

# WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

**PROGRESS! FREE THOUGHT! UNTRAMMELED LIVES!**  
**BREAKING THE WAY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.**

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NEW YORK, NOV. 1. 1873.

PRICE TEN CENTS.

## THE LOANER'S BANK OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, (ORGANIZED UNDER STATE CHARTER.) Continental Life Building, 22 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK.

CAPITAL..... \$500,000  
Subject to increase to..... 1,000,000

This Bank negotiates LOANS, makes COLLEC-  
TIONS, advances on SECURITIES and receives DE-  
POSITS.

Accounts of Bankers, Manufacturers and Merchants  
will receive special attention. **ON DEPOSIT**  
**FIVE PER CENT. INTEREST** paid on CUR-  
RENT BALANCES and liberal facilities offered to our  
CUSTOMERS.

DORR RUSSELL, President.  
A. F. WILMARTH, Vice-President.

## JOHN J. CISCO & SON, Bankers, No. 59 Wall St., New York.

Gold and Currency received on deposit subject to  
check at sight.  
Interest allowed on Currency Accounts at the rate  
of Four per Cent. per annum, credited at the end of  
each month.  
ALL CHECKS DRAWN ON US PASS THROUGH  
THE CLEARING-HOUSE, AND ARE RECEIVED  
ON DEPOSIT BY ALL THE CITY BANKS.  
Certificates of Deposit issued, payable on demand,  
bearing Four per Cent. interest.  
Loans negotiated.  
Orders promptly executed for the Purchase and  
Sale of Governments, Gold, Stocks and Bonds on  
commission.  
Collections made on all parts of the United States  
and Canada.

HARVEY FISK. A. S. HATCH  
OFFICE OF  
FISK & HATCH,  
BANKERS AND DEALERS IN  
GOVERNMENT SECURITIES,  
No. 5 Nassau st., N. Y.,  
Opposite U. S. Sub-Treasury.

We receive the accounts of Banks, Bank-  
ers, Corporations and others, subject to check  
at sight, and allow interest on balances.  
We make special arrangements for interest  
on deposits of specific sums for fixed periods.  
We make collections on all points in the  
United States and Canada, and issue Certifi-  
cates of Deposit available in all parts of the  
Union.  
We buy and sell at current rates, all classes  
of Government Securities, and the Bonds of  
the Central Pacific Railroad Company; also,  
Gold and Silver Coin and Gold Coupons.  
We buy and sell, at the Stock Exchange,  
miscellaneous Stocks and Bonds, on commis-  
sion, for cash.  
Communications and inquiries by mail or  
telegraph, will receive careful attention  
**FISK & HATCH.**

## TO INVESTORS.

To those who wish to REINVEST COUPONS OR  
DIVIDENDS, and those who wish to INCREASE  
THEIR INCOME from means already invested in less

profitable securities, we recommend the Seven-Thirty  
Gold Bonds of the Northern Pacific Railroad Com-  
pany as well secured and unusually productive.

The bonds are always convertible at Ten per cent.  
premium (1.10) into the Company's Lands, at Market  
Prices. The rate of interest (seven and three-tenths

per cent. gold) is equal now to about 8 1-4 currency  
—yielding an income more than one-third greater than  
U. S. 5-20s. Gold Checks for the semi-annual in-

terest on the Registered Bonds are mailed to the post-  
office address of the owner. All marketable stocks  
and bonds are received in exchange for Northern  
Pacific ON MOST FAVORABLE TERMS.

**JAY COOKE & CO.**

## A FIRST-CLASS New York Security AT A LOW PRICE

The undersigned offer for sale the First Mortgage  
Seven Per Cent. Gold Bonds of the Syracuse and Che-  
nango Valley Railroad, at 95 and accrued interest.

This road runs from the City of Syracuse to Smith's  
Valley, where it unites with the New York Midland  
Railroad, thus connecting that city by a direct line of  
road with the metropolis.

Its length is 42 miles, its cost about \$42,000 per mile,  
and it is mortgaged for less than \$12,000 per mile; the  
balance of the funds required for its construction hav-  
ing been raised by subscription to the capital stock.

The road approaches completion. It traverses a  
populous and fertile district of the State, which in-  
sures it a paying business, and it is under the control  
of gentlemen of high character and ability. Its bonds  
possess all the requisites of an inviting investment.  
They are amply secured by a mortgage for less than  
one-third the value of the property. They pay seven  
per cent. gold interest, and are offered five per cent.  
below par. The undersigned confidently recommend  
them to all class of investors.

GEORGE OPDYKE & CO.,  
No. 25 Nassau Street,

## BANKING HOUSE OF HENRY CLEWS & CO., 32 Wall Street, N. Y.

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

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

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

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

State, City and Railroad Loans negotiated.

CLEWS, HABICHT & CO.,  
11 Old Broad St., London.

## BANKING & FINANCIAL.

THE ST. JOSEPH AND DENVER CITY RAIL-  
ROAD COMPANY'S

## FIRST MORTGAGE BONDS

Are being absorbed by an increasing demand for them.  
Secured as they are by a first mortgage on the Road,  
Land Grant, Franchise and Equipments, combined  
in one mortgage, they command at once a ready  
market.

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

Price 97 1/2 an accrued interest, 1 1/2 currency, from  
February 15, 1873.

Maps, Circulars, Documents and information fur-  
nished.

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

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

TANNER & CO., Bankers,  
No. 11 Wall Street, New York.

## AUGUST BELMONT & CO.,

## Bankers,

91 and 21 NASSAU STREET,

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

MESSRS. DE ROTHSCHILD AND THEIR  
CORRESPONDENTS.

Also, make telegraphic transfers of one on Cal-  
ifornia, Europe and Havana.

## RAILROAD IRON, FOR SALE

BY S. W. HOPKINS & CO.,  
71 BROADWAY

## TOLEDO, PEORIA

AND

## WARSAW RAILWAY,

## SECOND MORTGAGE CON-

VERTIBLE 7 PER

CENT. CURRENCY BONDS.

INTEREST WARRANTS PAYABLE

OCTOBER AND APRIL,

PRINCIPAL 1886.

We offer for sale \$100,000 of the above bonds in  
block. By act of reorganization of the Company these  
bonds are convertible into the First Preferred Shares  
of the Company, which amounts to only 17,000 shares,  
and into the Consolidated Bonds (recently negotiated  
at Amsterdam) of six millions of dollars, which cover  
the entire line of 130 miles of completed road, to-  
gether with all the rolling stock and real property, to  
the value of more than ten millions of dollars. The  
road crosses the entire State of Illinois and connect  
with the mammoth iron bridges spanning the Mississippi  
at Keokuk and Burlington. The income of the  
road for the year will net sufficient to pay interest on  
all the bonded indebtedness and dividend on the pre-  
ferred shares.

For terms apply to

**CLARK, DODGE & CO.,**

Corner Wall and William Streets.

*Clark Henry*



## THE

## IMPENDING REVOLUTION.

*Delivered at the Academy of Music in New York City, February 20th, 1872, by Victoria C. Woodhull, before the largest assemblage ever seen in that Hall, and thousands were unable to gain admittance.*

Standing upon the apex of the nineteenth century, we look backward through the historic era, and in the distant, dim past catch sight of the feeble outreachings of the roots of humanity, which during thousands of years have evolved into the magnificent civilization by which we are surrounded. Mighty nations have risen and fallen; empires have gathered and wasted; races and peoples have evolved and decayed; but the mystic ebb and flow of the Gigantic Spirit concealed within the universe has continued upon its course, ever increasing in strength and in variety of sequence.

It is true that the results which have flown from this progressive course have very materially changed. Early in its history every achievement was considered great or small, as its conquests by military prowess were great or small. But who in this era would think of placing a Sesostris, or a Semiramis, or even an Alexander, or Caesar, in comparison as conquerors, with the steamship, the locomotive engine, the electric telegraph, and last and greatest, collecting the efforts of all men, and spreading them world-wide—the printing-press. Where kings and emperors once used the sword to hew their way into the centers of barbarism, the people now make use of their subtle powers of intellect to pierce the heart of ignorance. The conquerors of the present, armed with these keen weapons, are so intertwining the material interests of humanity that, where exclusion was once the rule among nations, intercommunication has made it the exception. Every year some new tie has been added to those which already bound the nations together, until even the continents clasp hands across the oceans, and salute each other in fraternal unity, and the islands stand anxiously waiting for their deliverance.

The grand results of all these magnificent changes have accrued to the benefit of nations as such. All the revolutions of the past have resulted in the building of empires and the dethroning of kings. The grandeur of the Roman Empire consisted in its power, centered in and expressed by its rulers. The glory of France under the great Napoleon was the result of his capacity to use the people. We have no histories making nations famous by the greatness of their peoples. Centralization of power at the head of the government has been the source of all national honor. Under this system grades and castes of people have built themselves, the stronger upon the weaker, and the people as individuals have never appeared upon the surface.

Government has gone through various and important evolutions and changes. First we learn of it as residing in the head of the family, there being no other organization. Next, families aggregated into tribes, with an acknowledged head. Again, tribes united into nations, occupying specified limits, and having an absolute ruler. Then began a double process, which is even now unfinished—the consolidation of nations into races, and the redistribution of power to the people. That which was once absolute in the head of the family, the tribe and the nation, is now shared by the head with the most powerful among the people. These two processes will continue until both are complete—until all nations are merged into races, and all races into one government; and until the power is completely and equally returned to all the people, who will no longer be denominated as belonging to this or that country or government, but as citizens of the world—as members of a common humanity.

"God loves from whole to part. But human soul must from individual to the whole."

It is at once one of the most interesting as well as instructive of studies, to trace the march which civilization has described. Beginning in Asia, it traversed westward by and through the rise and decay of the Assyrian, Egyptian, Persian, Grecian and Roman Empires, each one of which built successively upon the ruins of the preceding, and all

culminating in the downfall of the last, whose civilization was disseminated to impregnate that portion of the world then unknown. Modern Europe rose, and when at its height of power, civilization still undeviatingly marching westward, crossed the stormy Atlantic, and implanted itself in the virgin soil of America.

Here, however, an entirely new process was begun. Representatives from all nations, races and tongues here do congregate. Not only do the nations of Europe and Africa pour their restless sons and daughters westward, but the nations of Asia, setting at defiance the previous law of empire, send their children against its tide to meet it and to coalesce. To those who can view humanity as one, this is a fact of great significance, since it proves America to be the center to which the nations naturally tend. But this is only a part of its significance. The more prophetic portion is, that here a new race is being developed, into which will be gathered all the distinctive characteristics of all the various races. Each race is the distinct representative of some special and predominant characteristic, being weak in all others. The new race will combine all these different qualities in one grand character, and shall ultimately gather in all people of all races. Observe the merging of the black and white races. The white does not descend to the black, but the black gradually approaches the white. And this is the prophecy of what shall be:

"For mankind are one in spirit, and an instinct bears along,  
Round the earth's electric circle, the swift flash of right and wrong;  
Whether conscious or unconscious, yet Humanity's vast frame,  
Through its ocean-sundered fibres, feels the gush of joy or shame:  
In the gain or loss of one race, all the rest have equal claim."

As in this country the future race of the world is being developed, so also will the foundation of the future government be developed, which shall become universal. It was no mere child's play or idle fancy of the old prophets, whose prophecies of a Christ who should rule the world, come trooping down the corridors of time, and from all eras converge upon this. Neither were the Jews entirely at fault when they looked for a Messiah who should reign over the world in temporal as well as in spiritual things, since it is beginning to be comprehended that a reign of justice in temporal things can only follow from the baptism of them by spirituality. And it is the approach of these heretofore widely-separated principles which is to produce the impending revolution. And that revolution will be the final and the ultimate contest between justice and authority, in which the latter will be crushed, never again to raise its despotic head among and to divide the members of a common humanity.

St. Paul said: "Faith, Hope and Charity. These three, but the greatest of these is charity." Beautiful as this triplet may appear to be to the casualist, it cannot bear the test of analysis. It will be replaced in the vocabulary of the future by the more perfect one—Knowledge, Wisdom and Justice. These three, but the greatest of these is Justice. Charity, with its long cloak of justice escaped, has long enough covered a multitude of sins. Justice will in the future demand perfect compensation in all things, whether material, mental or spiritual.

Heretofore justice has only been considered as having relation to matters covered by enacted law, and its demands have been considered as satisfied when the law has had its full course. With Freedom and Equality it has been a mere abstract term with but little significance. There has never been such a thing as freedom for the people. It has always been concession by the government. There has never been an equality for the people. It has always been the stronger, in some sense, preying upon the weaker; and the people have never had justice. When there is authority, whether it be of law, of custom, or of individuals, neither of these can exist except in name. Neither do these principles apply to the people in their collective capacity, but when the people's time shall come they will belong to every individual separately. Equality will exist in freedom and be regulated by justice.

But what does freedom mean? "As free as the winds" is a common expression. But if we stop to inquire what that freedom is, we find that air in motion is under the most complete subjection to different temperatures in different localities, and that these differences arise from conditions entirely independent of the air simply as such. That is to say, the air of itself never changes its temperature. Therefore the freedom of the wind is the freedom to obey commands imposed by conditions to which it is by nature related. So also is water always

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free to seek its own level. But neither the air or the water of one locality obeys the commands which come from the conditions surrounding another locality. That is to say, that while air and water as a whole are subject to general laws, when individualized, each separate body must be subject to its peculiar relations, and to the law of its conditions. Water in one locality may be pure—hydrogen, nitrogen and oxygen; while in others it may contain various additional elements, as sodium, calcium or ammonium, and yet each is free. Air in one locality may be twenty degrees above, and in another twenty degrees below, zero; and yet each is free in its own sphere.

Now, individual freedom in its true sense means just the same thing for the people that freedom for the air and water means to them. It means freedom to obey the natural condition of the individual, modified only by the various external forces which are brought to bear upon, and which induce action in, the individual. What that action will be, must be determined solely by the individual and the operating causes, and in no two cases can they be precisely alike; since no two human beings are precisely alike. Now, is it not plain that freedom means that individuals having the right to it, are subject only to the laws of their own being, and to the relations they sustain to the laws of other things by which they are surrounded?

If, then, freedom mean anything, it means that no individual is subject to any rule or law to be arbitrarily imposed by other individuals. But several individuals may agree among themselves to be governed by certain rules, since that is their freedom to do so. And here is the primal foundation and the only authoritative source of government. No individual can be said to be free and be held accountable to a law to which he or she did not consent.

In the light of that analysis, have the people of this country got freedom? But should it be objected that such freedom would be liable to abuse, we reply that that is impossible. Since the moment one individual abuses his or her freedom, that moment he or she is encroaching upon the freedom of some one else who is equally entitled to the same right. And the law of the association must protect against such encroachment. And, so far as restraint is concerned, this is the province—the sole province—of law, to protect the rights of individual freedom.

But what is equality, which must be maintained in freedom? A good illustration of what equality among the people means, may be drawn from the equality among the children of a family in the case of an equal division of the property of the deceased father. If the property is divided among them according to their respective merits, that would not be equality.

Now, equality for the people means the equality of the family, extended to all families. It means that no personal merit or demerit can interfere between individuals, so that one may, by arbitration or laws, be placed unequally with another. It means that every individual is entitled to all the natural wealth that he or she requires to minister to the various wants of the body, and to an equal share of all accumulated, artificial wealth—which will appear self-evident when we shall have analyzed wealth. It also means that every person is entitled to equal opportunity for intellectual acquirements, recreation and rest, since the first is necessary to make the performance of the individual's share of duty possible; while the second and third are the natural requirements of the body, independent of the individuality of the person, and which was not self-created but inherited.

Under this analysis have we any such thing as equality in this country? And yet it should be the duty of government, since it is a fundamental portion of its theory, to maintain equality among the people; otherwise the word is but a mere catch, without the slightest signification in fact.

What, then, should be the sphere of justice in maintaining equality in freedom? Clearly to maintain equal conditions among free individuals. But this will appear the more evident as we proceed. The impending revolution, then, will be the strife for the mastery between the authority, despotism, inequalities and injustices of the present, and freedom, equality and justice in their broad and perfect sense, based on the proposition that humanity is one, having a common origin, common interests and purposes, and inheriting a common destiny, which is the

complete statement of the religion of Jesus Christ, unadulterated by his professed followers.

But does the impending revolution imply a peaceful change or a bloody struggle?

No person who will take the trouble to carefully observe the conditions of the various departments of society can fail to discern the terrible earthquakes just ready to burst out upon every side, and which are only now restrained by the thick incrustations with which customs, prejudices and authorities have incased humanity. Indeed, the whole surface of humanity is surging like the billows of the stormy ocean, and it only escapes general and destructive rupture because its composition, like the consciences of its constituent members, is so elastic. But, anon, the restrained furies will overcome the temper of their fastenings, and, rending them asunder, will sweep over the people, submerging them or cleansing them of their gathered debris, as they shall have located themselves, with regard to its coming.

All the struggles of humanity in the centuries which have come and gone have been for freedom—for freedom to think and for freedom to act, as against authority and despotic law, without regard to what should come of that thought and action. But we are now entering upon a struggle for something quite different from this. Having obtained freedom from the despotism of rulers and governments, the rule and despotism of individuals began to usurp the places made vacant by them. Where once the king or the emperor reigned, capital, reinforced by the power of public opinion and religious authorities, now sits and forges chains with which to fetter and bind the people. Where, by divine right, men once demanded the results of the labors of their people, the privileged few, by the means of an ingenious system, facetiously called popular laws, now make the same demand, and with equally decisive results. The demand is answered by the return of the entire proceeds of each year's surplus productions into their coffers. And this is no more true of the pauper laborers of Europe and the slave laborers of Asia than it is of the free labor of America. Six hundred millions people constantly toil all their lives long, while about ten millions sit quietly by gathering and luxuriating in their results.

