wisest and most universally developed students of political and social affairs; and that, in order to be both scientific and beneficent, the solution must be guided by recurrence to the highest and most universal laws contained in the nature of being.

Resolved, That there is a permanently inherent regulative tendency in the mind and character of Man, which is allied with the principle of Order; which is in turn allied with Science and Wisdom; and that there is in contrast with this a similarly inherent tendency or drift in the mind and character of Woman, which is equally allied with the principle of Freedom; and this, in turn, with Nature or with the freedom or spontaneity which is characteristic of Nature; and hence, also, with Love; while yet the fundamental nature of these truths and relations is obscured, and the problem for solution rendered more difficult, first by the fact that in both the male and female mind both the principles of Order and Freedom are ever present and that they differ only in respect to preponderance; and, secondly, that each sex loves, and admires, and tends, therefore, to defer to, and even to exhibit a superficial seeming of that which is inherently and fundamentally, and always predominantly characteristic of the opposite sex.

Resolved, That there is a crude, primitive, imperfect and, from the ultimate ideal and high artistic point of view, a pseudo or false and pernicious kind of Freedom, which consists of casting off the constraints of conscience and of legitimate discipline, (as well as the unauthorized invasion of foreign authority) from individual conduct and from the collective life of a community; while the true or superior and normal type of Order is of such a nature that it can only be evolved from the very bowels of Freedom; and that its indispensable condition is, therefore, the previous existence of Freedom; and while the true and superior or normal type of Freedom is such that it can only comport with the orderly subordination of the whole life and conduct of the individual, and so of the community, to the principles of all truth, and to the purposes of all good, and with a loving acceptance of all necessary discipline, in order to the securing of these ends; and that therefore as Freedom is the essential condition of the existence of any true Order, either in the individual life or in society, so Order is alike the essential condition of the existence of any true Freedom; and that these two principles, Order and Freedom, as masculine and feminine are thus essential to each other in a manner analogous to that in which the two sexes are alike indispensable to the completeness of human life.

Resolved, That in the crude, primitive state of society, and while the true nature and complicated relations of these two governing principles were, or have been badly understood, and while they have, therefore, been badly adjusted to each other the deciding power in all conflicts has preponderantly fallen into the hands of that party which was the most physically powerful; inasmuch as physical force predominates during this earlier stage of development; that, therefore, Man has been in predominance, the tyrant over Woman and Order, of the kind which reigned at Warsaw—the tyrant over Freedom; not, however, without many notable exceptions and reversals, in which, through cunning, or spasmodic violence, woman and freedom have inflicted their revenges on the male man, and upon the instituted and compulsory order of the crude and unsensitized societies of the past.

Resolved, That with the progress of events, the time has come when the demand exists and is now pressing every day for the vindication and harmonious co-existence in the world of the true and vital kind of order which springs out of freedom, and for that true and beneficent freedom which is an orderly evolution from the spontaneity of perfect lives; and that, as the condition of this great step in social advancement it belongs to Man as the representative of order or the regulative principle, and as the depositary of the crude force which has hitherto governed mankind to make, from his intelligence, magnanimously and spontaneously, the full concession of that freedom and natural spontaneity of which Woman is the more predominant representative and type; and that, therefore, the form of society upon which the world should and must enter in this age will be that in which the establishment of order will be entrusted to the prior existence and to the natural operations of freedom; and in which freedom will constantly tend to become orderly, under the influence of science, increasing intelligence, and the experience of the consequences of its own mistakes.

Resolved, That children only require to be constantly watched over and guarded, by the intervention of foreign authority; and that older persons are entitled to the superior knowledge of life which comes from their own experiences in freedom, and even from the blunders and follies which they may commit and that to prevent them from such results by foreign and impertinent intervention is to reduce them to the condition of children, and to perpetuate a state of semi-infancy and imbecility; that what is true in this respect of the individual, is true of communities and of the world; that there are, therefore, infantile periods in the world's history when the arbitrary establishment of order for the protection of mankind is in place, but that their higher well-being now demands the establishment of freedom and of such order as is compatible with freedom; and that in this age, the world has arrived at the crisis period in the mode of the administration of human affairs which should mark the transition from the lower to the higher life.

Resolved, That in view of these well-considered principles of social science, the political and social freedom of the individual and of society at large should now be amply and unhesitatingly conceded as the basis of the new order, whether the freedom be demanded as a right by those to whom it has been denied or whether it be voluntarily conceded as the better mode by those who have hitherto occupied the seat of power; that the participation, in appropriate measure, of both sexes in all the great departments and functions of the life of society is not only desirable for the higher results involved in the future destiny of mankind, but indispensable; and that, in freedom, and only in freedom, can the appropriate measure be determined, as it will then come to be either rapidly or gradually in which each sex can participate beneficially in the various affairs of life; so that the “sphere of woman” as well as the “sphere of man” will be in the end harmoniously and gracefully or artistically limited and determined—as they never can be by forceful authority or by the arbitrary dictation of mere public opinion and pseudo propriety.

Resolved, That it is written in the destinies, now urgently pressing for fulfillment, that society shall pass through the experience of the full participation of woman in political affairs; that the fact will have to be accepted, whatever the previous prejudices, speculations and theories on the subject may have been; and that the future form of society will, therefore, be such as shall be developed out of this hitherto untried condition of things; that the sooner, with the less amount of acrimony, and with the more mutual confidence and helpfulness between the sexes the transition is effected, the better for all; that instead, as is feared of woman being denaturalized by the influence of politics, political affairs may themselves receive the infusion of a different life and be modified into something very different from what they have hitherto been, by the participation and influence of the whole female sex; somewhat as the social character of the Quakers has been influenced for good by the recognition of the equality of woman; and if on the contrary, the public arena proves essentially unsuited to, and detrimental to the true womanly character and function in life, that the quick instinct of woman herself can be best trusted to discover the fact, and to prompt her voluntarily to withdraw from an unbecoming career; that, at all events, the lordly arrogance of man in determining the “sphere of woman,” or of any one human being in determining the “sphere” of another human being, is becoming more and more adverse to the spirit of the age; that the question is not, fundamentally, of the right or wrong of any particular

course of conduct, but it is one of jurisdiction, or of the deciding power over the very question whether the thing considered be right or wrong; and that the growing spirit of freedom in the world demands that this deciding power be lodged with the individual himself, or herself, whose conduct is in question; and that assumptions of the right and authority to interfere with and to regulate the conduct of others are becoming more distasteful to every well informed and well regulated mind.

Resolved: That not only the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments of the Constitution of the United States, but the Constitution itself, the Declaration of American Independence, the spirit of all our institutions and the law of God written upon the rational constitution of the human mind, and evolving itself in this age, as the science of society, all concur in conferring on every citizen of a competent age, the equal right to participation in the choice of the government which they are called upon to obey; and hence, in a Republican Government, in conferring upon all the franchise which is therein the mode of expressing the will of the people as the fountain of governmental authorization.

Resolved: That, therefore, this Convention proceed to nominate candidates for President and Vice President, to be selected from either sex according to the preferences of the citizens, and that all citizens, male and female be invited to participate in their selection at the poles.

The Committee on Permanent Organization, through its Chairman, Carrie H. Spear, of California, reported the following:

For President of the Convention, Hon. J. D. Reymert, of New York.

For First Vice President, Anna M. Middlebrook, of Connecticut.

For Second, John T. Elliott, of New York.

For Third, Isaac Frazier, of Massachusetts.

For Fourth, Lavina C. Dundore, of Maryland.

For Fifth, John M. Spear, of California.

For Secretaries, Harriet B. Burton, of Kentucky, and George R. Allen, of New York.

For Treasurer, Ruth W. S. Briggs, of West Winfield, N. Y.

Committee on Credentials, George M. Johnson, of Massachusetts; Abbie P. Ela, of New Hampshire; Dr. A. Orvis, of Rochester, N. Y.

Committee on Finance, Annie Kimball, of New York, Frank Crocker, of Wisconsin; Danvers Doubleday and Theodore A. Banks, of New York, and Carrie H. Maynard, of Buffalo, N. Y.

Committee on Resolutions and Platform:

J. Q. Sands, New York.

E. S. Wheeler, Ohio.

Mrs. Maria Hulick, New York.

John M. Spear, California.

Hon. A. G. W. Carter, Cincinnati.

Belva A. Lockwood, District of Columbia.

Stephen Pearl Andrews, New York.

A. C. Robinson, Massachusetts.

T. B. Taylor, Kansas.

Seward Mitchell, Maine.

Laura C. Smith, California.

J. H. Blood, New York.

E. B. Fish, Pennsylvania.

J. H. W. Toohy, Rhode Island.

George R. Allen, New York.

Ellen Dickinson, New Jersey.

Moses Hull, Kentucky.

A. Orvis, New York.

Mary A. Leland, North Carolina.

Theo. H. Banks, New York.

A. Higgins, New Jersey.

Mrs. M. A. T. Hoadley, Massachusetts.

Anna M. Middlebrook, Connecticut.

L. K. Joselyn, Rhode Island.

R. W. Hume, New York.

Judge Reymert, on taking the chair, addressed the convention, as follows:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I thank you for this distinction. You will kindly aid me in conducting the deliberations of this Convention in the most harmonious manner to the most beneficial results. We shall then accomplish what we have come together for from all parts of the broad land. You have heard the call of this Convention read; it announces the startling fact that you intend to form a new party. We are asked, for what purpose, and for what reason, upon what principles?

I answer for the purposes of reason and principle; for the clear and distinct reason that no other party in the country now existing presents or advocates any of these principles which we are forced by our convictions to promote—for the reason that we find all other parties of this day without principles. Let us, therefore, enunciate our principles, and let the want of truth, justice, an equality in the other parties be the reason for the necessity of establishing this.

The convention is ready for business. What is the pleasure of the convention?

A gentleman from Oregon then suggested that the party be known as the “Human Rights” party, and the convention, after some discussion, finally adopted the name of “Equal Rights” party, as the one most appropriate to cover the ground.

George D. Coleman, moved the adoption of a resolution that speakers be confined to five minutes, which with an amendment by Paxton “unless by consent of convention;” also, that no person shall speak twice on the same subject, except by unanimous consent was adopted.

Speeches were then made by George D. Coleman, of Philadelphia; Judge Carter, Ohio; Charles Cravens, New York, on Finance; Tarbell, of Vermont; Mrs. Somerby, New York; Henry Beeny, on Land Reform, and Mrs. Slocum, on Labor Reform. A letter from Providence, R. I., signed by William Foster, and expressing sympathy with the aims of the convention, was read and accepted.

THE LETTER.

PROVIDENCE, May 8, 1872.

To the People's Convention, greeting:

Unable to be present to participate in the meeting of the free and untrammelled Progressives on the 9th and 10th inst., I am

moved to drop a word expressive of my sympathy with the new movement. It is time the nation took a new departure, and based governmental action on the fundamental principles of equity, those alone which can make a people truly happy and prosperous. Humanity as a whole must be taken into the account, not as fragments. We boast of our civilization, religion and freedom, but when we scan society, alas! how much of wrong, injustice and misgovernment we find. Half the world is doomed to ceaseless toil to enable the others to live in idleness, and a large moiety scarcely know where the next day's living is to come from. Labor is oppressed, woman is ostracised, an oligarchy of sex and money predominates and rules. The church is a dumb dog, the politician a selfish schemer, capital a remorseless cormorant and a slave-driver combined.

What is our remedy? Plainly it cannot come through the old parties. The Democratic has been seized with the dry rot, and has no soundness; the Republican is far gone with gangrene and has no vitality. As instrumentalities of good they will and must fail us; hence, we must cast them aside. The new party, the Liberal Republican, is only a half-way expedient, and if successful, will remedy only a few minor evils. After a twelve-month of its power we should find the country no better than before. There is only one thing left us; that is to strike out boldly for the party of humanity, and base government and its policy on the universal rights of man, knowing no self, no special interests, no classes. In the first place, we must recognize the right of those who live under a government and bear its burdens, to have an equal voice in the same, or in other words, see to it that suffrage is accorded to every citizen, knowing no sex, no creed, no nationality, or any merely adventitious circumstances. We must insist that laws shall be equal in their operation, by being general in their scope, touching every citizen alike. We must insist that there shall be no monopolies, direct or indirect, according privileges to a few which necessarily abstracts rights from the many. We must insist that our currency shall be based on the wealth of the nation, to be issued by the National Government, with adequate provisions to give it elasticity and prevent its being used as an instrument of money making by the few at the expense of the body of the community, especially the laborers. As the grand measure, conservative above everything else, tending to cripple mere partisanship and hold the government to its proper functions, we must insist upon equitable representation, giving the minority its due voice and influence in the administration of public affairs. If minorities had been properly represented in our legislative bodies, the wide-spread and generally prevailing corruption, the bane and disgrace of our nation, would not have been possible. Such and kindred principles must be the inspiration of the new movement, the new departure we are about to undertake. There is a distrust of the present order of things, deep and wide spread—an aspiration for something better and higher. May the convention rise to the dignity of the occasion, the needs of the hour, the demands of humanity.

Fraternaly, WILLIAM FOSTER.

The following was submitted:

SALT LAKE CITY, April 29, 1872.

MR. C. W. TAPPAN, Present—Dear Sir: I am much gratified with your inquiry for a statement of my theory of true representative government, and will proceed at once to explain the means by which, I am confident, a representative government can be made a complete success.

The graduation of representation from the people should commence with the school districts as the smallest political subdivision of States, then at recurring annual elections of school officers, the people should elect, say, five deputies from each district as township representatives for electing township officers, and also for electing five deputies from each township as county representatives for electing county officers, and also for electing five deputies from each county as State representatives for electing State officers, and also for electing a proper number of deputies from each State as national representatives for electing national and international officers, in every instance the officers to be selected from the body of the deputies.

All necessary details will be apparent as organization progresses, and the system of standing central party committees, which are the most treacherous foes to beneficent government, will naturally disappear, and safety, competency, and the privilege of happiness will be permanently secured. With high consideration of your friendship, I remain yours truly,

SIDNEY HUDSON.

And the following:

SAN FRANCISCO, April 15, 1872.

The "Radical Club," of San Francisco, sends fraternal greeting to Woodhull & Claflin and to all the representatives of progressive thought who may respond to the call issued in the WEEKLY of April 6 for a convention to be held in the City of New York, on the 9th and 10th of May next, for the purpose of organizing a new party and to announce a platform based upon principles broad enough to include every citizen of the United States, men and women alike—both halves of humanity—and secure liberty, equality and justice to all. Unite, as far as possible, the interests of all. Extend the principle upon which our free school system is founded far enough not only to guarantee a thorough and complete integral education for every child of the republic, but a home on the soil and facilities to work and beautify it to every man and woman, so that all may be emancipated from ignorance, poverty and misdirection, and be inspired with hope and confidence; with self-respect and self-reliance; with noble aspirations for a higher and purer life, a grander destiny, so that the music of their lives, now in accord, may enable them to keep step in the grand march of progressive development.

The Radical Club, of San Francisco, is the nucleus of the reformers on the Pacific coast, a central agency where a record of names is kept; and arrangements are now being made to establish a weekly journal—the *Dawn*—as soon as the platform of the new party is announced by the May convention, provided that platform is up to convert pitch, and sound in all its timbers, as we hope and expect it will.

Mr. John Murray Spear and Mrs. C. H. Spear, of San Francisco, are expected to attend the May convention and participate in its deliberations; and we shall look forward in hopes that the convention will be guided by the greatest wisdom, and inspired with the courage to plant its colors in the front, making no compromise with opposing interests, but invoking the aid and co-operation of every man and woman on both sides of the Jordan, and push right on to victory.

JAS. BATTERSBY, President Radical Club.
CAROLINE H. SPEAR, Vice President

M. E. MORSE, Agts. of Radical Club.
ANN MORSE,

ADDRESS OF THE "STATE CENTRAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE COMMITTEE OF CALIFORNIA," TO THE PEOPLES' CONVENTION, TO BE HELD IN NEW YORK CITY, IN MAY, 1872—PRESENTED BY THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY, MRS. C. W. SPEAR.

From the Pacific to the Atlantic, from the Gulf to the Lawrence, you are assembled to consider what can be done to alle-

viate, educate, elevate and bless mankind. Rising above the narrow confines of sects, parties, sections, nations, you will aim to grasp the highest principles of Internationalism, and to comprehend that which is universal.

Questions like these of temperance, free trade, arbitration, freedom of the oppressed, whether men or women, whether born under a tropical sun, or in a frigid zone, whether civilized or barbarian, all are important in their places; but no one of these will claim your special attention.

An age of thought and progress, as the present is, demands an utterance of principles that shall give enlarged and fuller meaning to the heavenly message and the sacred anthem: "Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be unto all people." Standing upon this broad basis, this Convention will not shut its eyes or ears to the visions, monitions, or messages that may come from either the invisible or visible world. Each may assist, and thro' a union of the two there may be strength and wisdom sufficient to bring peace on earth and good-will among men. There is need then of the counsel of ablest constructionists, the most thorough statesmen, practiced financiers, keenest intellectualists, highest-toned moralists, intelligent Spiritualists and harmonial philosophers, of our and other times. Your platform can neither exclude the Shaker on the one hand, nor the Mormon on the other, and no question can here be raised of the equal rights of the sexes. A convention to consider matters having a direct bearing upon human rights, requires the best counsel that can be secured from persons of opposing and different shades of opinion.

Residents on the Pacific coast have their peculiar views, the Southern and Eastern sections have theirs; but for the time being it is hoped that all taking part in your deliberations will forget sectional differences, and will erect a platform so broad and catholic that humanity, under whatever skin or name, shall there find representation, and the same protection be afforded to the yellow-skinned Chinese as to the whitest Caucasian.

