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By authority of a special act of the Legislature of Kentucky of March 13, 1871, the Trustees of the Public Library of Kentucky will give a GRAND GIFT CONCERT

AT LOUISVILLE, KY., ON TUESDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1871,

Under the direction of the best Musical Talent.

100,000 TICKETS OF ADMISSION, \$10 Each in Currency: Half Tickets, \$5; Quarter Tickets, \$2 50. Each Ticket will consist of four quarters, value, \$2 50 each. The holder is entitled to admission to the Concert and to the amount of gift awarded to it or its fraction. Tickets number from 1 to 1,000,000. THE CITIZENS' BANK OF KY, IS TREASURER.

All Moneys arising from the sale of Tickets will be deposited with the Citizens' Bank, subject only to the order of the President and Treasurer of the Library, countersigned by the Business Manager.

During the Concert, the sum of

\$550,000 IN GREENBACKS Will be distributed by lot to the holders of ticke:s in

	the following Gifts, viz:		
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ı	Fifteen Gifts of \$900 each.		
- 1	Eighteen Gifts of \$300 each	14,400	
	Twenty Gifts of \$700 each	14.000	
	Twenty-five Gifts of \$600 each	15,000	
	Thirty Gifts of \$500 each	15 0 :0	
	Forty Gifts of \$400 each	16.000	
	Forty-five Gifts of \$300 each	13,500	
`	Fifty Gifts of \$200 each	10,600	
,	Four hundred and forty-six Gifts of \$100 each.	44,600	
		77,000	

Seven hundred and twenty-one Gifts in all....\$550,000 After paying the expense of the interprise, and making the distribution of the gifts, the balance of the proceeds arising from the sale of tickets will be appropriated to the establishment of a FREE LIBRARY IN LOUISVILLE,

FREE LIBRARY IN LOUISVILLE,

TO BE CALLED THE

PUBLIC LIBRARY OF KENTUCKY.

The Concert and distribution will take place under the immediat supervision of the Trustees named in the act of incorporation.

The Trustees will be assisted by well-known and eminent citizens of Kentucky, who have consented to be present at the concert, and to superintend the drawing and distribution of gifts.

The holders of tickets to which gifts are awarded will be paid on presentation of them or their traction at the office in Louisville the second day after drawing, and every business day for six months thereafter, and may be sent direct, or through any Bank or Express Company, for collection. All orders accompanied by Drafts, Post Office Money Orders or Greenbacks will be promptly attended to, and tickets returned by mail, registered or expressed, as desired.

Tickets are like greenbacks—good only to the holder.

holder.

Buyers will note that there are only One Hundred Thousand Tickets, instead of Two Hundred Thousand, as in the San Francisco Gift Concert, and that there is \$50.00 more distributed. I sold that, and made the awards in four months, and paid \$482,000 to ticket holders from November 2d to 15th, 1870, and turned over \$12,000 to the Secretary due tickets not presented.

ticket holders from November 2d to 15th. 1870, and turned over \$12,000 to the Secretary due tickets not presented.

It will be particularly noticed that it is a matter of impossibility for any one to know what humbers draw gifts, as it is not known what the gift of any number drawn from the first wheel will be, until the scaled box, with amount of the gift plainly printed, is taken from the other wheel and opened in full view of the audience, therefore the larger gifts may not come out until toward the last, or in the middle of the drawing. The \$100 000 gift in the San Francisco Gift Concert, under the management of C. R. Peters, was the 20th number drawn, and was awarded and paid to a gentleman in New Orleans.

25 The Numbers and Gifts are drawn by Blind Children from \$ to 14 years of age.

The Drawing will be extensively published, and parties ordering Tickets will have printed lists sent tem. Parties forming Clubs and desiring information will please address this office.

11 Tickets for \$100:28 Tickets, \$25:56 Tickets, \$200: 113 Tickets, \$1,000.

The underrigned, late principal business manager of the very successful Mercantile Library Gift Con-

cert at San Francisco, California, has been appointed agent and manager of the Gift Concert in aid of the Public Library of Kentucky.

The drawing will take place in public, and everything will be done to satisfy buyers of tickets that their interests will be as well protected as if they personally superintended the entire affair.

MANNER OF DRAWING.

There will be two glass wheels. One wheel will contain 100,600 numbers, plainly printed on leather tags. The other wheel will contain 721 boxes, each containing a gift. One tag or number will be drawn from the 100,000 wheel, and the first box drawn from the second or 721 box wheel will contain a gift, neatly printed and sealed up, and the gift so drawn from the second wheel will be the gift of the tag first drawn, whether \$100, \$1,00 or \$100,000, as announced.

14.364 TICKETS DISPOSED OF IN JULY.

14,364 TICKETS DISPOSED OF IN JULY.

14,364 TICKETS DISPOSED OF IN JULY.

To insure ticket holders, the public are assured that if only 25,000 tickets are sold, only 25,000 numbers go in the large wheel, the 72l gifts awarded, but diminished pro rata. In case 50,000 tickets only are sold, only numbers 1 to 50,000 go in the large wheel, and the 72l gifts diminished one-half: and in case only 85,000 tickets are sold, the entire 72l gifts will be paid in full, it being intended no unsold tickets shall participate.

The Manager has already paid into the Citizens' Bank \$50,000 toward defraying the expenses, and does not depend on sales of tickets to pay his expenses of printing, advertising, etc. The public are invited to the utmost scrutiny as to the reliability of the entire affair.

Persons desirous of acting as Agents for the sale of our tickets in any city of the United States and Canadas, address
CHARLES R. PETERS, Manager, Louisville, Ky.,

adas, address
CHARLES R. PETERS, Manager, Louisville, Ky.,
Office, 120 Main street, Johnson's Block.
R. T. DURKETT, President.
W. N. HALDEMAN, Vice-President.
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line that can be found. It passes through the Cement, Flag-Stone and Lum ber regions of Ulster County, and the rich, agricultural bottoms of Delaware and Greene Counties, all of which have not heretofore been reached by railroad facilities, and from which sections, the formation of the country prevents the construction of a competing

The 36 miles of road operated for three months is already paying net earnings equivalent to 7 per cent gold, on its cost of construction and equipments The issue of Bonds is limited to \$20.000 per mile of COMPLETED ROAD, the coupons payable in gold in

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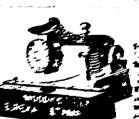
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TENNIE C. CLAPEIN FOR CONGRESS

Passage to a real issued by the Executive Committee of the them in American Progressive Salety, nearly thelve his had people associabled at Irving Hail on Friday, Aug. It was prout the can betatile of Mas Tennie C. Clarin for wist in Congress.

The partform was occupied by Dr. Ehrenberg, President of the association, under whose suspices the meeting was h 11; Josige J. D. Reymert, President of the Hercules Insurance Company; Dr. Goldschmidt; Mr Isidore, President of the Leve Verein; Mr. Dollart; Mr. Hugo Eloesser, Attache of the Peruvian Consulate; Stephen Pearl Andrews, of Pantarchy fame; Henry Hertz, the Dutch "Pat Murphy" of the Nine ceath Ward; Col. Beeny, of the Land Reform Organizatron; Robert Scharlach, of Hamburg, and other famous reform agitators. The stage was decorated with stands of American and German thigs tastefully displayed and bearing a large lithographic picture of Miss Clatlin.

The attentive and appreciative audience-was composed largely of the better class of German citizens with their wives and daughters, with a liberal sprinkling of the American element, among whom were noticed many of Miss Claflin's broker and banker friends of Broad and Wall streets. Of the latter there were present Messrs. Rufus Hatch, J. E. Maxwell Dan Bixby; Dorr Russell, President of the Loaners' Bank; Henry Clews; A. A. Drake, of Drake & Bros.; A F. Wilmarth, of the Home Insurance Company; T. C. Durant; Mr. Fisk, of Fisk & Hatch; Pitt Cooke, of Jay Cooke & Co.; United States Assessor Colgate, of the Thirty-second District; A. C. Van Schaick; F. J. S. Flint, President of the Continental Bank; Mr. Heiser, of Heiser & Son; James Seligman; Mr. Hallgarten, of Hallgarten & Co., and many more of financial repute; also, the Hon. Hugh Hastings, the Hon. Michael Toumey, the Hon. Michael Duffy and other local politicians; Senator Spencer, of Alabama, and a large number of equally notable gentlemen.

Letters of regret were received from Mayor Hall, Theodore Tilton, Governor Ashley, of Montana, and other wellknown people.

Dr. Ehrenberg opened the meeting and spoke as follows: DR. EHRENBERG'S SPEECH.

The association which has called this meeting owes to you an explanation of the reasons that caused them to do so. I believe that this duty, which devolves upon me as the President of the Executive Committee, may best be fulfilled by submitting to you the resolutions having been adopted by our association. They read as follows:

The German-American Progressive Society of the City of New York to the German Voters of the Eighth Congressional District:

The progressive tendency of the time, which has given us universal suffrage without regard to race, creed or color, demands also that to such women as are taking an active part in the refermation of our political and social life be granted the right of political representation.

Without indorsing the futile attempts of those agitators in the feminine movement who surround themselves with any impracticable and empty phraseology, we earnestly indorse the labors of those whose knowledge of State and governmental affairs has aided them in their useful course, and produced results astounding in their grandeur, but withal beneficial to those who have enjoyed the fruits of such labor.

Without attempting at this occasion to specify in detail the different practical plans of reform suggested by the agitation referred to, we grasp the opportunity offering itself with the candidacy of Miss Tennic C. Classin for the seat in the National Assembly becoming vacant in the Eighth Congressional District in the fall of 1872, to express our entire sympathy with and promise our energetic support in such an action on the part of said lady.

And in consideration of the practical wisdom and extensive knowledge which said Tennie C. Claffin has shown to possess by her different works on the subject of political reform and political representation,

And in further consideration of the high interest taken by the German-American Progressive Association in the question of cosmopolitan ideas as a foundation of our national government.

And in further consideration of the exertions having been made in this behalf by said Tennie C. Classin in speeches and writings at divers times,

We, the German-American Progressive Association of the city of New York, do

Reader, To give our united support, aid and help to said Tennie C. Classin in her effort to gain access to the National Assembly as the legal and lawfully elected representative of the Eighth Congressional District of New York.

It is our duty to place before you an unblemished character as the candidate to whom we desire you to give your votes. The scandal-mongers who take special pains to defame pure motives have never investigated the moral standing of the representative lady who will appear before you this evening, nor the value of the principle of which she is an exponent, and therefore have never been able to produce proof for their assertions. The speaker proceeded to de-

refutation it her misco lent ad position on the free love. paison to the subject of marriage and divorce, the relations of a malacr to her observes, and other phases of the social relation of man and woman. Dr. Ehrenberg then alluded to what he termed the marked contrast between the mere Women's Rights references, who without tangible propositions fill the public ear with their empty talk, while accomplishing no real retorm, and the more practical advocates of progress of the class to which Miss Claffin belongs, who manifest their faith in their preaching by their actual practice. Miss Claffin thinks a woman is equal to a man. She proceeds to prove it by opening a bank, establishing a newspaper, putting herself upon the rostrum and otherwise taking upon herself duties heretofore considered masculine. It was true, he said, that the German mind had been so warped by outside influence as to become antagonistic to the feminine movement, though in reality no men respected women more sincerely than the Germans. The women in Germany were enthusiastic about the movement which had been initiated in behalf of women in this country. By supporting Miss Claffin as a representative of the feminine movement they would assist and befriend their own sisters and mothers in the fatherland.

Dr. Ehrenberg concluded by introducing Miss Claffin, who appeared smiling her acknowledgments of the vociferous cheers and deafening applause that greeted her. She was dressed in a dress of black organdie with a small figure in colors, made en train, and very plainly trimmed. Her hair, which she wears short, hung loose and bushy about her forehead and temples. She wore no jewelry or ornaments. As soon as the applause had subsided, she proceeded to speak in a clear, strong voice, using the German language, from which we translate her remarks as follows:

MISS CLAFLIN'S SPEECH.

On this, my first appearance as a political speaker, you will certainly excuse it in me if I, in accordance with your national usage, begin with these words: German fellow-citizens of the Eighth Congressional District! Perhaps I am the first woman who has ever presented herself before an appreciative public, in this or in any other country, with words of such significant import.

It may surprise you that I resort, in the first instance. to the German people; but this results from several causes. In the first place I am, myself, descended from the German stock, and for that reason feel instinctively attracted to those of that nationality; and in the next place I know that the Germans are especially receptive of cosmopolitan ideas. These ideas, which have impelled me to the resolution to offer myself as a candidate for the Eighth Congressional District, allow me, in a few words, on this occasion to explain to you.

I presume that not all of you know the full scope of the amendments which have been inserted in the Constitution; in that case there are some of you who are not aware that under these amendments women are already entitled to the vote. Are women citizens? The law under which I-and with me all women, in whose behalf I know that you are all interested-claim the rights of a citizen of the State of New York, reads as follows: Article first, section first of the Fourteenth Amendment, "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."

I fulfill the necessary conditions. I was born in the United States, and am therefore a native citizen of the same, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof. Why, then, I ask you should I not be allowed to vote? and if I am allowed to vote why may I not hold an office? [Applause.]

Do you believe that a woman, for no other reason than because she is a woman, must necessarily lack the energy to perform the duties of an office? or do you believe that things could go worse in the administration of our national affairs than they now do? Try the experiment merely of intrusting a woman with the performance of official duties, and if you find that your interests suffer by so doing, the power will still be retained by you to retrieve your mis-

But do not imagine that you can entirely ignore a movement which does not rest merely on the law, but which also brings into the contest the best and soundest cosmopolitan

MISS CLAFLEN'S PLATFORM.

Again, dare you maintain that the platform of either one of the existing political parties secures to you that complete freedom, either in political or in social affairs, which, as citizens of this republic, you are entitled to demand? The platform upon which I propose to stand does not narrow any one of those rights so much as a single hair's breadth. So long as I shall represent you in Congress-if by your votes you shall send me there-I shall at least insist that the personal freedom of every individual shall remain untouched. Just as the religious American has the privilege of going to his church on Sunday, so must the right be equally secure to you to seek your recreation on Sunday just where you can find it, and to drink your glass of lager beer in peace and quietness so long as you do not disturb the public order. [Cries of "Bravo!" cheers and prolonged applause.]

Neither need you entertain any apprehension that Congress will withhold my seat from me if I receive a majority

ber queties from her published writings, particularly in test; and there is, up to this date, no law which either forbids the people to elect a woman to an office, or which forbids her to accept it.

Corruption and bribery, if not, indeed, foreign to the nature of women generally, are, in any event, foreign to my nature. And, without having to resort to means which are prevalent among politicians, who stuff the ballot-box and pay repeaters, I shall step into the arena as a candidate for the office of Representative of the Eighth District in Congress, commending myself entirely and exclusively to your favorable regards.

A PRESENTATION.

At the conclusion of the speech the hall rang again with cheers and applause, in the midst of which Miss Claffin was presented with an elegant basket of flowers, arranged with exquisite taste, the initials "T. C. C." being formed in monogram in the centre, with "M. C. 8th Dist." around the outside. On receiving this beautiful token, which was understood to be the gift of her Wall street friends, Miss Claffin retired from the stand.

The meeting then listened to the remarks of James D. Reymert, Esq., one of the most prominent lawyers of this city, and President of the Hercules Mutual Life Insuranco Company, who spoke as follows:

I do not see why the "Deutsch-Americanische Fortchritts Verein" should especially have requested me to "progress" to the platform, and to speak immediately following the lady candidate for Congress-the startling and vivid Miss Claffin-unless it is from the fact that I was consulted as a lawyer by her distinguished sister, Victoria C. Woodhull, upon some points of law in which the rights of women citizens of the United States are involved, her position in which I did not hesitate to indorse as legal. Mrs. Woodhull is the master spirit who aroused the grave and wise legislators to the work of considering the matter in its legal bearing. Thousands of other ladies had worked for the right of suffrage, some for one reason and some for another reason, and asking for further constitutional amendments; but hitherto the position had not been taken, the facts and reasons had not been urged, which were expressed in the memorial of Victoria C. Woodhull to Congress, and her argument before the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives. These are now State papers, embodying the whole question, which, as a legal one, has since been settled in the minds of all thinking men who have taken the trouble to investigate the matter without prejudice. And the brightest legal minds in the nation have so expressed themselves. The fact is patent—that this republic rests upon the principle of "universal suffrage." Every restriction thereof is anti-American and revolutionary in character. Our laws are only just when founded upon a free, full and honest expression of the opinions of the whole people. Wherever laws exist that are in antagonism to that condition, they give rise to trouble, and the cause of cur late civil war was nothing else. The fact was, that our Constitutions, National and State, were antagonistic to the spirit, the will, the impulses, the honor and the humanity of the great majority of the people. The passions thence became aroused and the war cloud burst over the country. The agitating elements were appeased by blood and carnage, and harmony was restored by "amendments to the Constitution." The principal feature of these is the extension of the right to vote—a nearer approach to "universal suffrage."

The amendments declare who are citizens and who can vote; and in this they embrace all persons who are born or naturalized in the United States. There can be no question as to whether women are included. No sane person will now dispute that fact. No matter what construction may have been put upon the word "citizen" before the adeption of these amendments. Now we must take the letter of the Constitution and its spirit, as it is, or the amendment be without meaning. The amendments were adopted by the State Legislatures and became the supreme law of the land. The Constitution of New York says that no member of this State shall be disfranchised or deprived of any of the rights and privileges of a citizen, etc. A woman citizen of the United States, made so by the action of the State of New York, and who is a member of this State, cannot be disfranchised in this State. If she has the right to vote as a citizen, and cannot be disfranchised in this State, why has not then Tennie C. Claffin as good a right as any other citizen to solicit the suffrages of other citizens; and if she receives the requisite number of votes, to represent her District in Congress?

I have always been a Democrat, and I never voted any other ticket. My principal reason for being a Democrat is this: That I have adhered to the party which was in favor of obeying the laws as they are. As General Jackson said. "I will obey the Constitution as I understand it." I believe with him in strict construction and the enforcement of the laws as they are. No higher law, no lower law, but the lawas they are. And if the negro vote could not be dodged because some did not like it, neither can the woman vote be dodged because we may not like it. It is the law of the land to-day, and any party or set of men who eppose the lavand its logical results are bound to go under. If the law i wrong, abourd or impolitic, then rejeal it in the prope constitutional manner; but, for heaven's sake, while it is th law, obey it and sweep away all minor local obstacles from its enforcement and operation.

The candidature of Miss Claffin and other ladies for sire fend Miss Claffin from the attacks that have been made upon of the votes. It is a part of my object to make this case a live offices only tends to bring the law prominently before the

world, so that its full weight is comprehended. In that light, at least, those ladies are doing the country a service and, being their legal advocate, I venture to express myself so here. I could speak long upon the effects of the law, as it will work through the ramifications of society here and in other civilized countries; but I will only say this, that while we men can sa'ely intrust ourselves and our male children to woman, from the swaddling clothes to the shroud-in the cradic, the nursery, the school-room, the home-and while we can stand as her equal before the altar, before God and men through life, and while we can trust her in the church, the ball-room, the theatre, the bazzars and other public places, and while we dedicate to her the fruits of all our toil as equal partner in all that makes life sweet and valuable, we need not "fear" her at the bailot-box. Nor should we unman ourselves by shrinking behind the prejudice that makes petticoats an excuse for not carrying out a law. I do not deal with the question as a matter of policy; it is too late for that. That is settled by the adoption of the amend ments, and whoever does not know that is as far behind as the man who had never seen a sunrise, because he did no care to get up so early.

If female suffrage is in harmony with and in promotion o the principle of "universal suffrage," and it is constitutional, I dare not place an obstacle in its way, for I have sworn to obey the Constitution. Vox populi vox Dei!

After these remarks, which were received with a goodly share of applause, and delivered in a most carnest and impressive manner, the chairman of the meeting introduced Hugo Eloesser, Esq., from whose speech we extract the following points: This response, which I make in answer to a call of the German-American Progressive Association, is mainly intended to dispel some of the exaggerated doctrines and ideas which have been preached to you by the German daily press in regard to the feminine agitation. It seems as though it had been the intention of a great many of those papers to make their readers believe that the consequence of the spread of this agitation would be the entire banishment of men from political life and their use as menials in the household, prescribing for them the duties heretofore fulfilled by the housewife. They have endeavored to take the step from the superior to the ridicule. They were careful to keep from the public everything which might have tended toward any enlightenment on the subject. This reminds one most forcibly of a nurse's efforts to choke the baby's cries with the sugar-lump; but generally the child is bound to fight it out on its own line and to cry until it has become self-reliable and able to insist upon the fulfillment of its demands. The Germans, whose entire sympathy with all political reforms is a well-known fact, should no longer be deceived about the meaning of this agitation. It is impossible for them to stop in their political progress after the equality without regard to color, creed or race has been reached. The work must be finished, and it might just as well be finished at once. When women show themselves capable to assume the same duties as men, their right to enjoy the same privileges is undeniable, and first of these stands political representation.

