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Vol. VI.—No. 2.—Whole No. 132.

NEW YORK, JUNE 14, 1873.

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[From the *Chicago Evening Post*.]

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

The Principles of Government, by Victoria C. Woodhull	\$3 00
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INDUSTRIAL JUSTICE.

1. Go to, now, ye rich men; weep and howl, for your miseries that shall come upon you.

4. Behold the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is kept back by fraud, crieth, and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord.

Gel. Ep. James v. 1-4.

THE INTERNATIONAL.

The meeting of the Federal Council, on Sunday, June 1, was signalized by the adoption of the following

MEMORIAL.

TO THE HON. BOARDS OF ALDERMEN AND ASSISTANT ALDERMEN OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW YORK:

The memorial of the American Federal Council of the International Workingmen's Association, respectfully represents:

That labor is or should be a right, as it is a duty, by law recognized and by law enforced; not a mere favor dependent upon the will or caprice of any private individual or company.

That it is notorious that such individuals or companies employing labor are governed by no other motive than a desire to increase their private gains. The least number of persons that will contribute to this end, is the greatest number that they will employ. The smallest sum that these persons will receive as compensation for their labor is the greatest that their employers will pay. And that, as an inevitable consequence of this relation of capitalists (so-called) to the working classes and of the competition among laborers thence resulting, any appreciable addition to the population, either from its normal growth or by emigration, tends to diminish the rate of wages, increase the number of hours of daily toil, and augment the number of unemployed.

That, notwithstanding, provisions of some kind must be made and governmental agency of some sort must intervene to avert the poverty, vice and crime attending such increase of population.

That the "Contract System," so-called, of employing labor now enforced by the government is but another form of private greed and co-operate monopoly under another name, and is utterly regardless of the rights denied to, and the wrongs endured by, the working classes.

That almost every great public work given out to private contractors eventually proves to have been but a grand scheme of private enrichment at the expense of taxpayers and consumers, and does not diminish the number of unemployed or afford them any hope of relief.

That under this "Contract System" public works have become so contaminated by collusion with corrupt public officials, that public confidence has been lost in all governmental works, and every public interest suffers from the wilful neglect of said corrupt officials.

Wherefore, your memorialists respectfully request that your honorable bodies will

1. Adopt such measures as may be necessary to procure the repeal of the laws enacting said "Contract System of Labor." And

2. Adopt similar measures to establish a public Labor Bureau whose function and duty shall be to employ labor upon public works, without the intervention of private capitalists, and for the public good.

Your memorialists sincerely believe that if the municipal governments of the several States of this nation were to adopt this policy and begin to employ labor for its own sake, commencing just where private individuals upon whom the privilege of employing labor has been conferred, neglect the duty thereby imposed, the nett profits of the business thus undertaken (now pocketed by the said private individuals) would give employment to all idle people, pay the laborer better than he is now paid, leave a large surplus to meet all governmental expenses, and prevent the necessity of the levy of a tax of any description.

B. Hubert,
Wm. Banks,
John Sheddou,
James H. Blood,
George R. Allen,
A. Huleck,
Theo. R. Knight,
Samuel Oliver,

Mr. Kavanagh,
Charles Smith,
C. Osborne Ward,
William West,
Hugh McGregor,
Alex. Frey,
George Blair,
Miss Edith Palmer,

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Mrs. M. L. Elliott,
J. W. R. Hill,

Victoria C. Woodhull,
Mr. Percival,
Council.

WM. WEST, Recording Secretary.
T. R. KINGET, English Corresponding Secretary.
B. HUBERT, Foreign Corresponding Secretary.
And Citizens Madox, Blair, Percival, McGregor and Ward were appointed to wait upon the Common Council and present the above memorial.

THE RECENT PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS' CONVENTION AT THE ASTOR HOUSE AND THE FEDERAL COUNCIL.

It having become known that the co-operation of the International had been solicited in the accomplishment of the work undertaken by the farmers of the West and the mechanics and artisans of the East, a pamphlet bearing the title of "Facts for the People," consisting of extracts taken from late numbers of the *American Grocer*, in which the "Granges" are informed that the Internationals are "thieving rascals, driven out of other countries, and ready to tack on to any movement," was freely circulated at the Convention referred to in the caption of this article, evidently with the view of preventing the admittance of the delegates of the Federal Council and the several sections. The Convention, however, thought proper to receive the delegation, and thus rebuke the malignant libeler. It was a wise and a grateful act; for if in the movement thus inaugurated there are any "thieving rascals," they are not to be found among the Internationals, to some of whose members the "Granges" are indebted for the very conception of the movement they have inaugurated. In the spring of '69, the "New Democracy" so-called, which has since been merged in the International, caused to be printed and put in circulation a series of memorials, of which the following, marked respectively No. 3 and No. 1, are copies:

MEMORIAL NO. 2.

To repeal the Charters of the several Pacific Railroad Companies and authorize the U. S. Government to run the cars on the roads.

TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED:

The undersigned citizens of the United States, believing that considerations of natural equity and public policy forbid the appropriation of lands and money belonging to the nation to private citizens, to be used for their own private gain, regardless of the rights of their fellow-citizens, because the professed objects thereof are thereby invariably defeated, the general welfare disregarded, the rights of the people set at defiance, and legislative, judicial, and executive corruption engendered, disgraceful alike to legislator, judge and executive officer, do hereby respectfully request:

That the several grants of land made to the Pacific Railroad Companies be at once revoked; all indebtedness incurred for labor, material, etc., discharged; the roads completed, repaired and improved at the public expense; and the entire business of the transportation of merchandise and passengers over the roads transacted by government at reasonable rates.

MEMORIAL NO. 1.

To abolish the Senate of the United States and transfer the veto power from the President to the people, the principle of Popular Sovereignty, as intended by the author of the Declaration of Independence.

TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED:

The undersigned citizens of the United States, believing that the principle of popular sovereignty enunciated in the Declaration of Independence, was thereafter grievously departed from by the framers of the Constitution of the United States, who, by the terms of that instrument conferred absolute power upon Congress (subject only to the veto of the President) to "enact laws, grant privileges and appropriate public property without submitting their acts to the people for ratification;" and believing also that the corrupt use of this power threatens the extinguishment of those other popular rights and liberties confessedly guaranteed, and to-day menaces the very life of the nation, do hereby respectfully request—

First. That measures be at once taken to amend the Constitution of the United States so that the Senate, now elected by the Legislatures of the several States, and neither directly nor indirectly representing the people shall be abolished, and the entire legislative power of the nation confided to the House of Representatives, subject only to the veto of the people. And

Second. That similar measures may be taken to amend the Constitution of the United States, so that all acts of the National Legislature (save and except those which may exclusively relate to the decorous and efficient transaction of its business) shall be absolutely void until the same shall have been submitted to the citizens of the several States and duly affirmed by a majority thereof.

Now, the true programme of the Producers and Consumers is faithfully presented in the above Memorials, and if there be thieves anywhere they must be looked for among those persons who have appropriated the thunder of the "New Democracy" without awarding proper credit.

But the American Federal Council have thought proper to refute the statements of the *American Grocer* by authorizing the publication of a letter to its editor which we herewith subjoin:

129 SPRING STREET, N. Y., May, 1873.

TO THE AMERICAN GROCER:

Citizen Editor—The Federal Council of the International Workingmen's Association, having received an invitation from the Secretary of the National Cheap Transportation Association to participate in the proceedings of the Producers' and Consumers' Convention, held at the Astor House, on the 6th ult., accepted the invitation, and sent a delegate who

was admitted to a seat in that body, and subsequently served on several important committees.

During the course of the proceedings, a pamphlet entitled "Facts for the People," was placed in the hands of our delegate, professing to be composed of extracts taken from late numbers of your valuable journal, advocating with ability the inauguration of a national railroad from the Mississippi to the Atlantic. That pamphlet received the attention and approval of the Federal Council, with the exception of the following incorrect statement concerning our organization:

"We wish to say a word to the granges about the 'Internationals' who, we understand, are to receive invitations to the coming convention. To a New Yorker this is simply ridiculous, but as Western men may not be informed as to the character of those calling themselves by that name, we would say, that they are thieving rascals who have been driven out of other countries, who are ready to tack on to any movement like that the respectable men of the West are now inaugurating, and that they are a disgrace to any person or anything they may associate with. They have been trying to attach themselves to the labor organizations without success, and it may be to this that they are indebted for their invitation to attend this convention."

The Federal Council considers that this sweeping attack cannot be met by a general denial, but requires a special refutation of the various parts thereof, and trusts to your sense of justice to give the same prominence to our reply that you have given to the accusation. As it is much easier to make a statement than it is to substantiate it, we need not apologize if we require more of your valuable space for this our refutation, than was required for the accusation. In the first place we would state the fundamental principles of the International.

They are as follows:

"That the emancipation of the working classes must be accomplished by the working classes themselves, that the struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties, and the abolition of all class rule.

"That the economical subjection of the man of labor to the monopolizer of the means of labor, that is, the sources of life lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental despotism and political dependence.

"That the economical emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means.

"That all efforts aiming at that great end have hitherto failed for the want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labor in each country, and from the absence of a fraternal bond of union between the working classes of different countries.

"That the emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists, and depending for its solution on the concurrence—practical and theoretical—of the most advanced countries.

"That the present revival of the working classes in the most industrious countries of Europe and America, while it raises a new hope, gives solemn warning against a relapse into the old errors, and calls for the immediate combination of still disconnected movements."

Let us further state that all who accept these principles are eligible for membership, whether beggar or millionaire.

In the second place, we deny that we are "thieving rascals," as a rule, although some of our members being middlemen and retail grocers, may be in a manner forced to mix fine sand with coarse sugar, in order to compete with still more unscrupulous tradesmen, escape bankruptcy and maintain their respectability. Others being bakers may add alum to their flour, and others being druggists may adulterate with poisonous ingredients the medicine they dispense. These and many other things equally rascally and thievish they may do, so as to keep their standing in society, where all is false or forged. Yet while we assert that we are no worse than the rest of humanity, we do not claim to be any better than surrounding conditions will admit. We are earnestly working to hasten the time when the robber and the robbed alike shall pass away, and morn shall break, and man shall wake in the light of a fairer day.

The statement that we have been driven out of other countries is truer than the assertion that we are thieves, yet it is not wholly true, from the fact that more than one-half of our members are native-born citizens of the United States. It is true that a certain proportion of our members are adopted citizens, the record of whose lives would be the history of the struggle for social and political freedom during the last half century. Not a few of them are survivors of many a hard-fought field where the flag of freedom has gone down before the deadly fire of the soldiers of despotism. Not a few of our number have passed some of the best years of their lives in prison for advocating principles they love dearer than their lives. Some have even been executed in effigy for contumacy, but no Napoleonic mouchard or Italian sbirri have ever made themselves so ridiculous as to charge advocates of the Social and Democratic Republic with being thieves. That distinction has been reserved for a journalist in free (?) America.

That we are a "disgrace" we freely admit, huddled together in crowded, ill-ventilated and loathsome tenements, stunted in body and mind by premature and long-continued labor, with the almshouse as our only relief, and the grave as our only rest, we are a disgrace, a disgrace to society, a disgrace to civilization.

With regard to your last statement we would simply say that the time has not arrived for writing the history of the International. Contemplating as we do an entire reconstruction of society upon the basis of complete and exact justice to all, we cannot expect to be immediately successful. Big oaks grow from little acorns, but their growth is slow. Seeing, moreover, that the Christian religion has been preached from thousands of pulpits for at least eighteen centuries, and yet there exists atheists, both practical and theoretical, according to Theodore Parker—no mean authority by the way—

it would, indeed, be the height of ridiculousness to expect the labor organizations, who have as yet merely considered the questions of time and wages, to adopt principles that have never yet been properly laid before them. Our principles promulgated for the first time in America, three years ago, are as yet very imperfectly understood by workmen, but they have already engaged the earnest attention of European statesmen, and of monopolists all over the world. Events march rapidly in these United States, and the minority of to-day oftentimes becomes the majority of to-morrow; but of this you may rest assured that when the supreme hour of danger arrives, when the giant monopoly stretches forth its powerful hand to crush the political liberties of the American people, the workmen will array themselves upon the side of freedom with the same devotion that they exhibited in that bloody struggle that ended under the apple-tree of Appomattox. On the morrow of the fast-coming and inevitable struggle the principles of the International will be a power in the land. Personally we regard ourselves as nothing, we are mere instruments for propagating principles whose acceptance, we believe, are necessary to our existence as a nation. Are those principles just and true? Then, why blame the sun for the spots upon his face!

Regarding you as a co-worker in the cause of social reform, we extend to you fraternal greeting, assured that your and our labor will not be in vain.

Please find inclosed a copy of our Rules and Administrative Regulations.

By order of the Federal Council,

HUGH MCGREGOR,
GEO. W. MADDOX,
WM. CARLISLE, } Committee.

SOCIALISTIC.

WAVERLY, N. Y., May 18, 1873.

Our dear Victoria, more than ever, is a spectacle to a witnessing world. The moral, social and political parties are looking upon her and the world of reform with jealous and malicious eyes. They have concentrated all of their forces in the Young Men's Christian Associations, which claim to be the "Alpha and Omega," with all expanding power to take possession of the Constitution of the United States, and crush to death not only Woodhull, Claflin and Blood, but Fairfield, and every other reformer who has moral courage to speak an encouraging word to the oppressed and suffering in church and state, where they have been confined with the double yoke of social and religious tyranny.

I would have the world know that Victoria C. Woodhull is no half-way reformer. She treads upon the heels of all reform marching on to victory, with power and ability to pull down sin and iniquity, and build up righteousness and justice. The spirit of reform lives in her, and the work of pulling down and building up has commenced in earnest. "Old things" if not passing away quickly are terribly stirred in that direction. This is an age of commingling fears and hopes, demanding the best wisdom, love and courage, all of which is well developed in our woman leader. She has a face that never turns pale at the accuser's voice, a bosom that never throbs at the fear of exposure, a heart that might be turned inside out and discover no stain of dishonor. Such women we need, the trained and tried by God and his administering spirit. The world is beginning to look upon her with more friendly eyes, and to listen with more attentive ears. Like a true philosopher she aims positively at the truth of all things, and refuses to capitulate, compromise or yield to any terms but universal freedom. If her inspired sayings are true let them stand as they will, if they are false let them fall as they must. But whether they are agreeable or consolatory, disheartening, safe or mischievous, is a question which the active intelligent present and incoming future will soon decide.

Brothers and sisters, be not surprised my appeal is to you in behalf of humanity. Stand by this pure, noble-minded woman. Perishing millions are lifting up their silent voices; they invite, they plead for this heavenly boon which she brings. Free love, free religion, and a free, just and righteous government. Plant her banners with this inscription on all the Northern bluffs and Eastern hills, through all the Western prairies and Southern plains. Bid the people rise and strike free freedom's birthright. Liberty is struggling, some of the most startling and thrilling scenes are about to burst upon us as a nation. The mightiest overturnings and upheavings will soon shock the thinking and unthinking world. The friends and foes of freedom are arraying themselves for a fierce encounter. The rusty, clanking chains of sects and parties must and will be broken. The galling yoke of bondage shall be removed. Hear ye the watchword, and be up and doing with

DR. H. P. FAIRFIELD.

DOWAGIAC, Mich., May 27, 1873.

Dear Weekly—Allow me to congratulate you upon the progress which your cause is making. Six months ago only one copy of WOODHULL & CLAFLIN came to this office; now twenty-six are taken in our little town of two thousand inhabitants.

The heretofore unapproachable subject of sexuality is now discussed freely and seriously by almost all classes of thinking people, and wonderful admissions and concessions are being daily made. People are beginning to perceive that there is something of deep and vital interest to humanity underlying this question, and many who dare not subscribe for the WEEKLY are eager to borrow and read it. It is astonishing what intense ignorance and misapprehension

there is upon this subject. People often cite as to some miserable debauchee as a specimen of what they suppose is meant by strong and healthy sexuality, and as what they suppose all men will become should social freedom become the order of the day. They can understand that a morbid, dyspeptic stomach is voracious and insatiable, while a healthy one is abstemious and moderate in its demands; but have never known that the same rule applies to the sexual appetite.

Another pernicious error is in supposing that sexual passion is low and degrading, as if it were possible for nature to endow her children with low and degrading capacities. These two mistakes have been fatal to the well-being of mankind, and are in my opinion the causes of nearly all the diseases and crimes that corrupt and torture humanity.

The fact that the amative impulse is most fully developed among the most intellectual and refined of the human species, is proof positive that it is a noble and elevating capacity, not a curse which man should be forever battling with and blushing for. The curse is that people have been falsely educated on this subject. A weak, morbid, ungovernable, perverted sexual appetite is degrading, and this is the condition in which nine-tenths of the human race exist to-day. The man or woman of purely healthy and natural sexuality is never the slave of passion; it is the sexually morbid, the victims of secret vices, of hereditary taints, of repressed desires, who make a dissipation and degradation of the highest and holiest instincts of their nature. The remedy for all this is a status of public sentiment which will allow people to live natural lives. And now I must state the most stubborn fact of all, a fact which but few will admit, although all are conscious of its truth: "All healthy and natural men and women have an attraction for sexual variety."

Who says

"That this assertion through and through
Is slander of the vilest hue,
While in his heart he knows 'tis true?
The married man."

Yes, and married woman too. We believe that "nature never gravitates to naught," that every honest impulse of the heart is pure and holy. It was never designed that man's nature should be at war with itself, but on the contrary, that every truly natural desire should find its gratification. The old adage that "marriage is the grave of love," and the universal infelicity of the married state go to prove that love will not be bound, that freedom is its natural atmosphere:

"I envy not in any moods
The captive void of noble rage,
The linnet born within the cage
Who never knew the summer woods!"

But, says one, "Are you not advocating promiscuity?" I answer no: promiscuity means change; nothing else. Variety means choice, and this distinction is an immense difference. Choice indicates taste, congeniality, attraction, fastidiousness, calling into exercise the highest and noblest feelings of the soul and necessarily limiting the exercise of the passions. It is plainly obvious to my mind that a condition of social freedom would not only purify the sexual appetite, but would also infinitely lessen its demands.

When men and women become sufficiently enlightened to discover the causes of the evils that afflict them they will throw away that mock modesty which affects to shrink from an investigation of this subject, and boldly and willingly declare the truth as it is in nature. Right here let me quote from Wm. Matthews, Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in the University of Chicago. He says: "The elements of success needed by him who has wisely chosen his calling, is constitutional talent. By constitutional talent we mean the warmth and vigor imparted to man's ideas by superior bodily stamina, by a stout physical constitution. Till within a recent period bodilicure (if it may so be called) has been neglected and almost despised in this country. We have been led to associate muscle with rowdyism, ruddy cheeks with toddies; long windedness with profane swearing, and broad shoulders with irreligion. Tallness was the only sign of virtue tolerated. Width and weight were held to indicate a steady tendency toward the State Prison; and the model young man became pale, lanky, dyspeptic, desiring to be all soul, and regard his body as the source of all wretchedness. But a revolution has taken place in public sentiment. We are beginning to see that the body as well as the mind has rights that must be respected.

We are discovering that though the pale, sickly student may win the most prizes in college, it is the tough, sinewy one who will win the most prizes in life. The first requisite to success in life is to be a good animal. Nature presented our great men with not only great minds but with wonderful bodies. Wit, judgment, imagination, eloquence, all these qualities of the mind attain a force and splendor from the physical strength of the bodily organism, which they never could approach without it." And he might have added that while physicians and scientists are ransacking heaven and earth for some remedy for the rapidly increasing degeneracy of the physical power of man, they have utterly ignored the fact that the sexual faculties are the basis of all the forces which give vigor and beauty to the body and mind; and until this truth is comprehended in all its length and breadth, and admitted with all its legitimate deductions, as the most important branch of knowledge to be imparted to the young, there is no hope for the human race,

But thank God there is hope! There is one woman made brave enough by the fires of inspiration to proclaim the truth and to trample on the scorn of the world. To the scoffers at Victoria Woodhull I would say:

"How could ye know her! ye are yet within
The narrow circle. She is not one of ye;
Ye scorn her with an undiscerning scorn;
Ye cannot read the marvel in her eye.
The still serene abstraction. She hath felt
The vanities of after and before;
Albeit her spirit and her secret heart
The stern experiences of converse lives,
The linked woes of many a fiery change,
Have purified, chasten'd and made her free!"

JAMES HEDDON, Dowagiac, Mich.

"FREE LOVE."

All love is free; the sun pours down
His rays of light to warm the earth;
And through its life-sustaining power,
All plants and herbs and flowers have birth.

Obedient to the eternal laws
All nature works, and puny man
Is born, and lives true to the Cause
Which gave him birth and life its span.