Simple freedom, then, is not enough. It has not accomplished the redemption of the people. It has only relieved them from one form of slavery to leave them at the mercy of another still more insidious in its character, because more plausible; since, if penury and want exist, accompanied by suffering and privation, under the rule of a monarch, he may justly be held responsible. But when it exists under the reign of freedom, there is no responsibility anywhere, unless it may be said to be in the people themselves, which is equivalent to saying responsibility without application.

To illustrate this distinction without a difference, take the island of Cuba, with its half million inhabitants, and suppose it to be ruled by an absolute monarch, who administers his commands through the usual attachés of the court and the noblemen of the island. Virtually owning the people, he commands them to labor, taking from them all their products, and merely feeding, clothing and sheltering them. In this case it would be the non-laborers who, without any circumlocution, directly obtain all the produced wealth, they simply expending their time and talent in its securing, while the lives of the people who produce it would be simply maintained.

Now advance one step toward popular government—to a constitutional monarchy. In this the same results to the producing people will be maintained, while the noblemen will share the wealth among themselves, allotting a certain share to the monarch.

Coming down to a representative government, of which personal liberty is the basis, the despotism of laws enacted in the interest of privileged classes are substituted for the personal despotism of monarchs and nobles. What the absolute monarch possesses himself of by the right of might, the privileged class in the popular government possess themselves of by the right of law, everything legal being held to be just.

Now is not that precisely the case in this country? Do not all the results of labor accrue to the privileged few? and are not the producing classes just as much enslaved to them as the subjects of an absolute monarch are to him?

With this mortification, however. In the last instance, they suffer



from conditions over which they have no control; whilst in the former case the conditions by which they are enslaved are of their own formation. And I say, I would rather be the unwilling subject of an absolute monarch than the willing slave of my own ignorance, of which advantage is taken by those who spend their time in endeavoring to prove to me that I am free and in singing the glories of my condition, to hoodwink my reason and to blind my perception.

And I further say, that that system of government by which it is possible for a class of people to practice upon my credulity, and, under false pretenses, first entice me to acquiesce in laws by which immense corporations and monopolies are established, and then to induce me to submit to their extortions because they exist according to law, pursuing none but lawful means, is an infernal despotism, compared to which the Russian Czar is a thousand times to be preferred.

This may at first seem a sweeping indictment of our form of government, but I say it is just. Suppose we take our railroad system, now amounting to fifty-five thousand miles. At an average cost of eighty thousand dollars per mile for construction and equipment, its total cost would be four billions four hundred millions dollars. To pay the shareholders an eight per cent. dividend for doing nothing, the industries of the country would have to be taxed three hundred and fifty millions dollars over and above the cost of maintenance and operation. Did this enormous drain from the products of the people stop here, the fertility of the country, made use of by the ingenuity of the people, might possibly keep pace with the demand. But it does not stop there. The net earning of the railroads enables their directors to make larger dividends than eight per cent. Do their managers relinquish this increase in favor of the people? Never a bit of it. But they increase their stock either by selling new shares, or by making stock or scrip dividends, and to neither process has there been found any legal bar or cure.

Now, what may the result of such a system be? Why, this. If the stock of all these railroads be increased in the same proportion that some of them have already been increased, it may be raised to a thousand billions of dollars, and the people, instead of being compelled to pay three hundred and fifty millions dollars to provide an eight per cent. dividend on their cost, will have to submit to the extortion of eight hundred million dollars annually to satisfy the demands of these legal despots for an eight per cent. dividend upon stock, a large part of which represent absolutely nothing but the people's stolen money.

A person who would double the size of another's note simply because the profits of his business would permit the payment of twelve per cent. interest, so that instead of paying twelve per cent. upon one hundred dollars, which would be an illegal charge, it would be six per cent. upon two hundred dollars, would be deemed and adjudged guilty of forgery. But these railroad magnates sit in their palatial offices and raise their notes at pleasure, and they are considered public benefactors. It is a crime for a single person to steal a dollar, but a corporation may steal a million dollars, and be canonized as saints.

Oh, the stupid blindness of this people! Swindled every day before their very eyes, and yet they don't seem to know that there is anything wrong, simply because no law has been violated. In their eyes everything that is lawful is right, and this has become the curse of the nation. But the opposite—that everything which is right is lawful—don't follow as a part of their philosophy.

No matter what a person does if it is not actionable under the law; he is an honest man and a good church member. But Heaven defend us from being truthful, natural beings, unless the law says we may—since that is to be an infamous scoundrel.

A Vanderbilt may sit in his office and manipulate stocks, or make dividends, by which, in a few years, he amasses fifty millions dollars from the industries of the country, and he is one of the remarkable men of the age. But if a poor, half-starved child were to take a loaf of bread from his cupboard, to prevent starvation, she would be sent first to the Tombs, and thence to Blackwell's Island.

An Astor may sit in his sumptuous apartments, and watch the property bequeathed him by his father, rise in value from one to fifty millions, and everybody bows before his immense power, and worships his business capacity. But if a tenant of his, whose employer had discharged him because he did not vote the Republican ticket, and thereby fails to pay his month's rent to Mr. Astor, the law sets him and his

family into the street in midwinter; and, whether he dies of cold or starvation, neither Mr. Astor or anybody else stops to ask, since that is nobody's business but the man's. This is a free country, you know, and why should I trouble myself about that person, because he happens to be so unfortunate as not to be able to pay Mr. Astor his rent?

Mr. Stewart, by business tact, and the various practices known to trade, succeeds, in twenty years, in obtaining from customers whom he has entrapped into purchasing from him fifty millions dollars, and with his gains he builds costly public beneficiaries, and straightway the world makes him a philanthropist. But a poor devil who should come along with a bolt of cloth, which he had succeeded in smuggling into the country, and which, consequently, he could sell at a lower price than Mr. Stewart, who paid the tariff, and is thereby authorized by law to add that sum to the piece, would be cast into prison.

Now these individuals represent three of the principal methods that the privileged classes have invented by which to monopolize the accumulated wealth of the country. But let us analyze the processes, and see if it is wholly by their personal efforts that they gain this end.

Nobody pretends that Mr. Stewart ever produced a single dollar of his vast fortune. He accumulated it by dealing in the productions of others, which he first obtained at low rates, and then sold at a sufficient advance over the cost of handling to make in the aggregate a sum amounting to millions.

Now, I want to ask if all this is not arriving at the same result, by another method, at which the slaveholders of the South arrived, by owning negroes? In the case of the latter, the slaveholder reaped all the benefits of the labors of the negroes. In the former case the merchant princes, together with the various other privileged classes, reap the benefit of the labors of all the working-classes of the country. Every year the excess of the produced wealth of the country finds final lodgment in the pockets of these classes, and they grow richer at each succeeding harvest, while the laborers toil their lives away; and when all their strength and vigor have been transformed into wealth, which has been legally transferred to the capitalists, they are heavy with age, and as destitute as when they began their life of servitude. Did ever Southern slave have meaner end than this?

In all seriousness, is there any common justice in such a state of things? Is it right that the millions should toil all their lives long, scarcely having comfortable food and clothes, while the few manage to control all the benefits? People may pretend that it is justice, and good Christians may excuse it upon that ground, but Christ would never have called it by that name. He would even give him that labored but an hour as much as he that had labored all the day, but to him who labored not at all he would take away even that which he hath. And yet we hear loud professions of Christianity ascending from the pulpit throughout the length and breadth of the land. And when I listen, I cannot help exclaiming, "O, ye hypocrites, how can ye hope to escape the damnation of hell?"

Am I asked, How are these things to be amended? I will tell you in the first place, that they must be remedied; and this particular case of dealing in the labor of the people is to be remedied by abolishing huckstering, or the system of middle-men, and substituting therefor a general system of public markets, conducted by the people through their paid agents, as all other public business is performed. In these markets the products of the country should be received, in first hands, direct from the producers, who should realize their entire proceeds. In this manner the immense fortunes realized by middle-men, and the profits made by the half-dozen different hands through which merchandise travels on its way to consumers, would be saved to the producer. A bushel of apples, purchased in the orchard at twenty-five cents, is finally sold to the consumer at a dollar. Now, either the consumer has paid at least a half dollar too much, or the producer has received a half dollar too little, for the apples; since, under a perfect system, the apples would go direct from the orchard to the market, and thence direct to the consumer.

We are forever talking of political economy, but it appears to me that the most vital points—one of which is our system of huckstery—is entirely overlooked.

Suppose Mr. Stewart, instead of having labored all these years for



his own selfish interests, had labored in the interests of the people? Is it not clear that the half-a-hundred million dollars he has accumulated would have remained with the people who have consumed his goods? Place all other kinds of traffic upon the same proposed basis, and do you not see that the system which makes merchant-princes would be abolished? Neither would it require one-half the people to conduct a general system of markets who are now employed speculating in the results of labor.

In short, every person should either be a producer or a paid agent or officer of consumers and producers, and our entire system of shop-keeping reduced to a magnificent system of immense public markets. In this way there could also be a perfect control exercised over the quality of perishable goods, the want of which is now felt so severely in summer in all large cities, and a thousand unthought of remedies would necessarily suggest themselves as the system should develop.

But let us pass to one of the other branches of this same system. We have in our midst thousands of people of immense wealth who have never even done so much to justify its possession as the merchant-princes have done to justify themselves. I refer to our land monopolists, and to Mr. Astor as their representative. Mr. Astor inherited a large landed estate, which has risen in value to be worth millions of dollars, to which advance Mr. Astor never contributed even a day's labor. He has done nothing except to watch the rise and gather in the rents, while the whole laboring country has been constantly engaged in promoting that advance. What would Mr. Astor have been without the City of New York? And what would the City of New York have been without the United States? You see, my friends, it will not do to view this matter superficially. We live in too analytic an age to permit these things to go on in the way they have been going. There is too much poverty, too much suffering, too much hard work, too many hours of labor for individuals, too many sleepless nights, too many starving poor, too many hungry children, too many in helpless old age, to permit these villanous abuses to continue sheltered under the name of respectability and public order.

But again, and upon a still worse swindle of the people. A person having money goes out into the public domain and acquires an immense tract of land. Shortly a railroad is projected and built, which runs through that tract. It offers a fine location for a station. A city springs up, and that which cost in some instances as little as a shilling per acre, is divided into town lots, and these are reluctantly parted with at five hundred dollars each.

Again, I wish to inquire, in the name of Justice, to whom does that advance belong? To the person who nominally holds the land? What has he done to entitle him to receive dollars for what he only paid cents? Is there any equality—is there any justice—in such a condition? He profits by the action of others; in fact at the public expense, since in its last analysis it is the common public who are the basis of all advance in the value of property.

Now, I say, that that common public is entitled to all the benefits accruing from common efforts; and it is an infamous wrong that makes it accrue to the benefit of a special few. And a system of society which permits such arbitrary distributions of wealth is a disgrace to Christian civilization, whose Author and his Disciples had all things in common. Let professing Christians who, for a pretense, make long prayers, think of that, and then denounce Communism, if they can; and denounce me as a Revolutionist for advocating it, if they dare.

But, is it asked, how is this to be remedied? I answer, very easily! Since those who possess the accumulated wealth of the country have filched it by legal means from those to whom it justly belongs—the people—it must be returned to them, by legal means if possible, but it must be returned to them in any event. When a person worth millions, dies, instead of leaving it to his children, who have no more title to it than anybody else's children have, it must revert to the people, who really produced it. Do you say that is injustice to the children? I say, No! And if you ask me how the rich man's children are going to live after his death, I answer, by the same means as the poor man's children live. Let it be remembered that we have had simple freedom quite long enough. By setting all our hopes on freedom we have been robbed of our rights. What we want now is more than freedom—we want equality! And by the Heaven above us, earth's

growing children are going to have it! What right have the children of the rich to be born to luxurious idleness, while the children of the poor are born to, all their lives long, further contribute to their ease? Do they not in common belong to God's human family? If I mistake not, Christ told us so. You will not dispute his authority, I am sure. If, instead of preaching Christ and him crucified quite so much, we should practice his teaching a little more, my word for it, we should all be better Christians.

And when by this process all the land shall have been returned to the people, there will be just as much of it, and it will be equally as productive, and just as much room on it as there is now. But instead of a few people owning the whole of it, and farming it out to all the rest at the best possible prices, the people will possess it themselves in their own right, through just laws, paying for its possession to the government such moderate rates of taxes as shall be necessary to maintain the government.

But I may as well conclude what I have to say regarding railroads, which must also revert back to the people, and be conducted by them for the public benefit, as our common highways are now conducted. Vanderbilt, Scott & Co. are demonstrating it better and better every day that all the railroads of the country can be much more economically and advantageously conducted under one management than under a thousand different managements. They imagine that very soon they will have accomplished a complete consolidation of the entire system, and that by the power of that consolidation they will be able to control the government of this country.

But they will not be the first people who have made slight miscalculations as to ultimate results. Thomas Scott might make a splendid Secretary of the Department of Internal Improvements, for which the new Constitution, which this country is going to adopt, makes provision; but he will never realize his ambition to preside over the railroad system of the country in any other manner.

And I will tell you another benefit that will follow the nationalization of our railroads. You have all heard of the dealing in stocks, of the "bulls" and the "bears," and the "longs" and the "shorts," and the "lame ducks" of Wall street. Well, they will all be abolished. There will be no stocks in which to deal. That sort of speculation, by which gigantic swindlers corner a stock and take it in at their own figures, will, to use a vulgar phrase, be "played out." And if you were to see their customers, as I have seen them, rushing about Broad street to catch sight of the last per cent. of their margins as they disappear in the hungry maw of the complacent brokers, you would agree with me that it ought to be "played out."

Under the system which I propose, not only will stock gambling be abolished, but also all other gambling, and the hundreds of thousands of able-bodied people who are now engaged in it, living from the products of others, will be compelled to go to producing themselves.

But, says the objector, take riches away from people and there will be no incentive to accumulate. But, my dear sir, we don't propose to do anything of the kind, nor to destroy any wealth. There will never be any less wealth than now, but a constant increase upon it. We only propose that the people shall hold it in their own right, instead of its being held in trust for them by a self-appointed few. Instead of having a few millionaires, and millions on the verge of starvation, we propose that all shall possess a comfortable competence—that is, shall possess the results of their own labors.

I can't see where there is a chance for a lack of motive to come in. It seems to me that everybody will have a better and a more certain chance, as well as a better incentive to accumulate. Will the certainty of accumulation destroy the desire to accumulate? Nobody but the most stupid would attempt to maintain that. It is not great wealth in a few individuals that proves a country prosperous, but great general wealth evenly distributed among the people. That country must be the most prosperous and happy where the people are most generally comfortably and happily circumstanced. And in this country, instead of a hundredth part of the people living in palaces and riding in coaches, while the balance live in huts and travel on foot, every person may live in a palace and ride in a coach. I leave it to you to decide which is the preferable condition and which the more Christian.

And why should the rich object to this? If everybody has enough



and to spare, should that be a subject of complaint? What more do people want, except it be for the purpose of tyrannizing over others dependent upon them? But no objections that may be raised will be potent enough to crush out the demand for equality now rising from an oppressed people. This demand the possessors of wealth cannot afford to ignore. It comes from a patiently-enduring people, who have waited already too long for the realization of the beautiful pictures of freedom which have been painted for them to admire; for the realization of the songs which poets have sung to its praise. Let me warn, nay, let me implore them not to be deaf to this demand, since they do not know so well as I know what temper there is behind it. I have tested it, and I know it is one that will not much longer brook the denial of justice.

But there is another monopoly of which I must speak—I mean the monopoly of money itself. We have seen how great a tyranny that is which arises from monopolizing the land. But that occurring from the monopoly of money, is a still more insidious and dangerous form of despotism, since its ramifications are more extensive and minute. It may be exercised by the person possessing a hundred, or by the person possessing a million dollars. But what is the process? A person inherits a half million dollars for which he never expended a single day's labor. He sits in his office loaning that sum of money say, in sums of one thousand dollars to one thousand different persons, each of whom conducts a little business which yields just enough to support a family and to pay the interest. These people live for forty years in this manner, and die no better off than when they began life. But during that time they have paid all their extra production to the amount of four thousand dollars, each, to the capitalist; and, finally, the business itself is sold out to pay the principal. And thus it turns out that the capitalist obtains everything those thousand persons earned during their whole lives, they leaving nothing to their families. Now, what better is that result than it would have been had these people been slaves? Could their owners have obtained any more from them? I say they would have obtained less; since, had they been slaves in name, as in fact they were, there would have been times during the forty years that they would not have earned interest over cost of their support. Now, look at the capitalist. For one million dollars, and without the straining of a muscle, he receives five million dollars direct, which, reinvested from time to time as it increases, amounts at the end of the forty years to not less than fifteen millions dollars.