It is self-understood, that not all women, any more than all men, are capable to act as the proper representatives of the people, and only such women as possess particular abilities and high intelligence, claim the right to such honors. But then it is easy to perceive, that this question will become the enlivening element of a new party, just as the question of liberating the slaves formed the very breath of the Republican party, the body of which already commences to decompose, after this issue has been solved. Perhaps there will be an amount of ridicule heaped upon this movement for some time, until one of the already existing parties will become aware of the necessity to incorporate in its platform "political equality for women" as an indispensable platform, and not until then will it be ascertained how deep a root this movement has already taken in public opinion.

MR. GREELEY ON THE WOMAN QUESTION.

To the Editor of the Golden Age:

slight inaccuract a corrected in your columns. I do not assume that my views of the Woman Question are of much consequence to others; but, in so far as they may possess interest, it is well that they be clearly understood. then, indicate your misapprehensions without further pre

I. You say I "hold that there ought to be no divorce at all-not for any crime, even the worst." recollect, your only authority for this statement is a remark that, had not the Master spoken otherwise, I would not have deemed adultery a sufficient reason for dissolving a marriage. As you seem to have given these words undue weight, allow me to explain my view more fully.

That persistent, flagitious adultery in husband or wife affords good cause for divorce I have not meant to deny. But there have been cases of transient infidelity to marriage yows under the influence of passions inflamed by wine and other unpatural excitements, which, being followed by prompt and profound contrition, I would not judge an adequate reason for divorce. You and I both know that wives have often pardoned such lapses in husbands; you and I agree that husbands have no rightful immunity in such matters which ought not also to be accorded to wives. And I profoundly honor and reverence the husband who can say to his erring wife, "Though I know that you have been take to God and to me, yet, because of the love I have borne you, of the vow which pledged in to love and cherish you till death, and for the sake of the dear children which God has given us, I, believing you truly penitent, will forgive and try almost to for-

I regard the husband who thus speaks and discards and outlaws the wife of his youth for a flagrant transgression, now sincerely and biturly repeated. I sug gest, therefore, that you henceforth represent me as holding that adultery may, but does not always, justify an applica

You say I hold that "if a man marries and his wife dies. You say I hold that "if a man marries and his wife dies, there should be no second marriage." This, also, is too sweeping. Some of my best and most esteemed friends are re-married—happily, I am sure; wisely and nobly, I judge. Nay: I can imagine a case in which the poor, hard-working, widowed 4 there of young children whom he cannot take with him to his daily labor, should feel constrained for their sake to replace his lost wife by another in whose perfect acceptance and d scharge of a mother's duties toward those children he could implicitly trust. Pardon me, but I am quite confident that the casual remark on which you based your broad assertion referred to a re-marriage following separation by divorce, not death. ara ion by divorce, not death.

III. Let me state my own conception of re-marriages as complicating marital relations in the other world.

I do not dispute the doctrine of Jesus that "In Heaven, I do not dispute the doctrine of Jesus that "In Heaven, there is neither marrying nor giving in marriage," if you have quoted His words exactly. And yet I feel that there are couples so completely and happly united in this world that they will be nearer and dearer to each other in the next than they would or could have been had they failed to meet in this life; and I think these are happier in either mostly than the uph one or both of them had remarried. I world than the ugh one or both of them had remarried. do not hold that either would have been culpable in remarrying if widowed on this planet; I only insist that they will both rejoice—and with reason—in their higher life, that

will both rejoice—and with reason—in their higher life, that neither in this life was married a second time.

IV. You are entirely, eminently right, Mr. Editor, in asserting that my conviction of the proper indissolubility of marriage is the mainspring of my hostility to Woman Suftrage, and to the social philosophy from which many seek to separate the woman movement. Though I have written or dictated very little of what has, during the last ten years, been printed as editorial in the *Tribune* on this subject, it is nevertheless true that my conception of the nature and scope of the marriage relation renders my conversion to Woman Suffrage a moral impossibility.

I have but two left of seven children, and these are both daughters. I would gladly fit them for lives of usefulness and honor as beloved and loving wives of virtuous upright noble men, and mothers, if it shall please God, of good, healthy, happy children. If it be decreed that they are to be, not such women as those I have most admired and reverenced, but men with a female physique—powerful in ward caucuses and nominating conventions, vehement in Senate and on the stump, and effective before juries in the trial of actions for crim. con.—I pray that my career on this globe shall close before theirs is fairly begun. When and where they shall thus shine, it will not be pleasant for me to stay.

Mr. Editor, I believe our countrymen are indebted to you

for having discovered (perhaps I should say invented) me as a possible (though most improbable) candidate for the Presidency. Allow me, then, to thank you for your carly and frank demonstration that I can in no contingency be counted on or hoped for as a Woman Suffrage candidate As you forcibly and justly say, there is not even a remote possibility of my ultimately adapting myself to this end My difference with your crowd is too vital, too radical, to permit the most sanguine dreamer to hope for my conver sion. I am growing old; my opinions are tolerably firm and the Advanced Female of the Laura Fair type, who kills the paramour of whom she claims to be the rightful affinity giving the lie in open court to the wife she has doubly

widowed, is my pet aversion.

But why should any man be the candidate for President of the woman suffragists? Logically and consistently, I feel that their candidate should be a woman. She ought, mereover, to be one thoroughly emancipated from the "absurdity and folly," the "narrowness" and the "baleful conservatism" which I am now too old to ourgrow. Could you not find one who illustrates in her own person and history what you so felicitously term "the liberal thought of an enlightened age"? Let her be one who has two husbands after a sort and lives in the same house with them both, sharing the couch of one, but bearing the name of the other (to indicate her impartiality perhaps), and cause and candidate will be so fitly mated that there will be no occasion, even under the most liberal, progressive, unlightened regime, to sue for their di-vorce. Could not one of this class be per-unded to overbear her shrinking modesty and nominate herself?

In a spirit of hearty ha red for Free Love and all its infer nal delusions, I remain yours, TRIBUNE OFFICE, August 7, 1871. HORACE GREELEY.

MR. TILTON TO MR. GREELEY.

Mr. Horace Greeley.

My FRIEND: This is the "off-year" in politics, and the dull senson in newspapers. The Tammany frauds constitute the Sin: Your article on this topic is so forcible and just in the only vital topic now astir, and this the Times possesses in main, that I presume you will be quite willing to have its fee simple. By and by the opening battle against Grant's only vital topic now astir, and this the Times possesses in renomination will thunder along the line, and your interest in this, whether as Presidential candidate or in your higher function as editor of the *Tribune*, will engross your whole mind. Just now, in the lull, seems the best opportunity (if you care to welcome it) to accept a proposition which grew out of our correspondence of last week-namely, that we should compare our views of woman suffrage-yours against and mine for it. But if you are sommering at your form, I can hardly ask you to cease toying with your plow or ax for the sake of returning a day too soon to the habitual weariness of the most industrious of pens. So, while I would be glad (yes, and honored) if you would notice some points which I herewith set down, I shall take it as no discourtesy if you prefer to discontinue this debate.

this principle, as I hold it, includes both men and women The American republic is composed of both sexes. Its gov e nment exacts the allegiance of both sexes. Its laws, to a great extent, apply equally (though to too great an extent unequally) to both sexes. Its office-holders are, to no inconsiderable degree, of both sexes. Its taxes fall with unrelanting rigor on both sexes. Now, to make our institutions logically consistent, the elective frunchise should belong

equally consistent, the civers is a constant of the governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." But among the "governed," whose "consent" is to

be thus given or withheld, about one-half are women. And yet the government, in defiance of its charter, which is the Declaration of Independence, violates one of its tundamental

Declaration of Independence, violates one of its fundamental principles by remorselessly denying to one-balf its citizens any voice in making the laws under which they are to live and die. Is this right or wrong?

III. You cling to trial by jury. Now, the courts teem with cases affecting the rights, interests and honor of women. For instance, take the case of a mother's plea for the custody of her children as against the claim of a divorced and drunken husband. I hold that no jury can adequately appreciate, and therefore none can justly settle, such a case unless its twelve members include women as well as men. The preciate, and therefore none can justly settle, such a case unless its twelve members include women as well as men. The horror which you have expressed of women "effective before juries," leads me to say that I am personally acquainted with several amiable and excellent ladies at the West who are duly authorized attorneys at law and practitioners in the courts. And you yourself have not forgotten Portia? Now, if women can stand and plead at the bar, tell me why they cannot sit and listen on the jury?

IV You defend the American maxim of "no taxation

IV. You defend the American maxim of "no taxation without representation." But I can point you to an army of women who are compelled to submit to taxation, but who are not accorded representation. In England this injustice has lately been swept away, and women as well as men, if they own taxable property, exercise in that country the elective franchise. When Henry Vincent was last in New York, he told me that he saw three thousand women in Manchester go to the polls—just as they might have gone to the post office, or to the city library, or to church. Why would you put the right of suffrage in a republic under greater restrictions than in a monarchy?

V. Speaking of England, I remind you that its governmental head is a representative of that sex to whom you allow no share in the government at all. Your friend John Bright is happy to acknowledge that a woman may be rightfully and illustriously the chief of the state. But it that same woman were an American, your would be distressed to see her exercising even the humble sovereignty of her simple citizenship. Is not the English view, as Mr. Bright holes it, more a credit to an enlightened age than the American view,

as you teach it?

VI. You admit that women should have a chance to earn their living. Nothing which the optimists may say of the duty of every man to support some woman (either wile, mother, sister or daughter) can blind you and me to the solemn fact that, morning and evening, to and from their halfpaid toil, past your office and mine, there marches an army of women who fight the battle of life alone—women who, by death have lest the proper of their lives. death, have lost the props of their lives—women whose sons moulder on their country's battlefields—women, young and helpless, entering into their womanhood with no daily support save their own industry—women who, if they are to live in virtue and not in shame, must have work to do and works to do and wages for doing it. Now, in your speeches to workingmen, I have heard you say that one of their most precious privileges was the ballot. You have shown great skill in tracing a connection between the work number's suffrage and the workingman's wages-how the mechanic, the farmer or the fisherman would find that the ballot in his hand was money in his pocket. No writer in the land has insisted more sedulously than you that the negro, in order to fix his wag s and secure his pay, should have his franchise. Now if the ballot will achieve all this for the wages of a man, have the kindness to inform me why it will effect nothing for the

wages of a woman?

VII. You are generous enough to acknowledge that women should have an education. They are as much entitled to it as men. A generation or more ago, the New England high schools were opened to girs as well as boys. The result to day is that the New England women, as a mass, are the most intelligent body of their sex in America. Now I want this good beginning carried to a batter end by throwing opin, not only our common schools, but our colleges and universities, to both sexes—instead of restricting these higher institutions, as now, to young men alone. If Michigan University and Oberlin and other colleges in the West are free to women, tell me why Yale and H. rvard and other colleges of the East should not be conducted on the same humans and

catholic plan?

VIII. You have expressed an abhorrence of the idea that your daughters should become public speakers. This, I confess, surprises me. Have I not seen you repeatedly presiding over public meetings addressed by women? Have you not proclaimed, both in the Tribune and elsewhere, the dehight with which you used to sit under the ministry of Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell? Furth imore, would it grieve or delight you if your daughters should have the gift of song, and go before the public as Jenny Lind once did, or as Christine Nilsson now does ? But what is the difference, in prin-

ciple, between a woman's singing and a woman's speaking?

IX. You say, "My conception of the nature and scope of the marriage relation renders my conversion to woman sutrage a moral impossibility." Your implication is that voman suffrage tends to dissolve marriage. this that woman suffrage will give to women their just rights in the marriage relation, including the right to dissolve it for good cause, then I should be still in releager for woman suftrage than I now am. I quoted to you last week the declaration of the American Woman Suffrage Association-"Resolved, That woman suffrage means the perpetuity of the marriage relation." That resolution, I think, reflects the sentiment of the great body of woman suffragists. But my own view is that woman suffrage will neither destroy marriage on the one hand, nor perpetuate it on the other. For, marriage is an interest common to women and men. How then will woman's vote effect it more than man's? Men have the franchise, but have they used it to vote away marriage? When we men get the tranchise, will they use it to vote away marriage? No. If the marriage institution is ever to be done away, the first motion toward its abelition will come from men, not from women. It was Hamlet, not Ophelia, who said, "I will have no more marriages." Cons der one thing, namely, the loving nature which God has given to woman. There is nothing that a woman so much wants as a home and to dwell in it as the happy wife of a noble husband, and as the loving mother of Featiful children. This is every woman's ideal. Now, if the ballet in her hand is to have any effect at all on her social life, will she voluntarily use this ballot for the destruction of what her soul considers the most sacred thing on earth? How can you persuade yourself that women will vote to abrogate that very marriage which men vote to maintain? But even if women would do this, would not you, and other men like you, be thereby proven tyrants over wemen in the marriage relation, and would not the necessity be plain that the civil laws regulating this relation should be reformed?

X. Your letter perorates into a "hearty hatred for Free

Love and all its Love? The ter Love? The ter fixed meaning. Free Love, I m sexes, in contra marriage. If t you in your rel Free Love you simply a more of the whole su more liberty to the State-the and hold you be your idea of perhaps I wou not in all you spectfully ask other words, I right to deterr these twain sl

lighten me?

XI. You land yet it is not the Maste adultery a su what is Cura upon a won adultery wit trine of divo press this de would diver riages in Cl Paul. 1 refe. and particul beare and F dered : for i bound to ren ing to the: ization of XII. Yo

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this legis endesvor subject in Amendm kuew. ca e is a: ment sig the Unit Mr. Bin this wor theretor citizens. ment. says): ' What i ton's d: privil elective tution. Fourte and im Amenc ural:z: shall n leges c oth-r

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XI.

XI. You have your notion of divorce on the Scripture, and vet it is fur from soil tural. Your words are, "Had not in Morror of the rose, I would not have deemed and the profile of the rose, I would not have deemed and the rose of roses. I would not have deemed and the rose of the rose of the same with the same with the same than a manufacture.

notes a small to fast later her, both already committed and or with right hours. Now if you have your doctrated from the fast such attorney and if you provide the fast of that definition, you have the fast of that definition, you have the fast of the fast centation, you have the fast of the fast of that definition.

r ..., a Carist ruem. Morever, turning from Christ to Fam. Treer you to the sivent, cha, ter of First Corintaians.

and force of the memoral le passage in it which Cony-bears and Howson have translated as follows: "It the un-to it vil a husban in the translated as follows: "It the un-dered; if a in such cases the believing husbani or wife it not bear the remaining mer they had." Do you it to see that, in go-ing to the S righter to had therein an argument against di-voting the translation of the state of the substantial and the substantial of the S. It ture to find the substantial and substantial of the substant

yer r. you find instead the most solemn and sweeping author-

XII. You have the following suggestive sentence: "That persistent, il gittous adul ery in husband or wife affords good cause for divorce, I have not meant to deny." Well.

tuen, would you after our existing law, which grants divorce

for adultery, into granting it only for "possistent, flagitious adultery?" It so how will the law draw the line between

persistent and canual tetwern flightions and pardonable? What would yut in nk of a proposition by moderate and occasions, thieves to a nend the law punishing theft so as to

XIII. Y u have helped to make or at least to keep, the

divorce law of our own State very illiteral and unjust. The State of New York gra is divorce only for adultery. But all the New England States grant divorces for other

caus s, such as drunkenness, cruelty, desertion, failure to

support and the like. Will you rebuke those States for this legislation, and call their cut zens free lovers for adopt-

ing it? Or (what would be better) will you join me in an endeavor to import the Massachusetts legislation on this

XIV. You helped to ratify the Fourteenth and Fifteenth

Amendments. In so doing you builded better than you knew. These Amen ments carry woman suffrage with them; and your argument against it comes too late. The ca e is as plain as a Japan crystal. The Fourteenth Amend-

ment says: "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." Mr. Bingham, the author of this Amendment, admits that this word "persons" includes "women." Whatever doubt,

therefore, has heretofore existed as to whether women were

citizens, that doubt was removed by the Fourteenth Amend-

ment. Now the old Constitution, Article 4, said (and still says): "Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." What is the meaning of this? Even so early as Washington's day, the Supreme Court of the United States, through links Restreet Westington decided, that

Judge Bustrod Washington, decided that among these

"privileges and immunities" was the right to exercise "the elective franchise." Chancellor Kent, Judge Story, and the

other great lights that have illumined the text of the Consti-

tution, long ago united in declaring the same thing. The

Fourteenth Amendment has since carried these "privileges and immunities" a step beyond the Fourth Article. This Amendment, after having declared all "persons born or naturalized in the United States" to be "citizens" (including women as well as men), then immediately adus: "No State shall make or enforce any low which shall abrides the strict.

shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privi-leges or immunities of citizens of the United States." In other words, no State shall the

other words, no State shall "abridge the privileges or immu-

make it reach only "persistent, flagitious theit?"

subject into our New York code?

ization of divorce?

XVI. This leads me to refer to your sitting at Cooper Institute a few evenings ago as chairman of a meeting called

to he ir a speech from Mr. R. B. Elliott, member of Congress from South Carolina-a negro. I am glad you honored him as you did; and all I ask you to do for woman's enfranchisement is exactly what you have done for the negro's. But, on that very evening, in spite of the fact that the American government still refuses the political rights of twenty millions of citizens on account of sex, you went to the Tribuns office and prefixed to the report of the proceedings the astounding title, "Equal Rights to All." Now, in view of your attitude on the woman question, will you not

Love and all the follows. What do not mean to Free Love? The term is not we in the dark wires and his is a few to the following the second term of the mean of the control of the control

Or a owly wander down the grassy plade, To stand content, knee-deep in glassy rills,

The wandering bee, in far-secluded bowers, Hums it - low, cheerful anthem, free from care; Great trilliant butterflies, fragile as fair, Float gracefully above the gorgeons flowers.

The sun pours down a flood of golden heat Upon the busy world—so hot and bright, That the tired traveler, longing for the night, Seeks some cool shelter from the dusty street.

The cricket chirrups forth its shrill refrain, The grass and all green things are sere and dry ; The parched earth thirsts for water, and men sigh For cooling showers: All nature waits for rain.

MR GREELEY ALL WRONG.

For nine days to come, at l. ast, Mr. Greeley's letter to Mr. Tilton will cause a flutter in social and reform circl's. The white-hatted philosopher has spoken his mind on the quis tion of female suffrige, and trankly says his "conception of the nature and scope of the marriage relation renders his conversion to woman suffrage a moral impossibility." Wherein the two, properly adjusted, conflict we are at a loss to see. If a woman may take any interest in the welfare of her husband and children, and the laws and influences under which they shall live; if she may be the mother of sons, and may preside at the head of the social circle, she certainly may go to the polls, and cast her vote in favor of the good, the right and the beautiful. We do not in end to waste any words with Mr. Greeley. He has a nounced that he is blind and will not be converted. That is the end of him, but it by no means stops the onward flow of the river; he is but a snag in the Mississippi, to be avoided by all stemboat engineers who are not of the Jim Bludso or ler; by all people who wish for a safe voyage. We deem it our duty to sharply rebuke that fawning sentimentality which applauds Mr. Gree ley's last "bull of excommunication" against female suffrage, calling it "the right doctrine!" We are heartly asuamed of those men who profess to see in the bugbear of the stump, the ward caucus, the nominating convention, the Senate, the jury-box, a place unfit for women; a something terrible and awful, sure to blight the female heart, and unsex half of mankind. It these places are so fearfully bad, how does Mr. Greeley find it consis ent with his own ideas of right and morality to attend them? If men are all given to these things, where does he expect to find "virtuous, upright noble men" to become the husbands of his intelligent and charming daughters! "As the husband is, the wife is," the poet tells us, and the grossness of his nature shall have power to drag her down. Mr. Greeley puts himself in the position of one who stands guard over the muddy pool of politics, begging women to pass on the other side, never caring to know how bad, and gross, and demoralizing it is. He forgets that they have the same vital interest in the matter he has; that their opinions and individuality are worth as much to them as his can be to himself; that tens of thousands of women do not and never will have husbands; that many a married woman is left with a family of sons on her hands, whom she must support and educate; that the question of the marriage relation can have no possible bearing upon the actual conditions in which they find themselves in th<u>is</u> life.

