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The Principles of Government, by Victoria C. Woodhull	\$3 00
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The Impending Revolution	25
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THE BITER BIT.

"Who steals my purse steals trash; 'tis something—nothing;
'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands;
But he that filches from me my good name,
Robs me of that which neither enricheth him,
And makes me poor indeed."

"He that uttereth a slander is a fool."—SOLOMON: Prov., x. 19.

By those who attended the recent convention of the American Association of Spiritualists at Boston, it is well known that Professor Wm. Denton freely circulated the report among the delegates, and when confronted by me, also made it publicly, that I was in the habit of obtaining money from individuals under false pretences and never returning it, giving an instance in point, and Mr. E. H. Heywood, of Princeton, Mass., as his authority.

After returning home I wrote to Mr. Heywood requesting that he inform me what had passed between himself and Professor Denton, stating what he, D., had asserted in Boston. The following extracts from a long and friendly letter will serve to enlighten those who, like myself, have heretofore honored Professor Denton as a noble specimen of a man, one who for no inducement could be made to descend to enact the role of the common blackguard:

PRINCETON, MASS., October 3, 1872.

DEAR MRS. WOODHULL:—

Some time last June, I think, Mr. Denton referred to some one from whom you had extorted money by threats, but gave no name. In conversation I repeated to him what Susan B. Anthony, last May, said to me and others, viz.: That you tried to borrow money—\$500—of Mrs. Phelps, who was disposed to assist you, but that, not having the money in hand, and being unable to get it of friends for you, you turned against her, printed circulars containing slanderous insinuations of immorality regarding Mrs. Phelps, Mrs. Ballard and other women's suffrage advocates, and scattered them broadcast over New York city.

The substance of Miss Anthony's assertions, as I remember it, was that you resorted to blackmailing intentionally, and intended to succeed by that and other methods equally objectionable.

Professor Denton, it would seem, had inadvertently taken my statement to him as evidence of the truth of his statement to me, and so made the public charge you speak of. Perhaps he had no substantial evidence of his assertions to me, and retreated behind my statement to him when confronted on the platform.

Truly yours,

E. H. HEYWOOD.

Comment, so far as professor Denton is concerned, is superfluous. He makes assertions to Mr. Heywood and then comes before the people and gives him as authority for their truth. An honorable course; truly a most honorable course!

Mr. Denton says I obtained money from people with the intent not to return it. So far he has failed to sustain the allegation; but I stand prepared to prove, by the person interested, that he, Mr. Denton, has obtained money and failed to return it; and he claims not to be a financial failure, which is one of the crimes of which he accused me, and which he advanced as a reason why I was not fit to represent such spiritualists as he is.

When I went to Boston I had no thought of standing the nomination for re-election as President of the Association. Indeed I had prepared all my speeches with the express idea of retiring; but when my friends informed me of the course of Prof. Denton, Mr. A. A. Wheelock and others who were making charges against me, which were either entirely without foundation, as were those made by Miss Anthony, or most outrageously perverted, and insisted that I should test the matter, I consented. Therefore, if there are those who feel aggrieved because I was re-elected, they have to thank the persons above referred to and not me for their grievance. It is thus that the intentions of dishonorable methods and schemes ever turn upon their promoters.

It may be said by many, as it is by some of my friends, that I ought not to take notice of these things, that I ought to have charity. I desire once for all to be understood that I am no advocate of the cloak of charity. I shall always practice the doctrine of justice, believing it to be a higher, diviner and more efficient practice for good than that of charity can be. Had I let this assertion of Professor Denton's stand unchallenged it would have emboldened him to go still further, since that he did what he did shows him capable; but I will guarantee that hereafter when he attacks me he will at least make use of the truth, and of that I shall never complain.

But far be it from me to presume to sit in judgment over brother Denton. He has done the highest duty he could do. He really felt that to prevent any re-election any means were excusable. I have no doubt that he considers me the worst woman in the world. At least I think so from his general conversation about me among the people where he goes.

Now, whether the supposed facts upon which he basis his judgment of me are true or false, he no doubt has repeated them until he honestly holds them to be so; and therefore I have no fault to find with him. I have only myself to defend, and that I shall do to the best of my ability and in every possible way, be it against honest or pretentious opinions.

In conclusion permit me to say, that I can never express the thankfulness I feel for the kindness exhibited by those who, with me, felt the great injustice prepared for me by my defamers, who must, sooner or later, learn that I place my faith and trust in, and rely for support upon, the angel world whose messengers will never permit wrong to permanently triumph.

Very faithfully,

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

BEGINNING OF THE BATTLE.

With the causes which have led to the subordination and abuse of women we have little to do beyond the aid they may afford in reversing the present order and restoring to one-half the race the rights which belong to them by virtue of their individuality, responsibility and relation to the common laws of nature. It is our business to deal with the remedies, and thus, if possible, effect a radical cure. To do this well we may be compelled to probe the social and civil gangrene to the very core. Of course society, and especially upper tendom, will be shocked, and some persons will be seriously hurt. But did not one of old say that he came to kindle a fire—to set husband and wife, parents and children into antagonism with each other? and did he not also say, "It must needs be that offences come, but woe be to that man through whom they come?" and the high priest, "Better that one suffer than the whole nation perish?" Nothing is plainer than that the whole social and civil fabrics are rotten from base to capital—that society has utterly failed to accomplish its legitimate purposes, and that one-half of the whole mass is not only disabled politically, but robbed, oppressed, abused and slandered without remedy or redress. At whatever cost, then, to present positions, opinions and social customs, we propose to probe the festering sore to the bottom, and if necessary give facts in detail, and the names of the parties to the transactions. If these things are proper, then there can be no wrong in publicity; if they are wrong, they will not be cured by toleration and concealment.

We pause then to say, that the religions of the world are HE religions. They have all masculine gods—priests and services; the mother or woman element has no recognition; even the angels are all of the masculine gender, usually endowed with wings, the countenance of women and enrobed in feminine habiliments that they appear more becoming ideals of what angels should be.

The various forms of civil government, theocratic, autocratic and democratic, are all built on the idea of masculine entity and feminine non-entity. The woman is for the man, and not the two for each other equal, in all that is common and independent in all not common. These are the parents of the spawn we are trying to strangle, and shall surely succeed as that the citidels we attack are weak from sheer rottenness.

One little mistake must be corrected before we proceed further. The lords of creation have assumed that in all that pertains to virtue (continence of passion) woman is the weaker vessel. Nothing can be further from the truth. Woman's power over men, as well as over herself, is greater than man's. No man will have the hardihood to deny that one woman of average looks, grace and manner can seduce, overcome and lead in forbidden paths fifty men, to every woman that any one of the fifty men can subordinate to his passions. Perhaps it is to this we owe the laws for the protection of weak young men, and still weaker old men who lack the power of continence and bow down at the shrine of Venus, where her altars are served by the debris of our rotten civilization, and are thus liable to the infections with which respectable men, Christians and Christian ministers have inoculated the currents of their life, poisoned the sources of existence and added physical degeneration to social and civil rottenness. Instead, then, of protection for the men, we need and demand protection against the men—men without principle or self-government, who take these risks solely for the gratification of the physical senses, without one noble or manly impulse, without any regard for society or posterity—and after they have become constitutionally diseased with a virus that is never eradicated, consort with pure, respectable women, and give to the world a progeny fit only for the slums of society, diseased in muscle, brains and morals.

What we ask and demand is equality everywhere. We plead no weakness on the ground of sex. We demand the justice of equality on the grounds of individuality and sovereignty, and require that this standard shall rule in church, State and society in all their phases; and this we will have if we should in the effort uproot all foundations and precipitate revolution and chaos. If equality and justice result in these things, then they must be right. We want no expediency, no compromise, no sheltering of the guilty—let justice be done though the heavens fall.

If the loss of virginity is a disgrace to unmarried women, then the same should be held of men; if the mother of a child out of legal wedlock is ostracized, then the father should share the same fate; if it is wrong to mother such a child, it is equally wrong to father it; if a life of female prostitution is wrong, a life of male prostitution is equally wrong; if Contagious Diseases Acts are passed, they should operate equally on both sexes; if women are inspected, men should be inspected; if the names of women are recorded and open to inspection, the names of men should stand on the same record, that respectable women may know the character of the pretended male virgins, whose purity would not allow butter to melt in their pious mouths; if women are taxed, let the men be taxed the same rate. On the other hand, if the male debauchee is allowed to circulate in respectable society and marry women with unsoiled robes, then the female debauchee should be allowed the same privileges and be treated in the same manner. This is justice—not mercy, not charity! Away with such stuff! We flaunt it in the faces of the male prostitutes who have the power, and having it use it to trample under their feet, into the dust of civil and social degradation, the companions of their vices, and curse society by the methods we have already described.

There is but one way to reach the justice of this case, and that we are now ready to adopt. We shall proceed to detail facts with more particularity than will be pleasant to the parties who are to make the great atonement for the wrongs done women in all the past and present. If immolation is necessary, then they must be immolated. Jephtha was no more faithful to his vow in offering to the gods the idol of his heart, the virgin daughter of his home, than we shall

be in laying on this altar of justice the most exalted and prominent men of society.

We are now prepared to state the facts on which we demand a change in the existing status of woman, and claim for her equal protection, by law, with the corresponding male offender, who now deems her his lawful prey, and makes her person, property and rights pay loot to his passion, thereby incurring little or no legal responsibility. He enters her house, breaks her furniture, drinks of her costly wines, abuses her person, tramples her under his manly feet, and she has no redress. She is an outcast, and according to the logic of masters, she is also an outlaw without any rights which any one is bound to respect.

We select, as examples, first of all, the women of the town; those who promenade Broadway, the Bowery, Baxter and Greene streets, who frequent dance houses and saloons—the common prostitutes. This class are, all of them, at the mercy of policemen in all cities; are used by them and compelled to pay tribute both in personal favors and money, for the privilege of escaping arrest. Any one who walks the streets of New York after the hour of ten at night, and observes the familiarity between these women and the guardians of the sleeping city, will at once conclude that there is a perfect understanding between them. Whatever demand these men with shiny caps, blue coats, brass buttons, locust sticks and pistols make, must be met or a trip incurred to Blackwell's Island, be the levy on person or purse. A trumped-up charge, a put up job on them, and their fate is sealed. In this, way large sums of money are drawn from them by men whose sworn duty it is to protect society. The simple reason why the laws are not enforced against these women and their houses, is because the officers are largely interested in the pleasures and proceeds of the business. From legalized cormorants the women have no escape. It is submission or imprisonment. These human fiends beat and abuse them; and unless they are killed outright, the offenders run little risk of punishment. We need only cite the case of LOTTIE STANTON, whose wrongs would never have reached the light of day but for the fact that her life was in imminent danger. The cowardly ruffian who struck her down with a piano-stool and beat and kicked her nearly out of life, would back down from any equal combat; but a woman of the town can lift no hand or voice in defence. Should she recover and be maimed for life, as is likely, who will redress her wrongs? Echo answers: "Who?" Already, while she lies still in a precarious condition, the brute who felled her walks gaily abroad, under bail. Had it been a man, his equal, whom he had assaulted, he would have been held at the Tombs to await the result of the injuries.

If such an one as this Mrs. STANTON makes complaint, the courts treat her with harshness and contempt; a severe reprimand and a threat of the Island is the justice she receives, and she shrinks back into herself and her desolate hopeless life to worry on her allotted "four years," and then go under out of sight into the grave, where all human dust is alike. Even Judge GARVIN impugns the testimony of Mrs. MANSFIELD, because she traded on her virtue. We wonder if Judge GARVIN never struck any bargains with women who sold their wares!

But we pass on to another phase of the social evil and public injustice represented by a gentleman of great wealth and high standing in respectable society and business circles. For years, this man lived with a mistress, who was to him both mother and wife in her devotion. Not this alone, but he lived on the proceeds of her business, and at one time was the common associate of the lowest class in Greene and Baxter streets. Having, by the assistance of his paramour, arisen to position and the accumulation of property, he came in contact with a young, beautiful and pure woman, whom he married, deserting the woman who had been the means of his aggrandizement. The friends of the bride were apprised of his life and character, and yet permitted this villainy to be consummated. The prostitute has no rights any one is bound to respect, but the "whoremonger" may marry a pure woman, move in good society, and be generally respected. The benefactress and saviour of this man, the partner of his guilt, if guilt there was in their relation, heart broken and crazed with the desertion of the man she loved, still pursuing her old calling, with mildew and blight on her soul, and no hope for the future, while he is feasted and toasted. Another case, Mr. —, is now a man of wealth. There are many who remember when he was poor. He had a mistress, or as the people of that ilk put it, he was "the man" of a woman who kept a "respectable" house of prostitution. The business of this miserable varlet was to pimp at hotels and reap the harvest. One of his chief resorts was Fifth Avenue Hotel. Here he had an ample field for his peculiar calling. Strangers visiting the city were regaled with laudations of the superior accommodations of her house. Now this fellow of the baser sort, this pimp and steward of vile hospitalities, is allowed to loaf around all hotels, and the men who are known to patronize her place and similar ones, are entertained unquestioned at them; but should a woman of the town attempt to get entrance as a guest at one of them, how quickly she would be turned into the Street. There is one condition, however, on which she may visit the first hotels. Does some great public man or gentleman of wealth desire the sexual services of a woman, he has only to give the gentlemanly clerk of the establishment a hint and a fee, and the woman, for his money, is brought privately to his room and as privately returned to her carriage in due time. We have the word of a U. S. Congressman that he can thus, at any time of need, obtain the "best woman in town," that is, the best for his purpose. This man pined until he obtained means to go into business; being sharp and tricky he made plenty of money, and now ranks among the upper ten.

Again, it is a well-known fact that a certain rich man who married a woman with a blemished reputation, was denied hotel accommodation when his wife was with him, and was obliged to rent a house in order to be free from proscription. Thus, the sins of the woman are made to follow her into every path she enters, and even legal wedlock does not exempt her husband from discourteous treatment on her account when she accompanies him. Thus it is plain that society is determined that she shall on no account rise out of the ruin into which that sham society has precipitated her. While this state of things exists, there can be no peace and no permanent improvement. Women must come up, or men must come down. Our mission is but commenced; the battle is opened. We ask no quarter and take no prisoners. Having set our hands to the plow we will not look back, nor turn aside until our work is done.

The world shall know the wrongs women suffer, and the men who inflict them. We propose to tear off the hypocritical mask and expose their moral deformity to the gaze of all eyes. We know who they are and what they are, and shall not hesitate to write and publish their history so definitely that all men shall know them.

TENNIE C. CLAFLIN.

THE RELIGION OF HUMANITY:

A SPEECH DELIVERED BEFORE THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SPIRITUALISTS IN BOSTON, WEDNESDAY EVENING, SEPT. 11, 1872,

BY

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

Barren and cold, indeed, must be the soul in which there is no religion—no perpetual fire upon the altar of life, having an unseen fountain of supply which, from its never failing, proves to be a perfect source. Fossiled, indeed, is the heart of which it can be said, it hath *no faith*—the substance of things hoped for; *on faith*—the evidence of things not seen. But so general, indeed, is the presence in the human heart of something simulating to this, perhaps intangible thing, that it may be laid down as a rule, that the religious sentiment is present in every living being having the capacity to reason; and when, as sometimes there are, persons who boast that they have no such weakness as to cling to that of which they can have no possible knowledge, it is fair to presume, at least, that they do not quite understand themselves.

Beginning, then, with the proposition that the religious sentiment is a necessary component of human nature, the question very naturally arises as to whether that sentiment may, in fact, does, not have a common form of manifestation; indeed, whether there is not some special mode by which it must have expression.

Having a common humanity, possessing a common sentiment, it cannot but be that it should have a common method of expression, and that common method is the Religion of Humanity.

But, says the objector, "How can that be possible, when on all sides we see the sentiment expressing itself in diverse instead of in unitary methods; when, of all subjects, the one upon which people differ most widely and most bitterly is that of religion?" We reply: Are you quite certain that you fully understand what you say when you make this objection? Are you quite certain that it meets the proposition laid down? Upon the question as to what religion consists of, there may be and undoubtedly is a variety of opinions, diverse and earnest enough to base the most bitter opposition upon.

But that there is not a common method of expression for the religious sentiment, is quite a different question.

Therefore, in this matter, as in almost all other matters of which human reason takes cognizance, it is found that the apparent clashing arises from the fact that when people express themselves they do not properly formulate their own thoughts—do not convey definite and like ideas to all persons.

Hence, when we say that a common method for the expression of the religious sentiment is the Religion of Humanity, and follow this, as we have, by saying there may be differences of opinion as to what religion is, it may at first seem to be a paradoxical proposition. But if the two parts of it are analyzed, the paradox will not only be solved, but so also will the reason become clear as to the cause of the strife and bitterness which exist between various religious sects; and its remedy follows equally as clearly.

What do we really mean when we say that the religious sentiment has a common form of expression? This can be answered no better than by saying that the sentiment which prompts the sun worshiper to fall down, in unuttered and unutterable worship, before its blazing glory, also prompts the worshiper of an unknown God to worship him in prayer and praise, in thanksgiving and song; and while the former despise the latter, and they consign the former to everlasting torment for their failure to accept the unknown God, to the well developed mind the former seems the more consistent, since they have reason connected with their religion, which the latter have not.

Now, is it not clear in what the contest between Religionists arises? It is not that they do not have a common sentiment and a common method of expression, but that the expression is directed toward different objects; that is to say, each different sect defines religion to consist of different things, forgetting, as they do (and in this lies the solution), that all things are God's, and that all people are worshiping them, but different parts of them, and none worshiping them as a whole, which is God.

Now, if the Christians were consistent in their theory that God is omnipresent and omnipotent, they would necessarily be obliged to acknowledge that their God must include the gods of all heathen, as they charitably define so many of earth's children to be.

An omnipotent and omnipresent Deity must include all substance and all power, since outside of omnipotence and omnipresence there can be nothing.

From this self-evident proposition, it legitimately follows that all manifestations of power in mind and matter are, taking them at their own word, manifestations of the God of the Christians, as announced by their own theories.

It is because Christians do not comprehend what they say when they talk of omnipotence and omnipresence that they have fallen into the error of supposing they alone, of all the children of earth, are God's, while all others are of the Devil and candidates for Hell, in which he reigns supreme, notwithstanding their omnipotent and omnipresent God.

It will be seen, that the religious contest that is waged is not in reality because there is no common religious sentiment; nor yet because there is no common method of expression; but, when analyzed, it is found to be because this sentiment and method find different channels in which to manifest themselves; or, speaking comprehensively, but at the same time specifically, that the same form of omnipotence or of power, operating through different forms of omnipresence or of substance, produces different but not illegitimate results.

From this it also further follows, that it is an inherent, natural, God-given right for every individual to be himself or herself, to give to the capacities resulting from the organization that full and free use, to be deprived of which is to be subjected to the exercise of unwarrantable—of assumed—power, for which there is no sufficient authorization. And this is Individual Freedom.

And this is what is meant whenever we claim an individual right in any of the departments of life—we mean the right to be, to act, to own, one's self, and to decide in all matters concerning the individual, always providing that such choice shall not interfere with the same right in any other individual; which is the same as to say that whatever the individual claims for him or herself must be accorded to every other individual; and this is applicable whether it be to the religious, the political, or to the social departments of life. Any customs or laws, whether written or enforced by public opinion, which conflict with individual freedom are at war with the relations which the individual sustains to the God of humanity, since with them no third party has any right to interfere. God having given to every individual a conscience, and this conscience having been educated by the circumstances of its surroundings (which were not of its own choice), this conscience, thus educated, becomes the sole arbitrator as to the duty its possessor owes to others. God has not appointed any individual nor any number of individuals to be the sole guide or dictator for any other individual.

Upon no other hypothesis is it possible to predicate unity in diversity. Under no other theory can it be maintained that the exhibition of the sentiment of devotion to a higher power is religion; and it makes all such devotion the same thing in spirit, and its different manifestations in different individuals, different conditions of the same thing, and not in reality different religions, since it is impossible that there should be more than one complete religion.

