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INCERSOLL LOCKWOOD,

Late United States Consul to the Kingdom of Ha
ver. Author of "Transatlantic Souvenirs."
Translator of Renan's "St. Paul," etc.

1. "COUNT BISMARCK, THE GREAT PRUSSIAN PR
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lecture was interesting; exhibits a wonderful recon
denses in the subject, and presents an array of cu
rious facts. Though exhausting the subject, he did
not exhaust the audience, which listened to it with
pleasurable delight. [N. Y. Herald.] The lecture
delivered last evening, before the Young Men's Asso
ciation, by Ingersoll Lockwood, on "Count Bismarck,"
was a very fine effort indeed. [Troy Ex
press.] A good audience was in attendance at
Tweddle Hall, last evening, to listen to Ingersoll
Lockwood, of New York, on Count Bismarck. Mr.
Lockwood is a distinct, clear and powerful speaker,
and showed throughout a perfect familiarity with his
subject. His presentation of the facts of the Count's
life, and estimate of his character, were so well done
as to make his lecture full of interest and profit. [Al
bany Journal.] Brilliant and masterly. [B. S.
Journal, White Plains.] An excellent lecturer. An
eloquent description of the life and character of the
great Prussian Premier. [S. S. Republican.] Mr.
Lockwood's oratorical powers are well known. [Home
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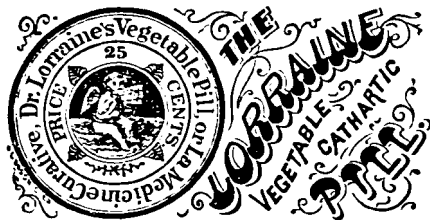
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64-67

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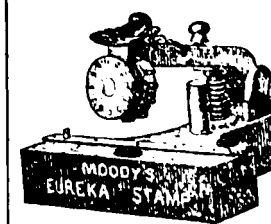
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the amount for which
they are drawn to
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The check is moved
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DIBBLEEANIA for stimulating, JAPONICA for
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there is not one word or hint of divorce or 'affinities.' They simply ask that woman, the subject, shall be her own ruler; shall be the queen of her own realm; shall give the marital law, and be everywhere free to regulate her own life in accordance with her own highest idea of truth and right.

"It is impossible for men to represent women. No convention or body of women ever gave them authority to do so, and on their part it is usurpation. Nor can a woman represent a man."

Mr. Greeley returns to the charge in an article entitled "The Anarchy of Free Love," published in the *Tribune* of July 4.

"Yesterday morning," he says, "we published an earnest and graphic letter from Mrs. Paulina Wright Davis, in which she gave her view of the proper way to escape from the evils that seem inseparable from the institution of marriage. It is useless for us to reiterate our appreciation of the writer's personal worth and the integrity of her purposes. She is as innocent of wrong in these utterances as was the chemist who manufactured the arsenic which served Mrs. Sherman so effectually. Yet there is not a foulness possible in the whole circle of social relations but may find its pretext and a sort of justification in her words. It would be well for us to revise our views of social relations in the lurid light of certain terrible crimes with which we are just now confronted."

Mr. Greeley proceeds to cite some of these atrocious crimes. Two married men became zealous and jealous rivals for the favor of a young unmarried girl. One of these rivals, "a prominent citizen of New Jersey," was murdered by the other. We do not distinctly see how this crime is traceable to Mrs. Davis' resolutions, or to "the equivocal utterances of recent conventions."

Were these unfortunate "married men" driven from their homes by the contumacy of rebellious wives, whose heads had been turned by the pernicious new doctrine of woman's personal independence and self-ownership? If so, the fact is not made apparent in Mr. Greeley's statement. If not so, we do not see how the perpetrators of the crime may be supposed "to find a pretext and justification in her words."

Again:

"A woman is in prison in the quiet town of Derby, in Connecticut, charged with a system of poisonings so vast and so elaborate that it will make the story of the Borgias a tale of blundering essays. It is impossible to shut our eyes to the fact that these events are fraught with a profound significance which bears directly upon one point of our social system. The institution of marriage is undergoing a searching trial, and it is idle to say there is not a weighty lesson taught by the spilt blood of Newark and Seventh avenue, and the hell-broth of that pale Connecticut matron. The interpretation of the lesson is not to be rashly made."

We agree with Mr. Greeley in the last clause of his sentence. We are at a loss to see the application of "the lesson" to the resolutions of Mrs. Davis. Certainly it does not appear that Mrs. Sherman, the pale Connecticut matron, who has murdered so many lawful husbands, was one of the "anarchs of free-love," or even an advocate for woman's suffrage. On the contrary, this pale Connecticut matron, like Henry VIII. of England, had so devout a respect for the sacrament of marriage that she formed no new alliance without first qualifying herself to become a candidate for its honorable sanction.