The stars that shine so fair at night,
And sparkle in the depths of space,
Emit their tiny rays of light
Alike to all of every race.

Can man by human laws compel
The sun at noon to cease to shine?
Compel the oak by law to tell
The lowly, gentle creeping vine,

Not to embrace its rugged form,
Nor twine about its rugged sides—
Or tell the sea, lashed by the storm,
No more to heave its swelling tides.

No more can human laws control
The soul when love, the spark divine,
Has thrilled the heart when soul with soul
Together blend as one to shine.

The laws of God are Nature's laws,
The laws of love are just as free;
Each have their origin and cause,
Beyond the power of man to see.

Am I in fault because my heart
Throbs wild with love's undying flame?
If that one seems to be a part
Of my own spirit—who's to blame.

Priests may talk and rave and rant,
Say what they will this truth is clear:
Each soul will for its own mate pant
As those athirst for waters near.

For more than two-score years of life,
In shade and sun-shine I have been,
United to my dear old wife
By Free-Love ties—not laws of man.

H. WINCHESTER.

LOWER LAKE, Cal., April 17, 1873.

THE TRUE LAW AND THE FALSE.

All human legislation is an imperfect formula for some natural law, and gives way to a better one in time. It is full time the false law of the sexual relations should give way to the true. The false law says: One man shall marry one woman, on whom he may inflict as many children as he chooses, of whose person, property and offspring he shall, with certain specified restrictions, dispose as he sees fit, and after whose death he shall repeat the process for the benefit of any other woman who may be seduced into promising to stand it. The true law says: Men and women, equally free, ought not to associate in love without mutual desire, neither ought they commonly to abstain where such desire exists; but the latter course may be justified by various considerations, amongst which are regard for personal health, the restraint of procreation within proper limits, and finally, the observation that connection under such and such circumstances reacts injuriously on the moral nature. It ordains a great many other things, most of which will remain unknown till the false law gets out of the way. False laws are always shorter and easier to remember than true, because they emanate from finite minds instead of from the Infinite; hence their popularity. But they are all, without exception, mortal, and they must die when it is seen that they compel the breach of the higher law. Now, our law of marriage, as I have tried to show in my treatise on the subject, is the direct cause of prostitution, the massacre of born and unborn children, and all the other prevailing violations of the Divine law on the same subject. It is doomed.

LOUISIANA, Mo.

C. L. JAMES.

503 SOUTH CLARK ST., CHICAGO, Ill.,
April 23, 1873.

Woodhull and Claflin—Brave women, you are doing the work that all medical men and lawyers and clergy ought to do, and to their shame be it said. I will note by the way that there are thousands coming out on your side of the question, and they will still keep coming in. We want you to publish every move in Mr. Train's trial, and not forgetting your own, so that we will know it. As ever yours, with great respect,

N. McLEOD.

LEAVENWORTH CITY, March 24, 1873.

Miss Tennie Claflin—Your noble book of reform entitled "The Rights of Equality," I have with pleasure and interest finished reading.

Allow me to extend to you my heartfelt thanks for all the facts it has so plainly shown and advocated. Until I had read your work I never so fully realized the extent women were enslaved; but you have shown it forth too plainly to be mistaken by any thinking mind; and be assured that there is more than one whose prayers and influence is ever

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going out for your future success in this good and great cause; and it will be gratifying to you to feel that "when generation after generation has passed away, and the proudest monuments erected by science and art have long since mouldered into ruins, and you, as one of the mighty, noble and brave are sleeping in the silence of the grave, your memory will ever remain a beacon light through the darkness of time—a star on eternity's ocean."

Victoria C. Woodhull's work entitled "The Original Tendencies and Principles of Government" are before me, and do not doubt shall find as much pleasure in its perusal as the one I have just finished.

If you have other works as interesting I would like to hear from you, as also many of my friends, who have been kept so long in ignorance of our privilege to vote.

Believe me, your sincere friend,

MISS JESSIE TIBBOT.

[From the Graphic, May 19.]

ICONOCLASM.

Was there ever such an age for the breaking of idols? Popular and unpopular, living and dead, men and women, alike they meet the hammer of the iconoclast, and are broken to pieces, or changed so that their best friends would fail to recognize them.

The history that we studied twenty-five years ago now reads like a fable. In our better-informed day, Nero figures as a philanthropist; bluff King Henry of England is a conscientious Christian and tender husband; Mary of Scotland is virtuous and unhappy; Benedict Arnold and Aaron Burr are by no means the worst men whom the Revolution produced; Benjamin Franklin is as much of a *roue* as a philosopher; Jeff. Davis deserves the laurels of a hero, and not a position dependent from a sour apple tree; and Ames and Brooks have laid up Credit Mobilier in Heaven, if their funeral eulogies are to be believed. This much for one side of the subject; but there is another which is sadder to dwell upon. The developments of the Credit Mobilier investigation disfigured a whole row of popular idols, including many in high position. If there is a doubt as to their guilt, let us give them the benefit of it and keep their names out of print. It is sufficient for punishment that their fair fame is smirched. But it is a terrible blow to popular pride that the Erie scandal and the Vienna exposure have followed so swiftly on the heels of the black record of last winter at Washington.

Is there to be no end to this iconoclasm! Its latest effort touches a man who had given his name to the youngest and most thriving university of the State. It has been charged openly on the floor of the Legislature that Ezra Cornell, whom the people revered as a benefactor, has been filling his own purse while pretending to serve educational interests intrusted to his care. Let us hope that this may turn out to be untrue, and that at this point the work of the iconoclast may be stayed. Terrible, indeed, would it be if his hammer fell where rumor points; if the fame of America's greatest preacher became a ruin. In Hawthorne's "Scarlet Letter," Mr. Dimmesdale passed from the midday of his triumph into the shadow of night. If the scene ever was made real, the religious community might be pardoned if it dashed the rest of its idols to the earth.

Dear Sisters—The frequent remark of travelers that "the world after all is a small affair," may yet be seen to be applicable to some of the world of mankind, even to some of the elite. Some have already been shorn of their lofty pretensions, and others will soon be numbered among them.

Even the usually non-contemplative mind of our day ought to be able to see that fames and fortunes, honors and emoluments growing out of or based upon the palpably and inevitably transitory in religion, politics and social standing, must prove ultimately as unstable and unsatisfying as the foundations upon which they rest; but where we see those who stand in the relation of leaders to, and I might say commanders of the people, eagerly seeking and with wondrous energy laying hold of phantoms, representing the true and substantial of these, we are constrained to the conclusion that although not strictly classic, it is a truthful saying, that "the fools are not all dead yet, but have their special representation even among the class last referred to."

These remarks are suggested by a further consideration of the position of, and the ways and means of its attainment by the Rev. Mr. Beecher; and I cannot but feel, though by no means exultingly, that he will sooner than he expects realize the truth embodied in them, or intended to be, and they are uttered in the fervent hope, that the lesson involved in the expected event may prove lastingly instructive to all who read it.

You have stated, dear friends, that the friends of Mr. Beecher claim that the "great scandal" is dead, and if this be so, as I have no doubt, allow me to assure them that it is only so in the minds of those whose "wish is father to the thought," and that such facts cannot be stifled of existence, no matter who may attempt it, not even by the aid of the entire wealth, and assumed social superiority of the Plymouth congregation, or any other that they may succeed in enlisting on their side. Bro. Beecher, and some at least (probably the fifty), know that "the scandal" has a substantial basis, and I repeat dare not deny it, nor dare they put the trio of the WEEKLY to the proof of it.

Confessedly the singular enormity of the charges tried by the popular standard, constitutes them a marvelous demand upon the credulity of a usually readily deceived people (for any body believing in the literal miraculous conception story must be so counted), but that is because it is made against Henry Ward Beecher, and also because thousands can foresee in its results the wreck of all their selfish and delusive hopes, and the realization of their fears in the upheaval and overthrow of all existing institutions of which it may be truthfully be said as of the temple of old, "Not a stone shall be left upon another that shall not be thrown down."

All transpiring and impending events point unerringly to such result, and are in fulfillment of the true intent and

meaning of prophecies regarding the close and opening of the passing present, and all succeeding dispensations as the merits of one repeat themselves in each succeeding dispensation through all time in all essential particulars, at the ever advancing toward the attainable perfect.

Truly and affectionately yours,

S.

[Copied from the original by M. M. D. Sherman.]

Dear Victoria, Jennie and Col. Blood—When I realize the amount of labor that must be performed before there can be any great radical change in the political, moral and spiritual world, and that this work must be performed by brave souls and willing hands in order to bring about the greatest good to all, I greatly marvel that there are so few laborers in the vineyard of truth. What has the *Banner of Light*, with all of its fresh weekly inspirational flashes through Mrs. Conant, done for you, ye noble souls who have so nobly stood at the front and fought so bravely the battles of all true reform? Have they even rebuked the enemy of the liberty of the press and free speech? Have they, when our nation's rights have been invaded by the scavengers of a rotten-hearted priesthood, and you taken from your home and incarcerated within the gloomy walls of a dungeon, raised their voice in your behalf? Are they faithful sentinels on the walls of their spiritual Zion, or have they, like H. W. B., stood upon their own dignity, and rallied themselves behind the conservative walls of their own encampment?

Again, what has S. S. Jones, that wonderful lump of purity (editor *R. P. Journal*, Chicago), done for the liberty of free speech and discussion in the dark hour that has tried your honest souls? Did he raise his flag to the breeze and sound the alarm when your rights were trampled upon, and call upon true men and women everywhere to rally round the flag of liberty, and see that the oppressed were freed from the servile chains of official ignorance? or did he retire behind his pop-gun battery, after firing a few shots from the muddy spirit-gun of his own corrupt nature at the face of her who is in every respect, from the crown of her head to the sole of her feet, his superior?

The editor of the *R. P. Journal* opened his columns to Hudson Tuttle that he might abuse you without stint or measure. Charles C. Overton, of Berlin Heights, has a knife for his pure (?) scalp.

Where were Davis, Denton, Edmonds, and hosts of so-called reformers? Did they fear their dignity would be sullied and their fair names tarnished if they stood up in your defense? Ah, shame on such reformers! They are unworthy the name. Yea, their cheeks should blush with shame, that they allowed two noble women to fight alone, and almost single-handed, such mighty battles for themselves and posterity, and then, when the trying hour came, muzzled their mouths and turned the cold shoulder and calmly looked on, without an effort to repel the damnable aggression practiced by official imps of government.

G. F. Train quoted Bible, and was cast into the filthy Tombs for so doing; and what will be the result? A mighty reformation, and a sifting of that Holy (?) Book, and a common-sense view of it, and of Train's noble purpose. Can it be possible that in this boasted land of liberty such an honest, true-hearted man can be allowed to remain incarcerated in the damp walls of a filthy prison four months without trial, and the American press and people remain quietly within their own homes and call it right?

Again, when we see the worthy, toiling laborer working day by day for a mere pittance, and groaning under heavy taxes that are imposed upon him by those in high office, and the nation greatly in debt, with little prospect of its becoming less, Congress voting themselves double pay, and trying with their might and power to connect Church and State, in order to enslave us and coming generations, is it not high time for every man and woman who have no sword to sell their garments and buy one? On one hand we see an intriguing and treacherous government, and on the other a corrupt and rotten priesthood—all obtaining a livelihood from the hard earnings of the honest laborer. I can see no prospect for the future but the sword.

Dear sisters and brother, be of good cheer, you are doing a blessed work, and thousands are looking to you for freedom, strength and food; and the dear WEEKLY is gaining firm, fast friends everywhere, and many are giving up the *Banner of Light* and the *R. P. Journal* and taking your paper, because it advocates true reform and fears not to speak the right, though a conservative world may frown and call you hard names and opprobrious epithets.

Yours for the naked truth, M. L. SHERMAN, M.D.
ADRIAN, April 30.

HAVANA, MASON CO., Ill., April 28, 1873.

Dear Mrs. Woodhull—Will you place my name among the list of speakers who announce their unwillingness to accept any engagement "with any proviso whatever as to what subject they shall treat or regarding the manner in which it shall be treated." Though I am not active in the lecture field at present, still I have not withdrawn therefrom and hope soon to take up the work again. Circumstances have forced me to remain silent for a time, permitting neither voice nor pen to utter their protest against the evils and the wrongs which so glaringly meet the eye everywhere in high places, and in low places, and on middle ground too. And all this time I have so longed to speak and to act with the few brave workers who dare to face persecution and martyrdom for truth's own dear sake; and if

life and health are spared to me I shall strive all my power to make circumstances yield, that I may be privileged again to enter upon the labor that I like best of all—that of proclaiming the truth as my own soul shall dictate to the hungry people. May the All-wise Father hold you in his protecting care is the prayer of one who would labor heart and soul with you in the cause of humanity and truth.

Thine in the bonds of love,

ELVIRA WHEELOCK RUGGLES.

From the report of the proceedings in our case, before Judge Barrett, in the Court of Oyer and Terminer, we quote from the Bench, as reported by the *Sun*, as follows:

He added: "It seems to me a good deal can be said as to whether Maxwell ought not to be tried first. He will be brought here as one of the witnesses in the case, and the fact that he is under indictment for perjury in the preliminary examination would weaken the effect of his testimony. If he is first tried for perjury, if convicted, the defendants here will very properly not have the benefit of his evidence; if acquitted, they will have the benefit of it without the weakening effect of an overhanging indictment." His Honor suggested that the District Attorney try Maxwell first.

District-Attorney Phelps said, "Maxwell's case is in the Court of General Sessions, and the reasons for not trying that case are entirely satisfactory to me."

Perhaps the reasons above referred to may not be as satisfactory to the demands of Justice as they are to the District Attorney.

[From the N. Y. Sun, June 4.]

FIVE YEARS FOR TEN CENTS.

John Fork, a cigar-maker, aged 22, a native of Germany, was in the General Sessions yesterday on an indictment for stealing ten cents from John J. Nevell. On the afternoon of March 15, while Mr. Nevell was walking in Fulton street, toward Nassau, two boys, John Shay and John Fork, suddenly appeared from the hallway of No. 15, and after walking together some fifty feet, Shay took twenty cents from his overcoat pocket, half of which he dropped on the sidewalk, and Fork picked it up. In defense, Fork testified that he was not acquainted with Shay, and that he picked up the ten cents not knowing that it had been stolen. The jury, nevertheless, found him guilty, and Recorder Hackett sentenced him to State Prison for a term of five years at hard labor.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL:

An Oration Delivered at the Opera House in Springfield, Mass., on Wednesday Evening, April 30,

BY JOSEPH TREAT, M. D.

[This appeared in the Springfield papers as part of the Advertisement of the Oration: "CITIZENS OF SPRINGFIELD! On Wednesday evening, at the Opera House, I shall do justice to Victoria C. Woodhull. I shall show that you owe her more than you do any other woman in America, and that you are ungrateful to treat her as you have done and still do. I shall show that she is your knight, fighting your battle, and I shall call on you to stand by her, and make her your champion. I summon you to appear and endorse my claim in her behalf, or expose it."]

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The Editor of the *Republican* promised to insert for me, in this morning's paper, these words, but did not: "Dr. Treat requests us to say that tonight, he will yield the floor to any one who, in the interest of morality, will point out wherein the code of Victoria C. Woodhull is not pure, beautiful and good." You see the Editor was afraid to be challenged, afraid to let it be known that the people of Springfield had been challenged!

We are all good. We are all parents or children, husbands or wives, brothers or sisters—we all sustain some one of these relations linking us to our fellows, and constituting the pledge that we must love them. And the people of Springfield are good, kind and humane, noble and generous; they are too true and just to think or speak ill of Victoria C. Woodhull, except because they are misinformed. "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do," applies to them, as it did to those of old. And yet I accept it that the people of Springfield do speak against Mrs. Woodhull, and condemn her as worthy of their utter reprobation, even so that they regard it a shame and a disgrace to attend this meeting: I accept it that the whole country casts her out as evil, maligning and vilifying her as never woman has been before; and I come to vindicate her, and in the face of all to do justice to the truth. Yet I shall speak in sympathy with these good people of Springfield; in sympathy with all this puritanism of New England, for only four in a direct line, stand between me and one who was Governor or Lieut. Governor of Connecticut over thirty years; and above all, I shall speak in sympathy with purity itself, ready to show that all that she proposes is pure, and to yield the floor to any one who will prove the reverse, aye, ready to be stopped at any point, from this moment, on.

Victoria C. Woodhull "is set for the fall and rising of" more persons than any other individual living—perhaps, for the fall of this man [pointing to Mr. Beecher's Portrait], but whether for his rising again, time must determine. As was said of old, "he that will save his life shall lose it, but he that shall lose his life for my sake shall find it," so I say, he that will save his or her reputation in the matter of Victoria shall lose it, but he that shall lose reputation for her sake shall find it. They call Boston the hub of the universe, but Mrs. Woodhull is the hub of the world to-day, in a sense in which no other person is; more hinges on her than on any other mortal, man or woman. She is "the head of the corner, the stone of stumbling, the rock of offense, everywhere spoken against," but everywhere spoken against *falsely*, for she is just the reverse of the woman she is taken to be. She does not live in her Amativeness, nor in her social affections; she even lacks the social, as the phrenologist at once reads. In the simple, passionless clasp, contact, of her hand (she is not of those who hold hands), in her meeting friends in her office every hour in the day, even those not seen for

years, in her whole intimacy with those around her, in all that she says and does—stands out the precise opposite of what she has been represented, a pure, true, immaterial woman.

She believes in one love, as the true and perfect marriage, though conceding freedom to those who differ from her, as listen to her own words: "We believe the highest condition to which humanity can attain, is the perfect union, intellectually, morally and sexually, of one man and one woman, which, we claim, is the only perfect marriage. We hold this is the highest sexual condition because we believe there is most happiness to be gained in it, the degree of happiness being the standard of perfection. And we shall lose no opportunity to assist the evolution of humanity toward the possibility of this perfect marriage." (WEEKLY, April 26.)

But she lives in her Intellect, and it is tame to say she carries more brains in her head than all the editors in Springfield do in theirs. She exemplifies wonderful Intuition, Inspiration, Genius. Gen. Grant was three years in bursting on the world, but in less than that time she burst on it, as one of the great and superior minds—in many respects, the great and superior mind of the age. Read the proof in her Addresses, many of which—attribute them to her own intellect, to the inspiration of spirits, or to the revelation of clairvoyance—have never been equaled.

Read the proof in her instantly vaulting to the leadership of the Woman Suffrage Movement, leaping over the heads of such women as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, and Julia Ward Howe, and such men as Theodore Tilton, George William Curtis, and Henry Ward Beecher. Wendell Phillips was never to be named with Mrs. Stanton for statesmanship and philosophy, for breadth, depth and comprehensiveness, yet hear how Mrs. Stanton speaks of Mrs. Woodhull: "When our representatives at Washington granted to Victoria C. Woodhull a hearing before the Judiciary Committees of both Houses—an honor conferred on no other woman in the nation before—they recognized Mrs. Woodhull as the leader of the woman suffrage movement in this country. And those of us who were convinced by her unanswerable arguments that her positions were sound, had no choice but to follow. Mrs. Woodhull's speeches and writings on all the great questions of national life, are beyond anything yet produced by man or woman on our platform."

It was superiority that made Mrs. Woodhull see that the Constitution had already settled the question of Woman Suffrage, in that simple fact of making woman a citizen. It was the same superiority that saw that the one grand thing woman needed, at last the only one thing that could ever save her, was to become independent. The same superiority instantly carried that proposition a step further, solving the whole long problem of Prostitution. With all women peculiarly independent, free from possibility of want or need, prostitution forever ceases to exist. The same superiority again, invented "male prostitutes," that one word stamping man this very thing and all this thing of infamy and shame, that woman had always been.

And the next step was to write both male and female prostitutes, up, or down, to the self-same level, as in these immortal words of Tennyson C. Clafin, addressed to a prostitute: "I am proud of the opportunity to call you, also, sister, as I do every one of the daughters of our common Father in heaven. * * * I live on Murray Hill, quite among the respectables, and am visited continually by all classes, from the family of the President, and from clergymen and their wives and the presidents of the colleges down to the most humble, and I shall be happy to receive you at my home at any time, alone, with others of your class; and shall be as ready and willing to accompany you on the street, or to dine with you at the restaurant as if you were, in all respects, the first ladies in the land. It is enough for me that you are human beings, and such as Christ loved and associated with. If you are not doing as well as you might under all your conditions, I hope to love you into doing better. * * * I have to associate every day with male prostitutes, in my business, in the family, everywhere, and if I then condemn and despise and avoid women of equally bad character, am I not glaringly false and traitorous to the dignity and equality of my own sex, and a participant in the injustice and outrage which men would and do heap upon us? Men, it is said, can not be ostracized from society by woman, and that is true; but we can accept all of our own sex on the same terms as we are compelled to accept men, and by this means establish an equality."