If we carry this analysis into the political departments of life, we still find it impossible to proceed upon any other theory. All the various political manifestations are politics—are one and the same thing—varying in different individuals in the conditions of its manifestation. Hence all politics are but different conditions or different manifestations of the same political idea. A low form of government, equally with a highly evolved form, is a political organization, differing only in the degree of its evolution and resulting from the action of the same political sentiment present in all humanity.

Proceeding to the social department of life, a strict analysis discovers the same relations between the various existing conditions. A common sentiment, pervading a common humanity, varies in manifestation according to the degree of development to which the social sentiment has attained in individuals.

As worship is the common name given to the expression of the religious sentiment, and as government is the name given to the expression of the common political sentiment, so is love the name given to the expression of the common social sentiment.

But it no more follows that an arbitrary standard of social order can be rightfully established, than it does that a common religious or political standard can be rightfully established.

And as the enlightened public opinion declares against a common political and religious standard, arbitrarily established

and maintained, as being impossible, except under despotic authority, so also does it necessarily and logically follow that, to be consistent, it must also declare against a common social standard, and for the same reason.

In other words, accepting the proposition with which we set out, every individual is as rightfully entitled to the exercise of his social capacities, in his own way, as he is to that of his religious and political capacities, and for the reason that he was endowed with them by God, who has neither subjected them to the control of any other person, or authorized him to surrender their direction to any set of persons; since no one, for any other, can either enjoy the benefits flowing from high, or suffer the consequences flowing from the practice of a low, order of the social sentiment.

It is quite true—indeed, it ought not to be expected that it could be otherwise—that in the social relations of humanity, as in the religious and political, we find a great variety of conditions; but it will also be found that each condition is the legitimate result of the degree to which the subject is socially developed; and that each, in the full and free expression of the individual condition, finds the most happiness; while the compulsory observance of an imposed standard is at war with the nature of the individual as well as with the general good, since the highest general good is the result of the greatest good for the greatest number of the individuals who compose the whole.

It is only when this question is considered in the light of common sense and reason, divested of the prejudices which custom has engendered, that it is found how much an arbitrary standard to control the expression of the social sentiment, is opposed to our practices in all other matters; and when with this, we also consider the fact, that they who constructed the standard and they who most loudly demand its observance do not themselves conform to its requirements, its unreasonable despotism on the one hand, and its farcical character upon the other, become clear.

But after all reasonable objections to the standard itself are removed, as a *dernier resort* the children argument is advanced; and as this, in the argument against the claims for political freedom and equality for all, is considered conclusive, so also is it held to be unanswerable against social freedom—by those who have not analyzed it. The demand for political equality is opposed by the argument, that if men acknowledge women to be their political equals, there is no possible way to exclude children from the same equality; and to the demand for social equality for women, men reply: to give women social freedom is to make all children orphans—a commentary on human nature which completely justifies the already exploded dogma of its innate depravity. How many of you here present, being fathers or mothers, care for your children simply because the law compels you? That argument is a libel upon parentage which every parent ought to hurl, with indignation, in the teeth of those who have the audacity to advance it.

But, even admitting that the argument is good—that the children would all go to the bad if the law did not compel men and women who hate each other and who fight continually, to live together, a single, self-evident proposition demonstrates its illegitimacy. Causes determine results; results do not regulate causes. Causes act through the laws of their association, which are natural and not arbitrary; and thus acting, the results are legitimate. Hence, if the law, as now administered, maintain unnatural social relations, no argument as to the good flowing from them to children ought to be used to continue them. It is not a wise theory to do ill that good may come. Do right for its own sake, and regulate consequences accordingly. Social relations should be regulated—not enforced—upon the principles which underlie them; and if the present methods of rearing children do not harmonize with such regulations, the methods, and not the social relations, should be changed, so that the effects may be made to accord with the natural law through which they are produced. An opposite theory would justify *any* means to accomplish a given end.

But I deny, *in toto*, that our present system of rearing children is such as to make its continuation desirable, even if it were to be admitted that our social system is perfect; and, on the contrary, affirm it to be the most unscientific, unreasonable and stupid system that could possibly be invented; and that to it, next to the rottenness of our social system, we owe the half-made-up generation of children now coming up.

But I cannot pursue the subject of children further here, having been led to say thus much to refute the charge that they who advocate social equality do not stop to consider what would be the condition of children under its attainment.

Individual freedom, then, comprises freedom in all the departments of nature of which the individual is constituted. But the superficial overlook the fact, that this proposition includes the acknowledgment by every individual, of the right of every other individual to the full and free use of all of his or her powers and capacities; and, as a necessary corollary, that the highest degree of happiness for the individual is secured when his natural capacities and inclinations are the most fully and freely exercised and gratified; the jurisdiction as to what are, and what are not, natural, being a part of the right of the individual; and as a consequence to this, that the highest degree of happiness for humanity is secured when all the individual members constituting it enjoy the highest, fullest and freest use of their capacities for happiness. No one can dispute these propositions without also disputing, that there is a general system of economy in nature, which would be absurd. But, as previously hinted, it is the failure on the part of individuals to accord to others what they demand for themselves that furnishes the ground for all the conflicts and disputes that arise about all subjects. Each person who is individualized earnestly maintains that he is right, and that all his opinions and theories are truths, while everybody who differs from which is wrong.

Now this is a correct position for the individual to maintain for himself, but inconsistent as applied to everybody else, who have the same right to maintain the same position; and he has no right to make the claim for himself unless, at the same time, he accord the same claim to everybody else. And this rule applies to action as well as to thought.

The more advanced classes of reformers have imperfectly come to this position regarding the religious sentiment. Spiritualists, generally, set up no standards of belief, and require no affirmation of religious theory as a prerequisite to membership. But, regarding all other departments of life, they are as illogical and discordant as are their less advanced Christian friends. Almost everybody assumes to be the judge and jury, to take cognizance of almost everybody else; not only trying the case and passing sentence, but whenever possible, proceeding to execution as well.

Now, where is the inconsistency of such a course? Manifestly here: That, in according to all persons the right of conscience, which is itself a product, and not self-existent, they thereby surrender the right to sit in judgment upon any act that such conscience may permit in the individual. Is not that strictly logical; and is it not clear? All the acts of my life are the legitimate sequences of the sum total of my beliefs, theories and experiences, acting and being acted upon by the circumstances by which I have been surrounded. To these—my beliefs, theories and experiences, and surrounding circumstances—it is admitted that I have an indisputable right. Have I not, then, an equally indisputable right to the effects produced by their outworking in practice? Nothing, it appears to me, can be more manifest than this is.

And what must follow this as a logical necessity? Evidently, that the individual's conception of right and wrong must be his sole guide, rule and monitor—must be—aye is—his conscience.

But just here we are met by the exclamation: Why, by this theory you would virtually deny the existence of right and wrong! To this, not unnatural, thought, we reply both yes! and no! Absolutely, yes! Relatively, no! With the whole—with God—all things are right, are good. To the individual, everything is relatively right or wrong, good or evil, according to the position he occupies along the line of evolution, described in passing from the lower—the evil—to the higher—the good. To a person low down in the scale of development many a thing may be good which, to one further ascended, might be very evil; but it is neither the duty or the right of the latter to deny, by force, to the former the enjoyment of his good. To the cannibal the taste of human flesh is very good; while to us the mere thought is horrible, is revolting. And yet, the cannibal, equally with us, is the offspring of the Great Creative Power, and as rightfully and legitimately possessed of his taste for human flesh, as we are of a predisposition against it. To him it is right to eat human flesh; to us it is wrong.

Another method of arriving at the same conclusion is, to begin with the statement that all effects flow from competent producing causes, for which neither the effects nor the instrumentalities through which they are produced are responsible.

Scarcely a single act of any person can be traced, wholly, to circumstances within his control; in fact, almost all acts are largely the result of causes over which the actor can have no possible power. Every individual is constantly surrounded by

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circumstances every one of which has a modifying influence upon all his movements. The slightest of things frequently determines diametrically opposite action from that which would have followed had it not been present. A feather turns the nicely balanced scales this way or that, according as its influence is applied to this side or that. And thus it is with all human actions—the smallest circumstances often deciding not only the fate of individuals, but also the destinies of nations.

Rights and duties, then, are synonymous terms, since the jurisdiction as to what are duties resides within the individual; no second person being competent to decide or enforce supposed duties for others. If this be so, then there is neither merit or demerit in human action. Each individual produces just such action as his inherited capacities, modified by educational influences and surrounding circumstances determine, and all action is legitimately and logically the result of them, and not of the absolute choosing of the individual, who does not, and it is impossible that he should, do this or that merely because he of himself chooses it; but he does it because, under the existing circumstances, he can not do differently; and he did not create the circumstances; neither did he create himself; being at any given time a product—a result of other causes. Then where rests the responsibility? It is affirmed, that it is in the individual; but I as stoutly affirm that no logical or sufficient reason can be adduced to maintain it, and that it rests with the general creative plan, which has evolved the whole universe.

It may be said, as it frequently has been, that such theories lead to demoralization and ought to be suppressed. But I say that they appear to me to be a high form of truth, and I am for the highest truth which my comprehension can grasp, let it be what it may, and lead where it may. The charge of demoralization has always been hurled at every intended innovation upon established customs and theories. But results have, as constantly given the lie to it; and, rest assured, they always will give the lie to every such affirmation regarding the new discoveries of truth.

"And those whose souls on truth rely,
Whose metal shafts through error fly,
Can well afford to work and wait,
While battling crime in Church and State.
And those who fight life's battles well
Hurl pious frauds and shams to hell."

It is also said that, with such a theory, there is no inducement for the individual to attempt to advance to higher conditions. I might reply that it ought not to require any inducements to determine anybody to do better continually; but if it really *do* require arbitrary inducements to cause people to live better, why then I say, we had better at once cease all other arguments and return to the most forcible that was ever invented—the hope of escaping Hell, with its pavements of infant's skulls, its ceaseless flame and sulphurous fumes; but I deny the position, and affirm that the very *highest* inducements are presented to every living soul to come up higher (and these inducements are a part of the surrounding circumstances which play so important a part in determining individual action); for the higher the position the individual occupies, the greater are his enjoyments and the more intensified his happiness. But the consideration, the inducement, is in the position itself, and not in any arbitrary blessing to be bestowed if the position be attained.

Life is "in deeds, not years,
In thoughts, not breaths;
We should count time by heart throbs.
He most lives who thinks most,
Feels noblest, acts the best."

Humanity has come to adjudge almost everything from a pecuniary standpoint; and almost all the relations among its different members are based upon this standard. Nothing is held to be a consideration, except it be pecuniary. This practice ignores all moral strength and honor, and is engendering a more fearful strife in humanity than has ever yet been known—that between the different professions and employments.

It is maintained that the services of a person being president of a great railroad, are worth more and ought to be better rewarded than those of the person who sweeps the street or drives the scavenger. Now, this is an arbitrary rule, without the slightest foundation in justice. The price of all service, as well as of all commodities, should be determined by its cost; and cost consists of the consumption of time and material only. But should not the President of a railroad be paid for the time he has expended in being fitted to perform such services, over and above the mere daily laborer whose occupation requires no apprenticeship? Emphatically, no! His recompense for whatever he may have consumed in education, in preparation for his position, is the acquired capacity which enables him to be the president instead of the street-sweep. He has devoted a certain time to the acquirement of certain knowledge. He is paid in its possession, and has no equitable right to place a premium upon the services it renders him capable of performing.

No more complete answer to this position can be given than that of the president himself. Ask him, if for the same price he would not choose to conduct the railroad rather than to drive the scavenger, and he will answer, most emphatically, Yes!

The profit making system together with the theory of demand and supply as the regulators of price, are relics of the semi-barbarous ages, which the new theory of industrial equity—of

equal rights, equal opportunities and equal compensation, will soon relegate to the limbo of the past, and forever settle the present vexatious and irritating questions between labor and capital, by merging the two terms into one, and transforming the competition between individuals, from a strife for capital to one for better individual positions.

But it will undoubtedly be asked, "What has all this to do with the Religion of Humanity? These are questions with which religion has nothing to do." Yes! and it is because they are questions which have been considered beneath the dignity of religion to touch, that they are in their present, demoralized condition.

Now, I make bold to affirm that a Religion of Humanity cannot ignore a single question in which the interests of humanity are involved; and more especially, it cannot ignore those which are purely questions of justice; and in their last analysis all questions are questions of justice. I conceive that the chief blunder that all so called Christians and reformers who are endeavoring to save the world, make, is, that they begin at the wrong place; attack the wrong part of human nature. Reformers cannot ignore nature and expect to succeed. If any think to make saints from the millions of industrial slaves which the country contains, so long as they are compelled to live in places where men would scorn to confine their dogs or horses, I am certain it is safe to say that they will fail. How can it be expected to elevate the unfortunate girls who walk the streets of our great cities in search of the means to meet their wants, so long as they have no other method of obtaining them; and so long as a canting, hypocritical, pharisaical society closes the doors of all other employment against them? Is it to be expected that they will starve or sleep in the streets, to which society has forced them to gain their livelihood? If this is expected, they will not do it. Is it expected that they will leave their present life and accept the charities of a society which has kicked them, or go into its kitchens to do its drudgeries? Never! I can tell you that they will not. Society must first accord to them an equality of right, and withhold its judgments which it now hurls against them. It must take its heavy hands off of them, before they can rise again to the surface of humanity.

Again: I know of a six-story tenement house, one hundred feet front by seventy deep, which contains five hundred men, women and children, who, having no regular employment, eke out a precarious existence through their wits. What does society propose to do for them? How does it propose to reform them? By preaching? Never! By cursing? Never! There is but one way, and that is to acknowledge and treat them as brothers and sisters—as equals, equally entitled to all the rights, privileges and blessings of nature, which the most happy of the world enjoy; and to see to it that they have them. "Always remembering the value

Of that deep insight which detects all great things in the small,
And learn how each one's life affects the spiritual life of all."

Again: I have followed a dark passage-way, leading down to and terminating in an abode of poverty and misery. There were four persons in a small hut of one room, whose floor slushed in the drainage of its more reputable surroundings. The father was prostrate upon a bed of sickness, while the wife and children crouched, half famished, in the dry corners of the cabin. This family had recently been removed from a more comfortable abode because of the non-payment of rent, and compelled to accept this as the only attainable refuge. What does society propose to do for, and how to reform this unchristian condition? Is it to be expected that godliness can exist or germinate in the souls of poor wretches confined to such a place as that? It is simply folly to even think of it; and they who anticipate the salvation of peopled in this condition by preaching and praying are following a "will o' the wisp" and casting their bread upon the waters that will not return it to them after many days.

But when I talk to these same people of these things, earnestly seeking the means of their relief as an humanitarian duty, I am set down as insane. Well, if to be insane is to desire perfect equity to exist among a common humanity and to labor that it may exist, then do I glory in being insane. And more, I intend to remain insane,

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

If humanity could be made better and happier by merely passing laws to that effect, ignoring the causes that make them bad, or by punishment, which we have no right to inflict upon each other, this would be an argument for continuing our present system of law making and executing.

But, unfortunately, it happens that, in spite of all penal and compulsory laws, society refuses to elevate itself to escape their penalties. It is a very easy thing to make people better by removing temptations to do worse from their way; but it is much better to surround them with conditions whose temptations are all toward the better. Hence, instead of legislating to punish infractions of law, we should legislate to produce such conditions for all the people as would remove the inducements to crime. No person, unless a kleptomaniac (and even kleptomaniacs are the product of bad social relations), will steal, if he have the means to gratify all natural desires.

And stealing is the great, the crying wrong of the age. Almost everybody is endeavoring to steal in some way. Stealing does not consist only of those cases where a hand is thrust into a pocket, relieving it of a purse; but of all those cases where, by a sharp trade one person obtains from another more than for which he renders an equivalent. In the strict sense of the term, theft, all people who have valuable things in their possession produced by other persons for which they have not rendered an equivalent, are morally and in equity thieves.

To illustrate: if a person employ a hundred people, and pay them a hundred dollars for a certain labor, selling the result of that labor for two hundred dollars, he has robbed either the laborers or the purchaser of one hundred dollars, less an equitable charge for his time consumed in making the exchange. Or if a person purchase an article from another for ten dollars and sell it to a third party for twenty, he robs one of the two of ten dollars, less an equitable price for effecting the exchange; and if it be the latter, the result to him is precisely the same as if the seller had sold the article for ten dollars and stole the other ten from his pocket. The law provides certain penalties for the last case, of which sort there are few, while it utterly ignores the first which exist on all sides. So it is not the theft, *per se*, that is made punishable by law, but certain kinds of theft. The law virtually says to the people, Steal all that you can from your neighbor, only be careful that you steal legally.

Does religion lead people to deal justly, love mercy and walk humbly? and if it do, does it not teach that all legal enactments ought to be for the purpose of securing just dealing? Or has religion no practical side, is it all moonshine, all intangible theory never to be reduced to practical use? In the language of another, I say, "Show me your works by your faith (your religion), and I will show you my faith (my religion), by my works. In other words, a pretended religion that does not permeate the whole being, exhibiting itself in every act of one's life, is a myth, is a delusion, and even more than all this, is not religion but hypocrisy.

A person who professes to love justice and to desire to do unto others as he would be done by, and at the same time assists to maintain any organization, political, governmental or otherwise, that is unjust to a single person, is, either knowingly or unwittingly, a hypocrite. Justice is not confined to religious matters: it is a question that arises in all departments of life—industrial, political and social. Hence so far as justice forms a part of the religious sentiment does religion have to do with all these departments. Now, I do not choose that my religion shall be an indefinable something, utterly separate from all the relations of humanity. On the contrary, I want a religion that shall incline me to act up to the very highest possibilities of human nature, in all things with which human nature has to do. In other words, no person can be governed in one department by principles of justice and entirely ignore them in all other departments and be consistent. A truly religious person will not only be pecuniarily just, but he will also be politically just; that is, if his religion be of that sort which produces an effect upon his practical life.

The old cry, then, that religion has nothing to do with politics, is a delusion of the first water. Instead of having nothing to do with politics, religion should be the rule governing all political action. It should furnish the principle upon which government itself should be based. Why, what is government that it should be divorced from religion, or what is religion that its dainty skirts should not be permitted to enter the political arena? It is because such a theory is predicated that some of the greatest professors of religion are the worst political knaves and tricksters. And it is because legislators are not guided by a sense of justice that they pass so many iniquitous laws.

Now, what does our system of government, our systems of civil and criminal law lack that renders them imperfect? Simple justice! Give us perfectly just laws and we at once perfect our government. And what should the devout and consistent religionist desire regarding politics? Manifestly, that political action should be such as to secure the embodiment of the principles of justice in law.

The Poet asks: What's noble? and answers,

That which places
Truth in its enfranchised will,
Leaving steps like angel traces
That mankind may follow still.
Even though Scorn's malignant glances
Prove her poorest of her clan
She's the noblest who advances
Justice and the rights of man.

And yet when Spiritualists are recommended to take such political action as will secure the incorporation of justice in law, a howl of virtuous indignation is set up from all quarters. It is all at once discovered that there is an ambitious adventuress, remarkable for nothing but insanity, come among Spiritualists to attract them away from the consideration of pure and undefiled Spiritualism. Such a Spiritualism may satisfy the consciences of some, but I am free to confess that it does not satisfy mine; and if we are seeking for a Religion of Humanity we shall have to seek it outside of that kind of Spiritualism.

My idea and hope for modern Spiritualism is, that it shall become the Religion of Humanity. I would have it the leaven that shall leaven the whole of humanity. I would have it begin the great work of reconstructing society upon those broad and general principles which will admit of all the conditions requisite to a perfected state. As a frame work I would have it con-

struct a perfect governmental system that shall secure freedom, equality and justice to every living soul. I would have it enact such laws as shall banish crime, pauperism and misery from the earth. I would have it develop such a system of moral purity as we sometimes imagine the angels practice; and I would have it adopt such systems of education as shall assure to every person arriving at adult age a knowledge of all the Arts, Sciences and Economies.