The *New York Times* says, in speaking of the Greeley and Davis correspondence: "Mrs. Davis seems to understand herself thoroughly in this controversy; Mr. Greeley is evidently in a muddle." The *Philadelphia Republic* indorses the resolutions and defends Mrs. Davis. *The Golden Age*, Theodore Tilton's paper, says: "Mrs. Davis is out in a very radical article in defense of her resolutions. Just like her. She is always a little in advance of the times, but always comes out right." S. H. W.

HORACE GREELEY AND THE LABOR PLATFORM.

In a late issue of the *New York Tribune*, no odds which, the philosophic aspirant for the Presidency copies the "labor platform" of the "National Labor Union," recently announced in St. Louis, Missouri. The sixth plank of that platform is as follows: "Opposition to Chinese labor." In commenting upon this plank the would-be President says: "We cannot realize that labor ought to organize 'opposition to Chinese labor,' or any other. On the contrary, we think it should encourage and stimulate labor of all kinds, on the homely principle that 'many hands make light work.' If our labor unionists want to do less work—and this seems to be the chief end of these efforts—they ought to permit and even incite others to do more. The dog in the manger was not a good political economist."

The man who cannot see why American labor should organize against a pittance-paid foreign labor, and who, at the same time, can see nothing else than that American capital should organize against foreign capital, is, to put the best phase on it, intellectually blind of an eye, and utterly indifferent, according to the theory of protection, to the interests of the American working people.

It seems to me that there can be no escape from this latter charge, for he goes on to declare that this pittance-paid labor, and all other, should be stimulated on the "homely principle"—homely enough to the laborer—that "many hands make light work." We would add that light work makes light wages, and light wages bring heavy distresses to the working men and women of the land. Yet this is what Horace Greeley advocates, upon principle, for there is no escape from the logic of his premises. Oh! but says this philo-political aspirant to these struggling laborers, leave the cities; go to the West, the nation will give you a farm (learn what I know about farming), and then—it may be with a feeble wife and helpless children—"Root, hog, or die!" Why the wealth of the wealthy should be protected this sage can understand, but why the toil of the laborer should be protected passes his comprehension.

Again, says the man of the *Tribune*, "If our Labor Unionists want to do less work—and this seems a chief end of their efforts—they ought to permit and even incite others

to do more." There is in this paragraph an insinuation against and a sneer at the laborers of the country that is as contemptible as it is insulting and unjust. The American laborer simply demands justice for what he does; not that justice determined by Mr. Greeley's overstocked labor market, in which wages would be reduced to starvation rates, but a justice which would insure to it a fair proportion of the wealth it creates; such a share as Mr. Greeley would have accorded it before he became perverted by ambitious political hopes. There is a spirit of diabolism in this whole article which it is hard to account for. How is it possible that a man who was once looked upon as the apostle of labor can lend the influence of his mighty power—*The Tribune*—to the injury of millions of his countrymen? I cannot understand it, unless, indeed, premature senility has overtaken him or overvaulting ambition has set him mad. Under the circumstances, what wonder that this man, once the clamorous mouthpiece for political rights, is now worse than dumb when those who claim them are the women of the nation.

What wonder that he now hurls against the women claimants for women's rights the same wretched missiles which ignorance, prejudice and falsehood but so lately hurled against him for demanding the rights of a degraded class. Has he forgotten everything save that he would be President? What is it that has so bedeviled this man that those whom he should conciliate he mocks; those whom he should respect, he wantonly insults; those whom he should assist and cherish, he scorns and would destroy. Poor old man! for many years I looked up to and half worshipped you. May God forgive me. B.

A FEW WORDS TO THE PIONEERS.

It must be evident to many minds that our civilization is on a pivot, upon which it must turn toward improvement or go down into chaos. This pivot is the Labor Question. If labor sinks in threatened contest civilization will go down with it, as it so lately did in France; but there is no good reason why labor should sink, or remain degraded, or be involved in contests. Beautiful, efficient, sublime solutions that would charm all classes have been waiting between forty and fifty years for a public hearing; but no sooner has an attempt been made to get attention than "What will you do with marriage?" has come up to frighten away all listeners and to balk every attempt to make any progress. It was not enough to reply "We do nothing with it—we will not meddle with it." This was taken to imply that we had something to conceal, and vulgar imaginations supplied, from their own materials, the void left by our well-considered silence. These materials were made up into a monster as hideous as that constructed by Frankenstein, and as that followed and confronted him everywhere, till it worried and frightened him to death; so has this one, like a great, hideous Ogre, followed and confronted every movement toward freedom, great and small, from the noble Robert Owen's to the meeting of a half a dozen in a parlor for an evening's conversation, till it has almost frightened people out of the idea of any social intercourse. It mattered nothing that the great Robert Owen gave us the key to self-emancipation and to universal peace and all the social virtues—this great, horrible spectre stood right across our path, threatening destruction to all who should attempt to pass him, even peaceably.