The same superiority leaped at once to the solution of the great problem of Love Free. With Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Press, and Free Men, it had been claimed that Love ought to be Free; but Mrs. Woodhull cut the Gordian knot by showing that with all women independent, Love inevitably would be Free, there could be nothing to constrain it, neither in marriage nor out of it. As there could be no prostitution with independence, so, with it, there could be no getting married except from choice, no submission to sexual union in marriage except from choice, no continuation of that marriage except from the same choice. Free Women added to the other list, would settle all.

And the next step was to make this solve the great question of Generation. All knew that if children were only born right, born good, the world was saved—generation wrapped up regeneration, origination, reform—but how to get the good children? But Mrs. Woodhull cut again the Gordian knot with the words, "consent to maternity, instead of maternity universally forced!" And the answer falls on the world like a flash of lightning.

And then this rationalizes the great question of Sexuality. The whole world had conspired to taboo Sexuality, shut it out from discussion, as indelicate, indecent, obscene; but Mrs. Woodhull still again cut the knot, by showing that that is the very thing that must be discussed, the one thing that needs to be discussed more than all others, discussed ceaselessly and everywhere, till all shall understand and appreciate it, most especially the young. Sexuality is at last, all

there is of humanity, in being humanity's sole and only origin.

And the same superiority shone out in that matter of unmasking society. The New-York press to-day, representing millions of dollars as it does, dares not expose Sing Sing, dares not tell what it full well knows of maladministration there—dares not because it does not feel able to: but Mrs. Woodhull entered on the task of unmasking universal society, exposing its falseness and rottenness and hells, because she was able to! She laid her hand on the first man of the age and unmasked him, and in this showed her superiority to him; for she unmasked him in a speech, but he could not make a speech that would answer her; she unmasked him in a paper, but he could not write in a paper what would answer; and so he had to persecute her, just as the bully who has not brains to oppose to brains, resorts to a bullet or bludgeon. She has been persecuted as no woman, and no person, ever was before, a whole continent raining upon her its curses and abhorring—and that is the proof of her superiority. A continent does not rock to kill a midge, and need not to insure suppression of a lie! But indeed, to this unanimity from ocean to ocean, it was nothing if the whole of that seven-by-nine Judea once cried out, "away with him, crucify him!"

And she is shown superior in the fact that men cannot meet her now. A week ago to-night she lectured in Albany, but that city was not able to confront her, so the people staid away, and the papers croaked over a "small audience." Nor here can the people meet her, in the person of her representative, but the editors refuse notice, and dissuade from attendance, as the Editor of the Union said last night: "Springfield usually lets this class of lecturers severely alone, and it is greatly to her credit that she does so." (!)

But the resurrection of her journal is a proof of superiority such as the world never witnessed before. The show-boards on Main street make Barnum boast of "rising like a phoenix from its ashes," he himself is portrayed with wings, issuing from the smoke and flame of a great conflagration, but all that is an infinitesimal to what we have here. Who, a few weeks ago, had a whole hemisphere banded together against her? Victoria C. Woodhull. Who now snaps her fingers in the face of that whole hemisphere? Victoria C. Woodhull. Who had her paper suppressed, its whole edition confiscated and destroyed, and every one connected even with its delivery, banned? Victoria C. Woodhull. Who now issues that same paper regularly, every week, as if nothing had ever happened? Victoria C. Woodhull. All this is patent proof of the superiority of her intellect, and of her cause, as well as then, of her moral and spiritual nature.

Woman is her starting-point and polestar, and everything else with her is a side-issue, or an issue forced on her as essential to the other. All this discussion of the sexual question has been forced on her (instead of being the result of a low development), both because there could not be better women till they were born, and also, because it is through this very sexuality that men hold women in thrall—it is for the gratification of their own sexuality that they retain women in bondage. All this unmasking society and Mr. Beecher has been forced on her (instead of growing out of a nature in love with scandal), because equally society, Mr. Beecher, and the horrible system both act to conserve, all three plant themselves in her way, to defeat her emancipation of woman. Literally, as against Mr. Beecher, she was only acting in self-defense—he was aggressor, and she was only repelling his attack.

Even all this standing up and suffering and enduring cruel persecution, for the freedom of speech and the press, has only been a side-issue, glorious as it has been. What might make any other one immortal, has only been something to which she could not stop to give a thought, but yet which she has been compelled to do without giving a thought. And here is where she has been her representative, fighting your battle. Never was there such a stupendous conspiracy against the freedom of the press, as this organized in the interest of Mr. Beecher; if the freedom of the press might have been stricken down on that question, it might have been on any other; you, editors of Springfield, might yet have found your own papers muzzled, and yourselves without the right of free speech. But she threw herself into the breach; and you, people of Springfield, ought to be ashamed of yourselves that you did not stand by her, your editors ought to be ashamed of themselves, and I now summon you all to stand by her!

But she is fighting your battle in this very other matter in which you are all so anathematizing her, this very matter of the sexual question; even in this she is fighting your battle in three ways: First. She is fighting your battle in this very matter of marriage: she is showing that free marriage, or the union of two who live together because they love each other, and want each other—love and want each other so that they must be one, and can not live apart—is beautiful, is holy, is heaven: she is showing that where this marriage exists, it could not be sundered, even if all laws enforcing it were abolished: she is showing that in her own case it can exist without law, without even semblance of law—he, Col. Blood, she, Mrs. Woodhull—and then that where it now does exist under law, it still would exist if every law relating to it were at once abrogated. If every law were abolished to-day, all those married pairs who now love each other, want each other, and only live together because they do love and want each other, would remain as before. In Rhode Island a couple were once divorced by a judicial decree procured in joke: that night they slept on separate pillows, and next day went before a justice and were made one again; but these married pairs would not even recognize repeal of the law, they would live on just as if nothing had happened, they could not by all things together be wrested from each other, rent apart. If hunger can eat through a stone wall, so "love is stronger than death; many waters cannot quench it, nor floods drown it:" it will bring about the marriage of two trusting youth, in spite of opposition from parents and the whole world: and then when two have lived together in its bliss year after year, till the tenderness of all that experience transcends even dream of the honeymoon, blot out every law, but still they

will cling to each other, they never can be torn asunder but by force or death!

So, if every law were repealed, multitudes who do not love each other so perfectly, would by that very fact be made to love each other more, and they would remain together. Now, each feels sure of the other, because that is the law; but let each be in danger of losing the other, and each would rush into the other's arms to prevent that, and nothing could separate them—the very repeal of the law has welded them. And other multitudes who now think they cannot live together, but yet who could if they only knew it, if the law were repealed to-day, would look round, and try, and reach forth tendrils, and at last come back to the old loves, and they would remain together. And still other multitudes, so mis-mated that they cannot possibly dwell together, were the law repealed, would go forth and contract new unions, and thus correct their mistakes. Harmonious marriage cannot exist without a great adaptation between the two, so that often good people, yes, even the very best, cannot live together, their different goodnesses are not adapted; as a witty divine once said to a parishioner whom he was dissuading from marrying a Christian woman, "the grace of God can dwell where you and I can't." So in a million marriages there must be a great many mistakes which cannot be mended without separation, and it is unjust to refuse the right to mend the greatest mistake of a whole life, and then the repeal of the law opens the door to thousands to do better. And those who would run riot if the law were repealed, could not: now they can run riot, both in marriage and in houses of prostitution, but then both these doors would be closed against them. So that if all marriage-laws were repealed to-day, no class would be rendered worse, many classes would be rendered better, every perfect connubial relation would remain intact, and thousands of such relations not perfect would be made so; and then Mrs. Woodhull is fighting your battle and that of the whole world, even in this holy matter of marriage.

And she is fighting your battle in the matter of Love. Say what you will, we are all sexed beings; we are all dying for love, both to bestow it, and to receive it. If Humboldt lived till ninety alone, it was only because he had had a love in youth, and he was still true to that; just as Washington Irving had loved once, and remained true to his dream. If Newton never loved, (yet this is not known,) he never was the man he would have been if he had, he was just so much less than a man. But the great world is pining to be loved, and wretched because it is not loved. There is a skeleton in every house! And Mrs. Woodhull comes to the world and teaches it that love must be free, it can not be enslaved, it dies in chains: she teaches that it is a mistake that you can compel love, a mistake that you can own somebody so as to have a right to claim love, a mistake that the husband can own his wife, so as to have a right to claim her love; but if a husband wants the love of his wife he must make himself worthy of it, he must attract it, become so good and noble she can not withhold it from him—he must win it by the right of a voluntary conquest. The wife can not own her husband, so as to claim his love, but she must attract both him and it. The husband must give up rum and tobacco, and the wife too much extravagance and display. Now, husbands and wives are selfishly jealous; each is afraid he or she shall not get the other's love, and so seeks to command it, and by that very doing cheats him or herself out of it! Each is afraid somebody else will get the other's love, and so each tries to shut the other away from everybody else, and up to him or herself!

And then the remedy of all, the one eternal remedy, is to reproduce that ancient courtship which first made two one, and forever after let that courtship take the place of marriage. Let the two day by day sue to each other, sue for love and sympathy, sue as if each could not claim, and as if each had never received, sue as each sued when he once would have died to gain her hand, and she overtaken with the same passion; would equally have died to gain his! Only, that each has received, and knows he or she will, but still it is the same suing! That is, it is perpetually the same free marriage, perpetually the same free choice to live in marriage, perpetually the same free gift of love in marriage; and then Mrs. Woodhull is fighting your battle and that of the whole world, in this dearest and most precious matter of love.

And she is fighting your battle in the matter of Licentiousness, and your desire and effort to put an eternal end to it. You claim to abhor prostitution, but you are no nearer the end of prostitution than they were three thousand years ago. Instead of opposed to prostitution, our whole present system is in favor of it. We forbid and punish murder, but we license and regulate prostitution. Even marriage calls to have prostitution perpetuated, as an indispensable support of the marriage institution itself. The vice of prostitution is boldly claimed to be the only palladium of the virtue of marriage. The transparent argument is that men will never be satisfied in marriage, and then if there were not other provision for them, they would break out into universal adulteries and fornications, and thus bring the whole marriage institution into contempt. And our present marriage-system must and will perpetuate prostitution, as long as itself is perpetuated—any compulsory marriage will and must. Compulsory marriage is unwillingness, disgust, loathing on the part of woman, and dissatisfaction on the part of man, and then he will seek to compensate that dissatisfaction somewhere else. And compulsory marriage is not exercise, education, of his love, and then he will run to lust. Prostitution is thus the safety-valve, the precedent condition, of marriage one way, and the licentious effect of marriage another. No wonder that what is thus doubly entrenched in marriage, all our cities should tolerate, and St. Louis regulate with statutes whose details and hideous obscenity call for Comstock and the Young Men's Christian Association! Instead of a remedy, Christianity, civilization, and even marriage, furnish only supports. And then Mrs. Woodhull presents the only possible remedy: make all women independent, and no matter

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But loveless marriage itself is only another name for either prostitution or adultery, where it is not (as it often is) rape; for all sexual union without love is prostitution, adultery or rape; and then here is even a wider licentiousness than we had before, marriage exceeds all prostitution. And compulsory marriage can never be any other than all this; it cannot exist without prostitution, adultery and rape, for compulsory marriage is only another name for marriage without love. There might have been love when the marriage was contracted, but then the marriage was free; the moment it is compulsory, it is not free, it is not love, and then all is this adultery, and there is no cure but that which Mrs. Woodhull proposes. Make all women independent, and they will never submit to prostitution, adultery nor rape in marriage, for they will never submit to the marriage itself—compulsory marriage will be a contradiction and an impossibility.

Then our present marriage is only another name for a complete system of abortion and infanticide, pays a premium on these horrible crimes, literally compels them. Compulsory marriage is at once compulsory maternity, and almost universally compulsory maternity, till to avoid and prevent that, the whole land is full of murder in the womb, and untold millions of innocents are slaughtered instead of welcomed to life. All this is to save marriage, make marriage tolerable, and then the remedy is, instead of perpetuating our present marriage, to replace it with that which is free. The only prevention of abortion is consent to maternity, instead of maternity universally forced—welcome maternity is at once a welcome child.

And our present marriage is equally the parent of murder to unnumbered millions that are born. Compulsory maternity transmits all possible diseases of fathers, and at least the exhaustion of mothers, not to say all their own maladies; and so children are still-born, die the first day, the second, the third, and so on up to a year, and five years, die of want of vitality, of consumption, of scrofula, of both organic and developed affections—all murdered for lack of that consent to maternity.

The same marriage is the direct cause of more vice and crime than all things else; compelled maternity transmits men's worst traits, making thieves and murderers; transmits the lechery of fathers victimizing wives all through pregnancy, making children sexual monsters, rushing into sexual vice; transmits the taint and curse of intemperance, making drunkards and idiots, more drunkards than are made in all other ways—and there is forevermore no salvation but in consent of the mothers!

Even poverty with all its woes is the pre-eminent work of marriage, so many more born, and so many good-for-nothings—and there is no salvation from that but in consent. Female Diseases are the creation of the same marriage, the inevitable result of perpetual victimizing—even in the case of young women and maiden ladies, for they inherit from their mothers before them—and for these there will never be any cure but consent.

And to these thousands of maiden ladies everywhere, marriage is a tyranny rising to infinite outrage; for it denies them the right to maternity, the right to sexual relations, this right which is part of their very nature, as much the right of every woman out of marriage as it can be of any in it. Every maiden lady feels this right; she may be a Christian and call it sin, but in spite of creed and priest and self-accusing, forever she hears a still small voice within, that whispers of the fate of being a mother! And thousands of these unmarried would make most excellent mothers, as thousands of these married are most miserable ones, and then if either have no right, it is these in marriage. And men, who now sneer at these unmarried, once cut all down to the same law, would be the first to admit their right. Take away from men the right to force somebody in marriage, or then to force somebody else in prostitution—make all women in marriage and all prostitutes free, free to refuse these men—and instantly these very men would rush to every unmarried female in the country, as if she had always had as perfect right as any in the land. And never can these unmarried be provided for, except by thus making all married women and prostitutes free. Make all women in marriage free, so that they shall continue in marriage only from choice; make all prostitutes free, so that there shall be no prostitutes; make all women free, so that men must win their consent, conditioned on love—and inevitably, and as easy as if there had never been any difficulty, the equal number of men would seek and find the equal number of women!

And our present system is sheer and outrageous tyranny to all women, in the simple fact of denying them this consent. Men may do or not, forsooth, but women must be compelled: men are to be free, but freedom is no right of women: sexual union is to be man's pleasure, but it is not at all to be woman's consent. Women must submit to men in marriage, women must submit to be prostitutes, women must be slaves, but men never need to be anything but lords. There could be no greater, meaner, more insulting, more atrocious tyranny than this—petty and almighty tyranny both to perfection!

And Mrs. Woodhull is fighting this battle in all this, she is showing you how to mend all this; and every one of you who does not stand with Mrs. Woodhull to-night, is in favor of all this long list of outrage and crime. Every one of you who does not stand with Mrs. Woodhull is in favor of prostitution, every one of you who does not accept the doctrine of consent is in favor of it! You defend and champion that foul system. Every one of you who does not stand with Mrs. Woodhull is in favor of this licentiousness of marriage, its prostitution, rape and adultery. Every one of you who does not stand with her is in favor of its abortion; its murdering the infants that are born; its breeding criminals; its spreading intemperance; its causing poverty; its creating female disease; its outlawing unmarried women; its tyrannizing over and enslaving all women in denying them equal rights—yes, you do not stand with her you are in favor of all these!

There is no alternative but to indorse Victoria C. Woodhull, or uphold all this old rottenness! On which horn will you hang?

"But she believes in promiscuity!" That is just what she does not believe in, and what you do. Independence and consent would put a stop to all but love; it is your system which disregards that, both in marriage and prostitution.

"But she claims the right to change her husband every day"—and could not be sundered from him by all the power on earth! She utters such an impossibility to startle people, set them thinking. She claims she has been made to feel it her duty to speak so, to force home a great principle. She has a right to change her husband every day, if she needs to, and she puts it thus strongly to make everybody see it. She ought to change a husband with whom she could not live, and so ought every other woman, and she is bound to make the world know it.

"But she has lived with two men at once!" Only as you would, if you could be as good and noble as she. She has lived with her husband (not legal but free) in a love never surpassed in both, and like a sister given home and welcome to the brother who once was husband, and who now needed what nowhere else he could find, human love, sympathy, ministering. If she had never done anything else, this to those who believe in a God, would have proved her divine! Instead of hating one with whom she could not live, and making separation a ground of grand quarrel, she only and still loved, loved as a true sister now that she could no longer as a wife. She set the world an example, as was fitting that she above all others should, both, that when two can no longer exercise toward each other true mating love, love of husband and wife, then as husband and wife they should part, but instead of therefore becoming enemies, they should still remain friends, exercising toward each other the beautiful love of brother and sister. And for this all good men, and the coming ages will bless her.

"But this does away with everything that can be called marriage." With free marriage it does not, and as to what is called marriage, what is that? The most beautiful thing on earth in imagination and anticipation, from veriest childhood all through youth, up to the time when it comes to the loving twain, the one bright gala-day of their existence, with its honeymoon of infinite delight; but in five brief years thereafter, in one short year, in millions of cases it turns out a tragedy, the most terrible tragedy of human life, proving itself as Henry Ward Beecher calls it, the grave of love, and ripening at last to a hell of discord and suffering, the like of which is not to be found anywhere else on earth! In thousands of cases marriage is untold hell to good and noble men, in other thousands to good and noble women, and in still other thousands to both parties. Even to multitudes of reformers, who have for years refused to be seduced into it, but after all have been overpersuaded, it has proved nothing but the same burning hell at last! It is a slavery every moment galling, but a slavery from which there is no escape: though millions suffer in its abyss of horrors, all with one consent are covering it up: marriage makes them supremely miserable, but by a strange infatuation they cling to it: freedom would save them, but they are all afraid of freedom: only one savior is possible, but on that savior they turn their back—they are afraid to relinquish their hold on each other, when that would be the very thing that would draw them together! So that what is called marriage needs to be done away in order to make those living in it happy, that is the very thing that requires to be done, it all should be made free marriage!

"But some families would be broken up." Aye, and some ought to be; some parents ought never to have come together, and some children ought never to have been born. That is the very thing, the families would be happier broken up, the parents would be happier, and so would the children, and literally it would be better for both. Families without love are only hells, and even a new and strange family under the influence of love, becomes a heaven.

But we are so good to-day, so much better than we are afraid we are, that all this might be regulated, everything might be brought round without even a shock. Women are so good, that if all was left to their consent, instead of the foundations of society being upheaved, instead of anarchy, all would fall into order and form, and be right. Instead of lust it would be love, for women would not give themselves without love, so that then the picture would be, no sexual intercourse except as the result of love, whereas now it is, the same sexual intercourse almost universal without any love, but only lust on the part of men. Then I demand, would the new state be worse than the old? I defy any man living to say that it would, I defy any man living to say that the state of things which Victoria C. Woodhull would bring about, is worse than all this we have now, is not better than all this, I defy any woman to say it is not better, I challenge all Springfield to this issue, I yield the floor to any who dare respond! Victoria stands out the advocate of a purity more beautiful than earth has yet known, a purity by the side of which your present systems of prostitution and marriage are only hells to heaven!

Then the brazen impudence of calling a man a free lover, to stigmatize him as impure! Every man not a free lover, has marriage and prostitution open to him, wherein to glut his lust, riot in lechery; but the free lover will not have one woman on the broad earth holden to him, every woman must be absolutely free in her own right royal refusal, and he forever shut up to the task of noble and worthy winning. He a libertine! Out upon the shameless audacity! Free Lover's a name pledging him to purity snow-white, by the life of the man calumniating him!

And the equal impudence of calling a woman a free lover, to brand her impure! In marriage and prostitution woman has no choice, and so a whole life of compelled debauchery is all right; but once let her demand the right to say no, and instantly she becomes a very monster of depravity!

And the unbearable effrontery of married women calling

maiden ladies free lovers! As if maiden ladies had not the same perfect right to freedom in the matter of sexual relations, and as if the maiden lady's consent was not infinitely more honorable than the married woman's compulsion! And the same of a widow.

And the barefaced impudence of men stigmatizing women as free lovers, when women have precisely the same rights in sexual matters, and men are only cowards and tyrants in preventing their exercise of those rights! No, take it in all four ways, or any way you will, there is no name good and glorious but Free Lover.

And the infernal brazenness of denouncing the discussion of Sexuality as impure and immodest, when men and women are all the time living all these horrible things! things not too bad to exist, but too bad to be exposed, that they may no longer exist! Just as Mrs. Woodhull spoke in Albany a week ago to-night, and next morning the papers came out and called it "disgusting"!