And more than all this, I would that Spiritualism should lay hold of the social condition and rescue it from its present debased and debauched state. I would have it evolve such a system of social science as will insure that none but perfect children should be born, and that shall secure the most happiness to the greatest possible number; and whatever the conditions are that may be necessary to this end I would have them introduced, and that too at once. It is this question which in its importance rises superior to all others, and yet it is that which of all others is most shirked and most howled at and denounced. I am free to say that I am searching after the whole social truth; and also quite as free to say that whatever that truth may be, I will, as I find it, and as I am given strength, boldly proclaim and live it; for, in the words of another,

"If in my brain I feel a thought inwork,
I'll speak it forth, nor let it hidden lurk:
Should some foul ear the senseless sound indrink
And think it evil, evil be the think!"—

—and the consequences of such a course I will leave with those who urge me on, believing as I do that they are wiser than I, and better prepared to judge of its expediency than are those who are fettered by custom and enslaved by Mrs. Grundy.

But there is still another aspect of the general question, which it may be profitable to consider. We treat of these several departments of life—the Religious, the Political and the Social—as if they formed a Trinity, corresponding to that of the Church. Would it not be well to analyze this Human Trinity and see if the same arguments advanced against the Divine Trinity are not equally destructive to this? We say that three complete personages cannot by any possibility form one complete personage. May we not also conclude that three separate human systems cannot by any possibility form one complete human system? We can imagine it to have parts; but these parts must stand intimately related, the one to the other, the same general principle and laws governing all in unison.

If this be a correct view of the case, any theory to separate the political from the religious department, and the social from them both, is a dangerous because disintegrating, theory. We have passed the period of disintegrating reform and are entering the era of constructive reform. We have pursued the separation of truths until we have arrived at the principles that underlie them. We must now begin to put truths together, to lay the corner-stone of the great Social Temple of the Future.

And it is meet that Spiritualists should do this. The great problem that the Church in all ages has failed to solve, has been solved by Spiritualism. We know that we shall live after the dissolution of the physical body. Besides disposing finally of the question of Immortality, Spiritualism has destroyed the power of Heaven and Hell, and set free, millions enslaved by fear; and it will abolish the Priesthood, who have fastened themselves upon humanity as the mediators between an angry God and a fear-stricken people. Verily shall their occupation depart and the people become their own salvation by saving themselves from ignorance, which is the greatest curse under which humanity labors. Spiritualism, then, having accomplished all this should proceed to still grander labors. It should, from the debris of the ruins it has wrought, evolve a new social structure, combining in it all the principles laid bare by the rottenness of the several systems which it is to succeed.

"The truth shall make you free" is as true as it is old. And what is truth? Is it something that is continually being created? Is it self-existent, or does it evolve as a necessary consequence of the action of power upon matter? Truth is the record or statement of a fact, and facts are continually being developed in accordance with the theory of evolution. Hence the more a person knows of the sum total of all facts the more of truth he possesses and the more free he becomes. And as evolution is from the lower to the higher, so should the truth be acquired in the same direction. That is, before we can have the perfected fruit we must have the blossom, the twig, the branch, the trunk, and all of these after the roots, that find life in the soil which is the foundation.

Now, all principles are fundamentally constructive, and all permanent things are built thereon. We have many truths the foundation or the principles underlying which are not discovered. But as we discover principles they should be arranged into harmonious co-operation, so that their best combined results may be obtained. In the past we have dealt almost altogether in facts, in truths, in effects, without any reference to causation; and have constructed theories from them which, in almost every instance, when the principles upon which they are based have been arrived at, have proved falacious.

This method must now be entirely reversed. Instead of constructing theories out of facts we must frame systems out of principles. The religious system has furnished theories for all other systems. All others are its legitimate children. But Spiritualism having overthrown the foundation of the Religious System the other systems must necessarily fall. And who can look abroad into the world to-day with an enlightened eye and not see that our

political and industrial and social systems are even now swaying to and fro, ready to tumble in one tremendous crash. Decay, rottenness, corruption, dishonesty, falsehood, misery, hypocrisy and degradation surround us on all sides and are rapidly completing the work of destruction. And shall we blindly ignore the threatening attitude and cry "All's well" until the crash shall come and bury us in ruins like those in which the civilization of Rome was buried? Shall we coolly invite another dark age such as followed the sinking of that civilization?

Believe it or not, call me insane if you will, I tell you that unless a salvation, now seemingly hopeless, come to this generation, a destruction such as has never yet overwhelmed the world must surely come. In the far-reaching, all-embracing principles of Spiritualism as the Religion of humanity, does this hope, this salvation reside, since they are as potent as they are comprehensive.

But what are the principles already discovered from which a constructive process may be begun and by which we may try all our work to prove or disprove its perfectness; as the square tests right angles, the plumb perpendiculars and the level horizontals? Are there right angles and perpendiculars and horizontals to be observed in the social structure as there are in the other material structures, and without which no human sense is capable of correctness? I boldly proclaim that the principles by which a perfect social structure can be devised are discovered and are now capable of formulation and absolute practice.

But do you say that such an assertion is, apparently, arbitrary, involving a fixed law? Well, admit that it is. What then? Is there conceivable anything more arbitrary than the law of mathematics or of gravitation? We never experiment with these laws, but yield absolute obedience to them; and there is no such thing as freedom, in the anarchical sense of that term, possible of them. And yet in this arbitrariness lies perfect freedom.

Now what we want in regard to society is its construction by laws that are just as arbitrary and as absolute as are those of mathematics; and as the law of mathematics in operation results in the organization of numbers, so should the law of social science, in operation, result in the organization of society; and nothing less than the perfect organization of society can ever make a practical application of the theory of a common humanity. Nor can any religious system be the religion of humanity which undertakes a less comprehensive task than the organization of humanity—that

"Vast chain of being which from God began
Nature's ethereal—human—angel—man."

This unitary idea of humanity is no idle nor wild Utopian dream. That which has been foretold by prophets in all ages, and sung by poets of all nations, is now affirmed to be the inevitable result of a true Social Science by the highest recognized authorities of to-day in science. Herbert Spencer, in an exhaustive and lucid article in the September number of the Popular Science Monthly—the same copied into the Sunday World—on The Nature of the New Social Science, says, in concluding the article:

"For it is manifest that, in so far as human beings, considered as social units, have properties in common, the social aggregates they form will have properties in common; so that, whether we look at the matter in the abstract or in the concrete, we reach the same conclusion. And thus recognizing both *a priori* and *a posteriori*, these relations between the phenomena of individual human nature and the phenomena of incorporated human nature, we cannot fail to see that the phenomena of incorporated human nature form the subject matter of a science."

From these demonstrations of scientists, harmonizing as they do with the theory of religionists, we find another proof of the unity of all human interests, and that the presence of this religious sentiment in the soul, though undefinable, is the prophecy that it will be externalized in all things by science, and science and religion become one in practice.

To realize how far the world is from such a consummation we have only to consider that the only organization existing in humanity is one for destruction—the fifteen millions of men organized in the standing armies of the world.

But what are the principles which underlie the organization of society? I am glad to say that they are explained by words with which we are all very familiar, but the real significance of which I fear is but little understood. These words are so common that I have no doubt their enunciation as the salvation of the world will bring a smile of credulity to most faces; but if you smile I pray you consider, and never give over consideration until you fully comprehend the signification of Freedom, Equality and Justice, both as separate terms and as the triune which shall solve all questions that can possibly arise from the inter-relations of humanity. With equality existing in freedom and regulated by Justice there will be a perfect social structure begun which must endure so long as humanity endures.

But because I have advanced these things, as methods, by which the human family is to be united, there are grave charges brought against me. It is said by some high in supposed authority among you, that I am a bold, ambitious and designing woman. As to the first charge, I am not so certain of its truth, although I trust I am bold enough to be able to speak the truth as I see it whenever I am called upon to speak; but I must confess that I have sometimes wished that I might not be called. But as to the charges of ambition and design I must acknowledge their truth; and more than this, I am glad that I can do so. I AM ambitious that the whole world shall become free, by virtue

of possessing the truth which makes us free indeed; that the whole world shall become equal through the recognition of its common brotherhood; and that the whole world shall become just by being the possessors of a pure and undefiled religion. And I shall DESIGN, in every possible way that I can, so long as I live in this body, to make it so.

But it is also further charged that I have attempted to commit Spiritualists to a, so called, New Departure, involving the blasphemous proposition of introducing religion into politics, and of so amending the law as to permit women to own themselves, instead of being, as they often are, owned by men, and subject to treatment it would be deemed villainous to bestow upon brutes. "Oh!" they soliloquize, "it must be a terrible woman who can wish to disturb the present heavenly condition of women, and thereby undermine the divine right of male domination." Well, terrible as all this may seem to be, I must acknowledge the charge. If I could induce Spiritualists, or any considerable body of them, to work as assiduously as I intend to work to establish freedom of all kinds, equality in all things and justice for all people (which involve every possible charge that can be brought against me, and to all of which I will plead guilty in advance), I should indeed feel that I had not lived in vain.

But these my accusers say that I shall fail. Well, if I do it shall not be my fault, for I shall speak whenever I can, urging upon everybody what to me is the first of humanitarian duties—the installation into power of the principles of freedom, equality and justice. This done, all minor questions at issue among peoples will settle themselves; and humanity be ready to take a really new departure, after more light, more truth and more happiness.

But if I fail, if I prove unequal to the task to accomplish all I could wish, the remembrance that—

"They are brave who dare to be
In the right with two or three"

—will give me consolation for any disappointment.

It is asked what it is that I would have Spiritualists do? I will briefly set forth what it seems to me is the demand made upon them by the principles of their religion. The very first step to be taken is—as they have done in religious matters—to extricate themselves from all entanglements and alliances with all existing customs and systems that do not exemplify perfect freedom, equality and justice. No matter what the consequences may be that seem likely to follow, they should come out from the political and social structures, so that when the process of decay shall have perfected its mission with them, and the crash come, they may not be involved in the ruins. Having done this, decisively, they should organize themselves for constructive action; and if there be at first but a dozen in the whole country who are brave enough to do, let them begin the work. A handful of determined souls, firmly based on the true principles of organization, may soon revolutionize the world. But there are enough Spiritualists now convinced of the necessity of this action who, if completely organized and working to one purpose, would hold the balance of power in this country, and be able to demand that Human Rights should be respected. This organization should have its fountain head wherever even three persons can be found ready to enter it, and should spread into every village and hamlet in the country, until, by virtue of being the most numerous party it would be the government. In this action there would be nothing necessarily revolutionary, in the warlike sense of that term, unless, indeed, as very probably they would, the minority should rebel against the inauguration of such a government. But in that case the consequences be on the heads of the rebellious, as there they would most certainly fall.

Spiritualists of the United States—of the world! it is yours to begin this great work—the greatest and grandest of the centuries. Will you do it? Will you cast aside all lesser issues; will you drop all lines of policy, all selfish consideration, all personal prejudices, and seize hold upon the vital question and with it push on to victory? I am not ambitious to be a leader; I am not confident that I am strong and worthy enough to stand the penalties of such a position. Almost all the indignities which I can bear have already been heaped upon me for the part I have already played. Already have I been beaten as with many stripes, stoned out of the temples of the righteous, and denied admission where the commonest male thief and sensualist gain ready welcome. Under all these penalties my health has given way, and I am weak and faint. But the work must go on. The grand army must be marshalled to conquer in the strife that will be waged. Despotism selfishness and conservative aristocracy will make still a desperate stand against the reign of freedom, equality and justice; but they must be overcome.

Then rally, Spiritualists, to the standard of Human Rights, and, by the authority of truth, earnestly invite and cordially welcome recruits to its ranks let them offer themselves from whatever source. Let none assume to judge another as unworthy to enter the contest, or cast the contumelious stone for any cause; but as brothers and sisters, without envy, malice or bitterness, join in a common effort to effect a common purpose for a common humanity. And rest assured, the good Angels will look approvingly on, and give you strength, wisdom and love enough to carry you forward to a happy consummation.

And this, my friends, is to *live* the religion which we profess—the Religion of Humanity.

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1872.

A REQUEST.

Editors receiving this number of the WEEKLY who, in any manner, notice its contents, will greatly oblige us by sending the papers containing the notices.

TO THE PUBLIC.

In June we were compelled to suspend the publication of the WEEKLY. The causes culminated so suddenly that we had no opportunity to even give notice of the intention. At the time we hoped it would be for a few weeks only, but weeks have rolled into months instead. It is, however, due our subscribers that we now offer the explanations we should have given in a last number, by which we do not mean a final issue, since it has never entered our thought that the WEEKLY was dead.

We scarcely need to say that the WEEKLY, from the first, needed and received other support than its own income. No radical reformatory paper ever was self-supporting, even when run closely down to its subscription list. The WEEKLY was always issued regardless of lists to all who would read it. We never expected it to live without outside assistance, but we did not take into consideration that the time might come when we should be unable to give it that assistance. We scattered it broadcast over both continents. Go where one might where the English language is read, there the WEEKLY was to be found; and the seed it has sowed has not all fallen on barren soil. Since its suspension we have received more than five thousand letters of inquiry, from all parts of the globe, regarding its reappearance; and we feel a deep satisfaction in the fact that almost every one of these letters speak of it as the only paper ever published that could be called really a free and independent paper—not afraid to deal with all subjects in plain terms.

Beside the WEEKLY, we have during the same time issued and distributed a half million speeches and documents upon the vital questions of the hour. These, too, have yielded fruit; some ten, some twenty, and some a hundred fold. Especially on the questions of social and industrial reform have these diffused knowledge. The great issue between labor and capital has also, according to the testimony of some of the leading men engaged in it, become much better defined not only in the minds of the common people, but also in the minds of those to whom such questions never before had access. Therefore whatever privations we have endured, whatever money and effort expended, we are thankful that we were able to endure, and that we had them to expend. Let those who have thousands, and who cry reform so loudly, call us foolish if they will. We were in earnest; we meant every word we ever said, and we are still more deeply in earnest now, and we mean every word we ever said with a deeper and broader significance now than when it was spoken or written. Every day unfolds to us some new evidence of the need of prompt and energetic action all along the lines of reform that have been established. Enemies, spies and traitors are everywhere present; and unless the greatest circumspection be exhibited, the very name of reform will become a by-word among conservatives, at which we shall be obliged to blush with shame that we ever fought under its standard. There is too much profession and too little practice—too much assumption of a garb to cover the feculence that would otherwise become obnoxious to the community, and too little real earnestness of purpose. With this sort of practice we have no sympathy; and we

here and now give fair warning that wherever we find it we shall strip off the garb with unsparing hand. The day for palliative remedies is passed. The scalpel and the lancet will alone answer as remedies for the present desperate conditions. We trust we shall be able to handle them both with steady hand and firm heart, let the consequences be what they may.

When we began the publication of the WEEKLY we were able to surround ourselves with the comforts of life, but when it became necessary to the continuation of the paper, one by one they were sacrificed. We first gave up our house on Murray Hill, and took board at greatly reduced expense. We were at length compelled to leave these quarters, because of the doctrines we advocated, and our exposures of the rottenness of the social condition; and we found it impossible to obtain admission to any other where we could live. We then attempted to take another house, but not a house agent in the city would rent to us. For six weeks we made every possible exertion in every possible direction, but in vain. On every hand it was the same story, "We, personally, don't object to you, but you know there is such a prejudice against you that really we can't do it." And we were absolutely obliged to give up the idea of getting a house.

In the meantime we had turned our attention to the public hotels as a last resort. After unsuccessful attempts at not less than a dozen, we were at last admitted to the "Gilesey." But when Mr. Gardner, one of the proprietors, who was absent at the time of our admission, returned, we were requested to leave, the reason assigned for it being, "that if we remained in the hotel all his family boarders would leave." We expostulated, and asked what acts we had committed that we should have this insult put upon us, and the reply was, "that we published a paper, and made speeches in which free love was advocated; and the people would not tolerate any such things." We finally said that we should stand upon our rights as citizens, and unless some misdemeanor could be proved upon us, we should not leave the hotel until we got a suitable place to go to, and not then because of the desire to expel us. One night, however, on retiring from the office, we found that our room had been entered, our baggage taken therefrom, and the door guarded by a person to prevent our admission. Sick and weary with continual strife, we vainly sought for other lodgings. No hotel would receive us, and, finally, at one o'clock at night, we were obliged to return to our office in Broad street, and sleep as best we could upon the floor, the result of which was, sickness to ourselves and child. And there we were obliged to remain for weeks, until a relative obtained a house, into which we removed. How vividly were called to mind the words of Hood, in his "Bridge of Sighs:

"Alas! for the rarity
Of Christian charity
Under the sun.
Oh! it was pitiful,
With this whole city full,
Home had she none."

It was during this interval immediately following the Convention in May that a combination was also got up to get us out of Broad street. Some persons combined with Mr. De Rham, our landlord, to accomplish it. The rent was suddenly advanced upon us a thousand dollars a year, and the whole sum required in advance, notwithstanding we had engaged it, to give security, with monthly payments. We tendered the monthly payment, with security for the year, a person worth a million being the surety, and it was absolutely refused. Rather than contend with such rascality through the law we concluded to get another office. What we had experienced in looking for a residence was repeated in our attempt to get an office. Nobody would rent us one. But finally when it was thought that we were about to be driven from the street, we did obtain just what was required—a much better office in every way than "44" had been, and at less rental; 44 still remains vacant, Mr. De Rham being unable to rent it even at what we paid last year.

Nevertheless, in this same city, where we can neither rent an office or a dwelling, nor obtain board, either at a boarding-house or hotel, whenever we speak, where the "common people" can congregate, they do so to the number of ten, twelve, and even fifteen thousand. It is the Pharisees of to-day who persecute us, as it was they who persecuted the Teacher of eighteen centuries ago; it is the "common people" who hear us gladly as it was who heard Him gladly.

Now, is it to be wondered at, with all these things to contend against, that we were completely worn out both in body and mind, and rendered incapable of ministering to the support of the WEEKLY. But even this would not have accomplished its suspension had not other and still more insidious means been resorted to. Those with whom we had transacted business were sought out, their minds poisoned against us, and to our astonishment one by one they fell away until we stood alone. Everybody seemed to be possessed of the general sentiment of bitterness that prevailed at that time. So on every hand we were undermined, and, in a word, in two short months, completely ruined financially, and compelled to suspend the paper, which at that time we were issuing at a weekly expense of nearly three hundred dollars above its receipts.

It may seem strange that this should have occurred at so late a time as it did. We were at a loss ourselves to account for the intense bitterness that existed at that time. But our eyes have since been widely opened to the causes. We have learned that so long as we merely talked and wrote, the people did not mind it; but the moment a practical move-

ment was contemplated, the alarm as to results began to spread like wildfire in all cowardly hearts. And thus it happened that immediately following the May Convention every opposer to our programme rose up in arms to put us down, and they left no means untried to accomplish it. Persons whom we had accounted friends to "the cause" we found vomiting forth the bitterest gall against it, and many whom we had thought personal friends used every possible occasion to stab us in the back. These things, which we did not expect, added to all that we did expect, produced the desired effect—we were paralyzed in strength, health and purse, and reduced to a condition in which we were obliged to stop all business, and, like a general after losing a battle, seek a new base from which to operate.