There will be with you those who have borne the storms, tempests and misjudgments incidental to fragmentary reforms. They know how to honor such persons as Lucretia Mott, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Robert Owen, Frances Wright, Ernestine L. Rose, Theodore Parker, Isaac T. Hopper, Eliza W. Farnham, and a host of others whose names come to us, but cannot here be mentioned. Some are with us in the flesh, but more are with us in the spirit who may, as in olden time, be to us a "cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night."

Your convention will, it is hoped, construct a platform so broad, so thorough and so suited to the age in which we live, that all persons unfettered by religious sects or political parties may stand upon it and feel that it is like a rock from which they cannot be moved, but only through a full and free utterance of different opinions may such a platform be built.

The nomination of President and Vice President of the United States will occupy the attention of your convention. Our committee has signified its preference for President by the nomination of Hon. George W. Julian, a well known and tried friend of freedom, who has said: "We submit that an aristocracy founded on sex is quite as pernicious as an aristocracy founded on color or race, and its principle is as morally vicious as it is logically false." And for Vice President, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, no eulogy of whom can equal the services she has rendered mankind through her public labors and private virtues.

It is supposable that a portion of your convention will consider that you are going too far, and that it is best to retreat; another class, that you move too slowly, and changes proposed are not sufficiently revolutionary, while a third may decide it is neither best to turn back nor move on just now. These will say, "Wait, don't organize a people's party; don't nominate a President. If we patiently wait, the Republicans or Democrats may become our friends, and do for us what we propose to do ourselves." This is a hopeful view, but the history of political parties in power does not tell of onward steps except under compulsion, in order to maintain their power.

The Republicans have been in power in the States and in the nation some ten or twelve years. When, as a party, has it ever signified the slightest disposition to assist women in the attainment of the ballot to remove her legal disabilities? The Republicans in California wrested the State from the hands of the Democrats in 1871, but the women of California are no better off for the change. One of the foremost workers of women suffrage in our State was nominated for the Senate, but the Republicans frowned upon it, and discouraged efforts to elect Laura De Force Gordon. We sent in our numerous signed petitions, were granted a hearing, and there the matter must rest legislatively until 1874. The National Legislature, ruled by Republicans, only gives a hearing to our appeals. The course of the Democratic party whenever in power gives us no reason to hope for greater justice from it. The National Labor Party has distinctly ignored impartial suffrage. Why then should it be asked of us to fold our arms and wait for either of the great parties to grant us our rights? If neither our opposers nor the friends of freedom will aid us, is it not a duty to work for ourselves? issue a second Declaration of Independence.

Whatever else this convention may undertake to do, however radical may be its measures, the "State Central Woman Suffrage Committee of California" desires to urge that it make direct efforts to the obtaining of the ballot for women, believing that this lies at the foundation of all social and political changes; and that no certain progress can be made in any direction until impartial suffrage has been secured to all disfranchised classes.

Securing this in one country, it will aid and encourage people in other lands. We then earnestly join with you to build our own platform, nominate our own candidates, establish our own presses send out our own speakers; and the good sense of the enlightened people of the United States will be on our side. The office holders and conservatives will throw obstacles in our path, but we may safely conclude that "truth will come uppermost and justice will be done."

ELIZABETH T. SCHENCK, President,
MRS. ANN FULLER, Treasurer,
CAROLINE H. SPEAR, Secretary,
of State Central W. S. Com. of Cal.

Report of the Committee on Platform was then read.

PLATFORM AND DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

We adopt a platform of the following propositions:

First—That there should be a complete reconstruction of several of the most important functions of the government of the United States, and to that end we advocate the adoption of a new constitution, which shall be in perfect harmony with the present wants, interests and conditions of the people.

Second—That the world has advanced so much in the last century that the theories which the present constitution of the United States and of the several States vitalize are in many instances far behind our present civilization.

Third—That there should be a national code of civil and criminal law uniform throughout the country, the same to be administered by a uniform system.

Fourth—That all important legislation should be submitted to and approved by the people.

Fifth—That all monopolies should be abolished and all charters revoked, and that the government of the people should manage all public enterprises for the common benefit of the whole country.

Sixth—That all public enterprises should be managed for the public use, so as to produce an income that will pay the cost of construction, management and maintenance only.

Seventh—That the land belongs to the whole people, and should be made use of by actual settlers only, in limited quantities, and that there should be no other form of disposing of the same by the government, except for public purposes.

Eighth—That there should be but one system of money and currency, and that the public credit should be its basis and the national faith its value.

Ninth—That the money thus emanating from the government should circulate freely, and that no payment for its use should be permitted.

Tenth—That the system of taxation should be direct, and by a gradual scale, ascending with the increase of individual fortunes, and equal in all portions of the country upon all the property of the country for the payment of the expenses of the government.

Eleventh—That there should be unrestricted exchange of all productions and commodities between nations and individuals, without regard to distance or locality.

Twelfth—That wars, and public feuds, should be abolished by means of International arbitration.

Thirteenth—That there should be just public laws to regulate labor and establish uniform compensation for the same.

Fourteenth—That there should be a uniform and general system of public improvements of all the natural resources of the country by the general government, and that the government should employ in such improvements all persons who have no visible means of support or other employment.

Fifteenth—That it is the duty of the government to guarantee employment to all unemployed persons upon equitable principles of time and compensation.

Sixteenth—That capital punishment should be abolished.

Seventeenth—That protection of society against crime should be wholly upon the principle of reforming the criminal.

Eighteenth—That there should be the most extended public facilities for immediate interchange between producer and consumer.

Nineteenth—That all the mineral resources and water courses belong to the whole people.

Twentieth—That there should be perfect and free expression of opinion by vote on all political subjects by all citizens of all classes, sexes and conditions being of competent age.

Twenty-first—That minorities, as well as majorities, should have representation in government.

Twenty-second—That the destiny of our government is to extend its supremacy over the American continent, and that an universal government for all the people of the globe is the ultimate of government.

Twenty-third—And, therefore, that we form ourselves into a distinct political organization, under the name of the Equal Rights Party and declare our fixed purpose to be the reconstruction of the government in conformity with the principles herein expressed for the promotion of the general good of mankind.

The conclusion of the reading of each paragraph of the platform was followed by tumultuous applause, indicating the concurrence of a large majority of the delegates in its principles. But a motion to adopt it as a whole was vigorously opposed by a few persons, not because of their objections to the principles enunciated, but because of its being a hasty method in so important a matter of the platform of a new political party.

The chairman of the committee explained that he had served on many similar committees, but had never seen one so unanimous upon all points involved. He said the committee was a large one consisting of 30 members and special representatives of various reform movements; but upon this platform there was not a single dissenting voice, and he hoped that the convention would be found equally unanimous. But he was aware that there must be in all conventions of this sort and size, some persons, dispose to be more critical than anything else, and he thought that the opposition to an immediate and unanimous adoption of the committees report come from such persons. It was finally laid on the table to be taken up at a later time in the convention, and the convention adjourned to meet at 8 P. M.

EVENING SESSION.

The convention came to order at 8 o'clock.

The Committee on Credentials reported that the new party was represented in the convention by 668 delegates from 22 States and four territories.

A resolution was then unanimously adopted, inviting Victoria C. Woodhull to address the convention, giving her views upon the platform.

Mrs. Woodhull spoke a full half hour on "Political, Social Industrial and Educational Equity," in substance as follows:

For the first time in the history of modern civilization do we see evidences that its own particular characteristics are at the verge of culmination. Individualization, not only of personality, but of all by which it is surrounded, has been the ruling and the guiding spirit; and people have followed its commands, each in his or her own way, and upon special ideas and methods of discovery, until to-day many have arrived at the bottom of analysis—to perfect principles. And my soul swells within me as I stand before this mighty audience—mighty in intellect, wisdom and love—and realize that it has congregated for the express purpose of laying those corner stones, which they have been so long fitting and squaring for this grand time. From this Convention will go forth a tide of revolution that shall sweep over the whole world. Let us be careful then that its fountain contains no subtle poison of selfishness or of expediency, which shall distill death. But what does freedom mean as applied to individuality? Why, just this (and it was never more forcibly, clearly or logically set forth than in the Declaration of Independence)—the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. To be free is to possess and exercise these rights. What is equality? It is that every person shall have the same opportunities to exercise the inalienable rights belonging to the individual. And what justice? That the alienable rights belonging to individuals shall be jealously guarded against encroachment. It is because government is not confined to its proper sphere of securing the exercise of the inalienable rights of individuals, for which it was organized, deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed, that we stand to-day

on the verge of political anarchy. Go where we may in the land, there we see despotism, inequality, and injustice installed where freedom, equality, and justice should be instead. And I say we are right when we charge that the government has proven a failure. Verily may the words of the lowly Nazarene be applied to the social conditions of the age:—"Wo unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful without, but within are full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness; ye outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within are full of hypocrisy and iniquity." It may be laid down as fundamental that every person on arriving at adult age is entitled to have had equal opportunities for secular, industrial and intellectual education. More than one-eighth of our entire population can neither read nor write. Five million two hundred and seventy thousand persons over the age of ten years are in this terrible condition—a fact sufficient in itself to condemn to everlasting infamy the principles upon which our civilization is based. But, says another, that would necessitate the substitution of a new constitution for that which now exists, since that will not permit of the reforms referred to, and that may mean revolution. Well, and if it do mean revolution, what then? Shall we be slaves to escape revolution? I say, never! I say, away with such weak stupidity! Such doctrine is, indeed, worthy the meanest slaves. I say, let us have justice, though the heavens fall. The mere fact that this convention may nominate candidates to contest the coming election is not in my estimation, to be compared to that greater work proposed—the first, without the last would really mean nothing, while the last without the first would not amount to a movement; but both together mean a revolution that shall sweep, with resistless force, if not fury, over the whole country, to purge it of political trickery, despotic assumption and all industrial injustice. [Great cheering.]

Mr. Theo. Banks proposed that the platform be taken up and considered, section by section.

Judge Carter, of Ohio—The time for words has passed. We want action. We have reached the culmination of our theories, and have proclaimed our principles to the world. Our banner is unfurled. We want a standard bearer and who so fit to represent us as she who has so nobly and so long stood by our cause? Without any more words I propose the name of Victoria C. Woodhull to be nominated President of the United States [tremendous cheering], and I call upon you to carry the motion by acclamation.

A scene of the wildest enthusiasm here took place. Men jumped on the seats, threw their hats in the air and shouted; women screamed, and waved their handkerchiefs. And as if by magic, with a single mind, the vast audience arose *en masse* while the name of Victoria rang loud and long.

The Chairman—It has been moved and seconded that Victoria C. Woodhull, now before you on the platform, be nominated President of the United States. All in favor of the motion will say aye.

Aye, aye, aye resounded through the hall from every voice, and three cheers for Victoria, with waving of hats and handkerchiefs. Then the whole audience again rose and cheered vociferously, the men waved their hats, and the women shook their handkerchiefs, the uproar being so great that crowds rushed in from the street to learn its cause. This continued until Mrs. Woodhull appeared upon the platform. Being led forward by the President, she said:

FRIENDS,—From my inmost heart I thank you for the honor conferred by you upon me, this evening. I feel it more deeply and sensibly since I have stood before the world so long, sometimes receiving its approval, but oftener encountering its rebuffs; but I have always been faithful to the principles I have advocated and that is all the merit I have. Again, I thank you for the great honor shown me in making me your standard bearer, and I feel compelled to say to you, that with the same unanimous enthusiasm with which you have nominated me, will the principles we enunciate be carried into governmental practice.

As she again retired from the platform the applause, cheers, and hurrahs were renewed with still greater enthusiasm.

At this time Mr. Moses Hull, of Kentucky, advanced to the front and said:

While I congratulate you on the nomination you have made for President of the United States; while we have sprung the only issue there is now before us, I certainly feel it my duty at this time to offer you a nomination for Vice President. One who represents another class of interests from those represented by Mrs. Woodhull. I offer you the name of Frederick Douglass, of the District of Columbia. [Great applause.]

The greater part of the convention, realizing that the name of Frederick Douglass represents a principal and an idea, were enthusiastic for his nomination.

After some discussion and the suggestion of other names, among them E. H. Heywood, Benjamin Wade, Robert Dale Owen, Theodore Tilton, and Wendell Phillips, the Chairman said:

It is now getting late, the meeting will proceed to vote on the nominations. The name of Fred. Douglass is first upon the list; all in his favor will say aye.

More than two-thirds voting in the affirmative, the Chairman declared the motion carried.

After much enthusiasm and cheering, and a short speech from Mrs. A. Lockwood, calling the attention of the delegates to the expenses of the convention, a collection was taken up. Then the motion was renewed to adopt the platform by acclamation, which was adopted. The convention then adjourned till ten o'clock, Saturday the 11th inst.

LAST DAY'S SESSION.

On Saturday morning at ten o'clock the Convention assembled, each one congratulating the other on the harmony and success which attended the meetings. Joy filled every heart, and faces were on every hand radiant with the happiness of the present and hope for the future. The exercises commenced with singing, and Judge Carter then presented the following condensed form of the first resolutions offered to the convention as a part of the final report of the committee on platform and resolutions:

Resolved, That the two fundamental principles of government and of the life of mankind are order and freedom, which have always hitherto been in conflict, and frequently in fierce antagonism, but which are nevertheless destined to be married and reconciled with each other.

Resolved; That there is a crude, primitive, and imperfect kind of freedom, which consists in casting off the restraints of conscience and of legitimate discipline (along with the unauthorized invasion of foreign authority,) while true freedom contributes to order; and that there is also a false and oppressive kind of order, while the higher kind of order is evolved from the very bowels of freedom.

Resolved, That the lordly arrogance of man in determining the "sphere of woman," or of any one human being in determining the "sphere" of any other human being, is becoming more and more adverse to the spirit of the age; that the question is not fundamentally of the right or wrong of any particular course of conduct, but it is one of jurisdiction, or of the deciding power over the very question whether the thing considered be right or wrong; and that the growing spirit of freedom in the world demands that this deciding power be lodged with the individual himself or herself whose conduct is in question, and that assumptions of the right and authority to interfere with and to regulate the conduct of others are becoming more distasteful to every well informed and well regulated mind.

Resolved, That it is written in the destinies, now urgently pressing for fulfillment, that society shall pass through the experience of the full participation of woman in political affairs, that the fact will have to be accepted, whatever the previous prejudices, speculations and theories on the subject may have been; and that the future form of society will, therefore, be such as shall be developed out of this hitherto untrod condition of things; that the sooner, with the less amount of acrimony, and with the more mutual confidence and helpfulness between the sexes the transition is effected, the better for all.

Resolved, That not only the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the Constitution of the United States, but the Constitution itself, the Declaration of American Independence, the spirit of all our institutions, and the law of God written upon the rational constitution of the human mind, and evolving itself in this age as the science of society, all concur in conferring on every citizen of a competent age the equal right to the participation in the choice of the government which all are called upon to obey.

Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood then read an able and logical speech on "Woman and her relation to the law," and Judge Carter then continued his report from the Committee on Platform and Resolutions, presenting a list of 160 names from Mazomania, Wis., of persons who pledged themselves to do what they could to advance the cause of the equal rights party.

Judge Carter also read the following list of names to constitute the National Executive Committee and Central National Committee to co-operate with the National Executive Committee, to be located in the City of New York:

THE ROLL OF HONOR.

A. C. Robinson, Massachusetts; Mrs. Caroline H. Spear, Vice President, California; Otis F. Porter, Connecticut; Judge A. G. W. Carter, President, Ohio; Mrs. Abbie P. Ela, New Hampshire; Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood, Secretary, Washington, D. C.; John C. Underwood, Virginia; Thomas Richmond, Illinois; Lavina C. Dundore, Maryland; George D. Coleman, Pennsylvania; Seward Mitchell, Maine; Elizabeth A. Merriweather, Tennessee; John M. Spear, Utah; Mrs. Esther Morris, Wyoming; John Helmsly, Idaho; Mrs. E. Curtis, Nevada; Mrs. Olympia Wiggen, Washington Territory; Robert Dale Owen, Indiana; Newman Weeks, Vermont; J. S. Graham, New York; L. B. Taylor, Kansas; Anthony Higgins, New Jersey; Mrs. Wm. Finkham, Rhode Island; Moses Hull, Kentucky; A. W. St. Johns, Missouri; Lemuel Parmley, Louisiana; Richard T. Trevellick, Michigan; Mary F. Davis, Treasurer.

Central National Committee at New York for the United States—Anna M. Middlebrook, Chairman; George R. Allen, Harriet B. Burton, Corresponding Secretaries; J. D. Reymert, J. H. Blood, T. H. Banks, J. Q. Sands, J. B. Davis, Frank Crocker, A. Higgins and Anna Kimball.

The following resolution was then read:

Resolved, That we adopt as the banner for our campaign the Goddess of Liberty on a field of pure white, with the words "Equal Rights," in Roman capitals, underneath.

Mr. Spear, of Oregon—Although this is all very pretty and very well in its place, yet it does not come up to our standard. I would insert the following: That we have a picture of a dove, the dove being a representative of peace, and that we place in the bill of the dove these three words, namely, "liberty, justice, fraternity." He then continued at length in support of his motion, and was followed by Mrs. Middlebrook, who said that with all due difference to the gentleman, she would oppose the idea of the dove; she did not believe there would be any peace until equal liberty was given to women with the men, "and," she continued, "I swear to you that I will not be peaceable. I will not have a dove of peace to represent my party. [Applause.] The clock that ticks but once in a hundred years is slow enough and now for the first time in this century, we have the opportunity of representing the Goddess of Liberty in our party truly and justly. She has been represented by a sham heretofore. [Great applause.] And now I say that, inasmuch as we mean woman suffrage and we mean equal rights, there is no word in the English language that expresses a higher degree of civilization and greater justice than the word "liberty." I am for this emblem, the Goddess of Liberty representing woman's cause—[applause]—and this covers the whole ground and is the only character and emblem of our party. [Applause.]

