

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

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NEW YORK, AUGUST 5, 1871.

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It passes through the Cement, Flag-Stone and Lum-
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facilities, and from which sections, the formation of
the country prevents the construction of a competing
line.

The 36 miles of road operated for three months is
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gold, on its cost of construction and equipments.
The issue of Bonds is limited to \$30,000 per mile of
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remove all hindrances upon the indulgence of the appetites, and so to encourage vice and injure society.

It must be candidly admitted that the argument looks exceedingly strong in that direction; and *is so*. This religious doctrine of moral accountability is still one-half of the whole truth of the subject. It is the truth which is testified to by the natural sentiments of the human soul, which, despite of all philosophy, do and *should* impute praise and blame. But it is the truth which has always been insisted on in morals, and which does not, therefore, need to be defended at this time.

I propose, therefore, to assert strongly, on this occasion, and exclusively, or as if it were the whole truth on the subject, the opposite doctrine—that which is propounded by Science and Philosophy, namely, that there is no ground for either praise or blame—a doctrine which is as true to the intellect, rigorously applied, as is the doctrine of accountability to the sentiments or feelings.

To the logical human intellect, this statement is simply axiomatic or incapable of contradiction: that *given* a human character organized in a given way, and *given* a certain set of circumstances in which this character has lived and acted, the conduct of that individual *must* have been precisely such as, in point of fact, it was. And, again, *given* a second individual, if that were possible, with a character organized in precisely the same way as that of the first individual, and *given* precisely the same set of circumstances throughout life for the second individual as for the first, it needs no demonstration that the conduct of the second individual would be precisely like that of the first; in other words that our conduct, whether for good or for evil, is manufactured for us, despite of everything, by these two elements; the primitive character such as it was, modified by the environment such as it has been up to the hour.

From this point of view *it seems as though* there is no room left for moral accountability; and none, consequently, for praise or blame, rewards or punishment; that there is, in a word, no strictly moral quality in human conduct.

Such is in fact the verdict of the *sheer intellect*, of the *shorn intellect*; of the intellect shorn of its relationship with the sentimental or emotional half of our natures.

Now I concede and affirm, against the mere necessitarians and fatalists, that this verdict of the *sheer intellect* is not the whole truth; that it is only a half truth; and that half truths put for the whole truth are false; that the verdict of the emotional nature which imputes praise and blame is also a truth; the counterbalancing half truth; and that, therefore, in order to arrive at the whole of moral truth, we must, after all has been said on the side of intellect and fixed law, return to and *subsume* the verdict of the feelings; and then *integrate* the two.

It is perhaps quite new to propound upon a basis of pure science what has long been done theologically, that these two things so opposite ("necessity" and "freedom") are both true, and that they are compatible, or in other words, that they are fundamentally reconcilable with each other.

I have now made my bow to orthodoxy in religion and in morals; and I propose, in what remains to be said, to speak from the point of view of the *sheer intellect*, and to cast overboard for the time being the idea of moral accountability, or of praise and blame for human conduct.

All truth, when whole truth, is so composed of halves, and these halves are so opposite to each other, that I sometimes say, that *I am always obliged to tell two lies before I can tell the truth*. It is one of those halves of the whole truth on the subject of our relations to "fallen women," that I now propose to tell; and to tell it as strongly as if it were the whole truth. It is requisite and right so to individualize and emphasize the single halves of the complex truth, preparatory to their final conjunction; and especially in this case, where the verdict of the *sheer intellect* has been avoided and rejected by all moralists, as if it were essentially wicked; while yet it will prove to be "the head of the corner" in the final and true theory of morality.

What then I have to say, in fine, is this, that, in accordance with what was said above of character and surroundings, as the absolute causes of conduct, neither the seducer nor the seduced is to be blamed for their acts. Each has done precisely what, with their given original organizations, and with their given set of surroundings, in every particular, they could but have done.

The debauchee may plead with great force that he did not make himself, nor the conditions of life into which he was born; that he was endowed by nature with passions stronger than his own reason; that he had, consequently, been ready at all times to indulge them, at the certain cost of ruin to himself; and that if others were ruined also, it was their misfortune but not his fault, inasmuch as he could not do otherwise. Fourier has wisely said that the two major passions, the love of food and stimulants, and the love of the sex, defy the reason (in some men at least), and that it is useless for the reason to attempt to cope with them *directly*. It must, therefore, deal with them indirectly by modifying the conditions.

But it takes a stronger hold on logic, a more radically rational tone of mind, to think that there is any sense in which the male seducer is simply unfortunate and not criminal, than it does to extend the same doctrine, as a charity, to the weaker and usually the passive victim.

Let us dismiss, then, the male party and confine ourselves to the consideration of our true social and moral relations to

"the frail sisterhood" or "to fallen women," or more properly to the women of the town.

I have now prepared the way for saying in a few words what I wish to say on this subject, and for the saying of which, so as not to raise a crowd of objections in the mind of the thoughtful and conscientious reader, all the preceding long metaphysical treatise was a mere introduction.

The "frail sister" or "fallen woman" is neither better nor worse than you or I, whoever you may be, man or woman. What she needs, therefore, in order to commence to be reclaimed, is not your pity nor mine, but *justification*. Pity is an insult. She may, indeed, have been taught to believe that she is very bad, and deserves blame and pity, and all that; but deeper down in her soul all this superficial and mock humiliation is repudiated, and she is conscious that she is just as good as anybody else; just as good and pure in soul as you who gather up your skirts and come near enough to send down to her the scanty alms or the pitying word which you dole out to her, in her penury, if it has come to that, or in her remorse even. She knows that if you had simply changed circumstances with her, and with the nature she had, you would have done as she has—and that neither the nature nor the circumstances were of her making.

What she demands in her soul is to be *accepted* as a human being, and like any other human being; not even to be told, as from a superior purity, "to go and sin no more;" but to be made to feel radically and profoundly that whether she sins or don't sin, she is accepted and justified as an equal and cherished fellow-being with all other human sinners and non-sinners; as neither better nor worse than they are.

When we shall have missionaries, male or female, to "the frail sisterhood" who shall be great enough and good enough to identify themselves in sympathy with them in their temptations and lives; to justify them to themselves; to make them know that they are regarded and felt to be neither worse nor better than other human beings, whose outer lives may be very different; then and not till then will the social evil begin to be abated. The lofty *I-am-better-than-thou* policy has been tried some thousands of years and has failed; and it will always fail; and ought to.

It is in this way that the purely intellectual verdict on morals of no praise and no blame makes us truly humble, when it goes over into and converts the feelings; makes us ready to abase ourselves, and come upon the common level of the most lowly—as neither better nor worse than they; makes us in a word truly moral, as accepting above all things the human soul regardless of all its accidents. What was feared, therefore, as a bane in morals, proves our antidote.

Like every other great subject of human concernment this one seems too large for a newspaper article, and must be curtailed.

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

THE Cosmopolitan Conference met as usual on Sunday, July 2. Frances Rose Mackinley delivered a discourse commendatory of Rochefort and the Commune, and closed by offering the following resolutions, which were adopted with great enthusiasm:

Resolved, That we, as reformers of America, extend our heartfelt sympathies to our sisters and brothers in France and throughout Europe, and regret that the hopes of the people have again failed, and that they must still abide the time of their liberation from those ancient oppressions in which the wrongs of the many are forgotten and every true aspiration of the human soul repressed.

Resolved, That we recognize that the cause of the Commune has triumphed, however cruel the reaction it may suffer. Their great political programme, so effectually founded in France, is sufficiently suggested to Europe, and the bloody vengeance of the monarchists will not blot it out from the memory of the future.

Resolved, That with all our hearts we hope and pray that for the sake of human nature the present French government will not sacrifice on the altar of human vengeance our brother and co-worker, Henri Rochefort.

Resolved, That in him the cause of the people has had one of its ablest, most earnest and noblest advocates; one who, throughout his life, has braved death and spurned place and power and fame in the service of liberty and truth.

THE POPE is to leave Corsica. So says the last rumor. Bosh! The Pope out of Rome lapses into a bishop *in partibus*. Pius the Ninth will never leave Rome unless under duress. Corsica would be a place of exile and imprisonment, not of honor and safety. Napoleon at Elba or Garibaldi at Caprera were a perpetual protest, and their contiguity an ever-lighted fuse ready to explode European discontent. The head of the Catholic Church will hold his place in Rome, which the common consent of ages has made the capital of Christendom. History repeats itself, and it is only to go back to the early ages of the church, when Bishop and Caesar reigned side by side—the one temporal the other spiritual. The independence of the Pope does not depend on his revenues or worldly position. The Pope, to-day a stipendiary liable to be evicted at any moment, is an object of far more respect and sympathy than when he was a temporal sovereign wielding the temporal sword and dabbling in the things of the flesh when he should only have been concerned with the things of the spirit.

POST OFFICE NOTICE.

The mails for Europe during the week ending Saturday, July 29, 1871, will close at this office on Tuesday at 11:30 A. M.; on Wednesday at 9:30 A. M., and on Saturday at 11:30 A. M.

P. H. JONES, Postmaster.

OUR INDIAN TROUBLES—THEIR CURE.

BY J. B. WOLFF.

NO. XI.

The position taken in the last article that all whites should be removed from the reservations is fully confirmed by all past experience; by the wishes of the Indians; by the fact that, aside from the demoralizing influences of the whites, diseases unknown to the Indians are introduced among them, by this cause alone obliterating whole tribes in a manner so horrid that I omit the details; as well as by the opinion of the Superintendent now among the Sioux, who in his late report fully confirms this view. The Indian himself, when allowed to speak his mind freely, will tell you that the white man is his death.

What the purposes of the All Father may be I cannot tell, but this I can tell, that we have no right to obliterate them as a type; none to demoralize them as a people, and make them worse than they were; and none to introduce malignant diseases which become constitutional, and thus deteriorate them physically.

Further testimony on the necessity and justice of this measure comes immediately from the Superintendent of the Sioux, who says that the whites must be kept away, particularly as they will furnish the Indians whisky, which makes them constantly liable to create disturbances, etc., etc.

The same rules must also be applied to the reservations for permanent settlement. No whites except those in the service of the Indians, and they all of the very best material, should be permitted to live or trade with the Indians—not even licensed traders—as they universally defraud. All their business should be done by the regular agents, without other compensation than their regular salary; and that salary should be sufficient to secure the services of the very best men and women, and to protect them from the temptation to defraud the Indians while serving them.

The first natural step upward is the pastoral. To this the Indian is especially adapted. Then to meet the demand we have immense quantities of land fit only for raising stock of the lighter kinds, such as sheep and goats. What is known as the great American desert, stretching along the base of the mountains and one to two hundred miles east, from the Missouri River to Arizona, is chiefly fit for raising sheep. But little rain falls during the summer; the grass is short, grows quickly on the ground and is very nutritious. The low lands produce a small quantity of very coarse and innutritious grass, limited in quantity and of little practical value. Many years must elapse or great climactic changes occur before these lands can be fit for any other purpose than raising sheep and goats. And when we consider that the mutton and wool interests of our country are suffering from the cost of raising and feeding sheep, we see the necessity of looking about for a remedy; and just here we find it and the means, duty and profit uniting.

We then affirm that the true policy with the Indians is: 1. Pastoral. 2. Pastoral with stock which most nearly supplies the normal condition—sheep make food, robes and profit. 3. With stock which will fill a vacuum in our products of fur and raiment, and thus effect ready sales, profit and self-support without damaging any other interest. Among the instrumentalities to be usefully employed is one now practically applied in a small way, which the present writer has been urging on the authorities for more than three years, viz.: To have large delegations of wild Indians visit the Cherokees and Choctaws at their own homes, surrounded as they are with comforts and luxuries, rather than have them visit Washington. The late experiment proves how judicious the advice. Nothing has done so much to reconcile the Indians to the proposed change.

It is also highly important that we should avail ourselves of the aid of the civilized Indians in this behalf. The writer has satisfied himself that all the scattered fragments of civilized and semi-civilized Indians could be concentrated and united in one grand effort to induce the wild Indians to adopt the new methods.

Prior to the last Presidential election, a delegation of the civilized Indians waited on General Grant and offered their friendly services, and to adopt 10,000 of the uncivilized into their tribes. This proposition was made in writing. After he was elected the same parties made the same proposition verbally to him at the White House. In both instances no attention whatever was paid to it; and yet nothing more sensible was ever suggested, besides the economy over the present methods. These efforts, as well as those of others, must become matters of history by which the competency and honesty of public officers shall be judged.

In conclusion, I will recapitulate: A few large reservations—of lands adapted to mixed pursuits, especially pastoral—in sections requiring little winter feeding; confining the efforts of the government to those branches of education producing material support, with fair dealing and thorough protection, and the Indian problem is solved.

By thus doing we shall cut off the causes of war—save \$30,000,000 annually, and have peace in all the land. And if the Indians should cost \$50,000,000 per annum for one hundred years to come, we should not feel it, especially as they would soon add double that sum to the common wealth of the country.

THE WEEKLY BULLETIN

OF THE

PANTARCHY.

REMNANT OF MR. WARREN'S LETTER.

I find fault, also, with your use of the word "rights," as claimed by me, while you give no definition to the word. It is nothing new to you that "words have as many meanings as there are different things to which they refer;" and, by using this word as an abstraction remote from any particular meaning, you leave every one to attach to it any meaning whatever that his intelligence or his ignorance may suggest. (1.)

When I use the word *right*, I simply mean that which leads to the object aimed at; as when we say, *that is the right road to Boston*. In speaking or writing of social or political rights I have always meant, and believe I have been understood to mean, that which naturally leads to successful society; and have defined what I mean by successful society.* (2.)

* See "True Civilization."

COMMENTS.

(1.) I accede to Mr. Warren's demand on me for definitions. I accord with him in the fundamental idea that science cannot proceed safely a single step without them. Still, we all use words, even in treating subjects scientifically, without stopping then and there to define. To define *too often* is to confuse instead of elucidating. We must sometimes assume that the persons we address know and agree upon the use of a term. I hold myself amenable, however, always to the demand made on me for definitions; and I already perceive that I was assuming too much in supposing that Mr. Warren's definition of Rights would be the same as mine; although I shall show that his use of the term is the same that my definition will be; and that he soon deviates in practice from his own definition.

A word of preface is necessary. I became acquainted with Mr. Warren's peculiar and invaluable scheme of socialistic ideas in 1851; and I wrote and published that same year, I believe, a work entitled "Science of Society," now out of type, which was little more than my exposition of his ideas. I made my full acknowledgments, as I always endeavor to do to everyone, of the extent of my indebtedness; and I had the good fortune completely to satisfy Mr. Warren. I have his letters most frankly and cordially affirming that I had not in any particular failed to understand him, nor to present in the best way the full strength of his doctrines. He has said the same thing, in words, to me and many others, a thousand times, and will as frankly repeat the statement at any time.