It signified nothing that that most accomplished and noble woman, Frances Wright, foreseeing that slavery would eventually involve us in civil war, expended forty or fifty thousand dollars of her private fortune to introduce a peaceful mode of self-emancipation for the slaves. The ogre was the first to listen to and question her—"What about the marriage question?" As if the question had some significance where marriage had long before been abrogated! And because she gave a candid and (to her) a philosophical answer in favor of freedom, her enterprise was not to be considered, but she was to die in early life a martyr to her truthfulness and benevolence, crucified by the vulgarity of the mercenary press of this country.

In 1847 we started a small experimental village in Ohio, to test the workings of certain new ideas of the labor question; but being ourselves in doubt as to what experience and careful thought might suggest on this most embarrassing subject, we refrained from any theorizing on it, and even withheld the name of the place and all public notices about it, for fear of the ogre.

That experiment having worked to our satisfaction, we laid out another village on Long Island, N. Y., in 1851. It was named "MODERN TIMES." Here the Ogre was almost our first visitor! His very breath was so offensive, so blasting, that all growth, after the first year, was as suddenly stopped as if it had been struck with mildew.

Multitudes are living and dying in total ignorance of the condition beyond the grave who would give all their portions of the world to learn something about it. But the Ogre has breathed into the floods of light bursting upon us, and the timid dare not look at it.

This horrible hobgoblin must be met and overcome, or all important progress is impossible, even to the emancipation of LABOR!

All honor, all reverence, all sympathy for the noble, unselfish pioneers, the devoted forlorn hope, who are marching against the Ogre. But perhaps there need be no battle with him—perhaps there is another path that he knows nothing about. We must and will abolish all the tyranny of men

and institutions; for we will show that it is for the interest of even tyrants to abandon tyranny. But having gained our freedom, what use shall we make of it? In the reign of *Equitable* freedom we cannot dictate authoritatively to each other, but we can, perhaps, without offense, offer the results of our experience where we think it will be acceptable.

It would be in proper place here to give the particulars in detail upon which I came to the conclusions I am about to offer, but space will not permit, even if I thought it best.

One of the conclusions (after forty-five years in the midst of controversies and experiments) is, that the main feature of the prevailing marriage institutions, the feature of INDIVIDUALITY (one man to one woman), is right. INDIVIDUALITY is here, as it is everywhere else, the great principle of order, peace and repose; but while preserving this individuality, we must get rid of the tyranny of the institutions by making fully known the disastrous consequences that inevitably attend promiscuous, unregulated sexual intercourse, and thus induce a voluntary preference for the better mode. One inestimable source of such information on this point will be found at Dr. Jourdan's "Parlisan Gallery of Anatomy," at the corner of Essex and Washington streets, Boston. One hour spent there will do more against the spread of contagious diseases, than all the abuse of the friends of freedom and all the legislation in the world have ever done or ever will do. Perhaps I should mention, to prevent disappointment, that females are not permitted to the exhibition.

Some of the opposition to unregulated, primitive (promiscuous) intercourse of the sexes is well founded; but it is vague and unexplained, people being by law and public opinion prohibited from learning anything outside of man-made institutions, know nothing on this important subject except what they learn by stealth; but enough is now known to a few to justify the assertion that the *primitive* mode works more disastrously than even the tyrannical institutions do, and many who have tried the one have returned to the other.

For thirty-three years, in the midst of controversies and experiments, I had been in doubt as to the form which that relationship would assume in the reign of *EQUITABLE FREEDOM*; but about twelve years ago, assisted by an English publication, I had come to conclusions on the subject and written them down, venturing to suggest a mode, which, while it promised exemption from the disastrous workings of existing institutions on the one hand and those of inexperience on the other, it offered no violence to entire freedom. A noble man on a visit to me said, he should like to hear the manuscript read. When I had finished reading it, he exclaimed, "I thank God that I have heard that, for I would sooner commit suicide than I would live as I have lived the last nine years." He had lived in the primitive mode.

I don't know how much importance may be attached to my conclusions without the particulars that gave rise to them, but they cannot be given here, if at all.

The manuscript spoken of may be printed, and find its way into the hands of some intelligent and well-behaved people who see the immense, the paramount importance of finding a satisfactory solution to this most embarrassing of all subjects, and the want of which is the principal obstacle to the progress, if not the very existence of civilization.

It should be understood that I decline all controversies and abstract disquisitions on the subject.

J. WARREN.

BELLEVUE LUNATIC ASYLUM, Aug. 3, 1871.

Mrs. Woodhull & Claflin.

LADIES: On the 9th of June I was in your office and subscribed for your paper. On the next day, early in the morning, I was handcuffed and dragged from my residence and thrust into this lunatic asylum on the certificate of a sufficient number of medical men, the evidence, of course, *ex parte*, or one side only heard. The main offense, I think—I may say—I know—was subscribing for your paper. Please make this known to the world and let us have their judgment in this matter.