The resolution, after some discussion, was adopted.

The following resolution adopted by the New Jersey Association of Spiritualists, at its second quarterly meeting in Jersey City, the 8th inst., was read:

WHEREAS, Society as it at present exists is but a complexity of interests improperly governed, and that a false conception of man's origin and destiny, together with the unnatural character of the popular conception of deity pseudo-divine law, have been the materials out of which men have constructed for man all past and present systems of government, creating an unnatural system of despotism, ranging from Theocracy to Democracy, disorganizing instead of organizing the integral man and woman, cultivating the animal at the expense of the spiritual, and inducing the cunning of the few to absorb the rights of the majority, thus erecting and sustaining a premium on idleness and crime, and a contempt for honest labor ever tending to concentration of power, and a monopoly of wealth in the hands of the few, who, with inhuman disregard to the inherent rights of the great body politic, blindly manufacture crime through the instrumentality of unavoidable poverty, crushing out the mental and spiritual aspirations of the people by an incubus of prostrating labor, with but just compensation in the one hand, whilst aristocracy, luxury and licentiousness fattens on the other, depriving woman of her inalienable right to responsibility and accountability; the working man the reward of his wealth-creating energy, and our children, the future citizens of the world, the proper and legitimate means of equal education, training and opportunity.

Resolved, That the Spiritualists of the State of New Jersey recognize and gratefully appreciate the efforts of all reformers, and that we endorse the principles most ably set forth and enunciated by Victoria C. Woodhull as President of the American Association of Spiritualists in her address to the Spiritualists of America. We leave cavillers to play with words while we pay just appreciation to principles so masterly and unanswerably presented. To all objectors, we answer we have the two horns of the dilemma to choose from—right or wrong, truth or error, freedom or tyranny. There can be no policy in the philosophy of truth. Policy is the evil genius of religion and politics, and we commend her that she has dared to wipe it from her standard. The moment it was done Spiritualism became pregnant with great possibilities; it was a change of base from the defeat to the attack, worthy the genius of modern Spiritualism. New Jersey Spiritualism is aggressive, and is in unison with Victoria C. Woodhull, who means reform and nothing but reform.

Also the following from Chicago:

TO THE PEOPLE'S EQUAL RIGHTS PARTY, IN CONVENTION ASSEMBLED, GREETING:

No hope from the Cincinnati Liberal Republican Convention, no hope for the whole people. The majority of American citizens—the women of our country—were treated with contempt by that convention. The gentlemen who composed it profess to be liberal Republicans. Their profession of liberality is a fraud upon the people. They mean a change of officers, and that is about all they do mean. This so-called Liberal Republican party begins by representing dishonesty, and yet secures the nominations of Greeley and Brown by adroit trickery, which they hope the people will not hesitate to forgive. We will see.

We know Greeley. With all his reputation for espousing reform, he denounces the greatest of all reforms—the enfranchisement of woman. A wide-awake woman would make a better President than sleepy Horace Greeley.

B. Gratz Brown is the sworn friend of those who are endeavoring to overthrow civil and religious liberty, by incorporating the name of God in the United States constitution. In a letter which he addressed to the officers of the National Christian Association, dated St. Louis, November 19, 1864, he says:

"Let me say that I will gladly help on God's work in the purifying and exalting this nation, and inscribing His word as its supreme law, in any and all ways, and in any and all places. I believe, unless we become in very truth a Christian nation, all other nationality will be ephemeral and delusive. I believe, furthermore, that the world, and especially the western world, is awakening from its age of unbelief or spiritual languor, and that we are coming upon periods of active faith, when men will again seize upon and live or die by religious conviction as in the days of old. Let us then, by all means, help forward that expression which shall inscribe as the banner of our people, 'The Banner of the Lord.' Yours truly, 'B. GRATZ BROWN.'"

The free-thinking German, the Jew, the materialist, the Atheist have equal rights with Christians under our present Constitution, but B. Gratz Brown would take these rights away, would rob them of civil and religious liberty. I appeal to Free Religionists, to Spiritualists, and to all other friends of freedom to make no compromise with the enemies of equal rights, but to unite their forces with this People's Party, which I trust is born to sweep away every vestige of injustice under which the workingmen are suffering at the hands of monopolists; this party which will speedily place women on an equality with men in all the relations of life.

The Liberal Republican platform professes to favor "equal and exact justice to all," but it does not mean what it says. It says "people," but it does not mean people. It treats women as nobodies. That platform demands for the individual the "largest liberty consistent with public order." Its demand is a cheat. How much liberty will it give women?

Is not national paper currency better than specie currency? But the Liberal Republican platform demands a speedy return to specie payment.

There is another organization, the "Reunion and Reform." Its platform is superior to the Liberal Republican. It demands equal suffrage for all. This clause embraces women. It is still more explicit; it says: "We demand equal, civil and political rights for every citizen, and complete protection in the enjoyment of those rights." We say to the Reformers, work with us. If you mean *women* when you say, "equal suffrage for all, civil and political rights for every citizen," we will work with you.

Ladies and gentlemen of the Convention: The "Liberal Republican" and "Reunion and Reform" platforms revised and improved by you, with Temperance and Woman Suffrage planks added, and a woman nominee for the Presidency, will be as likely to win success as any of the parties opposed to human rights. Yours Respectfully, W. F. JAMIESON.

At a Convention held in the Liberal Institute, Salt Lake City, 21st April, 1872, it was

Resolved, That the following address, signed by the chairman and the committee drafting it, be presented to the People's Convention to be held in New York, 9th and 10th May. And, that Mr. and Mrs. Spear, delegates from California to said Convention, be requested to act as delegates from this city.

[The following, although addressed to the signers of the First Call, was evidently intended for the convention, which should form a new political party.]

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE'S CONVENTION,

AS CALLED BY ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, ISABELLA B. HOOKER, SUSAN B. ANTHONY AND MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE.

Believing with you that the time has come "to carry the principles of true morality into the State-house, the Court, and the market place;" and believing that the period has also arrived when the people of the United States need a national legislature and administration, which shall accept as its binding duty the solution of all the great social and industrial questions of the age; and feeling that the existing state of political parties is totally unconvertible to such a purpose, we endorse your proposition for the introduction of these higher sentiments into political life.

Hitherto it has never appeared to have entered into the minds of politicians that government should be a parental institution, upon which should rest the imperative obligation of caring for the weak, educating the masses, and studying the interests of the laboring classes. This higher phase of governmental life, however, will have to be sustained by the future statesmen of America. And, this land, which has led so proudly in the establishment of freedom, is yet destined to

[CONTINUED ON PAGE EIGHT.]

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THE CONVENTION.

All along in the evolution of civilization there have certain events occurred, which have distinctly marked its eras. In ancient times these consisted of great conquests and downfalls of nations—causing in succession the rise and fall of the Assyrian, Egyptian, Grecian and Roman Empires. Following these were the Dark Ages, and the empire of Charlemagne and Otho the Great. But after the days of which, epochs began distinctly to be marked by revolutions in which, to mere physical force, was added the subtler powers of religion and intellect—the Reformation, the Crusades, and the triumph of the Protestant over the Catholic in England. All of these refer to different eras in civilization. But upon the other continent still another power was joined with the conquering elements. To physical force and religious and intellectual convictions the still more subtle sentiment of freedom was now added. The Declaration of Independence, the revolutionary war and the birth of our existence as the United States were the results of this new element in evolution. A century has passed, and from the general sentiment of national freedom exemplified in politics, which inspired the people as a whole, the ascent has been made to the freedom of the individual, which is the ruling sentiment of this age.

And the convention just passed in Apollo Hall marks the birth of this new era. There, for the first time in history, did various shades of reform unite upon a common platform of principles. Men and women, old and young, suffragists, land and labor reformers, peace and temperance people, Internationalists, Socialists, Spiritualists, and Infidels, all found a common basis of human right upon which they could stand and agree. The old story that a variety of movements can never unite in one, there had refutation, and being refuted, a new political party had birth.

But to return to the beginning. The National Woman Suffragists issuing a call inviting the various reforms to unite with them called out a generous response. All parts of the country sent in its names to support the call pledged to the support of the new political party. On Thursday they all met in Steinway Hall, and listened to arguments delivered by those able and noble women who have for years so unflinchingly, unselfishly, and earnestly labored in the cause of woman, regarding the best methods by which to attain to a condition of justice. Many who heard these arguments, who have not heretofore been connected with the suffrage movement, were thoroughly astonished at the comprehensive, intellectual capacity they exhibited, and at their understanding of the principles involved in political economy.

Mr. Steinway had previously made some objection to his hall being occupied for the formation of a new political party, and as that was one of the distinct purposes of the convention, Apollo Hall was engaged for that purpose. Thus in the second day, Friday, the Delegate Convention assembled in the latter hall, while those who did not have the opportunity to speak on Thursday, occupied Steinway Hall on Friday, thus running two conventions.

It is not necessary that we assure our reader that this new movement is no mere child's play. If there ever were an assemblage of earnest and determined people gathered anywhere in the world, those six hundred and sixty-eight people were so. Many of them were such as had been for years entirely withdrawn from politics, disgusted with its corruption, while others were from the social reformers and philosophers, who had never mingled in political strifes, because they could see no good to flow from them.

Taken as a whole there was never so much wisdom, to say

nothing of intellect, simply as such, in any similar body of people. They were not there as politicians in the usual sense of that term, but they were there determined to inaugurate a new system of government in which there should be no room except for political science or a natural outgrowth of the principles involved in the system.

In a movement like this the principal feature of it must necessarily be the platform of principles; and in this regard we think we are safe in saying no such fundamental principles were ever before embodied in any one platform. Setting out with the direct announcement that it contemplates reforms in several important functions of government not permissible in our present system, it asserts the purposes to be to frame a new government. It then proceeds to specify what those reforms are to be, and includes the nationalization of law; the referendum; the abolition of monopolies of all kinds; the management of public enterprises by the government; the limitation of incomes from all enterprises in which the public are interested; the disposition of public land; the nationalization of money; the suppression of interest; a system of graduated taxation; public facilities for exchanging the products of labor; international arbitration to settle all national disputes; regulation of time and compensation of labor; forced employment of that class of people who live from their wits; the guarantee of employment to labor by the government; the abolition of the death penalty; reformatory system of prison discipline; impartial suffrage for all classes of people, restricted only by age, and by the same age; minority representation; a universal government as a finality; and the formal declaration of the fixed purpose to secure a political revolution that shall reconstruct the government in accordance with such principles, and, as a method, form an Equal Rights Party.

From this it will be seen that no issues were dodged; that just what the convention meant, they said. There is no mistaking the intention of its members. They mean the elaboration of the principles they enunciated into an organic law—a working governmental model—which shall have no provisions in dissonance with the truths of the Declaration.

And having laid down their platform they then proceeded to select candidates who should be the best exponents of its principles. In this respect they followed the same rules as with the platform. In the person of Victoria C. Woodhull there is no more mistaking the meaning of the convention than there was in the construction of the platform.

The principles which it includes, she has long been the most outspoken representative of. In her unanswerable arguments for political, social, industrial and educational equality and justice, there is found the very embodiment of the principles of the platform. Especially in the Impending Revolution are found the principles of industrial equity; and when we remember that this outspoken denunciation of the unequal distributions of the results of industry at its first presentation in this city, called out fifteen thousand people, which fact the "dailies" sought to ignore, some idea as to how the platform will be received by the large masses of laboring people throughout the country may be obtained. And the same enthusiasm which burst forth in Apollo Hall when her name was presented to the convention, which, according to all accounts, words are incompetent to describe, will also burst forth all over the country; and a political storm which at first consisted of no more than fifteen hundred voices, raised in unison without so much as a single opposing sound, will expand into a tornado that will sweep from one end of the country to the other; indeed, verifying the words of the call, purifying the country of demagogism, official corruption and party despotism, and inaugurating the reign of the people 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.

And as if to leave nothing undone to clearly set forth their intention, they placed upon the ticket for the second place one of the most distinguished representatives of the race which, with women, is almost equally downtrodden by the persons that are installed in the places of trust and power. It was met with a woman standing representative of all the principles of reform, including even the colored woman, that Frederick Douglass should also be placed to represent those so lately elevated into political equality with men, but who are not yet socially admitted to the same base.

Perhaps no ticket could have been selected whose effect upon the world would have been so profound. Outside of the fact that in the persons of the nominees the principles of freedom, equality, and justice are perfectly represented stands, the unanimous enthusiasm which prevailed when this point was reached. When the platform was first reported to the convention, each plank as it was read, was received with great applause, but when it came to having named its standard bearers, the scene beggars description; it was simply an epoch in history and will stand forever, as the culmination of one era and the beginning of another.

But making a platform, and nominating candidates, did not complete the work to be done. It was necessary that steps be taken to carry on the active campaign in the field; and it was in this regard alone that those who had entered the new field of operations were in doubt. The old political parties, find means to carry on their campaigns among the wealthy of their ranks, and from those who expect to secure position from success. This basis of power the new party lacked. It is the working classes who not only compose its members, but must furnish its sinews of strength. But as if by inspiration George W. Madox of Maine furnished the solution of this question in the proposition that the new party issue bonds of various denominations from one, to one thousand dollars, for

the payment of which, pledging the faith of the party after its principles shall have been victoriously inaugurated.

The reception which this novel proposition and the speech by which it was introduced met, not only showed its feasibility, but also that it would be adopted. Millions of dollars are spent in common political campaigns by the "upper ten," who, by the giving of it expect to retain their position. Why, then, should not the "lower millions" come forward and gladly contribute their "dollars" to assist in securing a change of government which will give them justice?

Immediately following the adoption of the proposition by the convention came the struggle as to who should be the first, second, and so on subscribers for the new bonds, from which and from the reception of it since the adjournment of the convention, the Central Committee unhesitatingly aver it as their conviction that not only will the laboring classes come forward to a person, but that the rich also will see in it the solution of the great question now at issue between labor and capital.

The formula adopted by the Central National Committee as the form of the bond, will be found elsewhere, and they are to be issued in denominations of one, five, ten, twenty-five, fifty, one hundred, and one thousand, engraved in the finest manner upon the best bank-note paper. Until these can be properly engraved, the committee will issue bonds in common print, to be exchanged when the others are ready for the people. Thus, in reality, is the great campaign for political, social, industrial, and educational equality fully embarked, and it will be fought to victory.

THE POST OF HONOR.

To Mr. J. Q. Sands, of 49 St. Mark's Place, city, belongs the honor of standing the first applicant for one of the Campaign Bonds of the Equal Rights Party. There is a peculiar significance attached to this fact, since Mr. S. is a representative, not of the laboring classes, but of the capitalists. He is wise enough to see the injustice of present conditions, and good enough to give his influence and money to help on the grand cause. It is also indicative of what may be expected from others of the same class who have humanitarian instincts, but who, up to this time, have seen no practical solution of the question.

THE VICTORIA LEAGUE.

The Central National Committee have adopted the above name for its campaign clubs; and they invite the cooperation of all friends of Equal Rights in every city, town, village and hamlet, in the formation of sections of the League. For information, documents and forms, application must be made to Carrie M. Spear, Secretary of the National Executive and National Central Committees, New York City.

We have talked, argued, written and scolded long enough. The time for action has come; and let every free soul begin at once, so that within three months there may be fifty thousand sections of the Victoria League, having millions of members. Not a single day should be lost. If no more than two persons in a single place are at first in favor of this, they should organize and go enthusiastically to work, remembering the terrible and deep meaning enthusiasm that prevailed in the Convention which first gave form to this movement.

HOW WILL THE COLORED PEOPLE VOTE!

About this there can be but one answer: they will vote with the party who have had the courage and the devotion to principle to place one of the race upon their Presidential ticket. Several organizations of colored people have already given in their adhesion to the new party, saying they have belonged to the Republican party, but since there is a better party in the field, they will now support it. The editor of a paper published in Lexington, Ky., in the interests of the colored people, visited the Central Committee last evening, and pledged the support of their vote in his State for Woodhull and Douglass; and the contagion will spread until it shall have transferred the entire colored vote to the new party, which alone of all the parties offers to the masses of those once slaves the certain means to political and social equality.

THE PRESS AROUSED.

The city dailies of Tuesday contained the following items regarding the progress of the movements of the Equal Rights Party:

From the preparations in progress by the new party of Equal Rights, it is evident that they do not intend to hide their light under a bushel during the coming Presidential campaign. At a meeting of the Executive Committee on Sunday evening, it was decided to hire a residence in some prominent locality, at a rental not to exceed \$1,000 a month, to be used as a headquarters for the organization, a place of meeting for its various committees, and part to be inhabited by the prospective Presidentess, Mrs. Woodhull and a committee of three, were appointed to secure the same. It was also resolved that bonds of the denominations of 5, 10, 25, 50, 100, 500, and 1,000 dollars be issued, and the same to be redeemable on the new party's accession to power, or when the present system of government is changed. Each member of the organization is responsible for the entire amount of bonds issued. The design for the same is now in the hands of the engraver, and when completed will be very handsome and tasteful.

At the meeting arrangements were made with WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY by the organization, and that sheet will be hereafter issued as the official organ of the Equal Rights. Speakers have been engaged and will be sent to various parts of the country to advocate the cause. Mrs. Woodhull, in company with Jennie C. Claflin, will stump the country from Maine to California, and the business of the firm will be transferred from No. 44 Broad street to the new residence. Money to support the party is being sent in rapidly, and they expect to have \$100,000 in the treasury within a few days. This is all the new party have decided upon at present, but from the assurances given to our reporter, it is evident that more to tickle the public fancy is to be shortly forthcoming.