I may now add that I only attained this harmony with Mr. Warren by voluntarily suppressing and foregoing any expression of opinions of my own which could by possibility conflict with his. I uttered nothing which I did not believe, but I omitted much that I did believe; and which, under other circumstances, I should have expressed. For example, long before I knew Mr. Warren, I was already a full convert to Fourier's "Combined Order;" but I found Mr. Warren intensely prejudiced against "Combination of Interests," as the very opposite of his doctrine of Individualization; and that the very word "Combination" was distasteful to him. I, therefore, in this work, the "Science of Society," elaborated "Individuality" and the "Sovereignty of the Individual" as absolutely as if I had never a thought of an organic unity of society. I saw them to be essential elements within the Organic Unity; a necessary basis or foundation, indeed, for it, and I could, therefore, in good conscience expound and urge them irrespective of the edifice that I saw was to be erected on them. I, therefore, expounded Mr. Warren with hardly a glimpse, insinuated to the reader, of any ideas of my own which lay, as I thought and think, further on in the evolution of human destiny. Mr. Warren simply offered me, and I accepted from him, a more secure underpinning for my ideal edifice; and I did not choose to quarrel with him in the perhaps hopeless endeavor to make him understand or appreciate or accept the idea of what I proposed to build upon it, or to help humanity to build.

Again: during these nineteen years, I have never made in writing this explanation, and have never published any criticism upon Mr. Warren. This has been partly because of a peculiar and almost morbid sensitiveness on the part of Mr. Warren to criticism, as it has seemed to be—and on account of the great love and veneration I bear for him, not liking to disturb a certain profound conviction he seems always to have, that he has sounded the depths of all the truth involved in the sphere of subjects discussed by him. In part I have also been deterred by the deference natural to the pupil towards the master; in a word, by modesty, for I am an essentially modest man—though my friends and readers have not, I suppose, suspected me often of that quality—modest until clear-sightedness and utter conviction overcame hesitancy from deference.

I have made this preface to point out the fact that I stand favorably situated for impartially criticising Mr. Warren's

ideas; and I am not sorry that by now "finding fault" with me, which he has not before done, he makes for me the opportunity. As he will admit that I understand him perfectly, and am able to represent him fairly, and am always wholly disposed to do so, I have only to state clearly the point of my criticism on any branch of his doctrine to bring the matter in discussion fully to the apprehension of the reader.

(2.) First, then, in relation to the definition of Rights, Mr. Warren says: "In speaking of social or political rights, I have always meant, and I believe I have been understood to mean, that which naturally leads to successful society." Now this is a profound, but at the same time a novel or unusual and from another point of view a very faulty, definition. This is not the sense in political or social rights are ordinarily understood. It is not the sense in which I used the word; nor, as I have said, and as I will show, does Mr. Warren himself adhere to his definition.

Nevertheless, it is a profound definition, in a sense, the most so of any, and one which has a certain scientific justification. The word Right is from the Latin *rectus*, meaning *straight*. Mr. Warren assigns to the term Rights, in the spirit of this etymological origin of the word, the meaning of whatsoever *rectifies* or straightens out human relations in society, in analogy with the straightened cord, or clue, or the straight road, which naturally (in the most direct or straight way) leads to a given end; which end is in this case "successful society."

This is very fundamental, but it is not the usual meaning which anybody attaches to the word Rights. Sometimes, indeed, we are compelled to take a word in common use and stretch it into a larger significance, or carry it back to its etymological meaning in order to procure a new and needed technicality. But in this case I think there is no such necessity. We have another term, already, derived from the same word-root, and which can be more readily made technical for the meaning here defined by Mr. Warren, namely, *rectifications*, which might be applied to the *straightenings-out* of all human relations in society. Rights is not only not well adapted to this meaning, but it is indispensable in an other technical sense which it has already acquired and held for more than two thousand years, namely: as correlated and contrasted with duties; and we shall see that so well established is this other technical meaning that Mr. Warren unconsciously falls into it, notwithstanding his new definition.

Let us adhere to the illustration of a *straight road*, as that which "leads (most directly) to the object aimed at." The straight road is, indeed, a very precious Analogue or Type by which to elucidate this whole subject—a gem of universal illustration.

When the straight road or roads of a country are alluded to as the *rectifications*, the *straightenings-out* and *facilitations* of the transits of travel or of the literal intercourse of a people, we have the similitude or likeness of what Mr. Warren means by his definition of Rights; and for which sense I have suggested the substitution of the simple word *Rectifications*. But, in this sense, whether we say Rights or Rectifications we have allusion to a first and vague aspect of the road or roads, namely, the one element of their straightness, with an inference of the facility which that quality gives to true intercourse.

This idea is important and fundamental, and may need its own technicality; but it is farther back than and more indeterminate than the meaning of Rights in the sense in which they are contrasted with Duties; and has nothing whatever to do with that issue. *The next, and practically, the all important property of the straight line, street, or road is that it points in two opposite directions*; indicated by the words *come and go, bring and carry, to and from, hither and yon*, etc., (technically *agueniety* and *aguoity*, the *touchiness* and the *fromwhichness*).

It is not enough that we know that we are dealing with that "which leads to the object aimed at," but we must know also in which direction to travel; or else the same *rectification* may lead us directly away from the object desired. The same straightness which leads directly to a given object aimed at, leads just as truly right away from that object and toward its opposite. Right, in Mr. Warren's sense is like the pistol which helps us to kill our enemy, but just as readily helps to kill ourselves, if we chance to point it the wrong way.

The most important knowledge in the world, the greatest discovery of Universology, is, simply, that a stick has two ends; or, what means the same thing, that a straight road has two opposite directions, and that it can be traveled over each way; and that it must be traveled over both ways to be *integrally* or *wholly* known. The full comprehension of this single fact will be the Grand Reconciliation of all the differences in the world.

Now, then, the meaning of Rights as ordinarily understood—not as defined by Mr. Warren, but still as used by him, as we shall see—is that aspect of the *rectifications* or straightened paths of human intercourse in which the road runs *toward us*, or in which the transaction works *directly in our favor*, or gives us that which we have a *right to demand* (Egoism—Comte); and the meaning of Duties is that aspect in which the straight road runs *away from us to others*, or in which the transaction works *directly in favor of others*, or *another*, or imposes on us that which it is our *Duty to perform* (Altruism—Comte). Inversely, when we have rights, others have duties; and when we have duties others have rights.

These comments prolong themselves, and I shall have to

resume the subject another week, reserving still a remnant of Mr. Warren's letter for a text.

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

NEW YORK, June 26, 1871.

DEAR PANTARCH: I was very much struck with the perusal of your answer to "Observer" in the last number of WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY. I am a spiritual medium, one of those queer products of that Sibylline kingdom of Nature, to which you, as far as I know of the history of the subject, have first given an accurate, generic and scientific name, in that language of perfect definitions, *Alwato*; i. e., *Hwaunio* (the God, Spirits, Humanity, Domain) as I find it in the *Primary Synopsis of Universology and Alwato*.

I believe in the future destiny of *Alwato*, and have been thoroughly impressed by the *Primary Synopsis*. My education, by the awful shadow of some unknown power floating unseen among us, has been, through clairaudience, to a remarkable, but as yet almost wholly intuitive, appreciation of the power of Sound in the development of the *Hoboio*. Again I use an *Alwato* word as the most thorough expression of what I mean—human being in its entirety. I have found no one who has followed me in this strange direction, and feared that I myself was the victim of hallucinations, until in your *Primary Synopsis* I discovered the exact key to my experience. I have written this to you under the mixed Spiritual Impression and exercise of my own volition, which is my method of action, that you may at least have the consolation of knowing, notwithstanding that you are "the best abused man of the day," that you have yet friends and sympathizers, visible and invisible. I transcribe for you, also, the following passage, apropos of what you say of Swedenborg's speech of the angels, p. 182, of the *Primary Synopsis*. In the *Banner of Light* of June 8, a spirit, speaking through Mrs. Conant, says: "There is a universal perceptive language in the spirit world known to all. It is neither the English language, nor the German, nor any that exists on the earth, or ever has been; but it combines the roots of all that ever has been or is. If it is your destiny to reduce to material sound, upon this planet, the universal language of the spheres, and so render possible a Science of the Universe of Thought, who can imagine a greater? For my own reasons, I declined to give my name, but you will probably recognize me as a former student of yours." Truly yours, "Ho."

"ON THE TOWN."

MRS. WOODHULL: You handed me the proof of the poem entitled, "On the Town," at the time you published it, and requested me to comment upon it for your readers. You said that it was going the rounds of the papers, that it is full of pathos and of just sentiment, and that you felt impelled to publish it; but yet that, in some way, it doesn't satisfy you; that there remains some other word to be said on the sad and delicate subject; and you did me the honor to say that you thought that it belonged to me to say it.

Well, then, I will try, and hope that I may succeed in saying the identical thing which your intuition waits for to be uttered. At all events I shall say what I think, and what, in some sense, I know to be true, "whether men will hear or whether they will forbear."

This poem, "On the Town," is sweetly sympathetic with the wronged suffering party, and righteously indignant with the wrong-doer, according to the accepted ideas of morality; but the deeper question is not touched of the essential right or wrong of the ideas themselves.

The most radical evil, the worst disease of our social life—what is acquiring the technicality of the Social Evil—will never be cured by any other than by the application of the most radical treatment. The repressive, or the regulative measures of unsympathetic legislation, and the pitying sympathy of Pharisaic religion and moralism will prove alike unavailing, as they ever have done, without the aid of a totally new and radically different theory, philosophy and science of the subject.

The poem "On the Town" assumes, as everybody does in their thought on the subject, that there is somebody terribly to blame in this matter of the social evil; and that the remedy is to fix the wrong-doing upon the right party and to anathematize the wrong-doer. Undoubtedly this loud expression of honest indignation does its modicum of good in arousing the public attention and awakening a brotherly and sisterly sentiment toward "the fallen;" but no effectual remedy lies in that direction.

It is at least an equal half of the truth, and the half that has never yet been adequately represented in morals, that *nobody is to blame for anything*; that everything has its natural cause in the nature of its antecedents and had to be precisely as it is. This obvious doctrine, which now universally prevails in the scientific world (the invariability of law), has been staunchly resisted in the Religious and Moral World, and from the best of motives.

It has been and is still honestly thought, and with a sincere interest in the well-being of mankind, that to admit, in any sense, the idea of a fixed necessity, regulating the affairs of men, would be to discharge the individual conscience of all sense of responsibility; and, in that way, to

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

SPEECH BY MRS. ANNA M. MIDDLEBROOK, OF BRIDGEPORT,
BEFORE THE LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE ON
CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS,
AT HARTFORD, CONN.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee: My object in coming before you to-day is to state the relationship between my sex and our government, and to urge you to remove all obstacles to our full and free enjoyment of all the rights and privileges of citizenship. For under the enlightening influences of these progressive times, the women of our country are arousing to a deep and humiliating sense of their subjection to men. They are realizing that as long as the male citizen alone holds possession of all political rights and privileges, making all the laws and having all to say, it is placing women (who are quite as intellectual and as capable of self-government, and consequently of assisting in the government of others) in a position of inferiority and absolute degradation. While women were ignorant of this, there was better reason for silence and inactivity on the part of men, though it is plain it has always been a usurpation of power, and an arrogant assumption on their part that is no more just than it would be for women to assume control and disfranchise the dominant sex. Now we have become educated to see the great injustice of this custom, and to demand our rights. And I declare to you that we do not intend to slumber nor sleep, nor to allow you to enjoy the peace and tranquillity that results from righteous acts, until you have made our cause your cause, and by means of the power you hold in your hands have removed every weapon and every obstacle that the officers of the law may use to prevent our full and entire enfranchisement.

I do not ask you to grant us any privilege nor confer any favor that the Constitution of the United States, or of our State under the United States Constitution, pretends to withhold from us, or to give you the power to withhold from us, for in no part of that immortal document (our National Constitution) is it declared that men shall have the right of suffrage and women shall not. Neither do I ask you to bestow upon us this right, for it is not in the power of the Legislatures of our States to confer such a boon. According to our National Constitution, which declares in its preamble that "We the people," &c., "do ordain and establish this Constitution," it is clear that there are no limitations as to the sex. It does not read, "We the men" nor "we the male citizens;" and it uses no words by which it can be construed to signify one sex more than another, and it goes on to say that representatives shall be chosen by the people, and that those representatives shall be citizens—not men, but simply citizens whom the people choose. Here it is plain that the people have the right to vote, for that is the only means given them of choosing their representatives.

Let us now turn to our State Constitution, and read its preamble:

"The people of Connecticut, acknowledging with gratitude the good providence of God in having permitted them to enjoy a free government, do, in order more effectually to define, secure and perpetuate the liberties, rights and privileges which they have derived from their ancestors, hereby, after a careful consideration and revision, ordain and establish the following Constitution and form of civil government."

You surely would not thank God for being permitted to enjoy a free government, when only half the people here spoken of were free, while the other half were in a state of absolute subjection. But how rational it is to infer that this freedom was held to be universal, and to be as broad as the words, "The people of Connecticut." Look further and read, "We declare that all men when they form a social compact are equal in rights; and that no man, or set of men are entitled to exclusive public emoluments or privileges from the community." And Sec. 2d, "That all political power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority, and instituted for their benefit."

You will see by this that the idea is not a new one that one sex has no right to the elective franchise which the other does not possess equally with them, and that therefore it would be the height of folly to ask you to bestow upon us that which is admitted to be already ours. There is no distinction whatever made between the "political power that is inherent" in men and women; and the right to vote is evidently the expression and the practical working of this political power. But the assumption of this power in some inexplicable manner, by the male citizens of our country, has placed the female portion thereof in a condition of political subjection, and caused the legislators of our States to frame laws that have unjustly and fraudulently, I believe, deprived one-half of our citizens of their most necessary benefits.

Now, gentlemen, I would most respectfully invite your attention to those constitutional arguments upon which I base my claim to the elective franchise. After looking over the United States Constitution, and finding nowhere a distinction made between men and women, their political powers and rights, I will proceed directly to a consideration of the Fourteenth Article of amendment, which is a declaration of citizenship, and which also declares how far the jurisdiction of a State may extend in regard to the rights of its citizens. You are aware, gentlemen, that when the Fourteenth Amendment had passed both Houses of Congress, and had afterward been subjected to the deliberations of each State Legislature, and ratified by more than three-fourths of those States; and when the official announcement had been made public by Wm. H. Seward, July, 1868, it then (to use Mr. Seward's own language) "became valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution of the United States." So that now this amendment is as much the law of the land as the original Constitution, and the enforcement of this law is as binding upon our legislators and the officers of our government as any other.

Article 6 of the Constitution says:

"This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

Now, then, the Fourteenth Amendment is one of the supreme laws of the land, superior to all State laws, and holding jurisdiction over them; and if there is anything in our State laws, either in the Constitution or on our statute books, that is not in perfect accord with this supreme law, it must be stricken out, and the laws so amended as to form a perfect union between the State and the nation. For,

remember, "the judges in every State shall be bound thereby;" that is, by the United States Constitution, "anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." Then, as our own State was one among others to ratify this Fourteenth Amendment, thus acknowledging it to be law, and a higher law than our State law, it is doubly bound to sustain and enforce it by so amending the Constitution of the State that there shall be found no word that shall serve as a weapon in the hands of any officer for the violating of its (the Fourteenth Amendment's) requirements. I will show you that such an amendment is needed in our State Constitution in order to secure to the people of Connecticut "those liberties, rights and privileges," which in the preamble are declared to be an inheritance from their ancestors. For without such amendment the people are not equal in rights, and you are giving exclusive public emoluments to men, or a set of men, contrary to the expressed declaration of our own State Constitution. The Fourteenth Article of Amendment says: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to its jurisdiction, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside."