I am an old soldier in the Army of Liberty. My anti-slavery dates back to 1832, to the burning of Lewis Tappan's furniture in Rose street by a mob. You will find my name first on the *Tribune*'s list of subscribers.

I have not been allowed to see my wife, and am kept a strictly-guarded prisoner. For God's sake help me if you can. I know that my appeal to you will not be in vain if this reaches you.

Respectfully and truly yours,

E. C. PRIME.

BRICK POMEROY, the rejected of Tammany, thus assails his own who knew him not: "Look at New York! One hundred and one million of dollars in debt! And what have the people to show for it? A steam yacht! An American Club House! A race track! A Supreme Court owned by the Erie Railway, with Hon. George Barnard tollkeeper! A palace for lying Slippery Dick Connolly, the Comptroller, who went into office so poor that he could not qualify in a thousand dollars—who is now a millionaire." "Brick" knows the sore spots and does not spare the vitriol.

The frightful Massachusetts railroad disaster only adds another proof, if one were wanted, to the necessity of hanging directors and superintendents, the really guilty parties. Corporations have no souls. We must touch their bodies.

Sitting in the even times given to phillor Egypt's Proper Ph we had been discour watching from the t her way toward the clouds.

"Yes, it is so, W we say; comes up ag round—ay, forever. and nations have th gain a perhellon spic a new moon, a new and civilizations, lik round of ages is b smaller scale throug

"Who, think you, Persepolis, Babiloe, "A pertinent que gantic works were n greatest of our preseu tures indicate the h manly."

"And when, thinl flourished?"

About to reply, th up everything below

"See there, Wilso He spoke with be off over the scene be

"Those long, sil and kings—I see th the long ago in the lon, Chaldea and F steadily on!

Through the The rising a And it pas The soul's t That years t Answereth a And oftlin

And still the Into the mov In solemn or While a mon For many of But vand-hed Of the abbey

But the scene is presence of a large, His expressive and l minding the behol gentleness and love, undulated gently on "Without father having neither begin like unto the Son of chisedec, King of Sa great this man was."

Following the dir gazed with awe upon life-like stone image, Bunker Hill, covering for the accommodati a vast and gorgeous verdure, less finely d trees of giant size sparse in variety, we odor and deep in hue like thought and ph away times of its cru But, hark! what ver the first calling the pe image, as the rising s lips.

As the God of day ships, priest, king a rosy beams, the morn thousand vigorous voi geous temple to the gre the wrapped enthusiasm the ardent lover and ear sire of offspring, almost up their being to the divine.

It is oddly decorated there, to the right of a temple wall, painted tival. A man has just k ening his knife of br-a three legs and immense

What, bronze, iron, known in early Chaldea of wild and dreamy a earlier progenitors of a slow the art of producin of two pieces of wood t tige and tedious appear

Figure 1. The effect of the concentration of the inhibitor on the rate of polymerization of α -methylstyrene in the presence of SnCl_4 at 25°C .

AMOURS DIVINES,
OR,
LOVE-SCENES IN THE ORIENT.

ALL
MARTHA AND MARY.

The eastern world, where
Their brother Lazarus, at early dawn
Departed, had not yet returned. Now all
The household was in mourning. Everywhere
Beligned order and that sadness which bespeaks
A woman's presence. Piled the vases were
With fresh-cut flowers, while on the table lay
Their green leaves for a bed, awaiting there
The mother's coming, incense, fruit, beside
An on the jar of sweet, spring water. Near
The table stood an urn and basin on
The floor, placed for ablutions, ere the food
Be tasted. With a robe half finished in
Her hands sat Martha there, a look
Of deep concern upon her face, which was
Not beautiful, altho' 'twas clearly so.
Her brow was too severe. No warmth was there
About her eyes, that restless rolled from side
To side; and wrinkles circled about her mouth,
So tight her thin lips were together pressed.
Her glossy hair lay close upon her brow,
And all her flowing tresses gathered back
With scrupulous care, were held firm-pinioned in
A vice-like knot. Her very chin did 'pon
Her garment rest, so high it came to hide
What never even brother's arm had clasped.
Yet gem antique a fair profile never
Displayed. Even to a hair, were brow and nose
And chin of equal length. It was, in truth,
A Pallas-profile pure, engrafted on
An Aphrodite bust; for ill concealed
That loosely-folded summer robe the wealth
Of bosom which beneath it lay, nor hid
From view that virgin-waist and graceful slope
Of limb. 'Tis, too, with this Italian form
Did both her arms and hands consort. There was
A lack of softness in them everywhere.
Abrupt the fingers ended; every move
Made Nature's mechanism manifest.
In ridges ran the blue veins here and there.
The nails were round and colorless. The wrists
A bungling piece of Nature's handicraft.
In the hands and arms no symmetry was there
For the eyes to rest upon, and so they turned
An-battered back to gaze themselves upon
The untasted beauties of the trunk. So looked
That busy virgin seated there.