CONVENTION PROCEEDINGS—CONTINUED FROM SEVENTH PAGE.

lift the science of government to a plane which shall include all that affects the social, moral and temporal conditions of its citizens within its sphere of operation.

In the inception of so novel a party as you propose, including as it will, representatives from every class of reformers, with all their shades of opinion and mental growth, we may, in the early days of so grand a movement, well expect much will be suggested in your councils and even tried, which will, hereafter, be found to be crude and impractical. But if the great confederacy of the United States, with its noble Constitution, was only arrived at as the final issue of years of experiment, and struggles, before the principles suitable for a national basework were reached and evolved, we need not feel discouraged if only through crudeness and conflict of thought, after repeated experiment, that higher phase of governmental condition we seek is realized. It is a work which will have to be commenced some day, and may as well be begun now as at any other time. Trusting that your movement may do much to accomplish so important an end, you have our fullest sympathies and desires for your success.

On behalf of the meeting, C. W. TAPPAN,

Chairman.
THOMAS C. ARMSTRONG,
O. L. T. HARRISON,
MRS. MARY GOODRE,
MRS. S. A. COOKE,
WILLIAM H. HOLMES, M.D.

Judge Carter then offered a resolution that the officers of the convention be instructed to inform the candidates of their nomination, and request their acceptance.

An attempt was then made to introduce a total abstinence resolution; but this was finally laid on the table.

The convention then took a recess until 3 P. M.

THE AFTERNOON SESSION.

After the singing by the choir, Mr. Madox made the following speech:

SPEECH OF MR. MADDOX, OF MAINE, ON RAISING MONEY OF THE CAMPAIGN.

FELLOW-CITIZENS, DELEGATES TO THE RADICAL REFORM CONVENTION: I do not propose to argue any proposition, but simply state some facts, that the lessons we learn from them shall not be uttered in an uncertain sound. To do this, I will first call your attention to the organization and constitution of the United States, and trace somewhat its operations and effects on the liberties of the people.

Our fathers went into the framing of the government and constitution, fresh from the inspiration of the Declaration of Independence, uttered by the grandest Democrat of the times, in words which will live when names are forgotten viz.: "We hold these truths self-evident, that all men are endowed by nature with certain inalienable rights, among which, are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." These truths enthused the lovers of humanity all over the civilized world, leaping from hill-top to hill-top, until the valleys sent back the echo to the noble heads and hearts which were at that moment battling to put them into form.

Thus fresh from that inspiration, and having secured recognition as a power among the nations, they framed a preamble upon the mutual rights of the people and prefacing the Constitution with "We, the People of the United States, in order to form a perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence; promote the general welfare, and secure the blessing of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish," etc., and doubly meant to carry that Declaration and preface into form; but failed utterly to embody the results of freedom in the instrument. True, they made it a representative government, based upon the free ballot of the people, and clothed the representation with complete, absolute irresponsible power to make and enforce the laws of the country. Thus putting the representative in the arena of temptation to barter away the rights of his constituents for individual place and power. So that to-day, as old Ben Wade said years ago, that a representative must be more than human if he do not feel the thieving atmosphere by the time he gets within twenty miles of Washington. Thus, they made a mistake when they, in that primal law, made the agent greater than the principal which stands behind the throne, and should be the sovereign.

What is the result? Why to-day the government, from the national to the municipal, is in the hands of the ring and lobby, controlled by capital in the hands of railroad companies and unprincipled money lords. Tom Scott to-day, or such as he, carries the Congress of the United States in his breeches pocket. Thus privileges are voted away without the least compensation to the people, placing the country in the hands of capitalists, they sharing and directing the elections as well as the primary meetings with their money bags. To-day the convention is not made up as this is from the voluntary enlistment, from all parts of the country, who have come here, many of you with scarcely means to pay for a square meal, but devoted to the cause of liberty, which overrides all privations and hardships. Thus you are here, because the government which was intended to secure liberty and justice is outside of the people and stands right across the path of progress and justice.

Who blames the representative for stealing? Not I, for a man must be more than human if he did not fill his pockets out of the public crib, when to steal is made honorable by being enacted into law, and to be poor is a crime punishable with death by slow starvation.

You are here, friends of justice, to inaugurate a new government, and to set aside old forms and wicked laws. Look at your Platform—do you mean it? It is revolutionary and sweeps the present government out of existence. Can you do it? It is easy to resolve, but quite a different thing to perform. You have put in nomination a person who, according to the verdict of the Judiciary, is ineligible to hold the high office of President of the United States, while you have taken a second on that ballot, who stands as the representative of a crushed and enslaved race for the last two hundred years. Are these your standard bearers? And do you purpose to go to the people with these parties and nothing else? I know your principles are just, and justice will not always sleep. I know that you have 7-10 of the people at your back, but they are like you, despoiled of the products of their toil, producing all the wealth of the country, but robbed by the other privileged 3-10 of 3-5 of their substance which obliges this great industrial class to barter themselves in the market for bread; your enemies have got the money, you have none; they are in the saddle, you are out, they are armed and equipped with all the unities of war, you are unarmed and no commissariat; though you are enthused to a frenzy what can you do? I am here to tell you how to get in the saddle, how to be armed, how to have an overflowing commissariat, how to

put \$10,000,000 into the canvass of this campaign which is to be as the capitalist says, the sinews of the war. And \$100,000,000 if needs be to carry the exponents of your platform to the White House.

Are you ready? Shall I tell you? It can be done. Will you do your part with \$10,000,000 of dollars, and 7-10 of the people at your back, (cheers). Then here it is, coming down or up from the infinite forces of nature. The Central National Committee of this Equal Rights party, shall issue, their bills of indebtedness bearing no interest, and redeemable when we shall establish justice in a pure Democracy through the referendum sending all laws back to the sovereign people, (cheers). Already I have hundreds, aye, thousands of dollars pledged on these bonds, every dollar of which will and shall be redeemed; because it is of the people, for the people, and by the people.

Will you take the bonds, I know you will not only here, but all over this country, from Maine to Georgia, the Atlantic to the Pacific, until the money-lord with his millions shall tremblingly ask to invest in the people's pledge. Then come to the rescue, there is no time to lose; for you are the saviour of the country from the relentless grip of money-lords who never relax until blood flows, show that the ballot is mightier than the bullet; but if they choose the bullet God pity them, for then goes down the wealth of ages, cities laid in ashes, and strewn with dead men's bones, innocent and guilty alike. The bonds and success at the ballot box saves us from that dire calamity.

Judge Carter then offered the following resolution, accompanying it with some spicy remarks.

Resolved, That knowing as we do that the people are just, and that they do not desire that all the burden of the labor and expense in this cause shall fall upon the devoted few, the National and Central Executive Committees are instructed to issue bonds, bearing no interest, and payable when the people succeed in regaining possession of the government, and that these bonds will be issued only for the necessary expenses of this campaign.

This resolution was adopted unanimously. Mr. J. S. Sands, of 49 St. Mark's Place, took the first one hundred dollar bond, and then Mr. S. M. Shaw, of Providence, R. I., followed by saying: "I am a working-man; never earned more than \$2 per day, but I will take \$100 worth of bonds."

Francis Lyons, of Tioga county, also took \$100.

Dr. E. B. Foote, \$200; Mr. Higgins, \$100, and pledged the State of New Jersey for \$3,000.

Mary F. Davis, of Orange, was then unanimously elected as treasurer, but she peremptorily declined, and the motion was laid upon the table.

Then the subscriptions went on: Harriet B. Burton, \$100; P. M. Kelsey, 319 West Twenty-sixth street, \$100; Miss Sarah E. Somerby, \$100; Mrs. E. C. Curtis, of California, \$100; Mrs. Anna Kimball, \$100; Mrs. Frank Crocker, \$200; Theodore Banks, \$100; Mrs. H. T. Bishop, \$100; Stephen F. Foster, of Boston, \$100.

Miss Carrie Maynard here arose and said:

I have no means at present, but I wish to pledge myself to collect from \$300 to \$600 within the next three months. [Great applause.]

Mrs. Kimball—I pledge myself, if given three months' time, to raise \$1,000. [Great applause.] And not only that, but I pledge myself to give all my time, and all my energies, for I believe that the election of Victoria C. Woodhull will inaugurate a new era of liberty in the country. [Applause.]

Mr. Coleman, of Pennsylvania—He was a poor man, and if there ever was a wages slave he was that slave. He did not know but what on going back to Philadelphia he should find his place forfeited for attending this convention; but he would give \$100, and if necessary give himself to the success of the cause.

The following resolutions were then presented:

Resolved, that a Committee of five to consist of John M. Spear, Stephen Pearl Andrews, Mary A. Leland, Geo. R. Allen, Anna M. Middlebrook to prepare an address setting forth the objects of the Equal Rights Party to be submitted to the National Executive Committee, and by them, if approved, published to the country.

Adopted.

WHEREAS, this Convention by its call recognizes all radical reformers, and invites the co-operation of every class of reformers, and Whereas, the cause of Temperance occupies the attention of hundreds of thousands of our fellow citizens, both men and women, and has also secured legal recognition in proof of its necessity.

Therefore Resolved, That we, by all reasonable means discourage the use of intoxicating liquors, as a beverage, and especially protest against any person holding Offices of Trust in either civil or military life, who is addicted to habitual drunkenness.

Adopted.

Resolved that the thanks of this Convention be extended to the city Press for the very liberal reports made of its first day's proceedings.

Adopted.

Resolved, That the free press of the country be requested by this convention to publish its proceedings.

Adopted.

Resolved, That we adopt, as the political banner of our campaign, the Goddess of Liberty, on plain and pure white, with the words "Equal Rights" underneath.

Adopted.

Resolved, That in the name of our common humanity, we protest against the late action of the despoiled petty despot of Denmark against the Internationals, and hear with horror the weekly roll of the death shots from Satory, which prove, to a mourning world, the depth of the degradation of France.

Adopted.

Resolved, That the protection of society against crime should be sought by reforming first, the systems of monopoly and of laws which subject legal plunder which produce poverty and impel to crime, and thus reforming the criminals.

Adopted.

Resolved, That this convention recommend the following form for the tickets of the Equal Rights Party, at the coming Presidential election:

The Woman's, Negroes' and Workingman's Ticket.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL,
(Of New York.)

FOR PRESIDENT.

FREDERICK DOUGLAS,
(Of the District of Columbia.)

FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

Laid on the table.

The Convention then adjourned to meet at eight o'clock, P. M.

EVENING SESSION.

The session was devoted entirely to short speeches by various members of the Convention, which continued until a late hour.

Judge Carter, on behalf of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions, presented the following resolution:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention are due to Hon. J. D. Rymert for the very able and impartial manner in which he has presided over its deliberations; and to all other officers for the efficient manner in which they have discharged their duties.

Unanimously adopted.

Judge Rymert replied in one of the happiest speeches given during the Convention.

The Convention then adjourned sine die.

Form of bond adopted by the Central National Committee, Equal Rights Party:

VICTORIA C.
WOODHULL
for President.

BANNER

FREDERICK
DOUGLAS
for Vice-President.

"CAMPAIGN BOND."

The National Equal Rights Party, through its Executive Officers duly elected and commissioned by the National Convention, at Apollo Hall, New York City, May 10th, A.D. 1872. In consideration of one hundred dollars paid by _____, of _____, to the Treasurer of the National Central Committee for the purposes of establishing the principles of the "Equal Rights Party" as expressed in its platform adopted by the National Convention at Apollo Hall, through the election of its nominees for President and Vice-President, do issue this Bond on the faith and at the risk of the holder thereof. The owner and holder thereof to be entitled to repayment of the said sum of One Hundred Dollars without interest upon the election of our said candidates only, and out of a sinking fund, to be then established by the National Executive Committee for the redemption of this and all other Bonds of this issue, and upon the surrender thereof to the Central Committee of the Equal Rights Party, and the cancellation thereof by the holder.

Signed, sealed and delivered without personal liability by the said; President and Treasurer, and countersigned by the Secretary.

Dated, Headquarters, New York City, May 15, A.D. 1872.

[Seal.]

Treasurer.
Current number
(5796.)

President.
Countersigned,
Secretary.

STRAY SHOTS.

EQUAL RIGHTS CONVENTION.—After a session of two days and nights, held by what some of the dailies termed, the "Wild men and women" of the United States, not a stain of tobacco could be detected on the floor of the main hall, although spittons were not provided for the use of the eight hundred delegates who occupied it. This proves that the miserable barbarians were pretty much unacquainted with the use of tobacco. In the Committee Room, under one of the tables some stains were seen, a painful evidence that we did not entirely keep outside politicians out of our sanctum. A witness of both conventions asserts that if the citizens whose duty it was to clean after the Cincinnati gathering could have seen Apollo Hall, when our delegates left, they would prefer the company of "Wild men and Women" to that of Gentlemen—solus.

JUDGE LYNCH, we beg pardon, we mean Mr. Recorder Hackett, in the case of John Corcoran, is reported to have condemned the late action of the New York Legislature in including the pistol among the weapons which citizens are prohibited from carrying about their persons. It would seem that Mr. Recorder Hackett would like to form a partnership between natural and civil law. Alas! this is the curse of the times? Give us either one or the other, not both. The mixture is worse than barbarism.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION.—Dickens, in Nicholas Nickleby describes it thus: Schoolmaster Squeers. Spell, "clean," boy! Boy. C-l-e-a-n—verb active, to make bright, to scour. Schoolmaster. "Window." Boy. W-i-n-d-o-w—noun, a casement. Schoolmaster. Now boy go and clean the parlor-windows directly—that, Mr. Johnson, is what we call—"Technical Education."

Pretty much the same kind of colloquy took place last week, whilst the "National Woman Suffrage Association" at Steinway Hall was spelling "Woman Suffrage," the Equal Rights Party at Apollo Hall went and did it. TIBAILLEUR.

A TICKET FOR UTOPIA.—So heads the N. Y. Standard of the 13th inst., its account of the Equal Rights Convention. The items of news in the column next it are headed thus:

"Fatal affray in Williamsburg."
 "A terrible sight—An insane mother drowns her infant in a pail of water."
 "Shocking murder in Troy."
 "The wife-murder in Paris."
 "Two murderers sentenced in Connecticut."
 "A Nova Scotia homicide."
 "Murder in Nova Scotia."
 "Screening murderers work. Desperate affray in the Twentieth Ward."
 "Attempted wife-murder in Newark."
 "Assault with a hatchet."

Well, after this list, we think that "A ticket for Utopia" is needed.

LETTER FROM MINNESOTA.

CHAMPLIN, Minn., April 20, 1872.

DEAR BRAVE EDITORS: Though only able to use the feeble pen of a paralytic, I feel impelled to express my joy that you are inspired to speak, write, and print such burning and blistering words as fill your columns. It is a work of bravery, which knows no such word as *fail* in any movement for humanity. It is that invincible spirit which fears no opposition and admits of no defeat; it conquers all obstacles.

It is true that thousands such as you, in times past, were subjected to the dark dungeon, the bloody gibbet and the flaming faggot; and no doubt we have to-day enough of that same cruel spirit of bigotry to persecute you in the same manner. But the multiplicity of conflicting sects and parties in this country renders such persecution impossible. This it is also which makes a free press practicable. Of the five thousand presses of which we boast, very few can properly be called free; and on these devolves the work of fighting the battle of progress against such fearful odds of servile ignorance, conservatism and old fogeyism. Among the free papers the WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY stands pre-eminent.

Woman suffrage is the great reform of the world. It is comprehensive, involving many other reforms—financial, industrial, social, etc.; cur-blind hair splitters object to these last as side issues, and refuse to co-operate on the main question unless the smaller ones are abandoned. As well might the farmer, with wheat on the brain, decline producing this grand staple because others persist in raising also corn, potatoes, cabbages, etc. The beauty of agriculture lies in its variety of soil and produce. So in reforms. If we do one thing, another, and perhaps many others must necessarily be done at the same time, as collaterals. One grows out of another. We may object to discussing the marriage question in connection with suffrage; but if we drive the plow of reform, it will unavoidably turn up a deep black furrow in this department. We must take what comes, and no one should be frightened. All that is now good and perfect in marriage will remain, for it is indestructible. Let us never object to any reform. The more the world is reformed the better and the more beautiful will it be.

The question of woman's enfranchisement has been pretty thoroughly and extensively discussed. The principle is fundamental and self evident, applying the same in Minnesota as in New York, in Europe as in America, and is understood by intelligent minds everywhere. The working-class generally favor the movement. Religious bigots, office-holders and dogged, selfish politicians oppose it—but not with argument. Their opposition is simply mulish stubbornness. What use, then to multiply words? The affirmative side has already virtually achieved the victory, both in argument and numbers. But the minority hold the reins of government, as tyrants, robbers, and usurpers, and they will keep a tight grip until forced to yield.

It is possible that time and patient waiting might place the ballot in woman's hand without a severe struggle; but, under the present prevailing method of political party management, I confess the prospect is dubious. Moral principle has no controlling influence. The selfish, cunning few control the toiling multitude by the power of wealth, monopoly, and their clap-trap style of carrying elections. And this office-holding and office-seeking class is determined to pick the pockets of the people. And to hold the positions whereby they can do it.

In view of the situation, then, I see no alternative but to accept of your proposition to inaugurate a new government outside of the existing one. It will, of course, be a peaceful and uninjurious one in its method of operation, which is all I need to know beforehand of its features and details. Please append my name to the call for the May Convention, though I shall not be able to attend; I shall wish to hear what noble things are done. Yours, for the whole truth and a brave free press,

A. GAYLORD SPALDING.

SECOND LETTER FROM ALBERT BRISBANE, DEFINING SOCIAL SCIENCE.