All women, then, who are born in the country, or who have become naturalized by marriage with a native-born citizen, are citizens. Is there any one who disputes this? I am sure no lawyer can be found equal to the twisting that would be required to make all "persons" mean men alone. A person, according to Webster, is an individual human being, consisting of body and soul, and is applied alike to man and woman. Congress says in this article (the Fourteenth) that women are citizens. Our State said the same when it ratified the article. Further than this, Webster's Unabridged says: "In the United States a citizen is a person, native or naturalized, who has the privilege of exercising the elective franchise, or the qualifications which may enable him to vote for rulers and to purchase and hold real estate." Benjamin Butler says in reference to the citizenship of women: "None but citizens of the United States could register ships at our ports; none others could pre-empt lands or receive passports; but from time immemorial in this country women have registered ships, pre-empted lands and secured passports without question."

I now come to the second paragraph in that article: "No State shall make or enforce any law that shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."

Whatever power the States might have possessed previous to the passage of this act, could be possessed no longer after its passage. If one of the greatest privileges of citizenship is the ballot, and this privilege (under the excuse of "State rights") was denied to the negro simply because he was black, though he possessed all other qualifications; and to woman simply because of sex, though she possessed all other qualifications, yet henceforth this power of the State was prohibited, and the term "white male" in our State constitution became from that moment null and void. Because the supreme law of the land says: "All persons are citizens," and "No State shall make or enforce any law that shall abridge the privileges of these citizens." After the ratification of this act, and its proclamation to the people, our own State, as well as other States, virtually set aside and annulled every word in our State laws contrary to the wording of this amendment. And though our State constitution reads: "Every white male citizen," with such and such qualifications, may be an elector, yet since the Fourteenth Amendment became a law those words are as dead as if they had never belonged to the English language. You know this to be true, gentlemen, since the negro voted this year in our own State, with the word *white* still in our constitution. It may be claimed that the Enforcement Act of May, 1870, compelled this. That may be true; but it was not because the law did not exist in the said amendments, but because our Democratic friends tried to evade that law under the plea of illegal ratification, and because of the word *white*, just as both parties have evaded the plain reading of the law in reference to woman suffrage, because of the word "male." On the part of the Republicans there has not been even the excuse of illegality: but these amendments, originating in a Republican Congress, and ratified by a Republican majority of more than three-fourths of the States, still stand as a dead letter, so far as half the citizens of our country are concerned. And I must do our Democratic friends the justice to say that although these articles of amendment upon which women base their claim to the elective franchise could in no wise be attributed to them, yet they have favored our cause quite as much as the Republicans. And last year in our State Assembly a special committee was appointed, before whom we were allowed six separate hearings, and in the reports of the majority for us there were four Democrats and one Republican; and in the minority report against us, there were three Republicans and one Democrat. We have a right to expect better things from that great party who were especially instrumental in giving to our nation laws so broadly republican as the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

I am sure, that after analyzing this fourteenth article, you cannot pretend that another word is needed to give the admission of equal privileges to all the citizens of our country. It does not give the privilege of voting to women or negroes, or to men, for that matter; but it certainly admits all native-born or naturalized persons as citizens, and declares them entitled to all privileges, among which is the elective franchise; and it prohibits the States from enforcing any law that is already made contrary to this, and from making any new law in opposition to this broad view of the matter. Hear what the tenth Amendment says: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

As the Constitution has prohibited the States from abridging the rights of its citizens, therefore this State has no right to allow any word to remain in its Constitution that shall deprive any class or sex of equal privileges. I know the question may be asked, "What have you done with our State rights?" I answer, given them over to the United States—their lawful sovereign. I take it that the jurisdiction of a State is very feeble compared with that of the United States.

It seems to me whatever law may have obtained previous to the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment, that since that law was enacted no State officer has any right to deny us the full and free expression of opinion by the ballot; and we ought to be sustained in this, because it is in obedience to the express wording of the Constitution. And as the President of the United States, the Senators and Representatives in Congress, as well as both Houses of our State Legislatures, have sworn to uphold and support the Constitution of the United States, I do not see how any of you gentlemen, who represent half the people, can fail to sustain our

measures, without great remissness in duty, which should incur the just reproach of every loyal person.

The Fifteenth Amendment is still more explicit in regard to the special rights of voting, though it seems to me that the Fourteenth is very clear, as including that among its privileges. I am aware that it is claimed that this law was passed to give the negroes the right of suffrage, but its wording certainly leaves a margin sufficiently broad for our claims, and I shall be the last person to blame the Republican party for being more truly republican than was intended. The Fifteenth Amendment says: "The right of citizens to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, nor by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." I am aware where the objection is in applying this to our case. It is thought that the word "sex" is absolutely essential. This objection might be reasonable if any special word had been used in the Constitution previously. But there has not. If a special word must be used to define the particular sex meant, by what sort of turning and twisting could all our governmental matters be given over to the masculine gender, when the word "male" does not occur once in the Constitution until we find it in the Fourteenth Amendment. And there it is not used in any sense to defeat the broad meaning of the first and second paragraphs. So when the Fifteenth Amendment declares that the right of citizens, not the right of men, white nor black, but the right of citizens—and remember all persons are citizens—that the right of citizens to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, it cannot, by any reasonable inference, be construed to mean anything different from its plain reading. Had our Constitution anywhere declared that men alone were entitled to all political privileges, and then had the Fourteenth Amendment said that all male persons were citizens, we might with some show of reason conclude that the words color, race, etc., would in this case apply to men, and not to women. The acknowledgment that women are citizens, in the Fourteenth Amendment, and following directly after the command that their right to vote shall not be denied, is as plain as that two and two make four. Under this rendering, the words race, color, etc., have a broad and mighty significance, for they show that the entire lack of republican principle upon which our two parties now stand has no basis whatever in our National Constitution, but is the result of sheer prejudice and love of power.

We all know that the words "race, color and previous condition of servitude," refer to women just as much as to men. Can you think of a race of men alone? or of colored men and not colored women? or can you think of men in a condition of servitude, and not of women in a more terrible condition of servitude? And then admitting this application to negroes of both sexes—for that is the application of the Fifteenth Amendment—cannot exclude the Anglo-Saxon race—the white women, the women of our own State who legally and politically are in a state of servitude and subjection, without making a distinction on account of race, color and condition of servitude? There are, we know, women of race and color, and if the word sex is not used, why should we try to manufacture an excuse for using it simply for the purpose of misrepresenting the plain rendering of this article? As for the "previous condition of servitude," no one in their senses can pretend that women do not belong to this class. I might quote the property laws of our State, as an illustration, but I can do no better than to give you the argument of Mr. A. G. Riddle, an eminent lawyer of Washington, on this subject. He says: "The condition of the married woman is that of servitude. Though the words 'previous condition' refer to widows, married women are in a continued condition of servitude. The law gives her to the man, not the man to her, or the two mutually to each other. She belongs to her master—all that she has belongs to him. If she does anything that binds him, it is simply as his servant. She does not own even the children that are born to her. The husband exclusively controls them while living, and by his will, he may, and often does, bequeath to some one else the custody and care of them after his death. If the wife of a man should suffer from an accident on a railroad, he could only bring a suit against the company on the ground that his wife was his servant and he had lost her service." It is not the question whether he bears his wife, but what is the legal relation between them? So much for the "condition of servitude" which married women enjoy (?). Now for our unmarried daughters and sisters. I quote from Franklin's works the following:

"Liberty or freedom consists in having an actual share in the appointment of those who frame the laws, and who are to be the guardians of every man. They who have no voice nor vote in the electing of representatives do not enjoy liberty, but are absolutely enslaved to those who have votes, and to their representatives; for to be enslaved, is to have governors whom other men have set over us, and be subject to laws made by the representatives of others, without having had representatives of our own to give consent in our behalf."

I think the above quotations are plain enough; and coming from men, and eminent lawyers at that, cannot be said to be the manifestations of discontent from a few "female agitators." You know furthermore, gentlemen, that women have good reason to complain that in their case, you, in managing governmental matters, do not apply the rule "No taxation without representation." When the negroes had no vote, you relieve them of this burden. Now again, you make taxation the price of representation. I protest with all my soul against this injustice. This is absolute tyranny; and it is the more base because we are denied the means of consenting to or protesting against it in a manner at all effective. Remove the oppression by giving us a voice, or call this nation no longer a Republic, but let it sink in name and reputation to the level of its own practices.

I propose now to meet the objections offered last year by a minority of the Joint Select Committee on Woman Suffrage.

First, "Suffrage should not be granted to women unless it is made to appear that a majority of women require it." And because a majority of women in this State have not asked for the suffrage, but have objected to it, therefore it is refused.

Gentlemen, when was this argument ever offered against male suffrage! This is the very plea that the pro-slavery men brought against emancipation: "The slaves are well enough—they do not ask for freedom; they are contented and happy. Why force upon them responsibilities for which they are unfitted?"

But the Abolitionists and the Republicans, when they became sufficiently educated up to the abolition sentiment, said: "No! We must stand by our principles. We have neither the God-given right, the moral right, nor the political

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SARAH E. SOMERBY,
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MRS. SARAH E. SOMERBY.—"The time is not far distant," says Mrs. Woodhull in her Principles of Government, "when the possession of spirit-sight will be accounted of the first importance, not to those only who possess it, but to the public generally, and will be sought for and made practical to the honor of its possessors and to the inestimable benefit of all." Mrs. Somerby enjoys this faculty of second sight in a remarkable degree, and her clairvoyant visions are very wonderful. I have been a believer in spirit communion for about a year, and have had my convictions of its truth deepened by much that I have heard and seen through this lady. In one instance I was seated in the room with her at the piano singing a cavatina from Robert le Diable, an opera which I am convinced Mrs. Somerby had never seen. Becoming entranced, she described perfectly the scene in which this air occurs, giving a vivid picture of the tenor and prima donna, their costume, gestures, and appearance, my own impressions confirming hers as I felt that peculiar thrill of nervous sensation by which spiritual influences announce themselves to the mediumistic. Mrs. Somerby has magnetic and healing powers, which she has exercised with great efficacy for many years. She proposes also, as I learn, to hold conversational seances on the prominent social topics now exciting so much attention. Those interested in keeping up with the most advanced thought of the day will do well to call on this lady for instruction.

F. R. M.

See card in another column.

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EQUALITY A RIGHT OF WOMAN.

BY TENNIE C. CLAFLIN.

The object of the author in presenting this book to the public was:

First, To show that woman has the same human rights which men have.

Second, To point out wherein a condition of servitude has been involuntarily accepted by women as a substitute for equality, they in the meantime laboring under the delusion that they were *above* instead of *below* equality.

Third, To prove that it is a duty which women owe to themselves to become fully individualized persons, responsible to themselves and capable of maintaining such responsibility.

Fourth, To demonstrate that the future welfare of humanity demands of women that they prepare themselves to be the mothers of children, who shall be pure in body and mind, and that all other considerations of life should be made subservient to this their high mission as the artists of humanity.

Fifth, That every child born has the natural right to live, and that society is responsible for the condition in which he or she is admitted to be a constituent and modifying part of itself.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS—NEW BOOKS.

We have received copies of two books which just now possess considerable interest for many people. They are entitled respectively, "Constitutional Equality, a Right of Women," by Tennie C. Claflin, and "The Origin, Functions and Principles of Government," by Victoria C. Woodhull. We have examined these books carefully, not only for the sake of the subjects treated of, but because of the discussion which has been called out in the past few weeks about these two remarkable women.

It would seem as though everything conspired to once to bring them and their views before the public. First, the *Tribune* paraded them as the champion free-lovers by way of attacking its old enemies, the woman suffrage women; then one branch of the suffragists attacked them, while the other wing as vehemently upheld them, and lastly they were brought bodily before the public in the recent trial. These conflicting elements of notoriety were enough to have made any one famous for the moment, and ought to make their books sell. The chief element of curiosity, however, was in the fact that they were denounced so bitterly by the *Tribune* as free-lovers, while they were, on the other hand, indorsed so enthusiastically by a lady so universally respected as Mrs. Stanton. Careful examination of their books fails to show anything so very startling in the doctrines put forth in them, however distasteful they may be to many. They advance many strong arguments for giving the women the right to vote, for a remodeling of the marriage laws, and, in fact, for the general renovating and making over of society. Some of these are new, and some not so new, but they are very well put, and will be found not uninteresting, even to those who are opposed to the doctrines advocated.—*Newark (N. J.) Register.*

ALETTIC CHINA WATER TESTIMONIAL.

195 Leffert's place, Brooklyn, June 13, 1871.

COPY TO CHICAGO, August 11, 1870.

Capt. A. W. Lavender.—Dear Sir,—When at Watertown last week General Pratt informed me he had received a letter from you in which you spoke of a medicine you had been taking that had cured you, and inquired for me that I might be informed of it and try it in my case. I have been bad for fifteen months, and have examined me declare it to be *scirrhus stomach*, or *cancerous*. Whether it is so or not, I have been reduced some forty pounds in flesh and am unable to engage in business.

I have been spending the summer in the Rocky Mountains, and thought I was better, but find the difficulty continues, and write for the purpose of having you send me a dozen bottles of the Alethic China Water.

Respectfully yours,

(Signed) MARTIN THATCHER,
27 and 29 Randolph street, Chicago.
See advertisment in another column.

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THEME.

Astrea, the Genius of Liberty and Justice, seeks a dwelling place upon earth. Persecuted and driven from land to land, she follows the evening star and finds at last a beautiful kingdom in the Western world; this becomes her home and the birth place of her beloved daughter Hesperia.

Erotion, the Genius of Love and Fidelity, the husband of Astrea and father to Hesperia, after many wanderings in search, at last joins the objects of his love and care. Reunited, they preside over this new land and seek to preserve it for their child's inheritance. They are recognized and cherished by a small band of devoted followers, who summon them to their counsels in the city of Fraternia.

At first liberty and love prevail, but Astrea discovers the presence of a serpent who breathes on her a subtle poison, and she (with Erotion) is slain. Lamia, the serpent of policy, then controls and takes in charge the beautiful child Hesperia, seeking to unite her in marriage to her foul son Slavery—who must be nameless evermore; but Hesperia is warned by the Genius of Nature, Calios, who, in the guise of a poet and magician, holds sway even over Lamia. When Hesperia beholds him she recognizes her soul's counterpart, and is prepared, by his words and love to resist all the evil machinations of Lamia, and her son.

Lamia, however, holds temporary power over the form of Hesperia, and succeeds in throwing a spell around the maiden which she vainly imagines will prove fatal; the love of her parents and Calios rouses her spirit, and with them she withdraws into the world of souls, where, for a time, she beholds the scenes enacted under the influence of Lamia. She witnesses in Athens and Crete the deeds of horror and the tortures inflicted upon the oppressed. Calios sings to her in plaintive songs of these down-trodden ones, lures her by the voice of nature, and in interludes of Love and Truth seeks to win her back to her earthly kingdom.