And we think we have found it. In June, 1871, we published a reply to an attack upon us made by Henry C. Bowen in the *Independent*, from which we quote the following:

"But, halt a moment! We have a word to say, a warning to give, not to Henry C. Bowen alone, nor mainly, though we have a shot in the locker for him also, but to whomsoever it may concern. Three weeks ago we stated in good faith that we did not propose to deal in personalities and private histories. We meant what we said then, and we mean what we say now; and we now say just the contrary. We are converts, through the merciless treatment we are receiving, to the necessity of 'carrying the war into Africa,' and we issue this preliminary protocol in view of an early formal declaration of war, and war to the knife, on this hypocritical and slanderous community. And when we move in this direction, let those who dwell in brittle tenements stand from under. In the phrase of Bismarck: 'You can't make an omelette without breaking some eggs.' E. H. Haywood was probably prophetic when he said at Apollo Hall, that we are on the verge of the great Universal Washing Day, when everybody's dirty linen will be paraded, and when the leaders of sham morality in high places will find that it will cost more than 75c. a dozen.

"The respectability of the magnates of this hypocritical Sodom stands on a volcano. Civilization, rotten to the core and festering to the bursting point in our great cities, and notably in New York and Brooklyn, needs only to urge us by a little added outrage to enact the part of a volunteer surgeon, to puncture the sore spots, and spirt the vile stuff into the daylight.

"Forbearance may cease to be a virtue. Men and women of the noblest spiritual and moral endowments, who have devoted their lives to easing the transition from the Old False Civilization to a higher purity of Life and Freedom, as the first condition of purity, by stating principles, have been habitually blackened and slandered by exactly those editors, preachers and reformers, whose own lives needed to be guarded by raising a hue and cry in some other direction. But these victims of abuse have not been idle. They have provided for the possibility of having to make a 'change of venue' from the forum of principle to that of Fact and Personality.

The whole social state is honeycombed with social irregularities and outrages; everybody knows the fact, and yet everybody pretends to conceal it; everybody knows that everybody else knows it, and yet everybody pretends to conceal the fact that anybody knows it. Hypocrisy is settling like a mildew on every individual character. When the veil is pulled off, when the nightmare is dispelled, when men and women are justified to themselves and dare state their convictions, and live their own lives in freedom; men and women who are now crouching in abject fear before a false public opinion, which they are themselves helping to create and intensify, will join in one universal hallelujah to their deliverers. There is a skeleton in every house! an incubus on every free breath! a reign of terror in every household!

"At this very moment awful and herculean efforts are being made to suppress the most terrible scandal in a neighboring city which has ever astonished and convulsed any community. Clergy, congregation and community will be alike buried into more than all the consternation which the great explosion in Paris carried to that unfortunate city, if this effort at suppression fail.

"In the assemblage of the over-righteous pharisees on the Steiway Hall platform, one familiar with private histories and scandals embodied in that little group of women and men might unfold more than went to the making up of the 'Mysteries of Paris,' and we speak by the book, and have the inventory of discarded husbands and wives, and lovers, with date, circumstance and embellishment!

"Bankers in Wall street and great railroad men come early on the schedule. Confidences which are no confidences abound; publicity ranges in the little clique, but is tremulously guarded from the great public. One offers, confidentially, Fifty or even One Hundred Thousand Dollars to any decent comer who will take a daughter of 'damaged reputation' off his hands—a minister of the Gospel the seducer—he himself lending the loosest life of prostitution, a girl of fourteen one of his mistresses; and being a standing applicant at all the prominent houses of prostitution for what he terms "spring chickens," meaning young girls from twelve to fifteen years of age. Another boasting that he visits, surreptitiously, the wife of his own minister.

"But the instances of social infidelities and of new and strange alliances—some of them highly honorable to the parties, if society did not force them to hypocritical pretences—are too numerous to be more than hinted at. Notably one case, in which a little community of social affinities, a common stock of marital affections exists in high life which only needs some train of slight circumstances to be fixed to release the parties from *durance vile* and enable them to stand erect as pioneers of a higher civilization.

"In conclusion, Mrs. Woodhull does not desire to shelter herself under the miserable rejoinder of 'Tu quoque.' What she does in the corner she is willing to proclaim on the house-top. But as the *Independent* affects to condemn her without

even putting her on trial, she would remind Mr. Bowen that who breaks the law in one particular breaks the whole law? She would then ask does Mr. Bowen keep the whole law? Does he cheat, lie, slander? Does he live up to his own profession? Is his life temperate and chaste? Is he honest and just to his inferiors? Does he fawn and cringe to his superiors? Does the *Independent*, for its own interests, countenance and endorse any persons, male or female, whom its editors know to be chargeable with the very offences that 'the religious paper' denounces. Mrs. Woodhull does not acknowledge the self-constituted jurisdiction of this religious-commercial paper, this free-love miscegenate of Catnach cartoons, dry goods and orthodoxy. But she recognizes that the *Independent's* role, if good, must work both ways; and as private life is to be impeached for opinion's sake, she would like Mr. Bowen or his associate editors to step up and tell their 'experiences'—their lives will be a more effectual teaching than their strictures."

From this it will appear that, even so long ago as when this was published, we conceived it might become necessary to "change our base" from the advocacy of principles to the illustration of them by personal facts. And we now declare our intention to carry "the war into Africa." Since those who have climbed into the trees of sham morality, looking and spitting down upon us, will not come down for the turf which has been used against them, we shall now proceed to the use of stones, with the intention to hurt. We mean to "break some eggs," if the omelettes we make do not prove palatable to the partakers; and we mean to inaugurate the "Universal Washing Day," so that the dirty linen shall no longer be concealed to fester and rot, breeding pestilence and social ruin.

We have hastily given a brief outline of what it has cost us to advocate what we believe to be truth. We have not, as Christ was, been actually crucified to death upon a cross; but we have suffered every conceivable indignity which it was possible for us, even with our strong health, to endure and live. As it is, our health is permanently undermined, and we have been unable to do many things had in contemplation, because of it. That we have not been crucified to death is not because of lack of desire to do it. Hundreds there are who would have felt they were doing God's service to put us to death; and had they had the same faith in their God that the old Jews had in theirs we should not now be alive to write these words.

After carefully considering all these things can any one wonder that we have been compelled to turn upon our accusers? Can any one wonder, after our treatment at the Gilsey House, if we take the roofs off the hotels and expose the damned lechery that exists there so closely concealed? Can any one wonder, after the personal treatment to which we have been subjected, if we strip the masks from the faces of our maligners and show them to be the rotten masses they would have it thought we are? We make the formal declaration, that whenever a person, whom we know to be a hypocrite, stands up and denounces us because of our doctrines, and not because of our immoral practices, we shall unmask him; and we are prepared to take all the responsibilities of libel suits and imprisonment with which we are even now threatened if we unmask, as we certainly shall, one of the most notorious cases that ever existed. Arrests and prisons have no fears for us. We have endured more torture than they can bring. We shall simply do our duty, let what may come; and though the duty be a painful one. We would have been only too glad to have pursued our former way, but that we were not permitted to do; and more, we shall no longer permit either the midnight or the daylight assassin to pursue his vocation against us unscathed. We are prepared to defend ourselves; and if, in making the attack upon us, the would-be assassin be killed, the penalty be upon his head, not ours. We gave fair warning, but it was not heeded; and we now repeat it, with a thousand times more earnestness than ever.

In another column will be found the first of a series of articles under the head of "The Philosophy and Illustration of Modern Hypocrisy." The person to whom this one refers used every endeavor of which he was master to defame us, by attempting to make it appear that we are what he is; and was one who busied himself stirring up the flame against us in "The Gilsey," as well as a companion to its proprietors and a patron of the house. His practices, known to the proprietors however, do not exclude him from its hospitalities.

At the "Hoffman," where he is usually domiciled, we learned that at one time his language regarding us was so terribly vulgar the proprietors found it necessary to reprimand him as they would a common blackguard for disturbing the peace. Nevertheless his patronage was continued. Had we demeaned ourselves in the "Hoffman" as this person did would we have got off with a simple reprimand? No! we should have been ignominiously expelled the house. As it is this virtuous hotel cannot afford to extend its hospitality to us; but such persons as this one whom we have described always find ready and unquestioned welcome.

We have five hundred biographies of various persons, in all circles of life, many of which persons are the present oracles of society, the facts of which biographies are similar to those presented in this article. Many may deprecate the publication of such facts; but there is no other possible way out of the present social demoralization into which society is declining. People must be compelled to live just such lives as they want the public to think they live. When this is done, the work that centuries have failed to accomplish will be accomplished, and not till then.

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

In another column we have explained the reasons that led to the temporary suspension of the WEEKLY. It was not because we were unable to continue for want of means so much as it was the failure of our strength, which was a prerequisite to means. For more than two years we labored as faithfully as it was possible for us in the advocacy of what we believed to be the truth. And we were not like some reformers who are afraid to speak the whole truth. We believe the people are ready for any truth, no matter how radical it may be, if it be presented so as to be possible of comprehension. Therefore, we have always felt it to be our duty to speak plainly and promptly to your understanding, without regard to whatever prejudice might exist in your minds about the subjects treated. In a word, we have never considered it our sphere to determine whether or not you were ready to hear the truth, but have spoken it boldly—fearlessly. We believe we have not entirely failed to command the respect if not the assent of most readers.

The WEEKLY is now to make its reappearance. It may struggle for existence for a time; but it will live. It has been sleeping—not dead; and we feel a conviction that so soon as what we have struggled with becomes known—that we have given our all in the cause of reform—those who are really earnest seekers after a better humanitarian condition will sustain us. Heretofore we have stood alone. We do not believe we shall be permitted to do so hereafter. We know there are thousands upon thousands of earnest souls in the world who have both the means and the will to help on the grand work. It is only necessary that they know there is an earnest purpose behind it to induce them to support it. And it is to such that we now speak and invite their co-operation. We need all the aid it is possible to secure. And with what there is waiting to be given to maintain a righteous cause, we feel assured that within a year our circulation may be made equal to that of the paper having the largest circulation in the country.

Our subscribers will perceive that we do not count our subscription term by months or years, but by the numbers of the paper—fifty-two numbers making a full year's subscription, if these issues extend through two years. So every one who pays a year's subscription will receive fifty-two numbers.

We appeal to all subscribers whose subscriptions have expired to remit for another year at once, and let every renewal be accompanied by a new subscription. If this be done we shall feel doubly inspired to push on vigorously.

We believe that the social conditions will be such that no one who has interest in them can afford to be without the WEEKLY. A great social convulsion is about to burst upon the world to startle it from its present lethargic stupor. Already is the inquiry abroad, "What shall we do to be saved?" and there is no journal except this that even attempts to answer the question.

Let us again urge upon our readers to remit, and at once, and thus, while we are weak, help us to stand.

KARL MARX, THE INTERNATIONAL.

On the 2d of September a General Congress of the Internationalists convened at the Hague, Holland. It was well understood among the members of the Society that the Congress was to be run by Karl Marx in the interest and after the policy accepted by the General Council in London during the past year. Hence none are disappointed at the result—a general disruption of the Society, which we predicted would be if the course pursued toward Section 12 were to be made the policy of the Society.

It will be remembered that the General Council, at the instigation of Marx, Sargee & Co., suspended Section 12 for sundry reasons, which it was found requisite to invent, the suspension to continue until the General Congress, at which the Section was summoned to appear. This the Section did, but its representative was not admitted; and thus, without any hearing whatever, a sovereign Section of what pretends to be the most democratic society in existence, is summarily ejected from affiliation by a more high-handed outrage than any monarch of modern time would dare perpetrate.

The days of the International under the despotism of Marx, Sargee & Co. are numbered. Already the dissenters, consisting of a very large proportion of both European as well as American Internationalists, are organizing. Before the close of the present year, the cloud that Marx & Co. conjured up in their summary ejection of Section 12, will have developed into a cyclone that will sweep them out of even that branch of the Association over which they now "lord it" with such impudent assumption. More anon!

KURTZ'S RESTAURANT.

Of the many popular places in this city for the replenishment of the physical necessities, none exceed Kurtz's in all that goes to completely meet the demands of the most fastidious. Everything in season is there offered, by attentive and efficient waiters, served up in the most palatable style, at the most moderate prices. A dinner that, at the so-called fashionable resorts, would cost five dollars, at Kurtz's costs no more than half that sum; and this is making Kurtz all the custom that his vast conveniences can accommodate. At No. 60 Broadway he has an immense room capable of seating two hundred and fifty persons at once; at 21 New street, equally extensive apartments; and at 76 Maiden Lane and 1 Liberty street, he has others of about the same proportions.

THE BEECHER-TILTON SCANDAL CASE.

THE DETAILED STATEMENT OF THE WHOLE MATTER BY MRS. WOODHULL.

I propose, as the commencement of a series of aggressive moral warfare on the social question, to begin in this article with ventilating one of the most stupendous scandals which has ever occurred in any community. I refer to that which has been whispered broad-cast for the last two or three years through the cities of New York and Brooklyn, touching the character and conduct of the Rev. HENRY WARD BEECHER in his relations with the family of THEODORE TILTON. I intend that this article shall burst like a bomb-shell into the ranks of the moralistic social camp.

I am engaged in officering, and in some sense conducting, a social revolution on the marriage question. I have strong convictions to the effect that this institution, as a bond or promise to love another to the end of life, and forego all other loves or passionate gratifications, has outlived its day of usefulness; that the most intelligent and really virtuous of our citizens, especially in the large cities of Christendom, have outgrown it; are constantly and systematically unfaithful to it; despise and revolt against it, as a slavery, in their hearts; and only submit to the semblance of fidelity to it from the dread of a sham public opinion, based on the ideas of the past, and which no longer really represent the convictions of any body. The doctrines of scientific socialism have profoundly penetrated and permeated public opinion. No thought has so rapidly and completely carried the convictions of the thinking portions of the community as stipiculture. The absurdity is too palpable, when it is pointed out, that we give a hundred times more attention to the laws of breeding as applied to horses and cattle and pigs, and even to our barn-yard fowls, than we do to the same laws as applied to human beings. It is equally obvious, on a little reflection, that stipiculture, or the scientific propagation and cultivation of the human animal, demands free love or freedom of the varied union of the sexes under the dictates of the highest and best knowledge on the subject, as an essential and precedent condition. These considerations are too palpable to be ignored, and they look to the complete and early supercession of the old and traditional institution of marriage, by the substitution of some better system for the maintenance of women as mothers, and of children as progeny. All intelligent people know these facts and look for the coming of some wiser and better system of social life. The supercedure of marriage in the near future, by some kind of socialistic arrangement, is as much a foregone conclusion with all the best thinkers of to-day as was the approaching dissolution of slavery no more than five or ten years before its actual abolition in the late war.

But, in the meantime, men and women tremble on the brink of the revolution and hesitate to avow their convictions, while yet partly aware of their rights, and urged by the legitimate impulses of nature, they act upon the new doctrines while they profess obedience to the old. In this manner an organized hypocrisy has become the tone of our modern society. Poltroonry, cowardice and deception rule the hour. The continuance, for generations, of such utter falsity, touching one of the most sacred interests of humanity, will almost eradicate the sense of honesty from the human soul. Every consideration of sound expediency demands that these days be shortened; that somebody lead the van in announcement of the higher order of life.

Impelled by such views, I entered the combat with old errors; as I believe them to be, and brought forward, in addition to the wise and powerful words which others have uttered on the subject, the arguments which my own inspiration and reflections suggested. No sooner had I done so than the howl of persecution sounded in my ears. Instead of replying to my arguments I was assaulted with shameful abuse. I was young and inexperienced in the business of reform, and astounded to find what, as I have since learned from the veterans in the cause, is the usual fact, that the most persistent and slanderous and foul-mouthed accusations came from precisely those who, as I often happened to know, stood nearest to me in their convictions, and whose lives, privately, were a protest against the very repression which I denounce. It was a paradox which I could not understand, that I was denounced as utterly bad for affirming the right of others, to do as they did; denounced by the very persons whom my doctrines could alone justify, and who claimed, at the same time, to be conscientious and good men. My position led, nevertheless, to continuous confidences relating to people's own opinions and lives and the opinions and lives of others. My mind became charged with a whole literature of astonishing disclosures. The lives of almost the whole army of spiritualistic and social reformers, of all the schools, were laid open before me. But the matter did not stop there. I found that, to a great extent, the social revolution was as far advanced among leading lights of the business and worldly circles, and of the various professions, not excluding the clergy and the churches, as among technical reformers.

It was, nevertheless, from these very quarters that I was most severely assailed. It was vexatious and trying, I confess, for one of my temper, to stand under the galling fire of personalities from parties who should have been my warmest advocates, or who should, else, have reformed their lives in accordance with a morality which they wished the public to understand they professed. I was sorely and repeatedly tempted to retort, in personalities, to these attacks. But simply as personality or personal defense, or spiteful retort, I have almost wholly abstained during these years of sharp conflict from making any use of the rich resources at my command for that kind of attack.

But, in the meantime, the question came to press itself upon my consideration: Had I any right, having assumed the championship of social freedom, to forego the use of half the weapons which the facts no less than the philosophy of the subject placed at my command for conducting the war—through any mere tenderness to those who were virtual traitors to the truth which they knew and were surreptitiously acting upon? Had not the sacred cause of human rights and

human well-being a paramount claim over my own conduct? Was I not, in withholding the facts and conniving at a putrid mass of seething falsehood and hypocrisy, in some sense a partaker in these crimes; and was I not, in fact, shrinking from the responsibility of making the exposure more through regard for my own sensitiveness and dislike to be hurt than from any true sympathy with those who would be called upon to suffer?

These questions once before my mind would never be disposed of until they were fairly settled upon their own merits, and apart, so far as I could separate them, from my own feelings or the feelings of those who were more directly involved. I have come slowly, deliberately, and I may add reluctantly, to my conclusions. I went back to and studied the history of other reforms. I found that GARRISON not only denounced slavery in the abstract, but that he attacked it in the concrete. It was not only "the sum of all villainies," but it was the particular villainy of this and that and the other great and influential man, North and South, in the community. Reputations had to suffer. He bravely and persistently called things by their right names. He pointed out and depicted the individual instances of cruelty. He dragged to the light and seathed and stigmatized the individual offenders. He made them a hissing and a by-word, so far as in him lay. He shocked the public sensibilities by actual and vivid pictures of slaveholding atrocities, and sent spies into the enemies' camp to search out the instances. The world cried shame! and said it was scandalous, and stopped their ears and blinded their eyes, that their own sensibilities might not be hurt by those horrid revelations. They cast the blanket of their charities and sympathies around the real offenders for their misfortune in being brought to the light, and denounced the informer as a malignant and cruel wretch for not covering up scenes too dreadful to be thought upon; as if it were not a thousand times more dreadful that they should be enacted. But the brave old cyclops ignored alike their criticisms, their protests, and their real and their mock sensibilities, and hammered away at his anvil, forging thunderbolts of the gods; and nobody now says he was wrong. A new public opinion had to be created, and he knew that people had to be shocked, and that individual personal feelings had to be hurt. As Bismarck is reported to have said: "If an omelet has to be made some eggs have to be broken." Every revolution has its terrific cost, if not in blood and treasure, then still in the less tangible but alike real sentimental injury of thousands of sufferers. The preliminary and paramount question is: Ought the revolution to be made, cost what it may? Is the cost to humanity greater of permitting the standing evil to exist? and if so, then let the cost be incurred, fall where it must. If justice to humanity demand the given expenditure, then accepting the particular enterprise of reform, we accept all its necessary consequences, and enter upon our work, fraught, it may be, with repugnance to ourselves as it is necessarily with repugnance to others.

I have said that I came slowly, deliberately and reluctantly to the adoption of this method of warfare. I was also hindered and delayed by the fact that if I entered upon it at all I saw no way to avoid making the first onslaught in the most distinguished quarters. It would be cowardice in me to unearth the peccadillos of little men, and to leave untouched the derelictions and offences of the magnates of social and intellectual power and position. How slowly I have moved in this matter, and how reluctantly it may be inferred, will appear from these little points of history.