But try another example of a somewhat different kind. A person having four grown children, whom he has reared in luxury, and given all the facilities of education, dies, leaving each of them a farm worth twenty-five thousand dollars. These children having never learned the art of farming are incapable of conducting these farms; but they lease them to four different people for a thousand dollars a year each, and live at ease all their lives, therefrom, never so much as lifting their hands to do an hour's labor. Now, who is it that supports those four people? Is it not clear that it is the people who work the farms? And how did it happen that they had the farms to lease? Simply by an incident for which there was no legitimate general cause, else why do not all children have farms and live without work?

Nor can you, my friends, discover anything approaching equality, or ought that looks like justice in that operation. I tell you nay! It is the most insidious despotism, with a single exception, that is possible among a people. It is a despotism which was condemned in all former times, even by barbarians, and which the Jews were only permitted to enforce upon people of other nations. It is the hideous vampire fastened upon the vitals of our people, sucking—sucking—sucking their very life's blood, leaving just enough to keep up their vitality, that they may manufacture more. It is the heartless monster that will have the exact pound of flesh, even if there be loss of blood to obtain it, and there is no just judge near to prevent the taking, or to hold him to account if he take it. It paralyzes our industries; shuts the gates in the way that leads to our inexhaustible treasures within the bosom of mother earth; strips the stars and stripes from the masts of merchantmen; compels our immense cotton lands to luxuriate in weeds; robs our spindles of the power to turn them; and lays an embargo upon every productive enterprise. Whoever makes a movement to compel the earth to yield her

wealth, or to transform that wealth into useful form, must first obtain the consent of this despot, and pay his demands for a license.

Thirteen millions of laborers in this country produce annually four thousand millions dollars of wealth, every dollar of which over and above the cost of living is paid over to appease the demands of this insatiate monster—this horrid demon, whose name is Interest.

We are told that we cannot manufacture railroad iron in this country as cheap as it can be manufactured in England. Yes! And why? Is it because we have no ore or no coal; or that, which is not as good as England has? No! We have on the surface what in England is hundreds of feet in the bowels of the earth, and coal the same; and both of better quality. But money can be put at interest in this country so as to double itself every four years, and be amply secured. What reason have capitalists to construct iron works, or to have their care, when twenty-five per cent per year is returned them, without care or risk? And what is true of iron is also true of every other natural production. Is it any wonder that our manufacturers are obliged to demand that the people pay an additional per cent upon everything they eat, drink or wear, that they may be protected in their various productive enterprises, when such exactions are laid upon them by this more than absolute monarch? No! It would indeed be a wonder if it were not so.

Now, do you suppose our markets would be flooded with British goods if our producing and manufacturing interests had all the money they require without interest? If there are any borrowers at ten per cent. who hear my voice, let them answer. No; it is the tribute that industry is compelled to pay to capital that forces our government to exact ten, twenty, fifty, aye, even a hundred per cent. for the privilege of bringing merchandise into this country.

But they tell us if we go to free trade that our country would be flooded with foreign products, so there would be absolutely no production of manufactured goods in the country. Now that would be true, if we should attempt free trade and leave the monster Interest with his grip upon our vitals. And here is the short-sightedness of Free-Traders. If we want free trade, we must, in the first place, attack, throttle and kill this demon, after which we may manufacture at prices that will not only absolutely forbid the importation of almost everything that is now imported, but which will also enable us to play the same game with Europe that Europe has played so long upon us. Free money in this country would abolish every European throne within ten years. And yet people cannot be made to see that this country is their support. With free money what need would we have for a protective tariff? Can any Protectionist answer that?

You see, my friends, that it is the people who catch sight of an idea and pursue it to the death, regardless of relative ideas, who make reform so ridiculous. One reform cannot advance alone. All kinds of reform must go on together. Interest and free trade must go hand in hand; interest, if either, a little ahead.

And in this regard I am free to confess that the National Labor Union's demand for a decrease of interest is the most reasonable single reform now being advocated. We want free trade; but we want free money first, so that not a spindle or forge in this country shall stop at the command of those across the ocean.

But how are we going to get free money? Why, in the very easiest way possible. It is the simplest problem of them all. I am not going into this discussion to prove to you that gold is not money, since everybody ought to know that it has no more the properties of money than cotton, corn and pork have the properties of money. Now, money is that thing which, if every dollar in circulation should be destroyed, there would be no loss of wealth. Gold, cotton, corn and wheat are wealth. Destroy these and there is a loss. But when money is destroyed, there is no more loss than when a promissory note is destroyed. A note is an evidence of debt. It is not wealth, but its representative. So also is money not wealth, but its representative. And if we had a thousand million dollars in circulation to-day, there would be no more wealth in the country than there now is, and we would have quite as much wealth if there were two thousand millions dollars, since money and wealth are two entirely distinct things.

But they tell us that unless money is made redeemable in gold, it



is not of any account, and that, too, in the face of our miserable green-back system, which was so much better even than gold that it saved the nation when, had we stuck to gold, we should have been destroyed. Oh, but it was a depreciated currency, says some one. Yes, it was a depreciated currency, and we should have ample reason to be thankful if when we come to pay our bonds, we have a depreciated currency with which to liquidate them, instead of being obliged, as we shall, to pay a thousand dollars in cotton for what we realized less than five hundred in gold.

It is not the gold only of a country that constitutes its wealth. What should we care if we had not a single ounce of gold, if we had a thousand million bales of cotton, ten thousand millions bushels of corn and wheat, and a billion dollars' worth of manufactured goods to send to other countries? So you see it is not the gold after all that makes a circulation good, but the sum total of all kinds of wealth. Now, that is what we propose to substitute for gold as the basis for a money issue. And instead of permitting corporations to issue it and remain at liberty to dispose of their property and let the people who hold their circulation whistle for its redemption, we propose that government, which can neither sell our property nor abscond with it, shall issue it for the people and lend it to them at cost; or if you will insist on paying interest for money, why, then, pay it to the government and lessen your taxes that much, instead of paying interest to bankers and supporting government besides.

Now, don't you think that would be rather a good sort of a money system? I know that every manufacturer in the country would like it. But I can tell you who will not like it; and whom we may be compelled to fight before they will permit us to have it; and these are the money-lenders and money-changers, such as it is related the Head of the Christian Church—one Jesus Christ, of whom we hear a great deal said, but whose teachings and doctrines are woefully perverted—scourged out of the Temple at a place known as Jerusalem.

I have not been guilty of frequenting the temples of the country much of late, but if I am not misinformed upon the subject, and unless they have changed since I did frequent them, if Christ should pass through this land of a Sunday, scourge in hand, he would find plenty of work to do in the same line in which he labored so faithfully among the Jews.

But the National Labor Union say they won't be so hard upon these money-lenders as we would be. They are willing that they shall be eased down from the vast height to which they have attained. They say they shall have three per cent. interest instead of six, seven, eight and ten, or as much more as they can steal out of the necessities of the case, by the circumstances and discounts. But they shall be limited to three per cent., and in a way that they cannot evade, as they now evade, lawful interest. It is proposed that government shall issue this money, but that it shall be convertible into a three per cent. interest-bearing bond; so that when money shall be so plenty that it will be worth less than three per cent. in business, it can be invested in bonds drawing three per cent.; and the bonds to also be reconvertible into money, so that the moment business shall demand more money than there should be in circulation—which would increase the value of money to more than three per cent.—the bonds would be converted into money again; and when there should be no more bonds to convert, and money still worth more than three per cent., then the Government shall issue more money to restore the equilibrium. In this way money would always be worth just three per cent. No more nor less, and there would always be just enough; or, in other words, money would be measured, as it never has been, and which has been the cause of all our financial troubles. What would you say to a person who should talk to you about measuring your corn in a bushel that had itself never been measured? But you complacently talk of money being a measure of values, and money has never had a measure regulating its own value.

But this consideration is only a stepping-stone to what shall be. Money must be made free from interest. In fact, I do not know but people who have money should pay something to have it securely loaned, the same as you must pay your Safe Deposit Companies for safely keeping bonds, jewels and other valuables. I think people ought to be made to pay for the safe-keeping of money upon the same principle. Money under our present system is the only thing which

we possess that does not depreciate in value by use. The more money is used, the more it increases; a proof complete of the fallacy and its despotism.

The Government now pay the banks thirty millions dollars per year for the privilege of loaning them about three hundred millions national currency, which the banks reloan to the people at an average of ten per cent. It seems to me that is almost too good a thing to last long. If the Government can afford to do this thing, why can't they better afford to loan directly to the people for nothing, and save thirty millions dollars annually? Do you think the people would object? Oh, no; but the bankers would. But for all that the cry of "Down with the tyrant" is raised, and it will never cease until interest shall be among the things that were.

I also desire to call attention to the reduction of the Public Debt, and to the means by which this reduction has been accomplished. The Administration hangs almost all of its hopes upon this fact, while if it were thoroughly understood it would prove its condemnation. It has paid three hundred millions of the debt, they say. Who has paid it? we inquire. It fails to answer. We say that that entire payment has been made by the producing classes of the country, while the capitalists have not reduced their cash balances in the least. In other words, the producers have got no more money now than they had before the debt was paid, while the capitalists have had their bonds changed into money. Now, who have paid that three hundred millions dollars? I repeat the laboring people have done it, just as they pay all public debts and all public expenses, besides constantly adding to the wealth of the capitalists themselves. Can such a state of things continue? Again I tell you nay.

This wrong must be remedied by a system of progressive taxation. If persons having a hundred thousand dollars pay one-half per cent. tax, let those having a million pay ten per cent., or two millions twenty-five per cent. Let there be a penalty placed upon monopolizing the common property, and it will soon cease and equality come in its place. Now, the poorest woman who buys the cheapest calico pays a tax to the Government, while the rich appropriate her labor to pay their dues. Truly said Jesus, "The poor ye have with you always."

Another mode of remedying the existing ills in industry and the distribution of wealth, must be in giving employees an actual interest in the products of their labors, so that ultimately co-operation will be the source of all production, its results being justly distributed among all those who assist in the production. First, pay the employer the same rate of interest for his capital that Government shall charge for loans made to the people; next, the general expenses, including salaries to himself and all employees, the remainder to be equitably divided among all who have an interest in it. Do you not see what a revolution in industrial production such a constitutional provision would effect? And do you not suppose if the workingmen and women of this country understood the justice of it, that they would have it? I intend that they shall have the required information. Already there have been half a million tracts upon these subjects sent broadcast over this land, and the present year shall see double as many more, until every laborer, male and female, shall hold in his or her own hands the method of deliverance from this great oppression.

But there is another consideration, which, more forcibly than any other, shows the suicidal policy which we pursue. If the present rates of interest are continued to be paid upon only the present banking capital and bonds of the country, for twenty-five years to come, the interest, with the principal added, will have absorbed the total present wealth, as well as its perspective increase. And such a consummation as this are the European capitalists now preparing for this country. Europe holds not less than three thousand millions of bonded indebtedness of this country, which is being augmented every month by additional railroad bonds, or some syndicate operation. So do you not see that European capital is gradually, but nevertheless inevitably, absorbing not only all of our annually produced wealth, but also acquiring an increased mortgage every year upon our accumulated wealth? There is no escaping these facts. Figures don't lie. Mathematics is an absolute science from whose edicts there is no escape. And mathematics inform us that we are

[Continued on page 12.]



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*The diseases of society can, no more than corporeal maladies, be prevented or cured without being spoken about in plain language.*—JOHN STEWART MILL.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOV. 1, 1873.

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## ORGANIZATION.

Wherever there are fifteen persons desirous of establishing the New Organization of the Universal Association of Spiritualists, they should at once get together and organize under the new Constitution, sending in their report to the Secretary of the Association, Wm. F. Jamieson, 172 and 174 Clark street, Chicago, Ills. A little earnest and well-directed effort during the coming year, on the part of Progressive Spiritualists, will secure an organized power that Spiritualists have never had. It is time that Spiritualism should be made something more than a mere negative of old religious systems. It should become a positive power in the world, and, dropping the cant of side issues, take up the basic principles of the only thing worthy the name of reform—the methods by which a better race of men and women may be possible. Wherever, we repeat, there are fifteen or more persons in whose souls this living inspiration has had birth, they should organize, and that without delay.

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## PRINCIPLES VS. PRACTICE.

A great, if not the greatest, difficulty with which reform, based on newly admitted principles, has to contend arises, undoubtedly, from the fact that thousands of people accept the truthfulness of the principle, in its general statement, who afterward are not willing to accept the logical deductions to be drawn from that principle; or, perhaps, to state it more clearly: people hear a self-evident statement made and their reason compels them to accept it; but when the presenter comes to offer the application of the principle involved, as a rule of human life, they are not willing, from the sharpness of their prejudices, or else from greater devotion to customs than to principles, either to accept the application themselves, or to support its acceptance by others; indeed too many, after an earnest acquiescence in the principle, denounce its application in practice by others. It is to this hindrance, at this time, that the advocacy of social freedom is subjected. Too many people have accepted the self-evident proposition that everybody has an inherent natural right to the free use of his or her powers, faculties and passions and emotions, when by such use the same right, in other individuals, is not limited or infringed; but when this principle comes to be reduced to practice; when questions at issue and directly involved in the proposition are to be decided; when in a word, individuals show that certain existing, perhaps time-honored customs, must be changed to conform to the new proposition, then a murmur of dissent is raised; then the cry goes out, Oh! who would have thought that the truth meant such a thing as this! Oh! who could have imagined that so and so were such awful people as to live this life!

We say that the very general acceptance of the principle of social freedom, as a mere declaration of principle among reformers of the radical type, and the fear, prejudice, hypocrisy or inconsistency, that prevents them from applying it to the regulation of the conduct of individuals, as well as their refusal to, or cowardice in applying them to the cure of acknowledged social ills, is the great hindrance which the progress of real social freedom has now to overcome.

There are certain institutions in society that, in their very constitution are in direct antagonism with the principles of social freedom. Marriage, for instance—that marriage of which cognizance is taken by the priest or the justice—is utterly incompatible with these principles, since how can there be freedom socially, when a law denies it, and limits that freedom by a practical ownership? So it comes out that a very large number of individuals, well-meaning and wanting to be reformers, when they find it means the abolition of marriage, by their action give a practical denial of the principles; while again there is still another class which condemns marriage in the concrete; condemns the various outrages to which it gives origin, while in the abstract they defend the system, and—as irrationally—at the same time condemn its abolition, as demanded by social freedom.

How such want of logic can be found in many places where it is showing itself we are almost at a loss to explain. For instance, in a professedly reformatory paper not many weeks ago, there was a leading editorial condemning in the most severe words to be found in the language the practice of compelling two persons to continue the marriage relation after love had departed; while in a column upon the self-same page it cried out Good Lord deliver us from the iconoclasm that permits a person actually to escape from such marriage to freedom.

This sort of reform that in one and the same breath cries, Good Lord and Good Devil; this policy of hanging on the fence, first lopping to one side and then incontinently floundering to the other; or still again, that like a drunken man staggering along, occupies both sides of the street, may do to play possum with; but when reform once acquires strength to stand alone upon its own legs, it will be quickly, hustled out of the way.

It may be hard for individuals boldly in their own lives and teachings to carry out to practical application the principles of social freedom; it may, for a time, subject those who have a devotion to truth and the courage to proclaim it, to the scoffs and scourges of the world; but there will come a day when those who, in the times that try souls are found to be false, will regret the weakness that made them so.

Then again there is another consideration that should operate to persuade this class of persons to a right course. When a large number of people mutually accept a newly-declared principle, and by this acceptance encourage the so-called leaders or advocates to reduce it to practice, there is at least a semblance of duty, in the abstract, to support them; but when from the reasons above, this support is either withdrawn or withheld, those who have moved on to the front are left at the mercy of the enemy to be picked off singly or annoyed and worried to their death or defeat.

In battle the men who rush boldly forward following their officers, but who on encountering the enemy's fire, turn and seek safety from these missiles in flight, leaving their leaders to meet the whole fury of the repulse, are no more cowardly than are their prototypes in reform; indeed not so much so, if the usual idea obtain that moral courage is superior to mere physical courage, and its want a greater reproach than the absence of physical courage.

To apply the deduction that must follow from the above thoughts we would say to all those who, with any depth at all, have accepted the doctrine of social freedom, to now stand firmly by not only its declaration and advocacy but

by its application to practical life, swerving neither this way nor that, as the tide of popular opinion swoops down upon them. The declaration of freedom has been hurled against the conservative battlements of sexual slavery and is causing an intense excitement among its defenders, who, rallying to the safety of their long-time occupied redoubt think easily to cast back the attackers; but their defenses totter with age and internally reek with rottenness and decay, though in external form they put on the semblance of purity and strength. To break through this sham and to come to its weakness requires only that the attack shall be maintained until after the defenders have spent their first round of heavy artillery, when with fixed bayonets carried with a determined will, we may rush over the ruins and sweep them from their now apparently impregnable fortresses. And, finally; Remember that "they who bear the cross shall wear the crown," while they who shift it to the shoulders of others to bear alone, themselves shirking its weight, shall be the Peters and the Judases of the new dispensation.

## A WORD WITH RADICAL SPEAKERS.

When the management of the Spiritualistic Societies refuse to permit you to speak to the people, on their platforms and under their auspices, make personal application to friends to aid you in getting up series of lectures on your own account. If rightly managed, this will be more remunerative than are regular engagements, and will result in the organizations of numerous Primary Councils of the Universal Association of Spiritualists; or what is better still, when practicable, several may band together and hold several days' conventions in prominent places, and thus carry more rapidly forward than by any other means, the agitation of the new and important questions out of which wisdom will build up a new social order, to replace that which is already struck with death. The Board of Trustees and the New Provisional Council of the Universal Association will, undoubtedly, as one of its first acts, organize a series of conventions to be held in the principal cities. The time for action and persistent effort is at hand, and no one should shrink from its duties. While the Opposition is making such desperate efforts to crush out radical discussion, its advocates should offset them by equal earnestness.