The wife of Mr. Greeley has given him seven children, and to-day she is a confirmed invalid, roaming the world over in search of health, when not confined to bed, as many another woman is who has borne seven children; she is excluded from active participation in the social, intellectual and other enjoyments of this life, and yet she is anxious that her daughters shall enjoy the same rights and opportunities her sons would have enjoyed had they lived. Confined to a sick chamber, she still has spirit enough to put her name to a petition begging for equal rights and justice. Does this make her any the less a woman; any the less affectionate as a wite, or lady-like? And suppose she should drive to the polls in her carriage and deposit a vote in tavor of closing up rumshops, would that be any more unlady-like than it is to dr. p cards at the doors of Murray Hill mansions? Mr. Greel y talks of "men with a temale physique," when he has over and over again advised the poor women of this city to go into the woods and chop wood, or into the wilds of New Jersey and raise vegetables! Such an occupation would not tend to transform women into men, we presume, nearly so much as it would it they should speak in public or vote. No, no. Mr. Greeley is all wrong. If his do trines were to prevail our garrets would continue to choke with starving women, who have only a needle between them and infamy or death; our young men would continue to indulge in riotous living, while poor girls walk the streets in scant calico dresses and thin snawls; our magnificent homes would still be the scenes of unhappiness and vice, as too many of them are to-day, because woman is regarded as the creature to minister to man's appetites and passions; our divorce courts would still be througed with wives anxious to escape from the tyranny of husbands, and our politics would be rotten from top to bottom, as it is to-day, until we are almost at a loss for a

CIRCULAR LETTER

FROM THE

GENERAL WESTERN AGENT, CHICAGO, ILL.

I want to say a word to the friends of woman in the West the advocates of h r entire liberation, intellectually, socially and incividually, as well as legally and politically. There is a great work to be done; there are, alas! too few to do that work. But the few are laboring ass duously, and, thank heaven, the army of houest energy tic workers is increasing. The conservative, policy-seeking, so-called respectable Reformers are gradually falling back and diminishing in numbers; while the ranks of bold, tearless, radical t inkers and doers are fast filling up. To the front, then, friends of humanity, right and justice!

And we have a noble leader—an efficient general, who is abundantly able to marshal the hosts of freedom and lead the Cosmopolitical Army to victory. Under the leadership of such a woman as Victoria C. Woodhull, with the hosts of other brilliant stars that compose the tright galaxy of men and women who are fighting valiantly for the right to aid and second this woman "born to free her sex," what may the world not hope for in the field of religious, social and

political reform.

Many, doubdess, there are who differ widely with the fearles-ly-expressed opinions contained in that most excellent journal at whose helm she stands. And while I acknowledge her superiority in power and executive ability, the clearness and invincibility of her logic and the purity and earnestness of her metives—she is "only a woman." The principles she and we believe in and advocate are eternal and unitying; and it matters little how or in what manner we ir dividually preter to work for their promotion. As for myself. I believe in prompt, decisive action, striking at once home, and laying bare, as with a scalpel, the blighting, cankerous sores of the body politic, socialistic and ecclesiastic. Freedom in this country has been already too long a mockery, our boasted republicanism a sham, and society an enemy to the higher, nobler natures of our wives, mothers, sisters and daughters. With good Mrs. Davis, I believe that the evits, sufferings and disabilities of women, as well as men, are social more than they are political. Those conservative or nes who expect to effect woman's deliverance by procuring for her the exercise of the political franchise al me, while the chains of a morbid social system en-lave her, body and soul, will "die without the sight"—unless they, like ali old-fogydom, at last admit that what they now imagine to be issues wholly irrelevant to the woman ouestion will, when kicked out at the back-door, be rendered respectable when ushered in at the front. Alas! what a difficult and thankless task it has always been for heaven's chosen few to whip the mass s into the acceptance of the right even after the right has been granted. Friends, I have a suggestion to make. Will you heed it?

I believe that you will. I need not tell you that the most available means for the diffusion of ideas and the transmission of thought upon the important topics of social, political, moral and industrial re-form, is through journalism. The masses can be reached only in this way; and it is the great messes that need the light—that need to be educated for the acceptance of the in-

fin te truths that underlie the principles of human rights. The most comprehensive, radical and fearless journal in the field of reform is WOODHULL & CLAPLIN'S WEEKLY. Conservatives fear it. Fogies hate it. Political corruptionists and soulless corporations read and tremble. European menarchs forbid its c reulation among their serfs, and priests warn their "sheep" against "touching the un-lean thing;" while the liberty loving and liberty-longing men and women bunger and thirst for the bread and wine-the natural soulalimen's it dispenses weekly to famishing thousands in the great f mily of man. Its mission is one of destiny-no dead carcass thrown in the way can retard its onward march. It is the organ of the Cosmopolitical Party, whose platform is the unitiation and blending of the principles of Republican Democracy, the Equality of the Sexes, Industrial Reform or Internationalism, Socialism, Scientism, the Religion of Humanity, &c., &c.—all combining to form a pantarchy which is the "sanhedrin of consultation for the campaign of eter-

It becomes us all to extend the sphere of usefulness of this paper by every possible means. I have of ened headquarters for this purpose in the city of Chicago, at No. 165 Washington street. I want the friends throughout the great, liberal, progressive West to assist me in the work. Go to work at once in your respective localities, canvass the town, city and country, and urge the people to take this paper. Besides i s being the ablest and the best refermatory journal in America, it is the cheapest. It is a large octive of sixteen piges, printed with good type on beautiful white paper, and the subscription price is only two dollars a year. It contains twice as much reading matter as most of the three-dol ar weeklies. I hope the friends of progress and reform will at once place thems: lves in communication with me, and work in concert with my efforts to bring this representative journal of progress and free thought into every household in the great and

SPECIAL NOTICE.

Reader, will you act in the capacity of local agent in your locality and see to it that every possible subscriber for the WEEKLY is procured? If you are willing to do so, please confer wi:h m• at once.

If you cannot give the matter your personal attention, will you be kind enough to place this circular in the han is of some active persons whom you think efficient for the agency, advising tacm to communicate with me by letter for further

particulars? Very truly yours, A. J. BOYER, General Wes ein Agent for WEFKLY, No. 165 Washington street, Chicago, III

LABOR IS PRAYER.

Laborate est orare : Hear it ye of spirit poor Who sit crouching at the threshold While your brethren force the door Ye whose ignorance stands wringing Rough bands, seamed with toll, nor dare Lift so much as eyes to beaven-Lo! All life this truth declares, Laborate cet oran And the whole earth rings with prayers

Aug. 26, 1871.

THE REAL CAUSE OF THE WESTFIELD ACCIDENT.

We have remained silent on the Westfield holocaust just as long as our feelings will allow us to do so. We have we hoped that the causes of this wholesale butchery would be thoroughly sifted; and we were slow to censure ere a full opportunity had been given the proper authorities to investigate and explain the causes of which sent over one hundred of our citizens to eternity, and maimed probably over one hundred and fifty more. What in the name of heaven has been done to elucidate the mystery? We have had volumes of testimony to prove that the boiler was a good or that it was a bad one; that the valve was blowing off, that it was not blowing off; that the valve could not relieve the boilereven if it did blow off. We have had an inspector admitting that he gave certificates to a boiler whose valve was incapable of carrying off the surplus steam the boiler could generate. Some of the witnesses found cracks and flaws in the boiler, as, for example, Mr. Hill, Mr. Lighthall and Mr. Tothersall; while John Plum explicitly declares there was no crack. This is the kind of humbug to which the people are treated, when a hundred or two have been made the victims to the political jugglery that puts pollticians into positions of the duties of which they know nothing.

We call attention to the cause of this explosion, and we of the holes in the boiler plates to make the holes fit. The holes were punched, did not come opposite each other, and the boiler-makers drove steel taper wedges in the holes and stretched the iron till the holes did come right. The oval shape of the holes attests this. The fact that, from the thickness of the iron, the pressure indicated should not have burst the boiler proves it. We have visited numerous boiler yards and will undertake to produce practical men who will testify that this stretching and fracturing of the iron round the holes, by driving in round steel wedges, called drifts, is done to the extent of a quarter of an inch in one

If one of the officials will call at our office, we will, by appointment, conduct him to boilers where the holes are being stretched and fractured in just the same manner. We will go into the first boiler shop we come to, and ask the first workman we encounter in it to show us his drift, and the murderous round steel wedge will appear on the scene, all battered and swelled at the head by the ponderous blows inflicted upon it by a sledge-hammer, every blow meaning death to some one of our traveling citizens.

To punch holes and thus destroy the cohesion of the metal is bad enough, but to deliberately try to burst the hole by disintegrating the surrounding metal (after punching), with a steel wedge, is positively murderous.

Let the authorities see to this, or we shall have to wake them up in a less pleasant manner.

Miss Phelps, who can do really clever things, is wasting a great deal of very good indignation upon woman's dress among other things she says:

The average young woman expends enough inventive power, enough financial shrewdness, enough close foresight, enough perturbation of spirit, enough presence of mind, enough patience of hope and anguish of regret upon one season's outfit-I had almost said upon one single street suitto make an excellent bank coshler, or a comfortable graduate of a theological seminary; * * I once saw a young lady ride the whole way from Portland to Boston in the cars I once saw a young lady without once leaning back against the cushioned scat, so that she should not tumble her black silk sash. A barber told me that he "curled a young lady" once for a ball, "and she had two hundred and forty-seven curls when she was done. And I began at ten o'clock in the morning and I never got through with her till nine o'clock at night!" Dr. Dio Lewis tells of a being who put four hundred and twentyfive (I think) yards of trimming upon one single dress. Four hundred and twenty-five yards! Conceive of the Hon. Charles Sumner or Prof. Longfellow in four hundred and twenty-five yards of trimming! Imagine the speech on San Domingo, or the Psalm of Life, written with a black silk such tied to the author's cont-tails, he pausing at every classic stanza to see if he had tumbled himself behind. Fancy Brown Sequard at a consultation in two hundred and fortyseven curls. Picture him timing the pulse of a dying man with one hand and tightening his hair pins with the other.

This has a sufficient leaven of truth to make the matter tolerable, but it must be taken with many grains of allowance. Nor can it be reasonably contended that the bulk of women have no sense of duty, or that their time is all spent in vanity and foolishness. An appeal having been made in favor of the male simplicity and contempt of self-adornment—it is sufficient to dismiss that as "bosh." The male animal everywhere adorns and tricks himself out in braveries, and whether it be the wise and chivalrous Raleigh, with all his fortune on his back, or the modern swell strutting Broadway with yellow gloves and pants so tight as to forbid sitting down, dress and the mirror charm the manly eye fully as much as they do the female heart. How does Miss Phelps herself dress.

The meeting of the German and Austrian Kaisers, announced in the telegrams, will in all probability prove detrimental to the Austrian. In the old fable of the compact between the dwarf and the giant, the dwarf found that, although the giant was honest, somehow the dwarf got the worst of it. So with Austria. If the German empire be a wonderful success, it will naturally absorb the ten million

German subjects of Austria, who would have more affinity with their German-speaking compatriots than with Tscheck Magyar or Slav. A compact against Russia is rumored. Bismarck cares little for Russia : he covets Austria, and he does not love Von Beust, his great diplomatic rival. It is watched the course of this examination with deep interest; not improbable, however, that there may be a present purpose of curbing the Cossack. Already the seers of the English press give warning of Russian designs. An impregnable quadrilateral of fortresses in South Russia will cover the movement of the mighty masses that are now parading and drilling on the Austrian frontier. And a march on Vienna, with a flank movement on Belgrave and the Balkan, will be the road that once carried Suwarrow to victory, and threatened the dismemberment of the Turkish empire and the expulsion of the Sultan from Europe. It will be! Nay, more, it ought to be. What has Europe in common with the slumberous Turk and obstructive Mohammedanism ?

Tur delicacy and exemplary consideration for the public feeling evinced by some of our contemporaries are really touching. It is usually supposed that the tomb is exempt from the eye of the curious or the hand of the spoiler; but this tribute of silence and the eye averted cannot be paid when "the public wants to know," All Americans live in glass houses; those who are at all famous lie in glass coffins. Alice Cary died unmarried. If she had a love she never told it. Her sister Phobe died having made no confession, and so it might be fair to suppose that what the dead women had demand that it be investigated. That cause is the drifting | not told of themselves nobody else has a right to guess at or proclaim. That is not so in America. Before their ashes are cold their hearts are laid on the press table for scrutiny and demonstration. It is asserted that Alice had a secret passion, and that her life was blighted by an early disappointment. It may or it may not have been. But as the

sisters left no record and made no complaint, this intrusion

is a disgusting importinence.

Tuk anniversary of the siege of Derry, in Ireland, was attended with the usual Orange riot. If there be any virtue inherent in Orangeism and Ribandism, that peculiar merit crops out and flourishes in the land where those types of political animosity are indigenous. It may seem fit and proper that certain sections of Irishmen in Ircland should hate and slay each other; although the process even there does not seem to give unmixed satisfaction to the peaceful members of the community. Transplanted to this country, party prejudices and antipathics are meaningless. All foreigners are welcome, all have equal rights. Let them leave their old feuds in the land they have abandoned. Here we want only one political party—the party of peace, progress and pros-

"It's an ill wind that blows nobody good." We are glad to find that the fear of cholera has opened official eyes and stirred official stumps. Officially a policeman or a Supervisor cannot see or smell a dead dog or a dirty street. The citizen may have his organs in the most wretchedly perfect order. Directly he dons the garb of office he becomes defective in all his faculties. Every one knows—but those who are paid to know-in what an infamous disgusting condition the poor side streets are kept. How rarely the scavenger carts go round, how perfunctorily the duties of cleansing are performed. A savage rain-storm is a blessing in these neighborhoods. When pestilence comes it avenges the poor! All neglect of duty has to be squared in the general account. Police reports are not of much good unless action is taken. Hurry up.

Many bits of secret contemporary history have come out through the pillage of the imperial archives after the fall of Napoleon. It is only surprising that so little matter of real interest has been given to the world. Among other trifles is a letter from Alexander of Russia to the Empress Eugenieoffering intervention on the basis of integrity of French territory after the disaster of Sedan. The revolution of September and the flight of the Empress disgusted the Czar, and he left France to her fate. This incident shows the common accord between princes and despots. We Republicans do not hang together in such fashion. We sympathize more with Louis Napoleon, or Kalser William, or Kalser Alexander than we do with Republicans. Witness France, witness

THE French Republic of 1848, with Louis Napoleon as President, found its mission in helping the Pope against Italy, and garrisoned Rome with French troops. Thiers has always been a partisan of Rome. That reactionary policy of French Republicans was a wonder and surprise in Europe, and has never been satisfactorily explained. It is only traceable to Imperialism, and to that policy which bloomed into the coup d'ctat. Can it be now that Thiers and the Assembly will give ear to the Pope's insidious persuasions and suffer themselves to be the instruments of Papal restoration. The suggestion seems too preposterous. But who can predict the possibilities of politics?

POST OFFICE NOTICE.

The mails for Europe during the week ending Saturday, Aug. 19, 1871, will close at this office on Tuesday at half-past eleven, on Wednesday at twelve, on Thursday at twelve, and on Saturday at twelve,

P. H. JoSus, Postmuster.

WITHOUT desiring to unnecessarily alarm the community, we think the press have done well to agitate the subject of the possibility of cholera and the yellow fever extending to this country, if it serves to awaken the people to a sense of the importance of a more careful mode of living, greater cleanliness and a more general use of deodorizers and disin-

Some years since, when the Board of Health had ordered the thorough cleaning of every hole and corner of this city, the kitchen of a pulatful residence on Fifth avenue was found to be in such an uncleanly condition that several cart-loads of filth were scraped up. The lady of the house had not seen that kitchen for years! Are there not, even now, many residences of fair exterior which, unknown to many of the inmates, contain the very essence of death? How often is one death in a family speedlly followed by another in the same house? We need have no fear of infectious diseases if each one of us will become an independent Board of Health for the preservation of cleanliness and the extinction of noxious and infectious smells by the liberal use of a good deodorizer.

In England much interest has been excited by the discovery of a new disinfectant in chloride of aluminum, which possesses all the valuable qualities of carbolic acid and chloride of zinc, without their objectionable features. Professor Gamgee, of London, pronounces it to be as harmless as common salt and as active as zinc chloride, which is so poisonous and corrosive that it is practically excluded from the sick room. Experiments recently made in this country prove it to be much more effectual when in combination with bromine, and in this form it is now presented under the name of "Bromo-Chloralum." It is a discovery which is destined to prove of incalculable advantage to the world at large. It is prepared as a nearly coloriess liquid, without any odor of its own, non-poisonous and inexpensive. Its free use in families would materially improve the general health and effectually prevent contagion. We anticipate a large demand for it as a deodorizer and disin-

It has been introduced in hospitals to dress wounds, especially in important amputations; it has been used at the Westminster Hospital, London, and the Royal Infirmary, Manchester, to arrest the horrible fector of open cancer; it has been used in ulcers, sore throats, searlet fever, diphtheria, and many other superficial inflammations. As a purifier of air in a sick room; as an antiseptic in the dead-house; as an agent to be used in embalming bodies, and, indeed, for all general antiseptic and disinfectant properties, it may fairly be said to stand unrivaled.

WE have been condoling with England at the possible loss of the great iron-plated thip, the Warrior, on shore near Gibraltar." But we regarded the calamity with that equanimity, not to say secret triumph, wherewith we serenely contemplate our neighbor's bad luck. After all, the Warrior was not ashore at all; it was our own Guerriere-an American, not a Britisher. Quite otherwise. We are so sorry. Really, you know.

HENRY CERNUSCHI, whom many of our renders will recollect as the Paris banker exiled from France because opposed to the famous plebiscite, has arrived in this country with the intention of making the tour of the United States and becoming acquainted with its institutions. M. Cernuschi, an Italian by birth, returned to France immediately after the fall of Sedan, became naturalized as a citizen, and was present at the inauguration of the new republic. He belongs to the most advanced wing of the republican party, and demands independent municipal elections throughout France as the best guarantee of a true and permanent republic. In this he is quite right, since contralism has ever been the curse of France, and will be, under whatever form of government, while all appointments, civil and military, are made at Paris. M. Cernuschi is distinguished as a writer upon political economy, and has published several works. In his "Contre Billet de Banque" he takes the same ground in regard to credit money as the author of the "Science of Wealth," to whom he paid a visit at North Brookfield last Wednesday, in company with M. Duret, a gentleman connected with the Paris press. They are to visit all the principal Atlantic cities, and then go by the way of Washington, Richmond and Knoxville to St. Louis, Omaha and San Francisco; and thence, by Japan and India, to France.

THE GOLDEN AGE TRACTS.

Our sprightly neighbor, the Golden Age, announces a series of tracts for the times, and begins the list this week with a letter by Theodore Tilton to Horace Greeley, on "The Rights of Women." This letter our readers will find copied into the present issue of Woodhull & Clarkin's Weekly. It forms a neat tract, adapted for popular circulation in large quantities, and ought to go up and down the land. Price, \$3 00 per hundred. Address the publisher of the Golden Age, Box 2848, New York City.

THE Times' raid on the Boss and his myrmidons has fizzled out miserably. Radical complicity with Democratic frauds was too rich. The people like to be plundered, and they shall be plundered.

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THE RISING POWER IN THE WORLD

In our second the source's bearing date July 16, 1870, we not unnounced the control ilea as follows:

Every revolution whether in government or in general technologic technologic technologic base promisely grown into power and extension from a central point of strength—from a central positive idea. Me are gations never rise into efficient or constructive idea. Me are gations never rise into efficient or constructive idea. Me are gations within its if the elements of strength he is erion centaries within its if the elements of strength and success. Simply to afficient that that fact is not in accordance with the general present idea, but to assert some new principle which shall supply the place of the eld and also in lude much which is not included in the sphere of the old, is to assume the argressive and to establish a positive position, and so to form a nucleus around which all the latherto diffused strength can rally and organize for offensive of the

The Christian wor'd has for nineteen centuries been teaching the Fatherhood of God and its necessary corollary, the Brotherhood of Man. This, so far as any organic practical application is concerned, has been simply theoretical and preparatory. Practice has been impossible and has never been a tempted nor advocated even, to the fullest extent of its significance. Christians profess to believe, and with some degree of faith they do believe, that the time will cone when the teachings of Christ will be universally accepted, but they do not stop to consider that the aggressive precursor and preparer for a spiritual kingdom is its counterport in material affairs. Before a universal religion can be a universal government must be.