FRIEND G.: In my last I defined in what Society consists. I indicated also the order of succession, which has reigned in the Societies which Humanity has evolved up to the present day.

As I remarked, we must know what Society is, in what it consists, before we can discover its Science. The mind must have a practical and concrete idea of a thing to evolve its Theory; in other words, Reason must be aided by the Senses in order to discover the laws and principles which underlie any branch of knowledge. This point is important to be understood, as it shows the absolute necessity of a clear conception of the nature of Society before Social Science can be defined. I stated in my last, that men were familiar with plants and animals, and with their external formation before they began to study the theory of their organization, and created the sciences of Botany and Zoology. I will take another illustration to explain this point more fully. Thoughtful minds observed the different strata in mines and on mountain sides. These material facts, observed by the senses, were suggestions and guides to the mind. They speculated on the facts, and gradually evolved the science of Geology. If the surface of the earth had been unbroken, and every where covered evenly over, and no mines had been sunk, so that the different strata could not have been observed, the Science would have remained undeveloped.

Now, the same is true of Social Science. We must know what Society is, in what it consists, the elements of which it is composed, the facts and phenomena connected with it, before we can create the Science.

This analysis of society disclosing its nature and constitution, and the elements of which it is composed, has not been made. Ask any of our thinkers on political and social questions, to define what Society is, and they will furnish no satisfactory answer. No full and clear analysis of the abstract thing called Society, has been made. Such an analysis is necessary, and must precede the creation and regular constitution of the science.

In my last, I defined in a general way what is to be understood by the term Society. I will now explain in what it consists; I will point out the elements which enter into, and constitute it.

Society is a whole compound of institutions, laws, and customs, combined and co-ordinated into an organization. It is an organized Whole, as the human body, for example, is an organized whole, though far less complete and perfect, as the latter is a completed work of nature, while the former is in its present state an incomplete work of man. Through the institutions of the social organism the spiritual Forces in man called sentiments, passions, instincts, faculties, etc., act externally and collectively, as through the physical organism or the body, they act internally and individually. We will present our analysis in tabular form, which will render it more clear and appreciable.

THE SOCIAL ORGANISM WITH ITS BRANCHES.

First Branch.

Education—Development of the child, the germ of the man. Three sub-branches.

1. Physical and industrial education, having for its function the development of the body, and the imparting to it of industrial skill and dexterity.
2. Affectional and social education, having for its function the development of the social Sentiments and the social virtues.
3. Intellectual and scientific education, having for its function the development of the mind and instruction in the sciences.

Second Branch.

Industry—Creation of wealth. Three sub-branches.

1. Production of wealth, effected by agriculture, manufactures, mining, transportation, fishery and hunting. And household labor.
2. Exchange of wealth, effected by commerce and banking.
3. Division of wealth, determined by the laws, institutions and customs of society, which regulate landed property, capital, labor, the currency, interest, rents, taxes, etc.

Third Branch.

Ethical or Social Institutions—Regulating the development of the social sentiments, and the relations to which they give rise. Four sub-branches.

1. Marriage, regulating the development of Love, and the affectional relations to which it impels the sexes.
- Three other Institutions regulating the development and action of the three cardinal sentiments, called Ambition, Friendship and Parentalism, which with Love, give rise to the personal social relations of human beings. The germs only of these institutions now exist.

Fourth Branch.

Government—Regulating the political and collective relations and operations of human beings. Three sub-branches:

1. Legislation—The law—making function.
2. The Judiciary—The law—interpreting function.
3. The Executive—The law—administering function.

Fifth Branch.

Religion—Regulating the ideal relations of Man with God and the Universe. Three sub-branches:

1. Worship, comprising the Rites and Ceremonies by which man expresses his desire for Unity with God.
2. Morality, comprising the laws and ordinances of conduct which direct Man in conforming his finite life to the will of God, and the moral order of the universe.
3. Theology, the theory of the Divine nature, of immortality, of human destiny, the origin and end of creation, etc. The theologies of the past are the preliminary theories which the mind has framed on these great questions.

Sixth Branch.

The Sciences—The collective Reason, guiding the individual Reason in its mental labors and operations. Their general function is to enlighten man on the order of the Cosmos, including the world in which he lives with its phenomena and the laws that underlie them. Their special function is to direct him in organizing, in accordance with the laws of order and organization in creation, the five branches of the social organism. The sciences can only perform their functions when fully developed; they are still in the infantile stage of evolution.

Seventh Branch.

The Fine Arts—Creation of Refinement, Beauty and Harmony. Their general function is to embellish and refine the external world in which man lives; to present to the Intellect and Sentiments material images and correspondences of the harmonious, which they intuitively feel; and to charm and exalt the soul by beholding itself mirrored in material creations which bring to practical consciousness their internal nature. The special function of the Arts is to adorn and beautify the material arrangements and details connected with the five branches of society—the implements working dresses and manufactures of Industry, for example—so as to associate elegance and refinement with the practical life of man in all departments. This function can only be exercised in the future under the normal organization of society.

The social System or Organism is made up of these seven branches, as the physical organism of man, for example, is made up of the system of nerves, of blood-vessels, of the muscles, etc.

The first branch, Education, develops the mind, which is the germ of the future man. To be complete, education should be physical, affectional and intellectual; or industrial, social and scientific, developing the body, the affections and the mind. In our incomplete Societies the third branch only has received attention, and has been partially developed and constituted. Our schools and colleges are the agencies or institutions for the intellectual education of the young.

The second branch, Industry, creates the wealth which man requires for his support and comfort, and gives to him the means of obtaining dominion over nature. Industry is, so to speak, the Hands of Humanity; it is its collective hands by which it executes the great industrial labors it must perform to fulfill its function or destiny on the globe it inhabits.

The third branch, Social Institutions, regulate the development and action of the social Sentiments—Love, ambition, parentalism and friendship, as they are called in common language. These Sentiments are forces in man; they impel him to form affectionate or sympathetic ties and relations with his fellow creatures. Like all forces, they require external mediums or organs through which to act, called mechanisms or organisms, according to the nature of the forces acting

through them. Steam, for example, can only act through a mechanism called a steam engine; the vital force in an animal can only manifest itself through an organism, called the body. Social Institutions—marriage and others—are the external medium, the organism, through which the moral forces or the sentiments express themselves and act externally. The character or nature of the institutions determine the mode of development and action of the moral forces, something as the cerebral organism determines the mode of action of the mind. What a difference in development and action is given to Love by Polygamy and monogamic Marriage.

The fourth branch, Government, or the system of political Institutions, regulate the collective relations, operations and interests of men, considered as members or citizens of a whole, called the State or Nation. It does for collective or political relations what the ethical or social institutions do for the personal and affectional relations.

The fifth branch, Religion, regulates the ideal relations of Man with the Universe,—of the finite Soul with the great spiritual Whole of which it is a part, and with its supreme head or centre, to which men have given so many names, from Dyu and Jehovah to God. Man believes himself intuitively to be, not only a denizen, a citizen of this world, but also of the great whole. He feels his unity with it; he seeks to comprehend it; to understand his relation to, and his destiny in it. A *Spiritual Gravitation* attracts him to it as material gravitation attracts particles of matter to their centres. This spiritual gravitation is the religious sentiment. Religion is a system of fixed and accepted rites, ordinances and dogmas, and an organization, which regulates the development of the religious sentiment, and directs it. Through Worship with its rites and ceremonies, man expresses by material acts his Unity with God. Through Morality with its prescriptions and ordinances, he seeks to conform his life and conduct to his idea of the Divine attributes. Through Theology, he explains as best he can the mystery of the Deity, his own destiny, and the enigma of creation. Worship may be considered the Body of religion; morality, the Heart; and theology, the Head. Religion is thus composed of three elements—a material, a moral, and an intellectual,—as is Man himself.

The Sciences are the guides of Man; he has complex relations to fulfill, and a great work of organization to execute—possible only with the aid of Science. The animal, for example, with few and simple relations, having no work of organization or construction to perform, except a nest to build, a hole to dig, or a honey-comb to fashion, does not require Science. But Man having complex social relations to regulate, and social institutions to organize, needs Science. It is to him mental vision, and gives him the power of using universal laws and principles in his complex constructions.

The great work now before human Reason is the discovery of the Laws of order and organization in Nature, or more generally in the Cosmos, revealed in the material world around it. These laws, Reason must use as its intellectual instruments and guides in organizing Society. Until it does this, it cannot organize Society normally and scientifically; and men must live under imperfect institutions devised by capricious legislation, that is, by theorizing and speculating without the aid of positive principles.

The Fine Arts perform the same function in embellishing as the Sciences in organizing. Their function is to establish beauty and harmony in all departments and details of the five branches of the social organism, which admits of artistic embellishment, and thus to give charm to human life. They will embellish and beautify, for example, productive Industry in the future as they have Worship and the courts of Kings in the past. Each of the Series will give rise to a Harmony, or rather will furnish the Intellect (the combining and co-ordinating power) the elements and data with which to create a harmony. The Musical, based on the sense of Hearing, is the only one which has been fully and scientifically developed. Three other Harmonies, based on the senses of Sight, Taste and Smell, remain to be evolved. Painting, sculpture and architecture—three branches of visual harmony—have been empirically developed, but the scientific laws which govern the harmonic distribution and combination of Form and Color are as yet undiscovered. Touch, the trunk out of which the other senses ramify, has no corresponding harmony.

Such are the branches which, according to our analysis, compose the Whole, called Society, the social System, or, more exactly, the social Organism. The latter term is correct, for, if Society, with its institutions, is the external medium through which the spiritual Forces in man (the faculties and sentiments) act and manifest themselves externally, it is to be considered an Organism—the name applied to all mediums through which vital forces operate. If the forces in man were of the same nature as the forces in the material world—steam, electricity, and others—then Society would be termed a Mechanism instead of an organism.

As we have remarked, the social Organism is the Body of a collective Soul, as the physical organism of man is the body of an individual soul. Both are alike external mediums or instruments in which the collective and individual souls live, and through which they act. If we wish to understand the nature of the human body, we dissect or analyze it, and ascertain the various parts of which it is composed, and their structure and functions. Now, if we wish to understand the apparently abstract and intangible thing called Society, we must pursue the same course. We must analyze it, separate it into its constituent parts, and study their construction and their functions. This we have endeavored to do in our analysis. If imperfect or erroneous in details, it furnishes a basis from which to make a better analysis.

With a clear idea of the nature of the social Organism before the mind, the constitution of its various parts, and their functions, it can appreciate the greatness of the work in which humanity has been and is still engaged in creating a social Organism—a complete and scientific Organism—under which it can develop fully its triple nature, sensuous, affectional and intellectual, live in unity with the order and harmony of the cosmos and accomplish its destiny on the earth. The different systems of Society which have been established in the past, are so many experiments which the progressive races of humanity have made, so many phases through which they have passed in pursuing their great work of social evolution and construction. The inventions and discoveries that have been made in industry, art and science; the partial organizations that have been devised and tested, are so many materials that have been prepared and accumulated, ready to be used in the true and scientific social structure that is to come; they constitute the social apprenticeship and initiation of humanity. It stands, perhaps, even now on the threshold of a great social transformation, at the entrance of what we will term the Organic Society to distinguish it from the incompletely organized societies of the past and present, which may be designated as the Inorganic. If the statesmen and thinkers of our age could comprehend the social movement of Humanity and social doctrines, they could undertake at once the great work of social transformation, and carry it through scientifically, constructively and peacefully, obviating the revolutions which

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will otherwise convulse the social world in the struggle which is impending.

In the creation or evolution of systems of Society, two operations take place.

First. The Elements of the various Branches are elaborated. For example, in the Industrial branch, tools, implements and machinery are invented, processes discovered, methods of labor devised, and laws regulating landed property, capital, the currency, rents, etc., framed and established. In the other branches their elements are in the same way developed. The Sciences and the Fine Arts offer examples which we can easily understand.

By reference to the Table, it will be seen that the elements of all the seven branches are, with very few exceptions, in an incomplete and imperfect state of elaboration. In Education, the third branch only is to some extent elaborated. In Industry, fine implements and machinery and efficient means of transportation (the railroad and steamboat) have been invented, but the other elements of this branch are in an imperfect state, though more advanced than those of any other. Of the Sciences, but one—Mathematics—is fully constituted, and of the Fine Arts, one only has received its normal and complete development; namely, Music.

Second. When the elements of a branch are elaborated, or to some extent elaborated, Organization begins. It cannot, of course take place until there is something to organize. In early Egypt for example (where the first regular organization was, in our opinion, effected), as soon as some primary elements of production were invented and introduced, and some principles of authority secured, they were combined and co-ordinated, that is, organized, and Industry and Government were established. The work of organization continued as new elements were elaborated. The different systems of Society which have been established are the peculiar modes in which the genius of the different races has elaborated the elements or rudiments of society, and the principles on which it has combined or organized them.

The Organizations are necessarily more imperfect than the elaborations, as the former follow the latter. In our modern civilization, for example, the elaboration of the elements of industry (machinery processes, etc.) is carried to a comparatively high degree, while our organization is rude and incomplete, and in many respects false and unjust. For example, our great manufactures, which are fine specimens of organization, are industrial prisons, in which the working classes are subject to severe and poorly required toil, to unhealthy conditions and a degrading discipline.

The Races which evolved the first four historical Societies, the Egyptian, the Chaldeo-Assyrian, the Medo-Persian, and the Greek and Roman, lapsed after their social constructions into inertia, and disappeared as nations, but their creations remained and as so much social capital for Humanity. Our modern civilization, the fifth, has inherited all that is really valuable in the social evolutions of the past races, so that their labors have not been lost, although they themselves have disappeared or been absorbed in other races. Each Society has done a work, and performed a function in the great construction of Humanity; each has occupied a place in the series.

If we take in at one view the whole course of the social evolution of the past, from the Egyptian civilization, with its simple faith and its rude elaboration of elements, and its rude constructions, down to our modern civilization, with its science and its complex arrangements and organizations, we find that but one great system of society with five branches, has existed or one class of societies with five orders. Unity of principles has underlain these societies. Notwithstanding the apparent differences of form and external manifestations, and of effects, they have been virtually and fundamentally the same. Their organization has not been based on scientific principles, on the true laws of social order, and hence has not been the natural organization of human society. They are the preparatory and transitional forms of social construction, or the Inorganic Societies. They constitute the inorganic or formative phase in the general social evolution of humanity, considered in its entirety, preparing for the completed and organic societies of the future.

Having taken this survey of elaborations and organizations, and of the succession that has reigned in them, we may say that, if order exists in the social phenomena of humanity—if history is not an incoherent jumble of events—then there must be a theory of social Evolution, and this theory rendered exact, becomes a Science. As such, it forms the first branch of Social Science, and this first branch may be defined as follows:

Theory of the social Evolution of the past; of the order of succession which has reigned in the different systems of Society that have been established; of the plan of each in the great historical series, and the function of which each has performed in aiding the social progress of humanity.

(To be Continued.)

AMERICAN LABOR REFORM LEAGUE.

[CONCLUDED FROM LAST WEEK.]

[From the New York World, May 6.]

EVENING SESSION.—Mr. Hanson said he had been trying for six months to solve the problem of "the cause of the involuntary distress of nations." The inequitable distribution of the products of industry is not the only cause of the misery of the English laboring people. Taxation in consequence of war is one of the principal causes. The war debt and the commercial system under which we live are the proximate causes of the great misery of the poor of the United States. Of the 40,000,000 people of this land only one-fourth are producers. Thirty-seven millions of American people live on 34 cents per day. Twenty-nine millions of Britons live on 24 cents a day, and \$15 will buy as much in England as \$30 here. Hence it is seen that we are already down to the British level. It is time, then, for radical reform. The speaker insisted that no human being can rightfully obtain an income of \$10 a day. As talents, like natural elements, are the gifts of nature to the race, nothing should be charged for their use. Talents well used furnish their own reward. He advocated the doctrine called "Cost the limit of price," at great length.

Mr. Brisbane said he would say a word to reformers and not to outsiders. The first law of nature is organization. A man is only a grander animal than an oyster, because he is more highly organized. The speaker presented his usual arguments in favor of the organizations of townships into social and industrial associations. If men and women live in this way there is a fair chance to break up land monopoly. There will be no desire of parents to monopolize land for their children. Then as to woman's rights. This is a great movement. But in the isolated household woman can never have her rights. The kitchen is woman's hell. If you bring people into the associated household where one can cook for fifty, there begins to be a chance for woman's deliverance. It took railroads to stop

the wickedness of stage-drivers. The old drivers were like saurians, who had to take in a great deal of carbon to stand the rack of their inclement surroundings. Again, when labor becomes as attractive as it will be, women will go into many branches without sacrificing the delicacy and beauty of her nature. As to the labor question, four profits are made on the work of the laborer—one by the boss, one by the merchant, one by the banker, and one by the landlord. The associated life will stop all this in a great degree. Then the religious question. You cannot make really pious people in isolated life. If the clergy were wise they would try to make social regulations conform to man, not man to society. So all the reforms must be preceded by a scientific organization of society.

Stephen Pearl Andrews referred to the great diversity of opinion among reformers. One mistake people make is to suppose that the truth is simple. The complication of opinions displayed here would be sufficient proof of this. There is doubtless great truth in the arguments of all reformers who have spoken in this convention, though they may seem to contradict each other. The speaker illustrated his favorite theory of integralism by the help of his favorite instrument, the walking stick. He spoke favorably of the doctrine of the graduated tax, as something that might become contagious, and first teach the laboring men their real power. The convention then adjourned, to meet to-day at 10 o'clock, in room 24 Cooper Institute.

SECOND DAY.