Not far
From her, upon a gently sloping couch,
Reclined her sister Mary, lost in thought;
A Hebe resting from her graceful task,
Her undulating form soft pillowed on
A bed of clouds! In dreamy languor hung
Her eye-lid fringe almost upon her cheek,
Or rose and fell like wings of butterfly
Alighted on some blossom honey stored.
Blue were her eyes, a heavenly blue, like sky
Serene, in lake pellucid, mirrored deep!
Her parted lips looked luscious, soft and full
Whereon to kiss, tho' death, yet willing might
One die. As golden water-lilies ride
On brooklet's breast, so on her bosom rode
The tresses of her golden hair, or hid themselves
Beneath her form, rich in recumbent grace.
Her tapered fingers toyed with broidery
Arachne's needle worthy quite. From out
Beneath her robe, unsandaled, bare and white,
As tho' they'd never yet touched earth, looked both
Her beautiful, arched feet, in careless grace
One on the other laid.

Thus oft in some
Cool grove on Helicon doth Erato
Recline, in dreamy thought of Paris' love;
Achilles' last career on his beloved
Brisete's lips; Apollo's glow at sight
Of Daphne's beautiful face; the passion of
The Paphian queen for Myrrha's son, the swan
On Leda's bosom soft caressed; old Pan
On goat-feet, swift some wood nymph following;
Actaeon's fatal gaze on Artemis;
The lovely Psyche couched in Eros' arms;
Rude Mars in Aphrodite's soft embrace;
Poor Clytie's love, unconquered even by death;
Diana's grief when she had slain the one
She loved; the burning Sappho's love and leap,
Or Orpheus' woe at loss of his sweet mate,
Eurydice.

At length her anxious heart
Made Martha speak.

"Think'st not, good sister mine,"
Our brother doth exceeding long delay?
The sun goes to his rest and over Bethany
The early shadows of the evening steal,
Yet comes he not. Porchance he went up to
Jerusalem. Thou knowest, sister dear,
That this is Caesar's birth-day, and to-day
The Roman gov'nor therefore doth with plays
And sports and feasts the people entertain.
Mayhap our brother by the pomp allured
Will in the city stay till fall of night,
Or could he've fainted by the way and be
Now now beneath some stranger's roof. Forbid
It, God! Loved hands do downy softness give
To pillow whereon aching head doth lie,
And fond, familiar faces are the best
Of medicine. Our brother is not strong,
And needs our care and love to comfort and
To cheer him on in life."

"Come, sister mine,"
The gentle Mary cried, "cullion up
Thy picture with at least a ray or two
Of hope! Thou art was born on gloomy day.
Thy fears are groundless, one and all. 'Twixt sun
And horizon there's yet an hour. Why should

Our hearts complain? Our brother went up to
The city with his friends, the pagans' lot
Yet ended: he will come at twilight ere.
Dumais say a pretence and give ear
To me, my sister dear. I'll tell thee of
A dream I had the other night."

"Was't gay
Or grave, was't happy or unhappy, my?
Thou ever thinking still?" asked Martha, with
A smile.

"'Twas strange, real strange," replied
Her sister; "yet I was happy, too. I dreamt
That I was married and thought, as by
My husband's side I lay, nor he nor I
Could single word articulate. I never
Before had gazed upon his face. Methought
'Twas mainly beautiful, as mild upon
Me beamed his soft, brown eyes. And yet, I felt
No thrill run thro' my form, no glow upon
My cheek. There lay I cold as lead, not half
So warm as when I feel thy soft limbs 'gainst
My side. At last he took my hand; I drew
It not away. Emboldened thus, he raised
Upon his arm and bared my bosom to
His gaze, then smiled, and here and there did drop
A kiss. I let him not—nor, most strange thing,
Did now my blood its sluggish pace improve.
Then laid he on my breast his hand and smiled
Again, as if to say: 'How brown it looks
Thereon!' Now gently drew he back, and smiled
The while, my night-robe to its place, and set
His lips upon my hair; and then, by way
Of brow and eyes and cheeks, did slowly kiss
A pathway to my lips. There rested he
And kissed and kissed again. Nor pleased nor yet
Dread was I; but thought within myself
'He is my husband, and to him belongs
The sweetness of my lips.' But, sister mine,
All his caresses set no fire within
My veins. Not half the pleasure gave he me
That thy soft touch upon my bosom doth
Excite, or that thy limbs, so velvety
And warm, awaken when they rest on mine.
Can'st thou the mystery explain, for well
Thou know'st I am of texture soluble—
Plain flesh and blood at least."