More than two years ago these two cities—New York and Brooklyn—were rife with rumors of an awful scandal in Plymouth Church. These rumors were whispered and covertly alluded to in almost every circle. But the very enormity of the facts, as the world views such matters, hushed the agitation and prevented exposure. The press, warned by the laws of libel, and by a tacit and in the main honorable consensus to ignore all such rumors until they enter the courts, or become otherwise matters of irrepressible notoriety, abstained from any direct notice of the subject, and the rumors themselves were finally stifled or forgotten. A few persons only knew something directly of the facts, but among them, situated as I was, I happened to be one. Already the question pressed on me whether I ought not to use the event to forward the cause of social freedom, but I only saw clear in the matter to the limited extent of throwing out some feelers to the public on the subject. It was often a matter of long and anxious consultation between me and my cabinet of confidential advisers.

In June, 1870, WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY published an article in reply to HENRY C. BOWEN's attack on myself in the columns of the *Independent*, the editorship of which had just been vacated by THEODORE TILTON. In this article the following paragraph occurred: "At this very moment awful and herculean efforts are being made in a neighboring city to suppress the most terrific scandal which has ever astonished and convulsed any community. Clergy, congregation and community will be alike hurled into more than all the consternation which the great explosion in Paris carried to that unfortunate city, if this effort at suppression fail."

Subsequently I published a letter in both *World* and *Times*, in which was the following sentence: "I know a clergyman of eminence in Brooklyn who lives in concubinage with the wife of another clergyman of equal eminence."

It was generally and well understood among the people of the press especially, that both of these references were to this case of Mr. BEECHER's, and it came to be generally suspected that I was better informed regarding the facts of the case than others, and was reserving publicity of my knowledge for a more convenient season. This suspicion was heightened nearly into conviction when it transpired that THEODORE TILTON was an earnest and apparently conscientious advocate of many of my radical theories, as appeared in his far-famed biography of me, and in numerous other publications in the *Golden Age* and elsewhere. Mr. TILTON's warmest friends were shocked at his course, and when he added to his remarkable proceedings, his brilliant advocacy of my Fourteenth Amendment theory, in his letters to HORACE GREELEY, CHAS. SUMNER and MAT. CARPENTER, they considered him irretrievably

diaboly committed to the most radical of all radicals. Assurance was made doubly sure when he presided at Steinway Hall, when I, for the first time, fully and boldly advanced my free-love doctrines. It was noted, however, that this man who stood before the world so fully committed to the broadest principles of liberty, made it convenient to be conspicuously absent from the convention of the Women Suffragists at Washington last January. All sorts of rumors were thereupon rife. Some said he had "gone back" on his advocacy of free-love; some said that a rupture had taken place between him and the leaders of the suffrage movement, and many were the theories brought forward to explain the facts. But the real cause did not transpire until Mr. TILTON was found at Cincinnati urging as a candidate the very man whom he had recently so severely castigated with his most caustic pen. It was then wisely surmised that political ambition, and the editorial chair of the *Tribune*, and his life-long personal devotion to Mr. GREELEY, were the inducements which had sufficed to turn his head and heart away, temporarily at least, from our movement.

About this time rumors floated out that Mrs. WOODHULL, disgusted at the recent conduct of Mr. TILTON and the advice given him by certain of his friends, was inadvertently in not very measured terms upon their conduct. An article specifying matters involving several of these persons, obtained considerable circulation, and with other circumstances, such as the definite statement of facts, with names and places, indicated that the time was at hand, nigh even unto the door, when the things that had remained hidden should be brought to light, and the whole affair be made public.

Some time in August last there appeared in the *Evening Telegram* a paragraph which hinted broadly at the nature of the impending exposure. About this time, a gentleman from abroad, to whom I had related some of the facts in my possession, repeated them to a member of Mr. BEECHER's church, who denounced the whole story as an infamous libel; but some days later he acknowledged both to his friend and me that he had inquired into the matter and had learned that it was "a damning fact." This gentleman occupies a responsible position, and his word is good for all that he utters. Such was the facility with which confirmations were obtained when sought for. When, therefore, those who were conversant with the case, saw in the *Boston Herald* and other papers that I had made a public statement regarding the whole matter, they were not in the least surprised. It shows that the press had concluded that it was time to recognize the sensation which, whether they would or not, was destined soon to shake the social structure from its foundation.

A reporter was then specially detailed to interview me in order, as he said, that the matter might be published in certain of the New York papers. Why that interview has been suppressed is not possible to affirm with certainty, but it is easy to guess. An impetuous reporter can be bought off with a few hundred dollars. And there are those who would readily pay thousands to shut the columns of the press against this exposure. Fortunately I have a nearly verbatim copy of the report, as the interviewer prepared it, and in this shape I shall now present it to the public.

But before proceeding to the main matter, let me relate, more in detail, the facts which finally determined me to enter upon this adventurous and responsible method of agitation.

In September, 1871, I was elected, at the annual convention at Troy, President of the National Association of Spiritualists. I had never associated with the Spiritualists, although for many years both a Spiritualist and a medium myself, with rare and wonderful experiences of my own from my childhood up. I went to this convention merely as a spectator, with no previous concert or machinery of any kind, and was myself as absolutely taken by surprise by my nomination and election as could have been any one present. It was said editorially in our paper, September 30, 1871, and said truly: "Her surprise at her reception, and her nomination to the Presidency of the Society was equalled only by the gratitude which she felt, and will ever feel, at the unexpected and tumultuous kindness with which she was then and there honored beyond her desert."

In WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY, of Nov. 11, 1871, I addressed a President's message to the American Association of Spiritualists. In that document I made use of these words: "A new and mightier power than all the rings and caucuses, than all the venal legislatures and congresses, has already entered the arena. Not only are all the reform parties coalescent in the reform plane, but they have already coalesced in spirit, under the new lead, and 'a nation will be born in a day.' They have already taken possession of the public conviction. Somewhat unconsciously, but really, all the people look to the coming of a new era; but all of them are not so well aware as we are that the spirit world has always exerted a great and diversified influence over this, while it is not till quite recently that the spiritual development of this world has made it possible for the other to maintain real and continuous relations with it."

"Your enthusiastic acceptance of me, and your election of me as your President, was, in a sense, hardly your act. It was an event prepared for you, and to which you were impelled by the superior powers to which both you and I are subject. It was only one step in a series of rapid and astounding events, which will, in a marvellously short time, change the entire face of the social world."

This and similar to this was the complete avowal which I then made of my faith, in the spiritual ordering of human events, and especially of a grand series of events, now in actual and rapid progress, and tending to culminate in the complete dissolution of the old social order, and in the institution of a new and celestial order of humanity in the world. And let me now take occasion to affirm, that all the, otherwise viewed, terrible events which I am about to recite as having occurred in Plymouth Church, are merely parts of the same drama which have been cautiously and laboriously prepared to astound men into the consciousness of the possibilities of a better life; and that I believe that all the parties to this embroilment have been, throughout, the unconscious agents of the

higher powers. It is this belief, more than anything else, which finally reconciles me to enact my part in the matter, which is that of the mere *nuncia* to the world of the facts which have happened, and so of the new step in the dissolution of the Old and in the inauguration of the New.

At a large and enthusiastic National Convention of the reformers of all schools, held in Apollo Hall, New York, the 11th and 12th of May, 1872, I was put in nomination as the candidate of the Equal Rights Party for the presidency of the United States. Despite the brilliant promise of appearances at the inception of this movement, a counter current of fatality seemed from that time to attend both it and me. The press, suddenly divided between the other two great parties, refused all notice of the new reformatory movement; a series of pecuniary disasters stripped us, for the time being, of the means of continuing our own weekly publication, and forced us into a desperate struggle for mere existence. I had not even the means of communicating my condition to my own circle of friends. At the same time my health failed from mere exhaustion. The inauguration of the new party, and my nomination, seemed to fall dead upon the country; and, to cap the climax, a new batch of slanders and injurious innuendoes permeated the community in respect to my condition and character.

Circumstances being in this state, the year rolled round, and the next annual convention of the National Association of Spiritualists occurred in Sept., 1872, at Boston. I went there—dragged by the sense of duty—tired, sick and discouraged as to my own future, to surrender my charge as President of the Association, feeling as if I were distrusted and unpopular, and with no consolation but the consciousness of having striven to do right, and my abiding faith in the wisdom and help of the spirit world.

Arrived at the great assemblage, I felt around me everywhere, not indeed a positive hostility, not even a fixed spirit of unfriendliness, but one of painful uncertainty and doubt. I listened to the speeches of others and tried to gather the sentiment of the great meeting. I rose finally to my feet to render an account of my stewardship, to surrender the charge, and retire. Standing there before that audience, I was seized by one of those overwhelming gusts of inspiration which sometimes come upon me, from I know not where; taken out of myself; hurried away from the immediate question of discussion, and made, by some power stronger than I, to pour out into the ears of that assembly, and, as I was told subsequently, in a rhapsody of indignant eloquence, with circumstantial detail, the whole history of the BEECHER and TILTON scandal in Plymouth Church, and to announce in prophetic terms something of the bearing of those events upon the future of Spiritualism. I know perhaps less than any of those present, all that I did actually say. They tell me that I used some naughty words upon that occasion. All that I know is, that if I swore, I did not swear profanely. Some said, with the tears streaming from their eyes, that I swore *divinely*. That I could not have shocked or horrified the audience was shown by the fact that in the immense hall, packed to the ceiling, and as absolutely to my own surprise as at my first election at Troy, I was re-elected President of the Association. Still impressed by my own previous convictions, that my labors in that connection were ended, I promptly declined the office. The convention, however, refused to accept my declination.

The public press of Boston professed holy horror at the freedom of my speech, and restricted their reports to the narrowest limits, carefully suppressing what I had said of the conduct of the great clergyman. The report went forward, however, through various channels, in a muffled and mutilated form, the general conclusion being, probably, with the uninformed, simply that Mrs. Woodhull had publicly slandered Mr. Beecher.

Added, therefore, to all other considerations, I am now placed in the situation that I must either endure unjustly the imputation of being a slanderer, or I must resume my previously formed purpose, and relate in formal terms, for the whole public, the simple facts of the case as they have come to my knowledge, and so justify, in cool deliberation, the words I uttered, almost unintentionally, and by a sudden impulse, at Boston.

I accept the situation, and enter advisedly upon the task I have undertaken, knowing the responsibilities of the act and its possible consequences. I am impelled by no hostility whatever to Mr. BEECHER, nor by any personal pique toward him or any other person. I recognize in the facts a fixed determination in the Spirit world to bring this subject to the light of day for high and important uses to the world. They demand of me my co-operation, and they shall have it, no matter what the consequences may be to me personally.

The following is the re-statement from notes, aided by my recollection, of the interviewing upon this subject by the press reporter already alluded to:

Reporter.—"Mrs. WOODHULL, I have called to ask if you are prepared and willing to furnish a full statement of the BEECHER-TILTON scandal for publication in the city papers?"

Mrs. Woodhull.—"I do not know that I ought to object to repeating whatever I know in relation to it. You understand, of course, that I take a different view of such matters from those usually avowed by other people. Still I have good reason to think that far more people entertain views corresponding to mine than dare to assert them or openly live up to them."

Reporter.—"How, Mrs. WOODHULL, would you state in the most condensed way your opinions on this subject, as they differ from those avowed and ostensibly lived by the public at large?"

Mrs. Woodhull.—"I believe that the marriage institution, like slavery and monarchy, and many other things which have been good or necessary in their day, is now *effete*, and in a general sense injurious, instead of being beneficial to the community, although of course it must continue to linger until better institutions can be formed. I mean by marriage, in this connection, any forced or obligatory tie between the sexes, any legal intervention or constraint to prevent people from adjusting their love relations precisely as they do their

religious affairs in this country, in complete personal freedom; changing and improving them from time to time, and according to circumstances."

Reporter.—"I confess, then, I cannot understand why you of all persons should have any fault to find with Mr. BEECHER, even assuming everything to be true of him which I have hitherto heard only vaguely hinted at."

Mrs. Woodhull.—"I have no fault to find with him in any such sense as you mean, nor in any such sense as that in which the world will condemn him. I have no doubt that he has done the very best which he could do under all the circumstances—the best which his demanding physical nature, and with the terrible restrictions upon a clergyman's life, imposed by that ignorant public opinion about physiological laws, which they, nevertheless, more, perhaps, than any other class, do their best to perpetuate. The fault I find with Mr. BEECHER is of a wholly different character, as I have told him repeatedly and frankly, and as he knows very well. It is, indeed, the exact opposite to that for which the world will condemn him. I condemn him because I know, and have had every opportunity to know, that he entertains, on conviction, substantially the same views which I entertain on the social question; that, under the influence of these convictions, he has lived for many years, perhaps for his whole adult life, in a manner which the religious and moralistic public ostensibly, and to some extent really, condemn; that he has permitted himself, nevertheless, to be over-awed by public opinion, to profess to believe otherwise than as he does believe, to have helped to maintain for these many years that very social slavery under which he was chafing, and against which he was secretly revolting both in thought and practice; and that he has, in a word, consented, and still consents to be a hypocrite. The fault with which I, therefore, charge him, is not infidelity to the old ideas, but unfaithfulness to the new. He is in heart, in conviction and in life, an ultra socialist reformer; while in seeming and pretension he is the upholder of the old social slavery, and, therefore, does what he can to crush out and oppose me and those who get and believe with me in forwarding the great social revolution. I know, myself, so little of the sentiment of fear, I have so little respect for an ignorant and prejudiced public opinion, I am so accustomed to say the thing that I think and do the thing that I believe to be right, that I doubt not I am in danger of having far too little sympathy with the real difficulties of a man situated as Mr. BEECHER has been, and is, when he contemplates the idea of facing social opprobrium. Speaking from my feelings, I am prone to denounce him as a poltroon, a coward and a sneak; not, as I tell you, for anything that he has done, and for which the world would condemn him, but for failing to do what it seems to me so clear he ought to do; for failing, in a word, to stand shoulder to shoulder with me and others who are endeavoring to hasten a social regeneration which he believes in."

Reporter.—"You speak very confidently, Mrs. WOODHULL, of Mr. BEECHER's opinions and life. Will you now please to resume that subject, and tell me exactly what you know of both?"

Mrs. Woodhull.—"I had vaguely heard rumors of some scandal in regard to Mr. BEECHER, which I put aside as mere rumor and idle gossip of the hour, and gave to them no attention whatever. The first serious intimation I had that there was something more than mere gossip in the matter came to me in the committee room at Washington, where the suffrage women congregated during the winter of 1870, when I was there to urge my views on the Fourteenth Amendment. It was hinted in the room that some of the women, Mrs. ISABELLA BEECHER HOOKER, a sister of Mr. BEECHER, among the number, would snub Mrs. WOODHULL on account of her social opinions and antecedents. Instantly a gentleman, a stranger to me, stepped forward and said: 'It would ill become these women, and especially a BEECHER, to talk of antecedents or to cast any smirch upon Mrs. WOODHULL, for I am reliably assured that HENRY WARD BEECHER preaches to at least twenty of his mistresses every Sunday.'

"I paid no special attention to the remark at the time, as I was very intensely engaged in the business which had called me there; but it afterward forcibly recurred to me, with the thought also that it was strange that such a remark, made in such a presence, had seemed to have a subduing effect instead of arousing indignation. The women who were there could not have treated me better than they did. Whether this strange remark had any influence in overcoming their objections to me I do not know; but it is certain they were not set against me by it; and, all of them, Mrs. HOOKER included, subsequently professed the warmest friendship for me."

Reporter.—"After this, I presume you sought for the solution of the gentleman's remark."

Mrs. Woodhull.—"No, I did not. It was brought up subsequently, in an intimate conversation between her and me, by Mrs. PAULINE WRIGHT DAVIS, without any seeking on my part, and to my very great surprise. Mrs. DAVIS had been, it seems, a frequent visitor at Mr. TILTON's house in Brooklyn—they having long been associated in the Woman's Rights movement—and she stood upon certain terms of intimacy in the family. Almost at the same time to which I have referred, when I was in Washington, she called, as she told me, at Mr. TILTON's. Mrs. TILTON met her at the door and burst into tears, exclaiming: 'Oh, Mrs. DAVIS! have you come to see me? For six months I have been shut up from the world, and I thought no one ever would come again to visit me.' In the interview that followed, Mrs. TILTON spoke freely of a long series of intimate, and so-called criminal relations, on her part, with the Rev. HENRY WARD BEECHER; of the discovery of the facts by Mr. TILTON; of the abuse she had suffered from him in consequence, and of her heart-broken condition. She seemed to allude to the whole thing as to something already generally known, or known in a considerable circle, and impossible to be concealed; and attributed the long absence of Mrs. DAVIS from the house to her knowledge of the facts. She was, as she stated at the time, recovering from the effects of a miscarriage of a child of six months. The miscarriage was induced by the ill-treatment of Mr. TILTON in his rage at the discovery of her criminal intimacy with

Mr. BEECHER, and, as he believed, the great probability, that she was *enclente* by Mr. BEECHER instead of himself. Mrs. TILTON confessed to Mrs. DAVIS the intimacy with Mr. BEECHER, and that it had been of years' standing. She also said that she had loved Mr. BEECHER before she married Mr. TILTON, and that now the burden of her sorrow was greatly augmented by the knowledge that Mr. BEECHER was untrue to her. She had not only to endure the rupture with her husband, but also the certainty that, notwithstanding his repeated assurance of his faithfulness to her, he had recently had illicit intercourse, under most extraordinary circumstances, with another person. Said Mrs. DAVIS: 'I came away from that house, my soul bowed down with grief at the heart-broken condition of that poor woman, and I felt that I ought not to leave Brooklyn until I had stripped the mask from that infamous, hypocritical scoundrel, BEECHER.' In May, after returning home, Mrs. DAVIS wrote me a letter, from which I will read a paragraph to show that we conversed on this subject.

"EXTRACT FROM A LETTER.

"DEAR VICTORIA: I thought of you half of last night, dreamed of you and prayed for you.

"I believe you are raised up of God to do a wonderful work, and I believe that you will unmask the hypocrisy of a class that none others dare touch. God help you and save you. The more I think of that mass of *Becher* corruption the more I desire its opening.

"Ever yours, lovingly, PAULINE WRIGHT DAVIS.
"PROVIDENCE, R. I., May, 1871."

Reporter.—"Did you inform Mrs. DAVIS of your intention to expose this matter, as she intimates in the letter?"

Mrs. Woodhull.—"I said in effect to her, that the matter would become public, and that I felt that I should be instrumental in making it so. But I was not decided about the course I should pursue. I next heard the whole story from Mrs. ELIZABETH Cady STANTON."

Reporter.—"Indeed! Is Mrs. STANTON also mixed up in this affair? Does she know the facts? How could the matter have been kept so long quiet when so many people are cognizant of it?"

Mrs. Woodhull.—"The existence of the skeleton in the closet may be very widely known, and many people may have the key to the terrible secret, but still hesitate to open the door for the great outside world to gaze in upon it. This grand woman did indeed know the same facts, and from Mr. TILTON himself. I shall never forget the occasion of her first rehearsal of it to me at my residence, 15 East Thirty-eighth street, in a visit made to me during the Apollo Hall Convention in May, 1871. It seems that Mr. TILTON, in agony at the discovery of what he deemed his wife's perfidy and his pastor's treachery, retreated to Mrs. STANTON's residence at Tenafly, where he detailed to her the entire story. Said Mrs. STANTON, 'I never saw such a manifestation of mental agony. He raved and tore his hair, and seemed upon the very verge of insanity.' 'Oh!' said he, 'that that damned lecherous scoundrel should have defiled my bed for ten years, and at the same time have professed to be my best friend! Had he come like a man to me and confessed this guilt, I could perhaps have endured it, but to have him creep like a snake into my house leaving his pollution behind him, and I so blind as not to see, and esteeming him all the while as a saint—oh! it is too much. And when I think how for years she, upon whom I had bestowed all my heart's love, could have lied and deceived me so, I lose all faith in humanity. I do not believe there is any honor, any truth left in anybody in the world.' Mrs. STANTON continued and repeated to me the sad story, which it is unnecessary to recite, as I prefer giving it as Mr. TILTON himself told it me, subsequently, with his own lips."