## WOMAN'S CONGRESS.

This body of women held a three-days' session in the Union League Hall, corner of Madison avenue and twenty-sixth street, on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday of last week. It consists of between two and three hundred members who are from the educated and advanced class of women. None more than we do, can rejoice at the rapid strides in progress that this movement of these women represents, nor at the ability and earnestness of purpose that was exhibited by their treatment of many important subjects of reform; and more than all do we rejoice that at last, the press managed as it is by men altogether, has found a body of women pure and refined enough to be worthy of respectful mention in its immaculate columns. Each day's proceedings of the Congress was fairly reported, without the usual slang and badinage, and frequent high indorsement for character and ability were given to women whose well-known reputations warranted such mention from such a source. We cannot, however, refrain from thinking that these women must feel as though the press in finding it necessary to speak of their moral purity, when it made no mention in any way of the same necessary element in sexual assemblages of men, that took place during the same week, went just a little out of its way to maintain this barrier between men and women. We say, we think; but for ought we know the Congress may have felt this the *ne plus ultra* of commendation.

There is another view to this press treatment, not quite so complimentary to either side, and which undoubtedly explains the encomiums bestowed upon the Congress. This was evident in several of the editorial comments. They said so long as women remain in their own sphere and don't interfere with our politics or our money schemes, and are willing to remain "yours obediently" socially, why we will put them on the track, and vouch for them in any way; whereas, if they attempt to infringe our well-established rights of centuries' standing, we will write them down no better than bauds. This is the moral of the praise bestowed upon the Congress according to the press itself.

But the women are not to be held accountable for this lack of honesty by the press, but for all that, as we said before may rather like it. Certain it is they took special care not to offend their male rulers by the introduction of any distasteful subjects. Indeed they took special care to exclude every such matter in advance, and thus to notify the press of their docility and humility.

We should rather have had them take a bold stand against this male domination, and to have demanded the right to the same things that are enjoyed by men. Not that we would have women ape the vices of men; but that they should be held to the same accountability when they do and to no other. Neither do we feel that they did the very best thing in making their body exclusive. Several women of talent and experience, indeed, who have been a long time in the field of reform, were, we are told, black-balled, on desiring to be admitted as members. We would warn the Congress that they may not expect to do much for



the classes they call "not respectable" if they refuse them association. What we would have woman reformers insist upon is this: that women with whom respectable men associate and do not become defiled, let them be who or what they may, are entitled to the *entree* of society and the Church upon the same footing with those men; and that they shall insist that men shall extend them the same respect that they do to their other associates, and not point them out on the streets as social outcasts. The disease, however, may be catching in the Congress, and if so we cannot blame the measures that protection seemed to demand of them. But they seemed to forget that they denied "The Master" whom they besought in prayer, and that if He were to treat them as he was wont to treat the Jews, He would say: inasmuch as ye refused to admit the least among you, ye also refused to admit me.

We say we are sorry for all these things which showed a falling away from the teachings of "The Master" whom they profess. This is hypocritical; but nevertheless we do not wish to detract from the good done, nor from the effect of the examples set by this Congress, and we hope it will continue to increase in strength and power and good works. We are for the advancement of woman, and if this come, even from those who would crucify us, we think of the good as though it came from any other source. Here is where we think the great failures are made. People accept or reject new ideas and works, not on account of their intrinsic value, but judged by the person through whom they are offered or performed. The golden rule is as good coming from Confucius, repeated by Christ, as if it had originated with Christ; and it would have had equal power for good had it been even spoken by Nero. Truth is one and the same in all places. No contamination can destroy its worth, and though embedded in error it still shines brilliantly and purely, often overcoming its environment by its innate power. That this power was wanting in the Congress, made it necessary that it should protect itself.

But in spite of all precaution the restrictions would sometimes be burst asunder, and the soul of the speakers shine through its entanglements. And we cannot help feeling for the mortification that Charlotte Wilbour and Catharine Beecher, to say nothing of Mrs. Severance and Lucy Stone, must have felt at such heresy as this:

Mrs. E. C. Lovering, of Concord, N. H., said: "No child should be brought into the world which is not the product of a perfect love; the damage to the race from the birth of children the product of an overburdened and unwilling motherhood, or of an exhausted vitality on the part of either of the parents, was incalculable."

Now we could not have said more, substantially, than this, had we spoken an hour. The only difference would have been this: while Mrs. Lovering makes declarations only, we should have shown the practical method to attain their results. Herein consist the great difference between us. These women are theorists merely, while we would reduce theories to practice.

Or again, to hear this from Elizabeth Cady Stanton:

"Men do not come into the world like blank pieces of paper on which anything could be stamped. On the contrary, the character of the child was given to it before birth. She had often thought, when inspecting the different charitable asylums, what should we say of an artist who should spend all day in filling a gallery full of miserable daubs or miserable pieces of statuary; yet we have been filling the world with men and women with crooked legs and crooked brains, and everything crooked about them altogether. I want to have women think on these things. They must not take the teaching of men, that have taught women that their whole duty was to multiply and replenish the earth. This was a mistake; we have too many children already. It is in vain that Bishop Cox Hopkins talks from the pulpit against the crime of infanticide; there are laws deeper down than anything we know. Every woman knows we are bringing into the world moral monstrosities. When physical monstrosities are born the physician thinks it is perfectly just to put them out of the world. Mothers know that they are bringing into the world moral monstrosities. It is not the right and duty of every man and woman to be fathers and mothers, for it is the ante-natal conditions that determine the character of the race."

Mrs. Churchill and Mrs. Howe were fearful that the impression might go abroad that this Congress favored infanticide.

Mrs. Stanton said that she had not the least idea that the audience thought that she favored infanticide. She had merely stated what was an acknowledged fact in the world and always would be until women had the full and entire control of their own persons. If a woman was grand enough to bring into the world a dozen children, by all means let her do so, but if a woman with a weak, sickly constitution is married to a drunken and profligate husband, the fewer children she brings into the world the better."

So it is, that no matter how carefully a Congress may be empaneled, or how guardedly its managers control the speakers' tongues, or how closely they are watched, the truth will flash forth in spite of them. The ultimate of the Free Love Doctrine was taught at this Congress in as radical form as it was at Chicago in the recent Convention, at the doing of which most of the members of this Congress are disgusted, prettily. The question is, how to make better children, and it will not down at the bidding of any number of those who are affrighted at contamination.

In speaking of the last day's proceedings of the Congress, the *Herald* says:

"Last evening, at half-past nine o'clock, the Woman's Congress closed its labors, after a prolonged session of three

days and three nights. A blaze of glory surrounded its expiring moments, for a reception was given to its guests at which a large number of beautiful, graceful and well-bred women were gathered together to hold communion for the last time pending their next annual gathering. Hereafter the woman's movement promises to be of a more conservative nature than it has hitherto professed to acknowledge. The free-love element, to use a masculine expression, has virtually been kicked out of the Congress, and hereafter it must do its howlings and have its hallucinations in a separate body of its own. [The corollary—slave love—as a consequence, is the rule of the Congress. We hope they like the inevitable logic.—Ed.] In fine, the Girondins have left the mountain, and the scattered but numerous followers of Victoria Woodhull can no longer place the responsibility of their doctrines upon that large body of American women who wish in their hearts to be loyal to the marriage tie, but who prefer to have as few children as possible.

Now, when the writer penned the above, he knew, unless he is a "dummy," that neither Victoria Woodhull or her followers have ever made the slightest attempts to get into either the suffrage movement or into the Congress. They have always been about their own business. So far as they were ever connected specifically with the suffrage movement, *per se*, it came to them, and when those who came would no longer follow out the conclusions, the logic of their own previous positions, they went forward and left them. So, thank you, Mr. Herald. Nobody ever kicked them out of any place. They hold a position from which no amount of imbecile blackguardism can move them. They occupy the invulnerable position of truth and principle, together with the courage of their own opinions. They do not disguise their real views under a transparent rhetoric for the sake of getting into any company anywhere, and it was quite unnecessary that the Congress should have made regulations evidently to defend themselves from their presence. We should be ashamed to sink our standard to the level of that put out by this Congress. It had its work to do, however, and it has done it well; and we rejoice at its success as we do for everything that tends to uplift even a part of womanhood.

But the *Herald* soon eats its own words. It says:

"The Executive Committee, under the wise guidance of Mrs. Charlotte Wilbour, had determined that nothing from the suffrage and free love element should mar the harmony of the movement. A lady named Mrs. Lucinda B. Chandler, who has a very pleasant and rather sentimental face, and who wore a dark green small striped silk dress, read a paper on the inevitable "Motherhood" business. Some of her views as expressed were certainly of a startling nature, and her text was: "She who rocks the cradle rules." Some of the ideas in regard to the manufacture of species were very advanced, and can hardly be produced in the *Herald*. Still the lady was applauded to the echo, and her paper was voted to be an excellent one."

Sentiments applauded to the echo which the *Herald*, with its assignment column, could not reproduce! Verily, this smacks of obscenity as strongly as do the same paper's remarks of our own speeches. And "applauded to the echo" in spite of the "wise" management of Charlotte Wilbour to keep harmony by the exclusion of "improper subjects."

We congratulate the Woman's Congress and we hope it will go on with its work. Manage as they may, the Wilbours and the Livermores cannot strangle every advanced thought that struggles for utterance, even in the throats of those who have so deep a regard for mere external respectability as to seek it when the press and public opinion will condescend to acknowledge its existence. Nor need they have taken any pain to exclude the radical element, as we said, since it never runs after anything. It usually keeps ahead of all things and stands firmly on its own individuality, and can afford to wait its own time, and see others in the rear, from time to time, move forward to occupy the positions made vacant by its advance.

Of this unnecessary movement of exclusiveness the *Herald* says:

"During the interregnum between the morning and afternoon meeting of the Congress the association went into executive session in the picture gallery, and the folding doors were closed upon the vulgar world of outsiders. A fierce battle was conducted for nearly three-quarters of an hour by some of the adherents of the Woodhull party to make an amendment to the constitution of the association, so as to have members admitted on payment of the initiation fee and by a *via voce* vote of the members already elected. It was of no avail, however, and, though Isabella Beecher Hooker fought manfully for it, the life was beaten out of the amendment, and Mrs. Livermore carried the day in the way that John Kelly carries his measures through the Tammany Hall General Committee. And this amounts practically to an ostracism of Victoria Woodhull in the new woman's organization."

We return for this intended insult, which we accept as an honor conferred, the earnest hope that, when the Congress meet again, it will be a little more wise and a little less fear struck. It will then do more than ever for human kind, and be better satisfied with itself.

#### THE COOPER INSTITUTE LECTURE.

According to the announcement, Victoria C. Woodhull delivered her oration entitled "Reformation or Revolution; or, Behind the Political Scenes," in the large hall of the Cooper Institute on Friday evening last, to an audience that packed the immense auditorium in every part. By half-past seven every seat was occupied, but still the throng flowed in cramming the aisles, the spaces in the rear of the

seats, the platform, on which there was not room enough left for the speaker, and still it flowed in, blocking the ante-rooms, halls and stairways out into the street with a dense mass; and still the tide flowed toward the Institute packing the large area in front of the building with a crowd eager to obtain admission, and offering two, three, and even five dollars for reserved seats. After waiting a half hour they began to disperse; but it was not till the close of the lecture when the audience began to emerge that the last of them turned homeward.

It was not to be expected that the press would make any but a distorted report of a lecture that questioned the very conditions in our present systems, upon which it thrives. The extent of the crowd they could not ignore. Whatever else they would like to have said, it was acknowledged that no such audience would come out to hear any other subject discussed by any other speaker. There were, perhaps, a half dozen boisterously inclined individuals present; but as a whole, no more respectful, enlightened, respectable or enthusiastic audience ever congregated in this city. The efforts of the press to make it appear otherwise, if its representatives only knew it, was read upon them, since every person who was present knows this morning that the press willfully misrepresented the whole affair, or else that it was afraid to do it justice, and each will discuss the matter with his or her neighbor, and finally will the public become convinced that the press is just what it was represented by the lecturer to be. The *Sun* was the only one that dared to give even a brief outline of the argument, each of the others paying its attention to that part of the audience composed of the boisterous few, their disturbance being, in the judgment of the editors, of more importance (?) to the reading public than a synopsis of the principles of a true Republican government.

Mr. Crandall, of Brooklyn, in making an introductory address, said:

New Yorkers, you are assembled here this evening, to listen to the famous exponent of a system of social ethics which, in view of its present and probable future results, entitles its founder to be ranked among the greatest innovators of the world. Possibly the last time, for a cell has been swept and garnished, and bolts and bars await her. The soul of Torquemada marches on; the inquisitorial dicta of the church still grinds philosophy between the thumb and finger of its wrath; still the sacerdotal bigots shout "crucify;" still the ignorant rabble mock and wag their heads; the world is not yet done with cross, and stake, and rack, and halter. To-night, almost shelterless, almost friendless, Victoria C. Woodhull stands isolate, desolate, in the shadow of Sing Sing.

And what is her offense? Why, forsooth, she has dared to be true when all around were false and hollow; heeding the inspirations of the living God within her, and cleaving for her weary feet an independent path through the wilderness of folly that misleads the times. Freedom—all-sided, universal freedom—has been her plea; a prison, sure and strong and cruel, is the answer to that pleading.

And what is this philosophy that shakes the everlasting hills of staid society, and raises such a clamorous din from things that howl, and hiss, and bray? What is this "Woodhullism" that so affrights poor tottering virtue? Briefly this: 1st. All just governments being derived from the consent of the governed, woman should have part and parcel in the framing of laws to which she is amenable. 2d. Womanhood, in whatsoever phase of life, is par with manhood similarly circumstanced. 3d. That motherhood, in any circumstance, is sacred. 4th. That when our sisters and daughters are become more known and thought of in connection with the bar, and counting-house, and avenues of trade and commerce, they'll be less thought of in connection with the boudoir and the couch. 5th. That true virtue is not physical continence unto functional stagnation, but an active, saving element, whose field is faculty and whose realm is head and heart.

These are the cardinal points of a doctrine that has set all Christendom agog, and settled down on Mother Grundy's rest like the horrid fancies of some hideous nightmare. In the fullness of a human heart, made broad and deep by cognizance of human suffering, Victoria Woodhull named this offspring of her brain "Free Love," and sent it forth to meet its fate. And soon enough she learned how low the standard of the world's appreciation.

I have read that in the sumptuously appointed gardens of the Orient, great slimy snails pollute the features of the fairest statuary. In the far-off swamps of the Chickahominy, among the neglected graves of our nation's dead, I have seen snakes and lizards crawling out and in. But what are these compared to the lecherous thoughts and hideous creeping things that hiss and writhe in human hearts where'er is heard these words, "Victoria," "Free Love." As if True Love had ever, since the world began, been otherwise than free! As if Victoria were else than human, subject to human ills and errors, and entitled to human sympathy and human rights!

Your presence here to-night I look upon as gracious recognition of the dignity of womanhood, and I believe that in what you shall hear that dignity will be sustained.

The past week has witnessed in your midst a great convulsion of the recognized ambassadors of Jesus Christ, and the just epitome of their many words is simply this: a fulmination against Catholicism. But I can tell them that at least one sentiment of Catholicism will remain when all their sects and credal clans shall be forgotten. In its adoration of the Virgin is an embodiment of reverent regard for womanhood and motherhood, and it shall live, for it is good and true. Because of this, that church shall stand when every other form of human abnegation shall have gone down forever beneath the conscious dignity of man; nay, it shall outlive that church and even its remembrance. When the last grand cathedral shall have crumbled into dust, the face of that Virgin shall still smile upon the world, and thoughta



of the sweet "Mother of God" shall sanctify the motherhood of man.

And now let me commend to your sympathy this much-calumniated woman, than whom none other is more brave, or true, or worthy—even Victoria C. Woodhull, heaven-endowed, hell-pursued—the female Winkelreid of this day and generation. Gathering into her bosom the shafts of calumny and vile reproach, she has made way for liberty, and a world of slaves shall ultimately bless the day that brought them freedom through her sacrifice.

If there are hearts here to-night there will be pity for this sister martyr to an unjust popular opinion; if there is honor here she will have respectful hearing.

The *Sun* said: Last night every available inch of room in the great hall of the Cooper Institute was occupied. Hundreds went away without even seeing the inside of the hall. Mrs. Woodhull looked a little flushed as she took her place on the front of the platform. She was neatly and becomingly attired in black, with a single red rose in her dress. She was greeted with prolonged applause, not entirely unmixed with laughter, both of which manifestations were renewed as she called upon her hearers to remember that they were ladies and gentlemen, and as such ought to signify their marked disapproval of the efforts of a clique which she understood attended her lecture especially to interrupt her. Her address was styled "Reformation or Revolution, Which? or, Behind the Political Scenes." In dealing with it she labored under the difficulty of being almost unable to make herself heard; her voice was weak, and she was evidently suffering from a severe cold. She apologized for her inability to speak with her accustomed energy, saying that the last two weeks of excitement, during which she had been twice under arrest, had undermined her health. Speaking of iniquity in high places, which was overspreading the country, she said the people were everywhere crying: "Give us back our rights or we will take them." She did not wish to be misunderstood, but though asking rather for reformation than revolution, if the former were denied, she would use all her influence to bring about the latter. [Applause.] Fraud, corruption and speculation were everywhere; but the end was at hand. From Tammany down to the latest Brooklyn exposure, first and last, one and all, they spoke in unmistakable tones of the culmination of the system of government. It was not to be wondered at that fraud should reign triumphant. What else was to be expected? If Congress, in league with the Cabinet, if not the President himself, could be induced to push a Pacific Railroad scheme, to obtain stock in a Credit Mobilier, and, being exposed, could whitewash itself by such a farce as was enacted in Congress last winter, why, indeed, should not every official in the country go into the same business, and hope to escape in a like manner?