"Why, sister dear,"
Did Martha now reply, "the thing is thus:
Thou didst not love the husband of thy dreams,
For e'en the sight of him whom woman loves
Doth fill her heart with joy, and send a thrill
Of most delightful nature thro' her form.
But when his arms entwined her neck, and she
Doth to him cling and hold her glad mouth up
To catch his lips' warm welcome, then, ah, then
The spark doth on the tinder fall and all
Is fire!"

"What bliss, my sister, must it be,"
Said Mary with a sigh, "what more than bliss
To be thus loved, to know there's one who loves
Thee more than life—who absent, doth not toy
With other lips, and present, never tires
Of thine! Oh talk to me of love, of love,
Of love, my sister, fill mine ears with tales
Of love! I'm in a mood to list; tell of
Some lonely maiden loved by wealthy lord,
Or, choose thou so, a queen in peasant's arms,
Methinks they love the best who should not love!
Else tell me of the different sorts of love—
The calm, the wild, the pure, the cold, the mad,
The first and last and those that intervene;
Or rather, sister, tell me how to make
Him love who doth not so incline, or teach
Me how to know true love from counterfeit,
And passion's heat from pure affection's warmth.
No, no, good sister mine, now that I think—
Ha, ha, this last request shall stand, it shall—
What sort of man would'st thou for husband choose,
And by this breast (with this she laid it bare)
Just such a one shall pillow here his head!"
"Well, well, my lawn, thou must be tired. Art sure
Thou wilt not break away again?" did ask
The other sister, as her placid face
With smiles was rippled over. "Alas, light heart!
As world doth go, I know not what to say;
Man's love is merchandise, sold sight unseen.
Like garment ready-made, it seldom fits.
'Tis pity we cannot love's market-place
Frequent, examine well the fabric and
The shade, lest if the dye be good, count well
How many yards the piece contains, beware
Of remnants, tho' sold o'er so cheap—in fact,
Be not content till just the thing is found.
But no, a woman cannot say: 'Please show
Me something blue or brown or grey or red'
And toss the goods about until she's pleased.
What Cupid's clerk unrolls and praises well,
And warrants colors fast, imported goods,
Becoming to her style, she chooses and
Cries out: 'I'll take it, send it home!' and goes."

"But this is most unjust, my sister," came
From Mary's lips, and earnest looked her clear,
Blue eyes and fast her arched bosom rose
And fell; "but this is most unjust, I say.
Are we but clay, that men may rake us o'er
And plant us year by year? Ungrateful fruit!
How dare revile the tree whereon ye grew!
Shall man, shall bragging men, the drone-bees of
Creation's hive, count woman not their peer
Who doth her flesh and blood surrender up
To fashion them, and on her bosom wear
Their puny forms until their limbs grow strong?
Oh! this must change? Incrusted is the world
With wrong, in error steeped and stiff with gum
From old injustice' eyes distilled!"

"Is this
My gentle sister Mary, who doth thus
Declaim?" asked Martha, with her eyes upon
That soft, recumbent form, so ripe, so round,
Its rosy tints redoubled now. "Is this
The babe my dying mother placed within

My arms and bade me nurse, as 'twere mine own?
I never played with other doll than thee.
Thou, sweet child! Here on my happy breast
Thy tiny form would nestle like a bird,
Thy little tongue and cherub lips the while
A-struggling to pronounce my name. And see
The change! Thou art a woman now and dost
Of man's injustice speak; yet, mark me well,
My sister, to the man thou lovest, thou
A willing slave wilt be, content to live
Upon his smile, he will thy will, his ways
Thy ways. As Eads did his birchen for
A morsel of postage soil, so woman for
A kiss from lips of man she loves, parts with
Her liberty and deems the bargain good."

When Mary saw the earnest look that clothed
Her sister's face, a cloud did settle on
Her virgin brow and slowly down upon
Her cheeks of velvet soft, she sank her long
And silken eye-lid fringe, nor stirred her feet—
How beautiful those limbs most surely were
To end so beautiful—nor moved her hand
As on her maiden breast they lightly lay.

The home of Lazarus was silent as
A tomb. The young moon smiled with silvery
Delight upon that pair of maidens as
With clouded faces, they in silence sat.
The anxious Martha, and her sister at
Her side.

Just then a footstep sounded at
The gate. "Our brother cometh!" cried they both.
Two voices blent in one, "But not alone!"
Came quick from Martha's lips. "Comes stranger with
Him?" did the other sister eagerly ask.
But ere reply was spoke, the brother stood
Upon the sill and smiled, and pointed to
His friend—

'Twas Joseph's son.

Now Martha took,
With words of welcome on her lips, his hand.
And led him to a seat. But Mary stood
With brow and cheeks on fire until she felt
Her brother's hand upon her shoulder laid,
And heard him gently say: "Sweet sister, hast
No welcome for my friend?" Then murmured she:
"Tis joy to have our brother's friend with us."
And Jesus smiled, and Mary looked and loved.