The American Labor Reform League Convention met at Room 24, Cooper Union, yesterday morning at 10:30 o'clock. The usual programme of the convention was varied by holding the third annual meeting of the American Anti-Usury Society its President, Edward Palmer, in the chair. The President said: "The object of this society is to put an end to the most gigantic system of iniquity that the world has ever known—a specious and overpowering device transmitted to us from past generations, and which we are morally bound not to have transmitted to the next. Usury, modernly called interest, is a subtle system of falsehood of such mighty false power that it over-rides and falsifies all human affairs. It leads directly to extravagance and profligacy on the one hand, and to poverty and degradation on the other. Even at 1 per cent., unrighteously giving ten thousand a year to any millionaire from the hard earnings of honest labor, the power of the system to injure and oppress would still be sufficient to subvert moral principle and prevent the establishment of truth and righteousness among men. Justice demands that we no longer tolerate, or by our silence sanction a system of such unlimited wickedness.

Speeches were made by J. K. Ingalls, E. H. Heywood and others.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The afternoon session opened at 3 o'clock, Mrs. E. L. Daniels in the chair. Mr. Masquerier, whose life-battle has been in favor of "inalienable homesteads," advocated the right of every man and woman to that blessing.

Wm. B. Greene, of Massachusetts, was elected President for the ensuing year, Mrs. Daniels, John Orvis, Albert Brisbane, Mrs. Stanton, and others, Vice-Presidents, and E. H. Heywood, secretary.

Colonel Beeny spoke of land reform, and said that working people have it in their power to assume whatever rights are truly theirs just as women have, but, like women, the majority of them side with the oppressors. The people generally are satisfied that the land should not be given as it is to railroad speculators, but Congress ignores this fact. There are a few points upon which reformers should give a united testimony. All truly enlightened men can agree to testify in favor of land reform, woman's rights, an inalienable homestead, and several other reforms. The speaker labored against land monopoly since 1834, but felt that little had been done. Out of fourteen or fifteen hundred millions of acres of public land all but about four hundred millions have been given to monopolists for nothing. But the Cincinnati Convention has adopted a clause against land monopoly. This is one point gained.

Mr. Brisbane said it had cost him some money and reputation to be a reformer, but he takes courage when he sees God Almighty taking hold of things. The long-haired men and strong-minded women have been the most useful citizens of this republic. Railroad grants may have been the useful in the past, but the time has come to stop them.

Ira B. Davis believed that cost should be the limit of price, but did not see how that doctrine could be carried out except by getting the whole nation to associate on that principle. He scouted the idea of leading men to do right because it is just. Appeal must be made to self-interest. Judas was as good as Jesus. He played a different role. Edwin Booth earns as much by playing Iago as by playing Hamlet. We are all in hell. The question is how to get out. We are all tarred with the same brush; one is as good as another. But all are taught to prey upon each other; how can we expect good conduct?

After several other speeches the convention adjourned to meet at the same place in the evening.

EVENING SESSION.

Mrs. Daniels said that the reformers are not fighting persons, but evils. Of all the remedies that had been proposed she thought no one was as good and practicable as the graduated tax. In the war we did not hesitate to draft men to save the country. Shall we hesitate to assess the very rich for the same purpose? The graduated tax is a coal from off the altar of God. It does not mean that you shall bring all men down to one level. It means that the vast accumulations of money belong to the people. "This graduated tax I prophesy shall be the key-note of a psalm of deliverance that shall sweep through the land." Instead of leveling down it will level up towards God. It will arouse the working people to such a pitch of excitement as they have not reached in a long while, and be a principal means of freeing them.

Mrs. Woodhull said that one of the mistakes of reform is that it has nothing to do with politics. If women are not governed the speaker was ready to subside. If she and other women are governed, she proposes to have something to do with politics until woman's suffrage is decreed. All true reforms are one; if they will take a long pull together, they will find obstacles flying out of their way. They will stand appalled at the progress they will make. "Our enemies are afraid of nothing so much as numbers." When the reformers, then, get in power, they will amend the Constitution by striking it all out. The speaker said that she had just left Mrs. Stanton, Miss Anthony, and other reformers, and was sorry to see that they had determined to have nothing to do with anything but woman's suffrage in the Steinway Hall convention. She was disgusted at this. It is said that gray heads must lead in these matters, but she hoped that some brave young people, with nothing but liberty in their hearts, would go to that hall and show those women how narrow those ideas are.

John Orvis, of Massachusetts, said that no one reform will relieve the people. Land limitation by itself would result in such minute subdivision of the property as is seen in France, which brings almost as much misery as land monopoly. Sci-

entific reconstruction of society is the great need, but all the great projects of reform must be thoroughly discussed before associative life will be feasible. Honorable, charitable Horace Greeley, the most popular man in the country—what has he done? Thirty years ago he was an out-and-out Fourierite, but all the while he was pushing Whig politics. As to his tariff, it is only a question of being robbed by an Emperor or an American thief. Not John Morrissey and the wickedest man are the representatives of the "dangerous classes," but Greeley, Bryant, Stewart, and Tom Scott.

Mr. Ormsby read a paper on the woman question, and Theodore H. Banks and Mr. Maddox made vehement speeches, introductory to the coming Woodhull convention. The League then adjourned, and met again in New York next May.

POLITICAL ECONOMY AND INTEGRAL REFORM.

It has been said that events have their logic, and it may be added that progress has its logic.

The time was when human society on this earth existed only in possibility and polygamic marriage was its first actuality.

Polygamy consisted in the monopoly of woman by irresponsible individual men, and polygamic marriage was a despotic compact that was accomplished by individual male usurpation, also this polygamic marriage despotism was the actual basis of all other individual despotism.

Class usurpation logically follows individual usurpations, and class monopoly follow individual monopoly; also in either case monopoly is the logical result of usurpation.

Class usurpations are many headed despotisms, and, therefore, they may properly be designated as politicisms.

Marriage modified by class usurpation becomes monogamic, and monogamic marriage is the logical basis of all national politicisms—commonly known by the name republics or republicanism which literally signifies a return to the people, but practically it signifies the return of leadership to a class.

Politicisms is the logical transitional link between individual despotism and pure publicism.

In pure publicism there is neither individual or class usurpation or monopoly, and headship is shared by all self-invested, self-supporting members.

Politicisms is a compound of class despotism and class publicism.

The aspiration for individual pre-eminence presides over all despotisms, individual or class, and the aspiration for individual rights must preside over all publicisms.

Military compulsion is the financial basis of all despotisms, pure or politic; but in politicisms, military compulsion is modified by political or class monopolies.

In a pure despotism commerce is accomplished by the dictum of military conquest, and dictatorial commerce modified by class monopoly becomes trade.

The outline requirements of a trade commerce are: a variety of industry, a surplus of production, a test of quantity, a scale of values, a medium of currency, a system of credit, a rate of profit, and a substitution of values.

In political or class monopoly, are comprised as its outlines, legal tax levies on industry; legal tariff imports on exchangeable commodities; legal toll gathering tests of quantity; legal assessment scales of value; a legal fictitious currency medium; a legal system of fictitious credit; a legal rate of fictitious interest; and a legal fictitious substitute for values.

Political monopoly is accomplished mostly by the monetary system of finance.

Finance and financial are derived from fine or fines. Finance signifies the sum or revenue collected by fines, and financial pertains to fines.

All commodities are naturally exchangeable according to supply and demand; and quality being equal, quantity is a correct measure of value, but in politicisms commercial balance is destroyed by monopoly.

The coining of metals was invented as a measure of quantity and value; and coinage to a scale was invented as a scale of measure and value.

The word *m-o-n-e-y* is composed of coin and mine by substituting the *o* of coin for the *i* of mine and *y* is added to signify that it partakes of the nature of.

The word money is applicable only to metals measured by coinage; and any other use of the word is a falsity that can serve only to deceive and defraud, the same as does any false naming or labeling.

Money was the most durable and current of all commodities, and therefore it became the basis of a systematic modification of military finance.

The outlines of the monetary department of finance; are a legal tax, on mine; a legal tariff on coinage; a legal toll gathering, money measure; a legal assessment money scale; a fictitious, monetary, currency medium; a fictitious, monetary, system of credit, a fictitious money-rate of interest, and a fictitious money substitute for value.

Promissory notes were invented as an evidence of debt and credit.

The addition of the money measure and scale to promissory notes, was invented to facilitate the accomplishment of a fictitious currency medium; of a fictitious system of credit; of fictitious interest/rates and of a fictitious substitute for value.

These fictions are the real basis of our commercial system and of all our banking institutions.

By virtue of these fictions these institutions largely controls industry and its productions with commerce and its advantages; also these fictions and institutions are the phantasmagoria of an economic, bloodless system of robbery that renders pillage easy unsuspected and respectable.

One and only one more grand step is necessary to complete a grand system of politico, moneyocratic monopoly; that will secure the control of all industrial production and of all com-

mercial advantages, without giving any just equivalent therefor.

This step is the complete substitution of a political, promissory, paper currency, for all the productions of all the toil, of all the toilers of all these broad states and territories, present and prospective, and the value of these fictitious substitutes must be guaranteed by a political mortgage on all the wealth, honor, industry and commerce of this vast country.

This monopoly system with its military reserve will comprise the length, breadth, depth, and height of all the possibilities of political economy.

False labels and names with gaudy gildings and fictitious pretensions are being used to deceive and lead on to this last possible snare of spoliation.

All politic arrangements are transitional from pure despotism to pure publicanism; and from politicisism, class distinction, has been eliminated; till ostensibly there are but two classes—male and female; and one basis of distinction, called sex.

Ostensibly man is the political head; and the civil status of woman remains nearly the same as in pure despotism, also so far as her womanhood is concerned, she is legally recognized only as a chattel.

While woman is thus subjected to personal slavery, man cannot have the necessary conditions of freedom from the industrial slavery of hiring service, but abolish the personal womanhood slavery of marriage, and the way is open for the abolition of all other slaveries by social reconstruction.

Eliminate this last class distinction from our social economy, and all despotisms, politic or pure, will give place to pure industrial publicisms, in which the political dangers that now beset us can never enter.

The logical results of progress are inexorable and must be met promptly or in delinquency.

The decree has gone forth, to the ends of the earth that personal womanhood and industrial humanhood slavery must be abolished.

For the accomplishment of this, two ways are possible.

One is social reconstruction, protected by politic action, and the other is exhaustion by pure political or class contest.

One must be vitalized by the development of a publicism in which woman shall serve with man as an equal competitor each serving in the sphere assigned them by their capacities untrammelled by the moralities of marriage chattelhood and the other must be vitalized by military force.

The one is the way of peace and plenty and the other of war and desolation.

The one will convert, the other destroy; chose ye this or that.

If we institute not social reconstruction by voluntary effort it will be compelled by class strifes, at great cost of blood and treasure.

In the absence of an organized industrial basis any political movement must depend on the money power, and this dependence will eventually subject it to the moneyed aristocracy who will control results or invoke war.

Publicism will as surely succeed politicisism as politicisism has succeeded individual despotism.

In pure publicism there can exist no usurpation, individual or class and all rights individual or collective will be held sacred by all.

Reconstruct, and by it abolish all monopoly, and you will have banished all the conditions that render crime of any sort possible.

This lays the axe at the root of the tree of evil the fruits of which you are vainly seeking to destroy with hatchets of fragmentary reform.

This Upar tree of usurpation, monopoly, poverty and crime, let us dig it up and cast it out root and branch that it no more encumber humanity, infest it with its seeds of despotism, or its malaras of selfishness.

Provisions for the nurture and education of children are the most pressing requirements of social reconstruction.

To meet these requisitions, the organization of a banking group is proposed for the establishment of a bank of industrial credit and exchange; by securing a fund from which to advance credit to children and others, refundable in industrial service.

This bank should be open for the deposit of all useable commodities, or industrial service; either as a loan or dower.

All deposits should be valued and credited by a time scale and each person receiving aid should be justly debited and credited for all service received or rendered.

All products of service rendered should be stored in charge of the bank for exchange or the re-imbusement of loans; and all loans should be refundable in the products of industry or commerce: unless otherwise stipulated.

PREAMBLE, DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES AND CONSTITUTION PROPOSED AS A RALLYING POINT FOR AN INDUSTRIAL PUBLICISM.

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, We the undersigned, desire to secure attractive, permanent homes, a thorough, integral education, the full and profitable employment of all industrial ability and an equitable, orderly commerce for ourselves and for all humanity; and also

WHEREAS, We desire to protect ourselves and others from the encroachment of despots and despotisms, individual and political whether imposed through monetary or military compulsion;

Therefore, and for these purposes, we unite ourselves and our efforts by subscribing to this preamble and the hereinafter set forth articles of declared principles and constitutional guarantees.

DECLARATION.

First. To facilitate and regulate human intercourse so that the most happiness may be secured and the least misery permitted is the proper object of all societary arrangements.

Second. That human happiness occurs in the ratio of the development of human capacity, and of the adaptations of societary arrangements to capacity, and development, individual and collective; and that misery occurs in the ratio of non-development and non-adaptation.

Third. That human rights individual and collective are based, on an accord with capacity and development; and that societary arrangements should always answer to the right by promoting and not by retarding development.

Fourth. That sociality implies rights individual and collective, that these rights are mutual and imply both the giving and the receiving of service; also that the rights of each and every member of society should be held sacred by all.

Fifth. That the aspiration for individual pre-eminence has presided over the societary arrangements of the past and that therefore, the despotic principles of compact, the compulsory principle of dispensation, the arbitrary principle of rule, the dictatorial principle of commerce, the patriarchal principle of familism, the chattel principle of service, the authority principle of religion and the obedience principle of morality have dominated as its principles.

Sixth. That the time has come when the aspiration for individual rights should preside over all societary arrangements, so that the publican principle of compact, the compensative principle of dispensation, the representative principle of rule, the comparative principle of commerce, the industrial principle of familism, the competitive principle of service, the agreement principle of religion, and the honesty principle of morality, may dominate as the principles of society.

Seventh. That political compacts, monetary dispensations, party rule, tradive commerce, partnership familism, hiring service, credal religion, and dutiful morality, are only modified extensions of despotic compacts, compulsory dispensations, arbitrary rule, dictatorial commerce, patriarchal familism, chattel service, authoritative religion and obedientive morality; and that, therefore, they should not be classified as belonging to the individual rights stage of societary development.

Eighth. That in the nature of things it is impossible that a genuine republic exist except on an industrial basis, and where the aspiration for individual rights presides, giving equal advantages to all members of the social compact.

CONSTITUTION.

ART. 1. This compact shall be known as the INDUSTRIAL PUBLIC.

ART. 2. Every article of this constitution shall conform to and in no way contravene the adopted preamble and declaration of principles.

ART. 3. The Industrial Public shall commence with industrial suitage groups, organized by the election of such industrial leaders or experts as may be found necessary.

ART. 4. Each group shall subscribe to the same preamble, declaration of principles and constitution.

ART. 5. Each group may regulate the reception, the suspension, the reinstatement, or the expulsion of its members, except that in case of expulsion a two-thirds vote shall be required; and also a just settlement of accounts, so that expelled members may have all that rightfully belongs to them.

ART. 6. Each suitage group shall be the center of an industrial family.

ART. 7. In any branch of production the groups may organize the industrial families into productive unions by the election of representatives to a board of production.

ART. 8. In any commercial district the boards of production may organize the productive unions into commercial unions by the election of representatives to a congress of exchange.

ART. 9. The congresses of exchange may organize the commercial unions into a universal union by the election of representatives to a general tribunal.

ART. 10. Each board of production, each congress of exchange, and the general tribunal shall organize by the election of such officers as may be found necessary.

ART. 11. Each group, each board, each congress, and the general umpire, may pass such by-laws as are found necessary to secure order and efficiency in the transaction of business.

ART. 12. All representative persons shall obey the instructions of their constituents under the penalty of the forfeiture of office, immediately on conviction; and the forfeiture of credit, to the amount of damage done by non-obedience.

ART. 13. Each representative body shall refer their plans to their constituents for approval; and for aid in their accomplishment.

ART. 14. All voting shall be done in journal and balanced in ledger; and these voting records shall be generally accessible for inspection and for a change of vote by any dissatisfied voter, so that at all times the record may represent present choice.

ART. 15. All representatives and officers shall be elected by a majority vote, but a two-third vote shall be requisite to displace or supersede any representative person before the term has expired for which they were chosen.

ART. 16. No distinction shall be made on account of sex, age, color or parentage, and children shall not be held as the property of parents.

ART. 17. A fund shall be provided from which to advance credit to children and others in need and all shall be justly debited and credited for all service received or rendered.

ART. 18. Solvency shall be the only test of suffrage right except in case of suspension for misdemeanor.

ART. 19. At the decarnation of any person, the balance of all credit in his or her favor shall be held as a public contingent fund from which to amend all losses accruing from the loaning of credit to the needy or from any accidental occurrence and the balance may be for public benefit.

ART. 20. All values and all service shall be measured by time; and for the balancing of accounts bills of credit may be issued of varied denominations suited for commercial exchanges.

ART. 21. The products of industry shall be stored in convenient localities and labled with their full cost, in time, as its measure of value, and from these places they may be drawn in exchange for bills of credit.

ART. 22. A savings bank shall be instituted where any surplus credit may be deposited as a loan to be used as a fund for public improvements or from which to advance credit to children and others in need.

ART. 23. On any loan made the interest realized shall accord with the decrease in the cost of production, so that an hour's time loaned will on its payment equal the products of an hour with the improved facilities and modes of production.

ART. 24. Taxes and fines may be levied only on the basis of service rendered or damage done.

ART. 25. The duties and salaries of representative persons shall be determined by their constituents; and they shall have no functional power beyond or contrary to the instructions of their constituents; and all instructions of importance shall be printed or written and recorded.

ART. 26. All properly authorized expenses for common protection or benefit, shall be shared by all recipients.