Bing fully imbach with the sprit of the greatest of all facts that the human mind can grasp, the Fatherhood of God, and recessarily then with the common Brotherhood of Man, the imaggration of a universal government we believe to be the greatest prospective work of the centuries, and as such we announce it as our central idea and call upon all who can grasp the sign-ficance of the proposition or rally to its advocacy and support. If years, decades, centuries, ages intervene before such a consummation can be reached, the work of laying the foundation, the cornerstone, is one which the American people should be ambitious

From that time we have constantly advocated those principles which have a universal application, ignoring as much as has been possible the common or ordinary affairs of the time. But since that time tremendous revolutions have occurred, some of which, though localized in regard to the sphere of their immediate relations and effects, occupy a mighty place in the common order of governmental evolution as related to the entire globe, all pointing to one general result.

But as yet, even in this country, the perfect foundation upon which a Universal Government could be built secure in permanency is not yet formulated. A great advance, however, toward it is now in process of execution. Government in this era of society relates specifically to what we denominate the political relations of people. All the people have not yet become politically related. All people of some country must become politically related before even the corner-stone of that which can progress to universal dominion can be laid; since so long as there are a large portion of a people unrepresented in and unrelated to the government, such people are liable—ay, certain—to rebel and demand their natural rights. Therefore, no government is secure until it is a government de facto for all the people over whom it is maintained.

Having an intuitive perception, as well as the logical demonstration, that this country, being the most advanced in general progressive ideas, is the central point from which the idea of Universal Government must evolve, and around which it must aggregate, we have at all times advocated cosmopolitan rather than national ideas, with the view of bringing people to regard all nations as destined to form a part of one common nation. The deduction, to which reference is made, is fully sustained by the conclusive fact that the people who are represented in our government are so far from being purely American, and so far cosmopolitan, as to be composed of all nationalities, and being so, that in the United States there are already the necessary elements of a Universal Government, since if their people are the representatives of all nations, and governed by one form of polity which is acceptable to them, then there is already in existence a form of government which can spread over the world without change in

As we have said and repeated time and again, the basal idea of our theory is that all the people are the government, while their representatives are simply agents to perform certain specific duties which relate to the security and protection of individual rights.

If that be a true proposition, and we have a form of polity which admits of its application, the very first step to be made is to bring all the people into relations with the government. With this idea in view, we memorialized Congress last December, setting forth the fact that our government, though professing to represent all the people, does not in reality represent any part of the people except men, the women being denied all participation, and asking Congress to enact such laws as would give vitality to the provisions of the Constitution which guarantees the vital idea, the proposition of a Universal Government.

This movement, though not yet passed to a decision in the halls of Congress, is already decided by general consent.

Many of our most eminent statesmen accept the proposition. It is simply a question of how long those who hold the governmental power to-day can prevent the consummation. It is the question of the hour, endeavor to deny it as

they may, and the more screeningly they of possent, the more certainly will point all death await them. Being a vital issue, affecting the rights of a large body of citizens, it can neither be ignored nor parried, as it might were it simply a policy—a question of best interests—in which there could be an honest difference of opinion, which there cannot be where the question is one of a herent right.

It was to have been hoped that the Labor Party in convention at St. Louis would have taken a decided stand upon this first principle to be settled, and thus have been in the initiative in this movement, and thereby presented a platform upon which both these branches of reform could have marshaled their ranks. This was the more desirable from a general consideration than from the merely present condition in this country, since the Labor Party of this country, though not formally in alliance therewith, is the counterpart to the International Workingmen's Association of Europe, and at no far distant day will be in active cooperation with it.

The Labor Party of this country has for its present counciated principles such questions of home policy as have direct effect upon the relations of labor to capital, not look ing beyond our national boundaries, and not recognizing that le laborers of other countries are their natural brothers, worthy of and entitled to receive consideration in all matters which are discussed. In this ignoring it is argued that their own interests demand a degree of proscription toward the people of certain other nations, in which policy they depart from the basis of a common humanity, and fall far short of the basal propositions of the Internationals, which denounce war, abrogate national boundaries and demand a unity of interests for all people of all nations, based in the principles which our governmental theory furnish. Therefore, while we have the proper theory for a Universal Government, they propose the only complete application of the theory. From the union of the two must come that perfect blending of interests which prophesy the beginning of the aggregation that will ultimate in a universal application of that theory.

So, too, is the great revolution in sentiment evolved by the movement in this country for political relations among all the people met and counterparted in Europe by the gigantic revolutions toward unification of peoples which have occurred within the same period of time in which that has been active. France, weakening Austria by the forced establishment of the kingdom of Italy, thereby made it possible for Prussia to consolidate Germany without fear from Austria; but in the endcavor to prevent this France herself, who first opened the door for all this grand movement, became prostrated at the feet of the newly-made successor to Otho the Great and Charles V.

The Prussian King, having become the German Emperor, began at once to fortify himself against the only power he had to fear by making friends with Francis Joseph, who is the natural enemy of Alexander, for the possession of Constantinople. This new diplomacy on the part of Bismarck is eminently worthy his past success, since it would not do for Germany to permit Alexander and Francis Joseph to become united against Kaiser Wilhelm, and Austria must need be the ally of one or the other of those powerful monarchs. Being allied with Prussia may make it possible for Austria to regain her lost Italian prestige, as a compensation for her late humiliation at the hands of Napoleon and William, all of which is but preparatory to final final absorption by Germany.

The ostensible motive for this alliance in Central Europe is that Russia and France have also formed an offensive and defensive alliance. But this might has been anticipated by Bismarck, and probably was, and all along have been the real basis of the interchange of kindly feeling with Austria and Italy. In these extensive operations England seems to have had no hand. The country by whose means the first Napo leon was destroyed has now come to be ignored in European diplomacy. Whether this is because her material power has become insignificant when compared with the great Continental powers, or because liberalism is becoming so diffused among the English people, or from both causes combined, it may be hard to determine. Certain it is, however, that there is a potent cause existent which forbids the Gladstone government's entrance into present Continental questions. England's perfidy to France in permitting her humiliation and dismemberment unrebuked has not only lost her the confidence of France, but has taught the other powers her capacity for desertion and unreliability in time of need. This condition of England must naturally compel her to look westward for compensation, and prophesics the coming unity of the English-speaking nations, and thereby an advance in the direction of unitary government.

But behind all this again lie the common enemies of all monarchies and assumed governmental distinctions—the laboring people. They are already largely united by a common bond of sympathy, though that sympathy has not yet resulted in combined organization in this country to the extent it has in Europe. There this organization, amounting to nearly, if not quite, three million able-bodied men, is sufficiently organized to be considered a threat to monarchs, and their representatives appoint a conference for the nominal consideration of the Eastern question, but virtually to devise some plan to suppress the Internationals. The late developments in Russia regarding the organization open up an entirely new and unthought-of issue to the ultimate question of Cossaekism or Republicanism in Europe. If

these Russian middle classes really co-operate with the Internationals of the rest of Europe, a different face is put up in affairs, which sharply defines the heretofore dimouthines of the future republics of Europe, which we long since stated to be the Latinic, the Teutonic and the Shavonic—three mighty powers, taking into themselves all other lesser ones. Europe, thus divided, would be safe against war, since the central or Teutonic Republic could always rely upon the protection of one of her neighbors against absorption or lumiliation by the other.

The rising importance of the Internationals pushes this question forward for the consideration of all statesmen who are to be distinguished from ordinary people by their foresight of coming events, and by paving the way for their exodus.

Consolidation of peoples is, then, the "Rising Power" in the world, and is the prophecy of near-at-hand realization of something approaching Universal Government. When Europe, revolutionized as pointed out above, shall, with the United American States, inaugurate a Grand International Tribunal for the arbitration and settlement of all international questions, this Tribunal will virtually be the governing power of the world, since but one step more will be required to consolidate into a single form of administration.

Indeed would such a governmental consummation be the prophecy of the millennium which prophets have so long foretold and poets sung? And the securing of equal political or governmental rights to all people in the representative country of the world will be set down in history as the actual turning point in government from its mere diffusive evolution into that of a constructive evolution, which is the grander and nobler form, since it is an aggregation around one point of that which has been all these ages finding its way outward and into the hearts and intellects of the people.

Then and then only can there be a practical application of the brotherhood of the whole human family. Then and not till then can the professions of Christians possess that living vitalizing power which shall make all people brothers and sisters by acknowledging themselves of common origin and destiny. Then and not till then will it be possible for men and women, being equal, in all respects, as human beings, to practice Golden Rule, which is the truest religion of humanity.

MINISTERING SPIRITS.

All places where our friends have lived and died Are haunted places; thro' the open doors
The gentle spirits on their errands g ide,
With feet that make no sound upon the floors.
We meet them at the doorway, on the stair;
Along the passages they come and go.
The stranger at my fireside cannot see
The forms I see, nor hear the sounds I hear.
He but perceives what is, while unto me
All that has been is visible and clear.
The spirit world around this world of sense
Floats like an atmosphere, and everywhere
Wafts thro' these earthly mists and vapors dense
The vital breath of spirits minist'ring there.
—Longfellow.

THE INTERNATIONAL.

It ought to be known that this association is not secret—it does not aspire to the honor of being a conspiracy. Its meetings are held in public; they are open to all comers, though only members are permitted to speak (unless by special invitation), and none but members are allowed to vote. The several sections in this city and vicinity meet as follows:

Section 1 (German).—Sunday, 8 P. M., at the Tenth Ward Hotel, corner of Broome and Forsyth streets.

Section 2 (French).—Sunday, 2 P. M., at No. 100 Prince

street (especially to accommodate female members).

Section 6 (German).—Friday, 8 p. m., at No. 10 Stanton street.

Section 8 (German).—Monday, 8 P. M., at No. 53 Union avenue, Williamsburg, L. I.

Section 9 (American).—Wednesday, 8 p. m., at No. 35 East Twenty-seventh street.

Section 11 (German).—Thursday, 8 p. m., West Thirtyninth street, between Eighth and Ninth avenues, at Hessel's. Section 12 (American).—Sunday, 8 p. m., at No. 44 Broad street

WHETHER the schemes of the Paris Commune were wise or unwise, whether the deeds of the insurgents were culpable or commendable, each Communist was giving the example which most of all in these craven days is needed: each Communist bounded with alacrity and joy to death for his convictions. Who in England of those that vilify or of those that praise the Paris Communists is willing to do the same ? There is one kind of poltroonery, called Mathusianism, preached; and there is another kind of poltroonery, called Secret Voting, preached; and there are numberless other poltrooneries, all seeking to lessen or to extinguish the valiant sense of moral responsibility. The fault of the Paris Commune was not in being too passionate, but in pondering and hesitating when it should have darted itself, a flame of passion, at wicked men and odious institutions. It was too mimetic; it was too much influenced by reminiscences of the first French Revolution. Passion should have the originality of genius; it should imitate nothing. Let us nourish the heat of passion in ourselves; let us kindle the fire of passion in others. If, according to the old Greek saying, "war is the father of all things," warmth is the mother of all things; but a warmth like that of nature, diffused in most opulent truitfulness, and only exploding from time to time, and irresisti-

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44 Broad Street, New York City.

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. Bover, 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.

EIGHTH NATIONAL CONVENTION.

THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SPIRITUALISTS.

The eighth National Convention will meet in Troy, N. Y. on Tuesday, the 12th day of September, at 10 o'clock in the morning, and continue in session three days.

Each active local society, and each Progressive Lyceum of any State, Territory or Province, which has no General Association, shall be entitled to one delegate for each fractional filty members.

These Associations and Lyceums are respectfully invited to appoint delegates to attend this meeting and participate in the proceedings thereof.

Mrs. H. F. M. Brown, President, 137‡ Madison street, Chicago, Ill. H. T. CHILD, M. D., Secretary, 634 Race street, Philadelphia, Pa.

SECTION No. 12 of "The International" will hold their regular meeting at 44 Broad street, Sunday next, at 8 o'clock P. M. Friends from other sections cordially invited.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION (SECTION No. 2).

CITIZEN: The French Section, No. 2, of the International at the general session of the 6th August, decided that in future it would hold a session on the second Sunday of each month, at 2 o'clock P. M. This reunion has been voted with the special purpose of offering more convenience to the ladies who might desire to join the International, and who cannot be present at the morning sessions. In consequence of this decision your attendance is requested at the next reunion, at the usual place of meeting, 100 Prince street.

II. CHARNIER, Secretary.

TO HORACE GREELEY.

Sir-I find in the Golden Age of August 12 an article headed "Mr. Greeley on the Woman Question," and in the same paper an answer by Mr. Tilton, to which I shall also have some occasion to allude. The reason why I feel called on to enter into this particular discussion, the almost necessity which you have laid upon me to do so, will be apparent to the public from the following paragraph—the closing one -extracted from your communication:

But why should any man be the candidate for President of But why should any man be the candidate for President of the Woman Suffragists? Logically and consistently, I feel that their candidate should be a woman. She ought, more-over, to be one thoroughly emancipated from the "absurd-ity and folly," the "narrowness" and the "baleful con-servatism," which I am now too old to outgrow. Could you not find one who illustrates in her own person and history what you so felicitously term "the liberal thought of an en-lightened age?" Let her be one who has two husbands after a sort, and lives in the same house with them both, sharing a sort, and lives in the same house with them both, sharing the couch of one, but bearing the name of the other (to indicate her impartiality, perhaps), and cause and candidate will be so fitly mated that there will be no occasion, even under the most liberal, progressive, enlightened regime, to sue for their divorce. Could not one of this class be persual d to overbear her shrinking modesty and nominate

In a spirit of hearty hatred for Free Love and all its infer-In a spinional nai delusions,
I remain, yours,

HORACE GREELEY.

TRIBUNE OFFICE, August 7, 1871.

and courtesy to say

but does not name is an ungentle and gross reflection on a bife which has been marked by great suffering, which has been guided by pure motives, and which has flowered into rare worth. Knowing her well, we respect her not less highly than we do Mr. Greeley himself. We know not how to say more.

Neither does Mr. Tilton name the "certain lady;" but the allusion by Mr. Greeley to me and my domestic affairs is too pointed and direct to be misunderstood by anybody, and evidently he intended to preclude the possibility of its being misunderstood. To no other woman than to me has this avalanche of malignant venom any applicability. This is, therefore, my conflict. Mr. Tilton may very well answer, even more fully, as he proposes to do, other portions of Mr. Greeley's manifesto on the woman question; but this personality it belongs to me especially to reply to. For the completeness of this reply, I wish, however, first to make another extract from Mr. Greeley's article, and also another from the answer of Mr. Tilton, already published.

Mr. Greeley says:

You are entirely, eminently right, Mr. Editor, in asserting that my conviction of the proper indissolubility of mar-riage is the main-pring of my hostility to woman sufrage, and to the social philosophy from which many vainly seek to separate the woman movement. Though I have written or dictated very little of what has, during the last ten years, been printed as editorial in the *Tribune* on this subject, it is nevertheless true that my conception of the nature and scope of the marriage relation renders my conversion to

woman suffrage a moral impossibility.

I have but two left of seven children, and these are both daughters. I would gladly fit them for lives of usefulness and honor, as beloved and loving wives of virtuous, upright, noble men, and mothers, it it shall please God, of good, healthy, happy children. It it be decreed that they are to be not such women as those I have most admired and reverenced, but men with a female physique-powerful in ward caucuses and nominating conventions, vehement in senate and on the stump, and effective before juries in the trial of shall close before theirs is fairly begun. When and where they shall thus shine it will not be pleasant for me to stay.

Mr. Tilton replies:

Mr. Greeley speaks of his two daughters with an affection which does honor to his heart, but he hopes that if they are ever to become Woman Suffragists, and to speak in public, or to argue law cases, and tue like, he may first have a chance to creep into his grave. And yet those two daughters have a mother as well as a father. Their mother, as is well-brown is a heart. known, is a hearty Woman Suffragist. She headed the petition to the Constitutional Convention of the State of New York praying that body to incorporate Woman Suffrage into the new Constitution. She is very ill—nearer to the grave than her husband. And we believe that nothing would cheer her in her sick chamber so exquisitely, or make her so content to exchange worlds, as the reflection that she could pass away, leaving those same daughters in full possession of all the rights which she so bravely demanded for them from the supreme law of the State, under her husband's frown and against her husband's vote.

The war has already opened, then, not only by an unflinching assault upon the character of my private relations, but by, with Mr. Greeley's own consent and by his own act, the commencement of a direct scrutiny of his family relations, as well.

It might, perhap, be thought more courtly if the social conflict now on the docket of world-issues and up for trial, could have been conducted without personalities or the intrusive inspection of family affairs. I do not doubt that such a mode of conducting the war would suit best with Mr. Greeley's ordinary conservative views; and that it is through some irritation, mistake or oversight that he has overstepped those limits and authorized the carrying of the war into his and his coadjutors' domestic Africa.

For me and mine, we shrink in no manner from this shape given to the campaign. On the contrary, personalities and domesticities are probably, contrary to the conservative prejudices we have all been bred in, just the proper arena on which the war of social ideas should be fought out. then the harmony of a household, and finally abridged For ourselves, we should be very glad if all conventional the lives of five out of seven of the children of that marbarriers were set aside; and if we might be beld free to dis- riage, perhaps it will also appear that Mr. Greeley, while cuss openly the facts, as they are known to us, of the private households of all the great lights of the age, men and women, with a view to clucidating the views we entertain. It is with immense sacrifice, and with a real generosity, which we know is in some quarters gratefully appreciated, that we refrain from lifting the roofs off the tops of the houses.

But in Mr. Greeley's case I am fully excused from any courtesy which should restrain my criticism. He has chosen to invade my family sanctum. He will not object to my invading his. I only regret that in his case, as in mine, persons will have to be mentioned who are only incidentally involved. I beg pardon of Mrs. Greeley and her daughters, in advance, but both they and the public will see that certainly no unfriendliness is intended. Every war involves the interests of some innocent parties. I wish to be just. I do not accuse Mr. Greeley of sinning, knowingly and in his own person, against his own code of morality. I think he is one of the very few men connected with the secular press, to say nothing now of the religious press, of New York City, who either believe in or practice the puritanical code in the social relations. I think he is an honest bigot, and not a pretentious hypocrite, on that subject. And when he says that he would oppose all relaxation of the stringency of the marriage laws, and that he opposes female suffrage because he thinks that the civic tends toward the social enfranchisement of women, I believe that he says honestly tribes against the woman suffragists. This is as much as to

Mr. Tilton, in his reply to Mr. Greeley, has the kindliness what he thinks. It is only the more to be regretted that his prejudice against one form of truth is so strong and unrea-Mr. Greeley's allusion to a certain lady whom he describes soning that it leads him to oppose another form of truth from its incidental associations with the other.

When, therefore, I take the liberty of saying what has been an open secret for many years, that Mr. Greeley's home has always been a sort of domestic hell, I do not mean that Mr. Greeley has proved an unfaithful husband, in the ordinary sense of that term. On the contrary, he has, rather, I think, been held up, and I believe rightly, too, as a model husband in that particular. And for that reason the fault and the opprobrium of the domestic discord has been heaped on Mrs. Greeley. And who has ever come to her defense? Or take another case of a lady who has laid under the ban of public ridicule and censure longer than Mrs. Greeley. I mean Xantippe, the wife of another philosopher of the same stamp. The world has been told, and has repeated for more than twenty centuries, the serio-comic story of her irritable and scolding temper, of her unreasonable and tormenting conduct. And the world has sympathized with Socrates, and has condemned her.

Who has ever troubled himself to inquire how much philosopher Socrates or philosopher Greeley has had to do with souring the temper, unstringing the nerves, and completely disorganizing the sensitive machinery of a delicate woman's organization. Mankind look so much to effects and so little to causes. A scolding woman is a palpable fact, to the annoyance of everybody about her. A senseless brute of a man, even though a philosopher-a man I mean, now, merely, when the case is no worse, who has no delicate capacity for appreciating a woman's nature—may, quite unconsciously to himself, and quite unobserved by others, grate continuously on the sensibilities of her soul, more, a thousand times, than the tongue of a shrew upon the cars of anybody. Whenever, therefore, a scolding, a nervous, an unreasonable or even a devilish tendency is developed in a wife, it is well to scrutinize closely the qualities of the husband.