Long years does Lamia hold sway, and at last wakens the voice of war; when Astrea, not dead, but only withdrawn for a space, turns the sword of Lamia upon her son.
Through long suffering is Hesperia made strong and pure. She listens to the voice of nature's children, and their tortures cease; slavery and war are known no more. Astrea and Erotion are again the attendant and abiding souls of this fair land; they witness with rapture and benedictions the union of Calios and Hesperia, who rule with undivided sway over the most lovely empire of the earth.

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11 p. m., Night Express, Sleeping cars attached.
7 a. m., 2 and 5 p. m., Poughkeepsie trains.
7 a. m., 4:15 and 6:40 p. m., Peekskill trains.
5:30 and 6:10 p. m., Sing Sing trains.
6:40, 7:30, 9:10 and 10:15 a. m., 12 m., 1:30, 3, 4:25, 5:10, 8:10 and 11:30 p. m., Yonkers trains.
9 a. m., Sunday train for Poughkeepsie.
C. H. KENDRICK,
General Passenger Agent.
New York, Dec. 5, 1870.

JUST PUBLISHED.—The Primary Synopsis of UNIVERSOLOGY and ALWATO (pronounced Ah-lwa-to.) The new Scientific Universal Language, by STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS, member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, of the American Ethnological Society, etc.; author of "The Science of Society," "Discoveries in Chinese," "The Basis Outline of UniversoLOGY," etc. New York, DION THOMAS, 141 Fulton street. (1871.) Price, \$1.50.

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TRAINS LEAVE NEW YORK.
For Stamford, 7, 8 (Ex.), 9, 11:30 a. m.; 12:15 (Ex.), 3 (Ex.), 3:45, 4:30, 5:30 and 8 (Ex.)
p. m.
For Milford, Stratford, Fairfield, Southport and
Westport, 7, 11:30 a. m.; 3:45, 4:30, 5:30 p. m.
For Norwalk, 7, 8 (Ex.), 9, 11:30 a. m.; 12:15 (Ex.), 3
(Ex.), 3:45, 4:30 (Ex.), 5:30, 6:30 and 8 (Ex.) p. m.
For Darien, 7, 9, 11:30 a. m.; 3:45, 4:30, 5:30 and 6:30
p. m.
For Stamford, 7, 8 (Ex.), 9, 11:30 a. m.; 12:15 (Ex.),
2:15, 3 (Ex.), 3:45, 4:30 (Ex.), 4:45, 5:30, 6:30, 7:15, 8 (Ex.)
p. m.
For Greenwich and intermediate stations, 7, 9, 11:30
a. m.; 2:15, 3:45, 4:45, 5:30, 6:30, 7:15 p. m.
Sunday Mail Train leaves Twenty seventh street,
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CONNECTING TRAINS.
For Boston, via Springfield, 8 a. m.; 3 and 8 p. m.
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For Hartford and Springfield, 8 a. m.; 12:15, 2, 4:30
p. m. to Hartford, 8 p. m.
For New York, R. I., 12:15 p. m. (Ex.), connecting
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p. m.
For Connecticut River Railroad, 8 a. m.; 12:15 p. m.
to Montreal, 3 p. m. to Northampton.
For Hartford, Providence, and Fishkill Railroad, 8
a. m.; 12:15 p. m.
For Shore Line Railway, at 8 a. m. to Norwich and
Providence; 12:15, 3; to New London, 8 p. m.
For New Haven and Northampton Railroad, 8 a. m.;
3 p. m. to Northampton and Williamsburgh.
For Housatonic Railroad, 8 a. m. and 3 p. m.
For Housatonic Railroad, 8 a. m., 3 p. m., and 4:30
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For Danbury and Norwalk Railroad, 7 a. m.; 12:15
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THE NEW HAIR RESTORATIVE

Will positively restore luxuriant and healthy growth
of HAIR upon the

BALD HEADED,

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It has no poisonous caustic or irritating ingredient
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UNLIKE any other preparation for the hair.

It never fails. It has produced a fine growth of hair
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All who have used it, without exception, attest to its
great merits.

Persons in New York or Brooklyn wishing to test
the ZOECOME, can either personally or by note make
arrangements to have a hair dresser sent to their resi-
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MRS. ELVIRA M. DEPUY,
64 Clinton avenue, Brooklyn.

New York, June 12, 1871.

To THE MESSRS WOODHULL & CLAFLIN,
44 Broad street, New York.

LADIES:
The numerous letters I am receiving from persons
who have used the Aletic China Water have induced
me to send you a few copies, which please place in
your valuable WEEKLY when you can find room.

I am almost annoyed at the calls—"Why don't you
advertise the Aletic China Water, and let the ailing
public know of its efficiency?" I answer through
your columns that I desire to be cautious—the Aletic
Water will in a short time advertise itself. In six
months, without any aid or help, over five thousand
bottles have been disposed of, with an increased de-
mand and a report of universal satisfaction.

I have been urged to place the Aletic China Water
before the public by many of the first physicians in
the land, and, as far as is in my power, shall use it
for the benefit of the people; and, at the low rate
now charged, it leaves a very small margin, which
forbids the expense of extensive advertising.

In order that those who are unable to purchase the
water, and have the desire to be benefited by it, a
call at 165 Maiden lane, free of cost, is the place to test
its qualities.

[Copy.]

From Dr. ALBERT DAY,
Superintendent and Physician,
Greenwood Institute,
Massachusetts.

APRIL 14, 1871.

My DEAR CAPTAIN LAVENDER:
Your letter, also the China Water, came duly to
hand, for which favors I thank you. I must say I ad-
mire the water. I at once on its receipt drank a bot-
tle of it, and observed its fine effect on the stomach
and also its diuretic properties. I think the water
can be sold here, and will do all I can to introduce it,
and will act as your agent, when you are prepared to
furnish a supply. Let me hear from you again.
Truly yours,

ALBERT DAY, M. D.

ASTOR HOUSE, Room 206,
New York, June 12, 1871.

CAPTAIN LAVENDER:
Dear Sir: Please send to me one dozen half pints
China Water.

One dozen half pints China Water to Don Everisto
Carriego, No. 33 West Seventeenth street.

One dozen half pints China Water to S. B. Lewis,
No. 4 Beekman street.

Send me the bill.
The water has performed a miracle with me. Nothing
that I have tried for the last fifteen years has done
me so much good. I am entirely free from rheumatic
pains.

Yours,
JOHN PALMER.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL and TENNIE C. CLAFLIN,
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PAYABLE IN ADVANCE.

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CAN BE MADE TO THE AGENCY OF THE AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY,
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News-dealers supplied by the American News Company, No. 121 Nassau street, New York.

All communications, business or editorial, must be addressed

Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly,

44 Broad Street, New York City.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.—All communications intended for publication must be written on one side only. The editors will not be accountable for manuscript not accepted.

TO THE ELECTORS, MALE AND FEMALE, OF THE EIGHTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK:

The Constitution of the United States provides that—

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside."

Also that—

"No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States."

The Constitution also recognizes that suffrage is a right of citizens of the United States, as follows:

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied," &c.

The Constitution of the State of New York provides as follows:

"ARTICLE I. SECTION 1. No member of this State shall be disfranchised, or deprived of the rights or privileges secured to any citizen thereof, unless by the law of the land, or the judgment of his peers."

It also provides who may be disfranchised, as follows:

"ARTICLE XI, SECTION 2. Laws may be passed excluding from the right of suffrage all persons who have been convicted of bribery, larceny, or of any infamous crime."

By a careful consideration of these various organic provisions, it will be seen—

First, That women are citizens, because they are persons.

Second, That all citizens of the State of New York have the right to vote, excepting only such as have been convicted of some infamous crime.

Third, That the State of New York has no right to deprive any of its members of the rights or privileges secured to any citizen.

The radical change which places the right of women to vote comes from that portion of the Fourteenth Amendment which makes women citizens of the State of New York, and denies the State the right to abridge their privileges as citizens, one of which is the right to vote. Previously the State had the supreme control of citizenship and its rights, and, while women were not consistently denied suffrage under its constitution they were, however, denied it, and there was no appeal therefrom. But the power which the State formerly exercised over this right of citizens is now taken from the States and vested in the general government. Notwithstanding this radical change in the political status of women, the State of New York has not yet extended to women the facilities for exercising this newly-defined condition, and it is still a question if our male governors will not continue to abridge the rights of women citizens by preventing them from voting. But I believe that a right cannot exist in citizens without an imperative duty accompanying it; and that if women possess the right to self-government it is their duty, not only to themselves, but also to their country and to humanity, to exercise that right, and to no longer permit themselves "to have governors set over them by other men."

One of the reports from the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives in Congress, upon the Woodhull memorial, contains the following recommendation:

"It is therefore perfectly proper, in our opinion, for the House to pass a declaratory resolution, which would be an index to the action of the House should the question be brought before it by a contest for a seat;" that is, by a contest for a seat by a representative elected by the votes of women citizens.

Sincerely believing that the best interests of the country demand an immediate settlement of this great question, and as a settlement by the means indicated above is the speediest and most conclusive it is possible to have; and believing the women citizens of the Eighth Congressional

District of the State of New York to be as highly patriotic and as fully inclined to perform their duties which the rights of citizenship require of them as are those of any other Congressional district; and that the male citizens thereof, from their gallantry and courtesy, will as heartily and earnestly join with women to permit this settlement as would those of any other Congressional district, I offer myself to them as a candidate for the office of Representative in the Congress of the United States for the next regular term.

I believe that all men and women are born free and have an equal, inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

I believe that every avenue to happiness is open to me as well as to all other citizens. I believe that every right inalienable in any other citizen is equally inalienable in me.

I believe that every exercise of liberty extended to any other citizen is also extended to me.

And I believe that the true men and women citizens of this district will accord every right, liberty and means of happiness to me equally with others, and will thereby acknowledge and practice the great fact that I, as a citizen, have as clear a right to represent my fellow-citizens in Congress as any other citizen has, provided that in other matters outside of right, liberty, happiness and law I may suit their tastes or opinions, and be deemed to possess the proper personal characteristics, independent of sex.

Upon the broad platform of equal rights to all citizens do I stand and solicit the votes of all citizens, women as well as men, urging as a special reason therefor that, by my election or by my receiving more votes at such election than any other candidate, the Congress of the United States, through my application for a seat therein, may be compelled to acknowledge the right of women citizens to vote, and thus by your action will the question be determined for every other Congressional district in the country and for all women citizens.

In matters of general political policy, I believe in an enlightened application of the principles of freedom, equality and justice, as far as the limitations of the Constitution will permit, and in modifying the Constitution whenever it is necessary so to do, that perfect political and social equality may be secured to every individual. Respectfully,

TENNIE C. CLAFLIN.

NEW YORK, July, 1871.

THE WEEKLY IN EUROPE.

The enterprise of the *Herald* has disclosed the fact that Woodhull & Claflin corresponded with the late Emperor of the French and sent him their paper. More than this is true. Every monarch and potentate in Europe, and all the prominent attaches of their several governments, have been its constant readers as well as all prominent European radicals and thinkers.

It was not without cause that Kaiser Wilhelm prohibited our circulation within his realm. We have spoken too often and too plainly of the evident destiny of European affairs, and, it seems, with too much potency to please the German Emperor. It was dangerous that such notions should obtain to any extent among his subjects, and there was but one thing to be done; and that was to "stop us."

We do not remember that any other American paper has proved dangerous enough to German liberties (?) to require to be suppressed, and the *Herald's* badinage under the head of Epistolary Jumping Jacks, is quite consistent with its usual practice. We copy the letter referred to as well as that portion of the *Herald's* editorial that refers to us:

AN IRREPRESSIBLE PARTY—ONE OF THE LAST OF THE EMPEROR'S LETTERS.

WOODHULL, CLAFLIN & Co.,
Bankers and Brokers, 44 Broad street,
New York, June 16, 1870.

SIRE—We desire to offer to your Majesty the first numbers of our WEEKLY.

We hope that they will be favorably received, and that your Majesty will be good enough to read and judge them. We are making a great step forward, and we would like to secure universal approbation.

You, sire, are as wise as powerful; you can, therefore, appreciate and encourage the efforts of those who are honestly seeking to elevate their sex.

Permit us, sire, to offer our best wishes for your Majesty, the Empress and Monseigneur the Prince Imperial.

We have the honor to be, with the greatest respect and admiration, yours,

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN.

[The Herald Editorial.]

And then Woodhull & Claflin, two ladies who appear to have had sinister designs upon his Imperial Highness, sent him a few copies of "our WEEKLY," hoping he "would be good enough to read and judge them." They inform the Emperor that they are "making a great step forward" and "would like to secure universal approbation." There can be no doubt whatever that the Emperor did read and judge the great journal of woman's enfranchisement, and it is more than probable that it was the fear of Mr. Stephen Pearl Andrews' Pantarchy which drove him into the war with Prussia. It will be observed that the Woodhull & Claflin letter was dated June 16, 1870, and as it was received only a few days before hostilities began the war can only be attributed to a natural desire on the part of Napoleon to forestall Andrews as Pantarch of the Universe. In case of success he would have provided for Vic. and Tennie as he provided for Miss Montijo when he became Emperor of the French.

THE ANARCHY OF PROGRESS.

All movements, whether among peoples or things, have beginning, progress, culmination, to be followed by a transition stage which is sometimes, under peculiar conditions, almost anarchical. Exemplifications of this condition are to be found upon nearly every page of history. Every government which was ever overturned to make way for a new and better one, was succeeded by a temporary period of disorder, during which the movers therein were engaged in organizing that which was to succeed. This proposition is so plain as to render citation of cases almost unnecessary. But if they are demanded to show the inevitable working of events, to none can we point as better examples than to that of the Southern negroes.

The abolition of slavery was peculiarly a case in point, arising by the action of people not personally involved in slavery, but by those who interested themselves in it to destroy it, because they loved the truth and the right, even if in its withholding only black men suffered. Everybody knows that the close of the war left the negroes, as it were, in a strange land without the wherewith to supply their most imperative demands. In many instances the most heart-rending distress followed the boon of freedom. Thousands cursed the day of their deliverance and their delivery. They could only see the present, which was upon them with such fury. But the humane provisions of the government soon taught these "sons and daughters of toil" that they had more thoughtful and provident friends than had been their late masters. If in distress, they had but to make it known properly to be relieved.

They have now passed through the period of anarchy, without which it was impossible to reach freedom, and they now look back upon all the privations, sufferings and dangers endured as the most beneficent blessings they ever received. It would be a strange fact to find a sane negro to now say that he desired to return to slavery; that he regrets that freedom has supplanted slavery.

It must be remembered, however, that the negroes suffered about in proportion as they were prepared or unprepared to accept and take upon themselves their own responsibility. A very large proportion of the whole had, perhaps, never considered how they would proceed should their condition change to self-dependence. But those who had learned, either theoretically or by having been intrusted with certain duties, the responsibilities of dependence upon self were no charge upon government.

In this fact is seen the wisdom of preparing the public mind for any change that is certain to come, and that of those who see the impending change in preparing themselves for it.