Yes, everything but true free love is forevermore base and vile. Everything but this free love is lust. Everything not consent is licentiousness, compulsion on woman's part, tyranny on man's. And men oppose and will oppose free love, in order to hold women for their lust in marriage and prostitution; and they oppose and will oppose woman suffrage, because that will make woman independent, and rob men's lust in the same darling marriage and prostitution! Not all men do this, but bad men do, and the great body of women blindly play into their hands.

And so this nation needs Victoria, to be a Savior to it. O Victoria, thou child of the skies, thou comest to a nation perishing for thee, and yet afraid of thee! Thou comest to thine own, and thine own receive thee not! But it will not always be so. She will yet inspire this great people to goodness and reform, and they will lift her principle to power, they will make freedom the law of this land, and herself trustee to administer and guard it, they will select her to be the nation's most befitting President. That will be for the first time to elect a President in the interest of citizenship, in the interest of woman as well as man, in the interest of this great and universal purity. Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Lincoln, but we have never had a woman for President, and still we do, we need her more, and she would make a better President, than any man who ever existed. Till we have a woman, Washington and Lincoln if alive and in one, would be nowhere!

America owes Victoria more than any other woman who ever lived, even Isabella—owes her for standing up for free speech and free press, and still more for free women and free men, free citizens—for if Isabella had not succored Columbus, America would still have been discovered; but better the continent had never been discovered, than now that it has been, and been peopled with millions, the rights of all those millions should be stricken down, and the hope of all those millions go out in night! O America, stand by thy friend, thy champion, thy knight; it is base to desert one who is fighting thy battles! Woman indeed she is, yet she is the one perfect hero who immortalizes thee—thy Daughter before any Son!

But, everything is combining to make Victoria the great woman not only of the age and of America, but of the world, for she is not fighting for this country only, but for the same rights in all lands! History will place her first on the roll of World-Saviors, outshining every star, even the Star of Bethlehem!

And if I speak not of her sister Tennie, it is because I have not time; but she has been essential to all this, an indispensable part of it, so that without her it could not have been. Her name will be linked through the ages with that of Victoria, and these two sisters who were made to drink a nation's hate to the dregs, who were thrust into jail like felons, and their names coupled only with bawds and prostitutes, will go down to a grateful future like shining seraphs, their story everywhere calling forth tears of sympathy, and they receiving the reward of universal benediction forever! Of them it will be said, and of their persecutors it will not be,

"Only the actions of the just,
Smell sweet and blossom in the dust!"

And there is another, who stood with them, and was of them, indispensable to both, equally devoted to the same great cause, and equally honored in the same persecution, who will go down with them as co-martyr! Other men have selfishly, meanly, sought to use women to add to themselves, sought to make them means to themselves; but he has generously given himself to these two to help them in their labor, and further their enterprise, as if he were naught and they were all; and for this truth to woman, he will yet be pre-eminently remembered as,

"Among the faithless, only faithful found!"

And the cause for which these three have suffered—

"Though now by plumps and panders bided,
And covered o'er with shame!"

though branded as the cause of lust by those themselves addicted to lust, as well as by multitudes of pure misinformed—no cause shall ever shine out in that glorious future, more holy, more free from taint or stain or even seeming of ill, more beautiful every way, in the eyes of a regenerated, ransomed world, than this which these three have consecrated, and which has consecrated them even to martyrdom!—But from this day, will then be seen to date the era of that world's redemption!

And then these three have need of you, and of your effort to aid them in this work. They are toiling as you know not, against literally overwhelming odds. Come to their succor, and furnish them with the sinews of war. Act at once, for the demand is now. Let not the future that shall vindicate them, accuse you. Let not lack of your contribution retard the cause. Remember,

"It is a spell of light and power,
The watchword of the free—
Who spurns it in this trial-hour,
A craven soul is he!"

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.

PAYABLE IN ADVANCE.

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One copy for six months, - - - - -	1 50
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All communications, business or editorial, must be addressed

Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly,

48 Broad Street, New York City.



NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 14, 1873.

We request our readers all over the country to see that the editors of the various papers have opportunity to read this No. of the WEEKLY. We should be glad to send to every paper, but the expense is too large.

PREMIUMS TO CLUBS.

In a short time we intend to present the most magnificent schedule of premiums for new subscribers and clubs that was ever offered, as an introduction to which we now present the following:

For every subscription (from one to four) received we will send the WEEKLY one year and one of the dollar photographs—Woodhull, Claflin or Blood.

For every club of five subscribers—fifteen dollars—five copies of the WEEKLY one year, five photographs and one copy of "Constitutional Equality, a right of woman," by Tennie C. Claflin, price \$2.00.

For every club of ten subscribers—thirty dollars—ten copies of the WEEKLY, ten photographs and one copy each of "The Principles of Government," by Victoria C. Woodhull, price \$3; and "Constitutional Equality" (each book containing steel-plate engraving of the author).

For every club of twenty subscribers—sixty dollars—twenty copies of the WEEKLY one year, forty photographs and two copies each of "The Principles of Government" and "Constitutional Equality."

For every club of thirty or more subscribers, accompanied by three dollars for each subscriber, thirty copies of the WEEKLY one year, ninety photographs and one each of the books—"The Principles of Government" and "Constitutional Equality"—for every ten subscribers; and

For a club of fifty subscribers—one hundred and fifty dollars—fifty copies of the WEEKLY one year, fifty photographs, a set of the books and a Wheeler & Wilson Sewing Machine.

PREPAYMENT OF POSTAGE.

On strict inquiry we learn that we were in error in interpreting the new postal law, to require the prepayment of postage on papers sent to subscribers. The reading of the law conveys this idea, but it is not to be construed to mean it. Such postage as has been remitted us, however, we will pay here, so that no loss shall result to any one from our misconception of the law.

TO THE RESCUE! TO THE RESCUE!!

Awake, arouse, friends of freedom! Let the cry sound up and down the length and breadth of this land. The hand of the despot is raised to crush out the new-born ideas of freedom. The only paper in the world that dares advocate the sovereignty of the individual is threatened. The only paper that dares lay hold of dark deeds in high places and drag them out into the pure sunshine is set upon by the representatives of these places with a desperation that means victory or death. The only paper that dares defy the minions of the combination between Church and State, to stay the rising tide of reform, is attacked on all sides, by all sorts of enemies, who make common cause against it as their most dreaded foe. Say, freemen and freewomen of America, shall they succeed? Let your replies flow in upon us, and let us be overwhelmed in turn by your emphatic Nevers!

and let every soul contribute his or her mite to sustain this decision!

MORE INDICTMENTS.

Just as we are going to press, we hear rumor of two more indictments; but for what we cannot learn; but our readers may be assured that we have not murdered anybody; anything short of this we shall be able to fight successfully. We say bring them on, gentlemen. If five are not enough make it seven or ten, or twenty; only suit yourselves, and the better you are suited now, the worse you will be pleased when the fight is ended. Truth and justice will come off victorious against all your money, and all your plottings. So go on and find the end of the rope as soon as you please.

WOODHULL AND CLAFLIN TO BE OVERWHELMED.

The Beecher-Bowen-Tilton-Comstock-Challis-Davis-Phelps-Fullerton Libel and Obscenity Conspiracy have formed in solid phalanx and hurled themselves with all the fury and fanaticism of religious bigotry upon us, in the hope instantly to overwhelm us by mere weight of numbers. They call us to answer to four indictments in a single day, and use every possible means to compel us to trial at twenty-four hours' notice. They know well enough that delays are dangerous to any conspiracy; but they also know well enough that justice is always certain to assert her sway with time, and hence to them it is a sure element of defeat of which they do not intend we shall have the advantage.

But we snap our fingers at the enemy and stand firmly by our colors, knowing that our friends all over the country will rally *en masse* to our support, and never permit the proud flag of freedom which we have borne aloft, now these three years, to trail in the dust after such a conspiracy as has been set on foot to trample it down. We know that in this emergency every true soldier of the grand army of liberation will maintain his or her ground, and aid us to hurl back this infernal movement, and to crush beneath its ruins every hand that has been unjustly raised against the now rapidly moving religious, social and industrial revolution.

WHAT DOES THE PRESENT ONSLAUGHT MEAN?

The sudden renewal of the movement to crush the WEEKLY, which has spread dismay and terror in the ranks of all grades and persuasions of hypocrisy, means the suppression of all radical reform. To the wealthy it means the fastening of their rule over the industries of the country and the continued dependence, aye, the coming enslavement, of the laboring classes. To the scribes, pharisees and hypocrites of a religious stripe it means the injection of God into the constitution of the country and the burning of disbelievers and the racking of free thinkers—in a word, it means the staying of the momentous tide of reform that is now surging and hurling itself against the hoary-headed bulwarks of religious fanaticism. To the social despots it means the continued bondage of women to the passions of men. It means legalized rape and prostitution, and all the horrors of illegal prostitution. It means seduction, abortion and moral and social death. It means the continued bearing of unwelcome children, by ante-natal cause born murderers, robbers and desperadoes. It means intellectual, moral, social and physical death to the coming generation; and finally, it means the ultimate destruction of the race, more thoroughly than if swept from the earth by an impossible flood, or fire from heaven or hell.

THE FIRST CASE AGAINST US ABANDONED.

Wednesday, at 11 o'clock A. M., we appeared before the United States District Court, Judge Blatchford presiding, to argue a motion to quash the indictments for sending obscene literature through the mails. J. Parker Jourdan sustained the motion to quash, by an exhaustive argument showing that there was not a single case in the whole record of legal authorities that could be produced to sustain the legality of these indictments, which merely set forth the charge that we had mailed an obscene print, without reciting what the obscenity consisted of. This argument (which we hope to present in full next week) was entirely conclusive in all its points, but the decision of the court upon the point raised was rendered unnecessary by the announcement of Mr. District-Attorney Purdy that the indictment which he held in his hand was not the one upon which he intended to proceed to trial. This one was in fact the original indictment under which we were confined in Ludlow-street Jail a month; but we now learn that it is not intended to try us on the indictment but upon the second one of the 9th of January, which the District-Attorney did not have and of the whereabouts of which he did not seem to be informed. Judge Blatchford very properly ruled that there was nothing before the Court against us, and thus ends the case that was instituted to vindicate the reputation of a revered citizen. The question now arises, what should be the penalty for such outrages upon the peace and personal liberty of citizens? More anon!

MATERIAL AID.

We can stand firmly and fight squarely all the opposition that is hurled against the advocacy of social reform. We can go to jail, be tried and sent to prison, if need be, to

maintain the principles of social and religious freedom. We can do all this for the sake of the cause and for the friends of the cause, but we cannot manufacture the means to maintain this cause. For these we must rely upon its friends.

We should much rather be of those who furnish the needed aid than to be those who have to suffer all the indignities of dungeons, of bolts, and bars, and the vindictiveness of Prosecuting Attorney; and we ask friends to consider this difference, and respond to this our appeal promptly and sufficiently. Everybody who owes us a subscription should send it in at once, and every one who does not owe a subscription should obtain a new one, and thus at once relieve our present needs. And we shall be able to judge of the appreciation of the services we have rendered by our suffering and trials, by the material assistance that friends now extend us.

We have large bills to pay, able lawyers to fee, because we have done what we have to hasten on the glorious time of woman's political and social emancipation. Friends to woman, and through her to the race, will not hesitate to sustain us through the battle. It will be short, hot and decisive, and we have no fears of the result. Then let your appreciation speak in deeds as well as in words. Words are comforting, but they will not kill this infernal conspiracy, not against us merely nor mainly, but against freedom for all the people.

DEATH TO THE WEEKLY.

The recent renewal of warfare against us has but one real meaning, and that is to kill the WEEKLY, by worrying and annoying us. The enemy in this case does not care a fig for us merely as individuals, but as the editor and proprietor of the WEEKLY, and as one who dares to tell the truth about God's vicegerents, even if it be very badly against them, we are of vast importance to the whole set of professing and praying Christians—the Y. M. C. A. God-in-the-Constitution people. From the terrible enmity displayed against us in this character, it would seem that these Christians think the death of the WEEKLY, is necessary to the life of their hypocrisy, and perhaps there may be more real truth in this than we have been accustomed to believe.

But shall they succeed is now the question? We reply, they cannot if our friends stand by us. It matters not what they may do with us; they may convict and send us to prison, and still the WEEKLY will run if its friends desire it to do so. We have made the requisite preparations for any and all emergencies, and all we ask to be able to carry them faithfully out is for the friends of all-sided freedom, all over the country, to do their duty simply. We may labor as faithfully and untiringly as we can, and unless we elicit the support of our friends it will not avail.

The renewed prosecutions should reawaken the zeal of all who have become thoughtless. They intend to crush us—to kill the WEEKLY. Let every reader, then, decide irrevocably that he or she will send us at least one new subscriber to help us through the present emergency. There is something more involved in this persecution than the principles advocated by the WEEKLY. The right to publish free thought upon any subject other than social matters is also attacked, since, if for publishing unpalatable social facts a paper may be suppressed, then any other facts upon any other subject, unpalatable to the existing powers, may also be suppressed.

We have often warned the press of the country of the danger of silence in this matter; but because we are advocates of unpopular theories of social freedom, which, however, are almost universally practiced by men in their low and purely sensual aspect, the male press of the country maintains its silence. But we do not believe there is a single free man or woman in the country who desires the freedom of the press to be abridged, and for this reason, if for none other, they should now stand by the WEEKLY, which is fighting out this battle against the combined powers of Church and State, as represented by the Beecher-Bowen-Comstock-Challis Conspiracy.

THE MONSTER SCANDAL.

The immense sale of No. 128, containing the Beecher-Tilton Scandal entire, just as it appeared in the November 2d number, for which we were really arrested; and the *Thunderbolt*, issued by Edward H. G. Clark, of Troy, N. Y., containing Tilton's "true story," exploded by Victoria C. Woodhull, shows the interest in this scandal to be still unabated. This, without exception, is the most remarkable paper ever issued from any press, and will shake the country from centre to circumference, carrying home to every soul the conviction that something must be done to remedy the terrible social conditions. Everybody in the country should obtain a copy of this paper to keep, since it will become historical and be remembered in after ages, as having stood the test of the combined powers of State and Church, in their attempt to protect the reputations of "revered citizens," by suppressing the paper that dare attack them. Orders from all parts of the world immediately filled. Single copies, 10 cents; 12 copies, \$1.00; \$7.00 per hundred, \$60.00 per thousand.

TO SUBSCRIBERS.

Bills for subscriptions that have expired are now being sent in the papers weekly. We specially request that all who receive them will reply to them at once. The bills are

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PROGRESS OF THE REVOLUTION.

A REVIEW OF THE SITUATION.

It will be remembered by most of our readers that, on the second of November last, we were arrested upon the charge of circulating obscene literature—WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY, date November 2—through the mails; and being denied an examination into the charges that we were entitled to have, and held in the unprecedented sum of ten thousand dollars bail, were consigned to Ludlow-street Jail. We remained in confinement until December, when we procured bail and were discharged from the commitment made by the United States Court. We were then immediately arrested upon a civil suit for libel, gave bail in the sum of five thousand dollars each, and were again immediately arrested on a criminal charge of libel, and giving bail for that also, and were then finally permitted to go free.

We immediately published the WEEKLY, No. 112, dated December 28, containing the suppressed Boston speech, entitled "Moral Cowardice and Modern Hypocrisy; or, Four Weeks in Ludlow-street Jail." This paper, together with a proposition to speak in Cooper Institute on "The Naked Truth," so enraged the conspirators against a free press and free speech, that they planned another arrest, which was to culminate on the day of the proposed speech, but which did not take place until after the speech was delivered at night, and near midnight we were hurried off to Ludlow a second time. Then followed the examination and the holding by Commissioner Davenport, under the most extraordinary decision that stands upon any court records in this or any other country. But we were again required to give bail in the sum of five thousand dollars each, upon doing which we were discharged. But we were almost immediately again arrested upon a second indictment for libel, in which, on the 19th of January, we also gave bail; and thus ended the five arrests, leaving us under four distinct criminal indictments and the civil suit for libel.

On the same Saturday, upon which we were first arrested for obscenity, Col. Blood was also arrested on a criminal charge of libel, and consigned to Jefferson-market Prison. On the following Friday and Saturday he had an exhaustive examination into the case. His defense was: First, that he was not responsible for the alleged libel; and, second, the truth of the alleged libel, which is justification in the State of New York—both of which defenses were fully proven upon the examination, and it was so announced in the daily papers that reported the examination. Notwithstanding this, however, Justice Fowler held Col. Blood for indictment, and he was indicted and held to bail, and after three weeks' confinement in the above-named prison and the Tombs, gave bail and was released, but was immediately re-arrested upon the civil suit and consigned to Ludlow-street Jail, where we were at the time confined.

At the above examination the second theory of defense was sustained by the pointed testimony of Mr. James E. Maxwell. So conclusive was this and so utterly convincing in all its details, that nobody even imagined Col. Blood would be held for indictment. The conspirators saw that unless they could break down Mr. Maxwell's evidence, that the whole scheme would fall through, and they immediately caused the arrest of Mr. Maxwell upon a charge of perjury, and, waiving an examination, he was held to bail, before Justice Fowler rendered his decision holding Col. Blood, at which he was a whole week in arriving. In all the subsequent charges and arrests Col. Blood has participated, so that he stands under three criminal indictments and the civil suit for libel.

And thus matters have stood since the 19th of January, no movement having been made to bring us to trial upon any of the several indictments. Indeed, it has been freely stated that no trial upon any of them would ever be held.

THE CAUSES OF THE SECOND MOVEMENT.

In the meantime almost everybody who had any means of arriving at a conclusion had concluded that there had been nothing but the truth told in the issue of November 2, and also that the animus of all of our arrests was the vindication of the reputation of "a revered citizen," as Gen. Davies, in the United States Court, announced the first arrest for obscenity to have been.

Until the publication in the Chicago Times of Col. Jas. E. Mix's celebrated letters and the publication of the *Thunder-bolt* by Edward H. G. Clark, of Troy, N. Y., the friends of Mr. Beecher fondly hoped the Scandal was going to die a natural death, and they took special pains to make no movements to irritate anybody, and no efforts to have the suits pressed. But the appearance of these matters opened the controversy afresh in the columns of the papers all over the country, and the revival was even more damaging than the original. The Beecher-Bowen-Comstock-Challis conspiracy thought it necessary to do something, and in their desperation they moved thus: A systematic pressure was brought to bear upon the Courts to bring us to trial in both cases—for libel and obscenity—and relying upon the peculiar method

so well known to the initiated, so secure a conviction in one or the other.

This, however, was so closely kept that we had no intimation of it until the last day of May, when we were hurriedly informed by our counsel that the libel cases were called for trial on Monday, June 2, and the obscenity trials on Tuesday, June 3. Simultaneously with these notifications came the publication of the Beecher-Tilton-Bowen covenant, which will be found in full, and fully reviewed, in other columns. This was undoubtedly designed by "Suffolk," however much it may really prove otherwise, as a diversion against us at the moment of being brought to trial.

PRELIMINARY SKIRMISHING.

Thus on Monday, June 2, we appeared in the Oyer and Terminer Court, having had not over a single day for preparation. On the case being called, William F. Howe, of our counsel, called the attention of Judge Davis to the fact that while United States District Attorney he had instituted the proceeding against us for obscenity, and suggested that he might not desire to try the case because of such previous action. He immediately saw the impropriety of trying persons as Judge whom he had been instrumental in prosecuting as Attorney; but instead of putting the cases over until another term, when another Judge should occupy the bench, he immediately changed courts with Judge J. R. Barrett, so that the District Attorney might push the case on that day.

On Judge Barrett taking his seat, our counsel said that a contingency had arisen for which they had made no provision; that feeling certain Judge Davis would not try the cases they had supposed they would go over till next term. But further than this, they said that the time since receiving notice had been so short it was impossible, simply, to have prepared for this trial. Our witnesses were scattered. Some of them in Baltimore, others in Massachusetts and others still in California, and requested the District Attorney to agree to give a sufficient time to prepare for the trial.

THE DETERMINATION TO PUSH US TO TRIAL.

Benjamin K. Phelps, the District Attorney, now began to exhibit the evidence of a personal motive. He had determined to try these cases upon that day and he would listen to no notice to postpone. He said there had been five months in which to have prepared for this trial and our non-preparation was no reason for postponement.