Nothing can be more aggravating to a woman and a mother than a senseless indifference on the part of a husband and father to all the aspirations of mother and daughters for some wider career or some greater security of condition than that which marriage affords. The total forgetfulness on the part of Mr. Greeley that there is any such party in interest as Mrs. Greeley, in speaking of the destiny of their daughters, is a probable indication of the man's whole character in his relation with a high-spirited woman who was intensely conscious that she ought to go for somebody in the world, but who was choked with the suffocating consciousness that she was made into a practical nobody in the grip of that divine institution which Mr. Greeley upholds, and by the callous manishness of Mr. Greeley himself, who, instead of consulting the woman as to what she needs, knows it all for her, and prescribes her sphere. Mr. Tilton's point is, therefore, well taken, that there is a Mrs. Greeley also in the case, and one who has had the bravery to head a movement for suffrage directly in the teeth of Mr. Greeley's insulting assumption of being himself the only party entitled to have an opinion on the subject.

But Mr. Greeley makes the unconscious insolence of his position somewhat pathetic by alluding to the fact that of seven children that he has had, he has only two now remaining. There are thinkers and philanthropists in the world who would inquire why Mr. Greeley's children have died; or if they had been born idiots, why they were idiots; or if deaf or blind, why deaf or blind. And there are some who so connect sequences with their antecedents as to see that the incompatibility or disharmony of parents is a fruitful cause of the death of children, as it is of their deformity. If, then, it shall appear that the ignorant bigotry of Mr. Greeley himself, blindly and stupidly unconscious, but real, such as would now decide on the fate of his remaining daughters with no reference whatever to their individuality or wishes, has first wrecked the happiness of a wife, and complying with every demand of the law-a Pharisee of the Prarisees on the marriage question—is not less guilty before the bar of a higher morality than Victoria C. Woodhull, whose irregularities and lack of deference for Mrs. Grundy disturb Mr. Greeley's mind so seriously.

So much in respect to Mr. Greeley's domestic family. A word now in respect to his official family, his editorial staff, and his political favorites and associates. Mr. Tilton makes the point on him so strikingly well on this subject also, that I cannot forbear again to quote:

But even if the worst which Mr. Greeley imagines against a woman nominated for the presidency were true—if, for in-stance, she were a profligate—Mr. Greeley's own logic would estop him from objecting to her political preferment on this account. Mr. Greeley believes in the same morality for men as women. Now he has spent a lifetime in advocating the fortunes of politicians who were perfectly well known to him to be personally unchaste. How many Presidents, Governors, Senators, Representatives, Judges and the like has Mr. Greeley helped to elect, knowing or believing at the very time of his advocacy that they were loose and irregular in their private lives! How many public men does the *Tribune* now, dry by day, as occasion arises, compliment on their public efforts, knowing at the same time that they are rotten in their private. vate characters! Consistency is said to be a jewel. Perhaps this is the reason why Mr. Greeley does not carry it about with him.

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be siven. It is only in freedom that the majority of men

will ever learn that primarily what woman wants freedom

for is to be free to reject; and that why they of ject to mar-

riage is that it is ruinous to real chastity and virtue. In their ignorance of all this, men make very grievous blunders when they encounter free-love women. I have myself had, repeatedly, to free myself of the presence of "gentlemen of the press," as too intolerable, with their las civious allusions and gross conduct, to be endured, when those same gentlemen of the press have gone home to indite pious and cloquent objurgations against free love. It would be going, perhaps, a step too far to tell Mr. Greeley, in this public way, how near to his own intimate circle of editorial friendship these remarks, if pursued, might conduct us. But the point is that Mr. Greeley, if he knew all about it, would, with all his "virtue." retain near him and accept the lecherous man, and would condemn the pure woman, who happens to believe that our existing social system tends to make men into just such brutes; and that in complete freedom, when the nature of women should also have free play, they would rapidly be cured, and recalled into their true manhood.

Let us now turn to the consideration of my offenses, as enumerated by Mr. Greeley; the offences of "one who has two husbands after a sort," "who lives in the same house with them both, sharing the couch of one, but bearing the name of the other," and of one who may be "persuaded to overbear her shrinking modesty and nominate herself."

In respect to my domestic relations, which were dragged upon the public by those who desired and intended to injure me, but to whom I am only too grateful for that favor, I knew not, when I decided and acted, at the several epochs of my life, that I should ever meet with a single outside. friend who would justify me. But as I was justified to myself I decided and acted as I did; and I am only embarrassed by the idea that any one should think that by speaking on the subject at all I am condescending to apologize to anybody. I was divorced from Dr. Woodhull for reasons which to me were sufficient, but I was never his enemy. He continued to need my friendship, and he has had it. My children continued to prize and to need his affection and presence, and they have had them. Circumstances over which I assumed the right to decide for myself, to the satisfaction of all who were immediately concerned, made it best that I should retain in public the name by which I was already known, as in the case of actresses, singers and other public women is often done. In both respects my conduct is undoubtedly irregular. I knew not how it would be accounted of by the world if the world should trouble itself with the matter; but the complete acceptance and justification not merely, but the appreciative laudation also, which has been conferred on my course in respect to my "two husbands," even in the most conservative quarters, have been among the most gratifying experiences of my life. That I should have dared to be the protector and friend of a discarded but unfortunate husband has not condemned me in the judgment of the Christian women and others of this enlightened community; and, with the exception of some thoughtless badinage and mere slang, Mr. Greeley's is almost the only voice that has been raised adversely.

In regard to my original motives for announcing myself as a candidate for the Presidency, and the wisdom or unwisdom of that move, as an evolution in the tactics of political agitation, on behalf of an unpopular cause, I am willing to submit it to the decision of history; for the woman movement will be sure to have a history, from whose verdict, I am vain enough to think, Mr. Greeley has much more to fear than I have.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

A good book and a good woman are excellent things for those who know how justly to appreciate their value. There are men, however, who judge both from the beauty of the covering.

TAPOR AND CAPITAL

. 'A to all citizens is impossirongs that under it We have favorable of gargument may be address tower, tried by the emprehensive principle, it a constraint the ground. There is a no more futal idea can be privated an evidence of prospecity. The is to by the case. R if wealth and prosperity 711 this such an operation of east in the prices, at in the contract which are I from m. What the few no listed all times open to charge, must always fluctuate with as of men who know what freedom means, and every such change. A pirson 125 this year may become ring with the advanced corps of reference ry 77 = next. Disester, destruction, ruin and general alarm and some next for its good uses nearly every male his want of confidence have always followed changes in the prothe gours homo assumes, in his crube thought on the bective policy in this country. Prices which, under protection subject, that they woman who believes in freedom is, there than, are stimulated to and ac proportions, on the removal or fore, tree in his sense of the word, and ready to throw her- reduction of tariffs, fall as far below the actual mean as they self into the error of every man who appreaches her. The were above it. High prices at the expense of permanency result is the they with the greating revelations of their own like not the ultimatum to be sought by any people of any the seminatifying mistakes to themselves, every country. The true point to seek is, the employment of inhour. It is one of the first and her uses of social freedom dustries in these directions where most can be produced at the first which such men receive they get a lesson that expense, in the accumulation of the parameter of the first which such men receive they get a lesson that expense, in the accumulation of the parameter which the country must become more rapidly wealthy than in the production of the least at the greatest expense.

If by protection this country become enriched at the expense of England, there would be a chance for an argument for protection: but such is not the case. The total "imposition" made on importations is a direct tax upon one part of the people for the benefit of the other part, but which results in benefit to nobody. Those whom it is supposed to benefit would be better off were they engaged in some pursuits which would be self-supporting, and which, if they did not bring them so large present wages, would have the greater advantage of permanency. It is no particular object, and we consider it an empty honor, for this country to manufacture articles at a cost of one hundred per cent. over what the same are produced elsewhere for: the only object gained being, that we may be able to say that they are produced at home, and that we pay double price that they may be thus produced.

The fallacies of protection are well illustrated by supposing that a dozen individuals, possessed of a thousand dollars each, should attempt to get rich by gambling among themselves. The sum total of their funds would be no larger if it were finally in the hands of one of their number. To add to their money they must win from some outside par ly, since they cannot add to its amount by advancing its representative value, as prices of real and personal property are advanced. Protecting industries works similar results. It compels one part of the people to gamble with another part, and finally results in the accumulation of all the wealth of the country in the hands of the few. It is impossible to add to the wealth of the country by making its farmers pay large prices to its manufacturers. Large products over consumption sent to other countries are the desideratum, our own citizens being the agents for their transportation. 1 the various interests of a country only produce a sufficient amount to meet the demands among themselves, how can they add to the aggregate wealth, except by increasing its

price, which in reality is no increase in real value? What would the manufacturers of Massachusetts say, were t attempted to enforce protection to the farmers of the State by levying a fifty per cent. duty on Western produce, in or der that they might be able to compete with the Western farmer and thus supply all the subsistence there used? Or what would Illinois say, were everything which she requires of Massachusetts compelled to pay an equal duty before it could reach her for consumption. It is true the Constitution prohibits such a thing, but what better principle is fol lowed in applying that which is prohibited as between States to the commercial intercourse between nations? Protection is a short-sighted, unprincipled and unreasonable policy, and, like land-grabbing, tends to the establishment of monopolies.

great problem of the assimilation of the world's in In the terests, which is being rapidly solved, it must be learned that the United States is as yet but part of the world, and that the best interests of individual nations are subserved when the best interests of all nations are consulted. The same rule holds good in this application that is true in regard to the individuals of a country; the best interests of each lie in promoting the best int rests of all. Under this rule, carried to its perfect working, the industries of the world would localize, where each would produce the most of its peculiar products at the least average cost, which being given over to commerce, would be transported to such parts of the world as demand them in exchange for products produced by its localized industries in the greatest quantities at the least cost. Thus would be introduced a grand system of economy, which would result in fixed and unchangeable channels of commerce, and the employment of the industries of the whole world according to the natural law of demand and supply, which cannot produce alternate flood and dearth.

If tariffs for the protection of industries are not admissible upon the principle of equality, are they any less to be depre cated as systems of rewnue? Here we touch a point upon which the people are very sensitive, and justly so. The levying of duties upon imported goods is an indirect way of taxing that portion of the people who consume such goods. The case and poverty is unable to make he de

amount obtained by this most unequal and indirect manner of taxing the people was, for the last fiscal year, the large sum of one hundred and ninety-four millions four hundred and forty-eight thousand four hundred and twenty-seven "objection to the policy of dollars, and dollars of which was an additional tax gathered from the individuals who finally purchased and consumed such imports. This would not have been important had it fallen equally upon the taxable property of the country, upon which general taxes are levied; but one hundred millions of this was collected from woolens, cottons, sugar, molasses, coffee and tea, all of which the poorest laborers, who should pay no tax, in common with the richest landlords, are nearly qual consumers. Thus every laboring man was compelled to pay his ten, twenty or fifty dollars to the government, in proportion to the number of his family.

Working men and women of the United States! how like you this manner of filching your hard-earned dollars under the fraudulent name of raising a revenue? It is no wonder that your wages will scarcely meet your families' necessities, when you are thus compelled to pay such sums upon the nost common staple articles of general consumption. It is no wonder you continue to be laborers, never being able to become producers upon your own accounts, when you who should not, and, under general and just principles of taxation, would not, be called upon to pay a single dollar as a direct tax, are thus burdened.

Nor are the other means to which government resorts for support entitled to much more consideration. There is no equality for the people in any of them, and it is quite evident that the system of revenue for the support of government must be remodeled so as to fall where it properly belongs upon the taxable property of the country. This done, and a sound financial system inaugurated, the laboring classes would begin to be leveled up to a medium and the upper classes to be leveled down to the same basis of material pros-

A system of taxation for the maintenance of government should be devised by which one set of officials should collect all the moneys which are to be gathered, and thereby introduce a grand system of economy which would save at least three-fourths of the expense now incurred by the almost innumerable methods which obtain the people's money without their realizing the amounts they pay. All these things the laboring classes must first understand and then rectify. They will never attain anything approaching equality in the manner through which government is now administered. Never will the laboring classes become independent of the wealthy classes, until the freedom, equality and justice which are the birthright of every citizen of the United States are possible of attainment under their government.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

MONS. THIERS AND WOODHULL AND CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

The bigoted Kaiser Wilhelm prohibits our paper in his dominions, but we see that Mons. Thiers not only takes our paper but accepts our exposition of the causes of the dismemberment of France as the only true solution.

On the 18th February last we published an article on the European situation and its causes, in which we made the assertion that the erection of the Kingdom of Italy weakened Austria, made her a victim to Prussia, hence destroyed the balance of power, Prussia becoming relatively stronger, absorbing the North-German States, and thus becoming stronger than France. We gave a full page to the elucidation of this question, being the first journal in either hemisphere to ex pound the true causes of the downfall of Napoleon Thinand the humiliation of France. On July 26 ultimo, Mon-Thiers made a speech of our article, taking the same groun from beginning to end. We said in our article that the erectio of the Kingdom of Italy was the cause of all France's trouble Mr. Thiers uses the same words, adding that it was a sensless and blind act on the part of France.

We said that the voice of European peoples only pr vented intervention to defeat Napoleon's project of makin Italy a nation. Mr. Thiers admits that, and adds that th same voice now holds him back from going to war wi

We shall shortly publish an article on the Eistern questic which will soon let loose the dogs of war again in Europe.

THE breaking out of the cholera in Northern Germa alarms the English; and the terror of the English show affect us to the extent, at least, of adopting all reasons precautions and preventives. The cause of cholera as epidemic is very imperfectly understood, whether it be mospheric or the result of specific contagion is unser-But once in a city or country, its ravages are promoted uncleanliness and by a morbid state of apprehension in public mind, while they are controllable by judi ious s tary measures, and by moral courage and a healthy pesentiment. Let our sanitary officials do their duty. street cleaning be attended to-not the leading street wealth and fashion, but the side and back streets, which an abiding nuisance and offense to the eye and the rese, a standing disgrace to our sanitary in the tors and result ors. Fifth avenue may be led to take care of their 1 after the poor streets and wards where fith

THE WEEKLY BULLETIN

OF THE

PANTARCHY.

DEFINITION AND DEFINITIONS OF FREE LOVE

The New York Tribuse of late, and now Mr. Tilton's Golden Age, have gone wool-gathering over the possible and appropriate meaning or meanings of Free Love. Mr. Tilton has the following:

WHAT IS FREE LOVE ?

There is a loose, idle and mischievous phrase going up and down the land, to which the numerous people who use it at

down the land, to which the numerous people who use it attach various meanings, no two persons apparently using it in the same sense. We refer to the term Free Love. It is high time that this expression should now have a fixed and definite meaning. It is not in either Webster's or Worcester's dictionary, but sprang into existence, we believe, since both these lexicographers died. As it ought to have an unmistakable interpretation, we propose the following plan for determining it: for determining it

Let Mrs. Paulina Wright Davis, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, Mrs. Celia Burleigh, Mrs. Victoria C. Woo mull, Mrs. Lucy Stone, Miss Susan B. Anthony and Mrs. Rose Mackinley—by all of whom we have seen this phrase used in various and conflicting senses—sit down, each of them, as soon as their eyes fall on this paragraph, and drop a note to the Golden Age, giving in the briefest possible compass their separate ideas of its proper signification.

We will take pleasure in printing all these communications

Then, after having submitted the case to this jury of good women, we will see if we can get the jury themselves to agree in accepting any one of their various significations as final, and to be adhered to in future.

We think the press generally would agree to abide by such a decision. Meanwhile there is confusion, daily worse confounded. Mr. Greeley condemns Mrs. Paulina Davis because she is a Free Lover, and the Commercial Advertiser con-

demns Mr. Greeley for being the same. Let us end the perplexity by having the letters of defini-

I cannot perceive anything loose, idle and mischievous in this phrase, or anything more so in connection with the whole subject than the loose, idle and mischievous lack of logic in anybody's mind which should occasion any difficulty in understanding the subject. Mr. Tilton would not commit the folly of calling Freedom of the Press a loose, idle and mischievous phrase. Just as little would be fall into the absurdity of confounding freedom of the press with the immoral and distasteful uses which some authors and publishers may choose to make of that freedom. He would know and say, at once, that the question of the right and expediency of the freedom of the press, taking into account all the uses and all the abuses which will come of it, is one thing to be considered, and a wholly distinct question from that of the abuses as such. He would know and say that every freedom is by its very nature, as freedom, liable to be put to bad uses by bad people: but that that fact does not determine that the freedom is a bid thing; inasmuch as good people need that same freedom for the best of uses and purposes. It is astounding to me that any American, in whose home he must, as a child, have heard precisely these distinctions dilated upon a thousand times, as the justification of all the forms of freedom which we enjoy, can need at this day a definition of freedom in any new application, logically allied with the forms of freedom already vindicated; or that he can need to have pointed out to him the difference between the Principle, covering all uses good and bad, and the uses themselves, good or bad, which different kinds of people may make of the freedom. I am equally surprised that anybody, any such person especially, an American with the very definition of freedom born in his blood, should think or Free Love a loose, idle and mischievous phrase, and call for a jury of matrons to define it, for the use of self and partners of the editorial corps.

Whether the ladies appealed to will volunteer to disperse the mistiness which, after twenty years' discussion, continues to envelop the editorial brain upon this plain subject I cannot say. Masculine genius is not called on in this behalf by the Golden Age; but about ten years ago Mr. Greeley did apply to me formally and expressly "to tell the people what I meant by free love; for," he added, "they will persist in calling me a free lover, and you know, Andrews, that I ain't." Willing, out of my abounding benevolence, to give the distinguished editor, politician and philanthropist a certificate of good moral character, in which department I consider myself an expert, I prepared the following definition, which was published at the time in the Tribune, and which I now republish in the Bulletin of the Pantarchy, hoping it may be some consolation to editors in search after knowledge under difficulties, until such time as Mr. Tilton shall get his jury of women impanneled.

For that sturdy conservatism and bigotry which, with no pretense that it does not understand us, honestly doubts same self-regulating potency which it has in other spheres, I have complete respect; but as for that mental slumpiness on the part of reformers, and especially of such as believe in the thing itself, and propound and defend it under other names, but who can never make out what free love means, they force.

anti-slavery as anybody, but they were no Positionists." be cause abolition was the straightforward and direct name for anti-slavery, which, in consequence of being so, had been covered with the slaveholders' opprobrium; and weak-kneed advocates tried, therefore, to dodge it. For all such it re quires a higher degree of Christian virtue to feel tolerant May the Lord help us to preserve our equanimity in speaking of them. S. P. A.

FREE LOVE.

To the Elitor of the N. Y. Tribunc.

Sire: During some five or six years past, and especially of late, the Newspaper Press has made free use of my name in connection with what it denominates the Doctrine of Free Love. Every variety of interpretation has been put upon my opinions, usually the least tavorable which the imagina tion of the writer could devise, with a view, apparently, of cultivating still further the natural prejudice existing in the public mind against any one bold enough to agitate the delicate and difficult question of the true relations of the sexes, and the legitimate role which the Passions were intended to to play in the economy of the Universe. During the same period, I have allowed the Press to make what havoc it pleased of my reputation, uttering no word of explanation or reply, for the reason that neither Press nor People were, as I believe, prepared to do justice in the premises, and I preterred to "bide my time," rather than seek or accept the stinted half justice which I might, perhaps, have supplicated and obtained. Most or all of my co-doctrinaires have pursued the same course. Two results have followed: First, in the absence of any readiness on the part of the public to know the truth on the subject, false, extravagant and ridiculous notions have flooded the country in its stead; secondly in the absence of any opportunity for a judicious popular advocacy of Social Freedom, and despite abuse, the doctrine itself has made unprecedented progress, until at this day its advocates are numbered by thousands, while there are in. cluded among them an unusual proportion of the wealthy, intelligent and refined.

However flattering it might be, under ordinary circumstances, to have a large corps of learned and respectable gentlemen, like the members of the Press, anxious to expound one's opinions, I confess that I should prefer to represent my own convictions and views. Should the time have arrived, therefore, when, in your judgment, it will better subserve the wants of the public to have an authentic statement of a doctrine which they are not expected to approve than to be befogged and deceived by false, confused and conflicting reports, you will, at the same time, confer a personal favor by publishing the following definition of Free Love.

America, and through it, the world, have been recently startled, shocked and horrified even, by the announcement of a new freedom, the Freedom of Love. It may be well to reflect that every new idea, fraught with any genuine greatness or value, has, in other times, startled, shocked and horrified the public in whose ears it was first uttered, and to inquire whether we, in our day, may not be, perchance, repeating the same ridiculous farce, the night-mare of the world's infancy, the panic of ignorance and "verdancy," with which the race has always hitherto accorded a reception to every new dispensation of the truth.