The speaker then entered into a long list of specific charges against the government, during which her audience showed itself to be of the most capricious nature, sometimes shaking the hall with the violence of their applause, and then drowning her voice in an uproar of laughter. The recent failures in Wall street were spoken of as ominous, and indicative of the fall of the government. It was perfectly evident that the country was on the high road to a monarchy, of which Grant would be Dictator. For herself, the speaker said she had no doubt she would be heartily abused by the morning newspapers, but they could do her no further harm, for, thank God, she had touched bottom and could go no deeper. The obloquy which the press had cast upon Horace Greeley had killed him, and it had tried to kill her, but was not able to do so. [Loud laughter and applause.] The prison system of New York was a disgrace to the city. Every night hundreds of criminals retired to their beds wading to their ankles in water, fed with wormy biscuits, and forced to drink such coffee as even hogs would refuse to drink. Christianity might be a good thing after the more material wants were supplied, but how many poor people in New York who for the past twelve days had listened to the fervent utterances of the Evangelical Alliance would be able to purchase coal for the coming winter? [Applause.] It would give her very much greater satisfaction to know how thousands of her suffering sisters would be able to procure the necessities of life without falling into vice, than to learn anything regarding the worn-out song of Christianity which had been sung for the last thousand years. [Cheers.] If God gave her health and strength she would ere long start out on a political campaign, and she would do all in her power to overthrow the present government. [Applause.] She would call upon them to vote against every politician at present in the field, for there was not one of them fit to pick out of the gutter. [Loud laughter, and cries of "That's so."] As Mrs. Woodhull concluded her lecture the applause which greeted her was deafening.

The *Star* said:

#### WOODHULL'S WARNING.

*Five Thousand Friends of Vic. in Council. A Peep Behind the Political Scenes—Some Telling Thrusts at the Political Swindlers—Reformation or Revolution, Which?—Startling Revelations—Is Grant Working for the Dictatorship?—Terrible Times Predicted for America.*

Last night Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull lectured at Cooper Institute on "Reformation or Revolution, Which? or, Behind the Political Scenes." Long before the hour announced for the commencement of the lecture the hall was completely packed, and a large portion of the audience were ladies. The aisles were crowded, and, in fact, every available spot in the hall was occupied. On the platform there was a large assemblage also. The lecturer was several times interrupted by a crowd who evidently had come purposely with that intention.

#### MRS. WOODHULL'S ADDRESS.

Mrs. Woodhull then stepped forward to the front of the platform. She was attired in a black silk dress, and wore a red rose in her bosom. The recent harrowing given her by the authorities has had a telling effect on her, and her health has been much impaired. Her voice is considerably weaker, and twice she broke down in the delivery of her lecture, but

toward the end it strengthened considerably, and her voice could be heard above the noise and clamor of those who came to the meeting with the intention of making a disturbance. On coming forward she was greeted with rounds of applause. She commenced by stating that she had been suffering for one year very severely from the treatment she had received at the hands of the authorities, and could scarcely speak. She had been under arrest twice during the week, and her health broken down by the treatment of the damned government officials, who are permitted to take the power into their hands and drag a woman to prison. The government and its hirelings were rotten to the core, and through them there was no justice in the land. [Applause.] But the time was coming when the sleeping thieves and robbers would be awakened and hurled to the bottomless pit before they had a chance to pocket their fraud. The government could no longer be tolerated by the people. It ground them down, and when she last lectured in this hall it was surrounded by one hundred police and ten marshals, but they could not stop her. The presence of such a mass of people to-night testified that they were in sympathy with her; it testified that they would no longer be down-trodden, and if the few persons who attended for the purpose of creating a disturbance, would be induced to keep quiet, she would give some solid facts. It might appear presumptuous, perhaps ridiculous, for a woman to talk to an audience, composed largely of men, about politics and government. Men had had the management of these questions so long, it ought at least to be presumed that what they did know was worth talking about. She found so much of which to complain, in which the interests of every workingman and woman in the country were involved, that she could not hold her peace and see the impending desolation which threatened to bring a period of woe to all who approach unopposed. The Government of the country was bad; that which the founders intended to secure to every person, the inalienable rights of the text of the Constitution, had become a gigantic empire of oppression, grinding to the earth a large proportion of the common people, who all their lives long, tax their strength to the utmost and die at the end, leaving their families destitute and without the means to decently bury them, while the results of their toil was being enjoyed by others. So general and oppressive was this that on every hand the murmurings of discontent among the masses were breaking into rebellion in which the hope for reformation was replaced by the desire for revolution.

All up and down this broad country secret meetings were being held, in which the most extreme remedies were freely discussed, and yet those to whom the people had intrusted the public interests, slept on peacefully and dreamed of the next job, seemingly ignorant that the day of judgment was at hand, while still another class was watching the opportunity, tiger-like, to spring upon the throat of liberty as it struggled in the strife and strangle it in its despot's grasp, so that they might plant themselves upon its ruins. When they passed behind the political scenes and observed what was there going on, the heart that beat with the love of justice and freedom; which cared for its country's welfare; which had a single sentiment of the brotherhood of man born in the soul, might well cry out: "Can there be reformation, or must it be revolution before justice shall be done?" There were times in the affairs of nations when revolutions were not only necessary but obligatory upon a people, and it was an open question if such a time was not now pending over the country. One of two things would surely be: there must be reformation behind the political scenes or there would be a revolution outside of them. The time of destruction, or of manly opposition had now come. She did not advocate revolution, but demanded what belonged, of right, to the people. If that was denied she would fall back upon the right of revolution, which no freeman would deny, and she would do all in her power to produce it. [Applause.]

She spoke for the people—the great, honest, industrial masses who were being robbed, and against that class which devoted its time and talent to devising means to secure the results which the other class produced. As between these two she demanded justice, and by the God of Justice it should be rendered—peaceably, if it could—forcibly, if it must. The wiser portion of Congressmen feared the result, for from the head at Washington down to the pettiest public office there was nothing but fraud and corruption. Men of the highest respectability, and head lights in the Young Men's Christian Association—warm friends of the Administration—by a method that was winked at as a mistake only, accidentally defrauded the revenue of only a few millions; when everything that was false, corrupt and damnable ran riot at the expense of the hard-working people, it was time this Babel government was overthrown and buried in its own ruin. [Applause.] It was a failure, because it neither secured freedom, maintained equality nor administered justice to its citizens. A change was evident. Great divines from Europe assembled in the city. The God-in-the-Constitution movement, the gradual concentration of monopolies, and the consolidation of political powers were all parts of a conspiracy to change to a dictatorship and then to an empire. The people, however, did not apprehend any danger, nor would they until it was too late, when probably the persuasive measures brought to bear on the people would be the "wheel," or a few stretches on "the rack," or a little quiet roasting at the stake.

All this might be accomplished in the event of a general panic resulting from wide-spread financial and commercial ruin. No one could say that the prominent European powers were not in the secret, but it was a fact that the most autocratic of all the generals of the army, and that one nearest the President, last year made the tour of Europe, virtually having conference with every monarch. The programme was already laid down for the purpose of establishing a monarchy on the ruins of the so-called Republic. There would no doubt be a short, sharp, bloody and decisive struggle, that at first would be altogether in favor of the conspiracy, but which would ultimate in the success of the people, and the inauguration of a new and higher order of civiliza-

tion. The dictatorship, even the Empire, might succeed, and the Christian bigots be installed as God's Vicegerents, but their reign would be short and bitter, and the more decisive their success at the outset the more terrible would be their overthrow. They would go down in a common ruin, and there would be no more despots ever again to possess themselves of the rights and liberties of the people. In order to avert this great evil they should be up and doing, and prepared to resist the action of the men now in power. [Applause.]

At the conclusion of the address Miss Claflin was loudly called upon, but declined to come forward.

Rev. Mr. Ireland briefly addressed the meeting. He said he came all the way from Georgia to hear Mrs. Woodhull. He had been in the Catholic and was then five years minister in the Presbyterian Church, and added that he freely indorsed everything stated by her.

The meeting then adjourned.

The *Herald* said:

At the Cooper Institute last evening a crowd of at least 4,000 people assembled to hear Mrs. Woodhull lecture (and between 4,000 and 5,000 on the outside). Before eight o'clock the aisles and entrances were completely filled, and the reporters' area in front of the stage was invaded and the reporters swamped. After that hour there was room nowhere in the hall for the numbers who came to see and hear the fair lecturer.

Mrs. Woodhull and her sister were present at the back of the stage some little time before the hour appointed for the lecture. The audience exhibited a slight degree of impatience while waiting for the speaker. When Mrs. Woodhull advanced to the front she was greeted with tremendous applause. She was dressed in a black skirt, with a black braided jacket fitting tight around the waist and with the collar turned up about the neck. She wore a small crimson rose above her bosom, and her hair, parted near the middle, fell in a careless cut over her ears and down the turned-up collar of her jacket. She was flushed in the face, and at times her voice broke up, but in the main she managed to make herself heard with clearness. A number of the ladies belonging to the decorous body of agitators assembled at the Union League Club House paid a visit to the hall, as it was understood the lecturer intended to pay her respects to them in choice language. In this they were disappointed and so were a great many more who came there with the hope of hearing naughty words on naughty subjects.

#### THE OBSCENITY

which was expected from Woodhull and her sister was not afforded, and the vast congregation of prurient minds was happily disappointed. The subject of the lecture was, "Reformation or Revolution, Which? or, Behind the Political Scenes." Out of this it was hoped by the audience the lady would evolve her notions on free love and break over into forbidden pastures. She confined herself chiefly to a discussion of politics. The main point of her address was meant to be the prediction that, in a few months or so, a bloody revolution would happen, everything be turned topsy-turvy and all sorts of wildnesses be enacted. On the sex to which she is assumed to belong she spoke thus:

"I say that the present social system, enforced both by law and a falsely educated public opinion, makes every woman dependent for support and comfort upon some man, and it does not give the least consideration as to whether she obtains it or not. It says to her—Here is the theory, live by it if you can; die by it you must, and the devil take the unfortunate. We, the government; we, the men to whom belong all the realities of this world, can't do anything more for you except you become a social outcast, as they gracefully call unfortunate women, when we will perhaps patronize you as our demands require. I repeat again, and I wish my voice could reach the ear and the soul of every man and woman in the world, that the theory of our social system is that women are dependent upon men, and that to secure support they must marry and merge their identity and individuality in some man, and then it leaves her unmindful and indifferent as to whether she secure it or not."

She ceased speaking at nine o'clock, and the audience then vociferously demanded the appearance of Tennie C., hoping she might give them the spice that the other failed to furnish; but Tennie C. retired and somebody declared the meeting adjourned, and finally the crowd went home.

The *World* said:

The large hall of the Cooper Union was last evening filled to overflowing with a crowd of persons whose curiosity to hear Woodhull and Claflin on "Reformation or Revolution" quite overcame their desire for personal comfort. The speaker aspired to prove that everything that is should not be, and so presented the difficulties of reformation and the charms of revolution as to make her audience feel as though fixed upon both horns of a political dilemma.

An address entitled "Reformation or Revolution, Which?" was given by Victoria C. Woodhull in the Cooper Institute, last evening, in the presence of a large audience, which left no standing-place unoccupied. Mrs. Woodhull was introduced by Mr. Crandall, of Brooklyn. He said that Mrs. Woodhull stood in the shadow of Sing Sing, and that a new warrant for her arrest was out last evening. Mrs. Woodhull spoke for an hour, and vehemently denounced the existing frame of society, the whole body politic, the corrupt government, the rotten social fabric, and the "subsidized press."

The following are excerpts from the speech itself:

It may appear presumptuous, perhaps ridiculous, for a woman to talk to an audience composed largely of men, about politics and government. Men have had the management of these questions so long, it ought at last to be presumed that what they do not know is not worth talking about. I have listened attentively to speeches from many different men—Statesmen, Legislators, Congressmen—but I failed to find in the institutions which they represented, anything



that is an excuse, even, for the grandiloquent laudations that they usually indulged in. On the contrary, I find so much of which to complain, in which not only my own interests, but those of every working man and woman in the country are involved, that I cannot hold my peace and see the impending desolation—which now threatens to bring a period of woe to us all—approach unopposed.

I repeat, I speak for this class (the industrial masses), and as against that class which devotes its time and talent to devising means to secure the results which the other class produce. As between these two I demand justice; and by the God of Justice it shall be rendered, peaceably if it can, forcibly if it must. Hunger, with its long, bony fingers, pinched cheek and fiery eye, shall not much longer hold horrid revel in hut and hovel, in a land that trembles under the weight of its own productions, and is studded from end to end with palatial homes in which luxury abides. Not much longer shall thousands of men, women and children eke out a miserable life upon what a "sport" would disdain to feed his dogs, while the favored few wallow in superfluities.

Do not deceive yourselves. Negro slavery was not so great a cause of dissatisfaction then, as are the more subtle slaveries of to-day, now. Nor were the slave oligarchs any more alarmed about their slaves then, than are the political, financial and industrial oligarchs for their possessions, now. The public sentiment, however, had outgrown the institution of slavery, and sealed its doom. So also is the public sentiment outgrowing the despotic rule of the aristocrats of to-day, and it will seal their fate. But the latter, no less than was the former, are a part of our system of government, and as slavery proved a failure, and as such was abolished, so also are the others to follow in the same way.

Even the highest officials no longer hesitate to openly ally themselves with professional speculators, and this brings the exclamation: Can it be possible that the people's money, paid by them into the public treasury, is being used as a basis for speculation, that officials, even the President himself, should rush frantically to the rescue of the jeopardized market? Can it be true, as hinted among those who ought to know, that the large banking firms, recently suspended, were operating on government funds; and as has been stated of a case in Washington, that drafts upon the Treasury for large amounts were made recently to bolster up their trembling ventures?

With the abolition of the system of middle-men, would follow the downfall of its ally—the modern newspapers. As the advertising medium of this class, without the support of which three-fourths of them could not exist, they are conducted specifically in the interest of trade and as against those of labor. This is the reason why the influential papers let the discussion of the labor problem severely alone. So long as the present systems exist, so long must the interests of these two classes remain in antagonism. One hundred and fifty millions dollars are annually paid by the hucksters in puffing their wares, every one of which is a tax upon labor in the increased cost of what they consume, or else in the decreased cost of what they sell. Remember I do not impeach the press; I am questioning the manner of its conduct merely. But this again is another evidence of the fallacies of our system which, when changed to a correct basis, will rear a press of its own, dedicated to humanitarian, instead of class interests, upon the latter of which it will not rely for support. More than this; the inauguration of a system of public markets would return to productive labor one-half the people who are now living by retailing its products, upon the productive class, and thus, by so much, lessen the number of hours for daily labor.

Another outrage which is perpetrated upon the productive classes by the government, and which should naturally follow the public debt question for consideration, is that of taxation. Let it appear as preposterous as it may, it is nevertheless true that these classes pay every dollar of taxation—they run the government and pay its debts. No matter in what form the tax is levied and collected, it comes home at last to the door of the daily laborers of the country. To show this conclusively requires scarcely more than a single statement:

Probably the total taxation of the country, for national, state, county and municipal purposes, is not less than a thousand millions dollars. At the end of the fiscal year, has the accumulated wealth in the hands of the few been reduced by this amount? No; it has been increased instead of reduced. How increased? By the addition of more produced wealth. Produced by whom? By the laborers of the country. Therefore, though these taxes have been paid to the Treasury by the holders of wealth, the laborer must have furnished the means, else would their bank accounts have been decreased. Can anything be clearer than this, or anything more monstrous and unjust? And when the industrial classes have taken time to consider these things, they will refuse to submit to it.

And were the same regulations applied to the transportation both of passengers and merchandise that obtain in the mails, there would be a perfect solution of the vexed questions of freight and passenger tariffs. The same principle that transports a letter from New York to San Francisco for three cents, while it costs the same to send one to Philadelphia, would set the wheat of Minnesota down in the New York market costing no more than that grown in the Genesee Valley.

If the postal service is self-supporting, or nearly so, conducted upon this principle, why cannot the entire system of transportation be made the same?

The government being the source of money is its legitimate custodian and carrier. It should prepare methods to receive the people's money and to pay or transmit it from one to another, on demand, but without interest. The post office is the natural channel, and the money order system the true method of exchange, and by adding to its present functions, the further one as a depository of the people's money, and a reliable commercial system, infinitely superior, as the blindest must see, to the present, would be the outcome. In such a system there would be no bank suspen-

sions; no worthless or depreciated currency; no protested drafts; no failure of savings banks and robbery of the poor;—in short, all the imperfections and insecurities of the present, would be replaced by regularity and security.