ART. 27. Utilized wealth shall be held sacred to its utilizers and their assignees; but natural wealth shall be free alike to all as they have need.

ART. 28. Each suitage group, each board of production, each congress of exchange, and the general tribunal shall elect a committee of arbitration before whom any grievance of any member or members may be brought for settlement.

ART. 29. The committee of arbitration in each suitage group, each board of production, each congress of exchange, and the general tribunal, shall have jurisdiction over all disputes between its members; but any dissatisfied party or parties in any suit may appeal to a committee of experts, or to a general committee of members and this appeal shall be final as between members.

ART. 30. All disputes between any of the groups of any productive union, or between any member and any group, shall be under the jurisdiction of its board of production, and any decision made by the board as between any member and group shall be final, but any case as between groups may be appealed to the congress of exchange, chosen by the commercial union to which they belong.

ART. 31. All disputes or grievances that may arise between productive unions shall be under the jurisdiction of the congress chosen by the commercial union to which they belong, but appeals may be made to the general tribunal; and the general tribunal shall have jurisdiction over all disputes between commercial unions, and such suits may be appealed from this tribunal to the groups.

ART. 32. This constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of all the members of all the suitage groups, but a seven-eighths vote shall be required for the amendment of preamble and declaration of principles.

S. T. FOWLER.

280 Fourteenth street, Brooklyn.

THE INFINITE REPUBLIC.

[Continued.]

CHAPTER IV.

Meanwhile, devouring the literature of divers nations, he sought in books of all descriptions, from the professed metaphysician's to the lightest novelist's, the rudiments of that great system to which old schemes of ontology, and exploded religions were evidently preparing to give place.

Many were the weary books which the student perused in fruitless vigils. Nevertheless, from time to time, he found comrades after his own heart, rare intelligences, undaunted pilgrims of thought, scornful alike of the bigot and the skeptic, the materialist and the theosophist, alike refusing to believe and be saved with the priest, and to eat, drink and be merry ere sleeping forever with the brain dissector. How far these spirits were the masters, and how far the student was their pupil, let those who divine their names, and know the productions of their genius, determine.

This work is devoted to pure elements of thought. Every citation from, or allusion to, the works of great men, all historical illustration, all ornament of style, is excluded from its pages with rigid self-denial. To a scholar and an innovator, no more delightful task could be proposed than to demonstrate by the analysis of all ages of thought, the gradual and inevitable development of the system he propounds. But the temptation is resisted, the triumph deferred, and to defer is too often to die without accomplishing. A generation must arise that does not carry the past upon their backs, an ever-crushing burden in the great race between thought and life. They must begin where their fathers died. Every new work should be a summing up and a starting point. Every great work is. Why so many huge books to so few original thoughts? The student writes his own convictions, not a list of his authorities. His aim is not learned ostentation, but clearness and force.

CHAPTER V.

It was but a first step with the student to discover the insufficiency of logic as a guide to essential truth. How trust to demonstrate the unknown, a machine incompetent to prove so much which he already felt and knew to be incontrovertible? In truth the value of logic depends upon the mind reasoning, and the subject reasoned upon. A man of intelligence is a logician by nature; a fool will not learn to reason by all the formal logic in the world.

Words cannot, by any process yet discovered, be so perfectly identified with ideas as to admit of mathematical application.

To determine the others. Thus the in the more submountable. The in the present stage Great were the d had denied authori for knowledge. Y faith in the essent trade of mountain and in the isolation meditated, he r ame. He rambled starlight. The su ous features. Po offered feeble distr very keys of existe had made no appa his ignorance.

Suddenly—after upon him like a fl before his spiritua fearlessly: "All th own nature is the ers. There is no ible that does not of all living being illimitable happin possible conception a system is the meo All was changed ing and tormentin his intelligence. Instead of limitin to its utmost pote tion must yet fall "Henceforward green fields, "I a outh. I ask of I ave, to know, to c It demands no res revolts alike from ether spirits the n creatures without from the gloomy y ence a machine, a It says, "Thou art play, a will to gui progress!" "The student had ears of my theo gods of priests, th ants, or shadowy igious reign of t northern hell, or a hols were symbol dance, the faith difference of the u

It was something far greater joy to succeeded them—ding for ascende son. No one of of free order, nor ivals. Their pro all boldly attempt that they had acc eternal space, to n ernity, were cas the world of the r into the pocket. indutely separate confident philosop without substance impotencies" and an imagine, save didity? These t orting worlds—t ay cosmogonies a original porturiens ions, what are Egypt or India, o le as dreams to a pilgrim spirits wa And yet these n they were unable many mighty tru excavated by m better to dream v want.

Best of all to f given to the he which to the brai is only when p united in their which outlast em the very lang

Five more year book had pow est. Courting ew weak and ir compared to thos elated. Criticis stem, with incr discrepancy or faced before the cepted or reject human eviden

OUR METHODS.

It is a fact that est fractional p we had set out ent, man would not weak. I and needs govern ere; and so bad ould get up a v ould have gover ouse there is no erness of things. is this grand

To determine the meaning of one phrase, we must employ others. Thus the real difficulty still survives. In the more subtle regions of thought this difficulty is insurmountable. Therefore logical demonstration is impossible, in the present stage of our spiritual development. Great were the doubts and perplexities of the student. He had denied authority and discarded logic; still his soul cared for knowledge. Years rolled on. He clung to one instinctive faith in the essential immortality of vital being. In the solitude of mountains and forests, in the whirl of great capitals, and in the isolation of his own solemn and unshared thoughts, he meditated, he read, he wrote and re-wrote volume after volume. He rambled in the silence of night and the blue calm of starlight. The sun rose, day after day, upon his pale and anxious features. Poetry and art, history and natural science offered feeble distractions to a mind bent upon grasping the very keys of existence. He found no criterion of truth. He had made no apparent advance from the primeval darkness of his ignorance.

CHAPTER VI.

Suddenly—after five years of fruitless toil—the light burst upon him like a flash of storm fire. A veil seemed raised from before his spiritual eyes. For the first time he saw. He said fearlessly: "All that exists exists in eternal harmony. Our own nature is the standard of all other natures, and they of ours. There is nothing true that is not credible, nothing credible that does not harmonize with the fundamental impulses of all living beings. We can believe only what we desire. Unlimited happiness. We can only believe in the grandest possible conception of the Infinite existence. The sublimity of a system is the measure of its truth." All was changed. Chaos was no more. Instead of straining and tormenting, the student had but to exalt and purify his intelligence. Instead of doubting he had but to hope. Instead of limiting imagination, he had but to bid it expand to its utmost potency, well assured that all mortal exaggeration must yet fall far short of an infinite and eternal Kosmos. "Henceforward," he cried, rejoicing like a young girl in the green fields, "I am, indeed, free from the phantoms of my youth. I ask of my own soul its instinct, and it replies, 'to love, to know, to enjoy, to contend with evil for ever and ever!' It demands no rest, it abhors all limits to its free course. It revolts alike from the rule of a spiritual despot, making all other spirits the mere tools and slaves of his foreseeing will; creatures without being, merit, or value of themselves; and from the gloomy paradox—Necessity, which makes all existence a machine, all activity a delusion, all virtue but a name. It says, 'Thou art something of thyself, thou hast a part to play, a will to guide thee, and desires to gratify in the eternal progress!'"

The student had long shaken off the chimeras and nightmares of his theology. He was an ancient rebel against the gods of priests, those superhuman phantasms of earthy tyrants, or shadowy giants of an intellectual Broken. The religious reign of terror is passing away. Few now fear a post mortem hell, or an officiating devil. And yet all these fallen idols were symbols of great and eternal truths. Better, perchance, the faith of the erring enthusiast, than the barren indifference of the utter skeptic.

CHAPTER VII.

It was something to have escaped from the despots. It was a greater joy to emerge scarcely from the anarchy that had succeeded them—the anarchy of systems mingled and struggling for ascendancy, like demagogues in a dawning revolution. No one of them great enough to establish a government of free order, nor weak enough to be altogether subdued by its rivals. Their prophets were all more or less brilliantly mad. All boldly attempted the impossible, and boldly maintained that they had accomplished it. To build a rampant round eternal space, to measure by days and hours the contents of eternity, were easy tasks to them. They published maps of the world of the real size, which could be folded up and put into the pocket. They divided the indivisible, and united the infinitely separate. And what are the formless Gods of these ancient philosophers, these spiritual hermaphrodites, names without substance, symbolic rules of arithmetic, omnipresent impotencies and omnipotent impersonalities, which nobody can imagine, save as imagination, or have faith in, save as inability? These tortoise of India supporting elephants, supporting worlds—themselves without support—these self-vivifying cosmogenies also, and material systems without volitions, original portentous fire-mists, and other monstrous hallucinations, what are they but delusions—spectral myths of old Egypt or India, or modern European abstractions, unintelligible as dreams to all but their originators, colossal mirages of pilgrim spirits wandering in the deserts of speculation? And yet these mystics have vaguely grasped at much which they were unable to communicate, and have surely buried many mighty truths beneath pyramids of words, to this hour excavated by man, capable of deciphering the hieroglyphics. Better to dream with the studious, than to sneer with the ignorant.

Best of all to feel strongly the divine instincts of life, for it is given to the heart, and to the poet, to discover many things, which to the brain and to the philosopher are forever hidden. It is only when passions and intellect, imagination and reason are united in their strength that the thoughts are brought forth which outlast empires in which they were first promulgated—the very languages in which they were originally uttered.

CHAPTER VIII.

Five more years passed away. Neither spoken word or written book had power to change or modify the faith of the student. Courting discussion, he but learned for the most part new weak and irrelevant were the objections of his opponents compared to those which he himself had so often contrived and refuted. Criticising the few and simple ideas which form his system, with increasing severity, he is unable to discover any discrepancy or contradiction in their relations. They are indeed before the reader in their absolute purity. They can be accepted or rejected; they can neither be proved or disproved by human evidence or logic, and are beyond all proof.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

OUR METHODS OF LIFE FALSE TO THE INDIVIDUAL.

It is a fact that this world is too much governed. Aye, the vast fractional part of the one item of government is too much. We had set out in giving each other assurances of self-government, man would have come upon the stage of being strong, and not weak. It is useless to set up the claim that man is bad, and needs governing. For if it is a fact that man is bad by nature; and so bad that he cannot govern himself, he certainly would get up a very unsafe government for the race. "But we must have government to secure property rights." In the first place there is no such thing as abstract property rights in the things of things. All the rights that man can possibly have to this grand universe, are simply their uses. Whatever

abstract title he may hold to a thing, is invalid, simply because no one has any more right to give him a title than he has to take it himself. And either measure would be suicidal to the only possible condition that would secure the harmony of the race. Carry into the fondest heaven of which the human soul has ever dreamed, our methods of pursuing life, and we should positively carry with them their inevitable results. And no amount of intelligence in the advanced condition of the actor, could prevent this, short of abolishing the causes. These progressive measures that go to reform the manners, habits, and character of a people, while it continuously retains the villainies that produce the evils, which can by no possibility do anything but wither and blight wherever they are tolerated, will have ample scope for their exercise, and be much like the attempt of a man to swallow himself, end just where they begun. "But has a man no title?" Yes; but only in its uses. All other claims he may set up to it would be of service to him, while it would tax a care that he has neither time, heart or right to take upon himself. Nor can he do it unless he first consents to lose all interest in his own intrinsically beautiful being. For the true man will find to eternity that it is not what he has, but what he is that gives to existence all its significances, and all its value. In imagining the race unsafe without governments, we reach our conclusions under the influence of observations, made from a false standpoint. Go back as far as we may, we find each individual of the race coming into being to meet the formidable form of authority, and the control of abstract law. And as such individual advances to years of more enlarged discretions, he finds his appreciative and sensitive nature doomed to run the fearful gauntlet in the insane scramble for abstract values, without seeing other importance in the measure than the necessity that fates him to such an unwelcome mode of life. Years of tutelage in such an infernal school could not well be deemed the best preparation that man could find to fit him for being a suitable judge to decide as to what would be proper and suitable for a race of individuals uncorrupted by those measures that have to all intents and purposes vitiated every thought and feeling of his own being. To appreciate correctly a proper condition of existence we have to go back and take the race with us before we have passed the decentralizing and demoralizing ordeals that have up to the present left no single soul unscathed by their corruptions. Arriving at such a point, we are safe judges of those suitabilities, that reply with so much laughing fondness, ungrudging freeness, and superabundant fulness, to every recurring want of our being. Any conclusion made, or any inference drawn without standing just here, could only add new causes to increase our confusion, that has already become so intricate, that few individuals, if any, are hopeful enough to expect ever to see through it. Existence itself is beautiful. It only becomes formidable and unwelcome by those conservative, artificial measures, we adopt to pursue it. The child, without feeling these trammels, is happy. When man drops back into those simplicities of life that feel no foreign interference with the unobtrusive volitions of his noble nature, he, too, will be happy. And himself being happy, he would avoid every thought, feeling, and act that could render another in like conditions, unhappy. And this caution does not spring from any sense of duty, but from those generous, loving fancies that make life so unutterably a charm to himself. For duties do not exist where love is the mainspring of life. Duties are but the galvanized beats of a heartless mode of existence. But, the question now is, as to how we are to arrive practically, to the most desirable condition for the race. It must be confessed that there are, seemingly, formidable obstacles to be encountered. The customs established and canonized by the usages of all past ages, the prepossessions engendered by a false education, and the pride pampered and nurtured by these, will, if they act out their purposes, contribute to oppose every inch of advancement in a right direction. Every truth-loving soul has in all past ages, in some way, fallen a victim, to this justly, to be hated tribunate of false power. Yet its day and doom must come; or goodness, greatness, virtue and intelligence will be enveloped in a fearful night on this planet. Our institutions have carried man to the entire length of their tether. Remodel them as much as we please, they can produce nothing better than they have done. The subtle poison that everywhere infects human life, lies at their base in the claims of hated and irresponsible authority, and those chilling necessities that can produce nothing but discord to the human soul. Selfishness is everywhere prominent with man. He would gladly avoid it, but he cannot and live. His condition is an isolation, doomed to play in the interests of life against every other isolation, struggling like himself to keep want from becoming their especial tyrant oppressor. We would love one another, but we cannot. The interests that we are compelled to make of our best friends, is that of interest. We must live, and everybody we see must, in some way, contribute to it, or we must go under! It is a terrible condition, but this world has never seen any better. And cast about, as much as we may, with the hope of avoiding it, we shall find it a stern necessity that we must encounter. We may not talk of love and goodness as enduring such a fire; for common justice is only kept up, under the pressure of fearful penalties. But, is there hope? Yes, purely in getting back to those simple forms of existence that quite ignore this fearful strain upon the human soul. That this can be reached in one stride by a single individual, I doubt it were throwing a lamb to a pack of hungry wolves for protection. The approximate steps to be taken to reach these simplicities of a beautiful life, must be so protected as to render them secure; while at the same time all the freedom and fulness of a substantial existence can be realized, and avoid the infection that

so serves the human heart in the fearful ordeal of present measure. This, to my mind, can only be accomplished through the medium of a community system of living, where the uses of both the necessities and luxuries of common life can be enjoyed, without forcing a single individual into the fight for the ownership of all he can see, in order to fence himself against all imaginary inroads of his comfort. That a community system of living is open to objections, is just as sure as that it differs from our present methods of pursuing life. That these objections will appear formidable to those who make them, is equally true, since they are made from a direct antipodal standpoint—a standpoint venerated for its antiquity, and canonized by the usages of all past ages. When, however, we take it intelligently to task for its want of efficiency in producing no better results, the earnest soul will be able to part with it without a tear. Thousands of years in the trial of any measure, which has scarcely redeemed a single promise, should be sufficient; but what is the most formidable objection to a community system of living? It is, I believe, the unsystematic mingling of the sexes in such association. This objection was made under the conception that not man, but the instrument of his own getting up is virtuous; not law, but virtue, honor and self-respect are both man's and woman's protection everywhere. To assume that they are unsafe without the guardianship of law, is to assume that neither are worth loving. Pretty much as we treat each other. Mark, it is not law, but an unborn principle, lying far back in the soul-types of being, that can ever license a privilege on either side. And those who are destitute of a knowledge of this, are unfit associates for each other any way, law or no law. But it will be seen that the objection is baseless, when we take into consideration the fact that men and women are no less their own indefeasible property in such association, than they are out of it. No less obligated to be loose and infidel to themselves than they are in general society; but it has been supposed or imagined, and asserted, that men and women who go into communities are at once abandoned to all manner of licentiousness. This is a mean begging of the whole question at issue; and without proofs it makes this sweeping charge. Is it claimed that children are born in such communities? Well, why should there not be? There are undoubtedly a half score born outside, with the same number of individuals, where there is one among them. And where one-half of the former have no reasonable care, no concern for their virtues, no tender regard for their feelings, and where they spend their young lives just upon the outskirts of starvation. Alas! what can be hoped for these, but that they shall mingle with the over-fed, making a common wrong of all? It will be claimed that those born outside have the protection of law; that parents can be forced to provide for them. This may be met with the fact that those born inside have the better protection of love, while they are infallibly protected against want, crime, and all other miseries that curse a false way of living. These parents not being married in form, but in fact, can never lose sight of the product of their loves; for marriage is not in a ceremony, but in a union. Few legal marriages are continued unions, but are rather living debaucheries and persistent mockeries held together by law, the fear of society and the supposed divinity of a ceremony. In all of our claims for the right of law to manage us in our freedom and association with each other, we tacitly confess ourselves the veriest weaknesses imaginable, as if neither virtue or honor belonged to us, but to the terrors of a law which ourselves have made, and by which we have been kept from abasement. Yet this extemporized *mater harmonum* permits the trifling with each other to the very last, and lowest degree where the parties consent to be bound to one another for a lifetime. And it leaves neither a remedy from its tyrannical dictum short of death. No person has any right to forswear his or her love for a lifetime, since it may not last through a brief honeymoon. Love cannot be forced, constrained or restrained. It is a spontaneity, and actually dependent on fitness in conditions; for love is a substance, as certainly as anything else in being. If the ceremony of a legal marriage could perpetuate the tender regards of the lover and sweetheart, and secure them in the husband and the wife, more might be said in its favor. To rest the rights of the human soul on law is trifling with the greatness and intelligence of the individual man, and sinking him below the edict of his own make. Man is a substantial creation; law, an artificial rescript. How, then, there can be any fitting relations between them, how any adaptations, the one to the other, is to me a marvel that exceeds every other marvel. Man as a spirit entity is substance. Every property and element of which he is composed, holding harmonious relations with each other and always acting in holy unison, when not arbitrarily interfered with. Law is an abstraction, outside and foreign, and as incapable of directing and sympathizing with the human soul as of becoming the superior portion of it, and hence can by no possibility do anything but to divert and mislead it.