Reporter.—"Is it possible that Mr. TILTON confided this story to you? It seems too monstrous to be believed!"

Mrs. Woodhull.—"He certainly did. And what is more, I am persuaded that in his inmost mind he will not be otherwise than glad when the skeleton in his closet is revealed to the world, if thereby the abuses which lurk like vipers under the cloak of social conservatism may be exposed and the causes removed. Mr. TILTON looks deeper into the soul of things than most men, and is braver than most."

Reporter.—"How did your acquaintance with Mr. TILTON begin?"

Mrs. Woodhull.—"Upon the information received from Mrs. DAVIS and Mrs. STANTON I based what I said in the WEEKLY, and in the letters in the *Times* and *World*, referring to the matter, I was nearly determined—though still not quite so—that what I, equally with those who gave me the information, believed, but for wholly other reasons, to be a most important social circumstance, should be exposed, my reasons being, as I have explained to you, not those of the world, and I took that method to cause inquiry and create agitation regarding it. The day that the letter appeared in the *World* Mr. TILTON came to my office, No. 44 Broad street, and, showing me the letter, asked: 'Whom do you mean by that?' 'Mr. TILTON,' said I, 'I mean you and Mr. BEECHER.' I then told him what I knew, what I thought of it, and that I felt that I had a mission to bring it to the knowledge of the world, and that I had nearly determined to do so. I said to him much else on the subject; and he said: 'Mrs. WOODHULL, you are the first person I have ever met who has dared to, or else who could, tell me the truth.' He acknowledged that the facts, as I had heard them, were true, but declared that I did not yet know the extent of the depravity of that man—meaning Mr. BEECHER. 'But,' said he, 'do not take any steps now. I have carried my heart as a stone in my breast for months, for the sake of ELIZABETH, my wife, who is broken-hearted as I am. I have had courage to endure rather than to add more to her weight of sorrow. For her sake I have allowed that rascal to go unscathed. I have curbed my feelings when every impulse urged me to throttle and strangle him. Let me take you over to ELIZABETH, and you will find her in no condition to be dragged before the public; and I know you will have compassion on her.' And I went and saw her, and I agreed with him on the propriety of delay."

Reporter.—"Was it during this interview that Mr. TILTON explained to you all that you now know of the matter?"

Mrs. Woodhull.—"Oh, no. His revelations were made subsequently at sundry times, and during months of friendly intercourse, as occasion brought the subject up. I will, however, condense his statements to me, and state the facts as he related them, as consecutively as possible. I kept notes of the conversations as they occurred from time to time, but the matter is so much impressed on my mind that I have no hesitation in relating them from memory."

Reporter.—"Do you not fear that by taking the responsibility of this *expose* you may involve yourself in trouble? Even if all you relate should be true, may not those involved deny it *in toto*, even the fact of their having made the statements?"

Mrs. Woodhull.—"I do not fear anything of the sort. I know this thing must come out, and the statement of the plain ungarlished truth will outweigh all the perjuries that can be invented, if it come to that pass. I have been charged with attempts at blackmailing, but I tell you, sir, there is not money enough in these two cities to purchase my silence in this matter. I believe it is my duty and my mission to carry the torch to light up and destroy the heap of rottenness, which, in the name of religion, marital sanctity, and social purity, now passes as the social system. I know there are other churches just as false, other pastors just as recreant to their professed ideas of morality—by their immorality you know I mean their hypocrisy. I am glad that just this one case comes to me to be exposed. This is a great congregation. He is a most eminent man. When a beacon is fired on the mountain the little hills are lighted up. This *exposition* will send inquisition through all the churches and what is termed conservative society."

Reporter.—"You speak like some wild prophetess, madam."

Mrs. Woodhull.—"I am a prophetess—I am an evangel—I am a saviour, if you would but see it; but I too come not to bring peace, but a sword."

Mrs. WOODHULL then resumed, saying: "Mr. TILTON first began to have suspicions of Mr. BEECHER on his own return from a long lecturing tour through the West. He questioned his little daughter, privately, in his study regarding what had transpired in his absence. 'The tale of iniquitous horror that was revealed to me was,' he said, 'enough to turn the heart of a stranger to stone, to say nothing of a husband and father.' It was not the fact of the intimacy alone, but in addition to that, the terrible orgies—so he said—of which his house had been made the scene, and the boldness with which matters had been carried on in the presence of his children—'These things drove me mad,' said he, 'and I went to ELIZABETH and confronted her with the child and the damning tale she had told me. My wife did not deny the charge nor attempt any palliation. She was then *enclente*, and I felt sure that the child would not be my child. I stripped the wedding ring from her finger. I tore the picture of Mr. BEECHER from my wall and stamped it in pieces. Indeed, I do not know what I did not do. I only look back to it as a time too horrible to retain any exact remembrance of. She miscarried the child and it was buried. For two weeks, night and day, I might have been found walking to and from that grave, in a state bordering on distraction. I could not realize the fact that I was what I was. I stamped the ring with which we had plighted our troth deep into the soil that covered the fruit of my wife's infidelity. I had friends, many and firm and good, but I could not go to them with this grief, and I suppose I should have remained silent through life had not an occasion arisen which demanded that I should seek counsel. Mr. BEECHER learned that I had discovered the fact, and what had transpired between ELIZABETH and myself, and when I was absent he called at my house and compelled or induced his victim to sign a statement he had prepared, declaring that so far as he, Mr. BEECHER, was concerned, there was no truth in my charges, and that there had never been any criminal intimacy between them. Upon learning this, as I did, I felt, of course, again outraged and could endure secrecy no longer. I had one friend who was like a brother, Mr. FRANK MOULTON. I went to him and stated the case fully. We were both members of Plymouth Church. My friend took a pistol, went to Mr. BEECHER and demanded the letter of Mrs. TILTON, under penalty of instant death."

Mrs. WOODHULL here remarked that Mr. MOULTON had himself, also since, described to her this interview, with all the piteous and abject beseeching of Mr. BEECHER not to be exposed to the public.

"Mr. MOULTON obtained the letter," said Mrs. W., "and told me that he had it in his safe, where he should keep it until required for further use. After this, Mr. TILTON's house was no house for him, and he seldom slept or eat there, but frequented the house of his friend MOULTON, who sympathized deeply with him. Mrs. TILTON was also absent days at a time, and, as Mr. TILTON informed me, seemed bent on destroying her life. I went as I have said to see her and found her, indeed, a wretched wreck of a woman, whose troubles were greater than she could bear. She made no secret of the facts before me. Mr. BEECHER's selfish, cowardly cruelty in endeavoring to shield himself and create public opinion against Mr. TILTON, added poignancy to her anxieties. She seemed indifferent as to what should become of herself, but labored under fear that murder might be done on her account."

"This was the condition of affairs at the time that Mr. TILTON came to me. I attempted to show him the true solution of the imbroglio, and the folly that it was for a man like him, a representative man of the ideas of the future, to stand whining over inevitable events connected with this transition age and the social revolution of which we are in the midst. I told him that the fault and the wrong were neither in Mr. BEECHER, nor in Mrs. TILTON, nor in himself; but that it was in the false social institutions under which we still live, while the more advanced men and women of the world have outgrown them in spirit; and that, practically, everybody is living a false life, by professing a conformity which they do not feel and do not live, and which they cannot feel and live

any more than the grown boy can re-enter the clothes of his early childhood. I recalled to his attention splendid passages of his own rhetoric, in which he had unconsciously justified all the freedom that he was now condemning, when it came home to his own door, and endeavoring, in the spirit of a tyrant, to repress.

"I ridiculed the *maudlin sentiment* and *mock heroics* and '*dreadful suze*' he was exhibiting over an event the most natural in the world, and the most intrinsically innocent; having in it not a bit more of real criminality than the awful wickedness of 'negro-stealing' formerly charged, in perfect good faith, by the slaveholders, on every one who helped the escape of a slave. I assumed at once, and got a sufficient admission, as I always do in such cases, that he was not exactly a vestal virgin himself; that his real life was something very different from the awful 'virtue' he was preaching, especially for women, as if women could 'sin' in this matter without men, and men without women, and which, he pretended, even to himself, to believe in the face and eyes of his own life, and the lives of nearly all the greatest and best men and women that he knew; that the 'dreadful suze' was merely a *bogus sentimentality*, pumped in his imagination, because our sickly religious literature, and Sunday-school morality, and pulpit phariseism had humbugged him all his life into the belief that he ought to feel and act in this harlequin and absurd way on such an occasion—that, in a word, neither Mr. BEECHER nor Mrs. TILTON had done any wrong, but that it was he who was playing the part of a fool and a tyrant; that it was he and the factitious or manufactured public opinion back of him, that was wrong; that this babyish whining and stage-acting were the real absurdity and disgrace—the unmanly part of the whole transaction, and that we only needed another Cervantes to satirize such stuff as it deserves to squelch it instantly and forever. I tried to show him that a true manliness would protect and love to protect; would glory in protecting the absolute freedom of the woman who was loved, whether called wife, mistress, or by any other name, and that the true sense of honor in the future will be, *not to know even what relations our lovers have with any and all other persons than ourselves*—as true courtesy never seeks to spy over or to pry into other people's private affairs.

"I believe I succeeded in pointing out to him that his own life was essentially no better than Mr. BEECHER'S, and that he stood in no position to throw the first stone at Mrs. TILTON or at her reverend paramour. I showed him again and again that the wrong point, and the radically wrong thing, if not, indeed, quite the only wrong thing in the matter, was the *idea of ownership in human beings, which was essentially the same in the two institutions of slavery and marriage*. Mrs. TILTON had in turn grown increasingly unhappy when she found that Mr. BEECHER had turned some part of his exuberant affections upon some other object. There was in her, therefore, the same sentiment of the real slaveholder. Let it be once understood that *whoever is true to himself or herself is thereby, and necessarily, true to all others*, and the whole social question will be solved. *The barter and sale of wives stands on the same moral footing as the barter and sale of slaves*. The god-implanted human affections cannot, and will not, be any longer subordinated to these external, legal restrictions and conventional engagements. *Every human being belongs to himself or herself by a higher title than any which, by surrenders or arrangements or promises, he or she can confer upon any other human being. Self-ownership is inalienable*. These truths are the latest and greatest discoveries in true science.

"Perhaps Mr. BEECHER knows and feels all this, and if so, in that knowledge consists his sole and his real justification, only the world around him has not yet grown to it; institutions are not yet adapted to it; and he is not brave enough to bear his open testimony to the truth he knows.

"All this I said to Mr. TILTON; and I urged upon him to make this providential circumstance in his life the occasion upon which he should, himself, come forward to the front and stand with the true champions of social freedom."

Reporter.—"Then Mr. TILTON became, as it were, your pupil, and you instructed him in your theories."

Mrs. Woodhull.—"Yes, I suppose that is a correct statement; and the verification of my views, springing up before my eyes upon this occasion, out of the very midst of religious and moral prejudices, was, I assure you, an interesting study for me, and a profound corroboration of the righteousness of what you call 'my Theories.' Mr. TILTON'S conduct toward Mr. BEECHER and toward his wife began from that time to be so magnanimous and grand—by which I mean simply just and right—so unlike that which most other men's would have been, that it stamped him, in my mind, as one of the noblest souls that lived, and one capable of playing a great role in the social revolution, which is now so rapidly progressing.

"I never could, however, induce him to stand wholly, and unreservedly, and on principle, upon the free-love platform; and I always, therefore, feared that he might for a time vacillate or go backward. But he opened his house to Mr. BEECHER, saying to him, in the presence of Mrs. TILTON: 'You love each other. Mr. BEECHER, this is a distressed woman; if it be in your power to alleviate her condition and make her life less a burden than it now is, be yours the part to do it. You have nothing to fear from me.' From that time Mr. BEECHER was, so to speak, the slave of Mr. TILTON and Mr. MOULTON. He consulted them in every matter of any importance. It was at this time that Mr. TILTON introduced Mr. BEECHER to me, and I met him frequently both at Mr. TILTON'S and at Mr. MOULTON'S. We discussed the social problem freely in all its varied bearings, and I found that Mr. BEECHER agreed with nearly all my views upon the question."

Reporter.—"Do you mean to say that Mr. BEECHER disapproves of the present marriage system?"

Mrs. Woodhull.—"I mean to say just this—that Mr. BEECHER told me that marriage is the grave of love, and that he never married a couple that he did not feel condemned."

Reporter.—"What excuse did Mr. BEECHER give for not avowing these sentiments publicly?"

Mrs. Woodhull.—"Oh, the moral coward's inevitable excuse—that of inexpediency. He said he was twenty years ahead of his church; that he preached the truth just as fast as he thought his people could bear it. I said to him, 'Then, Mr. BEECHER, you are defrauding your people. You confess that you do not preach the truth as you know it, while they pay for and persuade themselves you are giving them your best thought.' He replied: 'I know that our whole social system is corrupt. I know that marriage, as it exists to-day, is the curse of society. We shall never have a better state until children are begotten and bred on the scientific plan. Stirpiculture is what we need.' 'Then,' said I, 'Mr. BEECHER, why do you not go into your pulpit and preach that science?' He replied: 'If I were to do so I should preach to empty seats. It would be the ruin of my church.' 'Then,' said I, 'you are as big a fraud as any time-serving preacher, and I now believe you are all frauds. I gave you credit for ignorant honesty, but I find you all alike—all trying to hide, or afraid to speak the truth. A sorry pass has this Christian country come to, paying 40,000 ministers to lie to it from Sunday to Sunday, to hide from them the truth that has been given them to promulgate.'"

Reporter.—"It seems you took a good deal of pains to draw Mr. BEECHER out."

Mrs. Woodhull.—"I did. I thought him a man who would dare a good deal for the truth, and that, having lived the life he had, and entertaining the private convictions he did, I could perhaps persuade him that it was his true policy to come out and openly avow his principles, and be a thorough consistent radical, and thus justify his life in some measure, if not wholly, to the public."

Reporter.—"Was Mr. BEECHER aware that you knew of his relations to Mrs. TILTON?"

Mrs. Woodhull.—"Of course he was. It was because that I knew of them that he first consented to meet me. He could never receive me until he knew that I was aware of the real character he wore under the mask of his reputation. Is it not remarkable how a little knowledge of this sort brings down the most top-lofty from the stilts on which they lift themselves above the common level?"

Reporter.—"Do you still regard Mr. BEECHER as a moral coward?"

Mrs. Woodhull.—"I have found him destitute of moral courage enough to meet this tremendous demand upon him. In minor things, I know that he has manifested courage. He could not be induced to take the bold step I demanded of him, simply for the sake of truth and righteousness. I did not entirely despair of him until about a year ago. I was then contemplating my Steinway Hall speech on Social Freedom, and prepared it in the hope of being able to persuade Mr. BEECHER to preside for me, and thus make a way for himself into a consistent life on the radical platform. I made my speech as soft as I conscientiously could. I toned it down in order that it might not frighten him. When it was in type, I went to his study and gave him a copy and asked him to read it carefully and give me his candid opinion concerning it. Meantime, I had told Mr. TILTON and Mr. MOULTON that I was going to ask Mr. BEECHER to preside, and they agreed to press the matter with him. I explained to them that the only safety he had was in coming out as soon as possible an advocate of social freedom, and thus palliate, if he could not completely justify, his practices by founding them at least on principle. I told them that this introduction of me would bridge the way. Both the gentlemen agreed with me in this view, and I was for a time almost sure that my desire would be accomplished. A few days before the lecture, I sent a note to Mr. BEECHER asking him to preside for me. This alarmed him. He went with it to Messrs. TILTON and MOULTON asking advice. They gave it in the affirmative, telling him they considered it eminently fitting that he should pursue the course indicated by me as his only safety; but it was not urged in such a way as to indicate that they had known the request was to have been made. Matters remained undecided until the day of the lecture, when I went over again to press Mr. BEECHER to a decision. I had then a long private interview with him, urging all the arguments I could to induce him to consent. He said he agreed perfectly with what I was to say, but that he could not stand on the platform of Steinway Hall and introduce me. He said, 'I should sink through the floor. I am a moral coward on this subject, and I know it, and I am not fit to stand by you, who go there to speak what you know to be the truth; I should stand there a living lie.' He got upon the sofa on his knees beside me, and taking my face between his hands, while the tears streamed down his cheeks, begged me to let him off. Becoming thoroughly disgusted with what seemed to me pusillanimity, I left the room under the control of a feeling of contempt for the man, and reported to my friends what he had said. They then took me again with them and endeavored to persuade him. Mr. TILTON said to him: 'Mr. BEECHER, some day you have got to fall; go and introduce this woman and win the radicals of the county, and it will break your fall.' 'Do you think,' said BEECHER, 'that this thing will come out to the world?' Mr. TILTON replied: 'Nothing is more certain in earth or heaven, Mr. BEECHER; and this may be your last chance to save yourself from complete ruin.'

"Mr. BEECHER replied: 'I can never endure such a terror. Oh! if it must come, let me know of it twenty-four hours in advance, that I may take my own life. I cannot, cannot face this thing!'

"Thoroughly out of all patience, I turned on my heel and said: 'Mr. BEECHER, if I am compelled to go upon that platform alone, I shall begin by telling the audience why I am alone, and why you are not with me, and I again left the room. I afterward learned that Mr. BEECHER, frightened at what I had said, promised, before parting with Mr. TILTON, that he would preside if he could bring his courage up to the terrible ordeal."

"It was four minutes of the time for me to go forward to the platform at Steinway Hall when Mr. TILTON and Mr. MOULTON came into the ante-room asking for Mr. BEECHER. When I told them he had not come they expressed astonishment. I told them I should faithfully keep my word, let the

consequences be what they might. At that moment word was sent me that there was an organized attempt to break up the meeting, and that threats were being made against my life if I dared to speak what it was understood I intended to speak. Mr. TILTON then insisted on going on the platform with me and presiding, to which I finally agreed, and that I should not at that time mention Mr. BEECHER. I shall never forget the brave words he uttered in introducing me. They had a magic influence on the audience, and drew the sting of those who intended to harm me. However much Mr. TILTON may have since regretted his course regarding me, and whatever he may say about it, I shall always admire the moral courage that enabled him to stand with me on that platform, and face that, in part, defiant audience. It is hard to bear the criticisms of vulgar minds, who can see in social freedom nothing but licentiousness and debauchery, and the inevitable misrepresentation of the entire press, which is as perfectly subsidized against reason and common sense, when social subjects are discussed, as is the religious press when any other science is discussed which is supposed to militate against the Bible as the direct word of God to man. The editors are equally bigots, or else as dishonest as the clergy. The nightmare of a public opinion, which they are still professionally engaged in making, enslaves and condemns them both."

Mrs. Woodhull concluded by saying that since her Steinway Hall speech she had surrendered all hope of easing the fall of Mr. BEECHER, that she had not attempted to see him, and had not in fact seen him. She only added one other fact, which was, that Mr. BEECHER endeavored to induce Mr. TILTON to withdraw from his membership in Plymouth Church, to leave him, Mr. BEECHER, free from the embarrassment of his presence there; and that Mr. TILTON had indignantly rejected the proposition, determined to hold the position with a view to such contingencies as might subsequently occur.

So much for the interviewing which was to have been published some months ago; but when it failed or was suppressed, I was still so far undecided that I took no steps in the matter, and had no definite plan for the future in respect to it, until the events as I have recited then, which occurred at Boston. Since then I have not doubted that I must make up my mind definitely to act aggressively in this matter, and to use the facts in my knowledge to compel a more wide-spread discussion of the social question. I take the step deliberately, as an agitator and social revolutionist, which is my profession. I commit no breach of confidence, as no confidences have been made to me, except as I have compelled them, with a full knowledge that I was endeavoring to induce or to force the parties to come to the front along with me in the announcement and advocacy of the principles of social revolution. Messrs. BEECHER and TILTON, and other half-way reformers, are to me like the border States in the great rebellion. They are liable to fall, with the weight of their influence, on either side in the contest, and I hold it to be legitimate generalship to compel them to declare on the side of truth and progress.