It has been and continually is charged upon those who now advocate the social emancipation of women, that they would throw the whole of society into a state of anarchy. Well, we accept the imputation. It would be an utter impossibility for women to go from the present condition of dependence and servitude into that of full freedom and independence without passing through the transitional stage of unsettledness—well, yes, anarchy, if you will have so strong a word.

The question to be decided in this new movement for freedom is the same which was decided by the abolitionists before they entered upon the warfare to free the negro. If the decision of that question was right—was for the furtherance of the principles of truth, of justice and of equality—then the question, if anarchy shall be encountered that social freedom may come, is also answered; since if political freedom is the right of the negro, so also by parity of reasoning is social freedom the right of all people.

This is the broad and all-comprehending proposition of those who claim that it is the right of individuals to choose for themselves without being limited by law in all matters in which the rights of others are not involved. And, if to acquire that right there must come a change, partaking of the character of anarchy, then do we welcome it; aye, not only welcome, but do all that lies in our power to hasten its coming, that the better beyond may be the sooner gained.

Is the cry raised that we would destroy society? So, too, was the same cry raised against the abolitionists; and as the ultimate of that cry proved it to have been without foundation, so also will that now directed against us be proved the same. The wisdom of the abolition agitation is now admitted, and those who were the earliest champions of an unpopular cause are now regarded as having been the special servants through whom God brought freedom to the humble black citizens. They endured the same persecution that all reformers in all ages have endured; the same that all future reformers will be called upon to endure.

At one time there was no more despicable thing bearing the form of man than an abolitionist. So also is there now no greater stigma in the general esteem than that of being an abolitionist to social slavery. Was the mission for the abolishment of ownership in negro flesh and blood a heavenly one? Yes! a heavenly mission. What then should that mission be called which is for the abolishment of ownership in the flesh and blood of one-half—and that the fairest half—of all humanity, in comparison to which the first pales into insignificance. Are we reminded of the cruelties that the negroes endured? They were as molehills to mountains compared with the horrors of social slavery. Were the negroes whipped? So, too, are wives. Were negroes illy fed, clothed and housed? Sometimes. So, too, are wives.

Were negroes deprived of the just results of their labors? So, too, are wives. No indignity which the negro slave was compelled to endure but what the woman slaves endure to a thousand times greater extent. The negro slaves received their cruelties from their masters, who regarded them as simply cattle. Women slaves receive their cruelties from their masters, who have sworn to love, cherish and protect them.

It is all very well for the wives of indulgent husbands possessed of wealth, position and honors, to cry out against abolitionism. The negro slaves of kind and indulgent masters did the same thing, and actually petitioned against freedom—as do now some of the women slaves. The same inhumanitarian selfishness which could not take into consideration the cruelties that other negro slaves were the subjects of, so long as they did not suffer, now cannot take into consideration the sufferings of thousands of women slaves. Did the owners of negro slaves appropriate all their earnings? So, too, do the owners of women slaves appropriate all their earnings, frequently spending at night, in drunkenness and debauchery, what their slaves toiled all day long for, upon which to feed their famishing children. Had the negro slaves any redress? Neither have the women slaves any redress. Could the negro slave run away? Neither can the woman slave escape the clutches of the law, by which she is sold and delivered to her master.

Do you who have nothing for which to ask retort that this is an overdrawn statement? If you do, you know nothing of what is going on in your nearest neighbors' houses, or in the next street or block. If you do, you are not competent to speak until you go where the cruelties of slavery now exist, for the subjects of which you now so selfishly demand continuance in these conditions. What would it matter to you, haughty dames, if freedom should be given to those who desire it? Would you necessarily suffer thereby? Or is it only a fancy of yours, which suspects, without knowing, that things should stand still in social affairs?

There is one way that anarchy in the social world can be completely avoided, and the whole of society be forced from its present imperfect conditions to those where freedom, equality and justice shall prevail for all women as well as for all men. That is, for those who now occupy positions of honor, trust, confidence and respect to interest themselves in the conditions of those who make up the poorer conditions of life. By their aid, counsel and support given in the right direction, all the confusion of passing from social slavery to social freedom can be avoided. The principle of freedom is the spirit of progress which dwells in the universe entire, and its natural work and revolution can no more be stopped than can the torrent which the great lakes pour over Niagara. Instead of endeavoring to vainly hinder its course, wisdom teaches that all obstacles should be removed from the track it naturally pursues, that its passage may be calm, rapid and unobstructed.

The immediate and real cause of anarchy in progress, then, is not in the movements themselves, but in those things, forces and persons who attempt to hinder progress by placing, instead of removing, obstructions. If to obtain social freedom we, for a time, flounder in disorder, let it not be laid to the charge of those who seek freedom, but the rather to that of those who seek to retain present conditions. Progress is inevitable; social freedom is progress; social freedom is inevitable.

To the conservatives of the world we would say: Be ye not wise in your own conceits, lest ye hereafter find your wisdom foolishness.

THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

It is not too much to say that there has been a remarkable revolution in public opinion in regard to the right of women to the ballot since the 19th day of December, 1870, when the Woodhull Memorial was brought before Congress. Previous to that time, if any had supposed the Constitution as it is guaranteed that right to women, none had made any movement by which to secure its exercise under it to them. Suffrage advocates looked to a sixteenth amendment as the only means by which that end could be attained. Even the effort through the States was not pressed to any extent; but this, since the claim under the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments was made, has been brought into special prominence by some who would rather not have suffrage than to get it, as they facetiously style, by the "short cut" proposed by Mrs. Woodhull.

At the time of the submission of the memorial, Hon. John A. Bingham, chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, declared in the most positive manner that women were not citizens. A little consideration, after he began to frame his report, however, was sufficient to convince him that the Constitution and the law were against that proposition, and he was obliged to confess that women were citizens, in the following language: "Since the adoption of the fourteenth amendment of the Constitution, there is no longer any reason to doubt that all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State where they reside; for," as he adds, "that is the express declaration of the amendment."

To see the shifts to which Mr. Bingham and his co-signers were compelled to resort to parry the force of that admission, any one has but to read the report referred to. When

reported to the House of Representatives, it fell like a death-knell upon those who had hoped that the movement for suffrage under the Constitution would be effectually "squelched." Said some of it, "if that is the best that can be said against it, we might as well consider the case decided." This intense feeling of dissatisfaction at the prospect settled into despair, when to the weakness of Bingham was added the terrible onslaught of Butler and Loughridge's report, sustaining the memorial, which decided all unprejudiced minds that woman suffrage was a foregone conclusion; those who were constitutionally predisposed against the elevation of women from the mere appendages of men to the dignity of citizens, invested with all the privileges and duties thereof, had but one thing to do; and that they have persistently followed, and that is to completely ignore the whole subject.

In pursuit of this policy the great political journals of both parties have gone forward talking largely and defiantly of equal political rights for all citizens, just as though they could brow-beat women into the conviction that they were not entitled to be classed under that term. And they have received important assistance from professed suffragists, who look with envy upon those who, by fortuitous circumstances, have been called to the front of this movement. Such friends do not see that they are being made the tools of the designing ignorers, who look approvingly on the apparent defection in our ranks. They will, however, miss their game. Women are too sensible to be long deceived by their specious flatteries and hypocritical smiles. When the decisive time shall come, all women will be found with their shoulders to the wheel moving the great car of their elevation.

But there are other and more significant things which have occurred that point directly where this movement is drifting. When Mr. Butler gave his support to it, we would not for a moment leave it to be inferred that he did so for the simple reason that it was right; although we have no doubt that upon this score he would have reported as he did. He saw that it was right, and was far too sagacious a statesman to be caught opposing a thing that was sure to be successful in the end. He knew that the public pulse of this country always responds to truth and justice, and that to take the initiative in the matter was to secure to himself all the advantages that would legitimately flow from so radical a change in our political status.

With Messrs. Butler and Loughridge, it is known, there were seventy-nine Congressmen who would have voted in favor of the memorial. It is also fair to conclude, had the matter been brought to a direct vote, that the wide range of discussion which would have occurred would have brought many more to its support. Thus none can certainly determine the exact strength of this cause in Congress, any more than they can its strength among the people.

Before the rebellion fired upon Sumter, thousands of people there were in the Northern States who, though anti-slavery in sentiment, would not have taken any active interest in any movement to abolish slavery. But when the guns of Charleston reverberated through the North none were more ready to rally to the defense of the Union than were these same thousands, and none more determined that the war should not end and leave the "institution" in existence.

So also will it be in this movement for suffrage for all who by the Constitution are designated to be citizens. When the test shall be applied friends by the millions will spring up in places where it is least expected to find them; for if you "scratch the head" of a true radical you will be sure to find a person favoring freedom, equity and justice.

The manner in which the public press placed the subject before the public, under the stimulus of the first blush of successful prophecy, and under the uncertainty lest the bold movement was to be immediately triumphant and they should be found upon the wrong side of the fence, has gained for it very much more candid consideration than any careless observation would acknowledge. The common people have canvassed the matter at their firesides and over their work, and the accustomed merry squad of country-town politicians have dissected it

"O'er and o'er again."

until there is not a person living within the whole country but knows something of the meaning and the intention of the Woodhull Memorial.

Our prediction regarding the Democratic party is being more fully verified every day. "The New Departures" are transferring the people who occupied the old Democratic policies and positions into first-class radicals. So rapidly is this flank movement being executed on the Republican party that its generals are stupefied into inaction. They are utterly confounded. Their natural enemies before their very eyes have captured their main positions, and they have nothing left to do but to either fraternize with them or to "move on" and take up advanced ground and anew oppose their life-long opponents.

To hesitate just as the decisive time has arrived is to suffer defeat. Nevertheless, the Republican party hesitates while the Democracy is planning an expedition to doubly outflank them and to get completely in their rear, and thus cut off the retreat upon Equality, which has so long been the base of Republican operations.

Is it asked what are the indications of this new movement of the Democratic party? We reply:

While this question was pending in Congress last winter, Judge Woodward, of Pennsylvania, although opposed to

woman suffrage, voluntarily acknowledged that women were entitled to vote under the Constitution as it is, and called attention to the act of May 31, 1870, as sufficient to compel officers of elections to permit women to register and vote. We need not point out the position which Judge Woodward occupies as an authority in the Democratic party. That is well known by everybody, and the fact that he should thus accept the situation was one of great significance.

But the matter did not come to a vote in Congress, and the uneasy ones began to breathe freely again; and no stir among the Democrats was noticeable until they began to look about for an issue, to find they absolutely had none, and to learn that one must be improvised to suit the demands of the occasion. Mr. Vallandigham, among the Ohio Democrats, comprehended the situation, and moved the full acceptance of the logical results of the amendments to the Constitution, which the Republicans have not yet done. He contended stoutly, during a stormy session of three days' duration, that prohibition of sex in suffrage was unjust and unconstitutional, and that the Democratic party, in making that issue, would become "the party of progress and of advanced ideas" which the Republican party had pretended to be for so long a time.

Though supported by three associates, it did not carry in the committee. But the true issue was thus projected upon the Democratic party. Now, Hon. Michael Kerr, representative from Indiana, comes out in a long letter to Hon. Jeremiah S. Black, which letter is indorsed by the latter gentleman, in which, after enumerating the evils the country has suffered at the instance of Radical rule, he says:

These truths and evils are, in a greater or less degree, understood, felt and confessed by nearly all intelligent citizens. Almost all virtuous and patriotic men throughout the country, without distinction of political relations, desire reform. The country cannot, without fearful danger, endure existing conditions many years more. To suffer our government much longer, without check, to run in these grooves of despotic power and unrestrained vice, will most grievously, if not fatally, imperil our institutions and our liberties. In my judgment, therefore, a change, a victory in 1872 over these unwise, selfish and reckless leaders, has become a supreme necessity alike to the country and friends of constitutional government and of reform.

Why, then, do such men hesitate to co-operate with us? Are they afraid to trust the Democratic party in the exercise of power? It appears to me that their hesitation is the result of a fear—unjust and ill-founded I agree—that, if the Democratic party were again restored to the practical control of the general government, it would become a reactionary or, in some sense, a revolutionary party. They fear chiefly that it does not in good faith accept the Constitution as it is, with the fundamental and fixed results of the late struggle embodied in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments.

What are those results? Stated without reference to the chronological order, they are:

1. The perpetual abolition of slavery.
2. The counting of all ex-slaves, instead of three-fifths only, in making a basis for the apportionment of representation in Congress.
3. The equality of civil rights to citizens of all races and colors.
4. The inviolable character of the Federal public debt.
5. The perpetual invalidity of all the Confederate debts.
6. The sacredness of pensions and bounties.
7. The disqualifications of certain persons to hold office, unless relieved therefrom by Congress.
8. The equality of all citizens in political rights and privileges, including suffrage.
9. And certain inhibitions on the States and negative guarantees, chiefly declaratory in more specific terms of the pre-existing law of the land.

Such, it appears to me, are the legal and constitutional pith and marrow of those amendments. To the manner in which all those propositions were ratified, and to the substance of only a few of them, the Democratic party, upon the highest grounds of public policy and personal conviction, were opposed. So far as they made opposition on either ground, they were prompted by no spirit of faction or revolution, but simply by a fervent desire to vindicate the true principles of our government, and to maintain the integrity and purity of our institutions. But these several propositions have been declared to be legally and constitutionally ratified; they are so accepted and executed by every department of the government, and to every State in the Union, and they are resisted by none. They have been acquiesced in by no portion of the country more promptly than by the Democratic party and by Democratic States. Practical acquiescence by all classes of the people is now general and complete. Radical leaders almost alone now abuse and execrate their provisions. Convictions in most minds are perhaps unchanged, and await the results of experience to determine their correctness or error. But resistance by violence, or by reactionary policy, is contemplated by no party. The policy of wisdom and patriotism looks alone to the future and to peaceful, just and honorable reform. Such I understand to be the true policy of the Democratic party.

I am utterly unable to perceive that any party can accomplish any good end by refusing to accept and execute in good faith these amendments as parts of the Constitution. Just political action now requires, and the welfare of the country demands, that all good citizens shall cease to fight the past or the inevitable, and turn to the pregnant future, and consider and cultivate its mighty issues, and struggle for reform, for effective and thorough reform, by strictly peaceful and legitimate means, in cheerful subordination to the Constitution as amended. It would be to the infinite advantage of the country if the practical enforcement of that Constitution were committed to men who would respect its limitations, and only execute it, with all its amendments, according to the true letter and spirit of all its provisions, fully, kindly and firmly, without revolutionary excesses or violent and strained constructions, or mean and mischievous partisan purposes.

Therefore, I think if there ever was any ambiguity in the positions of our great party upon these questions, it is time to remove it. Let all men be henceforth assured that we accept the past, embrace in our allegiance the Constitution with

its fifteen amendments, intend to obey and execute the entire instrument in good faith, firmly and cheerfully, and to look to the future for reform through the agency alone of peaceful and lawful means, and thus vindicate the glorious record of our party in the past for conservatism, faithful obedience of the Constitution, the vigorous maintenance of law and order, and ready compliance with the reasonable requirements of intelligent popular sentiment.