When they their weary feet unsandaled had,
And bathed them in the limpid water near
At hand, did Lazarus and Joseph's son
Draw near the table, which the sisters now
Set forth, with somewhat more than usual care,
With meat and bread and wine thereon.

Rejoiced

Were they to see their brother and his friend
Thus seated 'neath their roof. With well-pleased ears
They listened to their mirthful talk. Delight
Filled both the maidens' hearts when Joseph's son
Spoke of his love for Lazarus, and said
No brother could a brother better love.

With eager eyes the gentle Mary scans
His face, yet cannot look her fill. Such wealth
Of manly beauty ne'er had met her gaze.
There was a look about his dark brown eyes
That held one half entranced. His lofty brow
Bespoke the ideal in mind, and tho' around
His lips there played an almost girlish grace,
Yet thick upon his cheeks, a silken beard

Gold-brown and wavy grew. His voice was deep,
Yet soft, and e'en the motions of his hands
Persuasion breathed. At times a cloud did seem
To gather on his brow; then suddenly
It rolled away beneath the sunshine of
His smile, and all was sweet serenity.

At length the sisters bade the friends "Sleep well,"
And went reluctant from their presence forth.

Far in the night they sat, and talked of love
And life to come, and Lazarus was fain
To look to Nature as his god. With eyes
Bedewed with tears he gazed upon the two
Wax images of his lost parents which
Adorned the walls, and shook his head and sighed.
"They're gone for evermore, for death is death;
Yet nature suffers not a leaf to die
In vain. She gathers up the impalpable
Remains, and makes them live in other forms
Once more. Could these departed ones await
My coming, then would nature's wheels be clogged,
And that Eternal Motion, God itself,
I think, would suffer violent arrest.
Man's heart doth lead him here astray;
Nor let him ask: Why should not death be death?
How shall the disembodied soul its time
Employ? See how imagination makes
Us sorry fools, and maps out lands with skies
Forever bright for us to lead a life
Of idleness therein! Why that were worse
Than death! If God delights in song and praise
From spirit lips, why made he not, I ask,
All spirits at the first?"

Then Joseph's son
Looked at his friend with love-filled eyes, and when
He'd stroked his gold-brown beard, and laid it soft
Upon his breast, thus did he calm reply:
"Beloved Lazarus, shall God be judged
By us or by him? Thy mind is gorged
With doubt, when e'en a single one were 'nough
To poison thy belief. He who feels not
The hand of God stretched over him, to guide,
Protect and point the way to happiness,
Is willful blind. Is God unjust, that He
Should let the good, the patient and the pure,
All unrewarded for their sorrows here,
Sink like the evil in eternal night?"

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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We have repeatedly within the last year or two discussed the great political dangers that threatened the country from

The late Mr. D. Kelley moved his family to this island in 1836. In the spring of 1841 Mr. George Kelley planted a number of cuttings of the Iauabua, Catawba, and some other varieties. Early in the spring of 1842 Mr. Datus Kelley brought from Cleveland three hundred cuttings of the Iauabua grape, which he divided equally between his two sons, Addison and Julius—then residents of the island—and Mr. Huntington. The season was propitious and most of the cuttings grew. In the spring following, 1843, these roots were all transplanted. The next spring, 1844, Mr. Kelley brought a small quantity of Catawba cuttings from the garden of Judge Ely, of Elyria. These he distributed in much the same manner as before, and were the first Catawbas planted, and are now in as good condition as any of the younger vines. In 1845 Mr. Charles Carpenter purchased a farm on the west end of the island, where he still resides. He too, soon commenced setting

So long as human nature continues to be what it has heretofore been, and is now, so long will there be a demand for the juice of the grape. Although "good wine needs no bush," we cannot refrain, in conclusion, from a few words of commendation of the wine produced by the Kelley's Island Wine Company. Situated in the centre, as it were, or rather the *home* of the Catawba grape, this company makes its selections for wine purposes from the best grapes from the Island and vicinity, rejecting all which do not come up to their standard of excellence. We have used it for several years, and as a light table wine believe it to be unsurpassed. It is the pure juice of the grape, entirely free from alcohol, and its rich fruity flavor is rarely found in wines which are sold at ten times its price. The general use of such a wine would do more toward the practical decrease of intemperance than all the lectures which were ever delivered.

"We must not deceive ourselves, as is too often done in France. The turn taken by the municipal elections of Paris is a severe check, and it will soon produce other fruits. It is neither more nor less than, as I have now long seen, the installation of the Commune by law. The most imprudent names appear in it—MM. Motu, Floquet, Cournand, Lockroy and Legendre Pignat, who during some of the Parisian Commune, and tried to hard to become members of it. M. Haug, who retired from it because he could not get the lead, and twenty others, with them, will constitute the midst of the Municipal Council an unprosperous and prejudicial minority. It must not be forgotten that in the last Commune of Paris it was the minority that was victorious, and that in the temporary Commune, which followed, it was a violent minority which took the lead. We may be assured that on the very first opportunity the first Communists, who will form the nucleus of an insurrection, will be induced to play an important part in it. In such circumstances may arise which will place us before a serious task, and it is not very difficult to foresee what the result may be."