My position is justly analogous with that of warfare. The public, Mr. BEECHER included, would gladly crush me if they could—will do so if they can—to prevent me from forcing on them considerations of the utmost importance. My mission is, on the other hand, to utter the unpopular truth, and make it efficient by whatsoever legitimate means; and means are legitimate as a war measure, which would be highly reprehensible in a state of peace. I believe, as the law of peace, in the right of privacy, in the sanctity of individual relations. It is nobody's business but their own, in the absolute view, what Mr. BEECHER and Mrs. TILTON have done, or may choose at any time to do, as between themselves. And the world needs, too, to be taught just that lesson. I am the champion of that very right of privacy and of individual sovereignty. But, that is only one side of the case. I need, and the world needs, Mr. BEECHER'S powerful championship of this very right. The world is on the very crisis of its final fight for liberty. The victory may fall on the wrong side, and his own liberty and mine, and the world's, be again crushed out, or repressed for another century for the want of fidelity in him to the new truth. It is not, therefore, Mr. BEECHER as the individual that I pursue; but Mr. BEECHER as the representative man: Mr. BEECHER as a power in the world; and Mr. BEECHER as my auxiliary in a great war for freedom, or Mr. BEECHER as a violent enemy and a powerful hindrance to all that I am bent on accomplishing.

To Mr. BEECHER, as the individual citizen, I tender, therefore, my humble apology, meaning and deeply feeling what I say, for this or any interference on my part, with his private conduct. I hold that Mr. TILTON himself, that Mrs. BEECHER herself, have no more right to inquire, or to know or to spy over, with a view to knowing, what has transpired between Mr. BEECHER and Mrs. TILTON than they have to know what I ate for breakfast, or where I shall spend my next evening; and that Mr. BEECHER'S congregation and the public at large have just as little right to know or to inquire. I hold that the so-called morality of society is a complicated mass of sheer impertinence and a scandal on the civilization of this advanced century, that the system of social espionage under which we live is damnable, and that the very first axiom of a true morality, is for the people to mind their own business, and learn to respect, religiously, the social freedom and the sacred social privacy of all others; but it was the paradox of Christ, that as the Prince of Peace, he still brought on earth, not peace but a sword. It is the paradox of life that, in order to have peace, we must first have war; and it is the paradox of my position that, believing in the right of privacy and in the perfect right of Mr. BEECHER socially, morally and divinely to have sought the embraces of Mrs. TILTON, or of any other woman or women whom he loved and who loved him, and being a promulgator and a public champion of those very rights, I still invade the most secret and sacred affairs of his life, and drag them to the light and expose him to the opprobrium and vilification of the public. I do again, and with deep sincerity, ask his forgiveness. But the case is exceptional, and what I do I do for a great purpose. The social world is in the very agony of its new birth, or, to resume the warlike simile,

the leaders of progress are in the very act of storming the last fortress of bigotry and error. Somebody must be hurled forward into the gap. I have the power, I think, to compel Mr. BEECHER to go forward and to do the duty for humanity from which he shrinks; and I should, myself, be false to the truth if I were to shrink from compelling him. Whether he sinks or swims in the fiery trial, the agitation by which truth is evolved will have been promoted. And I believe that he will not only survive, but that when forced to the encounter he will rise to the full height of the great enterprise, and will astound and convince the world of the new gospel of freedom, by the depth of his experiences and the force of his argument.

The world, it seems, will never learn not to crucify its Christs, and not to compel the retraction of its Galileos. Mr. BEECHER has lacked the courage to be a martyr, but, like Galileo, while retracting, or concealing and evading, he has known in his heart that the world still moves; and I venture to prophesy, as I have indeed full faith, that he and the other parties to this social drama will yet live to be overwhelmed with gratitude to me for having compelled them to this publicity. The age is pregnant with great events, and this may be the very one which shall be, as it were, the crack of doom to our old and worn out, and false and hypocritical social institutions. When the few first waves of public indignation shall have broken over him, when the nine days' wonder and the astonished clamor of Mrs. Grundy shall have done their worst, and when the pious ejaculations of the sanctimonious shall have been expended, and he finds that he still lives, and that there are brave souls who stand by him, he will, I believe, rise in his power and utter the whole truth. I believe I see clearly and prophetically for him in the future a work a hundred times greater than all he has accomplished in the past. I believe, as I have said, a wise Providence, or, as I term it, and believe it to be, the conscious and well calculated interference of the spirit world, has forecast and prepared these very events as a part of the drama of this great social revolution. Of all the centres of influence on the great broad planet, the destiny that shapes our ends, bent on breaking up an old civilization and ushering in a new one, could have found no such spot for its vantage ground as Plymouth Church, no such man for the hero of the plot as its reverend pastor, and, it may be, no such heroine as the gentle cultured, and, perhaps, hereafter to be sainted wife of Plymouth Church's most distinguished layman. Indeed I think that Mrs. TILTON has had, at least at times, a clearer intuition guiding her, a better sense of right, and more courage than her reverend lover; for, on one occasion, Mr. TILTON told me that he took home to her one of my threatening notices, and told her that that meant her and Mr. BEECHER, and that the exposure must and would come; and he added that she calmly replied: "I am prepared for it. If the new social gospel must have its martyrs, and if I must be one of them, I am prepared for it."

In conclusion, let us again consider, for a moment, the right and the wrong of this whole transaction. Let us see whether the wrong is not on the side where the public puts the right, and the right on the side where the public puts the wrong. The immense physical potency of Mr. BEECHER, and the indomitable urgency of his great nature for the intimacy and the embraces of the noble and cultured women about him, instead of being a bad thing as the world thinks, or thinks that it thinks, or professes to think that it thinks, is one of the noblest and grandest of the endowments of this truly great and representative man. The amative impulse is the physiological basis of character. It is this which emanates zest and magnetic power to his whole audience through the organism of the great preacher. Plymouth Church has lived and fed, and the healthy vigor of public opinion for the last quarter of a century has been augmented and strengthened from the physical amateness of HENRY WARD BEECHER. The scientific world know the physiological facts of this nature, but they have waited for a weak woman to have the moral courage to tell the world such truths. Passionate starvation, enforced on such a nature, so richly endowed, by the ignorance and prejudice of the past, is a horrid cruelty. The bigoted public, to which the great preacher ministered, while literally eating and drinking of his flesh and blood, condemned him, in their ignorance, to live without food. Every great man of Mr. BEECHER's type has had, in the past, and will ever have, the need for, and the right to, the loving manifestations of many women, and when the public graduates out of the ignorance and prejudice of its childhood, it will recognize this necessity and its own past injustice. Mr. BEECHER's grand and amative nature is not, then, the bad element in the whole matter, but intrinsically a good thing, and one of God's best gifts to the world.

So again, the tender, loving, womanly concessiveness of Mrs. TILTON, her susceptibility to the charm of the great preacher's magnetism, her love of loving and of being loved, none of these were the bad thing which the world thinks them, or thinks that it thinks them, or professes to think that it thinks them to be. On the contrary they are all of them the best thing—the best and most beautiful of things, the loveliest and most divine of things which belong to the patrimony of mankind.

So again, it was not the coming together of these two loving natures in the most intimate embrace, nor was it that nature blessed that embrace with the natural fruits of love which was the bad element in this whole transaction. They, on the contrary, were good elements, beautiful and divine elements, and among God's best things for man.

The evil and the whole evil in this whole matter, then, lies elsewhere. It lies in a false and artificial or manufactured opinion, in respect to this very question of what is good or what is evil in such matters. It lies in the belief that society has

the right to prohibit, to prescribe and regulate, or in any manner to interfere with the private love manifestations of its members, any more than it has to prescribe their food and their drink. It lies in the belief consequent upon this, that lovers own their lovers, husbands their wives and wives their husbands, and that they have the right to complain of, to spy over, and to interfere, even to the extent of murder, with every other or outside manifestation of love. It lies in the compulsory hypocrisy and systematic falsehood which is thus enforced and inwrought into the very structure of society, and in the consequent and wide-spread injury to the whole community.

Mr. BEECHER knows all this, and if by my act he is compelled to tell the world that he knows it, and to force them to the conviction that it is all true, he may well thank God that I live, and that circumstances have concurred to emancipate him, despite of himself, from his terrible thralldom, and to emancipate, through him, in the future, millions of others.

Still in conclusion, let me add, that in my view, and in the view of others who think with me, and of all, as I believe, who think rightly on the subject, Mr. BEECHER is today, and after all that I have felt called upon to reveal of his life, as good, as pure and as noble a man as he ever was in the past, or as the world has held him to be, and that Mrs. TILTON is still the pure, charming, cultured woman. It is, then, the public opinion that is wrong, and not the individuals, who must, nevertheless, for a time suffer its persecution.

Mrs. ISABELLA BEECHER HOOKER has, from the time that I met her in Washington, stood my fast friend, and given me manifold proofs of her esteem, knowing, as she did, both my radical opinions and my free life. I have been told, not by her, but upon what I believe to be perfectly good authority, that she has for months, perhaps for years past, known the life of her brother, and urged on him to announce publicly his radical convictions, and assured him that if he would do so she, at least, would stand by him. I know, too, by intimate intercourse, the opinions, and, to a great extent, the lives of nearly all the leading reformatory men and women in the land; and I know that Mr. BEECHER, passing through this crucial ordeal, retrieving himself and standing upon the most radical platform, need not stand alone for an hour, but that an army of glorious and emancipated spirits will gather spontaneously and instantaneously around him, and that the new social republic will have been for ever established.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

I publish the following letter, not to attempt to justify the exposure given above, but to show that I am not alone in the belief that benefit will accrue to the world from it. It may have been Mr. Parker who moved me to the utterances made at Boston. I have no doubt it was he, since I have been so informed both by himself and his friends. I desire it to be distinctly understood, however, that I do not wish to shoulder any of the responsibility on the spirit world for what I have done, although I know I shall have its support in whatever way I may need it in carrying forward this system of social warfare. The public will ere long learn that if it attempt to stop the social revolution which is impending it has more than one weak woman to contend against.

V. C. W.

14 RINGGOLD ST. PROVIDENCE, R. I.

September 16, 1872.

MY DEAR VICTORIA:

My husband and myself called on Friday evening, accompanied by Mrs. Colonel Pope, of Harrison street, on Mrs. J. H. Conant, and found her at home; Dr. Pyke was with her. He, the doctor, entered into conversation with me concerning your attack upon Beecher, as he termed it, which I defended, whereupon Theodore Parker controlled Mrs. Conant, and spoke in substance as follows:

"When Henry Ward Beecher, knowing spiritualism to be true, stood in his own pulpit and denounced it as 'one of the most dangerous humbugs of the day,' the spirit world felt that it had pleaded and borne with him long enough, and that they would unmask and show him to the world a hypocrite as he is. This it has done, and it mattered little whether Mrs. Conant, Victoria Woodhull or Laura Cuppy Smith was the instrument used. The spirit world has not yet completed its work. Other canting hypocrites remain to be proclaimed to the public in their true colors, and the Scripture shall be verified, 'There is nothing secret that shall not be made known, nothing hidden that shall not be revealed.' If I could have divested my medium of the influence of persons in the form I should have proclaimed this through her lips on the platform of John A. Andrews' hall on Wednesday afternoon."

I think I have given you Theodore Parker's words verbatim.

The same evening I was conversing with E. B. Beckwith, a prominent lawyer of Boston, who remarked that there seemed to him to be a retribution following the Beechers, and that you could use in your own behalf the same argument in vindication of your exposure of Beecher that Mrs. Stowe and her family had used in her defence with regard to the Byron affair, with this addition, that you had not accused the living, who could defend themselves, of half so base a crime as she laid to the charge of the poet and a sister woman, the dead who could not reply. I thought the suggestion too good to be lost, shall use it myself freely, and send it to you.

LAURA CUPPY SMITH.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF MODERN HYPOCRISY—MR. L. C. CHALLIS THE ILLUSTRATION.

From the lowest of material forms up to and including the organization of society there are balances in all departments of nature which must be maintained to secure the general safety. When steam is generated above a certain point the safety-valve must permit its escape, else that which confines the steam will be rent in pieces to the damage of all within its range. When certain kinds of crime run high society becomes endangered from their concealment; and it is the same when the moral sense of the community is outraged by the practices of any considerable number of its so-called most respectable citizens, occupying positions of honor and trust. Cesspools of filth and corruption, whether they be in the political, financial or social sphere, are dangerous only when too closely concealed, which concealment permits them to pursue with impunity their demoralizing processes. And the practice of society, when these pools are material, political or financial, is the true one; but when the social sphere is involved the same practice is not so regarded.

If a person find and expose a gathering of material filth, insidiously distilling its noxious miasms into the atmosphere for society to inhale, and thereby contract terrible diseases, he is considered a public benefactor, and the agents of society at once lay hold and remove the poisonous stuff. And the same thing is true when the cause is in the financial or political arena. But when the social arena is involved, when any body presumes to uncover the stench-generating pools of filth, debauchery and rottenness in which so many of the most respectable male citizens wallow and riot, society stands back horrified, and denounces the presuming individual as the incarnation of diabolism; and as especially damned, if it be a woman. Nevertheless, put a woman on trial for anything—let her even so much as go before the courts to obtain pecuniary justice—it is considered as a legitimate part of the defense to make the most searching inquiry into her sexual morality, and the decision generally turns upon the proof advanced in this regard.

How is it with regard to men? Who thinks of attacking them in regard to their sexual morality? If a man be arraigned as a thief, forger, traitor or murderer, who thinks of attempting to prejudice his case by proving him lecherous? A man being even the President of the United States, governor of a State, pastor of the most popular church, president of the most reliable bank, or of the grandest railroad corporation, may constantly practice all the debaucheries known to sensualism—many of which are so vicious, brutal and degrading as to be almost beyond belief—and he, by virtue of his sex, stands protected and respected, so much so that even the other sex cry shame on the exposer when the rottenness is laid bare; and the newspapers pretend not to know that anything detrimental to public morality has transpired. But let a woman even so much as protect herself from starvation by her sexuality, lacking the sanction of the law, and every body in unison cries out, "Down with the vile thing;" and every newspaper makes it its special business to herald her shame, in their eagerness utterly forgetting that there was a man in the scrape. A jury is applauded for finding a verdict of "Not guilty" in the case of a McFarland, but in that of a Fair, it is denounced in the most approved style of manly judgment. Now all this is not only the personification of injustice, ungenerousness and ungallantry, but it is deplorable, detestable and damnable. By it men seek to hide their own rottenness, covering woman with their filth and slime, crying out, "Behold her degeneracy! What a contrast between it and our immaculate selves!" And all this simply because man is the law making and executing power.

The editor of a leading daily must not be permitted to revel and riot with women, and, returning to his sanctum, write pattern articles on morality, while his recent companions are being "pulled" by the police as a preliminary to the levy of an already determined so-called fine, which of course is not black-mail. Police Commissioners must no longer purchase houses for and maintain harems in one part of the city while they write orders to suppress the same institutions, maintained elsewhere by their political opponents.

There is but one way by which this one-sided business can be rectified. The tables that have so long been completely subsidized in favor of immunity for men must be turned upon them. The engines they have used to enslave and degrade women must be made the heralds of their own crimes and shame. We are aware that it is no light matter to essay to be pioneers in any reform, and especially do we feel that we have not only a hard, but for a time a thankless, task in attempting to place woman on an equality with man in the vindication of their rights and the redress of their wrongs.

To initiate this movement we propose to take leading personages from each of the several pursuits of life and lay before the world a record of their private careers, so that it may no longer appear that their victims are the only frightful examples of immorality. Just concealed beneath the elastic surface of society, which is even now liable to be disrupted, are the seething, surging whirlpools of corruption which fester and rot, vitiating the entire social atmosphere by their vile exhalations. In all of these some man of notoriety is involved. We propose that they shall be made to stand before the world beside the women with whom they have heretofore reveled behind the screen of manly immunities.

It is well known that we were ignominiously expelled from that immaculate hotel, the Gilsey, because, forsooth, we hold social theories and have the courage to advocate them, that do not quite suit the hypocritical, pharisaical pretenders to a virtue they do not possess, and because we publish a paper to advocate advanced ideas of reform, in which we have presumed to speak denunciatory of the present system of marriage, which, as administered, is simply slavery for women and license for men. We have also, which may not be so generally known, been denied admission to almost all the other first-class hotels of the city for the same reason.

Now it may be all very meek and nice to preach the doctrine of the continuous reception of indignities, receiving them first upon one cheek and then upon the other, but we propose to practice the diviner doctrine of justice, and show what class of men it is who support these hotels which shut their doors against women simply because they assume to think and act for themselves, and not because of their immoral practices.

Hotels have virtually adopted the motto—"Best of accommodation for the worst of men, the best women not admitted; if, however, they are accompanied by any of the aforesaid men, no questions asked."

And to begin, we will introduce

MR. L. C. CHALLIS.

This man, some time since, had a suit with the Pacific Mail Company in which his character was attacked, but in which he came off victorious. It has been his wont since to point to his snowy shirt-front and say: "I came out with a reputation as spotless as this linen." O, immaculate Challis! had you been treated after the manner of women; had it been the custom to assail men in the courts as women are assailed, where would your immaculate highness have found yourself? We know a lady—we have her name, and can command her affidavit at any moment—who attended *incog* the French ball at the Academy of Music, at which, says that high-toned sheet that prates of "magnificent hussies," "were three thousand of the best men and four thousand of the worst women" in our city. Let us see in what measure the best men are better than the worst women. We will give our informant's account in her own language: "I had never been to one of these places, and for many reasons was desirous of seeing the *modus operandi*. My sister and myself went closely disguised. We had a box. After a while I saw Mr. Challis and a gentleman with him whom I will call Smith, though his real name is one of the oldest and best in the annals of New York society. We made ourselves known to them and they joined us, accompanied by two young girls not more than fifteen or sixteen years of age. These girls had come on fresh from school in Baltimore, and in the best society of New York had fallen in with these middle-aged rouses, and had in their innocence been led by them in the ways that lead to ruin. Wine was called for, and while the men drank but little, these young girls were pilled with it, until I remonstrated and begged them not to drink any more. My effort to influence them was met with an insulting request from the men to let them alone. You may be sure I followed these girls up, and got the history of their connection with these men. They were seduced by them. Two other young girls, friends of theirs, were invited on from Baltimore to visit in this best society. They were taken to the house of a woman we will call Molly, a first-class house of prostitution, when they were robbed of their innocence, each of these scoundrels, Challis and "Smith," taking one to himself. And this scoundrel Challis, to prove that he had seduced a maiden, carried for days on his finger, exhibiting in triumph, the red trophy of her virginity. After a few days these Lotharios exchanged beds and companions, and when weary of this they brought their friends, to the number of one hundred and over, to debauch these young girls—mere children.

Still further: every word here written can be proven. Remember this was commenced in that Academy of Music which various city papers berated because Miss Claflin was allowed to speak in it. Nor is this all. The very next box to the one in which we sat was used by two men at once for the purpose of debauching debauched women; and the trustees of the Academy know this. The son of one of them was a witness to one of these scenes of lechery; nevertheless, the manager now refuses to lease it for the performance of "The Merchant of Venice," because Miss Claflin, in connection with it, is to make her debut as *Portia*.

We have not told the half here that we might; but there is sufficient to show the world that when women are debauched their must be two parties to the debauchery; and we would ask why they should not both be held up equally to the scorn of the world instead of being called the "worst women and best men." Mr. Challis made his fortune by proving on the late trial that he was a man of good moral character. The children he has seduced and debauched have now no way open before them than the prostitute's road to hell. The way is open for him into the very heart of good society; the way for them is the way of the pariah, out into the wilderness of sin and shame.