Counsel then appealed to the Court, and in reply to the District Attorney, said that when we were called upon to plead to these indictments, that we were ready for trial, that our witnesses were where we could have had them at a short notice. But as there had been no movement to try the cases, indeed, as they had never before even been put upon the calendar for trial, the Court should not expect that we could always hold our witnesses within the jurisdiction of the Court; in fact, that they had proceeded beyond such jurisdiction, and were then beyond it. That Mollie De Ford, the person who kept the house at which a part of the alleged libel occurred, was a material witness; as were also two others, named "Daisy" and "Annie," and that they were beyond the jurisdiction of the Court. That Laura Cuppy Smith and Frances Rose MacKinley were also material witnesses, and that they were absent from the city and beyond the jurisdiction of the Court, and that, under these circumstances and the fact that there had been no sufficient time in which to obtain them, the Court should grant a reasonable time.

The District-Attorney growing still more bitter, even verging on vindictiveness, said, that counsel had shown no good reason for a postponement, and that he should ask that the trial proceed forthwith.

We have been aware all the time that there had been no means left untried to embitter the Courts against us; but we confess that we were utterly unprepared to find an officer of the people, elected to see justice administered, so completely forgetting the functions of his office and so devoted to the spirit of persecution. It was evident that the influence of the conspirators had reached this man, and that we should be obliged to fight at every step of the trial to obtain anything near justice.

Judge Barrett, however, saw the justice of our motion for postponement, but since the District-Attorney opposed it we should have to make affidavits setting forth an application for a postponement so as to bring ourselves strictly within the rule of the Court, and the case was adjourned till 10 o'clock Tuesday, to permit the making of affidavits.

Luther C. Challis and his special counsel, Judge Fullerton, considerably larger than life-size, pompously stated that they had no doubt that they would have us convicted before night—to-morrow.

VINDICTIVENESS AT WHITE HEAT.

At 10 o'clock Tuesday, we appeared in court with affidavits, setting forth the facts recited above, together with others of a material character. C. W. Brooke, Esq., of our counsel, read the affidavits, which were so conclusive that the District-Attorney for a moment was staggered, but recovering himself he proceeded to object to everything in them, and assumed to know a great deal more about the matter in which the defense should be conducted than our counsel, and a great deal more about the whereabouts of certain witnesses whom we desire to procure than we do. He said that there was nothing set forth that showed that the persons named in the affidavits were material witnesses, and, getting quite beside himself, broadly intimated that the affidavits were manufactured merely to secure time.

Mr. Howe replied in a most scathing manner that the alleged libel set forth that it was at the house of one Mollie, the Mollie De Ford mentioned in the affidavit, where a part of the alleged libel took place. He was certain that was material. The two girls were at that house. That was certainly material. That to both Mrs. MacKinley and Mrs. Smith Mr. Challis had made admissions connected with the libel. That was certainly material. He could not see the motive for pressing this case in such an extraordinary manner unless it were to avoid having the testimony of these absent witnesses. It was at least strange, that so much zeal should now be displayed in these cases, which had slept undisturbed for so many months, and justified the inquiry as to whether the trial was for the purposes of justice or for conviction regardless of justice.

A PALPABLE DEFEAT FOR THE PROSECUTION.

Mr. Brooke now rose and said: And further than all that my colleague has urged, I desire to call the fact to the attention of this court, that I am counsel for Mr. Maxwell who stands indicted for testifying in the preliminary examination to the facts of the alleged libel, and that the attempt was now being made to press these cases to trial, under the knowledge that Mr. Maxwell is an important witness in them, and that his appearance in this court under these circumstances would naturally be prejudicial to the defendants. Why does the District Attorney stand here demanding that their trial proceed, when, as he very well knows that for the past three months I have vainly endeavored to have him try Mr. Maxwell's case. That case is ready and I will proceed to trial to-morrow, next day or any other upon which the District Attorney will elect to do so. It is an extraordinary proceeding to so strenuously insist upon the trial of these defendants, when their acquittal or conviction depends so much upon the truth or falsity of the facts upon which this perjury is charged; and going beyond the facts set forth in their affidavits, I suggest to the court that, under all these circumstances whether the administration of justice in this case does not seem to demand a postponement until after the trial of Mr. Maxwell.

The District Attorney, now made furious, attempted to reply to this, but he was incompetent to do so. He, however, committed the egregious folly of saying: "He had reasons satisfactory to him for not trying the other case." The time may come when he will be called upon to explain whether these reasons are such as should obtain in a court of justice. The court said that the defendants were entitled to a postponement upon the affidavits. He would also suggest, while having no power to control the District Attorney, the eminent propriety of trying the case of perjury before urging the present cases. He should now grant a postponement until Monday, June 16. And thus Mr. Luther C. Challis was disappointed in not seeing us *en route* for Sing-Sing, as he had so confidently expected on Monday. And thus ends the first substantial defeat of the designs of the Beecher-Bowen-Comstock-Challis conspiracy. And Challis and Fullerton, the ex-Judge, passed out of the Court in an entirely different manner from that of the previous day. Their anticipated jubilee is deferred by at least twelve days—a sufficient length of time for them to ponder over the old adage that the best laid plans oft "gang alee;" and over the further fact that mere bravado can never be relied upon to prevail over truth and right, even if the former is represented by men and the latter by that class of citizens who lack the fundamental right of citizenship. In two weeks they may become wiser men if they ponder well over this:

"Thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just;
And he but naked—though locked up in steel
Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted."

BENJAMIN K. PHELPS

may do well to explain to the people whom he is elected to serve what his reasons are which he said he had for not wishing to try the perjury case based upon the facts of these cases. We were not aware that it was one of the duties of the office of District-Attorney to compound felonies. If Mr. Maxwell is rightly charged by Luther C. Challis with perjury, if the facts to which he testified at the preliminary examination of Col. Blood are false, why is he not brought summarily to trial, when he appears to demand it? But if it is well known that no conviction can be secured in his case, why does Benjamin K. Phelps insist that we shall be pushed to trial upon a day's notice only? All this may be a new name for justice, but let us inform Mr. District-Attorney Phelps that we do not believe in this sort of justice. It looks too much as if some of Mr. Challis' hundred thousand dollars were at the bottom of this extraordinary zeal, so recently sprung up in the soul of Benj. K. Phelps; too much as if the need that the WEEKLY should be killed to save a revered citizen, formed some part of the venom which he was unwise enough to exhibit in Court against persons for whom he has no right to hold any other sentiments than the wish to do them justice. Of one thing, Benj. K. Phelps and all others concerned may set their hearts at rest; the WEEKLY will live to expose in the future as it has in the past, all the shortcomings and superofficial action of those who so far forget their rights and duties as to join in the conspiracy to punish women for exposing corruption in high places. And finally, Benj. K. Phelps, Luther C. Challis and Judge Fullerton should remember from the lesson taught them Tuesday, that it is not every Court that will lend itself to forward the devilish machinations of the thrice damned conspiracy even to cover the fall of Gen. Davies' "revered citizen."

THE BEECHER-BOWEN-TILTON SCANDAL RE-VIEWED.

The above-named extraordinary document sprung upon the community just at the moment we are brought to trial is critically and exhaustively reviewed by the Brooklyn Sunday papers, quoted in full below. We have no desire to add anything to this review; but one thing is too patent to escape attention: that no reference is made in the covenant to the facts published in the WEEKLY of November 2d, from the fact, we suppose, that they had not been made public at the time the remarkable paper was written and signed:

[From the Mercury and Mail, Middletown, N. Y., May 16.]

THE BEECHER-TILTON SCANDAL.

"The New York Sunday dailies are full of the Beecher-Tilton Scandal. This disgusting business must be ended one way or the other. Either Mr. Beecher must clear up these allegations against his character, or vacate the editorial chair of the *Christian Union* and the pulpit of Plymouth. He may be, we trust is, entirely innocent, but he has no right any longer to ignore the situation."

The opinion expressed and the contingency named in the above paragraph, which we copy from the *Interior*, one of the ablest religious journals of the country, will be approved and indorsed not only by the enemies of Mr. Beecher, but by his friends as well, and by all persons of every class and sect who prize public and private virtue, decency and consistency of character.

This scandal is known and read wherever the English language is read or spoken, if, indeed, it has not already been translated and reproduced in every civilized tongue the world over. Probably the name of no American citizen is oftener on people's lips, both at home and abroad, than that of Henry Ward Beecher. It is a name associated, in two hemispheres, with valorous words and good deeds in the realms of religion, moral progress, and enterprises and actions looking to the well-being and elevation of mankind.

For more than a quarter of a century he has honorably maintained a hold upon public attention and esteem as a guide and teacher to young and old; and his influence has been widely felt in controlling and regulating affairs in church, State and nation. And in these different spheres of action he has tacitly, if not by frank assertion, claimed to be commissioned and inspired from the highest of all sources. Calling no man master, his independence of speech and spasmodic outbursts of eccentricity in the handling of things held to be sacred by a long line of prophets, priests and ministers who have gone before him, have called down upon him the sharp criticism and the fiery rebuke of his contemporaries in and out of the sacred office. But until the opening of this vial of scandal, whose odors the world is today snuffing up its nostrils, not a word had been breathed regarding his infidelity to the tenets and observances which are held to be essential to the purity of domestic life and the untainted preservation of marriage vows and marital relations.

But all this is changed. The most serious and startling charges affecting his good name in the dearest and most sacred relation of life have been made and published, world wide, against him. Unhappily, to these charges he makes no response. From the first he has remained silent; and up to this hour we have no word from his lips, or, so far as we know, from any friend authorized to speak for him, in affirmation of his innocence.

Mr. Beecher has not been called to put in a plea at the bar of any court of justice, but his attitude is that of one arraigned at the bar of public opinion. And there he must plead or ultimately go down. His silence is strength to his enemies, and so painfully significant, that at last it may be tortured, even by those who respect and love him, into dumb confession of his guilt.

Mr. Beecher is not so elevated above the heads of common humanity that he can safely trust to "dignified silence" to carry him safely through the sea of troubles which surround and threaten him. "If," said Mr. Beecher, on one occasion, "you are passing along the street and a chambermaid deluges you with a pail of slops, what are you to do? Simply wash yourself, and pass on." Mr. Beecher should make a practical improvement of his lesson. Let him "wash himself," or, peradventure, he may "pass on" to a future of regret and shame.

[From the Standard, Holley, N. Y., Saturday Morning, May 24, 1873.]

Train, the crazy man, has been finally disposed of, and in the funniest manner imaginable. He was first—some time since—tried as to his sanity before Judge Daly and a competent jury, who declared him sane. His trial for the crime of publishing obscene literature came up before Judge Davis on Tuesday in the Oyer and Terminer, when the Judge, on the testimony of one doctor, and after the point had been settled by another court, held that Train was insane and ordered the jury to find a verdict of "not guilty" on that ground, and ordered such verdict recorded, in spite of the declaration of several of the jury that such was not their verdict. An order was then directed to be made out for Train's removal to the State institution at Utica. Judging from Mr. Davis' action in this particular case, it must be evident to every one that the Judge is by far the most insane man of the two. There is something behind all this.

THE BEECHER-WOODHULL MATTER.

A Western paper, the *Chicago Advance*, prints an article on the Beecher-Woodhull-Tilton-Claffin-Moulton (and all the rest) Scandal, in which is this paragraph:

"Few, if any, intelligent people have been found to believe the Woodhull charges against Mr. Beecher. But recent publications show only too plainly that they did not originate with her, and confirm the convictions of those who have believed from the first that it was and is a grave mistake for Mr. Beecher to meet them with silence, on the ground that his accuser is too vile for recognition. Reputable papers publish only allusions to the stories that are afloat, but the disreputable ones, like the *Chicago Times*, gloat over

the garbished details, and industriously fan the suspicion that there is a conspiracy of the Christian community to suppress the facts. We say it reluctantly, but confidently, that the world will be compelled to believe that there is something wrong somewhere if Plymouth Church, at least, shall take no action to clear up the scandal which involves its three most prominent members, and involves them in a way that will not allow the public to believe that all three ought to be 'in good and regular standing.'"

The judgment of Judge Davis in the case of Mr. Train astonishes a good many people. The *Buffalo Express* says:

"It was a high-handed and disgraceful exhibition of arbitrary power. After the charge of insanity had been tried and decided by a jury, the Court had no business to go back of their verdict. We do not believe it had the legal power; it is certain that in the exercise of a sound discretion it ought not to have done so. What, in heaven's name, is a jury trial for if a judge, not sitting in appeal, can by his own will set the verdict aside and incarcerate the man who has been adjudged sane? The treatment to which Mr. Train has been subjected is enough to drive any one insane, and we shouldn't wonder if his persecutors at length succeeded in hounding him into actual insanity. He was always a blatherskite; but it is the privilege of an American citizen to be a blatherskite if he wants to. If Train has violated the law, let him be punished; if not, let him be set free. There have been all the twisting, dodging, shuffling, lying, cheating, humbuggery, false imprisonment and general cussedness about this same Woodhull-Claffin-Train-Beecher-Tilton-Bowen-Proctor business that there is any necessity for. Unless we are very much mistaken, somebody has got to face the music before long."

[From the De Ruyter (New York) New Era, May 8, 1873.]

The Beecher-Tilton-Bowen Scandal is getting worse. The excitement increases and Brooklyn is a good deal riled. Making up faces at Mrs. Woodhull and calling her names that cannot be printed do not help the thing. It is said that much difficulty is experienced by those who seek to arraign Mr. Beecher because of his getting behind the example of the old patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; also David and Solomon. It does afflict us to acknowledge that the little affair between "the sweet singer of Israel" and Uriah's wife was the same as the scandal alleged of Henry Ward and Mrs. Tilton; but then these irregularities were permitted in the olden time, it is said, "by reason of the hardness of their hearts." Now it is different, or should be. In answer to certain wicked questions presented by the Jews it was declared that in heaven there was "neither marrying nor giving in marriage, but they were as the angels are," free. So says Mrs. Woodhull. By all of which we are shocked. What are we coming to?

[From the Westfield (Mass.) News Letter, May 16, 1873.]

BEECHER AND WOODHULL.

The last number of WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY is decidedly hot, and even more pronounced than that of November 2, which caused the arrest of its editors and publishers on a charge which the ablest lawyers in the land have pronounced untenable—that of obscenity. That they were liable to proceedings for libel is unquestionable. If the charges are untrue, as is fashionable to believe, they are deserving of condign punishment; if true, they are as surely entitled to the gratitude of society for unmasking hypocrisy in high places, and showing to the world the rottenness of the so-called upper-crust—of those who pretend one thing and practice the opposite—notwithstanding they are regarded as fit examples for the masses to imitate.

In this number of May 17, not only are the original charges reiterated in full, with a variety of circumstantial detail, but additional particulars are cited, charging the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher not only with adultery, but with forcibly compelling a female to yield to his "deviltry." Charges like these are not apt to be idly made; assuredly not against those in high places, for fear of the consequences.

In this case, no legitimate effort has been made to controvert the statements hurled upon an astounded community more than six months since, with regard to the asserted doings of prominent members of Plymouth Church, which were in violation of the laws of the land and the professed belief of society. None gave credence to such astounding statements at the time, and Mrs. Woodhull and her set were damned to the deepest depths of infamy for presuming to cast such reflections upon an eminent citizen whose character high officials deemed it well worthy the while of the government to vindicate; and to accomplish this purpose, the suppression of the Free-Love weekly was attempted, and its proprietors arrested on the absurd charge of obscenity, and hauled to prison. The truth is, however, that there is less obscenity—if there be any—in the columns of the noted weekly than in those of most daily papers. The charges of marital infidelity are earnestly made, and the testimony of several prominent witnesses cited, none of whom up to this time, so far as we know, have directly denied the allegations, and some of whom have refused to deny them.

The pastor of Plymouth Church is revered by the people, and there are no individuals, nor set of individuals, whose word would be more implicitly relied upon than his. But he has vouchsafed no denial of the charges. He has made no effort to prove the charges false, and the impression is gaining currency that there is "something rotten in Denmark."

Little sympathy is felt for the Woodhull, for her doctrines run counter to the professions of society, however it may be with regard to the practice. They are probably as unpopular as were the doctrines of the anti-slavery agitators, when they commenced their crusade against negro slavery. Mrs. Woodhull may be, for ought we know, a vile woman, a fanatic, crazed on the subject of love and personal liberty, but she certainly seems to be free from the charge of hypocrisy. She seems fearless as the martyrs and reformers of any age, and huris her one idea, absolute personal liberty, at society in a manner that demands attention. It is not simply pri-

vate character that is at stake, it is a question of two theories, or principles: the old theory of the divine sacredness of marriage, or its abrogation, and the substitution of copartnership. All acknowledgment that marriage vows are too frequently broken, that constancy is often the exception rather than the rule, that ill assorted and unhappy marriages are too frequent. To cure these evils she proposes its virtual abolition.

The institution of marriage, however, notwithstanding the misery that too often accompanies it, in place of the expected happiness, is too strongly entrenched in the customs, habits and beliefs of the people to be idly forsaken for new and untried theories; though there is an increasing disposition to modify the laws of divorce, to make the man and the woman more nearly equal partners, and a strong tendency to regard marriage as a civil contract, rather than as a divine institution. One thing, however, is certain; the truth, the right, cannot fear or suffer from the most thorough and honest consideration; and, if it had not been so in the past, we expect in the future Henry Ward Beecher's preaching may correspond with his practice.

[From the Brooklyn Sunday Press, June 1.]

Beecher-Bowen-Tilton—The Mouse of Denial that a Mountain of Charge brought forth—Their Joint Confession—Beecher's Friends and what they have Done for Him—A Terrible Picture of Perjury and Insincerity—Henry C. Bowen the Instrument of Exposure.

One of Mr. Beecher's injudicious friends has partially anticipated us in our necessary work of analyzing the pretensions to virtue and religious influence put forward by that co-operative society of sycophants—the Plymouth Church "Ring." We were about to adduce as one of the evidences of corruption in that body, the extraordinary concoction of words behind which Mr. Beecher, Mr. Bowen and Mr. Tilton vainly hope to take refuge, as the ostrich, with its head in the sand, hopes to escape its pursuers. No wonder the absurdly ineffectual "card" was published without Mr. Beecher's consent. Whatever Mr. Beecher's passions have had to do with his religious convictions, we have never impeached his common sense. And no one above the degree of an absolute idiot can suppose that a man in Mr. Beecher's position will be anything but ruined by the bombastic document which bears the signatures of the three arch-hypocrites of the century. The almost diabolical insincerity of the "covenant" is proof enough of the value of Plymouth Church as a school of morality, while as a laughter-provoking instrument it is not far behind the conspiracy trio in *La Grand Duchesse*. Where can the man be found who, after having read this "covenant" with astonishment, and who, after he has been assured that it is no clumsy hoax, will not pronounce the three men who drafted it and signed it, the three monumental hypocrites of this or any other age? The humbug is almost tragical in its dimensions. Mr. Beecher surely is too near that sepulchral silence and helplessness from which his sister dragged the festering corpse of Lord Byron, to indulge in such a fearful jest at the expense of religion—at the expense of those who really worship his presence and cherish his utterances like the voice of God. Mrs. Stowe dug a dead man out of his grave with her very finger-nails, to prove him guilty of incest. Her brother, while in the flesh, hugs to his breast the two men who have pronounced him the ravisher of their relatives, while they, self proclaimed cowards, allied to each other only by their common infamy, set down in writing their promise never to allude to his crimes again. Verily a sweet savored trio this: the preacher who, says Bowen, violated, among his other victims, a married woman and drove her husband to his grave by the knowledge of her shame; Bowen whose own dead and living kindred have not been safe from his scandalous tongue, in relation to the Beecher infamy; and Tilton, kicked out of Bowen's offices, because he would not comply with Bowen's furious demand for Beecher's ruin, and as Bowen says, because he converted those offices into places of criminal assignation. A noble trio: the man who showed the horns he swore his preacher planted to the lowliest woman of the day; the bankrupt shynock, who is so deep in lies and libel that his own flesh and blood have been drowned in what he now pronounces perjury; and the moralist, with a national fame, whose silence has plead "guilty" to the double indictment for rape, urged against him by the two wretched creatures who, knowing they have to sink, sink with the shadows of his past, wrapping them round, and "the old relations of love, respect and reliance" resumed and restored.

This hideously in sincere conspiracy to bury by stealth, the shame, which these three moralists have strangled, is all the uglier and all the more monstrous for close examination.