AUBURN, N. Y., Nov. 29, 1871.

E. W.

Mrs. Anna M. Middlebrook's lecture in Dryden Tuesday evening, on the "Social and Political Elevation of Woman," was a powerful suggestion of a new future and glorious reformation in Government—a hint to facts which brought the subject of "Woman's Rights" home to mind of many, which viewed in the clear light of the speaker's logic, interested and enchained the progressive mind on the instant; and by the way, we must express that we were surprised, to see so many ready to look into, and interest themselves on this topic, which fact tells us that the world is moving, and that when the "Car of Progress" moves through this place not quite all of Dryden will be left behind.—*Dryden News*.

COMMUNISM—THE WAY IT WORKED AND WHAT IT LED TO.

ARTICLE VIII.

As I before said, our experiments had come to an end. We had fairly worn each other out by incessant legislation about organizations, constitutions, laws and regulations, and we would no longer talk with each other on the subject that brought us there. We had tried every possible kind of organization and government, from political Democracy through every modification and mixture of all known political elements to anarchy, and then, of course, to despotism, and then, of course, to revolt—the old routine over again, excepting that we did not quarrel; because Mr. Owen had made it an habitual thought with us, that all our thoughts, feelings and actions are the effects of the causes that produce them, and that it would be just as rational to punish the fruit of a tree for being what it is, as to quarrel with each other for being what we are; that our true issues are not with each other, but with causes.

Many intelligent and far-seeing members had left, and others were preparing to leave, and an oppressive despondency hung heavily upon all. I shared the general feeling, and nothing saved me from despair but the idea that our business is with causes; and the question now was, what could be the causes of all this confusion and disappointment? What was the matter, when all were so willing to sacrifice so much for success? These questions led my thoughts back to our difficulties in detail. The first constitution bound every one to give his best services for the general good of the society; but we could not agree as to what would best promote this general good, and the more we talked and argued, the more we disagreed.

That phrase, "the general good," is a harmless and useful one, providing there is no necessity of agreeing as to its meaning. Why was it necessary to agree as to its significance? The necessity evidently arose out of our connected interests. If each one interpreted the word only for himself, the great diversity of views would not only have been harmless but might have been profitable; but in communism, some one view must prevail over all. Communism, then, was the root of the trouble here. The constitution also required every one to be industrious, but the word industrious is an indefinite one, and like all other indefinite words is subject to different interpretations. The teacher of music was busy all the school hours, week after week with the children, and in many of the evenings, teaching the use of instruments; suffering torture (of ear) all the time, and craved above all things to have rest in something to do out of doors, in the sun-light and air; but he thought he must be *industrious* for the good of the whole; while at the same time, the out-door workers raised a cry that this man's teaching was not at all necessary, they demanded that he should go about some *industrious* pursuit! So differently do we see, feel and think, according to our circumstances and experiences, and so incapable are we of judging and deciding for each other; and consequently are not adopted to live in communism, where there is no freedom to differ, but all must conform to some one idea or view of each subject as it arises.

The demand in the constitution for equality, gave rise to the demand of the clown for a chance at the good things in the public house. The idea of entertaining strangers, who came to enquire into the philosophy of our movement, was no part of his programme.

That word, Equality, is a very useful word, in some places; but in a constitution, binding on all, and subject to as many different meanings as there are people to use, it can produce only the severest and bitterest of fruits. The case of the sick woman arose from the same source, the *indefiniteness* of the word Equality. On this ground they demanded her presence in the kitchen, when she was not able to sit up half the time. These women did not know her condition, but thought they did. This mistake, which made a wide breach between the parties, would have been entirely harmless, had it not been for communism, and the constitution.

PRINCETON, MASS.

J. WARREN.

HOW IT WORKS—TERRIBLE RESULT OF THE OWNERSHIP OR ANTI-FREE LOVE DOCTRINE—A LECHEROUS PRESS FEARS THE TRUTH—GAGS DENOUNCED.

From a Louisville paper it appears that five weeks after marriage a gentleman near Gosport, Ind., informed his wife that he would that evening go to a spelling match in the vicinity, where he expected to meet several of his old friends. She replied that if he did he would find her a corpse on his return. He regarded the remark as a jest, but on his return found that she had too faithfully executed her threat, having shot herself in the head with a pistol.

Another murder by our conservative friends! Had this unfortunate woman not believed in the doctrine of ownership; had she "read, learned and inwardly digested" Mrs. Woodhull's Steinway Hall lecture, this catastrophe could not have occurred. It is a legitimate result of the "morality" which we hear so much about. Horrible as it is, her death is but small mischief compared with the tortured, agonizing lives which are the outbirths of a coerced semblance of love; for there can be no real love which is not free. Richardson was murdered on this same basis of self-ownership. Had Mrs. Fair fully believed and acted upon the opposite doctrine, one man less would have been killed and one woman less occupy a felon's cell. Yet in the capital of the nation to day a paper is found, claiming to be Republican, which asks the arrest of Mrs. Woodhull because she fairly and squarely charges home these atrocities to where they belong and shows how the causes can be removed! Here it is:

"Victoria C. Woodhull delivered another of her free love lectures in Boston a few evenings ago and was hissed by the audience. Why is not this woman arrested for using indecent language? There is really no difference between indecency on a street corner and on a lecture platform."

The paper in which this appeared at the head of the editorial column, seemed about two years ago to be nearly on its last legs, when it went into the sensation line, picking up all the nasty little items it could obtain, and wrecking as many people's happiness as possible by publishing details of *crim-cons* and other cannibal infelicities for which a common sense jury would have made it pay roundly. As it does not now deal in this line so extensively, only attacking in a general way everything calculated to benefit mankind, it is inferred that it may recently have secured sufficient pap and circulation combined to enable it partially to dispense with the rotten material from which it formerly drew nourishment. It is a fair specimen of the average administration organ, and foreshadows the free speech which may be expected should the administration which desires to suppress it, receive in November next any endorsement. After the free discussion of social questions is suppressed, religious questions will be next taken in hand by the im-

maculate politicians. Even yet, it is believed, the old Maryland law which prescribes forging of the tongue as a penalty of blasphemy (including denial of the Trinity) is unrepealed. Practically obsolete at present a re-election of Grant, and consequent endorsement of Utah raids, would enable it to be executed without much difficulty. If Parson Newman's Biblical criticisms are to be enforced by the bayonet in Utah on one text, why not here on another?—especially as this worthy Congressional chaplain is reported to have recently declared a *cathedra* that any one who, with the evidence at hand, disbelieves in the divinity of Christ, is only fit for a lunatic asylum. It is understood that Chief Justice Chase is included within the category.

ANTI-PROCRUSTES.

MECHANICSVILLE, IOWA, May 8.

DEAR MRS. WOODHULL: It is now within two days of the time when reformers shall meet in convention, and as I find it impossible to be there myself, I will at least send my autograph.

I looked upon the Cincinnati Convention with considerable interest, really in hopes that they would prove themselves indeed as liberal as they professed to be. In that convention another lesson has been given us. We have learned that political parties as well as politicians are treacherous; and that if we would secure any great reform in government, we must ourselves work for it. The question of woman's enfranchisement, the greatest living question of the day, was entirely ignored in their platform, and a man has been put at the head of the ticket whose prejudices are known to be so averse to the principles held by reformers as to lower his own dignity by making himself a mouth-piece of those who were eager to retail slanders upon its bravest defenders.

Had the convention at Cincinnati endorsed and advocated the right of woman to the ballot, in accordance with the constitution of the United States, we should have felt it our duty to unite our efforts with theirs, and invite the five million of voters now known to be in sympathy with us, to unite with us in supporting the Cincinnati platform. From the coming convention at Philadelphia we have nothing to expect. Its avowed purposes is the sustaining of the present incumbent of the Presidential chair, right or wrong. We cannot shut our eyes and swallow anything our would-be masters shall give us. They have announced themselves to be iron-clad; that there is no room for improvement in the government of the United States, therefore they will attempt none. Pledging myself to the support of the principles advocated by the signers to the call for the convention at New York, and hoping its nominees may be men or women of known ability, patriotism and integrity, I subscribe myself yours, etc., D. W. HULL.

MRS. VICTORIA C. WOODHULL: Dear Madam,—When I left you this afternoon, I fully expected to return in the evening and make a few remarks; but on arriving at my hotel, an imperative telegram necessitated my return. Though unable to be present in person, I feel that I must give utterance to my views on paper, and I trust you will make them known to the meeting.

The principles you so gloriously and nobly put forward, have been the desire of my life; I pray God I may be spared to see the day when they will be triumphant, and the "human rights" party assume the great prerogatives they claim and have so nobly earned. I have ever been an advocate of woman's rights in the community where I reside, regarding it as essential to well-being of Diety.

The objections offered to our platform are puerile and weak, not worth the paper on which they are printed; equality of the sexes is a heaven born right, which cannot be legislated out of existence by the opposite sex. I look forward with entire confidence to the ultimate and complete success of our principles.

The ballot I do not regard as the sovereign powers for all the wrongs and disadvantages under which we lie; but simply as an auxiliary; one of the means, perhaps the best one toward bringing about the desired end. In our progress as reformers we seem, to me, to have reached the second stage of existence, that of ridicule; the first, that of persecution, has passed; the third and last, that of success, is close at hand. I impress upon our friends that "the price of liberty is eternal vigilance." I remain most sincerely yours, MRS. JULIA MULLIGEN, 15 Charles street, Boston, Mass.

NEW JERSEY STATE ASSOCIATION OF SPIRITUALISTS AND FRIENDS OF PROGRESS.

The Second Quarterly Convention was held in Jersey City, May 8, 1872.

The opening remarks by the President, L. K. Coonley, were as follows:

FRIENDS AND CO-LABORERS: It is thought advisable to urge again your prompt and energetic action to secure more funds, or we shall not be able to prosecute the advance of spiritual and reformatory principles before the minds of the priest-ridden, monetary, and politically accursed people of this State. Unless more means can soon be commanded, it is feared we will follow in the trail of the lost energies of our sister States. Some professors of our philosophy appear to think that the State Association can and will pay all the expenses of missionary labor, or that officers give the time and pay the traveling fees; and it is presumed just here will be found the reason why it is so hard for the missionary to accomplish the object desired in that field of needed labor, and the consequent failures in that department throughout the country.

In my report on this subject to the executive committee will be found a statement of the labors, receipts, and expenses of the missionary department during the last quarter.

Spiritualism is aggressive; but it can never become a proscriptive dogma, yet it permeates every atom of existence, and therefore embraces every science, and can no more be separated from our social and political requirement than can the breath of God from the life of nature.

Ignorance, selfishness and hypocrisy are the elements that fear social and political freedom. Ignorance assumes and condemns; selfishness appropriates, if it can, that which does not belong to it; and hypocrisy would throw dust in the sight of others, that its own deformity might not be seen.

It may safely be affirmed that at no previous period of human history has there been such deep and thorough investigation and promulgation of the principles of Spiritual and physical freedom. Much of this condition of mental progress is undoubtedly due to that great advance of spirit power resulting in the control, as mediums of so many further to almost slaves of despotism. I mean the feminine element of our nature. With the return from spirit life of our mothers, sisters, companions and daughters, comes the infusion of more love, affection and sympathy, and consequently clearer perceptions of human rights and needs, ultimately resulting in the equalization of the race, so far as natural law will permit, with the complete protection of the weak against the assumptions of the strong.

If my apprehension of the Spiritual philosophy is approximately correct, then the objects of this association are not so

much to amendment upon the honest opinions of others as to aid in the development of every strong tendency toward harmony in all the departments of human life. The wrong of to-day may become the right of to-morrow.

How the world has been deluged with human blood by the assumptions of some despot, that he was holier than his neighbors; and how remarkable the fact that so many of our theorists forget the kind of house occupied, while throwing stones at others. But we hope the angels of better life are learning us more lovely ways.

What are the thousands of reformers in the State of New Jersey doing to educate the people in the principles of social justice? We have wealth enough in this State to employ a number of missionaries to preach the gospel and distribute tracts and liberal documents in every home.

We ought to use some energy to encourage the most noble efforts of the President of the American Association of Spiritualists, so that she might call together some of the best talent in our ranks, that something could be accomplished to enlighten the people on the imminent need of political and social regeneration, so that honesty could be found in government, virtue in social and business relations, and integral sexuality be the excelsior star of every household.

Every atom in nature is pregnant with the Genesis of that love which, if not obstructed, would ultimate in justice to every human being, and obliterate the dividing lines separating families, states and nations. Internationalism, fraternization, and social equality must become the watchword of every lover of truth and justice, until nations, as well as individuals, dwell in peace and joy on earth, as do the angels of our better life in Heaven.

Good-by.

Good-by! I speak it with blinding tears;
For no brightness, or beauty, or love appears!
Through the vista'd gloom of the opening years;
But dark desponding and racking fears
To circle round my heart
Ah me! It were better at once to die!
To sink in the grave with one last, loud cry,
Than to watch afar from a mountain high,
The valley where loving feet pass by,
Than to love and then to part!

O God! Is our life but a trial fire,
To sever the gold in its burning pyre?
To lift our aspirations higher,
Like the sunset ray on the golden spire
When the weary day is o'er?
And shall we at last, in a holier land,
Take our parted love by the dear, dear hand?
And wander forever beside the strand
Of the peaceful river, where Hope's bright hand
Is severed never more?

NEW JERSEY STATE CONVENTION.

The Second Quarterly Convention of the Spiritualist Association of New Jersey met in Union Hall, Jersey City, on Wednesday, May 8.

The call for the convention was read by the Secretary of the Association, Mrs. Ellen Dickinson, of Vineland; after which the President, L. K. Coonley, of Vineland, made the opening address—subject: "The Needs of the Hour."

Below are the names of the speakers of the morning session: Mrs. Susie A. Willis, of Lawrence, Mass.; Mr. Higgins, of Jersey City; John Gage, of Vineland; Mrs. Mary L. Strong, of Ohio; Mrs. P. G. Good, Mrs. E. Giles, of Boston.

Committees were appointed on Business and Resolutions.

After listening to a beautiful song by Mrs. Melinda Phillips Johnson, of Lynn, Mass., the morning session adjourned.

The afternoon session was opened by an address by Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull, followed by Dr. Horace Dresser, of Jersey City.

The President called for resolutions, and a number were presented by the committee. The resolutions were discussed by Mr. Fish, of New York, Dr. E. Wright, Mr. Shaw, of Providence, R. I.; Mr. Mitchell, of Maine, Mr. G. C. Stewart, of Newark, and Mr. Strong and Mr. Baker.

The evening session was called to order by the President, and a resolution, laid over from the afternoon session, was read by Mr. Higgins, of Jersey City, and discussed by Dr. Wright, L. K. Coonley, Mr. Gage and Mr. Wheelock.

A very eloquent address was then delivered by Mr. A. A. Wheelock, editor of THE AMERICAN SPIRITUALIST; subject: "The Definition of Spiritualism." Some very fine remarks by the President, L. K. Coonley, followed by an excellent address by Miss Susie A. Willis, of Lawrence, Mass. The convention then closed with a few remarks by L. K. Coonley.—[Com.

ORIGIN OF PLANTS.

Peas are of Egyptian origin.
Celery origin ated in Germany.
The chestnut came from Italy.
The onion originated in Egypt.
The nettle comes from Europe.
Tobacco is a native of Virginia.
The Citron is a native of Greece.
The pine is a native of America.
Oats originated in North Africa.
Rye originally came from Siberia.
The poppy originated in the East.
The mulberry originated in Persia.
Parsley was first known in Sardinia.
The pear and apple are from Europe.
Spinach was first cultivated in Arabia.
The sunflower was brought from Peru.
The walnut and peach came from Persia.
The horse chestnut is a native of Thibet.
The cucumber came from the East Indies.
The radish originated in China and Japan.

Mrs. F. A. Logan addressed an audience of 700 in our College Chapel last evening, and was warmly congratulated by the Principal and Professors of the College, and Ministers of the various denominations. Notwithstanding many of the audience had to stand, she held them one hour and a half with unabated interest.—J. Cochran, G. W. C. T., Abingdon, Ill.

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NEVADA, Capt. FORSYTH, April 24, at 2:30 A. M.
WYOMING, Capt. WHINERAY, May 1, at 1:00 P. M.
MINNESOTA, Capt. MORGAN, May 8, at 3:00 P. M.
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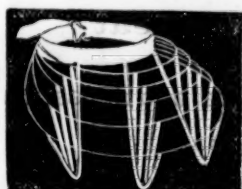
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Mrs. Laura Cuppy Smith.

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

SUBJECTS:

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

NOTICES OF THE PRESS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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