Thus speaks one of the most talented, honorable and just men of whom the Democratic party can boast, to one of the ablest jurists of the country, who fully indorses all that is said. And what is said that chiefly concerns the present occasion? "That the policy of the Democratic party is to accept the results of the late amendments to the Constitution as a part of the supreme law of the land, and to execute them according to the true letter and spirit of all their provisions, fully, kindly and firmly," and states as one of their results, "8, The equality of all citizens in political rights and privileges, including the suffrage." If any doubt that Mr. Kerr, in using the term "all citizens," did not intend to include women, they have only to refer to the introductory paragraph to the majority report above quoted, in which Mr. Kerr joined as one of the Judiciary Committee, and cannot, therefore, be supposed to speak so pointedly upon so important a subject at so important a time without knowing the full import of his words. This report says that there is no longer any reason to doubt that women are citizens, and Mr. Kerr says it is the policy of the Democratic party to accept "the equality of all citizens in political rights, including suffrage." Could language render the meaning more clear? Evidently not.

That the Democratic party do really intend to accept the legitimate result of the citizenship of women is made still more evident by the rather remarkable editorials that have been appearing in the most sagacious, if not the acknowledged leading organ of the Democratic party, the *New York World*. These editorials have most clearly and unmistakably shown that there is no escaping what we have claimed as the result of the Fourteenth Amendment relating to citizenship; and that is, that it was the intention and effect of the amendment to take the entire control of citizenship out of the hands of the States, and that such is the result. Consequently, that all State laws which pretend to limit the rights of citizens are null and void. (See last number for the full text of the editorial referred to.)

It is an old saying that straws indicate which way the wind blows. We should say that these indications are considerably more than straw indications, and that they really show to what the Democratic party is tending.

Upon the opposite side we find a similar movement among the Republicans, and probably a more extensive undercurrent than exists as yet among the Democracy. Many leading Republicans are known to favor woman suffrage, as well as many of their journals. But they have not yet spoken out—are probably waiting for an organized party movement in that direction.

General Grant is privately in favor of the movement, and is strongly supported by Mrs. Grant. And the recent positive stand taken by Senator Morton in favor of female suffrage as the only way to ameliorate the condition of the working-women, is of so significant a character that it nearly amounts to the declaration of the policy of the party. Old Ben Wade has also declared in his usual forcible manner that women are entitled to vote under the amendments. Senator Trumbull also said, in his Fourth of July oration, that woman suffrage was inevitable, and must be granted whenever asked for. When to all this we add the fact that one of the planks in the platform upon which General Butler will run for Governor of Massachusetts is for woman suffrage, and that suffrage has the support of such journals as the *Boston Evening Traveller* and the *Springfield Republican*, we may safely conclude that "sex in politics" is already a great if not a determining power.

In view of all these things, and also in view of the general desire among suffrage advocates that the issue shall be quickly decided and women accorded their just and constitutional rights, we again ask the question, shall there be disunion in the ranks of those who should be united for woman suffrage when the crisis arrives, as it has now arrived. By a judicious use of the power we now possess, our rights can be acknowledged in time for us to participate in the next Presidential election, which we cannot afford, in the present political condition, to abandon by default.

No divisions in the ranks of the Republican or Democratic parties ever occur on account of religious or social grounds. Why should women split politically upon those issues? The obtaining or withholding of suffrage will not in the least affect the spread of the desire for freedom and equality socially. Hence we do not see what there is to be gained by repudiating those in the suffrage movement who advocate, besides suffrage, radical social theories. Not long since all spiritualists were repudiated and discountenanced. The injudiciousness of that course was soon discovered, for it came to be known that nearly all spiritualists were in favor of suffrage; neither will it now do to repudiate that large class, one of whose principal doctrines is the elevation of woman.

All branches of reform should unite to obtain equal suffrage, and if the labor party would become vitalized, they too must inscribe woman suffrage upon their banners.

Such unity of action as the advocates of suffrage should now show, would at once compel the political parties to adopt the issue.

Such are the signs of the times.

THE LESSON OF THE RIOT.

Almost the entire press of the country has, we think, failed to get at the true relations which the late riot and its accompanying conditions bear to republican liberty. In their devotion to and affection for the mere form of expression, have they not failed to properly distinguish between liberty and despotism, or at least between liberty and anarchy?

Let us suppose that there lived in New York ten thousand persons who were members of the Confederate armies, who fought and conquered the Union armies at the first or second battle of Bull Run, Chancellorsville, Fredericksburg or Chickamauga, and that they, to commemorate such event, should assemble in yearly parades, flaunting their banners, containing all imaginable mottoes to depict their victories and to cast reproach upon their defeated opponents in the very faces of living friends of those thousands who yielded their lives upon these bloody fields, as well as in the faces of those who endured them and escaped with their lives—would they be tolerated? or would freedom suffer should they be suppressed?

It is such a fine way to test a thing, to "put yourself in his place," and precisely in such a condition as we depict do the Orangemen stand related to Catholics. If the people who suffered in any of the great defeats that our armies sustained in the war for the Union were placed in the situation of the Catholics, to whom the Orangemen parading to commemorate the victory gained at the Battle of the Boyne is distasteful, would they not become rioters and endeavor to suppress the "Rebels?"

But the error of the last 12th of July lies not so much in Superintendent Kelso for forbidding the parade, nor yet in Governor Hoffman for his action in countermarching it and offering protection, but in the failure of the proper authorities and powers to provide for an emergency which the events of the preceding year made almost certain would ensue. The matter should not have been deferred until a day or two previous to the anniversary. It should have been fully provided for. If protection were to be extended to the Orangemen, proclamation should have been made and published in all the city papers, warning everybody of the danger of either being near or of interfering in any manner whatever with the procession.

Had the killed and wounded been confined to the ranks of the rioters, there would be little cause for regret. But to have not only innocent men, but also inoffensive women and children, slain in cold blood, who had no idea of the danger they were incurring, seems to us to be a rather dear price to pay for such liberty as permits the maintenance of feuds, centuries old, in which, if the other party had been original victors, the present paraders would have been the rioters.

There is no anniversary that is celebrated which bears the complexion of this one of the Battle of the Boyne; and it is the failure to make this, as we think, most proper distinction, that has led the public press into such expressions and laudations of liberty and of the freedom of the country, and to such bitter denunciation of the action of Mayor Hall and Superintendent Kelso, which, under the circumstances that there had been no proper precautionary measures provided, and of the suddenly threatening attitude assumed by the Catholic element, which promised wholesale butchery, was, in our estimation, both prudent and wise.

If we do not seriously mistake, what will occur before another anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne will fully justify all that we have said about the matter; if indeed the sober second thought of the better part of the community does not already do so.

The *Times* has long threatened to expose the venality and corruption of city officials, and has at last fired its big gun. The motives of the *Times* may be very patriotic, or they may be very interested. The *Leader*, Mayor Hall's organ, says the *Times*' philippics are prompted by venomous envy and disappointment at not getting a slice of the plunder, and that its virtue is only that of the would-be thief, who is disgusted at the success of his "pals." Whatever the animus, the fact remains of vast taxation, vast nominal outlay, and very little visible result except this, that whereas the salaries of public officers are moderate, even mean, the officials, with a few honorable exceptions, get rich rapidly, some of them inordinately rich. Tweed, Connolly, Sweeny—but why go through the roll—certainly did not save their fortunes from official salaries, nor is it believed that they have made money by the ordinary operations of trade or speculation. That there are richer placers and lodes in the municipal government of our great cities than in all the mines of California or Arizona is beyond all doubt. But what are we going to do about it?

Mrs. JULIA WARD HOWE was engaged recently to lecture in the hall of the Alfred University; but some old fogies who have the woman's rights phobia bad, according to the *Hornellsville Times*, threatened to change their wills and withhold from the university their contemplated gifts of \$25,000 if Mrs. Howe was permitted to lecture! So Mrs. Howe went to Hornellsville, where, according to the *Times*, she delivered "a lecture of rare literary merit, pure and noble in sentiment, and practical and useful in suggestions."

The contemptible and pusillanimous conduct of men shown in such cases as the above is becoming of altogether too frequent occurrence to longer pass unnoticed. Any man

could have had Alfred Hall, but though Mrs. Howe was to deliver a lecture which the *Hornellsville Times* denominates "a lecture of rare literary merit," she could not gain admission thereto without endangering prospective bequests from old foggy gentlemen.

But the Hall of the Alfred University is not the only Hall that has this disease, for which we are almost at a loss for a name. The Young Men's Christian Association of this city have a rather fine Hall, which they call Association Hall. It is so very fine and exclusive that the Executive Committee have, as we are informed, adopted a resolution to allow no woman to speak therein and no man upon the woman question. Verily are the men who constitute that Executive Committee of the salt of the earth, worthy to give flavor and to season the public mind of a country which boasts of a Free Press and of Free Speech. We understand, however, that these gentlemen, whose piety sometimes outruns the discretion of the law, have been compelled to yield their proscriptive plans. Some time ago Mrs. Roberts made application for the Hall to deliver a lecture to working-women. At first it was denied; but knowing her rights under the law, she insisted, and they were compelled to yield.

A few days since the hall was denied to Mrs. Woodhull, who desired it in which to deliver a speech on the "Principles of Finance." As she did not care to spend her time to insist upon the rights of the question under the law, she changed to the Cooper Institute.

So it seems that a woman is to be proscribed by this pious Young Men's Christian Association simply because she is a woman, and in utter disregard of the subject upon which she is to speak. If this is to be so, we shall at least have the pleasure of complimenting these Christians upon their Christ-like spirit of tolerance, as well as upon their extreme gallantry to women, if not the pleasure of listening to any of our women orators in their hall.

VANDERBILT.

[From the New York Mail.]

Fancy a gentleman of six feet in his stockings, and neither slender nor heavy, yet erect as an Apollo, and you have Vanderbilt, probably the most magnificent example of Americanism in manhood ever quoted as its physical representative. There is the unfailing fur-bordered overcoat, too, which, with its owner, has been subjected to the penalty of one of the worst bronzes ever perpetrated, just because Albert Degroot has an inclination to toadyism. One's first impression of Vanderbilt is that he is a man of steel, and there is a steely glint in his grayish blue eyes that re-enforces the impression.

His face is Grecian in its cuttings, and as cold, impassive and fixed as a cameo—having no equal in this respect, with the possible exception of that of Horace B. Claflin; and sternness, even to the climax of the imperative, marks every word and motion—crops out in the put down of the foot, as well as in the set expression of the rather thin lips. Talks very little; walks with a firm, elastic gait, setting down his foot at every step as if he would say, "Stay there till I wake you up again." Is addicted to whist, and handles the cards almost with the skill of a professional.

THE RIOT consequences having been ascertained and duly noted, the controversy is gradually dying out for want of fuel. It is well settled that there was blundering or wire-pulling somewhere. The great point having been to defend Americanism without offending the foreign vote. The common-sense decision has been reached by Americans that we have nothing here to do with exploded foreign prejudices and party hatreds; and that citizens of the United States, whatever their birthplace, cannot with impunity butt against law and order. Let us have peace.

THE *Globe* says that the *Star* says that but for the "devilish services" of Louis J. Jennings, now managing editor of the *New York Times*, the late Henry J. Raymond might have been alive and well to-day. This reads horribly libelous. But the *Star* is so truthful.

[For Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly.]

"HE IS DEAD."

See how still his hand lies on his breast—
And death—that long and dreamless rest
Is over his lips and eyelids pressed.
His pulse for hours has ceased to beat,
Cold and motionless lie his feet;
The lips are silent—that were so sweet.
Take from my sight his playthings,
His blocks, and puzzle with its many rings,
The battledore, with its feathered wings.
Take all the toys his hands have pressed,
Let them be covered with the silent rest
Of which "my Charlie" is now possessed.
For no more through my life's days
Can I ever touch or my eyes gaze
Upon those toys that made his plays.
I have heard of mildew, frost and blight
That destroyed the harvest fields in a night,
Henceforth for me, "the fields lie white."

ISABELL.

HEARTS may be attracted by assumed qualities, but the affections are only to be fixed by those that are real.

SEA-WEED.

BY LONGFELLOW.

When descends on the Atlantic
The gigantic
Storm-wind of the equinox,
Landward in his wrath he scourges
The toiling surges,
Laden with sea-weed from the rocks;

From Bermuda's reefs; from edges
Of sunken ledges,
In some far-off, bright Azore;
From Bahama, and the dashing,
Silver-flashing
Surges of San Salvador;

From the tumbling surf, that buries
The Orkneyan skerries
Answering the hoarse Hebrides;
And from the wrecks of ships, and drifting
Spars, uplifting
On the desolate, rainy seas;—

Ever drifting, drifting, drifting
On the shifting
Currents of the restless main;
Till in sheltered coves and reaches
Of sandy beaches
All have found repose again.

So when storms of wild emotion
Strike the ocean
Of the poet's soul, ere long
From each cave and rocky fastness,
In its vastness,
Floats some fragment of a song;

From the far-off isles enchanted
Heaven has planted
With the golden fruit of Truth;
From the dashing surf whose vision
Gleams elysian
In the tropic clime of Youth;

From the strong Will and the Endeavor
That forever
Wrestles with the tide of Fate;
From the wreck of hopes far-scattered,
Tempest-shattered,
Floating waste and desolate;

Ever drifting, drifting, drifting
On the shifting
Current of the restless heart;
Till at length in books recorded,
They, like hoarded
Household words, no more depart.

MY FRIENDS AND I.

CHAPTER IV.

When I was a marriageable young man, now some years ago, we had a kind of sociable club composed of a score of friends of both sexes. Our design was mutual amusement and cultivation. The cultivation, except for purposes of amusement, became soon a secondary and finally an obliterated object. The amusement portion of our programme obtained in the organization as long as my connection with it lasted; and, if in existence, the club may still have that as its object. My connection with this body—self-styled "The Raspers"—was brought to a close by one of those accidents which overtake young men who lack the moral courage to act up to the strict letter of honesty. There are a thousand and one little occurrences in everyone's life when some petty pride or false fear leads us to act, not in a downright dishonest manner, but in such a way as to evade the strictly honest course. Such acts lead us into some of the most difficult positions, from which only the lie direct or an equivalent will extricate us.

We were in the habit of making up for our own amusement an illustrated paper in manuscript, which was read and circulated during our meetings. In this the peculiarities of our friends and acquaintances, as well as some gentle touches upon the weak points of some of our own members, were depicted with pen or pencil; and our enjoyment was much increased thereby.

Among the members was a young lady, the niece of the old professor at whose house we most frequently met. After frequent meetings in society, the professor's niece began to assume in my mind a new position. It could not be doubted that I was looked upon by the family with more than usual kindness, for I was made welcome at all times, and earnestly entreated to make my visits as frequent as my inclination dictated. This very soon made me a constant visitor upon club evenings, and others when none but the family were in. It would be a most unusual occurrence if a young man could visit the house which sheltered even a single young lady or a young single lady, in this our present state of society, continuously for any length of time without some, at least, of the public knowing much more of the real state of his case than he would know, if, as in my case, modesty and bashfulness were qualities gracing him.