The first paragraph recites the *raison d'être* of the Beecher-Tilton-Bowen "covenant," as follows:

We three men, earnestly desiring to remove all causes of offense existing between us, real or fancied; and to make Christian reparation for injuries done or supposed to be done; and to efface the disturbed past and do provide concord, good will and love, for the future, to declare and covenant, each to the other, as follows:

What are the "causes of offense?" Were they, on Beecher's part, the shame and suffering he imported into the families of Bowen and Tilton? Were they, on Bowen's part, the distinct and circumstantial charges of rape—for at such a crisis the plainest language is the best—which Bowen alleged against Beecher? Were they, on Tilton's part, the confidential disclosures of his own dishonor and of Beecher's conduct to his wife, which he made to Mrs. Woodhull? What were the "injuries done" which needed Christian reparation? Were they Beecher's deportment to the Bowen family, and Beecher's treatment of Bowen? Were they Bowen's letter to Tilton, and Bowen's message to Beecher? Were they "the insane ravings" of Mrs. Tilton? Were they Tilton's maudlin talks with Mrs. Woodhull? Were they Bowen's assertions that Tilton had to leave the *Union* office because it became the resort of giddy and frenetic women? Were they Tilton's threats to Bowen, that if he did not pay his overdue salary, he would "get even" with Bowen by publishing

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Bowen's reminiscences of Beecher? If so, indeed, they needed "Christian reparation," or something equally fragrant to deodorize the precincts of Plymouth Church.

But what form was the Christian reparation to assume? What did the phrase signify? Did it mean that Bowen should sue for pardon, and swear by the ashes of the mother of his sons that he had wilfully and deliberately, malignantly lied, even as Judah Iscariot did not dare to lie before Pontius Pilate? Did it mean that Tilton should, with tears of blood, affirm the insanity of his own wife, the innocence of Beecher, and finally, the exquisite virtue of Bowen in proclaiming Beecher guilty of those very enormities which it behove Tilton himself to avow that Beecher had never perpetrated? Did it mean that Tilton should confess to Bowen, that he did leave the employ of Bowen, because his own licentiousness was beyond control, and should implore the pardon of Bowen for having converted Bowen's offices into something little better than a brothel, according to the testimony of Bowen himself? Did it mean that Beecher should confess to the two men who, each the deadly enemy of the other, united in charging him with their joint shame, that his guilt had been great, but that his sufferings had been almost greater? Did it mean that Beecher should make a clean breast of all the offenses deliberately arranged against him by Bowen and Tilton, and did it mean that Bowen and Tilton should agree to swallow the nastiness that had flowed from their own mouths against Beecher, because Beecher was the depository of fatal secrets, in which they themselves were infamously concerned?

Next, let us consider what the worst of these three men, and the most treacherous, has to say in the "covenant."

I. I, Henry C. Bowen, having given credit, perhaps without due consideration, to tales and innuendoes affecting Henry Ward Beecher, and being influenced by them, as was natural to a man who receives impressions suddenly, to the extent of repeating them (guardedly, however, and within limitations, and not for the purpose of injuring him, but strictly in the confidence of consultation), now feel that therein I did him wrong. Therefore, I disavow all the charges and imputations that have been attributed to me as having been made against Henry Ward Beecher; and I declare, fully and without reserve, that I know nothing which should prevent me from extending to him my most cordial friendship, confidence and Christian fellowship. And I expressly withdraw all the charges, imputations and innuendoes imputed as having been made and uttered by me and set forth in a letter written to me by Theodore Tilton on the first day of January, 1871 (a copy of which letter is hereto annexed); and I sincerely regret having made any imputations, charges, or innuendoes unfavorable to the Christian character of Mr. Beecher. And I covenant and promise that for all future time I will never, by word or deed, recur to, repeat, or allude to any or either of said charges, imputations and innuendoes.

Why does Bowen say "perhaps without due consideration?" He is not absolutely positive, then, that he acted "without due consideration." He may have been duly "considerate" and he may not. They were "tales and innuendoes" that this shrewd scoundrel was inspired by, according to his "covenant" of 1872. On June the 16th, 1863, however, nine years before, he wrote as follows:

"I sometimes feel that I must break silence—that I must no longer suffer as a dumb man and be made to bear a load of grief most unjustly. One word from me would make a rebellion throughout Christendom, I had almost said, and you know it. You have just a little of the evidence from the great volume in my possession. I am not pursuing a phantom, but solemnly brooding over an awful reality."

In 1863, therefore, it was "a great volume" in his possession, and "an awful reality." In 1872 it was "tales and innuendoes." It will surprise people who know Bowen to learn that he is liable to "receive impressions suddenly." Bowen has always been credited with the very toughest of mental and spiritual toughness. It was probably this dangerous liability to "receiving impressions suddenly" which "influenced" him "to the extent" of explaining Tilton's ignominious expulsion from his employ, by the statement that Tilton had personally misconducted himself in a grossly indecent manner. Bowen "repeated the tales and innuendoes guardedly and within limitations, and not for the purpose of injuring Mr. Beecher, but strictly in the confidence of consultation." Let us see how Tilton describes his prodigal brother's "guarded repetition" of "the tales and innuendoes" of 1872, and the "great volume" and "awful reality" of 1863:

"It was during the early part of the rebellion, if I recollect aright, when you first intimated to me that the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher had committed acts of adultery, for which, if you should expose him, he would be driven from the pulpit. From that time onward your references to the subject were frequent and always accompanied with the exhibition of deep-seated injury to your heart."

On frequent intervals from this till now, you have repeated the statement that you could at any moment expel Henry Ward Beecher from Brooklyn. You have reiterated the same thing, not only to me, but to others. Moreover, during the year just closed your letters on the subject were marked with more feeling than heretofore, and were not unfrequently coupled with your emphatic declaration that Mr. Beecher ought not to be allowed to occupy a public position as a Christian teacher and preacher.

On the 25th of December, 1870, at an interview in your house, at which Mr. Oliver Johnson and I were present, you spoke freely and indignantly against Mr. Beecher as an unsafe visitor in the families of his congregation. You alluded by name to a woman, now a widow, whose husband's death you did not doubt was hastened by his knowledge that Mr. Beecher had maintained with her an improper intimacy. As if to leave no doubt on the minds of either Mr. Johnson or myself, you informed us that Mr. Beecher had made to you a confession of guilt, and had with tears implored your forgiveness. After Mr. Johnson retired from this interview, you related to me the case of a woman of whom you said (as nearly as I can recollect your words) that "Mr. Beecher took her in his arms by force and threw her down upon the sofa."

During your recital of this tale you were filled with anger toward Mr. Beecher. You said, with terrible emphasis, that he ought not to remain a week longer in his pulpit. You immediately suggested that a demand should be made upon him to quit his sacred office. You volunteered to bear to him such a demand, in the form of an open letter, which you would present to him with your own hand, and you pledged yourself to sustain the demand which this letter should make, namely, "That he should, for reasons which he explicitly knew, immediately cease from his ministry at Plymouth Church, and retire from Brooklyn."

The first draft of this letter did not contain the phrase, "for reasons that he explicitly knew," and these words, or words to this effect, were incorporated in a second at your motion. You urged, furthermore, very emphatically, that the letter should demand, not only Mr. Beecher's abdication of his pulpit, but the cessation of his writing for the *Christian Union*—a point on which you were overruled. This letter you presented to Mr. Beecher at Mr. Freeland's house. Shortly after its presentation you sought an interview with me in the editorial office of the *Brooklyn Union*, during which, with unaccountable emotion in your manner, your face livid with rage, you threatened with loud voice that if ever I should inform Mr. Beecher of the statements which you made concerning his adultery, or should compel you to adduce the evidence on which you agreed to sustain the demand for Mr. Beecher's withdrawal from Brooklyn, you would immediately deprive me of my engagement to write for the *Independent* and to edit the *Brooklyn Union*, and that in case I should ever attempt to enter the offices of those journals, you would have me ejected by force. I told you that I should inform Mr. Beecher or anybody else according to the dictates of my own judgment, uninfluenced by any authority from my employers. You then excitedly retired from my presence. Hardly had your violent words ceased ringing in my ears when I received your summary notices breaking my contract with the *Independent* and the *Brooklyn Union*. To the foregoing narrative of fact I have only to add my surprise and regret at the sudden interruption by your own act of what has been on my part a faithful service of fifteen years.

Truly yours,

THEODORE TILTON.

From the early part of the rebellion to January 1, 1871, Bowen was influenced by impressions received suddenly to the extent of daily sounding spiritual alarms of Beecher's gross criminality. It was in 1870 that he capped the climax of his villainy (according to his "restored lovers"—Beecher and Tilton) by insisting on Beecher's removal from Plymouth Church as well as from the editorial control of the paper which rivalled his own *Independent* in point of circulation and profit. But it was not till April, 1872, after having "received an impression suddenly to the effect" that his "awful reality" was, as he now asserts, a phantom, and his "great volume" a tissue of lies, as he and Tilton and Beecher all avow, that he finds he has "done Beecher wrong." He disavows "all the charges and imputations" that have been "attributed to him." This hot-blooded youth who "gives credit to tales without due consideration," and who "receives impressions suddenly," is too wary to accept the authorship of "the charges and imputations." He may or may not have made them, and therefore he disavows them. He declares in the covenant of 1872 that I know nothing which should prevent me from extending to Henry Ward Beecher my most cordial friendship, confidence and Christian fellowship. Ugh! the reptile! Who is there in the world vile enough and low enough to accept so slimy a gift as the cordial friendship, confidence and Christian fellowship of Henry C. Bowen? We apologize. Henry Ward Beecher and Theodore Tilton were overjoyed to recover that precious boon when they once lost it. But Bowen does not tell how he disposed of his great volume and his awful reality. Were they only mere phantoms invented to despoil the rival *Christian Union* of Beecher's contributions? Or were they realities? Did Beecher ever stand a secret trial on these charges, which Bowen disavows in 1872, but of which in 1863 he had a volume? And if Beecher was so tried, who were his judges, and did they pronounce him guiltless? If so, why not produce their white judgment instead of Bowen's nasty signature to a cautious recantation? Or perhaps Bowen knew nothing against Beecher, while he was guardedly repeating to Tilton and others the details of that crime of Beecher's with which he was so strangely familiar? When his tongue was wagging against his own flesh and blood, was he extending to Beecher his friendship, confidence and Christian fellowship? He sincerely regrets having made any imputations, charges or innuendoes unfavorable to the Christian character of Mr. Beecher. Why does he regret his charges and imputations if they were true? And if they were not true, when did he receive an impression suddenly that his "great volume" was a chapter of lies, and his "awful reality" a phantom? Finally, in Bowen's contribution to this scandalous round robin we find no allusion to Tilton. All his friendship, confidence and Christian fellowship is reserved for Beecher. Tilton was turned out of the Bowen employ, we must suppose, because he committed the offenses against decency with which Bowen had frequently charged him. This must be the case, or Bowen, caught in the humor to recant, would have retracted as well his publication of another hideous scandal that would astonish the already shocked community with scarcely less force than the dominant sensation. But in spite of his obstinacy in alleging criminal abuse of his position against Tilton, we find Tilton in the next paragraph—after having received his back pay from Bowen—hugging Bowen and Beecher in a frenzy of Christian love:

II. And I, Theodore Tilton, do, of my free will and friendly spirit toward Henry C. Bowen and Henry Ward Beecher, hereby covenant and agree that I will never again repeat, by word or mouth or otherwise, any of the allegations, or imputations, or innuendoes contained in my letter hereto annexed, or any other injurious imputations or allegations suggested by or growing out of these; and that I will never again bring up or hint at any cause of difference or ground of complaint heretofore existing between the said Henry C. Bowen and myself, or the said Henry Ward Beecher.

Tilton, it will be noticed, hankers rather after that Lebanonic balsam, the "friendship, confidence and Christian fellowship of Bowen," than after reconciliation with Beecher. He promises to both that he will not repeat any of Bowen's circumstantial charges against Beecher, as contained in his letter to Bowen, which we print above, and which, with a threat of its publication, was written to Bowen as a means of wringing from Bowen the back pay which Tilton alleged was due from Bowen to himself.

What the worldly would call his "little game" was successful, and after Bowen had reluctantly paid that back salary to Tilton, Tilton suppressed the letter, and it was not his fault that the *Sunday Press* first gave it to the world. But Tilton says not a word of his own charges against Beecher. On this point he is singularly mute. He explains none of the extraordinary chain of occurrences which included his wife's return for a while to her mother. He is as silent as

the grave about his conversations with Mrs. Woodhull. On this point he cannot touch even in the "covenant," framed so artfully as it is for easy consciences. He promises Bowen that he will not relieve him of his duties as informer, and that the long list of charges, with all their vraisemblance, which Bowen made to him against Beecher, shall not be allowed to stray abroad. But he does not say that his own indictment of Beecher is false, nor does he refer to that episode in his career which he occasionally explains on the theory of his wife's temporary insanity.

Finally, we have Beecher's benedictory paragraph, dripping, like Aaron's beard, with the ointment of brotherly love.

III. I, Henry Ward Beecher, put the past forever out of sight and out of memory. I deeply regret the causes for suspicion, jealousy and estrangement which have come between us. It is a joy to me to have my old regard for Henry C. Bowen and Theodore Tilton restored, and a happiness to me to resume the old relations of love, respect and reliance to each and both of them. If I have said anything injurious to the reputation of either, or have detracted from their standing and fame as Christian gentlemen and members of my church, I revoke it all, and heartily covenant to repair and reinstate them to the extent of my power.

What "past" does Beecher "put out of sight and memory forever?" Is it the "past" which recently escaping from its limbo has wrestled with him in the dark, while he pretended to all men that it had never undergone a resurrection? Why so indefinite, Mr. Beecher? What "past" can it be of which a Christian minister, conscious of no guilt, is so afraid that he desires to "put it out of sight and out of memory forever?" Is it a "past" stained with shame, or remorse, or sudden grief of some sort? And what "causes" for "suspicion, jealousy and estrangement" could have come between Beecher on the one side and Tilton and Bowen on the other, except those which Bowen and Tilton have so diligently affirmed. One of those "causes" may have been Bowen's "guarded repetition" to Tilton of his "awful reality" and the unclosing of his "great volume." Such conduct on Bowen's part would have been excessively likely to estrange Beecher from Bowen. But what "cause" for Tilton's "suspicion and jealousy" did Beecher give? Tilton cleverly escapes the necessity of alluding to this part of the "covenant" by omitting all mention of any offense committed against himself and his honor by Beecher. But Beecher is not so shrewd apparently as Tilton. He confesses that there have been "causes" for Tilton's "suspicion and jealousy," and for "the estrangement" which naturally followed such "suspicion and jealousy." What could be the cause of the suspicion? And was Tilton's jealousy of Beecher the keen sting of marital dishonor, or was it a mere intellectual envy of Beecher's genius and popularity? Could it be possible that Beecher envied Tilton? Supposing anything so monstrous, it is inconceivable that estrangement should be the result of such "suspicion and jealousy," when the anxiety of Tilton and Beecher to play once more the part of brothers became so strong that it even included that notorious proprietor of "great volumes" and "awful realities," Henry C. Bowen himself. Were the "ravings" of Mrs. Tilton, that delicate, nervous woman, on whose frail shoulders most of this ponderous "covenant" rests, one of the "causes for suspicion and jealousy" which Beecher "deeply regrets?" He finds a joy in having his "old regard for Henry C. Bowen and Theodore Tilton restored." So they have nothing to forgive Beecher, while Beecher is delighted to resume his "old relations" with them. We cannot understand how those old relations were snapped by Bowen. That "great volume" and "awful reality" was enough to demolish the sturdiest friendship. No man in Beecher's place could have endured with good temper such a minute relation of brutality as that which Bowen "guardedly repeated" to Tilton, and in which Beecher figured so hideously and conspicuously. But what bone of contention lay between Tilton and Beecher? Was it the story of his own shame which Tilton took to Mrs. Woodhull? If so, Tilton says nothing of it in his part of the "covenant." Neither, so far as we are aware, has he ever retracted it. Does Tilton still believe in Beecher's guilt in this regard, and does Beecher force his friendship and his "old regard" on him in spite of himself? Is it, with all due reverence, something of the spirit which inspires the criminal under the gallows tree to forgive the District-Attorney who procured his conviction?

If both these brethren have lied about himself while quarreling with each other over a money bargain, is Beecher so mean a man and one so indifferent to his own character, that in the parlor of a private house he consents to patch up a treaty of peace with those who attempted to "bluff" each other, with his ruin and exposure for a trump card? Is the sanctity of his pastoral relation so cheap to him that, knowing his own innocence, he allows Bowen and Tilton, after gnawing at his morality, not only to again share the sacrament with him, but as well to enjoy his "old regard and respect and reliance." Christ was dumb when the high priest's servants struck him, but he did not express his "deep regret" to Judas Iscariot for losing his friendship. Does any living soul believe that Beecher loves, respects or relies upon Bowen?

What could Beecher have said injurious to the reputation of Tilton or Bowen? Did he ever denounce either of them as cowardly scoundrels? Did he ever express himself as vigorously of their personal quarrels as any other man, with his soul conscious of its virtue, would certainly have done? Did he ever stigmatize, fortified with a knowledge of his own innocence, the monstrous duplicity of the two men who were ready to sell him out in the matter of a money difference? Could even a minister refrain from expressing in mundane phrase his loathing of the creatures who were ready to make his fame a counter in the sordid game of a lawsuit? Bah! It can be no manly spirit which welcomes in secret the return to friendship of those who turned that friendship to such base account.

The world will not be deceived by this tinsel-work. Had Beecher been slandered in the first instance, and given the perjurers to the law, he would have emerged from the

hideous fog, as white and pure as his friends once thought he was. Had a poor wretch picked his plethoric pocket he would have sent for an officer and consigned the thief to his just punishment. But when the property he loses is his character, and when the felons are men of wealth and note, he grants the robbers an interview, and, to speak of this "covenant" in the kindest manner, compromises the crime. As it is, the wretchedly written and foolishly inconsistent compact between Beecher, Bowen and Tilton is the epitaph of their good fame in this community. Not a charge has been met, not a retraction has been made, not a word of indemnity to the grievously wronged congregation of Plymouth Church has been breathed. All that has been done has been the concoction of a back-room settlement to stifle exposure, and it is because one of the triumvirate has, as a matter of course, proved false to his guarantee of mutual protection that the religious world is taught with what little principle a church can be governed.

TILTON'S REASONS FOR CONCEALMENT.

Over two years ago Theodore Tilton, who desires it to be understood that he retracts nothing of his charges against Henry Ward Beecher, was sued by his wife for a divorce, she alleging against him the crime of adultery and seeking a maternal refuge from his treatment of her. The documents in the case repose in the possession of Alden J. Spooner, of this city, and Mrs. Tilton was induced to withdraw her complaint by a pointed allusion to her relations with Beecher. Mrs. Woodhull, before being further prosecuted by Mr. Beecher's disciple and friend, Anthony J. Comstock, will, perhaps, remember this incident in the history of the man whom Beecher hugs again to his lacerated heart.

THE BEECHER-BOWEN-TILTON "COVENANT."

We have very little to suggest with reference to the exhaustive review of the "covenant" printed on our first page. If Mr. Beecher feels aggrieved at the discovery of so little sympathy for him in his almost Gethsemanic agony, he must remember that when every heart kindled with just wrath for Bowen, awaiting only his manly denial to give a sanctity to that flame of indignation, he kept a cowardly silence. The fire is now hot for his trial. We trust he will pass through the furnace, and emerge from it in the white linen of the saints.

THE PRICE OF THE "COVENANT."

Just as Henry Ward Beecher's alleged crimes were first made ready for the public eye, by Bowen and Tilton in a money dispute, so money was one of the conditions of the round-robin signed by Beecher, Bowen and Tilton. The Judas Iscariot of the trio paid Tilton \$20,000 to sign the agreement, and so cancel the charges against Beecher, which Bowen had been circulating with industry, and Beecher remitted Bowen a debt of \$5,000 which Bowen owed Beecher for services on the *Independent*, on condition that Bowen should also sign the retraction he never intended to abide by.

THE AUTHOR OF THE "COVENANT."

The so-called "covenant," in which Beecher, Bowen and Tilton were to forget and forgive each the other's offenses against himself, was drawn up by T. D. Sherman, of Plymouth Church. It was signed in Mr. Freeland's house, and was kept as closely concealed as possible. It was given to the press by a warm, personal friend of Tilton, whose wisdom and sagacity have, in this instance, clearly overreached themselves. "Suffolk" was reticent until the crisis was nearly past and then launched the "covenant" on the stream of public debate.

BOWEN ABOUT TO SPEAK.

On Friday, Henry E. Bowen, son of Henry C. Bowen, and nominal editor of the *Union*, telegraphed to his father: It is out. What shall I do? HENRY E. BOWEN. The father replied from Indianapolis: Do nothing. HENRY C. BOWEN. But yesterday evening Henry C. Bowen telegraphed to his son: I am glad I am free. Shall be home Monday or Tuesday. Henry C. Bowen asserts that he will withdraw all his promises of concealment, and will confess all that he knows about Beecher.

WHY BOWEN CASHIERED TILTON.