Is there anything to terrify the imagination in the idea of Freedom? Is not Freedom already recognized and worshiped as a goddess, and her image stamped upon the coin of the realm? Is it Love that is viewed as a monster, whose very name paralyzes with fear? There are ancient writings, not a little revered among us, which declare that "Love is the fulfilling of the law;" and again, that "God is Love." How, then, does it happen that Free Love, or the Freedom of Loving Hearts, should be a word of terror to mankind, so that the world forgets her propriety, and is made to misname the clear, expressive, appropriate and beautiful term | behave herself, with unseemly alarm, at the mere mention of an etymological combination, the elements of which, uttered separately, fall with the soothing cadence of a lullaby upon the same excitable nerves.

Free Love is simply the antithesis of enslaved Love. This is equally true in all the senses of which the word is susceptible, whether confined to the amative and sentimental relation of the sexes, or enlarged to signify the whole affectional nature of man.

In beginning an agitation for the emancipation of the human race from the tyranny which prescribes what it is lawful for them to feel, the writer of this intended the freedom of the whole range of the affections, and adopted, as the technicality to express that idea, the term " Freedom of the Affections." The common instinct of the people, more direct and simple than the speculations of philosophy, has substituted the term "Free Love," and carls the partisans of the doctrine "Free Lovites."

The principle of Individual ty prohibits me from assuming to represent the opinions of others. For myself, and for so many as concur in the views here expressed, I accept and approve the amended terminology. Individually, I am, then, a Free Lovitc. I adopt and promulgate the doctrine of that freedom can be trusted so far, whether in this new and | Free Love, in every legitimate understanding of its significamore delicate sphere of human affairs it will exhibit the tion. Without restraining the meaning of the word to the relations of the sexes, it is admitted that those relations are included and mainly intended by it, and that the freedom proposed contemplates the entire abolition of the institution of Marriage as a legal tie to be maintained and perpetuated by

as existing in the public mind, is the prevalent belief that the Bible has prescribed an indissoluble monogamy, or the life-marriage of one man and one woman, as the only form of the union of the sexes which God approves. This belief results from the interpretation which some of the words of Christ in relation to marriage have almost uniformly received. Whenever positive discoveries are made in science, the interpretation which theologians have previously put upon scriptural texts must, perforce, be modified and adapted to the ascertained truth. If a newly discovered fact or principle, no matter what, be such as to compel the conviction of the human mind by a direct appeal to reason or con sciousness, there is no alternative for any religious dogma which stands opposed to it but to yield and give way before the progress of knowledge. It belongs to the theologian to find a new interpretation, which shall coincide with the rev elations of science. The Scriptures have been held, at vari, ous periods, with equal unanimity, to teach that the sun revolves around the earth; that kings reign of divine right, and must not, for any cause, be resisted; and that the world was created in six literal days. With the progress of astronomy, politics and geology, each of these convictions has given way before the scientific discovery of adverse facts and prin-

If Physiology should establish the fact, for example, that disease is planted in the human system from birth whenever there is incompatibility of temper or temperament between the parents, that the death in infancy of more than half of the children born is due to this more than to any other cause, and that, therefore, the best interests of the race require that the relations of the sexes shall be adjusted by science, aided by unlimited freedom and every variety of sexual experience; or if Physiology or Sociology fairly and fully establishes any other PRINCIPLE, touching the Science of Man, which is adverse to our present monogamic marriage system, the present theological and ethical belief on the subject not only may, but must, be swept out of existence by the new species of knowledge thus acquired. Principles and known facts refuse absolutely to be set aside out of deference to any Creed. however sacred it may be thought to be. If exeresis cannot provide a new rendering for the text, so muck the worse for the text, and for the book in which it is contained. Theology itself is a progressive science, and, perchance, it may be tound teaching, at no distant day, that the Christian Millennium, the Socialist Reign of Harmony, and the Will of God to be done on earth, for which we pray in conjunction with 'Thy kingdom come," are one and the same period, and the same again with the "kingdom of Heaven," in which there is neither "marrying nor giving in marriage," but where "all are as the angels of God." Perhaps it may also teach that this last expression signifies "the saints made perfect," or simply Mea and Women developed and wise enough to be a 'law unto themselves," understanding the laws of their own organization, and gladly obeying the truth as it is revealed to them, in their own experience, from day to day. It is not impossible, therefore, that the religious teachings of a few years hence may recognize a continuous succession of "Dispensations," in the last and highest of which, in the future, neither the constable, the policeman nor the turnkey shall be a necessary functionary to compel men and women to live together in unloving relations, or to prevent them from regulating the most sacred affairs of their private lives according to the dictates of their own judgments and consciences.

However all this may be, and whatever Physiology or Theology may determine, or not determine, Sociology already affirms and demonstrates that the fundamental principle of social order is the recognition of the sovereignty of every individual. Whether constancy or variety, conjugality or promiscuity, or all of these combined in a more composite variety, is the natural or the divine law upon the subject. this fundamental principle decides that the individual himself is the sole judge, for himself, upon all these questions, and not any pope or magistrate whatsoever. It decides that I must not attempt to enforce upon you my reading of the Scriptures, my religious belief nor my sense of right, in any particular in which your exercise of your own freedom is not in some palpable way aggressive or injurious to me.

In this country, and in this age, we have, in one sphere of social affairs, a successful and triumphant practical illustration of the theory that the recognition of the rights of the individual is the talisman of order and harmony in society. Here and now, for the first time in the world, and after ages of bloody conflicts in arriving at this simple and effective mode of regulacing the subject, the matter of worship is abandoned wholly to the deciding power of the person immediately interested; limited only by the inhibition of encroachment. Not only is he permitted "to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience," but, equally, to neglect or refuse to worship Him altogether; and the result is peace and fraternity; in the place of the inquisition, the burning fagot and war.

For one, I reject and repudiate the interference of the State in my morals, precisely as I do the interference of the church to prescribe my religious deportment or belief. The outrage on human rights is in my view no less in kind to assume to determine whom men and women may love, and what manifestation they may make of that sentiment, than it is to burn them at Geneva or Smithfield for heretical practices or

Such, then, is Free Love-neither more nor less. It is simply a branch or single application of the larger doctrine rank with the men in anti-slavery times who were "as much | The first popular objection to Free Love, to be anticipated | of the Sovereignty of the Individual. It decides absolutely

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Praxiteles is the material symbol, with the heart of Christ, the imagination of Shakespeare, and the ratiocination of Stephen Pearl Andrews to constitute the mind.

Freedom to love! Without this freedom life is stripped of its purport and beauty. The chronicles of the race, as

recorded in tale or history, prove that whatever restrictions have been put upon that omnipotent passion have made countless millions mourn, have turned existence into a terror and horror, have, by making love criminal, except un-

der the restrictions of law or custom, perverted the noblest aspirations and quenched the light of hope in the truest minds. Out of this romance of earnest passion, and the impediments which have been thrown in its way by false insti-

tutions, narrow prejudices or the selfish sense of ownership. the poets have weaved that woeful story of miserable expectation or wild imagination, temporary fruition and hopeless disappointment, which gives pathos and verity to the coup-"The course of true love never did run smooth."

The poets have all despised the conventionalities which

of the whole world beats in sympathy with a true free lover, who obeys the elective affinities of nature, and hates the cold obstacles which admit impediment to the marriage of true Two modern poets, one of America and the other of England, have chanted some phases of tree love-Walt Whitman and Algernon Charles Swinburne-two heralds, as it were, of the approaching era, when the armed and crael Free shall no longer pierce his victim, scattering blindfold his poison. ous darts; but where Cupid shall have grown into the wisdom of the god who loved Psyche as the symbol of the soul

"The wavering memory of a lovely dream," a momentary gladness dogged by decay and charge. These two poets are the prophetic precursors of the true Free Love period, when love shall be a principle as well as

of womanhood; the time when the loves of humanity shall

be as pure as the loves of the plants, and the aroma of the

spirit shall consecrate those eestatic unions and unimagina-

ble blisses, which are now so infrequent as to be but as

passion, a science as well as an emotion.

words of slumberous harmony, with "Taste of sound; diverse and delicate." of the exquisitely sensuous in nature, the graceful wership preceding statement, a higher principle in nature governs a some factitious and legal standard, which blinds the judge of the deliciousness of bodily sensation as it exist don't the

The Free Love women of America are grateful to Mr.

Swinburne for his appreciation and delicious rendering in

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

Hence the certainty that, in Freedom, the few superior

Freedom, while it seemed to give rein to unbridled licentiousness, was laving the foundation for the universal prevalence of purity and refinement. Perchance it may be intelligently held hereafter, in the same way, and in the bright light of anthropological science, that "Free Lust," even in its most revolting excesses, is a better thing for humanity than the forced celibacy and passional starvation of Monks and Nuns, and of the hundreds of thousands of "old maids" in Catholic and

which shrivels the soul, and which admits of no alternative but disgusting and solitary vice. The third and last grand objection to Amorous Liberty objection assumes that the isolated family offers the only while it provides for one's own children badly enough, perdoor, with the comfortable assurance that the responsibility belongs with somebody else. A grand social revolution is soon to occur. In this generation The People float in palaces upon their rivers and bays; in the next they will life in

stitution, scientifically organized and adapted to the new social state. Let the reader refer, upon this subject, to a tract called "The Baby World," Finally, the words Free and Freedom are everywhere honored, except in the connections "Free Niggers," "Free Women," "Free Thinking" and "Free Love." They are scoffed at in these relations because they stand opposed to Tyrannies that are still respectable—Slavery, Marriage and the Authority of the Church. When Tyranny of all kinds

shall have disappeared, Freedom of all kinds will be revered,

and none will be ashamed to confess that they believe in the

Freedom of Love.

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

any other, until we have almost forgotten the difference. those who do; insisting that people shall sink or rise by relation to their real respectability or good conduct, and not by

a Maria e e e como e Maria y maria e presenta y in parameter of the same law. Love governs rice, indeed, a second time in the midst of it. Why can't property of the point of the near that there is the second weeker sex, it will in affection is done for the near that the instance in the structure despite the for the fourth fibre is in it? must be the state of a set of persons of that proper torance of knowledge adversely. The stronger of mule Free Live into the partisans lived matures will organize and exhibit a simple of human society an un'educit of dispess is partly the result of an honest of a type so infinitely more beaut ful and attractive than was a fift sould smy the effect of natures conscious any other which can exist in the midst of a slavery imposed

as yet if no greater elevatest of sertiment in themselves by a mil rity of inferior natures, and greged to the measure than the promputage of uncombited disire. This fog will of constraint which they feel consticut of requiring, that rapidity data, our Increased agriculture with clear and in the example alone with be a far more powerful corrective of struct the public for thet. The example of refined and in the undereloped mass lying beneath it than any arbitrary where and a second salv, will gradually draw and assimi-

The preceding statement suggests, however, the second e non to free to a in this application, an objection also frunced upon a popular religious dogma-namely, the bel of that man is, in himself, radually lad. Under this be-Her the passions, especially, are abased as infernal and diabolicat. No lelles ever held by mankind is so essentially anti-progressive as this. It is steadily yielding, however, before the intellectual development of the age. Several religious seets have discarded it altogether, while the most orthodox hold it in a modified form. They explain that they do not mean by total deprayity that man is essentially an incarnate fiend, delighting in evil for the sake of the misery

it inflicts, but simp'y that he is, by nature, destitute of the

Every religious dogma ever seriously held by the human mind has in it, doubtless, an element of truth. What religionists denominate a state of grace is the same condition of the human being which anthropologis's mean by the development of the higher faculties, including Religion, Philanthropy, Benevolence, Hope, Conscientiousness, and the like. Man as an individual, and still more strikingly the race, is born into a state of nature as distinguished from grace, or, in other words, with the lower and selfish range of faculties active and predominant. It is scientifically true, therefore, that to become veritably human or angelic, the individual man, and humanity collectively, must be "born again"born into the exercise of those superior faculties which constitute the department of wisdom in the human character, an attribute which moderates and regulates the selfish and violent activity of the lower passions. Wisdom, rising higher than mere blind impulse, stretches its vision further forward, taking into account remote as well as immediate conse-

quences, and throws it further outward and around, embracing the relations of the individual to other individuals, and their well being, as well as one's own. It is true, therefore, that nobody is really fitted for Freedom but those who are regenerated in the true sense of the termthat is to say, those in whom there is developed a truly religious nature, having respect for every consideration of right which can press upon a human conscience properly illuminated by the intellect. It is true, however, on the contrary, that it is natural for man, individually and collectively, to be dereloped into this higher state. The second birth is as natural as the first. The state of grace is as much a state of nature as the so-called state of nature itself. It merely comes later, and by virtue of other causes, not by any means excluding or depreciating the exhortations or ministrations of the priesthood. As it comes, it breaks the old bonds which

were adapted to the restraint of passions wholly unregulated

from within and above. Freedom is, therefore, just a con-

sequence of development, of which it then becomes a pro-

While, therefore, men who are not wise are not fitted for

moter and additional cause.

manding it as a right, may prove a disaster; but the fact that | worship at all; the right to reject all overtures (even in marthe demand is made, and Freedom vindicated as a right, is itself a strong intimation of that development which will know how to profit by its use. It is not true, therefore, that nobody is entitled to Freedom except those who are fitted to apply it to its best uses. All

men are entitled to Freedom to whom Freedom will turnish

the means of further development, and who can make use

of it with that moderation which shall guard them against

encroachment upon the freedom of others. So, also, it is not true, on the whole, that the human race tends "downward, and not up," and will, therefore, employ Freedom for its own degradation, instead of its gradual elevotion to a higher plane. This is, nevertheless, temporarily and apparently true of undeveloped natures; and since undeveloped natures are, hitherto, the immense majority of mankind, it is not strange that the seeming dangers of Freedom should be terrifying to faithless and unphilosophical minds, nor that their alarm should be in precise proportion to their goodness of heart and devotion to the well-being of mankind. They overlook, in their apprehensiveness, the operation of certain

conservative principles which Nature provides. Firstly,

while low natures tend, by their own gravitation, in Free-

dom, downward, and are numerically the majority, superior

tially superior. Secondly, which is an inference from the

most of the store and the relative most of most feet and phariseoism, and hardens the heart. men thought govern those desti- I have, myself, been a regularly married man, and recognized

length. mit persons with believe in freedom, and who use it restrains whatever. What das happen under the operation of the Freedom of the Press, said happen under the opera late to atself the conduct of those was are less elevated and tion of Free Love. At first, we have a preponderance of trashy, vulger and unwholesome literature-which is, nevertheless, better than no literature, since it teaches the masses. who are on a level with it, the habit of reading, and prepares the way for a gradual elevation of taste on the part of some, and finally of all. In the midst of the general debase ment, a few superior writers utter the still, small voice of refined taste and elevated views. From the fact that the people are free to read, and already can read, these find an audience among whom some few respond with appreciation. The few in time become many, and the many all. Thus

Protestant Christendom-the victims of a moral marasmus,

relates to the maintenance and culture of Children. This mode of properly caring for offspring. The family, as now constituted, is, in fact, a very hot-bed of selfishness, which, mits the children of others, equally good, to starve at one's palaces upon land. Then the nursery will be a Unitary In-

P. S.—Free Love does not and cannot mean anti-marriage in the same sense as freedom from chattel slavery does mean anti-slavery; for slavery being an enforced relation freedom in relation to it prohibits it. But in so far as marriage is anything which can exist voluntarily in its inception and continuance, freedom cannot assail it, but is bound to defend it. Freedom is so large a word that therein seems to be diffi-Freedom, Freedom is, nevertheless, requisite to make them | culty for most people to compass its meaning. Free Love fit Freedom forced upon an individual or a people from embraces the freedom to have no relations with the other would trammel love even in its wildest vagaries; and they without, before development progresses to the point of de- sex whatever; just as free worship includes the right not to have told in song the tale of "Free Love," until the heart riages); to protect one's self from the excesses of love in others, no matter whom, as well as the right to marry (if done voluntarily) or to mate without marriage, at the discretion of the parties. What it insists is that those who mate with out marriage shall be held as respectable as those who marry. This seems an immense stretch, but we in this country have gone two-thirds the whole distance toward it. Formerly, and in some countries now, bastards were accursed socially even to the third and fourth generation. In this age and country, by the mere progress of enlightenment, the curse has been completely lifted off them, and persons born out of wedlock are just as respectable as those born in it, provided they behave as well, and more so if they behave better. The highest political or social position is as open to them as to Free Love insists that this same common sense and good sense shall be extended to the parents. There are twenty or perhaps fifty thousand mistresses in this city, who are, in all senses, just as intrinsically good and respectable women as the married women, while yet they are ostracised by public opinion. Free Lovers make no such distinction. Even when married themselves, and living in all senses regularly, or under the law, they accept, socially, those who do not, the same as natures tend upward in the same atmosphere, and are poten-

their letters. Many valuable communications are crowded out by their SWINBURNE AND WHITMAN. NEW YORK, August 6, 1871. Door Victoria-The perusal of the writings of two symbolic poets of the day, intuitionists of the new movement of the time—the one in love, and the other in both love and

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the second war -All communications intended for publication

must be written on one side only. The editors will not be accountable

for manuscript not accepted. Correspondents will please condens

freedom-have suggested to me the thoughts which follow. Each individual soul measures all other souls by the standard of its own judgment, and pronounces bad in them all that is not in harmony with its accustomed thoughts and feelings, or such system of ethics or religion as faith or reason may have taught it. But to the true poet-the too oft unacknowledged teacher and legislator of the world-or the real philosopher and universal scientist, "there is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so," and public opinion is but a "fool's gudgeon," as Mercutio calls it.

In no fact that I know of is this law more perceptible than in relation to that wholly original school of modern philosophers, mostly female, with a few males, who are trying, emotionally and scientifically, to cure love of its errors; who believe in tree love, and are free lovers, and who are, of all others, the most abused and the least understood; pelted with the small pellets of the brain and tongue, both by the conservative, who fears their freedom, and by the licentious, who cannot conceive of liberty without license, use without abuse. In ordinary unthinking minds, in whom first impressions are not corrected by that careful consideration which is the angel that "whips the offending Adam out of us," the term "free love" is associated with that reckless opprobrium which envy, jealousy or the narrowness of view above mentioned casts upon all whose lives are of larger scope than those who are cribbed, cabined and confined by temporary expediency or educational bias. On the other hand, to the worshipers of treedom as the only principle by which humanity can be developed, these words, convey the sublimest import; suggest a method by means of which only can the race be improved up to that ideal standard of animal body and ethereal mind which has yet, perhaps, never been individualized upon the planet; of which the Apollo of

the thinks, trouble, pirture with, winny and material life of an ricust Corners must livered, an it in practically recomined to an in the distinguisting of the freeze of a walls of the consecutions of Fine post and Harracamounts, the northly of the marmity of an ture, and its echosed transport in man, retined by teste and mentioness, that prederical equipments and necessarily when ed the necrestians of that electric majority by which like produra life, which polars in all laying and rewind commonate come for come. But this is but one make of the printers who rise the well has expressed been upon early. This pogen weremp of the muchina and functions energed to the ultimate of excess, no ded the said the street of the surre spiritual were while (for he it and, presentantically, that lere and mermine are analygina parts of the one great impelling priver of exinterior), that egiritual north p which Christ taught and sym bedieved, and the leve of the knight of chiralry for God and his mistress typithed the subdimer combination.

Buildieron approximan the genial and glowing Walt White man, the Free Leve pend of this Western world, and has dedicated bis last work to him. I adoed, this modern trid ha wild to have none of the provertial features of rhymesters, but in ready to give credit aburever due

I bog Mr. Swinburne's pardon, but I think Mr. Whitenas the greater past of the two. Williams is truly the past of the Free lerver, as he is only to be found among the most spiritual infinded and well-developed of the American type. of the human ruse, now understandly the highest type upon

Buintaine describes the lover of the post like an homest sensums Greeken wall, washiping the goldene Venus as she was abred in the days of Aristophanes; but that worsidy cannot exist, in invided England or serious America, except with the protest of the spirit which is infused by Christianity. Whitman reverences both poles of this great battery of homen consciousness, and do a not include either for exclusive contemplation. He exclusive

"O water and formetal O the presence of normal I amount withing is some exquisite to me than the presence of woman,

() for the girl my mate! () for happiness with my main!