I have thus far discussed chiefly those evils which oppress the people by the commission of errors by the government. There is still another class of crimes, almost equally reprehensible, which may be named *Errors of Omission*. These have special reference to the dependent and unfortunate classes—the women, the children, the criminals, the maimed and the insane, which together make up a sum total of human misery almost too horrible to contemplate, and which fix a stigma of reproach, an indelible blot of infamy, upon this pretendedly enlightened people which would justly merit the contempt of the most barbarous nation on the globe. This, at the first glance, may seem to be too severe an indictment of our civilization; but I say it is just, since such things as obtain here would put the savages to shame.

So long as men maintain this social theory, and so long as women are its willing slaves, I say change the law, so that they shall be protected in it; so that women shall not be made dependent upon the individual man. Make it a duty of the State to see that the theory which it insists on enforcing is carried out to its logical results. Let it see that woman has a support and not compel her to surrender herself to a single person, and to forever after be compelled to rely upon him for life and its comforts, when in so many instances both are denied her.

I want to ask every woman who, under this theory, has secured all the necessities and the comforts of life, how many women would frequent the haunts of vice in the Green streets of the world, if they were placed on an equality with you! And before you come to a conclusion, remember, if you had been situated in the same circumstances that have driven them there, and they in those that have surrounded you, that it is more than probable you would have been where they are, while they, perhaps, would have filled your places.

Therefore, society having constructed a social system that makes it impossible that there should not be unfortunately circumstanced women, and as it afterward condemns them to social ostracism and death because they are unfortunate, it is a self-contradiction and stultification and needs to be remodeled to make it consistent with itself. The fashionable women of the day say that the outcasts remain in vice because they prefer to do so rather than to do the menial work which only they can obtain; but let them ask themselves if they were driven to the acceptance of one or the other of these alternatives, whether they would not choose the comforts that are lavished upon the mistress rather than the drudgery to which the kitchen scrub is subjected?

Governmental employ for everybody who cannot obtain labor elsewhere, and governmental care for wives and children who need it, must be introduced as a supplement to the present systems. Not to do this is brutal. Already is our civilization blackened with the disgraceful accounts of the miseries that the omission to do this has caused, and if it be not done, and that at once (I speak it in sorrow, but I know it too well), there will be riot in New York before spring.

Yes, there must be provisions for unprovided wives and uncared-for children by government, that will place them upon an equality with the best classes of society as to food, shelter and clothing, with physical and industrial, as well as intellectual education for the children; and employment must be given to every needy man and woman. Under such regulation only, is there the remotest possibility for a continuation of the present governmental and social systems. In no other way can Reformation prevent Revolution; and it ought not to be prevented by any less sweeping reform.

Your criminal jurisprudence has also developed another infamous system. Your station-houses and jails are a sickening disgrace; while your prisons and penitentiaries are foul generators of misery and crime. A term in them will harden the best man or woman into a confirmed degradation. In your eagerness to punish crime, you destroy the man or woman. You rush them, being merely charged with crime, into your pest-hells, where they lie pent up for months, without even an investigation, and then you rush them through something called a trial, often without a defense, and if it is possible to fix the act upon them with any degree of certainty, they are hurried to the place which seals their future career, and where they are treated worse than brutes, and as if they were not human. A "States Prison Bird" has little chance in your social system. He can practice only those things for a living which continually return him. And all this is done by your system, and its executors—as I said in the case of unfortunate women—never stop to think if they had been placed in the same circumstances as under which the criminal committed his crime, that they would have undoubtedly done the same thing or perhaps something worse.

You must, therefore, change your criminal discipline from the theory of punishment for crime, to that of reform for the man and woman. In the first place, according to your own theory of Christianity, you have no right to punish anybody. "Judge not lest ye be judged," is fundamental to the Christian theory; and how can you punish unless you first judge? I repeat, then, that you have no right whatever to punish anybody for any crime; but you may protect yourselves from its recurrence. In doing this, however, you should use no means that of themselves will tend to make men and women worse than they are. Your prisons must be transformed into vast reformatory workshops, where men and women can work and be paid equitable wages, having all the common comforts during their restraint.

And why? Simply because, as I told you, I have endeavored to rouse the people to a realization of the impending judgment, for long years of crime which the government has committed against the people. And they knew unless they could shut my mouth that I should succeed and they would be relieved from further official duty by the people. Yes, though I am a little woman and branded all over the

world, as I said, the political oligarchs who are manipulating this country so as to make a monarchy possible, fear me. And well they may, for I preach their doom. I sing the battle-cry of freedom, equality and justice for the people, and they know that it will be caught up by them and that its re-echo—from the pine forests of Maine, from the wheat fields of Minnesota, from the golden mountains of the Pacific slope, from the cotton and rice plantations of the South—will hurl from the places builded by the labors of the masses all who have been false to the trusts reposed in them.

Now to what does all this logically tend? Clearly, if it be correctly understood, to the redistribution among the people of the natural wealth of the world as well as the equal benefits and comforts resulting from its use, and the establishment for the present aristocracies of society, which are the chief aim of almost everybody's life, an aristocracy founded on personal worth, intellectual capacity and moral grandeur, which will become the new incentives or motives of life. Now, only man is compelled, by the political, industrial and social systems that are enforced, to make wealth or money-getting his chief aim, while every woman's highest aim is to entrap the most successful man in marriage. Then, for these will be substituted in the case of both men and women, who will be equal in the wealth plane, the attainment of the highest positions in the community, not for the sake of their emoluments, for they will be no greater than the lowest, but for the sake of doing the most good to society, and of thus becoming its most honored and beloved members. Can one think of any really valid objection to such a change? I think not!

The bondholders, money-lenders and railroad kings say to the politicians: If you will legislate for our interests, we will retain you in power, and, together (you with the public offices and patronage and we with our immense dependencies and money), we can control the destinies of the country, and change the government to suit ourselves; and now, finally, comes in the threatened church power, and it says: If you will make your government a Christian government, we will bring all the "Faithful" to your support;—and thus united, let me warn you, they constitute the strongest power in the world. It is the government, all the wealth of the country, backed up by the church, against the unorganized mass of reformers, every one of whom is pulling his or her little string in opposing directions.

The people, however, do not apprehend any danger, nor will they until it is too late, and they find themselves called upon, under pressure, to be converted. You remember the arguments that Christians used to make in Spain and elsewhere, not to mention the more modern ones of burying witches and hanging Quakers by the Puritans of New England, whose God, Christ and devil was the self-same of which these Christians now desire to become the self-constituted earthly vicegerents.

Don't comfort yourselves with the idea that they will not use equally as persuasive measures as they teach that their God uses to convert you, nor that they think a few turns on "The Wheel" or a few stretches on "The Rack" or a little quiet roasting at "The Stake" at all out of place where so great a stake as the salvation of your souls from everlasting torments in hell fire—where the worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched, where the pavements are of infants' skulls a span in length and all the other necessary appointments to makethe place good and hot—is at issue. No! Don't mistake people who profess to believe in such an infernal monster as they picture their God as being who would torment in hell a child whom he loves and whom, if almighty, he could save, for a single unrepented crime. They will have no more mercy or pity than He has, nor will they leave any means untried to save you from the vengeance of His wrath.

Then, when we shall have accomplished this work, will begin the long-time sung and prophesied millennium, in which love instead of hate, equality in place of aristocracy, and justice where now is cruelty, shall reign with undisturbed and perpetual sway, and peace on earth and good-will among men abound. Because I see this for humanity, in the near future, has made me willing and able to endure what its advocacy has cost me of personal discomfort and of public censure. Finally, in conclusion, may the God, Justice; the Christ, Love; and the Holy Ghost, Unity—the Trinity of Humanity—ascend the Universal Throne, while all nations, in acknowledging their supremacy, shall receive their blessings, their benedictions.

#### THE APPROACHING CONFLICT.

A book of 250 pages, written and published by John Wilcox, 172 and 174 Clark street, Chicago, Illinois, contains about the best review of the causes that must soon culminate in revolution that is before the public. It analyzes the irrepressible struggle that ever goes on between freedom and despotism, and shows the signs of a general culmination so clearly that "he who runs may read." He shows how there will be an overthrow of the present republic, and how a military despotism will be inaugurated; and, as we said, makes the best general summary of all producing causes that has as yet been put before the public. Price of book \$1.50. Address as above. All should read it.

THE undersigned, feeling that social reformers should know each other more intimately in order to compare views on important topics, and for many other reasons, proposes to print and forward to each subscriber, the addresses of those who will forward the same by mail, together with twenty-five cents to pay the expenses of printing. This list will be strictly private, and no charge will be made to ladies who wish a copy.

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[Continued from page 7.]

year by year mortgaging ourselves to European capitalists, who will ultimately step in and foreclose their mortgages, and possess themselves of our all, just as we foreclose our smaller mortgages, when there is no hope of a further increase from interest.

Besides the monopoly of land, money and public conveniences, there is another kind of monopoly still, which may appear rather strange and new to be thus classed, but it is nevertheless a terrible tyrant. I refer to the monopoly of education. I hold that a just government is in duty bound to see to it that all its children of both sexes have the same and equal opportunities for acquiring education, and that every person of adult age shall have graduated in the highest departments of learning, as well as in the arts, sciences and practical mechanics. Every person should be compelled to acquire a practical knowledge of some productive branch of labor, because the time will come when all people will be obliged to produce at least as much as they consume, or earn what they consume, as the paid agents of producers. What a revolution would that accomplish? If every person in the world was to work at production two hours a day there would be a larger aggregate produced than there is now. Therefore every person must learn the art of production, and thus be equal in resources to any other person, and Government must undertake the compulsory industrial education of all its children.

Thus I could continue analysis upon analysis, until not a stone in the foundations of our social structure would be left unturned, and all would be found unworthy of our civilization—our boasted Christian civilization. I think Christianity has been preached at, long enough. I go for making a practical application of it at the very foundations of society. I believe in recognizing the broad principle of all religion—that we are all children of one great common parent, God, which, since it disproves the propositions of the Church, that at least a large portion of us are the children of the devil, and renders the services of the clergy to save us from that inheritance unnecessary, will abolish our present system of a licensed and paid ministry. Thirty-five thousand ministers are paid twenty-five millions dollars annually for preaching the gospel in cathedrals costing two hundred and fifty millions dollars; and how many of them ever teach any fact other than that Jesus was crucified, just as though that would save us from the sloughs of ignorance in which we are sunk? Which one of them dare tell his congregation the truth, as he, if he be not a blockhead, knows it? I here and now impeach the clergy of the United States as dishonest and hypocritical, since the best of them acknowledge that they do not dare to preach the whole truth, for, if they should, they would have to preach to empty seats—an admission sufficiently damnable to consign them to the contempt of the world and to the hell of which they prate so knowingly, but whose location they have not been able to determine, and to light the torch which shall fire the last one of these palatial mockeries of true religion.

Why, should Christ appear among these godly Christians as he did among the Jews, he would be arrested as a vagrant, or sent to jail for stealing corn; and in Connecticut, perhaps, for Sabbath-breaking, or for telling the maid at the well "*all she had ever done*," which is now called fortune-telling, or for healing the sick by laying on of hands, which they denominate charlatanry. Christ and his Disciples and the multitude which he gathered together had all things in common. But every pulpit and every paper in this Christian country launch the thunders of their denunciations when that damnable doctrine is now advanced. Now, Christ was a Communist of the strictest sort, and so am I, and of the most extreme kind. I believe that God is the Father of all humanity and that we are brothers and sisters; and that it is not merely a theoretical or hypothetical nothing but a stern reality, to be reduced to a practical recognition. And they who cannot accept and practice this doctrine of Christ, and who still profess to be his followers, are simply stealing the livery of Christ in which to serve the devil in their own souls.

"I do not care to what length Christians may stretch their faces of a Sunday, nor how much they pay to support their ministers; nor do I care how long prayers they may make, nor what sermons preach, when they denounce the fundamental principles of the teachings of Christ, I will turn upon and, in his language, utter their own condemnation: "Inasmuch as ye have not done it unto the least of these, ye have not done it unto" Christ. And they may make all the fuss,

call me all the hard names, they please; but they can't escape the judgment. And I don't intend they shall have a chance to escape it. I am going to strip the masks of hypocrisy from their faces, and let the world see them as they are. They have had preaching without practice long enough. The people want practice now, and when they get it, they can even afford to do without the preaching.

These privileged classes of the people have an enduring hatred for me, and I am glad they have. I am the friend not only of freedom in all things, and in every form, but also for equality and justice as well. These cannot be inaugurated except through revolution. I am denounced as desiring to precipitate revolution. I acknowledge it. I am for revolution, if to get equality and justice it is required. I only want the people to have what it is their right to have—what the religion of humanity, what Christ, were he the arbiter, would give them. If, in getting that, the people find bayonets opposing them, it will not be their fault if they make their way through them by the aid of bayonets. And these persons who possess the monopolies and who guard them by bayonets, need not comfort themselves with the idea that the people won't fight for their rights. Did they not spring to arms from every quarter to fight for the negro? And will you say they will not do the same against this other slavery, compared to which the former is as an gentle shower to a raging tempest?

Don't flatter yourselves, gentlemen despots, that you are going to escape under that assumption. You will have to yield, and it will be best for you to do it gracefully. You are but as one to seven against them. Numbers will win. It will be your own obduracy if they are goaded on to madness. Do not rely upon their ignorance of the true condition. Upon that you have anchored your hopes as long as it is safe. There are too many reform newspapers in circulation. And though the columns of all our great dailies are shut to their truths, still there are channels through which they flow to the people—aye, even to those who delve in the coal mines of Pennsylvania, seldom seeing the joyous sunshine. And this education shall continue until every person who contributes to the maintenance of another in luxurious idleness shall know how such a result is rendered possible.

Hence, I say, it lies in the hands of those who have maintained this despotism over the common people to yield it up to them and recognize their just relations.

And remember what I say to you to-night: If this that is claimed is not granted—if, beside freedom, equality is not made possible by your giving up this power, by which the laborer is robbed of the results of his labor, before our next centennial birthday, July 4th, 1876, you will have precipitated the most terrible war that the earth has yet known.

For three years before the breaking out of the slavery rebellion I saw and heard with my spiritual senses the marching of armies, the rattle of musketry, and the roar of cannon; and I already hear and see the approach of this more terrible contest. I know it is coming. There is but one way in which it can be averted. There was one way by which the slave war could have been avoided—the abolition of slavery. But the slave oligarchy would not listen to our Garrisons, Sumners, Tiltons and Douglasses. They tried the arbitration of war, but they lost their slaves at last. Now, will not these later oligarchies—the land, the railroad, the money aristocracies—learn a lesson from their terrible fate? Will they not listen to the abolitionists—to the Garrisons, the Sumners, the Tiltons and the Douglasses—of to-day? Will they try the arbitration of war, which will result as did the last, in the loss of that for which they fight? I would that they should learn wisdom by experience. The slaveholders could have obtained compensation for their negroes. They refused it and lost all. Ponder that lesson well, and do not neglect to give it its true application. You can compromise now, and the same general end be arrived at without the baptism of blood. It shall not be my fault if that baptism comes. Nevertheless, equality and justice are on the march, and they cannot be hindered. They must and will attain their journey's end. The people shall be delivered.

I have several times referred to the methods by which these things may be accomplished. They are impossible under our present Constitution. It is too restricted, too narrow, to admit even an idea of a common humanity. True, its text is complete, but its framework



does not carry out the original design. Even George Washington, himself, was accused of treachery for countenancing so great a departure as was made; and the late war justified the grounds upon which that accusation was founded. The text of the Constitution held these truths to be self-evident, "That all men (and women) are born equal and entitled to certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The Constitution should have been erected in harmony with those declarations. It was not. There is no such thing as equality provided for. Life and liberty have not been held inalienable under it; the pursuit of happiness has been outrageously interfered with, and the government has been made to exist without the consent of the governed; and exists to-day against the protests of a large number of its subjects.

Is it to be expected that anything so false as that is to its basic propositions can be made enduring? It is against the constitution of nature itself that it should be so. Nature is always true to itself, and will always vindicate itself. If hedged in and obstructed, it will burst through or find its way around. The needle is not truer to the pole than is Nature to the truth. And Nature is always just. Those propositions were deduced from human rights, regardless of any authority or despotism. Had they been elucidated—had their principles guided the construction of the Constitution itself, all would have been well. What our fathers failed to do is left for this generation to perform; and it must not shirk the duty. It must look the condition squarely in the face, and meet the issue as squarely.

What issues must be met and provided for in order that human rights may be respected and protected? I have already referred to the monopolies that must be abolished. But there are also many other things. I will call attention first to minority representation, which lies at the base of a representative government. The State of Massachusetts has eleven representatives in Congress, and they are all Republicans. Justice would infer that there are no Democrats in the State. But such is not the fact. There are a large body of Democrats. They are not represented. That is the fault of the system of arriving at representation. While it is true that majorities must rule, that is not equal to saying that minorities shall have no voice. But the practice in Massachusetts does say just that. I suspect if it were possible, for all the real differences, politically, to be represented, that the Congressmen would stand something as follows: The Democrats would have, say, four out of the eleven, the Republicans, say, three, while the remainder would be divided between the Labor and Temperance Reformers and Woman Suffragists. Indeed, I am not certain if the door were to be opened that there would be any straight Republicans left, since all reformers are, under the present system, compelled to congregate together in this party, so as not to entirely throw away their votes. The Democrats are always Democrats. Like the hard-shell Baptists, you always know where to find them.