When Theodore Tilton was discharged by Henry C. Bowen from the *Union* and the *Independent*, Henry C. Bowen being pressed for an explanation, stated that Tilton was dismissed from his employ for improper overtures to a lady engaged in his office, as well as for flagrant acts of immorality, in which persons of good standing in this community were also implicated. And it was this same Theodore Tilton, who afterward said that, of "his good will" to Bowen, he would never repeat the latter's charges against Beecher, having received \$20,000 in the interim.

Moulton.—Francis Moulton once had the reputation of being a shrewd man. But the Beecher-Bowen-Tilton matter has demolished that reputation. Just at the wrong moment, when Bowen's back was turned, Moulton caused the publication of that fatal "covenant." Now, no one possibly repents it more bitterly than he. The cowards ran away from Fate, not daring to meet her, and when she caught up with the fugitives their best friends fell in the general slaughter.

[From the Brooklyn Sunday Review, June 1, 1873.]

THE BEECHER SCANDAL.

Virtual Termination of the Case—Retraction of the Charges Against the Pastor by their Author—General Account of the Complication.

When, some eight months ago, charges which respectable journals hesitate even to name were published in the col-

umns of WOODHULL AND CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY against the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher of this city, the community as a whole felt not more astonished than indignant. To have accepted them as in any measure true would have necessitated the belief in hypocrisy of proportions never before dreamed of; to look upon them as owing parentage solely to the malice of the writer's mind, required an assumption of infamy against Mrs. Woodhull which not the most violent of her enemies had dared to associate with her name. Recognizing this, the conviction became general that while Mr. Beecher was innocent, some person concealed from the public eye, with a design not to be comprehended, had woven the tale and imposed it upon her over-credulous and not too-sensitive mind. Mr. Beecher's spotless life as a minister, his eminent services as a citizen, and unceasing contributions toward the elevation of public thought, as a thinker, more than logically offset and neutralized the slanders in reflecting minds; but in his very conspicuity and power was seen to reside the temptation likely to spur groveling, avaricious and unscrupulous cunning to the promulgation of audacious lies, calculated to destroy his influence and blast his reputation. "Who is to be held responsible for this work?" became a common question. The interrogatory owed form not to idle curiosity, but to a desire on the part of men and women believing in things of good repute, to see deserved punishment visited upon the guilty, and even such tarnish as may be inflicted by evil breath upon any name removed from that of Mr. Beecher.

For a time it seemed as if the whole matter must remain a mystery. Mr. Beecher and his friends declined to speak upon the subject, and those who gave publication to the story had evidently told all they knew. In this condition were affairs when the *Review*, after patient and unobtrusive investigation, learned, almost to a certainty, that Henry C. Bowen, editor of the *Independent* and of the Brooklyn *Daily Union*, was the author of the slander.

Not, however, until moral certainty had been carried to the point of demonstration was there a word in these columns written in this relation against him. It was felt that no matter what his faults, to have acted upon anything short of noonday evidence, would have been only less outrageous than that which he is now by his own confession seen to have committed against his pastor. To the circulation of an unproven charge destined to do evil, there must be either deliberate malice or thoughtless imbecility, and as the *Review* desired the fame for neither, it waited for the facts. The facts were obtained, and the people of Brooklyn were told that Henry C. Bowen was the man responsible for the infamous allegations.

On the heels of the *Review's* discovery came the publication of Mr. Theodore Tilton's letter, detailing with all the circumstantiality of unmingled and exact truth the time when and place where Bowen had started the slander in the direction of journalism. Since then the *Review* has not hesitated to point out what in its judgment was the duty at once of Plymouth Church and the community in the premises. As if, however, to wipe out every semblance of doubt on the subject and forever set at rest the character of Mr. Beecher's fair seeming enemy, our readers are to-day presented with Bowen's retraction, signed with his own hand, and witnessed by both Mr. Tilton and Mr. Beecher. After the amount of discussion to which this whole matter has been subject, the retraction hardly seems to require anything either in the nature of elucidation or confirmation. Standing alone, it tells as clearly as language can that Mr. Bowen charged Mr. Beecher with adultery, and that he (Bowen) lied deliberately when he did so. But as no event can be properly understood apart from the events which may be said to constitute its context, there is a certain amount of historical interest at least in the following authoritative narrative, copied in part from the *Eagle*:

After years of trust on the one side and betrayal on the other, it occurred to Mr. Bowen that an honest penny could be turned by having Mr. Beecher edit the *Independent*. He called upon Mr. Beecher, stated his object, and after expatiating upon the grand opportunities which a journal like the *Independent* afforded in the right hands for the advancement of Christ's kingdom, requested him to become its editor. He accepted the offer, and how the work was performed is a matter of common knowledge. The *Independent* from insignificance was raised to power under Mr. Beecher's editorship, and between his name and labors the proprietor passed from bankruptcy to affluence. During the early part of his connection with the *Independent*, Mr. Beecher was recognized by Bowen as one whose reputation he could not afford to injure in any way without peculiarly affecting himself, for his fortune was the paper, and the paper was practically Mr. Beecher. For personal reasons, however, Mr. Beecher saw fit to resign his editorial chair, and with that resignation Mr. Bowen saw fit to renew his slanders. He was afraid of rivalry in the religious publication business, and thinking that Mr. Beecher's alliance with another paper would seal the fate of the *Independent*, he set deliberately about the work of sealing Mr. Beecher's fate by blasting his reputation. That Bowen's fears were not groundless, is shown by the fact that several editorial offers were made to Mr. Beecher the moment it was known he had become disconnected with the *Independent*. [Here, by way of parenthesis, it may be stated that the immediate cause of Mr. Beecher's withdrawal from the *Independent* was a political one. While he was yet editor of it, but during his absence, it assailed him fiercely for his Cleveland letter. He did not like that treatment, and not liking it, resigned; although so disgusted had he become with Bowen's management in other respects, that some other pretext would shortly have been adopted for retirement from the association.] As has been intimated, when Mr. Beecher withdrew, Mr. Bowen commenced to slander him, not openly, but behind his back. Mr. Tilton's letter indicates the character of the stories told. This proceeded for months before any one informed Mr. Beecher what was going on. It was a delicate matter which nobody seemed disposed to handle. Finally, one of the more prominent members of Plymouth

Church called upon Mr. Beecher and said that Bowen was telling fearful stories about him. Beecher was disposed to treat the matter lightly, but the member was so strenuous on the point that Mr. Beecher said, "Well, I shall appoint Mr. H. B. Clafin, Mr. Freeland and Mr. Howard a committee of three to hear these charges. You tell them all you know about them, and if Bowen will, let him do the same, and if they say there is anything requiring action on my part I will act."

The member never returned to say what the result was, but Mr. Clafin upon inquiry told Mr. Beecher some time after that there was nothing in it but idle rumor; nothing which should occasion in him any uneasiness.

For two or three months previous to this there had not been much cordiality of feeling existing between Bowen and Beecher. Now, however, what little had been left was wholly extinguished.

Their paths, metaphorically speaking, lay in different directions. So marked did this coolness become that it became matter of common observation among "the brethren," and the brethren being on the side of Mr. Beecher and not at all in sympathy with any one disposed to darken his character, they also assumed an icy demeanor toward the proprietor of the *Independent*. This had continued for fully eight months when Mr. Freeland called upon Mr. Beecher one evening, and in a manner that showed his sympathy had been greatly excited, said:

"Mr. Beecher, can't you do something for Mr. Bowen, he feels terrible?"

"What," said Mr. Beecher, "can I do? I will do anything I can for him up to the line of truth and honor. I am not responsible for any existing misunderstanding, and I shan't be responsible for its continuance."

Mr. Freeland said, by way of rejoinder to this, that Bowen felt that he was under the ban of society, that his brethren were looking upon him with disfavor, and that nothing but Mr. Beecher's smile could again make the sun of their goodwill to shine upon him.

To this Mr. Beecher said: "What shall I do?"

Mr. Freeland then said that he would invite Mr. Bowen to come to his house, and that he (Beecher) should also attend, and that when there all past differences could be smoothed over.

This Mr. Beecher agreed to, and this was done. After talking upon some general subjects Mr. Beecher, finding himself with Bowen in a corner alone, asked him to open his heart and tell him the cause of his hard feeling, if he had any.

To the astonishment, though not to the dismay, of Mr. Beecher, Bowen drew from his pocket a paper with some notes, and after intimating that he expected such an invitation proceeded deliberately to submit what for want of a better name to be called the points of settlement.

The substance of these points was that he, Bowen, felt aggrieved at Beecher's withdrawal from the *Independent*, and that he asked him to, if not write, at least allow his sermons to be published in it.

He complained of the coldness of the brethren, and desired Mr. Beecher specially to commend him to their favor.

He also said that his home had been less pleasant to him since Mr. Beecher had ceased visiting it—asked him to renew his visits, and write a letter which he, Bowen, might read to his wife, showing that he was once more in the confidence and esteem of his pastor.

To all these points Mr. Beecher agreed. His sermons were published in the *Independent*, and he wrote a card, which was published, authorizing the *Independent* so to publish; he commended Bowen at prayer meeting as one of the old members of the church, deserving well of those who had come into the inheritance; he wrote the letter, expressive of confidence, desired, and finally visited the family. The night on which all this was arranged, Bowen and Beecher walked through the streets of Brooklyn arm in arm, and discussing, with tears in their eyes, old troubles, old triumphs, and the possibilities of future good. Bowen could not tell how happy he felt. He had, he said, but a few years to live, and these he desired to turn wholly to moral account. In this resolve he was of course encouraged by Mr. Beecher.

After such a making up as this, judge of Mr. Beecher's astonishment to learn hardly a week later, that Bowen, on being congratulated upon the reconciliation, denied the whole thing, and declared that so far from caring for him, he had evidence in his hands which would in twenty-four hours drive him out of Brooklyn. This statement was made to J. T. Howard. Not a week before, Bowen had pleaded weakness, credulity and everything else by way of forgiveness, and Mr. Beecher had consented to bury the whole of it. A week later, with the ink hardly dry on the solicited letter, he renewed in aggravated forms all his previous slanders, and declares the man whose smile he had wept to win, a victim depending upon his mercy.

Why should Bowen have changed so suddenly in his tone, it may be asked. Briefly, because he learned Mr. Beecher had resolved to become editor of the *Christian Union*. He feared a rivalry. Rivalry, with Mr. Beecher at its head, sent a pang through every nerve of his avaricious soul, and to disarm it, he believed all available means right means.

The matter, so far as Mr. Beecher's reputation was concerned, now became serious, and the friends of Mr. Beecher determined to visit condign punishment on the guilty head. Bowen had not bargained for this; his object was to work in secret, not openly, and therefore he became afraid. In his fear he went to Mr. Theodore Tilton and told him never to repeat what he (Bowen) had said of Mr. Beecher.

Tilton replied, he should suit himself on that subject. Bowen, enraged at this and violating two contracts, discharged Mr. Tilton almost on the spot. The results of that discharge are apparent; Tilton brought suit to recover about \$20,000 for breach of contract. Bowen was disposed to fight, and would have fought had not Mr. Tilton written the subjoined letter and threatened to publish it. To prevent its publication, Mr. Bowen drew his check for Mr. Tilton's claim. Upon the heels of this little piece of commerce the

retraction now inclined to be repented, but might be still in the future past cause was tioned, and the should be mai With this und tion, no matte light of a liar.

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NEW YORK

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BROOKLYN

In addition the deacons tion; and th leave the co

Mr. Henry Ind., for the few days; t hear anythi of this state The Plymouth evening at t solved to in mendation. Bowen's ba rounding th

retraction now published was drawn up. Mr. Beecher was inclined to be merciful, and Bowen rolled in the dust of repentance, but Mr. Beecher's friends saw that while Bowen might be silent, some definite protection against him in the future was required. Of this Bowen was told; his past cause was recited to him, the forbearance shown mentioned, and the assurance given that upon all the past silence should be maintained unless he broke faith in the future. With this understanding he signed the retraction, a retraction, no matter how viewed, that places him at once in the light of a liar and a slanderer.

The signature of this one would have supposed would have been perfect estoppel on Bowen: but no, he continued with all the old time effrontery in his old ways. When the "Beecher Scandal" proper got afloat, he intimated everywhere that it was true. And even went so far as to state that Mr. Beecher did not speak because he dare not. He spoke of carrying burdens that did not belong to him, and intimated that nothing but an obligation to remain silent kept his tongue still. He gave it to be understood everywhere, that at any moment he could put himself right before the world, but that in doing so he would damn Beecher. In these declarations Mr. Beecher's friends recognized a spirit not to be trusted in any way, and in mere self-defense they have therefore been compelled to make public the facts as here set forth. By way of preliminary to the publication, Mr. Beecher wrote a letter to Bowen ten days ago, clearing him from all obligation to be silent, and bidding him if he could in any way help himself to do it by the wildest possible utterance. Mr. Bowen did not care to avail himself of that liberty, although the letter containing it was read in the presence of Mr. H. B. Claflin and Mr. Frank Moulton.

With these statements the retraction will be more fully comprehended than without them.

THE DOCUMENTS.

The following is the letter of explanation from the gentleman who furnished the subjoined documents to the press:

SIR—It is high time that the torrent of slander against Henry Ward Beecher be arrested. I have in my possession a copy of the disavowal of all the charges and imputations against Mr. Beecher ever made by Henry C. Bowen, which was executed on the 2d of April, 1872. Without Mr. Beecher's knowledge, I have held this in my hands from that time to this, and now, without his knowledge, I give this document to the world, and estop and convict the principal offender against truth, public decency and the rights of reputation.

My inducement to do this is the fact that Mr. Bowen has of late repeatedly declared that he had never disavowed his charges against Mr. Beecher, but that he yet insisted on their truth. And now the public can understand the brave silence which the great preacher has kept under this protracted storm of slander. He has covenanted to bury the past and to maintain peace and brotherhood. The violation of that agreement by Henry C. Bowen unseals my mouth if it does not open the lips of the pastor of Plymouth Church.

SUFFOLK.

NEW YORK, May 29, 1873.

THE DISAVOWAL.

We three men, earnestly desiring to remove all causes of offense existing between us, real or fancied, and to make Christian reparation for injuries done or supposed to be done, and to efface the disturbed past, and to provide concord, good will and love for the future, do declare and covenant, each to the other, as follows:

I, Henry C. Bowen, having given credit, perhaps without due consideration, to tales and innuendoes affecting Henry Ward Beecher, and being influenced by them, as was natural to a man who receives impressions suddenly, to the extent of repeating them (guardedly, however, and within limitations, and not for the purpose of injuring him, but strictly in the confidence of consultation), now feel that therein I did him wrong. Therefore I disavow all the charges and imputations that have been attributed to me as having been by me made against Henry Ward Beecher, and I declare, fully and without reserve, that I know nothing which should prevent me from extending to him the most cordial friendship, confidence and Christian fellowship. And I expressly withdraw all the charges, imputations and innuendoes imputed as having been made and uttered by me, and set forth in a letter written by me to Theodore Tilton on the 1st of January, 1871 (a copy of which letter is hereto annexed), and I sincerely regret having made any imputations, charges, or innuendoes unfavorable to the Christian character of Mr. Beecher. And I covenant and promise that for all future time I will never, by word or deed, recur to, repeat, or allude to any or either of said charges, imputation and innuendoes.

II. And I, Theodore Tilton, do, of my free will and friendly spirit toward Henry Ward Beecher, hereby covenant and agree that I will never again repeat, by mouth or word or otherwise, any of the allegations, or imputations, or innuendoes contained in my letters hereto annexed, or any other injurious imputations or allegations suggested by or growing out of these, and that I will never again bring up or hint at any difference or ground of complaint heretofore existing between the said Henry C. Bowen or myself, or the said Henry Ward Beecher.

III. I, Henry Ward Beecher, put the past for ever out of sight and out of memory. I deeply regret the causes for suspicion, jealousy and estrangement which have come between us. It is a joy for me to have my old regard for Henry C. Bowen and Theodore Tilton restored, and a happiness to me to resume the old relations of love, respect and reliance to each and both of them. If I have said anything injurious to the reputation of either, or have detracted from their standing and fame as Christian gentlemen and members of my church, I revoke it all, and heartily covenant to repair and reinstate them to the extent of my power.

(Signed)

H. C. BOWEN,
THEODORE TILTON,
H. W. BEECHER.

BROOKLYN, April 2, 1872.

In addition to the foregoing, it need only be added that the deacons of the church have resolved upon an investigation; and that Mr. Bowen must either justify his action or leave the congregation.

Mr. Henry C. Bowen started five days ago for Indianapolis, Ind., for the benefit of his health. He is expected back in a few days; till then it is not supposed that the public will hear anything about the matter from him. The publication of this statement from Mr. Beecher is the talk of the town. The Plymouth Church deacons held a meeting on Friday evening at the house of Deacon Fitzgerald, and it was resolved to investigate the matter on Mr. Beecher's recommendation. It is also said that the proof is conclusive as to Bowen's baseness. However, we hope the mystery surrounding the whole affair will be cleared up.

BOWEN'S RETRACTION—EDITORIAL.

Henry C. Bowen, in a very carefully worded and decidedly ambiguous retraction, acknowledges that he is the virtual journalistic father of the slanders which have for the past eight months been in circulation against the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher. The existence of this retraction has been known to most of the newspaper men of the city for two months at least, but not until within the last few days did it pass into hands that made access to it either safe or certain. With the other facts of the case it was up to that time kept in mystery. Dark hints were thrown out in abundance enough about it by those in whose favor it was, but simple statement was not to be obtained. Now, however, that it is obtained, two questions arise: What shall we do about it? What can we do about it? How much of a retraction is it? Evidently enough, so far as Mr. Henry C. Bowen is concerned, there is nothing in the way of punishment but social ostracism; that can be done, and that this will practically be done, is a matter of absolute certainty. Men with characters to lose are not likely to take him into their confidence, and men who find their account in keeping the favor of men of note are not likely to hazard that favor by even appearing to be his friends. Socially, therefore, his doom may be considered as sealed. But Henry C. Bowen, personally, is the least important figure in the drama. The eyes of Brooklyn and, for that matter, of the country, are not upon him but on the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher. The question, therefore, of most vital importance now is as to his future. Can this document be considered as affecting his clearance? Does it remove even suspicion from his character? or does there still remain something to be explained? That considerable yet remains to be explained will hardly be denied by even the warmest of Mr. Beecher's friends. No matter what may be thought of Henry C. Bowen, it is by no means evident that Mr. Beecher was as he should have been when he entered into the compact shown by the document in question.

Had he been strong in his innocence, no matter what the strength of his charity, would he not have insisted upon something more definite than was obtained? Had he been guilty, could he have obtained much less? Bowen, in going to his own destruction, does not appear to have greatly contributed to Beecher's security. He admits that he acted the part of a vile and malicious slanderer, that he was over hasty in the circulation of unauthenticated stories, but he denies the parentage of the stories, and expresses no belief as to their absolute falsehood. "Perhaps," he says, "I lent an over-willing ear;" but he nowhere intimates the belief that in his present estimation they were without foundation. It is true he disclaims all knowledge, but knowledge and belief are vastly different things, and a man may have faith in a great many actions that he could not possibly have seen. In a word, this retraction puts Bowen beyond the pale of confidence, but it does not bring Mr. Beecher within it. There is more occasion for speech on Mr. Beecher's part than there ever was before. What are we to think of his conception of a Christian gentleman, when we find him characterizing by that term a man against whose vile tongue he found it necessary to protect himself by written agreement? And what of his protestations of friendship, when we see him covenanting to commend publicly to the good will of unsuspecting church members, the man whose heart he believed to be black with iniquity?

Did not Mr. Beecher in all this agree to perpetrate a deliberate fraud? According to his own statement it is clear he had found Bowen a man unworthy to be trusted in any relation of life, and yet in his capacity of minister he publicly commends him to trust in the most sacred relations. Does not this demand explanation? Mr. Beecher was undoubtedly at liberty to forgive all the injuries he chose, but he was not at liberty to hold a scheming scoundrel up before the eyes of the young as a person worthy of admiration. Yet this is exactly what he did. Bowen was a deacon in his church; Bowen took an active part in the management of the congregation; and Bowen was to be seen literally in the arms of Mr. Beecher. Now, what did all that mean? If Bowen was the slanderer represented, and Beecher knew it, an outrage was clearly permitted in so tolerating him; if he was fit for such honor, he is to-day the victim of unparalleled persecution. On any hypotheses, however, explanation is needed; and unless the members of Plymouth Church propose to make Christianity a gigantic farce, they will insist upon an explanation.

SPIRITUALISTIC.

TO SPIRITUALISTS, FREE RELIGIONISTS AND INDEPENDENT CHRISTIANS—GREETING:

BY JOHN BROWN SMITH.

[Concluded.]