Swinburne's lover searches for a female mate, but seems not to know that the true maling is of the spirit, as well as of the body. He imagines oftimes he has found her; but this ever evanishing ideal evades him-like Diana in her secret hannts, of whom the hunter and woodman, like Walt, may calch after off glimpses, never to be seen in the bourseir, or the practiced alloys of the rose garden, where shide the loves of Swinburne; and so the soul of the latter pours out its sphere at every fresh disappointment,

Whitman is the post of the Free Lover, as Swinborne is of the lover-the one natural, the other artistic. Swintairne suggests much love as Alcahindes might entertain; Whitman that of Socrates, crotic but ratural. The postry of Swinharne has a ring of intense melancholy about it, like that of Adult Issues Menken, so much loved by those who knew her, and who would have been a great poeters had not the futes compelled her mother destiny. But this melanchely In him is due to his materialism. Like William Morris, the withor of the Earthly Paradiae, Swinburne seems to have wheeled himself to rest content with the mere appearance. of things. His love is on the surface-is a love sudden and physical, the fruit of a glame or a touch, and is always ting d with an intense sense of r gret, haed of the throught of its evanescence. It is, we repeat, the love of the body, not of the worl. Morris Concribes the sudden love of Jason for Medea as follows:

> * Love came uneven and cast life golden yoke About them both, and sweeter her viles grew And rotter ever, so betwiet them flow, With fluttering uluge, the new horn strong darler."

Again, when Medea urges the flight of Jason, he pours out his fierce passion in the words:

> " Isy tida unama daliyid Of thy fair lossy, Thy Busha are braiged for that, at last, I know Why men have been content to ruffer wife Part willing. If the gods but greated this, A little walle ear a lign on thing to kin A little while to delik zu h an y delight."

Of the mane character as the above is the "Love and Bleep" of Swinburne, than which no amatory poet has ever written anything more beautiful:

" living nelsely between the etreken of night I saw any been lead over my and had l'ain an the dunk lest fily a leaf or head wound believed and cark, with here throat made to live. Tim was for filustiling and the warm for white, Hel perfect explored, willbout white in red; And the lips opened amorrously and said-I wist not what, eaving our word-Bellght And all her face was because to my mentle. And all her hody parture to miles eyes; The long, little arms and hetter hands than fire, The quivering danks, helr empling of the Bouth The leta be itelet foot, the enhanted encies thirties And gittering agelide of my moul's desire

Walt Whitman was a little deeper sperceives, in a memore, the symbolism of the heaty, as it indicates the woul, the married relation of man, as it is in God and nature. He

" I see male and female every where "

My spirit has peased in comparation and determination around the -----

I have broked for equals and lovers, and found them ready for my in all

I think nome divine regiment has equalised me with them

Switchester in the yearthful wantered flory and restore berer, markersalespart has governous mark over greet. We assured than philipsopher and thinks , in whom he and love you haven the tionweal every, seek wheretill

MARIE WITH SUPER PARK BURNE OF STREET

last to where the opisit and the in it by private an inches antone in congress word appropria acqueliators beautique out he educity, this Projection for him to ancient signs. Which are straight their transplaced bore of the bottle done in the both by distinct purely man is for the time when we will have when early he altraction will the attend the cutter hard wathread this much be a morace."

harmonism singe born or itied by the country of desting, so it is writed upon this placed. This is not now, it is posriemed attraction. Whiteman chays bere triumphane, solying in the ultimate municipalment and university of the prime play an in their lines.

"Almaya you promot with me. wherear you were

Them Whiteman has a perception of that I view wantement the bove of theret for winners, which was requal, as he was a man, but all including like that wonderful consumers which has furnation businessly with the purest front of a Good

Sminimum feels the divine are, as it is continued by the willowing hundred the birty. His bire is the desire of prawasten, and the love that would give hard away nimity. Whitemen is as intense and glowing in his secondaries, but it is ma all we with him. He recognize an intellectual make in the woman, and horea the roll as well as its conward manife etation

Swindorne's equations are of they list growth and callinge, what therefore the bearing but here here well with tinish.

Whiteman, fresh and close to mature, sings like I'm to word nymph; but has withal a sense of that divinity of have which might be supposed to animate John, the helared Apostle, should be revisit earth, sexummedating binaself to the nineteenth century, with all the gallentry of Iron Juan, and all the epititual worship of his subjume soul.

Free Lovers should be grateful to the more of America-Placerica, as we might name her, the last of the Muses, who will be in the future,

> بعده برمرية والمرابعة عديده المعاملة المعاملة المعاملة Time there old also whom thymore laverage.

-for this prophetic Whitenau, this rollicking, who because free speaking, large-could American post, sirging the consing of entire freedom and love. He is rough and rude, like the native torests whose sounds are suddide in his words or like the half bewn block of markle, from which the future god is to be carved; but his suggestion is saidimer than the studied finish which make Ewinhorne's aver was try often

That the near luture will have another part of lave, that must be a woman, may seem an improbable prophecy; but when women learn to look face to face upon the great nature which has made and inspired them, and become free and fearless as men only have hitherto been able to be, happle and Behn will not be the only female love posts; but one shall arise in his new Atlantis, who will sing the sublimities of the hody and its powers, as the echo of the spirit; who will cleant of the reincurnation of the worl in flesh-rot for excitation, as in Christ, but for the fruition of a period losmanity, an ideal lardy and a partiest mind. The large prema that have hitherto been written have not deserved any more immortality than they have received, since they have appealed almost solely to the material, and the spirit has been

The awestest love letters ever indited are those of Philips to Abelard. No post has ever sung of love with so much tenderness, pathos, self-shuegation and platonic fire. Petrarch and Dante, the last especially, were worshipers, not lovers. Had their mistresses been more accessible, they elt the opposite disappointment; his ideal is only of the flesh and perishable. He beeds not the questioning of the inner life which dwells beneath the busk of the body, and hence the burden of a hopoless wearmens and sadness pervarios his strains.

Stephen Pearl Andrews, had not his destiny been to re-Here the world of the curse of liabel, and realize the scientific prophecy of Plato and Bacon in the establishment of the Prima Philosophia, would have been the past of free love, as he is the expounder of its scientific principles.

Proteric R. Marvin has written some beautiful lines, which have much of the grace, polish and dreamy wintiment and semuousness of Bwinburne.

I. West Nevins, our much loved brother in the free love bond, has read to me some exquisite lines, than which there are none in the English language more beautiful. In a future letter I shall take them as a theme for further dissertation on this forextimustible topic.

The free-love daughters of America send love and greet ing to Swinburne, who would revive the graceful and natural worship of Venus in this nineteenth century, and wish blin in his future strains such spiritual intimations from the woul of things as will teach, him a less exclusive contemplation of the purely sensuous, and reveal to him that ideal of a true womanhood that they are now trying to realize, in which the triunc attributes of the human entity-pirit, soul and body-shall be harmoniously blended.

Yours for love and freedom.

PRANCES ROSE MACKINLEY.

HISTOR IN AMERICA

I am morphism to me on any one you among the disty are manded " Burne may Karneys " in high mine presents frames. remain and themse because year you are grouped the themse armine expressing I will but an exemplation out on American by acceptant for A Wandadaren errangiak ane in any profesional tre examin faith arreswas demonstrate there is not a time supply of the subjecting of present the same according to the service with service to service the total try those presument whenever proper see a by the outsides. their thinks of hooding office to the greater gives of way wisely and beneathy swind. To day these bearing the best officer we American term. And way ? You, y in consequent en for the time well deed, with may herethe to see some in New York The Commercian, taking admining of the next answer, the tear Islandsance by thereon educate earlier, while Anis research constant that best places. When had we at Iries Mayor in Germann . And yet transported exactiones for time officer despensed integrity one time briefly worke for thesis elections.

Two chance of Irinumen come to America, one of when by twels education and love of sixta, dold into incidence and esemble permeteral situation of the source the societies ly of our business men in New York, you will be busiries? to find how many chain Cinter as their hirthrities. Men of this type wildow, if ever take a hand is province or far as office brains give And source take stone stand the mangemen. Walund permual kumbedge, I will reactive to say that and one per cond of the Irish rum setting in New York are Orengenmen. The other class coming to this country recently and quickly manusciand by an ingrained on it fellow-countrymen was me the tools of a corruga party, who met word direct there east invitationed our that traditional wi ineliminary defendence of corder that the framers of our laws with up. As it seem the arrests for wholesale autoretization simus few years ago, where we covere defense was set up. The latter class are in the majority—an excitable, warmheared crowd, easily played upon by American demogracues. who privately have no more respect for them that their opproments have. I have beard men brading rather ridicale the ignorant fruit as much as their Requisions according to.

Red King, whicher Catholic or Properties, but friend the land surre than ever did kaylim minemle, and the kayluh volities are have, like all supransipled tricketers, used this weakness for their own gain. Tom Moore and Gereid Criffin both acknowledge this truth, and so do many of the early Irish parriess. Gerald Gristin has a heartiful and fresh troom, called "Orange and Green," which he pretates in the early editions with Tom Moore's words I quite from WHIW/FY !

> " Leiterd. the exercise that we are appear Till, the the relations a higher Thy persone have water And form to heaven a sight

The two political parties in England, led by Gladetone and Diaraeli, have a possiblar relation to Irish religiouists. For funtance, an Irishwan who was a Conservative in Ireland must be a Whig in England to maintain consistency of principles. The Catholic party in Ireland are Whigs or Liberala, while in Rogland the Methodist and discording party are the Whige. It is evident that between Catholic and Methodat there can be no land of vision.

Dan O'Council organized in Parliament an Irish national party, which received the sympathy of good men independent of creed. The great agitator naw that by joining either party then existing was to drown his small crowd of followers in a political was. He adopted the arganous course of holding a lacance of power between the then existing parties, each of which were nuxious to throw Ir land a sop to gain the Irish vote; but from these parliamentary tactics aprong whatever privileges Ireland prosesses to-day, and not from any sense of justice in English politicians. would have lost their more spiritual breaks. Swinburne has And so it is in Ireland at the present time. This year Orangemen are problishednext year tolerated; but t fire of religious involunance is never allowed to die out by those men most interested in Ireland's disoff-cries. I know of no remedy for the "Green late" but that some almighty power would wipe from its record and memory all the religious teachings of the past, both Protestant and Catholic.

> But for you to take arms against Orangemen in the present case, judged by this conduct, is not consistent with your teachings of equal rights to all, independent of creed or color, sex or condition. In the last Legalature a bill was presented by a New York politician, with the object of ke-plog the Irish vote in his party, to make St. Patrick's Day a State holiday, as it was already made a general city holiday. by thousands of men taking possession of our streets for the purpose of parading-not only tolerated, but ancouraged, and why? Became our city politicians wished to flatter the mejority, in order to keep themselves in office, and not for any love of the men or their ideas.

On the other hand, a small minority claim the same privilege (neither claim consistent with their condition of citizens of this republic), but because they are in a minority Mayor Hall fortifie the parade, on account of it being the celebration of an English king's victories. Why were the Prussians not fortifiden to celebrate William's recent victorie? Be cause Frenchmen were not numerous enough to be a political power. Mayor Hall & Co. simply re-enact the role of English politicions, using the strongest political side. If by some means Orangemen should become the majority, those political wire pullers would shift sides in double quick time. Avg. 25, 1571.

Junean de Trabunen bengin Fares to America e little 1 them that their a not recent for le lemmer would weire i work but might use their mi WIND STREET degree with

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Love sourifiers all this THE PERSON NAME INCOME. more than they do theft in generosing. The states was A WARREN WAS CHATTED ! more which there ever tune Devices T. where has dent love, commune nomi runing to an managine A woman who love mender women e bere b for he a hudden of for several presons the panis but with extend to

The Lord mouthed ! rieds to the 1-ga faring WOMEN'S BULGONIEL IS the woman who ever Training the China the भागः । अस् ने अद्यक्त स्वेतन्त्रको हे Wing is more repul

the growth label 46 1 territer trem—as the transcensist with zumin a lust-so z labely guined, then eren maŭrŝon neru: Tuere is no brone PROBLEM BY TITUE. 3

Book Mrs. Cranends

to be so far smaller wrotened without a em deem I cherid A true will-respe from elaborate the ine spirit was dea agrainet all that is Crimensen up, ere Mrs. Pair was : But for the wife's

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years, thy go grandows.es years withou kering, who I my grandmod The ending wad made a derigh lates Instead of gi riner, to who bent of frien magness-! A Upon my feet reader will) mary styred dial-ly, and in dailing purvee in th COTTO SEE MAIL told ti. m] whom we d 物艺术内域 ---

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I Had a take my a resonance to thentive to the welfare of with and the first and tellives had been devoted to him, as the property of the last not one else to care for him. It was straight of Light deforge that the manifold kin linesses which years and an entitle most with a simple one they are for their dives.

The transfer that my and less add never live in peace with had, with ms mother, removed to another , or the Cy that if the continual annoyance of my sants in the the literal It was a failing of the good women to 1 Lat no course of life could be right except such as met with their fill approbation; and as they had been bred to be to certain examples as standards of excellence, their I as were contracted to just their knowledge of those charaction and every departure from their path was a most heinout to rear, which must be painted in all the gloomy colors of dy professionalness to lead the erring back to their path. My uncle chancel to have had enough contact with the world to include a system of morals not based upon usage by this or that individual, but gathered from the various actions of those with whom he had been acquainted through the various relations a man of business sustains; and therefore he took data from his own matured judgment, which led him to shock my aunts frequently with the freedom and openness of his life. Not that my uncle was boorish in his frankness; he was a perfect model of politeness, but he was apt to let any one with whom he was not well pleased feel the fact so forcibly that they would cease to trouble him. My aunts, none of them had as much honesty, but they were so anxious to retain the good opinion of everyone that they were equally polite and fulsome in their professions of friendship to all. As a consequence one would meet at their house all classses of people, and most puzzling it was

drawing-room with my idea of them. When it was settled that the property beyond dispute belonged to me, there revived the great interest in my welfare, anxiety for my social standing spread over the whole field of relationship, tenth cousins appeared to me in platoons with the tenderest solicitude and the utmost confidence that their mentorship would carry me safe to the pinnacle of fame, where I would meet the approbation of the world and enjoy the full fruition of my ample deserts.

for me, when my eyes first begun to open to the peculiari-

ties of character, to harmonize all the elements of their

It was decided that my household should be broken up, that I should make my home with my aunts till such time as some one was found to preside over my domestic arrangements, supposing that a trial was requisite to fit me for some destiny fate had in store. I yielded to the pressure of Mrs. Cr. ttenden was upheld by law and society. Mrs. Fair family solicitude and took up my abode with the goose file was conscious of having on her side nature's moral truth. of maiden relatives who charged me so gallantly in the lobby of the theatre.

A few weeks passed well enough. I danced attendance upon some of my respectable relatives to all the church gatherings, watched the busy fingers of much-praised young ladies as they stitched away upon the shirts intended to cover the black backs of the Sandwich Islanders, and on the way home assented to the laudations and enumerations of the many virtues of the said young ladies, while my aunts watched for word or look to show them the direction my mind was taking. So it was not long before I had each aunt doing vigorous court for their favorite for the race.

While there was so much being done for me, I rested content till surfeited with the excessive anxiety of my friends: then I sought for change, and tried the society of some of the moderately fast young men about town. An occasional call upon the young ladies of my aunts' circle hid for a time the full extent of my divergence from the path they chalked out for me; but my conversation soon betrayed my associates, and a careful espionage revealed the extent of my yieldings to temptation, as they styled it, but which may be more justly called the path which I naturally sought to escape from their excessive care.

The same difficulties occur in the government of children, in the regulation of the conduct of grown children, and in the government of communities and nations; over-government is the rock upon which all split. An extensive field of observation has shown to me but one family of children who were not over-governed. And the extent to which the ruling power is exercised by the overwhelming majority of parents is lacerating to all my feelings of justice, and sometimes shakes my confidence in the progress of the human family

We cultivate all the faculties of our children except the highest-reason; of that, in the fullness of our possession, we feel capable of supplying from our own stock. Children may not be as capable of the exercise of this high faculty as we are, and without practice never will become so.

In childhood we are furnished with ready-made reason, in youth the effort is made to talk it into us, and when we be- a violation of those principles.

There is the state of the state of the supel me to a come citizens the laws furnish us a substitute. So, many and a grather alled from her own of us get through the world as "dumb, driven cattle."

! My aunts soon began to question me, upon my return The first was cast pto the shade home, when I had been out riding with Sandford. The at my up to had endowed me with Averys had been talking about his will liness, and Mr. A. had The aid not see what told Clementine not to favor his advances, so I must be careprogrammer take contributed son of my ful. When I went down to the Fishing Banks with young age in the health is as it was thought, out Sevens they were sure he was not respectable, for he did not the effects of long division of my belong to their set; never had heard of him, in fact; therefore I must look well to the choice of my associates. I went into the country to spend Sunday with young Hawkins; we attended church three times, but when I returned I was informed that Mr. Hawkins used to be very respectable, and was a pillar of their church, but he lost his property, and since he had gone to farming was not recognized as of their set, though his son a; peared to be quite a promising young man; still, I must look well to my asso lates! spoken with much deliberation and evident depth of feeling.

It is no wonder that I tired of looking so well to my associates, and sought relief from the importunities of relatives in lodgings, as the English, with the pride of poverty, call rooms let by the suite of one or more. Here I did not escape the sharp watchfulness of relatives, and I often wished myself Adam, he was so free from this evil

My first experiment in choice of rooms fell upon one of moderate proportions, actioning to which was a dark closet, which was, by the exceeding politeness of the lady of the house, promoted to the grade of a room, and, as a natural sequence, that elevation of character made the single large room into a suite. Why may not that same fiction be effective in its application to mankind? Is it not? Do we not lift ourselves to a higher level by raising our fellows? In these rooms I thought to find peace at least, and so determined that I would do something. For about three days I wrote letters, read useful books and made up my mind that there was that in me which, if only brought out, would make quite a man of Isaiah Sleeper. By the time I was well started my old chums began to find me; then they would drop in at the rate of four or five a day, and the time passed on so rapidly that I soon forgot my work, and found that one thing was as much as any person can do well. If you will keep up with the polite society of a city you will not need any other occupation.

The extent of my entertainment of fellows soon got to the ears of my aunts, and I have always thought there was a little conspiracy formed to keep watch over me. My home was with humble people, a worthy widow, who owned the house she occupied and who was able to make a good living for herself and one daughter by judicious management. I have never been fully satisfied whether it was the fellows who visited me, or the daughter of the landlady whom the aunts watched so unceasingly.

It seems that single ladies, after passing say the age of thirty, look upon every young couple of different sex who may be brought together as sure of making a match. Possibly their forlorn condition begets this opinion.

I will describe this daughter of my landlady as well as memory will permit, that the reader may judge of the probabilities of a good ground for the fears of my aunts:

Height, five feet three and a half (not bad); very thin (not good); black hair, much of it, on a small head; shoulders very sloping; waist waspish; step mincing; would have had the Grecian bend if it had been fashionable in those days. But it was her face that was the striking point of a traction or repulsion. She had a very large face if you looked at her profile, but excessively diminutive when viewed full front. Her eyes were black, full and piercing; but when her head was a bit turned, you could see only one, for her nose stood out so far from the rest of her face that Gothic but feebly represents the style. Shall I go on, or can you decide upon the probabilities of a youn gman falling in love with a poor girl of that description.

This eternal vigilance of relatives is, no doubt, a valuable element in society as at present organized, but it can be carried to excess as well as other evils.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

THE CASE OF MRS. FAIR.

Daniel McFarland, conceiving that he had a right of ownership in Mrs. Richardson because she had been his wife. killed her husband, was tried by a jury of men and acquitted. He ought to have been convicted.

Mrs. Fair, conceiving she had a right of ownership in Mr. -, who saw fit to exercise his right of self-ownership by marrying another woman, asserted her supposed right of ownership in him by murdering him. She was tried by a jury of men and convicted.

But it was not the same jury that convicted one and acquitted the other. Perhaps the San Francisco jury would have acquitted McFarland; probably the New York jury would have convicted Mrs. Fair. But we don't know. All we can say is that both criminals were believers in their right to own the persons of others.