They are always on hand to vote early, and often also, if opportunity permit. Admit minority representation, and the Republican party in Massachusetts would be abolished, except that part who carry the loaves and eat the fishes. They are as certain to be found "right there" as the Democrats are. I think the Woman Suffragists cover about one-half the Republican party. But a large body of them are Spiritualists and Temperance men, while as many more are Labor Reformers. But those who are more Labor Reformers than anything else, are perhaps two-sevenths; who are more Woman Suffragists than anything else, are perhaps two-sevenths; who are more Spiritualists than anything else, perhaps two-sevenths; and who are more Temperance men than anything else, one-seventh; therefore, if the delegation were elected by the representation of minorities, it would stand four Democrats, two Spiritualists, two Labor Reformers, two Woman Suffragists, and one Temperance man. But all of these, however, would be again swallowed up whenever a Human Rights party should be evolved, and that will be the party of the near future, in whose all embracing arms the people, long suffering and long waiting, will at last find repose, while the Goddess of Liberty, with her scales of equality, shall find no more of her subjects to whom justice is not measured out. Then will partisan politics have received its death warrant; then will the people become one in heart, one in soul and one in common purpose—the general good of the general whole. The

"greatest good of the greatest number" will be supplanted by: "the general welfare, is best maintained when individual interests are best protected." The new government, then, must be the result of minority representation, and all legislative bodies, and, where possible, all executive officers, be so elected, while the people shall retain the appointing as well as the veto power. Our lawmakers must be made law proposers, who shall construct law to be submitted to the people for their approval, in the same manner as our public conventions appoint committees to draft resolutions, which are afterward adopted or rejected by the convention itself. This will make every person a legislator, having a direct interest in every law. The people will then no longer elect representatives to make laws by which they must be bound whether they approve or disapprove. The referendum is the desired end. The referendum is what the people require, and it is what the new Constitution must provide. So that in all future time the people themselves will be their own lawmakers—will be the government.

The people must appoint all their officers, heads of departments and bureaus at regular intervals, and all under assistants, during faithful performance of duty. We want no Civil Service Commissions. Every person who shall be eligible to office under the new government will be competent; and when once familiar with the duties, will not be removed to give room for the friend of some politician belonging to the party in power, since it would be the people in power at all times.

Another matter which must have attention is the sweeping away of that *jeu d'esprit*, our courts of justice, by making all kinds of contracts stand upon the honor and capacity of the contracting parties. All individual matters must be settled by the individuals themselves without appeal to the public. Our present system of enforced collection of debts costs every year more than is realized, and besides maintains a vast army of lawyers, constables and court officers in unproductive employ. All this is wrong, entailing almost untold exactions upon the producing community, who in the end are made to pay all these things.

Further, our system of oaths and bonds must be abolished. This swearing people to tell the truth, and binding them to perform their duty, presupposes that they will lie and neglect their duty. People are always placed upon the side of force and compulsion—never upon that of personal rectitude and honor. The results are what might be expected. It plunges us into the very things we would avoid. There is a philosophy, too, in all these things; since in freedom only can purity exist. Anything that is not free is not pure. Anything that is accompanied by compulsion is no proof of individual honesty.

The new government must also take immediate steps for the abolition of pauperism and beggary. It is an infamous reproach upon this country that there are hundreds of thousands of people who subsist themselves upon individual charity. I do not care whether this is from choice or necessity. I say it is a burning shame, requiring immediate curative steps. The indigent and helpless classes are just as much a part of our social body as the protected and the rich are, and they are entitled to its recognition. Society must no longer punish and compel suffering and death for its own wrongs. It must evolve such a social system as shall leave no single member of the common body to suffer. When one member of the body suffers, the whole body sympathizes. So, also, when a member of the social body suffers, does the whole body suffer. And yet we have pretended philanthropists and Christians who have never grasped that truth.

Our civilization and our Christianity have been made too much a matter of faith in, and devotion to, the unknowable, divorced from all human relations. We must first recognize and practice the brotherhood of man before we can be made to realize the Paternity of God, since "if we love not our brothers whom we have seen, how can we love God whom we have not seen." Our religious teaching has been too much of punishment, and too little of love; too much of faith, too little of works; too much of sectarianism, too little of humanitarianism; too much of hell-fire arbitration, too little of inevitable law; and too much of self-righteousness, and too little of innate goodness.

And here I cannot forbear to depart from the strict line of my subject to say a word regarding a doctrine, from the effects of which even this country is but slowly recovering—that of eternal damnation! I say, that a people who really believe in a God who could burn his own



children in a lake of literal fire and brimstone, "where the worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched," and from which there is no present escape nor future hope, for a single unrepented misdeed, and still profess to honor, love and worship a fiend so infernal as that would make Him, cannot be honest and conscientious, since they must mistake fear for love, and confound sycophancy with worship. It was such a belief that kindled the fires by which the early martyrs perished, by which the Quakers of Massachusetts were burned and the witches hanged, and which invented the terrible Inquisition, with its horrid racks and tortures. These are the legitimate results of such a belief; and if the people of to-day really believed what they profess in their creeds, they would do precisely the same things. And they would be justified, since it would be merciful in them to subject a person to a few moments' torture, to induce him or her to escape the eternal tortures of Hell, the horrors of which all the ingenuity men can command could not invent a torture one-hundredth part as inhuman; and yet they say our Heavenly Father has prepared this for nineteen-twentieths of humanity.

Thank Heaven, however, the day has come when such libels upon the name of God are rapidly merging into the gray twilight, to soon sink in blank, unfathomable oblivion. Thank Heaven, for its own approach earthward, to strike off the chains of superstition from humanity, and for the first faint glimmering of light shed upon us by its angels' faces, proving to us that humanity, whether of earth or heaven, is:

"One life for those who live and those who die—  
For those whom sight knows and whom memory."

The Jews would not accept Christ since he came not with temporal power. But Christ will come in the power of the spirit, and shall baptise all humanity. Already His messengers begin to herald the "glad tidings of great joy which shall be unto all people." Already the music of the approaching harmonies are heard from the hill-tops of spirituality singing the approaching millennium. Already its divine notes have pierced some of the dark places of earth, making glad the hearts of their oppressed children, shedding light and truth and joy into their souls. The prophecies of all ages converge upon this, and for their fulfillment, Christ, with all his holy angels, will come to judge the world, and to erect upon it that government already inaugurated in Heaven and long promised Earth, for

"Decrees are sealed in Heaven's own chancery,  
Proclaiming universal liberty.  
Rulers and kings who will not hear the call,  
In one dread home shall thunder-stricken fall.

"So moves the growing world with march sublime,  
Setting new music to the beats of time.  
Old things decay, and new things ceaseless spring,  
And God's own face is seen in everything."

Therefore it is that there shall soon come a time in which the people will ask for universal liberty, universal equality, and universal justice. Heretofore all branches of reform have been separated each from the other—have been diffusive, working in single and straight lines from a principle outward, utterly regardless of all other movements. Reform has never yet been constructive, but destructive to existing things. Nevertheless, all reform originates primarily from a common cause—the effort of humanity to attain to the full exercise of human right, only attainable through the possession of freedom, equality and justice. Any reform which does not embrace these three principles must necessarily be diffusive, instructive or educational. Each different branch is the squaring of a separate stone, all of which must be brought together and adjusted before even the corner-stone of the perfect and permanent structure can be laid. Republicanism even was not integral in its propositions. It looked simply to personal freedom. Neither equality in its high, or justice in its broad, sense was a portion of its creed. Hence republicanism as represented by the party in power has done its work, and those who prefer to stick to it rather than to come out and rally around a platform perfect in humanitarian principles, will thus show themselves to be more republican than humanitarian.

As a nation we are nearing our first centennial birth-day. A hundred years have come and gone since political freedom was evolved from the womb of civilization. Great as its mission was, great as its results have been, shall the car of progress stop there?—Is there noth-

ing more for humanity to accomplish? I tell you there are still mightier and more glorious things to come than human tongue hath spoken or heart conceived. Little did our noble sires imagine what a century would do with what they set in motion. From three to forty millions is a grand, I may almost say a terrible, stride. But with this step we cannot stop. We must open new channels for the expansion of the human soul.

Up to this time we have expanded almost wholly in a material and intellectual sense. There is a grander expansion than either of these. Wealth and knowledge have brought us power, but we lack wisdom. To material prosperity and intellectual acquirements there must be added moral purity, and then we shall get wisdom. Everybody appears to live as though this life were all there is of life, and that to get from it the most physical enjoyment were the grand thing to be attained. Wealth has been made almost the sole aim of living, whereas it should only be regarded as the means to a better end; as the means by which to accumulate an immense capital with which to begin life in the next and higher stage of existence; and he or she lives best on earth who does the most for humanity.

In this view, what are professing Christians—the churches—doing for the general good to-day? What good can come from preaching without practice, since, though people may be able to say, "All of these have I kept from my youth up," Christ, when he shall come, will reply to them: "Go sell all thou hath and give to the poor, and come and follow me." What clergyman in this city dare stand in his pulpit Sunday after Sunday and insist upon such practice? or what one dare to insist that his church should have all things in common? or what one dare to eat with publicans and sinners, or say to the woman, "Neither do I condemn thee." Or which one of the people dare go to her poor, enslaved and suffering sisters and take them to her heart and home? or be the good Samaritan? I tell you, my friends, beware lest those whom you scorn to know be before you with Christ, who knows the heart. It is not what you pretend that shall make you Christian, but what you do, and if you do right, though the world curse you, yet shall you lay up treasures in Heaven thereby. Therefore, I say that the Christianity of to-day is a failure. It is not the following of Christ, nor the practice of his precepts. True religion will not shut itself up in any church away from humanity; it will not stand idly by and see the people suffer from any misery whatever. It is its sphere to cure all ills, whether moral, social or political. There are no distinctions in humanity. Everything to be truly good and grand, whether it be in politics, society or religion, must be truly moral, and to be truly moral is to live the Golden Rule.

Therefore, it is foolish for the Christian to say, "I have nothing to do with politics, as a Christian. It is the bounden duty of every Christian to support that political party which bases itself upon Human Rights; and if there is no such party existing, then to go about to construct one. It is too late in the century for a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States to be a political thief and trickster as a politician, while he issues a call asking that the people inject God into the Constitution. Such consummate hypocrisy is an outrage upon the intelligence of the nineteenth century; and it will meet its just reward.

If they would take the precepts of Christ and build a new Constitution upon them, nobody would object; but to be asked to recognize a God whom these people have themselves fashioned and set up, who hath not even human sense of justice, is quite a different thing, and one to which this people will not submit. I could point out to you why this attempt is made just at this time, but I rather prefer to point out how this and all other attempts to put fetters upon the people must be avoided, and how to break the fetters by which they are already galled.

Permit me to ask what practical good arises from the people's coming together and merely passing a set of resolutions. You may pass resolutions with whereases and therefore a mile long, and what will be the result unless they are made practical use of. What would you say to a person who should come before you with a resolution setting forth that whereas, thus and thus, are so and so, therefore some new invention ought to be made to meet the conditions. Why you would at once say to him, "Give us the invention; then we shall be able to judge whether your therefore bears any relation to your whereases."



Now precisely in that way should you judge of resolutions for political reform. We have had resolutions long enough. We now need a working model which will secure freedom, equality and justice to the smallest of our brothers and sisters. Anything less than this is no longer worthy to be considered political reform; and that is not only political reform, but it is also the best application possible of the precepts of Jesus Christ, and therefore the best Christianity, the best religion, since to its creed every human being who is not supremely selfish can subscribe.

In conclusion, therefore, let me urge every soul who desires to be truly Christian to no longer separate Christianity from politics, but to make it the base upon which to build the future political structure. Instead of an amendment to the Constitution, which these hypocrites desire, recognizing a God who is simply the Father of themselves, and a Christ of whom they are the self-appointed representatives, give us a new Constitution, recognizing the human rights of the people to govern themselves, of which they cannot be robbed under any pretext whatever, and my word for it, humanity will not be slow to render due homage to their God. Let that Constitution give a place to every branch of reform, while it shall not so much as militate against the rights of a single individual in the whole world—and we are large enough to begin to say the whole world—and to think of and prepare the way for the time when all nations, kindred and tongues shall be united in a universal government, and the Constitution of the United States of the World be the

## SUPREME LAW.

Around this as a New Departure let all reformers rally, and, with a grand impulse and a generous enthusiasm, join in a common effort for the great political revolution, after the accomplishment of which the nations shall have cause to learn war no more.

[From the Woman's Journal.]

## PRACTICAL OWNERSHIP OF WIVES.

We commend to Dr. Holland the following practical applications of his theory of "the ownership of wives by their husbands," recently made by several gentlemen who hold the same doctrine, but carry it out more consistently than the editor of *Scribner's Monthly*:

Mrs. Maximilian Jacobs, living at 13 Prentiss street, Boston, scolded her husband for not getting home at the proper time to supper on Sunday night, when the exasperated husband seized a plate and threw it at her, inflicting an ugly wound on the head. She was taken to Station Ten, where her wound was dressed by Dr. Goss.

Castigan, the husband of the woman recently found by the road-side in Somers, with her throat cut, is under arrest, on suspicion of being the murderer.

New Hampton, N. H., has a case of suspected murder. Mrs. Pattee was found hanging in a closet in her house last Sunday morning, and now her husband is suspected of having killed her to obtain possession of the property.

The reported suicide of Mrs. W. S. Pattee, at New Hampton, N. H., last week, turns out, as was suspected, to have been, instead, a horrible murder, her husband doing the deed. It appears that about a year ago, James Pattee, whose second wife had died only two months before under suspicious circumstances, married his late victim, then the widow of James Jackson. She was the owner of some \$15,000 worth of property, including a fine farm, while he was a wandering clock-repairer of no means and unenviable reputation. He pulled the wool over the widow's eyes and those of many others, however, by suddenly pretending to become interested in religion and professing to be converted at a Methodist revival meeting. Contentions with his wife for the possession of her property is supposed to have led to the murder, and last Friday, Pattee was captured at Compton, wither he had fled to escape arrest. On his indictment for the crime at Laconia, on Wednesday, he pleaded "not guilty."

Portland, Me., Sept. 18.—Harkins, the man who attempted the murder of his wife, has made the following statement: He says he is devoted to his wife and madly in love with her; last Christmas he told his wife to take her choice—either to live with him, or he would kill her; yesterday afternoon he made up his mind to do the deed; he went into the yard where she was hanging clothes; asked her if she would live with him, and receiving a negative answer, shot her. After making this statement he refused to answer any question. Harkins is twenty-six years old, and his wife twenty-five. Several cartridges were found in his possession that exactly fit the pistol with which the deed was committed.

North Kingston, R. I., is excited over a case of supposed poisoning. A young man from Hopkinton, married a young lady of North Kingston, aged only sixteen taking her to his mother's home. After a few weeks the bride was induced to withdraw certain invested funds, ostensibly for the purchase of a home. These funds were kept secreted between the two beds of the couch occupied by the parties. It is alleged that the bride partook of some tea at breakfast, and was so affected with dizziness that she was carried to her couch, and that her husband brought her a glass of milk, upon drinking a portion of which she became unconscious. Reviving about two o'clock the next morning, she found both husband and money gone. She traveled two miles to the house of her husband's brother, and from there was taken home. Officers are after the absconding husband.

Mrs. Fred. A. Leland, of East Middlebury, Vt., committed suicide by taking poison on Thursday night. The suicide is attributed to domestic trouble.

Great excitement prevailed in the town of Saxonville, Mass., on Thursday, Oct. 2, on account of an attempt made by Josiah Bigelow, of Framington, to murder his wife, who is employed as a domestic in the family of Mr. Joseph Dana, at Saxonville.

Some two or three months since, Mr. Bigelow was without employment, and his wife has supported herself by working for Mr. Dana. The husband and wife continued on good

terms, and he constantly visited her, coming from Framington, where he resided. Of late, however, he had been jealous of his wife, and this led to the murderous deed which he committed. Going to the residence of Mr. Dana about seven o'clock on Thursday evening, he called his wife to the door, and after a brief conversation between them he drew a knife from his pocket and plunged it into her neck, inflicting a serious, and it is feared mortal, wound. Bigelow at once surrendered himself to the authorities and was imprisoned.

Mrs. Bigelow is in a critical condition. She is a woman who enjoys the respect of a large circle of friends, and no cause for jealousy on the part of her husband existed.

Philadelphia, Sept. 24.—A terrible attempt at murder and suicide occurred at an early hour this morning, the scene of the tragedy being laid in a princely mansion in the west end, and the result the mortal wounding of an accomplished and beautiful wife by a jealous husband, who afterward blew out his own brains. The parties are connected with the best society of Philadelphia, and lived in elegant style in a villa on Kingsessing avenue, No. 4215. Thomas B. Parker, the suicide, who used his pistol with such terrible effect, was an extraordinary man, of marked intellectual attainments, peculiar eccentricity, and a very jealous temperament. About one o'clock this morning his wife rushed into the apartments occupied by the servants in the rear of the mansion, and shrieked out in a loud voice that her eye had been shot out. The terrified domestics laid the bleeding woman, who was faint from the loss of blood, upon a bed, and immediately aroused the coachman. While these proceedings were being enacted, a ringing report of a pistol was heard to come from the second floor of the main residence. After breaking open the door leading into the bedroom occupied by Mrs. Parker, the husband was discovered lying dead, stretched out upon a bed, with a deadly wound in the right side of his head and a Sharpe's four-shooting revolver clutched in his hand. It seems that a jealous feeling had been nursed by the husband against his wife, and within the last few weeks they had been occupying separate sleeping apartments. Last night Mrs. Parker locked the door communicating between the rooms when she retired, and the only way by which Parker could have got in her room was by a side door. This was found open, and must have been the avenue employed. Coroner Brown this afternoon held an inquest upon the body of the suicide, but no new facts other than above recorded were elicited. Mrs. Parker is still in a critical condition. The sight of her left eye is totally destroyed, and the ball is still embedded in her head. She is about thirty years of age and very beautiful. Parker is well known in New York, being connected by marriage with several wealthy families of the metropolis.