The cultured and liberal movement called "Free Religion" is doing a good work by preparing thousands for the reception and recognition of the higher facts and phenomena of the spirit world. In the nature of human progress it is not possible for them to accept the ideal and rational philosophy of religion without investigating its phenomenal basis; when they do so they will take another step in advance and place themselves firmly upon the scientific and philosophical principles of the Spiritual Religion of Humanity. Let us hope that Spiritualists will be ready to cast aside their isms when the Free Religionists have outgrown theirs, and cordially meet them on the common platform of demonstrated immortality and individual freedom!

The Independent Christians are numerous in most all the Christian sects, but more especially in the most liberal denominations—they are two steps away from the spiritual platform, as they still cling to the name of Christianity and its associations, in addition to the denial of spiritual phenomena; but as they are through faith believers in immortality, it is easy for them to glide from the shadow and embrace the substance when it is presented to them in the shape of their own loving, spirit friends and relatives. The

greater percentage of Spiritual adherents come from their ranks; the greater majority of avowed Spiritualists came from the Christian ranks and the ranks of Free Thinkers, and the natural laws of Spiritual evolution will force them to follow us to the common platform. We extend them a cordial welcome to meet us on the platform of love and spiritual truth that Jesus stood upon eighteen hundred years since. Come and witness as great and even greater phenomena through our mediums than was given through His mediumship while upon earth; and, indeed, He himself predicted that even greater things than He had done should be done by those who came after Him. Cease living on the husks of faith and step out upon the free platform of demonstrated immortality; learn how to save yourselves through the sublime truths of self-government instead of depending on the merits or blood of any man; uncover your hearts and souls and give forth the sweet and burning flames of love and inspiration to arouse others, so that they may become their own saviours. Prove by your works that you are worthy of these spiritual truths of immortality, and are ready to apply in your own lives the principles of love, freedom and self-government.

I dislike personalities in the discussion and enunciation of principles, yet I know that there are times and occasions when it is right and proper to make a public avowal of your intentions. At this time I feel that it is my duty to make a public declaration of my purpose to devote my best energies to the spread of the truths of the Spiritual Religion of Humanity in accordance with the general principles enunciated in this article. I stand ready to defend them on the rostrum with the voice of reason, and in the press with the pen of inspiration, until they are shown to be erroneous: if that can be done I will change, modify and correct them.

I, as an individual member of the great Spiritual movement of all ages, claim, and do hereby exercise the right, to announce these opinions and freely accord the same rights to others. I never have, will or can belong to any spiritual or religious organization unless it be to the spiritual brotherhood of man that has a foundation on the eternal laws of nature.

In order to disarm all petty jealousy which may arise in the future, from the fact that I have taken this decided stand with those who cannot understand or appreciate my motives, I hereby announce my decision in advance, that I never will accept, or hold any office, or position in any spiritual or religious organization now in existence or hereafter to be created, save as an independent public speaker and writer. I commenced working one year since as an independent speaker and writer in the Spiritual cause, and I have continued on this platform since that time. I am impelled by inner-soul convictions of duty that I cannot resist to take this step, not for the establishment of a new sect or religion, but for the preservation of the unity of the Spiritual movement as the glorious star of hope of mankind, and the scientific and philosophical basis of the past and future Spiritual Religion of Humanity. The stirring events of the past year and the efforts now being made to sectarianize and divide the Spiritual movement, have culminated in a crisis which bids fair to destroy the unity and life of this heaven-born Spiritual religion by a sectarian death—the most ignoble of deaths.

To the radical element I will say that my radicalism is scarcely surpassed in one of the many reforms now before the world. I make an effort to put in practice in my own person my inner convictions of the principles of self-government to an extent that the mass of mankind will not receive for generations yet to come; but in order to preserve the unity of the Spiritual movement I come upon a common platform, but insist upon the recognition of Individual Freedom so as to keep the door open for radical progress.

On this platform we can advocate our special reforms from the individual standpoint without requiring the great body of Spiritualists to indorse them as an article of their common faith. Then, radicals, will you not fall into line on the common platform of Immortality, with Individual Freedom on the rostrum and in the press?

To the conservative element I make an earnest appeal for them to give their calm and cool deliberation to the consideration of these principles. You cannot stay the march of destiny and progress any more than you can reverse the operations of natural law. Rise above the prejudices you have of hearing the radicals upon a free Spiritual rostrum or in a free press; if they are extremists, it is the more your duty to stay among them, as they may need a little of your cool judgment and clear reason to give them the right temper, and perhaps your cool temperaments may just need a little of their fire and enthusiasm to kindle in your souls a new flame of love and charity for all mankind. You need them and they need you, and both will be the better for the unity. Are you afraid that truth cannot fight her own battles against all opposers? If not, come to the common platform of Immortality, with a free rostrum and a free press! The unity and preservation of the Spiritual cause demand it at your hands. If you dare divide and sectarianize this angelic Spiritual movement, I will be one of those who will fire the popular heart and kindle a flame of enthusiasm in the North, East, South and West that will ultimately sink your sectarian organizations into the oblivion which awaits all sects or isms, whether they belong to orthodox or Spiritual organizations.

In the presence of the Spirit world and the world at large, I hereby promise to devote my best energies of body, mind and soul during earth life to the spread and diffusion, as well as the preservation of the unity of the sacred Spiritual religion of humanity. As long as I continue to work with pure motives and an eye single to the advancement of the cause, I feel that the spirit world will give strength to the end; and can I not hope that the brothers and sisters will do likewise by asserting their natural right to exercise the functions of individual freedom and self-government by coming upon a platform of unity yet unlimited diversity of opinion? Down with sects, parties and isms, and up with the rights of humanity, and thus preserve the unity of the grand Spiritual movement.

THE GOD-IN-THE-CONSTITUTION MUDDLE.

For years there have been subtle agencies at work, and just now quite a smoke gotten up in regard to putting God in the Constitution of these United States, or in other words, confessing ourselves a Christian or religious nation, by acknowledging God as the author of all things. Now these people must imagine that some benefit is to accrue from this foolhardy movement to some party—either to a God or to man. If it is to benefit God, why it is scarcely worth while to go to such a length for such a God, simply that any being who could be improved, benefited or pleased by such a trifling compliment has no business with it, and he would be a small concern anyway. There is nothing proposed to be accomplished by the movement that can appertain to a God but would actually bespatter a greatness. If it be claimed that it is for man's sake, let us ask where it could be expected that man could derive any improvement from it? It would not add to his importance as a man, nor contribute to his happiness. It is claimed as a primary importance that it will publicly confess God by declaring that we are not infidel as a nation. If such a declaration would repeat a truth, I do not see the need of saying it, since it could not add to its importance by making a parchment display of it. And if it does not declare a truth, there had better be no such declaration. This marvelous itching that people have to display their colors in a religious way is the craft of some subtle power keeping the race in a worry, to be meddling in some way with one another, and prevent everybody from getting any time to think. If man would just ask himself how very amiable he must be as company, while indulging the feeling that he must be incessantly annoying somebody in the way of correcting their faith, it might do something toward effecting a cure of this eternally-to-be-aborred evil. For so sure as society is made up of individuals, so sure it is that the unpalatableness of the individual will make him such an unwelcome constituent of society as to entirely exclude him. The embarrassment of such condition will be his own; for no desirable society can ever be had where one meddler is ever recognized as welcome. It is immaterial what conceptions may keep such individual in motion—whether of duty or inclination—it would not render them any the more congenial. It is of course imagined by these people that when the Constitution is so modified it will go far toward evangelizing the country. One moment's reflection while looking at other countries where this God is confessed, crosses worn out of respect to Jesus, and solemn displays gotten up in almost every conceivable way, will inform us as to the effect, and legitimately, too, of such superlative nonsense. For no man ever thought a noise or display important as a religious element that ever had anything else but noise and display about him. The religion of this country to-day is perfectly mechanical; its devotion as heartless as a gourd. And not one in every three of all its professors have any well-settled idea that there is any such thing as an existence beyond this present mode of being. No one is religious from any attraction his religion has for him. It has some way come to be considered as a matter of course, is popular, and is mingled with the floating idea in the thoughts of the race that it may be, by a bare possibility, some service hereafter, provided there is a hereafter; has much to do to keep up its languid performances. Without these incentives it would die out in a twelvemonth, unless its stereotyped formalities should have become so fixed in some cases as to perpetuate it to a greater length of time, maybe until the disease should actually kill the patient, or leave in disgust. It was a saying of Mr. Burchard, the revivalist, that "a lazy man's brain is a devil's workshop." From such a brain, without question, has sprung this God-in-the-Constitution muddle. For if it become a success, the bitterness it will engender and the carnage it will bring about will point to no better parentage; while the good it could promote under the most favorable auspices would not be worth the poorest thought a devil ever awakened in the most indolent brain. When I look over the array of names, with their gaudy titles attached to set forth the importance of this amendment of the Constitution, it reminds me of some dog fancier who should platform his canine varieties, set off with showy brass collars, to attract attention. Do these Constitution marauders consider that the present Constitution was formed by men of different ilk from themselves; and designedly to guard against any temptation to the very oppressions that these thoughtless men are now proposing to inaugurate? In this country, why has not one man or class of men just as good a right to require that some leading article in his peculiar faith be engrafted into the Constitution as another? If a Hindoo should insist on foisting his poor, helpless God, into the Constitution, to gain for him a formal recognition where his qualities failed to inspire a more desirable one, and with only a remote prospect of success—would not these self-constituted dignitaries, with their peacock tails attached to their names (confessing the name to be worthless without), whine over the outrages? And yet these men have not the good sense nor the good feeling (with all their showy profession) to consider, that they propose to invade an instrument guaranteeing equal rights to each distinct individual, and madly to rifle it of this security; and thus not only to threaten the life of the nation but to take it. For the success of such a measure would denationalize nearly one-half of the people, while it would employ no small percentage of the residue for detectives or religious patrolmen, who, from the character of their office, would be on fire in hunting out heretics and hurrying them to grim despotic tribunals. Perhaps I enlarge upon the danger to be expected from such a step. It is not large enough to cover the villainy practiced in other religious persecutions, where the government indorsed the propagators of religious notions. For I have said nothing of the dungeon, the thumb-screw, the rack, burning at the stake and other amiable instruments of torture too hideous for the use of the most callous outlaw that ever pursued buccaneering upon the high seas. Looking back into the past, we can see centuries reddened with something added to the roll of these bloody carnages, to convert men to a belief in religious notions. What a bitter alternative for an honor-

able mind, to be called upon to give up citizenship, or to confess religion for which the soul of honor can have no respect, since to take its devotees to be any fair sample of its worth is to push it beyond any honorable regard. I am not alluding to the character of religionists abstractly speaking, but to those cruel asceticisms that take all heart out of life, unless inscribed with a "thus saith the Lord." As for its promises and threatenings, no sensible man cares a straw. If Christian men imagine that they could never persecute, let them consider that one anciently said: "Is thy servant a dog that he should do this thing?" Yet he did become the very thing that did it. When man, confesses that another power (unseen and unknown except what it has said of itself) has a greater right to him than he has to himself, he ought not to claim to know what he may do from one hour to another. What that power may require of him is in the concealed future! It is just here that I dare not trust the man, good enough in himself, but unreliable and dangerous as a tool. And it is just on this account that I warn this nation against the danger of securing any especial power in the hands of a popular clique.

AUBURN, April 28, 1873.

SPIRITUAL ORGANIZATION.

Dear Friends Woodhull and Claflin—Perceiving the above subject is now being agitated and properly discussed in the WEEKLY, we shall be gratified to make a few remarks in your columns, if allowed, upon Spiritual Union. In the first place, one of the most important points to be understood and advanced is in a measure overlooked by the leading Spiritualists. The point to which we wish to draw particular attention is that of liberality of ideas. By close scrutiny we perceive that Spiritualists are most of them more or less bound to a certain round of principles peculiar to themselves, not willing to allow the same freedom of expression to others that they claim for themselves. For instance, we may examine them upon those views they call sectarian, such as the Divinity of Christ or the Trinity, with respect to the views of others. They represent their pet ideas as the ultimate of perfection, without leaving their minds open for conviction or farther advancement, although claiming to be Progressionists. In all their movements they want every other one to think their plan of ideas is exactly right for all, thus trying to tie every one to the same stake they are hitched to instead of infinite liberty to all in every possible direction. The inalienable rights of individuals to free worship, free speech, free thoughts are as limited by some calling themselves Spiritualists as by the strict members of the churches. General freedom to all being overlooked. A person believing in a Redeemer has just as strong a claim to his or her rights, as a worshiper of Nature's God has to theirs. Its no person's business to dictate to either you or me, to say to whom we look for redeeming principles, whether it is a Nazarene, a Woodhull, or Ann Lee or any other great reformer. The grand problem to be solved is to learn how to attain to the greatest amount of happiness—the grandest variety of thoughts—thus allowing immeasurable development to all the races to open the entire resources of spiritual improvements. We all know that the uncultivated functions of a child's mind often reveal mysteries and new ideas, showing plainly that all our mortal capacities have not yet been unfolded and brought to light. Now, if an organized body is to set bounds for its members, it also sets bounds to its freedom—moral freedom is the indispensable object to be gained. The vast amount of needless, and worse than needless, legislation is the very yoke of bondage laid upon the nation's neck that galls and rubs so heavily. The question is, shall we submit ourselves to religious legislation, allowing the few to rule the masses? We say, no; let us organize on so broad a platform that no one's religious whims can possibly clash with their neighbors. Let us extend our platform until it reaches every child of God, admit both bond and free, male and female, Catholic or Protestant, Jew or Gentile. Let us all organize under a flag of God-given liberty. Then we shall be able to destroy old dynasties and become a power of moralists. We gave some of the above ideas in the little book entitled "A Stone, or Higher Church;" also in it you will find a plan to commence an organization that can roll on until it fills the whole world. It is not best to wait to call conventions of combative minds to hold needless arguments, etc., but send in your names and means at once. Commence with a few, and all the starving millions will follow as soon as the principles are fully understood. The very purpose of this organization is to throw off the ruling capitalists, to dispense equal education to all, to leave so much legislation in the chaotic past, and emerge into millennial light. The very purpose of throwing out the little book, the stone to the world, was to make a starting place to reach onward toward eternal freedom, and leave the future to regulate its own code.

SOUTHFORD, March 31, 1873.

THE FIRST CLERICAL MAIL

On the Publication of Jamieson's Book, "The Clergy a Source of Danger to the American Republic."

ST. JOSEPH, Mo., October 13, 1872.

Dear Sir—I see, by a poster, you apprehend danger to the Republic from the clergy!

If you knew the true teaching of Jesus [No two Christian sects can agree upon what are His true teachings.—J.] you would see that a Christian has no more to do with the question of who is in power, or what form of civil government is used, than he has to decide what class of people—if any—shall inhabit the moon. If you will read the Book of Daniel you will find that God rules among the kingdoms of men and sets up the "basest of men." He don't put Christians in power. No one who is a true disciple of Jesus has any right to hold office, or exercise any branch of civil power from voter or juror, up to President or King. Nor has he any right to influence elections, nor to attempt to regulate civil affairs. Jesus is his King, and if the disciple becomes as his Master was, he will not expect to reign till the Master comes.

As to Christians—either clergy or laymen—being dangerous to the Republic, they are not of the Republic in any way, for or against; because they know when King Jesus comes, all rule and authority will bow to Him. And while He is away they [Christians] are like a political party out of power. They don't propose to conquer the world for Christ. They simply witness that Christ is the rightful Sovereign, Lord of Lords and King of Kings; and you, too, sir, will bow to Him. But the conquest will be by Jesus in person, when "He takes to himself His great power and reigns." Where will you be then? Calling on rocks and mountains to fall on you and hide you from the face of Him that sitteth on the throne, and from the "wrath of the Lamb." I pray God for mercy on you.

No one can get into civil power without taking an oath of office [Mistake: the President and other officers under this infidel government may simply affirm.—J.], and to do so he violates a plain command of Jesus: "Swear not at all." (Matt. v. 34—37.) "Neither by any other oath." (James v. 12.)

May you be made wise in time, lest you be found to be fighting against God.

Yours,

S. D. FULTON.

JAMIESON'S REPLY.

DETROIT, Mich., Oct. 22, 1872.

S. D. FULTON:

Dear Sir—Yours of the 13th inst. received. I saw nothing in your letter which satisfies me that the clergy are not dangerous to liberty. Why is it you Christians take so much for granted which you ought to prove, if provable? You assume that whatever the Bible says is not written by man, but by God. Prove it. You say God "don't put Christians in power." Glad to hear it, but how did you find it out? In another paragraph you say that if I will read Daniel I will make the wonderful discovery that "God rules among the kingdoms of men and sets up the basest of men." How did you find that out? I am inclined to believe that if the Bible-God had anything to do with political affairs, that your representation of the book of Daniel is about right, for according to the character which the Bible gives him I could not expect anything better from him than that he should choose the "basest men he could find—such as King David and "Bill Tweed."

You "pray God for mercy" on me! Your God-book says, "The effectual, fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much." The same says, "There is none righteous, no, not one," and "he heareth the prayer of the righteous." Where are you?

You inform me that King Jesus is "away." Would it not be an unpleasant dilemma to elect him "ruler among the nations" while he is "away," and nobody knows when he will get back to "qualify?"

You say when Jesus comes in person that I will bow to him; but in the next paragraph you tell me that I will be calling on the rocks to fall on me, and hide me from his face and from his wrath. Why should he get so mad about it when I will be so polite as to "bow" to him? If he is a gentleman he will return the salute!

"Wrath of the Lamb!" Think of a ferocious lamb. Lamb-like anger. Dove-like warfare.

If there could be a God such as the Bible represents, I would have no favors to ask of him. A God that any person would want to hide himself from by calling on rocks and mountains to fall on him rather than to see his face—it is not complimentary to his countenance. A God with such a physiognomy must be a tyrant, and a nuisance which should be abated. Your God is a myth, and your "Redeemer" a creature of a diseased imagination. Good-bye.

Yours for truth and common-sense in preference to religion,

W. F. JAMIESON.

REFORMATORY LECTURERS.

In view of the determination recently manifested by certain would-be authorities in Spiritualism, and from a sincere desire to promote their expressed purposes, to set up a distinction that will produce a free and a muzzled rostrum; we shall henceforth publish in this list the names and addresses of such speakers, now before the public and hereafter to appear, as will accept no engagement to speak from any committee of arrangement, with any proviso whatever, as to what subject they shall treat, or regarding the manner in which it shall be treated. A reformatory movement, such as Spiritualism really is, cannot afford so soon to adopt the customs of the Church and fall into its dotage. On the contrary, it demands an unflinching advocacy of all subjects upon which the Spirit world inspires their mediums under the absolute freedom of the advocate. To all those speakers who wish to be understood as being something above the muzzled ox which treads out the corn, this column is now open:

C. Fannie Allyn, Stoneham, Mass.
J. I. Arnold, Clyde, O.
Rev. J. O. Barrett, Battle Creek, Mich.
Mrs. H. F. M. Brown, National City, Cal.
Annie Denton Cridge, Wellesley, Mass.
Warren Chase, St. Louis, Mo.
A. Briggs Davis, Clinton, Mass.
Mrs. L. E. Drake, Plainwell, Mich.
Miss Nellie L. Davis, North Billerica, Mass.
Lizzie Doten, Pavilion, 57 Tremont street, Boston, Mass.
R. G. Eccles, Andover, Ohio.
Mrs. Elvira Hull, Vineland, N. J.
Moses Hull, Vineland, N. J.
D. W. Hull, Hobart, Ind.
Charles Holt, Warren, Pa.
Anthony Higgins, Jersey City, N. J.
W. F. Jamieson, 139 Monroe street, Chicago, Ill.
Miss Jennie Leys, 4 Tremont Temple, Boston, Mass.
Cephas B. Lynn, Sturgis, Mich.
Mrs. F. A. Logan, Buffalo, N. Y.
Anna M. Middlebrook, Bridgeport, Ct.
J. H. Randall, Clyde, O.
A. C. Robinson, Lynn, Mass.
Mrs. J. H. Severance, Milwaukee, Wis.
Laura Cuppy Smith, No. 1 Atlantic street, Lynn, Mass.
M. L. Sherman, Adrian, Mich.
John Brown Smith, 812 N. 10th st, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mrs. H. F. Stearns, Corry, Pa.
Dr. H. B. Storer, 107 Hanover street, Boston, Mass.
C. W. Stewart, Janesville, Wis.
J. H. W. Toohy, Providence, R. I.
F. L. H. Willis, Williamantic, Ct.
Lois Waisbrooker, Battle Creek, Mich.
Prof. E. Whipple, Clyde, Ohio.
John B. Wolff, 510 Pearl street, N. Y.



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