I think, speaking from the standpoint of self-ownership, that Mrs. Fair's case is "none of our funeral," and can see no more right in Mrs. Fair or Mary Harris to kill their lovers then in McFarland to kill his ex-wite's husband. Selfownership precludes such tragedies, and I do not see that its advocates are called upon to add to their burden of unpaper larity by seeming to indorse acts which can result only trom BALANCE

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territie bie for ean fur a of parent-some of the treams and the second of the second the second series are of true honor than a see "for the children's sake!" It _ as the truth about their parents is sure to be

is mother or later, or proposly become public s and attain more importance to reputation , than to probity of character that can defy - 15 - 12 La Company on Finite September 1 There is no homest pride, no delicary, no self-respect, no

in the exactions of selfish, jealous love. 形 · . Mr. (r ttend-n an ! Fair erred in allowing themselves 22 be no fir an aboved up in devotion to Crittenden as to be we think without a monopoly of his heart. Such morbid and the of therished too often end in madness and guilt. ▲ t.112 self-respect and a true love would naturally shrink from Trining the observance of the letter of the law when and herein Mrs. Crittenden sinned agains " that is noblest in women. She would not give Complete up, even though he said he wished her to. But Me. Fair was ready to yield her claim if he said so. Not for the wife's clamor, rage or "right" would she, for size hell well, as he had taught her, that she had the superior right - the right of strongest love, which surely is the superier moral right, and should be the superior legal one-if the law must be dragged in as the arbiter of hearts.

Crittend in felt kindly toward both women. Toward his wife as the mother of his children, and the representative society required of a complemented manhood; tenderer, perhaps, toward Mrs. Fair, who was the inspirer and possessor of his more artent psssions. But law and society, more than nature, taught these women to hate and despise each other. Both women alternately loved and hated the man who was taught, also by law and society, to play the arrant knave and by postrite to them. Law and society were the real criminals. and Crittenden their cunning accomplice; while Mrs. Crittenden and Mrs. Fair are the almost equally "guilty" instrumen's of heaven's vengrance.

ST. LOUIS. DARL ST. MARYS.

MY FRIENDS AND I.

CHAPTER VI.

When I was a promising young man of three-and-twenty years, my good uncle died and left to me his estate. My grandmother had preceded my uncle in departure several years, so that at his death I was left with only an old housekeeper, who had been the companion more than attendant of my grandmother.

The sudden removal from our small family circle of its read made a void which the pressure of exterior influences. though intended to remove, only made the more obvious. Instead of giving me time to recover from the loss of my adviser, to whom I had deferred in all my little difficulties, the host of friends-more numerous than I before had reason to suspect-forced upon me the unpleasant task of deciding upon my future. As I had been quite unsuccessful (as the reader will have learned) in my efforts to secure the necessary appendage to an establishment, a wife, I must immediately, under the burden of my loneliness and inexperience in deciding matters of importance, choose the course I would pursue in the future. My aunts exhibited the greatest concern for my standing in society, and their acute perceptions told them just what each one of our acquaintances, upon whom we depended for our respectability and social standing, would think and say about my living alone in a large house with only the old housekeeper, whose care had until now been all that both my uncle and self had required.

Aunt Barbary said that such a course would shut all the houses where young ladies of the requisite amount of respectability to fit them for superintendents of my establish-

we take the second

Meanth in Appropriate moves the experience for the Consider the Hole rought white the Control Acres of the costs for a cond. He has post arrest on the ground ofth her staff and reto the get of reto. low up to receive the salute and report of an officer patterping to meet him. Talk central flores is not coreporations in size but is assuming at by examin of ; the Judicions distribution of hitse and by the natural convergence of interest to said it, and yet the genwest interest of the picture is not occured by personal distinctions, nor is the attention of the other flyures. will believe from their respective work and duty With the exception of the reporting officer, the evenps both of soldlers and officer, give but a divided observation to the newly surpred Clement, On his executive pectal and artificial abowing the letter terest in the many of the origi drama about to be played. Hooker & white horse is historical, and this for the ended the artist to get a high light without infringles on reality, or voluntising his picture by merchicloga treatment

To the right of the peneral is a strong body of gen eral officers and staff, all in suspense waiting the Gen eral's decision intently acquiring each for himself the points to view. Many of these will be portraits, To the General's left is a mass of men and horses and guns, in all the tunuit of rapid movement, broken up and separated, but all animated with a common purpose. Free action, without disorder lines. and columns of smoke show the position of some guus which are beginning to open fire. A battery go ing late action, after the manner of Scherer's magnifi cent piece in the Luxembourg, is full of life and ener gy, and already gives evidence of great boldness in design and vigor in insudiing. Home of the gans have reached the front and are in position. One is sirendy trying the distance. This left foreground is a man of toops, infantry and artiflery, guas and calssons, all hurrying to the front. The canvas is full, but every men and horse has room to swing and move.

In the unfinished, imperfect white of the coloring, it is impossible to express more than a hope of coming excellence. The leading feature suggested at this early stage is the harmony of individual purpose with the whole subject. There is no lack of connection, the entire living mass in movement is actuated by one common intent, precipitating itself toward a common and, their individuality subordinated to flielr joint impulse, and without any consciousness of the spectator. They are live men, live animals, no mere photographs or lay figures. Even the General commanding, though himself the centre, is but an incident. The action does not pivot on him. All might go on the same were he not there he has his own work to do, and has merely halted on life way to famo and duty to receive his officer's tidings, and in-

An immorae difficulty in the way of an artist in millingy subjects is the accommodation of free muscular action and personal independent will, in actual conflict, with the notorious stiffness and formalism of military driff and discipline. Mr. Walker has preerved something of this rigidity and precision in a equal standing with in time; while several individuals who are at restassame the squared shoulders and the ritif aprightness of the drilled soldier. But the men in motion display every variety of posture, and the regimental uniformity is broken up with a freedom and Illiorality of treatment that betoken great broadth of idea and the most careful observation in the artist. Lot any one judge of this impediment by comparing the eartoon of Ples against a modern company at drill the one all muscular variety, the other all mechanteal severity.

Another difficulty for the actist will be the monotone of our American uniform. This he will partially es cape by the introduction of color into his horses and he the distribution of his light. He must still miss thems rich tonor and easy contrasts which are used with such facility and effect by European painters. All the greater, however, the honor due to the Amer

As a painter of horses and a connelscent of here points, Mr. Walker has probably no superior. His horson routhd mo of Vernet, they are so full of nerve. or tremulous with emotion and engerness. In fact, the quality of the horseflesh may be somewhat of a field with those who prefer realism in act. The Union men bad profty poor mounts, whhereas every The second of th $(1,1,2,\ldots,1)$. Falls the frequency forces

The meaning wind as he mand havy of fawho were the property of the second services of the second the second of the formula with the formula with the first the first the formula with the first the will the second of the formula will be seen to complain. The bosons to the control of the complain. The lovely Lydla is an exclusive of the control of t with the regard to Deckett is will with the com-

> Krita & Leuce Micerall, confluje to attend Logisted designed andless of the Relative Theor the facily, the handcome, with his exect voice and excellent method, store a ball of in the flow part of the progression, and appears, resplindent, in the costing piece. Our only from he a wonder. A few few rights since he took Cites, in "The Belles of the Kitchen, 'where he appears as a ballet dancer. It was positively startling. His costume was elegant, and its wanty amplitude just hit the present taste; and his face was attractive as that of many of our prime donner (it must be remembered believe quit the use of burnt cork), while the dancing was artistic and graceful. On Monday "A Trip Around the World" introduces a new panorama,

PRANCOLS DELBARTI. Foreign desputches aunonnee, no one of the heavy losses to France, the death of Francols Alexandro Delsarte, the emineut professor of lyric declamation at the Paris Conser vatolre. He was the sou of a physician at Holesmes, France, and was born in 1811. His early life was devoted enthusiastically to musical culture, and hosoon won for himself a name as a slager and teacher of music. He was a student at the Conservatory from 1936 to 1830, and subsequently appeared at the Opera Configue. He afterward gave dramatic instruction in a system which, it is claimed for him, he invented that is, the expression of thought and connected ideas by gastures. Though he probably followed out much the same principle that was developed by Dro crates and Roseino, and was so cut off from the honor belonging to a new creption, the credit will belongs to him of reviving a lost art, and a very graceful and useful one. He held that oratory was more an art than a gift and the success he attained among his meny pupils in acting upon this idea was the best confirmation of its correctness. Many of the mos brilliant dramatic stars of Paris started in the path to fame under his direction. He was also favorably known as an author and composer, having written several romances and compiled the "Archives of Bony," a collection of historical music from the sixth to the seventeenth centuries. He leaves behind many promising pupils in this country and France, who are Hylng and teaching in idelity to his theory.

PERSISTENCE.

Because I begged so hard, Blio line at last unbarred The treasure-chamber of her fastened heart, And Love's feet outer in, That walted long to win Their way, nor would from closed door depart; His patient, faithful feet. Find favor with my Sweet.

Because I begged so hard, This, then, is my reward Love the wayfarer becomes Love the guest; No more in streets of scorn He turns away forlorn. Itte thed feet find rooms of shaded rest, Where all their dusty heat Is cooled by my Sweet.

Hecause I begged so hard, For onco my ficto ill starred is awayed by the mild might of happy moons. Only the lightest touch I Only I but, oh, how much I Love wearles out whom well he importance i And well did be entreat

Herause I begged so hard, Years, with sad seasons marrod, Are lightened backward as with audden suns. . Yez, over life's whole skies The light of her dear eyes Travels, like dawn and sunset shed at once. Mixed in one glory, recet-All days this day, my Bweet !

This mercy of my Sweet,

Heeause I begged so hard, The shadow doth retard tipon the dist of one delicious hour :

WOULS LIEBUS.

1 The state of the control of the state of the control of the contro

Mea fi^{ce} is lowed to tea lasts well

In Basicker, female etadents are not compitted to the i.e. common or admitted to the condition of students, upon possing the region traditions.

Mrs. Convey by builty engaged upon heaverthin of the Western Maryland Hallmod, take be eith to have be non-either and energeths contractives; A progressive Charimeth servant glil recently state two way on looks of farmiture a file the family were at the the are the wiched to keep maxing.

Mrs. He into his to be received y advertised as wearing the fine to a smooth and being the most degantly dressed woman at the Branch. How Buchulul

A young over highlane bitely became so frightened at a writer - perst tent attenuate to mean to at a widow operal tent attempts to marry him that he turned over to her all his property and ran away,

A sensible lady, of mature years, says that it does not look well to: a young lawyer to put his arm a ound a girl at a circus and comb her butr with his flogers.

The annual income of Miss Anna Dicklusion for lecturing for the pist seven years investigated \$7,000. Her profits lest season are said to have reached \$19,000.

The capacity of women to bear arms, which has been arged agalost their claims to political citizen-ship, was fully tested in Paris during the late reign of the Communists.

A London milliner has been arrested by the Board of Health there for having her work room overcrowd-ed, confining eighteen persons to a room containing only 2,016 cubic feet.

Mrs. Bloomer, whose name describes the short-dress costume for women, is reported to be living quietly in Kansas, surrounded by a large family and taking no part in public affairs.

George W. Curtis says when a miss in Vassar Col-lage of a educate hersell in medicine, she has the same right as any long haired, sallow checked boy in spec-tactos, who hisses at her womanhed

The femule suffragists of San Francisco and Stock-ton are preparing to bring suits against the county clerks for refusing to revisive them as voters under the Constitution of the United States.

Mrs. Livermore addressed the pupils of the Prescott School, E as Boston, at the annual exhibition. This is to be the first movement in a conscriet plan to have women on the school boards throughout the Commonwealth.

"Warrington," of the Springfield Republican, says "that it seems to be the object of certain women, among whom Mrs. Stowe and Gall Hamilton are conspictions, to vie with the most abusive of the men in running down their sex."

The Fire Island girls take especial delight in as-serting their independence by rowing alone, fishing atone, strolling the beach alone and dancing at the hops alone. That little game can be carried a good ways, but they can't get married alone.

A New Orleans paper says that Mrs. Gaines' reply to the suit of Caleb Cushing to obtain \$50,000 from her for services reinfored as ner attoriey at law is to the effect that he has collected reits upon her properly more in amount than he is cutiled to. She claims the balance,

The women of a certain town in Ohlo took it upon The women of a certain town in one case a super-themselves recently to close the gli mills, and, as-sembling in squads, they betook themselves to the inverse, and quietly sat down with their knitting the whole day, working and talking unconcernealy. Hus-bands and brothers came in unawares, and of course did not drift under such electuastances, and the re-form has proved lasting.

A Brieful man undertook the other day to punish his dampiter, a girl of eighteen, for accepting the ac-tentions of a young man whom he didn't like. The girl very naturally objected to this sort of interference in her love adalis, whereat the fond parent let fly his distand knowled two of her teeth down her throat. A local magistrate let the brate off with a fine of \$5. Justice is a lunny thing, sometimes, in Connecticut, as well as other places.

The Louisville Independent rays that a doctor of that place was recently summoned to the bedside of a hitherto respectable young hely. The doctor's high opinion of the family caused him to hastly prescribe a mistaid plactic upon the back, together with an amonyno powder for spinal difficulty, and returned home. In a few hours the doctor returned to see his patter, and was surplised to see her embracing incruming, in a undernal way, like interconceived spinal affection. It weighted about chosen pounds.

A gentleman one day indiscreetly asked a lady how A gentreman one may intercency asteed a may now old she was, "Let ue see, I was eighteen when I was married, and my husband was thirty; and now he is twice thirty, and that is shirty see, of course, I am twice eighteen; that is thirty see," A certain divinity student of our acquaintance remarked to a dirighted matron, who sat by his side at the table where there was quite a party, "You have proserved your vigor and freshness wonderfully, madam. Pray, how old are you?" "Old enough to know what belongs to noul breading." Was here contenus seed. old are you?" ..." Old enough to know what to good breading," was her consteous reply.

One who has been Inflinite with the family of Mass One who has been infinite with the family of Mes-Marton, charged with wholesale poisoning in latt-more, says that this lady is a woman of the most gen-tle and affectionate atsposition. "Her love for her husband, who was a rather wild and harum securing person, was conspicuous during their twenty years of married. He, and she was so devoted to her son, whom she is charged with having mardered, that she sacrified her own condort during his entire school days to be near him and to look after his welfare."

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At Q = V tory we must browder I were always to a father when I were always to the father when I were always to the second of the positive of the second of the second of the second of the second of the whole were and could light a second of the whole were in the north hearter and the second of the whole were in the north hearter and the second of the

of her tread meaning nor the fronther gold of her log, and however of the how the have deadywheel.

In treating of the positive of come is twentid narely being a provided by the third to increase the heavy of American women to Parks during the heat twelve years. To gen Pay, heav'ten its condendam of the ambittone dream of meny of our infatuated countrywomen. It has been to them what ridin, he can two to Thirk Society. The commit of homan happiness, the history of article hopes. And once there, throwing approaches of the winds, those bushned control of a control of a control of the farthern themselves, plying little head to the contents which are almost always regarded by European women. To be admired by the Edigebra was a matter of home; to be talked about he came the grast acting good. Three American women, whose mans are so well known that they would be immediately called in every cut and in every parlocal notations and willied. They bength to autiful dreams for hold friends at home; they were all modeone and willed. They bength the autiful dreams for hold friends at home; they were mark courted by the more descrit American; very glad to be sainfifted to the Tuiledles, even by the back stalrs. The curtain has fulled on unhappy Parls, whose followers those of the Russlans and Americans for more them her own; and one at test of these poor further files, the most brilliant of all, he been crushed on fortune's which. What has become of the others when heavy gos and only the memory of folly remains?—Lippincall's.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS.

Must woman bow and bend the knee, Like meniai siaves from Congo torn? At evening whade her life to mourn?

Must angel voice be hush'd and still ? Plus out its wee in silent grief, From proud New England's marmaring rid, To Eldorado's golden reef? Must Bible text and Scripture strong.

By tyrants 'neath Columbia's flag, Be burl'd at woman's rights and wrong, O'er hill, and dale, and mountain crag? Prevail triumphant over right? Yes, in these Gospel, halcyon days

Beneath the sunbeam's glorious light, We do not walk in wisdom's ways. Learn from the folling widow's mite, Or from proud Turkey's heartless men, Or yonder Pekin's reign of night,

Their females bought and sold by them. Go, ask the Christians, far and near, If they the golden rule obey, And treat their wives and daughters dear, As Jesus taught in his bright day,

Go, ask the poor on yonder street, Those females dyed to deep in clime, What have oppress'd and bound their feet, That they in virtue cannot whine.

Go, view the working, suffering poor, Who sit and burn the midnight oil, And kult and stitch with utmost care, And but III paid for all their toll.

Ho indiest for your rights do seize, And hurl ye back the tyrant foe; Unfurl your banner to the breeze, And strike the wicked monster low.

Let husbands kind and fathers dear, In you their more than equals see 1 No more their cruel laws to tear. lint in your strength be free, be free,

Proclaim your rights throughout the world; Fear not to face the frowning foe; But let him from his throne be hurl'd. He that did wield oppression's blow. Cardington Republican

MANY EERM to think that men are more inventive women, but sex does not determine the talents of Individuals.

of Individuals.

Few, comparatively speaking, know how much they are Indebted to woman in this direction.

Mrs. Ruth W. Briggs, of Vermont, in 1884, designed and conyrighted a diagram or scale from which nearly all kinds of garments for Indies and children are cut in the most desirable style and comfortable fit.

She introduced it in nearly every Eastern and Western city, years ago, now has out her sixth edition, having simplified it from time to time, so that the original nine pieces are all combined in two, and now teaches it occasionally, as a means of paying expenses, as she attends the Spirtualists' concentions and woman's rights meetings, where her whole energies are bent as a worker for humanity and especially her own sex.

tic and affertionate disposition. "Her love for her insband, who was a rather wild and harms earning person, was conspicuous during their twenty years of married life, and site was so devoted to her son, whom she is knarged with having murdered, that she sacrifted her own context during his entire school days to be near him and to look after his welfare."

A pleasant instance of the return of kindness is a legacy in bonds and stock shares, smounting to about cases.

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Aug. 26,

We would response

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which controls in the thousands of mer or me-eno and intending to the country of as the coming ecision, which for its amply prepared to meet their will aim every country. The samed artists of this country are in our em-ployeno small houses could afford to pay them; and the best workmen, to whom we fortish employment. the year round, are producing thousands of garments

the year round, are producing thousands of garmen's bir as every week.

It shall be our andeavor to scrume every possible advantage known to the clothing trade; and if we work for our own interests, how can use withhold these advantages from our dustomers? We promise entire satisfaction to all who patroning.

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author of "The Woman in White," "The Moonstone," etc., will be commenced next week in HARPER'S WEEKLY.

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Is greater than to fill the seats of State; Вопентой. The ruling stars above, by secret laws,
Determine Fortune in her second cause.
These are a book wherein we all may read,
And all should know who would in life succeed,
What correspondent stars in man display His future actions—point his devious way;— Thus, in the heavens, his future fate to learn

Thus, in the heavens, his future fate to learn,
The present, past and future to discern,
Correct his steps, improve the hours of life,
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Pomeroy's Finger-Pad Truss.

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EQUALITY A RIGHT OF WOMAN.

BT TRUVIR C. CLAPLIN

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.

Seems !. To point out wherein a condition of servi the the been involuntarily accepted by women as a the for equality, they in the meantime laboring under the delusion that they were above instead o

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

Porth, To demonstrate that the future welfare of humanity demands of women that they prepare them selves 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.

FI/7A. 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. Claffin, 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 at 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 bodly 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 iails 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.

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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 Astrie 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 cheriehed 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 Austrie discovers the presence of a serpent who breathes on her a subtle poison, and she (with Erotion) is slain.

Llamia, the serpent of policy, then controls and

Llamia, the screpent of policy, then controls and akes 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 Llumia. When Hesperia beholds him she recognizes her soul's counterpart, and ie prepared, by his words and love to resist all the evil machinations of Llamia,

Llamia, 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 Callos rouses her spirit, and with them she withdraws into the world of souls, where, for a time, she beholds the the world of sonls, where, for a time, she beholds the scenes enacted under the influence of Llamia. She witnesses in Athenia and Crescentia deeds of horror and the tortures inflicted upon the oppressed. Callos sings to her in plaintiff 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.

earthy kingdom.

Long years does Llamia hold sway, and at last wakens the voice of war; when Astrea, not dead, but only withdrawn for a space, turns the sword of Llamia upon her son.

Through long suffering is Hesperia made strong and pure. She listens to the voice of nature's childen and their tortures contains the strong and their tortures only the strong the strong the strong the strong their tortures only the strong the s

Through long suncering is herpetia made extendand pure. She listens to the voice of nature's children, and their toriures 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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