I came to be very closely questioned by my relatives, especially by a half score or less of my aunts, who, having failed to secure to themselves that necessary complement to woman's existence, a husband, considered themselves all the more capable of assisting others in this delicate duty of choosing a companion for life. I never met one of them

but they asked me when I would bring the young lady around, so they could judge of her fitness for the station she was to occupy as one of our family. Our family! What is the use of all the world setting themselves and theirs up as the especial receptacles of all that is genteel, as the sole possessors of all the graces and other estimable qualities which have been conferred upon the race. If there is a most supremely mean trait in the character of some of our mothers and of those who have never sustained that relation to the world, it is that continual charging of the young minds brought under their influence with the necessity of their conducting themselves with strict propriety because they are to uphold the family name above that of their neighbors. The other day I overheard a warm dispute between a pair of six-year-old girls upon the possession by one of them of another dress than that then in wearing, which, from the dilapidated condition, testified most powerfully in favor of the possession of one to replace it. Now, what ought these little girls to care how many dresses their playfellows have at home? and how much would they care, if their elders had not taken special pains to impress such ideas upon their young minds? Mothers, if you are incapable of imparting to your children thoughts that will make them better and happier, leave their youthful minds blank, for the cold outer world will do better than you.

My aunts left no stone unturned to secure a sight of the one, report said, was to be Isaiah's wife. As many as half a dozen parties at the houses of relatives and friends were engineered successfully so far as the enjoyment of the invited company was concerned, but quite unsatisfactorily to the designers, for all their finesse failed to bring out the young lady object of their curiosity.

One evening I secured a box at Niblo's and invited the family of the professor to occupy it with me. We had not been long seated before a titter from the girls in the front chairs gave notice that our club propensities were at work upon the peculiarities of some of the audience.

I soon learned from the stooping of those in front of me that something fit for the sharpening of the wit of some of the liveliest young ladies of the Rasper Club was in the tier above, upon the opposite side of the house. From my seat in the back of the box I was unable to judge for myself, but the remarks which reached me from the front seats gave proof that there was soft material for the Raspers, and it was not long before a mass of comparisons, opinions and extravaganzas were shorn from the unfortunates, who seemed to have taken the trouble to place themselves in a most conspicuous position. After the first act one of the cousins insisted that I should exchange seats with her so that I could see the objects of our fun. Although objecting to rob the young lady of the enjoyment of her front seat, for she was dressed with great good taste, yet I could not resist the importunities of the company, especially as it brought me to the side of the niece of the professor.

The movement of our change of seats brought the attention of the food for the Raspers to our box, and before I had taken my chair, there was such a bobbing of heads that one of the young men behind me said, "What! do you know them, Isaiah? Or is it me to whom they are bowing?" I turned my eyes up to the point, which I had learned from its being the focus of all the eyes in the box, and there began again such a bobbing of heads in the most comical of all head-dresses, and the calling of attention from one to the other, and the leaning out over the front of the box and over the shoulders of those in front, that the whole house turned to that box in the upper tier, just opposite to ours. It was a sight to make me sick; perspiration started from every pore in my body, and it seemed as if a new set of perforations had been made expressly for the occasion; large drops clung to my forehead, and small streams laved both sides of my ears. There, looking down upon me with pleased grins of recognition, were five of my aunts, dressed in all of the various antiquated styles that pleased femininity from Semiramis to Mary of the Scots; some of their clothing was evidently borrowed from Mr. Barnum's mummies, and a sprinkling of modern fancies set off the whole to a degree never before equaled, if ever attempted.

This was the time that my moral courage failed me; rather than become an object for the Raspers' sharp wit, or to occasion the young ladies any regrets for their excessive levity at the expense of my most respectable maiden relatives, I covered my conscience with my short vision, and expressed great desire to know who were the frights half-smothered in ribbons and ruffles. Satisfied that the salutations were not intended for me, the wag of a fellow behind assumed their ownership, and commenced such a flirtation with his handkerchief that it was evident to any observer the discarded figure-heads in the upper box had found friends in ours.

When fully recovered from my first discomfiture, I began to plan means of getting out in safety. I detained my company until sure that my five evil geniuses had made their exit. But what was my supreme frustration, while we were assisting the ladies to adjust their extra garments, to see my five aunts in single file, headed by Aunt Jenima, apparently seeking their way out as if they did not really know which door led to the street. If the power had been mine, with some fairy's wand, to have sunk them all ten feet into the earth, they would have troubled no other nephew of theirs; or if, with the same, I could have sunk myself, the family difficulties of the Sleepers would have had no chronicler. But when one cannot do as one will, endurance is the quali-

ty most serviceable. The five fossiliferous specimens of the last past generations filed past us as if they saw no one till the fourth in the file chanced to turn her head, when, with an exclamation of surprise well feigned, she cried out to the rest: "Why, here is Isaiah!" and, as if commanded by a corporal, the file wheeled; and there face to face were the occupants of the two boxes, and between them the poor victim of the adverse fates, immolated upon an altar of his own rearing. My aunts must signalize their first introduction to my friends with a page or two of extravagant encomiums upon the good qualities of their nephew, and one of them threw in a side remark to another so loud that the niece of the Professor must hear, no doubt with the best intentions, that Isaiah would make any woman a most excellent husband.

I was not conscious of anything further that night, but some days after I saw an illustration of that part of Scandinavian mythology which gives us as veritable history of that most unnatural condition in which the young god Heimdal found himself, surrounded by his seven mothers. My mirror told me that the figure representing the happy little god was a good likeness of myself. My connection with the Raspers terminated then.

PAPERS FOR THE PEOPLE.

SCRIPTURALISM.

"But the day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up."—2d Peter, iii., 10.

An idea of general terrestrial change conceived in the earliest crudities of man's religious nature, given birth to and fashioned into gradual shape by the tendency to exaggeration of his faculty of imagination.

Even amid the philosophic effulgence of divine science in the nineteenth century, cast upon the life necessity of all of nature's commotions and disturbances, there are thousands of minds yet so enslaved with the ignorance of superstition that they look with awe and tremble at the sudden appearance of a comet, an eclipse, or any great change in the heavens—volcanic eruptions, tornadoes, or earthquakes in the earth. They behold omens, prodigies, miracles in nature's life concerning changes which to the philosopher are so fraught with life lessons of beauty and pleasure.

How much greater, then, must have been the dread and alarm of the human race when in its infancy it beheld the terrible commotion, prodigious upheavings and widespread devastation amid nature's more crude and rugged enfoldments. Floods of subterranean fire belching forth through the flaming throats of numerous craters, spread destruction and dismay on every side. Seas suddenly upheaved, and breaking from their former limits have rolled in frightful volumes over the globe, dashing millions of human beings to destruction, carrying off entire nations, and submerging whole continents.

How imbecile yet profound the awe with which the survivors looked back on all these vast, and to them mysterious commotions. How easy and perfectly natural to attribute their cause to a supernatural power, a power to be dreaded, provoked, or appeased. Hence the system of religious sacrifices, of personal prostration or humiliation in the presence of some supposed deity; of gifts, presents, &c. And how easy the conclusion in the mind whose ignorance and fears were thus wrought upon by flood and fire, elements, forces, which appeared to prolong and strengthen themselves by swallowing and feeding upon surrounding life, until eventually these absorbing powers would increase sufficiently to encompass in destruction all creation, reducing it to, mahap, its original condition, the entire universe.

Upon one of the earlier convulsions of our system we here transcribe, more for its novelty than otherwise, the conclusion arrived at by P. B. Randolph. On page 135 of Pre-adamite man, he says: "Upon geological, astronomical and other grounds, I have reached the conclusion that at a period not less than 42,000 years ago there occurred the most tremendous event the earth ever passed through. It is known that the planets of the solar system are interdependent and mutually connected; and from researches conducted for long years, I conclude that some time between the period named and 58,600 years since the planet of this system, then revolving on its axis in an orbit between those of Mars and Jupiter, burst asunder—scattered into a million fragments, the larger ones now constituting the asteroids, and named Juno, Vesta, Pallas, Ceres and so on, to the number of a hundred or more, and smaller bits of which are now revolving at greater or less distances, in a track or belt, so situated as to be crossed by the earth from the 10th to the 24th of every November, at which time we are visited by showers of meteoric stones, attracted there by the globe, and which fragments once formed part of the now shattered world.

"As the result of this bursting, I conceive that this earth suddenly changed its axis and its angle toward the ecliptic pole; the Sun melted the ice at the earth's poles; the melted mass in the earth's bowels became disturbed and it vomited forth fire and flame from a hundred volcanic mouths; and strombolic craters rained down fire enough to burn a thousand cities; earthquakes rent the globe almost asunder;

scores of Asiatic, European, African and American cities, people, nations, were hurled into fires and watery graves; the Atlantis Island sunk to rise no more; the great lake of Central Africa was drained; the British Islands were riven from Continental Europe; the vast region of Africa, between the sixteenth and thirty-fourth parallels of latitude, and now known as Zahara, was upheaved from the bottom of the Salt Sea; the Hesperidon Lake of Diodorus Siculus, situate in Africa's heart, ceased to be; the regions of the Atlas and the Soudan were tossed up from briny depths; the Arabian Peninsula, the deserts of Shur, Sin and Tibia, the salt Kuveers of Persia, the prairies and deserts of America, and the sterile steppes of Russia, Tartary and Siberia appeared with all their dreary majesty and horror on the world's surface. By this convulsion, Japan was torn from China, the Caribbean Islands wrenched from Columbia's main, and the Greek Archipelago was brought into being. The climates of whole continents and zones were changed; men and animals in countless millions perished, and the entire face of nature assumed an altered aspect. I have myself picked up many a sea-shell and fossil tooth on Zahara's burning sands, miles and miles away from the sea coast. I believe I have handled things fashioned by the hands of men who lived before that awful rain fell on the earth. I believe that the Cyclopean structures of Etruria pertain to men who were on earth at that period; and that Palenque, Ladhak, Copan, Uxmal, Robah, Chichen and Buzco are American remnants of that terrible devastation. * * * * Death rode in many and mighty chariots in that awful day, and men and animals perished by sulphuric, nitrogenic and carboniferous blasts—those alone escaping who occupied peculiar localities. That climates changed at that time is proved by the bones of tropical animals and the remains of tropical plants now found in frozen regions; and the plants and remains of northern fauna now exhumed from tropical graves. I do not say that all these things were so; I merely affirm that, to me, they seem to appeal and cling to reasoning and reasonable minds with all the force of revelation.

Early Egypt—the land where slavery and luxury seem to be twin-born—though looked upon by many as the cradle of civilization, yet was it a soil prolific of many religious and mischievous errors. Still, scientific research has effectually proven that at the date of the appearance of the Jewish emancipator on the scene, much of Egyptian civilization and splendor had been antedated thousands of years by nations who had gone down amid our globe's convulsions into silence and night, and whose identity, traceable in no written history, could only be derived from some remnants of their stupendous works of art which the ruthless tooth of time had not quite devoured; some fossil or other remains.

And yet it was the softening influences of Egyptian luxury and learning, derived from anterior nations, which prepared Moses to become the leader and religious teacher to Jewish freedmen, whom, after having endured an afflictive bondage of some four hundred years, he led forth to become another and a peculiar nation. And, educated as he was, amid the legislators and priests of the Pharaohs, it is rational to expect the religious nature of Moses would absorb at least some of their peculiar notions and ideas. And some of them the crudest, hence we find him representing his God as saying:

"To me belongeth vengeance; a fire is kindled in mine anger and shall burn unto the lowest hell, and shall consume the earth with her increase, and set on fire the foundations of the mountains."

Others of the Jewish prophets make frequent allusion to the approach of the great day of the Lord. A day of clouds and thick darkness. A day unlike all other days, and for which all other days have been made. The great and notable day of the Lord, a day of vengeance and recompense; day of redemption as well as of terrible punishment, a day on which, according to Isaiah's notion, "the heavens shall vanish away like smoke, and the earth shall wax old like a garment, and they that dwell therein shall die in like manner."

Now all this is simply a continuation of the same notion, from generation to generation and from nation to nation. Sometimes elaborated and frightfully embellished, and oftentimes greatly exaggerated. But the learned among the Egyptians, their philosophers and priests, far more lenient toward the follies and shortcomings of the people than "Second Advent" fatalists of these days, put far off the so-called evil day, and fixed the time of their "great year" at thirty-six thousand and five hundred and twenty-five years. Another class of philosophers among the Sabeans calculated it to thirty-six thousand four hundred and twenty-five. Others extended the period of terrible dissolution and changes to one hundred thousand, and still others to seven hundred and fifty-three thousand years.

Calculation arrived at by their observations of the necessary motions of our globe; for, besides the diurnal and sensible motion of the earth, it also has one extremely slow, almost imperceptible, by which, says Mirabeau, "everything must be changed in it; this is the motion from whence depends the precession of the equinoctial points observed by Hipparchus and other mathematicians, now well understood by astronomers." Change—transformatory, natural change—is the inevitable destiny of all things, and man cannot reasonably expect to be exempt from so natural a necessity. But why should there be such a continual wail and howl kept up about it as too many demented moderns make? Our beautiful and well-regulated globe has passed through many and, to human

feelings, very frightful revolutionary changes, and still survives to continue the beautifully improving progress. Fire and water we know to be elements of vast purifying powers, and if these two forces are to be employed in cleansing and beautifying our world when that great and notable day of the Lord comes like a thief in the night (queer talk), whether it be a day of twenty-four hours, or, according to the eight-hour system, a day of a thousand years—"for a day with the Lord is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day"—reckons time not by figures on the dial, but by heart throbs, the regular aspirations for progress and improvement of universal nature, good deeds, etc., or perhaps he takes no note of time at all. To him 'tis all "one eternal now." Still, be this as it may, before the arrival of that notable day, the great Cosmopolitan party of America having inaugurated their benign government and proven it most happily successful, why, we will be content then to go down amid the "wreck of matter and the crush of worlds," perhaps unhurt. At any rate, our fears are not very great that we shall fare much worse than thousands of others who are basely attempting to escape the expected ruin by clinging to and "going up" on the skirts of another on that day.

REICHNER.

[For Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly.]

SECOND LOVE.

No more through halls forsaken, vainly calling
Upon the lost, shall wailing nightwinds roam,
No more the hopeless grief my soul entralling
Thy solitude shall nurse my lonely home.

A joyous presence shall disperse the sadness
That from the grave, deep-mantling, o'er thee falls,
And the sweet stronger hope, and innocent gladness
Shall chase the spectral shadows from thy walls.

The current of my soul, no longer frozen
To all below, leaps to the sunbeam forth
Of a successful love; my newly chosen
Shall re-unite me to my kindred earth.

For woman's voice, in measures sweetly thrilling
Hath o'er my re-awakened senses stole,
And dreams of wedded bliss again are filling
The late lorn, haunted chambers of my soul.

And they are haunted still! to memory's aiding
Thou com'st—thou'rt there in thine accustomed seat
My lost, my sepulchred! whose meek, upbraiding,
Yet loving gaze, my spirit shrinks to meet.

Then as of yore! when from the world retreating,
I to the fireside, blest and happy then,
Brought, for the healing of thy tender greeting,
A spirit chafed by intercourse with men.

No longer, to oppose their base designing,
A vexed and goaded combatant I strove;
But yielded, on that faithful heart reclining,
To the pure savor of its guileless love.

Why shrink I? for this long dissolved communion,
Did I not yearn, as but the true heart may?
And for a final and a blest re-union
Through many years, a ceaseless mourner, pray?