These items have been clipped within half an hour from newspapers received within a week. Thousands of such cases occur annually in our country. Surely, a theory which bears fruit in such frightful tragedies as the above cannot be maintained. How much better to recognize and respect the individuality of women. How much better to define marriage as a noble and life-long partnership of equals with reciprocal rights and duties.

H. B. B.

## COMMENTS.

[It is not often that we call attention to the bad judgment and worse logic that is so freely indulged in, by a class of reformers who persistently refuse to follow out the logic of equality for the sexes to its ultimate. Such kind of advocacy bears the same relation to despotic government, that Calvinism bears to Romanism. It is only half way over from despotism to democracy; from the man-power to free womanhood.]

Now, doesn't H. B. B. know—not think—but know, that the very and the only reason the crimes against womanhood which he quotes are the result of the very theory he lays down—of life-long partnership. Does he not know that a life-long partnership can only exist without such crimes being committed when that upon which they were contracted, continues. We do not suppose H. B. B. will attempt to make the readers of the *Woman's Journal* believe that he would have life-long partnerships entered upon when love is absent. But if he would not, how can he descend to such cant as the above?

Suppose the law had defined marriage as a life-long partnership of equals, would that have averted any of the cases to which he refers? He knows better, and to pretend differently is to prove himself a fool. It is not because the parties involved were not equals that the outrages were committed; but because they were bound in a life-long partnership, and H. B. B. knows this as well as we. And we repeat after him, "Surely a theory which bears such frightful tragedies cannot be maintained," and add that it ought not to be endured a single day. These milk-and-water pleaders for the amelioration of the horrors to which women are subjected in marriage had better mind their logic or else refrain, altogether, from batting at the moon with a stick only a foot long.

The establishment of equals in marriage (were it possible, which it is not, because men are the superiors in physical strength, which is the sole remedy in such cases as are cited), instead of making the matter any better it would only be worse, since when marriage is now only "The Practical Ownership of Woman" it would then be practical ownership of each other; and is so short-sighted as not to see that that condition would be the "taking of seven devils" into marriage, each one of whom would be worse than the original. Were it possible for an equal chance in the combats that wage when two are yoked together, who can't work together, there would be a thousand times more fighting than now when only semi-occasionally a woman is nerved to resistance by the brutalities which the large majority suffer in silence. If H. B. B. and others like him, would stop the outrages from which women suffer, one-hundredth part of

which only appears in the public print, let them advocate the letting loose of the leash that binds people to the possibility of outrage, and then they may cite instances like the above without becoming ridiculous.]

The Committee from Federal Council of I. W. A., to whom was referred the proposition of memorializing the U. S. Senate Committee on opening lines of water and railway communications between the great West and the Atlantic coast, would respectfully represent that nothing within the power of the general government to do can so surely provide for all future time a reasonable guarantee to the whole country, and especially to the East and West, of integrity of interests, as great water ways for large steam vessels through the land from the lakes on the North and the Ohio River in the middle of the country to the Atlantic Ocean, hence we recommend the immediate opening of navigation by at least two routes, one from the upper lakes by the ship canal at Niagara Falls, on the shortest route, and thence from the St. Lawrence to Lake Champlain and Troy to New York, for vessels of not less than 1,200 tons carrying capacity, and another of not less than 600 tons carrying capacity from the Ohio River to the James River, to be built and owned by the United States, and run at such charge as will cover the necessary current expenses of keeping them in repair and cost of operating.

We also recommend the construction by the U. S. Government of the necessary number of railways with the necessary rolling stock, extending from the Atlantic seaboard to the Valley of the Mississippi, as will from time to time meet the increasing demands of commerce, and run by the government at such charge as will cover all repairs and running expenses.

Your committee would further recommend that there be a bureau of transportation established by the government, which shall have an executive head and be one of the cabinet ministers, all upon fixed salaries, and answerable for the performance of their duties, each to his superior officer, which chief head is answerable to the people. That for funds to construct these works and operate them the government shall issue legal tender currency of the convenient denominations, which currency shall be taken for all debts, dues and demands as well as for all duties, imposts and taxes. In short, this currency shall be predicated as a basis upon this accumulated labor or wealth. All of which is hereby submitted to the Federal Council of I. W. A. of New York city, this 12th day of October, 1873.

(Signed) G. W. MADOX, } Committee.  
J. T. ELLIOTT,  
Wm. A. CARSEY,

The foregoing report was adopted October 12, 1873, and the committee were ordered to send a copy to the U. S. Senate Committee on "Cheap Transportation," and also to send a copy to the Committee on Address of National Cheap Transportation Party.

Attest, HUGH MCGREGOR,  
Sec. of Fed. C. of I. W. A.  
October 12, 1873.

## PROSPECTUS.

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

[The only Paper in the World conducted, absolutely, upon the Principles of a Free Press.]

It advocates a new government in which the people will be their own legislators, and the officials the executors of their will.

It advocates, as parts of the new government—

1. A new political system in which all persons of adult age will participate.
2. A new land system in which every individual will be entitled to the free use of a proper proportion of the land.
3. A new industrial system, in which each individual will remain possessed of all his or her productions.
4. A new commercial system in which "cost," instead of "demand and supply," will determine the price of everything and abolish the system of profit-making.
5. A new financial system, in which the government will be the source, custodian and transmitter of all money, and in which usury will have no place.
6. A new sexual system, in which mutual consent, entirely free from money or any inducement other than love, shall be the governing law, individuals being left to make their own regulations; and in which society, when the individual shall fail, shall be responsible for the proper rearing of children.
7. A new educational system, in which every child born shall have the same advantages of physical, industrial, mental and moral culture, and thus be equally prepared at maturity to enter upon active, responsible and useful lives.

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For West Philadelphia, 8 and 9:30 a. m., 12:30, 4, 5, 6, 8:30 p. m., 12 Night.  
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1:00 p. m. Express for Baltimore and Washington, and for the West, via Baltimore, with Drawing Room Car attached.

\*5:00 p. m. Daily Western Express, for Pittsburg and the West, with Pullman's Palace Car, through from New York to Pittsburg, Indianapolis, Louisville and St. Louis, to Columbus, Cincinnati and Chicago.

\*7:00 p. m., Daily Western Express, for Pittsburg and the West, with Pullman's Palace Cars, for Pittsburg, Cincinnati and Indianapolis.

\*8:30 p. m., Daily Western Express, for West Philadelphia, Pittsburg and the West, with Pullman's Palace Cars, through without change, to Pittsburg, Crestline, Fort Wayne and Chicago.

9:00 p. m., Daily Great Southern Evening Express for Baltimore and Washington, with Reclining Chair Cars, and with Pullman Palace Cars through from New York to Washington.

Tickets for sale at Ticket Offices, foot of Desbrosses and Courtlandt streets, and in Depot, Jersey City; and at New York Transfer Co.'s offices (Dodd's Express), No. 94 Broadway, New York, and No. 1 Court street, Brooklyn. Passengers, by leaving suitable notices at these offices, can have their baggage called for at residence or hotel, and carried through to destination.

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(Leaves Grand Central Depot, 42d St. and 4th Ave.)

10:00 A. M.—Special Chicago Express (daily except Sunday), with Wagner's Elegant Drawing-Room Cars, connecting at Rochester with Pullman's Palace Cars, arriving at Chicago 8:00 p. m. the following day in time to make connections with trains diverging from Chicago.

8:30 P. M.—Pacific Express (Daily), with Pullman and Wagner's Sleeping Cars, runs through to Chicago without change, arriving there 8:00 a. m., giving passengers ample time for breakfast and make connections with all morning trains departing from Chicago.

### Erie Railway

(Leaves from foot of Chamber St. and 23d Sts.)

8:30 A. M.—Day Express from Jersey City (daily except Sunday), with Pullman's Drawing-Room Cars, and connecting at Suspension Bridge with Pullman's Palace Sleeping Cars, arriving at Chicago 8:00 p. m. the following day in time to take the morning trains from there.

7:30 P. M.—Night Express from Jersey City (daily), with Pullman's Palace Sleeping Cars, runs through to Chicago without change, arriving there at 8:00 a. m., giving passengers ample time for breakfast and take the morning trains to all points West, Northwest and Southwest.

In addition to the General Office of this line, 349 Broadway, cor. Leonard Street, tickets, Time-tables and general information can be obtained at No. 9 Astor House, 229, 241, 317, 319, 413, 529 and 957 Broadway, and at the several offices of the New York Central and Erie Railways, and at the principal Hotels throughout the city.

CHOICE SELECTIONS OF DRAWING ROOM SEATS, BERTHS, SECTIONS AND STATE ROOMS IN ABOVE TRAINS CAN BE SECURED AT THIS OFFICE.

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## Michigan Central & Great Western Railways.

At St. Catharines, with Welland Railway, for Port Colborne.

At Hamilton, with branch for Toronto and intermediate stations; also with branch to Port Dover.

At Harrisburg, with branch for Galt, Guelph, Southampton and intermediate stations.

At Paris, with G. W. R. branch for Brantford and with Goderich branch Grand Trunk Railway.

At London, with branch for Petrolia and Sarnia. Also with Port Stanley Branch for Port Stanley, and daily line of steamers from there to Cleveland.

At Detroit, with Detroit & Milwaukee Railway for Port Huron, Branch Grand Trunk Railway. Also Detroit, Lansing & Lake Michigan R. R. to Howard and intermediate stations. Also Detroit & Bay City R. R. Branch Lake S. & M. S. R. R. to Toledo.

At Wayne, with Flint & Pere M. R. R. to Plymouth, Holy, etc.

At Ypsilanti, with Detroit, Hillsdale & Eel River R. Rs, for Manchester, Hillsdale, Banker's, Waterloo Columbia City, N. Manchester, Denver and Indianapolis.

At Jackson, with Grand River Valley Branch, for Eaton Rapids, Charlotte, Grand Rapids, Nuncia, Pentwater, and all intermediate stations. Also, with Air Line for Homer, Nottawa, Three Rivers and Cassopolis. Also, with Jack, Lansing & Saginaw Branch, for Lansing, Owosso, Saginaw, Wenona, Standish, Crawford and intermediate stations. Also with Fort Wayne, Jack & Saginaw R. R. for Jonesville, Waterloo, Fort Wayne, and Fort Wayne, Muncie & Cin. R. R. to Cincinnati.

At Battle Creek, with Peninsular R. R.

At Kalamazoo, with South Haven Branch, to G. Junction, South Haven, etc. Also with G. Rapids & Ind. R. R. for Clam Lake and intermediate stations. Also with Branch of L. S. & M. S. R. R.

At Lawton, with Paw Paw R. R. for Paw Paw.

At Niles, with South Bend Branch.

At New Buffalo, with Chicago & Mich. Lake S. R. R. for St. Joseph, Holland, Muskegon, Pentwater and all intermediate stations.

At Michigan City, with Indianapolis, Peru & Chicago R. R. Also with Louisville, New Albany & Chicago R. R.

At Lake, with Joliet Branch to Joliet.

At Chicago, with all railroads diverging.

## Condensed Time Table.

### WESTWARD FROM NEW YORK,

Via Erie & Mich. Central & Great Western R. R's.

| STATIONS.             | Express.    | Express Mail. | STATIONS.             | Express.    |
|-----------------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| Lv 23d Street, N. Y.  | 8:30 A. M.  | 10:45 A. M.   | Lv 23d Street, N. Y.  | 6:45 P. M.  |
| " Chambers street.    | 8:40 "      | 10:45 "       | " Chambers street.    | 7:00 "      |
| " Jersey City.        | 9:15 "      | 11:15 "       | " Jersey City.        | 7:20 "      |
| " Susquehanna.        | 3:40 P. M.  | 8:12 P. M.    | " Susquehanna.        | 2:43 A. M.  |
| " Binghamton.         | 4:40 "      | 9:20 "        | " Binghamton.         | 3:35 "      |
| " Elmira.             | 6:30 "      | 12:16 A. M.   | " Elmira.             | 5:35 "      |
| " Hornellsville.      | 8:30 "      | 1:50 "        | " Hornellsville.      | 7:40 "      |
| " Buffalo.            | 12:05 A. M. | 8:10 "        | " Buffalo.            | 11:45 "     |
| Ar Suspension Bridge. | 1:10 A. M.  | 1:35 P. M.    | Ar Suspension Bridge. | 12:27 P. M. |
| Ar St. Catharines.    | 1:35 "      | 2:00 "        | Ar St. Catharines.    | 1:35 "      |
| " Hamilton.           | 2:45 "      | 2:55 "        | " Hamilton.           | 2:00 "      |
| " Harrisburg.         | 3:55 A. M.  | 3:53 "        | " Harrisburg.         | 2:55 "      |
| " London.             | 7:55 "      | 8:12 "        | " London.             | 3:53 "      |
| " Chatham.            | 9:40 "      | 10:00 "       | " Chatham.            | 5:55 "      |
| " Detroit.            | 9:40 "      | 10:10 "       | " Detroit.            | 8:12 "      |
| Lv Detroit.           | 10:21 "     | 10:10 "       | Lv Detroit.           | 10:10 "     |
| Ar Wayne.             | 10:45 "     | 11:25 P. M.   | Ar Wayne.             | 8:55 "      |
| " Ypsilanti.          | 11:00 "     | 11:43 "       | " Ypsilanti.          | 9:27 "      |
| " Ann Arbor.          | 12:15 P. M. | 1:00 A. M.    | " Ann Arbor.          | 11:43 "     |
| " Jackson.            | 1:15 "      | 1:00 A. M.    | " Jackson.            | 1:00 A. M.  |
| " Marshall.           | 2:03 "      | AIR LINE.     | " Marshall.           | 12:50 P. M. |
| " Kalamazoo.          | 2:55 "      | AIR LINE.     | " Kalamazoo.          | 1:25 "      |
| " Niles.              | 4:32 P. M.  | 4:40 A. M.    | " Niles.              | 2:25 "      |
| " New Buffalo.        | 5:25 "      | 5:45 "        | " New Buffalo.        | 5:00 "      |
| " Michigan City.      | 5:45 "      | 5:45 "        | " Michigan City.      | 6:02 "      |
| " Calumet.            | 7:18 "      | 7:47 "        | " Calumet.            | 6:25 "      |
| " Chicago.            | 8:00 "      | 8:00 "        | " Chicago.            | 8:00 "      |
| Ar Milwaukee.         | 5:30 A. M.  | 11:50 A. M.   | Ar Milwaukee.         | 8:45 "      |
| Ar Prairie du Chein.  | 8:55 P. M.  |               | Ar Prairie du Chein.  | 5:30 A. M.  |
| Ar La Crosse.         | 11:50 P. M. | 7:05 A. M.    | Ar La Crosse.         | 8:55 P. M.  |
| Ar St. Paul.          | 6:15 P. M.  |               | Ar St. Paul.          | 7:00 A. M.  |
| Ar St. Louis.         | 8:15 A. M.  |               | Ar St. Louis.         | 7:05 A. M.  |
| Ar Sedalia.           | 5:40 P. M.  |               | Ar Sedalia.           | 8:15 P. M.  |
| Ar Denison.           | 8:00 "      |               | Ar Denison.           | 6:50 A. M.  |
| Ar Galveston.         | 10:45 "     |               | Ar Galveston.         | 8:00 "      |
| Ar Bismarck.          | 11:00 P. M. |               | Ar Bismarck.          | 10:00 "     |
| " Columbus.           | 5:00 A. M.  |               | Ar Bismarck.          | 12:01 P. M. |
| " Little Rock.        | 7:30 P. M.  |               | " Columbus.           | 6:30 "      |
| Ar Burlington.        | 8:50 A. M.  |               | " Little Rock.        |             |
| " Omaha.              | 11:00 P. M. |               | Ar Burlington.        | 7:00 P. M.  |
| " Cheyenne.           |             |               | " Omaha.              | 7:45 A. M.  |
| " Ogden.              |             |               | " Cheyenne.           | 12:50 P. M. |
| " San Francisco.      |             |               | " Ogden.              | 5:30 "      |
| Ar Galesburg.         | 6:40 A. M.  |               | " San Francisco.      | 8:30 "      |
| " Quincy.             | 11:15 "     |               | Ar Galesburg.         | 4:45 P. M.  |
| " St. Joseph.         | 10:00 "     |               | " Quincy.             | 9:45 "      |
| " Kansas City.        | 10:40 P. M. |               | " St. Joseph.         | 8:10 A. M.  |
| " Atchison.           | 11:00 "     |               | " Kansas City.        | 9:25 "      |
| " Leavenworth.        | 12:10 "     |               | " Atchison.           | 11:17 "     |
| " Denver.             | 7:00 A. M.  |               | " Leavenworth.        | 12:40 noon. |
|                       |             |               | " Denver.             |             |