Such is the real character of men high in social and financial life. But what of their victims? Suppose in this trial some "woman of the town" with whom this Challis was familiar had been introduced as a witness against him, would her evidence have been received? Not a bit of it. It would have been impeached as unworthy of belief because of her immoral practices. But Mr. Challis is of the opposite sex, upon whom sexual debauchery produces no demoralizing influences. His oath rendered him immaculate; hers would have added to her degradation the inference of perjury. And this is the justice that is meted out to women, this case being the rule and not the exception.

We hold that there can be no service of equal magnitude rendered women beside that of unmasking the sham morality with which men override them. And there is no other

way in which it can be done but in taking actual examples and holding them up for public inspection. And this we propose to do until there is either a leveling up or down in the widely separated standard of morals for the different sexes, which are now maintained by the Man Power.

MR. BOUTWELL AS A WALL-STREET SPECULATOR.

If any one doubt the peculiar capacity of Mr. Boutwell to fill the position of Secretary of the Treasury, he must certainly be in utter ignorance of his late successful raid into the money centre of the country. This raid, made in his name and publicly, is not, we shrewdly suspect, the first essay of the distinguished financier, though the exigencies of the case demanded such steps as could not very well be taken *sub rosa*, as previous ones had been. We have the best reasons for believing, which will be given if necessary, that Mr. Boutwell has continually played into the hands of the government clique bankers, and shared the profits resulting therefrom. Not only this, but the people's money has been the basis of the speculations. At this time, however, there was a double contingency to be met; the clique in Wall street were in a "fix" and needed relief; the administration was in a fix in Pennsylvania and needed relief—such as a few hundred thousand alone would give. The existence of the first opened the way to the solution of the last. The opportunity was too evident to be missed. It was taken advantage of and both exigencies relieved. The government clique sold gold at a high price, and bought stock with the proceeds at a low price, realizing profits of millions, which being divided with the administration for having given the "point," furnished the necessary funds to make the election in Pennsylvania favorable beyond question. Everybody can see the results; but few realize the real character of the means employed to produce them.

Let us give a *resumé* of some of the facts that made such an operation possible. The latter part of September brought about increasing "tightness" in the money market, and a consequent tendency to lower prices for speculative stocks, and the possibility for the clique in gold to advance its price. Now, whether or not this was wholly to be attributed to the operations of cliques, or whether they merely took advantage of circumstances favorable to such a state of things, has not, in our opinion, anything to do with the merits of the question at issue, since if it were the duty of Mr. Boutwell to step in and spoil the game at which they played, why was it not also his duty to have stepped in and spoiled the game of the coal speculators, who got up a corner in that commodity when the poor of New York could less afford to pay fifteen instead of six dollars per ton for it to keep from freezing, than could the Bullclique in Wall street twenty instead of six per cent. interest for money to carry out their schemes. In the one case it was coal speculators conniving against the poor people, while in the other it was two equally able and competent cliques in Wall street conniving against each other. With the former, Mr. Boutwell did not feel called upon to interfere; but with the latter, he did so in such haste as not to stand upon the manner of doing it, but did it at once.

The condition of the money and stock market above referred to, Mr. Boutwell knew as well before his extra sale of gold and purchase of bonds as after. Nevertheless, he advertised his monthly programme as usual, saying nothing about any extra action. The cliques in Wall street, accepting the advertised programme as that which would be carried out, pushed forward their schemes. Friday, the 4th instant, found gold at fifteen with the prospect of being still higher, and stocks at the lowest price of the season with the prospect of being still lower. On Saturday, everybody was astonished to see the houses of the government pets—Henry Clews & Co. and Jay Cooke & Co., heavy sellers of gold and buyers of stocks. It was at once surmised that there was some government action at the bottom of this, and the shrewdest observers of this action "stood from under." But those who are not given to a quick solution of movements, apparently at cross-purposes with general tendencies, never suspected the real meaning of this one of Clews & Cooke until the appearance in the Monday morning's papers, on the eve of the October elections, of Mr. Boutwell's advertisement of the extra sale of \$5,000,000 gold and a corresponding purchase of as many bonds.

It was then easy to be understood why the firms referred to had sold gold and bought stocks. They knew on Saturday morning that Mr. Boutwell was coming into Wall street with \$10,000,000; and upon this knowledge which all others lacked, they made their heavy sales and purchases with the certainty of immense profits.

Now, even admitting that it was either Mr. Boutwell's right or duty thus to interfere in Wall street matters, what right or duty had he to give to these two houses such previous information as to make it possible for them alone of all the rest of the "street" to take advantage of it? If this was not a personal interference in favor of particular persons, we should like to see something that appropriately could be so demonstrated. Why did not Mr. Boutwell on Saturday morning publish his intentions in the papers as he did on Monday, so that everybody, as well as Mr. Clews and Cooke, could have acted upon it? There is but one solution to this questionable practice, and this is that Mr. Boutwell wanted these persons to have the advantage they had at the expense of others in Wall street. Of course we cannot state positively that Mr. Boutwell or the administration shared the profits

made possible by this pre-information, but we believe it will some day come out that a part of the money thus made was used in Pennsylvania to carry the election. And, further, we believe that it will some day come out that the Tammany frauds are as nothing compared with the Washington frauds under the present administration; and still further, that the real causes which drove such men as Sumner, Schurz and Trumbull from the support of the administration party was the knowledge of its damnable frauds, which, though condemning, they have not had the courage to expose.

But witness the effect of this movement upon the treasury of the people's money. It is at least to be presumed when Mr. Boutwell sells gold that he ought to get the best possible price for it, so as to realize the largest amount for the people; and when he purchases bonds that he ought to do so at the lowest possible prices, so as to save the people's money. In this case, however, he took special pains to do the very opposite—to sell the people's gold at the very lowest possible price, and to pay the very highest price for the redemption of their outstanding indebtedness, in the method pursued, losing to the people not less than \$200,000. Is not this capital financing for the people? Almost equal to a syndicate for the fortunate bankers through whom it was done. Instead of getting 115 for the people's gold, which he could have done, he realized less than 113; and instead of buying the bonds as he might have done for 111, he paid nearly 113. This has been the policy of Mr. Boutwell from the very first—to get as little as possible for what the people have to sell, and to pay the very highest price for what the people have to buy; or, in other words, to take all the money from the people it is possible to take, and to give all the money it is possible to give to the bankers. If any corporation in existence had a financial agent who dared to pursue such a policy, it would indict him for robbery. And the plea upon which it is done is the most barefaced fraud it is possible to imagine—that the government in order to enhance its credit must pay extravagant prices for whatever it purchases, and sell every thing it has to sell at a less price than any person sells the same thing.

Even this specimen of economy is not all the beauty there was developed by this transaction. When the bids for the gold and bonds were opened, it was found that the price at which the bonds were offered to the government was larger than the price bid for the gold; and that if the government sold the gold and bought the bonds, it would pay more than \$5,000,000 in gold for the \$5,000,000 in bonds. This put Mr. Boutwell and his friends in a fix; not only because it would not look well to pay a premium for bonds, but if it were not done and the gold was sold, the very condition which was made a pretext for the operation would be made worse by the withdrawal from the market of more than five and a half millions of currency, which would increase rather than diminish the tightness of money. But Mr. Boutwell was equal to the emergency. He assumed the price of gold to be 113 and paid 112 15-16 for the bonds, while he realized about 112½ for the gold, thus actually paying a premium in gold to redeem the bonds, in order nominally that money might be made easy; but really that a profitable operation might not be spoiled. In case General Grant is re-elected, is there any doubt that Mr. Boutwell will be the candidate of Henry Clews and Jay Cooke for reappointment as Secretary of the Treasury? That is the question! And there can be no doubt about General Grant's re-election, since, if it require some hundred millions to secure it, it will be forthcoming. The leaders know where and how to get it.

THE NEXT STEP FOR SUFFRAGE.

Since the formation of the Equal Rights Party, we have received a great many inquiries as to whether we should make any further special advocacy of suffrage, or whether that would be merged in larger and still more general questions.

Whatever other questions we may advocate, we have never thought of permitting any opportunity to pass to advance the political rights of women. We are not of those who believe that one must give over all other reform in order to be a consistent advocate of woman suffrage. It would be just as consistent for us to deny that Rev. Olympia Brown is a consistent woman suffragist because she is a minister of the doctrine of Universal Salvation, as it is for Lucy Stone to deny that we are consistent advocates of political equality for woman, because we claim that she is also entitled to social freedom. We protest against all such one-idea movements. They are what make reform both ridiculous and impossible, and, the denunciation, by their advocates, of those who labor in larger fields, but who would be co-laborers in the same field, detestable.

One of the planks in the platform of the Equal Rights Party is the political equality of all persons, the suffrage to be limited only by reason of age. Why, then, if we are consistent advocates of Equal Rights, are we not consistent advocates of woman suffrage, which is included in the larger question of equal suffrage for both men and women? We do not want merely woman suffrage; we want suffrage for all adult persons, and for all disfranchised naturalized citizens without property, as well as for women. We want no distinction whatever founded upon sex. We are sick of all advocacy which is limited by sex in favor of either sex. We want not only the women of Rhode Island to enjoy the

right to vote, but all the disfranchised citizens of that State to do the same. And any movement which has any less general purpose is not worthy the support of a person who believes in the American doctrine of equality.

Thus much to show that, in taking a step beyond woman rights to the ground of human rights, we have violated no principle nor pledge. Now as to the next step to gain equal suffrage.

It will be remembered that we intended to labor in Congress, during the entire of last session, to secure the passage of a "Declaratory Act," and that such an act was introduced into the House of Representatives by Gen. Butler, the intrepid supporter of the constitutional right of suffrage to all citizens. But the act was no more than introduced when we learned, authoritatively, that the Republican party could not afford to pass it on the eve of a presidential election. It was, therefore, useless to spend time laboring to accomplish something that had already been decided in party caucus could not be permitted. It will also be remembered (and it is strong presumptive evidence of what we say) that the Judiciary Committee of the Senate made a unanimous report on the Stanton-Anthony-Hooker memorial against the jurisdiction of Congress over the question of suffrage, the same person drafting the report who figured largely in the Philadelphia convention, which professed to say that Congress has jurisdiction over the citizens right to vote. That committee either made a false report, false to its convictions of constitutional right, or that convention made a hypocritical platform to inveigle women into the support of its candidates. The Republican party may accept either horn of the dilemma, since one is equally as damning as the other and can be used with equal effect against it.

The issue that must now be seized, is whether suffrage is one of the rights of citizenship, and to do it in such a way as to compel a decision by a competent authority, which can neither ignore the issue as Congress has done, nor dodge it as the Philadelphia Convention did. If it be a citizen's right to vote, and a President be elected by preventing one-half of all the citizens of the country from voting at his election, and he attempt to perform the functions of the office of President, is it not clear that he is attempting to do what he has no right to do? We assume, in harmony with all lexicographers, all writers on the theory of government and the latest decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, that the term citizen describes a person entitled to the right to vote for and hold all official positions under the government to which that person belongs. No other theory was ever thought of until it was invented as a matter of necessity by Messrs. Bingham and Carpenter to put off the issue of woman suffrage. It has accomplished that purpose, but it will kill its inventors.

From these premises we argue that whosoever shall be elected and attempt to perform the functions of President will do so illegally; and whether it be Grant or Greeley, he will be brought before the courts, on a writ of *quo warranto*, to show cause why he should perform those functions; and unless the courts render a decision reversing the law, as now established by the Supreme Court of the United States, he cannot be permitted to perform them.

Lest some may doubt the force of this position, we will quote the law as now established by the Supreme court, which is the final authority in all questions of constitutional law:

In 19 Howard, 404, we find the following language upon this very question of citizenship and its rights, and had it been upon a case wherein woman was involved, it no more effectually could have established her right to vote:

"The words 'people of the United States and citizens' are synonymous terms, and mean the same thing; they both describe the political body, who, according to our republican institutions, form the sovereignty, and who hold the power, and can conduct the government through these representatives. They are what we familiarly call the sovereign people, and every citizen is one of this people and a constituent member of this sovereignty."

And in the same case, 19 Howard, 476:

"For who, it may be asked, is a citizen? Upon a principle of etymology alone, the term citizen, as derived from *citiz*, conveys the idea of connection or identification with the state or government, and a participation in its functions. But beyond this there is not, it is believed, to be found, in the theories of writers on government, or in any actual experiment heretofore made, any exposition of the term citizen which has not been understood as confirming the actual possession and enjoyment, or the perfect right of acquisition and enjoyment of an entire equality of privileges, civil and political."

Could stronger words be framed into stronger sentences to support our position? And the force and meaning of them have got to be ignored before the next President can perform the functions of his office. We have the opinions of six of the best constitutional lawyers in the country, and they all agree, if the President be permitted to perform the duties of that office after having been summoned as indicated, it will be as much the usurpation of power as it would be were General Grant, by force, to be continued as President, after the 4th of March, Mr. Greeley having received the vote of the Electoral College.

If the doctrine of the Supreme Court be law, there is no more reason why the President to be elected without the votes of women should be considered as legally elected, than there could be for contending that he would be legally elected if six-tenths of the men were prevented from voting at his election; and this time they shall neither ignore nor dodge the issue. Therefore, if women are not per-

mitted to vote for President, they can at least have the satisfaction of knowing they have the power to prevent any one from serving who shall be elected without their consent.

GRANT OR GREELEY—WHICH?

In the absence of an electoral ticket of the Equal Rights Party, we suppose that most men who would have voted for the candidates of that party, will vote for one or the other of the parties whom the men standing at the head of this article represents. If it were the man merely who is to be voted for, on account of his personal fitness, it seems to us that no person can be at a loss as to whom he should support. General Grant is, at heart, favorable to many of the reformatory movements; especially is he favorable to the cause of woman. He, as well as Mrs. Grant, believes that women ought to vote when they want to. Mr. Greeley believes that women are good cooks, and that cooks ought not to be voters. In a word, Mr. Greeley is utterly opposed to any reform in favor of women. This, so far as personality is concerned, should secure him the opposition of every woman who thinks she is as capable of self-government as man; and the support of every woman who thinks she was created to be ruled by men.

But it is not a fact that it is Grant or Greeley for whom votes are to be cast. It is for the parties which those men represent, and this puts an entirely different face upon the question as to which should receive the support of reformers. That ought to be determined without reference to the candidates, since, whichever will be elected, will be the slave of the party which elects him. General Grant acknowledged that he could not do what he wanted to do for woman, which was what was done for the negro by his urging upon Congress the legislation in his behalf. Now, the question for women to decide in the support of these men is, which party is the more likely to do them justice.

Most of the leaders in the woman movement are advocating the election of Grant on account of the reference made to women in the platform of the Republican party. We entirely differ from them as to the honesty of that reference. The Philadelphia Convention was a very late day for the Republican party to become conscious of the fact that there had been "loyal women" to whom the representatives of that party owed any acknowledgment. It was no longer than last winter that they were unaware that there were any such persons who had any claim whatever upon the party. And the "respectful consideration" which is spoken of in that platform, it seems to us, could more fittingly have been bestowed when it was sought from Congress, which had the power to grant it, but did not. We believe that every hope women find in the fourteenth plank will prove a deceit. That plank could not possibly have been framed so as to seem to say more and really mean less. There is not a positive word in it. If that convention meant what it is hoped by women that it did mean, why did it not speak in plain and unmistakable language so there could be no doubt? It did not speak so, because it did not mean what it was hoped it would be accepted as meaning, and what it has been accepted by women generally as meaning. Still, it may be from sheer shame that some consideration will be given women; and if there is anything we can do or say to force that point it will not be left undone or unsaid.

When we think of it, however, we cannot help repeating the Teacher of Nazareth's parable of the Two Sons, recorded in St. Matthew, xxi. chapter, 28, 29, 30 and 31 verses:

But what think ye! A certain man had two sons, and he went to the first and said: "Son, go work to-day in my vineyard."

He answered and said: "I will not;" but afterward he repented and went.

And he came to the second and said likewise. And he answered and said: "I go," and went not.

Whether of the twain did the will of his father. They said unto him, the first. Jesus saith unto them, "Verily, I say unto you, that the publicans and the harlots go into the Kingdom of God before you."

Now, may it not be barely possible that this teaching of Jesus is applicable to the present situation. The Liberal party which said it would not go work in the vineyard for woman may do it; while the Republican party which said it would work in the vineyard for women may not do so. At all events, we always prefer an outspoken opponent like the Liberal party, to a deceitful friend which we fear the Republican party is. Besides, this new party will find itself absolutely compelled to take up some new issue if it think to remain a party. It must have some point of cohesion which it has not got at present, and which it will not have unless it be successful, which does not now seem probably; therefore, we believe that the opposition party to the present administration, will be the one that will adopt woman suffrage.

But we do not urge the support of either of the candidates. We simply state our conviction, and if too much confidence be not placed in the "professed love" of the Republican party, its representatives may be ridiculed into doing justice to the interpretations put upon the language of the Philadelphia platform.

There is another reason why we do not believe that Republicans endorse what the Philadelphia Convention said of the woman question as committing the party to suffrage. What party organ of any consequence has said that the Republican party is committed to the doctrines of woman

suffrage, or has urged the election of its candidates because their success will insure the consideration and settlement of this question? It is true we find all the papers treating the women very courteously, and encouraging them to advocate General Grant's election; but what one has said that the obstruction to woman suffrage must be cleared out of the way by Congress? On the contrary, like the party leaders, the papers have heretofore, almost universally, said that Congress has nothing to do with the citizen's right to the ballot. We listened with great care at what the women said a few nights ago at Cooper Institute in favor of General Grant, but neither one of them even hinted to these things which we consider the weak points in the professed adoption of the suffrage question by the Republican party.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF LOVE.

"Wishing each other not divorced, but dead, they lived respectably as man and wife."—Lord Byron.

Could love forever
Run like a river,
And Time's endeavor
Be tried in vain,
No other pleasure
With this could measure;
And like a treasure
We'd hug the chain;
But since our sighing
Ends not in dying,
And formed for aye,
Love plumes his wing;
Then for this reason
Let's love a season,
But let that season;
Be only spring.

When lovers, parted,
Feel broken-hearted,
And, all hopes thwarted,
Expect to die,
A few years older
Ah how much colder
They might behold her!
For whom they sigh!
When linked together
In every weather
They pluck love's feather
From out his wing,
He'll stay forever,
But sadly shiver
Without his plumage
When past the spring.

Like chiefs of faction
His life is action,
A formal pacton
That curbs his rein,
Obscures his glory,
Despot no more, he
Such territory
Quits with disdain.
Still, still advancing,
With banners glancing,
His power enhancing,
He must move on;
Repose but cloy him,
Retreat destroys him,
Love brooks not a
Degraded throne.

Wait not, fond lover,
Till years are over,
And then recover
As from a dream.
While each bewailing:
The other's falling
With wrath and railing
All hideous seem.
While first decreasing,
Yet not quite ceasing,
Wait not till teasing
All passion blight:
If once diminished
Love's reign is finished,
Then part in friendship,
And bid good-night.

So shall affection
To recollection
The dear connection
Bring back with joy:
You had not waited
Till, tired or hated,
Your passion sated
Began to cloy.
Your last embraces
Leave no cold traces,
The same fond faces
As through the past;
And eyes, the mirrors
Of your sweet errors
Reflect but rapture—
Not least, though last.

True, separations
Ask more than patience;
What desperations
From such have risen!
But yet remaining,
What let but chaining
Hearts which, once wanting,
Burst 'gainst their prison!
Time but can cloy love,
And use destroy love—
The winged boy, Love
Is but for boys.
You'll find it torture,
Though sharper, shorter,
To wean, and not
Wear out your joys.

Lord Byron.

CANCER.—In another column will be found the card of Dr. J. M. Comins, to which we call the attention of those afflicted with that terrible disease—cancer. It is not a usual thing for us to mention practicing physicians; but in this case we know whereof we speak, and we speak in the interest of the afflicted, rather than on that of Dr. Comins. He has specimens of cancer cases which have been cured by his treatment, which place him at the head of his profession. But the position he occupies in this disease is held by him in all others, especially in those of a chronic character.

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