I have not wronged thee! by thy approval, dwelling
Like light upon that shadowy lip and brow,
And by the vain and deathless yearning swelling
Throughout my laboring spirit, even now.

Ah, faded vision! striving to re-awaken
The sorrow that may never more depart;
I am again the lonely, the forsaken,
With but one image shrouded in my heart.

E. P. R.

omanly heart tenders her sympathy. In your cause and for your defense all thinking and earnest women shall plead. They recognize that you are of humanity, down-trodden, and that whatever must be your sorrows must be theirs also. Each one of them echoes the words of the poet: "Not till the sun excludes you, do I exclude you. Not till the waters refuse to glisten for you and the leaves to rustle for you, do my words refuse to glisten and rustle for you."

And thus my friend and I discussed, in our high talk, the istics of the present, with hopes and prayers for the future.

As I made my way homeward by the exquisite moonlight, gliding and chastening with its beams even the vilest sights of the soiled city, I could not but reflect how ideal beauty is embodied in outward nature, while the human soul yet revels in the chaos and discordance of evil.

In conclusion, my friend and I beg in your columns—the only existing avenue through which a fully-developed woman can express her sentiments—to earnestly protest against any law or regulation which is based upon the presumption that man is, in any sense, better or purer, or has greater or other rights than women. Yours for freedom,

FRANCES ROSE MACKINLEY.

Indiana has repealed her excellent divorce law. Connecticut is about to do the same. Daniel McFarland

"Doth bestride the narrow world,
Like a Colossus; and we petty men
Walk under his huge legs, and peep about
To find ourselves dishonorable graves."

Another "holy institution" took to defending itself by murder some thirty years ago, and at the same time gagged the press, muzzled the pulpit, and clamored for extension

MESDAMES WOODHULL & CLAFLIN—I am a constant reader of your WEEKLY, and am more than pleased with the brave and fearless way in which you proclaim and defend your faith. I am also a reader of the *Independent*, and was pained to see the cowardly attack of Mr. Bowen on yourself

and paper. For some years past I have been a constant reader of most papers advocating suffrage for woman, and have noticed at a certain point they invariably come to a halt. In my opinion there can be no medium course. The truth must be spoken. Yet there are those so low in the scale of humanity that it is not comprehended. The great truths which you so fearlessly proclaim were clearly taught by the Great Teacher, who said and taught more for those who could understand them. Let pharisaical self righteousness howl as it will, marriage—the consecrated, the ordained of God—as it now exists, is doomed. Some hold up their hands in holy horror, and cry out, "Oh, how can you speak so of that sacred institution?" Sacred it might have been once, but, like the old Jewish temple, it has become the habitation of all that is foul and unclean, the stronghold of all that is beastly and low. Smooth it over as you will, the fact will loom up that marriage, as it now exists, is rotten to the core, and a stench to all pure-minded and truth-loving people. See what manner of stone and what buildings are here. They were precious indeed. For centuries the Jews had worshiped these, yet, for all this, the Immortal Teacher foretold its destruction. "Not one stone," said he, "shall be left upon one another." Here is revolution, volcanic-like, upheaving everything in its course.

"Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my word shall not." And so with human laws, they must give way to divine ones. Then do not grow weary or hesitate in your determination to utterly demolish the covering which conceals the monster, and God will build up the eternal in its stead.

C. P.

"Thou rascal beadle! hold thy bloody hand!
Why dost thou lash that whore? Strip thine own back;
Thou hotly lust'st to use her in that kind
For which thou whipp'st her."

—King Lear.

DEAR VICTORIA:

Passing an evening lately with my friend and fellow-reformer, Mrs. Loomis, she proposed, after an appetizing conversation on progressive subjects, that we should adjourn to a neighboring restaurant, our mental banquet promoting the desire for the more material pabulum.

But in these days of male domination, women are not allowed to sup at a public eating-house after a certain hour (nine o'clock) unless under the ægis of male attire; and any belated female, tired and hungry, and with no means of satisfying her wants at home, can find no welcome in any of our first-class, pretentious restaurants unless accompanied by a voucher of the male sex. The waiters informed us that we—two women without male accompaniment—could have nothing; and no insistency of ours availed against the iron despotism of this masculine institution. I have been an *habitué* of this restaurant for several years; but an appeal to the head clerk was met by the response that such was the rule, and his duty was solely to enforce it. The waiters grinned and leered as if in enjoyment of our discomfiture. My friend, Mrs. Loomis, discoursed eloquently at the counter on the equal rights of women and men; but she might as well have preached charity to churchmen, or the golden rule to the Board of Brokers. She, in her warmth of feeling, was thinking of the principles involved, and asserting it into ears deaf as those of judges, lawyers or legislators to aught but the letter of the law.

I sought to appeal to a higher tribunal, and called for the proprietor, with whom I am acquainted, but he was absent. Finding that there was no possibility of satisfying our demand, without the appendage of a puppet in pants, we concluded that only the expedient of calling upon the first manikin we should meet, to serve as a male duenna, would answer our purpose, since it seemed that a little man flesh by the side of a woman invested her with that respectability which fitted her to pay her way in an eating saloon. We had already observed near us, as we awaited our expulsion from the premises, a lady of no uncertain notoriety in a profession more sinned against than sinning, who flaunted proudly her gorgeous array, under the redeeming protection of that uniform of virtue, male attire.

Quitting the saloon in disgust, in crossing the street, the Providence that presides over the destinies of woman's rights brought us in contact with the landlord, who, at my request, gallantly offered us his guarantee, and we returned triumphantly, one on each side of the proprietor, to the dismay of the waiters, and the surprise of the rest of the immaculate assemblage. Thus at the very nick of time came to us the best male friend we could have desired, sent doubtless by our guardian spirits, to relieve us from the pain of going supperless, and solving the annoyance to which we had been subjected as champions of the rights of women, adding also to his opportune intervention by defraying the expense of our refreshment, and then accompanying us to the door of my friend's residence, where I remained until the small hours of the night in philosophical disquisition on our evening's adventure, illustrating, as it did to us, the diabolical injustice and cruel inhumanity of man to woman.

We dilated upon her social degradation and her sufferings for long ages, wondering how this and all other evil could have been, if there is any such *eidolon* of optimistic theology as an omnipotent God, and how he could calmly look on and behold more than one-half of the human race plunged in an abyss of misery. We almost wept; but bidding each other be strong, we determined to fight for our enslaved sex with all the powers of our natures.

We discussed all the philosophies of the day. Perhaps, said I to my friend, we have caught inspiration from such

spirits as the eloquent Aspasia, at whose feet used to sit Socrates, Plato and Pericles in intellectual adoration; or from that exemplar of womanly sweetness and profound thought, the delicious Ninon de L'Enclos; or from the scientific Du Chatelet, the companion and friend of the philosophical Voltaire, whom he called his "divine Emily."

It is, we concluded, through man's passions, made evil by his selfishness, that woman, too prone in her guileless innocence and truth to nature to follow the dictates of her heart, and mistake man's love for the deep sentiment she feels, loses by the cruel fiat of the world her social status; and then, forsooth, it is only in the halo of his presence and protection that she can resume such modicum of respectability as entitles her to the freedom of a restaurant after nine o'clock at night. Why should it be presumed that when women are accompanied by men they are reputable, and when alone otherwise? What a comment upon the utter falsity of the social conditions under which we live!

To one who knows the mean hypocrisy of these men, how absurd is their assumption! Living lives in which no element of goodness or greatness has been ever visible, their sex is their only merit. It is tenderness of heart and lack of selfish care and thought for their own interests which have made these despised women the easy prey of the sex that now looks down upon them. Privately, men are oftentimes the fondest lovers of such women, caring for and supporting them, and yet fear to recognize them publicly.

Such women are not the most depraved of my sex. Followers they are of Venus and Bacchus, and they openly proclaim it. There are countless of my sex who are deeper dyed in iniquity. Darlings they are of society; secretly they offer incense to Cytherea; and before the world don their chastest smiles and worship at Ephesus. Whited sepulchres! Be silent about the purity of your homes! I have seen the rottenness there. Would that I could tear the hypocritical mask from off your cowardly visages!

"Such women are as necessary to us as food and raiment," I have heard men aver; "without them we could not exist." For food and raiment men are taught to thank God; for the other necessity they curse and spit upon the giver.

It is said that women of the class against whom these regulations are directed might become riotous if admitted at a late hour of night into a public restaurant. That these women have become masculinized, as it were, and have lost much of their femininity by their contact with men, is too true. But are they any more likely to breed disturbance than men themselves? When well treated, they are uniformly well behaved, and many have an exceeding beauty and grace of manner—and, indeed, a largeness of soul—rarely to be met with among their prudish sisters. Whenever these women are placed in situations which invoke good behavior, and find themselves in magnetic sympathy with those about them, the rudest becomes gentle. It has been said that to judge of an original character you must reverse the world's judgment of him. Let us apply this rule to these unfortunates. Respectable people feel themselves contaminated by the presence of this condemned class. I urge them to beware lest they despise angels unawares. Poor, cautious humanity! it fears the baneful contact of Cythereans. Do not flatter your virtuous souls that you escape the society of the licentious. Hypocrisy stalks proudly in your midst, glazed with the semblance of purity. If respectable mothers and daughters do not mingle with these votaries of Venus, they do with the men who kneel with them at the voluptuous altar; who revel in the orgies; who encourage and sustain such worship. Are you ashamed of such women? Then should you be ashamed of your husbands and sons.

To you, dear sisters and poor outcasts, every true and large womanly heart tenders her sympathy. In your cause and for your defense all thinking and earnest women shall plead. They recognize that you are of humanity, down-trodden, and that whatever must be your sorrows must be theirs also. Each one of them echoes the words of the poet: "Not till the sun excludes you, do I exclude you. Not till the waters refuse to glisten for you and the leaves to rustle for you, do my words refuse to glisten and rustle for you."

And thus my friend and I discussed, in our high talk, the falsities of the present, with hopes and prayers for the future.

As I made my way homeward by the exquisite moonlight, gilding and chastening with its beams even the vilest sights of the soiled city, I could not but reflect how ideal beauty is symbolized in outward nature, while the human soul yet grovels in the chaos and discordance of evil.

In conclusion, my friend and I beg in your columns—the only existing avenue through which a fully-developed woman can express her sentiments—to earnestly protest against any law or regulation which is based upon the presumption that man is, in any sense, better or purer, or has greater or other rights than women.

Yours for freedom,

FRANCES ROSE MACKINLEY.

Indiana has repealed her excellent divorce law. Connecticut is about to do the same. Daniel McFarland

"Doth bestride the narrow world,
Like a Colossus; and we petty men
Walk under his huge legs, and peep about
To find ourselves dishonorable graves."

Another "holy institution" took to defending itself by murder some thirty years ago, and at the same time gagged the press, muzzled the pulpit, and clamored for extension

and security. Feeling itself in mortal danger, it resolved to take the offensive. It lies very low to day.

Are our Connecticut and Indiana legislators, perhaps, mistaken in thinking that the matrimonial yoke is slipping off because it is loose? What if it is borne only because passably easy? Will not all this tightening end in its sudden and complete destruction?

One Dr. Bruchl, who has been interviewing Mrs. Fair, calls her conviction "a triumph of moral sense over the adherents of free love." As similar language was constantly used by the conservative and pro-assassination faction concerning the acquittal of McFarland, it seems that free love must be singularly situated between two fires. It may appear to some paltry logicians that, if acquitting McFarland was a victory over free love, hanging Mrs. Fair must needs be a defeat by free love. But some people are said to succeed by never knowing when they are beaten.

ALMA, WIS.

C. L. J.

CO-OPERATION — THE PROPOSED "COSMOPOLITAN COMMONWEALTH."

The *World* of the 15th inst. notices the formation of a new labor organization, bearing the above name. Its objects are declared to be "the peaceful reorganization of society upon the basis of equal rights, opportunities and compensation, and mutual protection from birth to death." Very desirable and very just, but quite unattainable by the means proposed. It is to be a joint stock company with a capital of one hundred thousand dollars, in shares of five dollars each, and unemployed stockholders are to receive no interest, nor dividends, nor anything whatever for their money. Now, the proportion of the employed could not, under any circumstances, exceed one-twentieth of the whole number, unless the purchasing power of money could be increased an hundred fold, and the mere statement of the proposition should, therefore, insure its instant rejection. Savings banks, insurance and railroad companies, etc., do better by their stockholders than this company would, despite its philanthropic professions.

Voluntary co-operative labor associations always look better on paper than they work in practice. The earnings of the actual laborer are as three-tenths to seven-tenths of the united products of labor and capital. The accumulated profits of the capitalists are as ninety one-hundredths to ten one-hundredths of the savings of labor. The capitalists constitute three-tenths and the laborers seven-tenths of the people. The former, then, can more readily combine than the latter; and being better acquainted with the management of business, as well richer, the former must underwork and undersell the latter, just as a pound must weigh more than an ounce, or a gallon measure hold more than a quart. Besides, if there be a dividend of profits allowed to the stockholders, the business of the association cannot be increased beyond a certain limit; neither the stockholders nor the people will tolerate it; while, on the other hand, if there be no dividend allowed, its managers are exposed to great temptation, stockholders grow suspicious and withdraw, trustees repudiate all responsibility and keep out of the way, and either the business is absorbed by a few of the employees who conduct it on their own account, or it is abruptly closed and all hands abscond.

The true co-operative society still exists, and it is THE STATE. Government is its agent, and its minister the *Ballot*. Let the several governments do precisely the work this "Cosmopolitan Commonwealth" proposes to do, and assess the accumulated products of labor in the hands of capitalists for that purpose, thus sparing the wages of the workmen, which, at the best, merely sufficing to enable him to keep body and soul together, he can ill afford to part with simply to establish in business *somebody else*.

That voluntary co-operative labor associations within the prerogatives of the State, honestly administered, that is to say, where all the co-operators share and share alike the labor and its products, reserving a certain proportion of the latter to carry on the business, may succeed, is cheerfully admitted; but this is *not* the plan of the "Cosmopolitan Commonwealth" (mis-called such); and the pretense that even such associations would absorb all business and supersede the State itself is either the veriest chimera of the imagination or a willful falsehood, intended to deceive. The purchase of land, the payment of rent therefor, and interest for the use of money, credit, itself sometimes indispensable, bring them within the laws and make them subjects of the State; but the State, transformed, need not buy land, nor hire it, nor pay interest, and would not require credit. A political revolution in the State must precede any general reformation in the transaction of business.

Let all workingmen, therefore, *severely let alone* this misnamed "Cosmopolitan Commonwealth."

WILLIAM WEST.

OUR NEW WESTERN AGENCY.—Mr. A. J. Boyer, formerly of the "Nineteenth Century," has become our General Western Agent, with office at 165 Washington street, Chicago, Ill., where subscription may be made to the WEEKLY and advertisements will be taken. The rapid growth of the WEEKLY in Western favor has induced us to establish this branch office, and we are happy to be able to announce the engagement of one so favorably known to Reform as is Mr. Boyer, with whom we trust all our friends will join in the endeavor to introduce the WEEKLY into every city, village and hamlet in the great West.