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FROM MRS. DAVIS.

PROVIDENCE, August 26.

MY DEAR VICTORIA: Despite the *Tribune's* idea of my idleness and ennui I find every hour so filled with duties that friendly letters are often deferred, not wholly neglected, for I usually bring up at the last moment. This must be my excuse for not having sooner congratulated you upon your nomination by the VICTORIA LEAGUE to the Presidency. But I have not been either idle or unmindful of our, your interests, for in the one I consider the other bound up.

From the time when I picked up your paper with your name at the head as the future President of the U. S. A., and read your pronouncement, I have never named any other candidate for President.

That step at once proved you fearless, self-sacrificing and strong in the right. Your platform of a just government I regard as a most able state paper, one that will bear a favorable comparison with any which has been put forth for years; and I am proud that it is bound up with the history of the first twenty years' work for human freedom. It is a most excellent beginning of the history of the next decade.

The meeting held in Apollo Hall, though seemingly so near a failure, has certainly not been without its results. If there had been no other, the issuing that one document (though not indorsed, as it should have been, by the meeting) would have been worth the time; but the great social question receives an impetus that it will not soon lose in its onward progress. I believe people begin to see that suffrage will not give woman social equality any more than it gives it to the negro now; it is but a stepping-stone toward the greater. The black man votes, but ask him if he does not still feel the ban of public sentiment against his tinted skin, and he will answer yes; and sex will still be the word to stifle woman's aspirations for a larger life, even though she may vote for years.

Though as a scientist I regard the social questions as of the greater importance, I am none the less ready to accept your nomination; and though I may be on the other side of the globe, I shall come home to vote for you in 1872; and every woman will be recreant to duty who fails in standing firmly in this crisis by your side, strengthening, encouraging and aiding in all and every possible way.

Yours ever truly, PAULINA W. DAVIS.

CAUTION TO PEOPLE HAVING MONEY TO INVEST.

The season is approaching in which a super-activity is either naturally or artificially infused into all departments of business and finance. Taking advantage of this business condition, railroad companies having large lots of unsalable bonds on hand will make desperate efforts to foist them upon the unwary public. Flaring advertisements already begin to set forth the advantages of this or that road, and almost, but not quite, guarantee the to be lucky investors. Some bonds of this description sold some three years since are now proven worthless. The road cannot pay their interest. Of course it cannot. It had no hope of ever doing it when they were puffed. But they were offered to the public, with all the regular enticing statements, through a certain over-respectable and immensely pious, mercantile, religious dispenser of a conglomeration of dry goods and orthodoxy, embellished by serio-comic or burlesque cartoons to make it pleasing to the eye, which undoubtedly largely assisted the fraud. Respectable banking-houses "rigged" the market by reports of sales at good prices, which may or may not have been made, and off they went, to the infinite happiness of bankers and railroad company. The facts regarding these bonds should warn people to examine with great care the statements put forth by parties having such bonds in charge, whether the roads are actually built as stated, and whether their locality is such as to warrant the stated calculations of prospective business. About a year

ago we began a series of exposures of the manner in which these frauds are perpetrated, and thereby saved many people from being victimized. The audacity with which the same thing is to be attempted the coming Fall seems to call for further warning of the danger that lurks behind the reliability, safety and profit predicated of the class of bonds to which reference is made. We also hear it intimated that enormous preparations are making to push through the next Congress the various subsidy schemes defeated last session. These will also require our attention. Frauds upon the public individually, by the one class, or the community by the other, are equally to be deprecated, and we shall not hesitate to boldly lay all their plans that come under our observation before our readers.

MISS SUSAN KING.

Miss Susan King, who has for the last year been absent in China and Japan, upon a tour of personal inspection of the tea business, has just returned. Miss King is a well-known resident of this city, remarkable for her business tact and capacity; and having, by judicious management, accumulated a large property, it is anticipated that she has made the necessary arrangements abroad to open an immense tea warehouse here, of which she is to be the real head. Thus one by one are those departments of active business life heretofore monopolized by men being attacked and conquered by women. The question of the day is, Have such women as Miss King any right to attack and conquer political as well as business monopolies? The latter is conceded. The former is still denied.

THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY.

Boston has suddenly aroused itself to the consciousness that there is really a Constitution of the United States. In fact, H. B. B. has got as far into its reading as to have stumbled upon the first section of the second article of the Federal Constitution, and there he sticks. The whole subject of citizenship and its rights rest just in this section. Even in this small advance, however, we see the germ of progress, and as "so long as there is life there is hope," we still hope that H. B. B. will ultimately get over this section, and pass to larger generalizations.

In the meantime, however, there is every danger to be feared from this new constitutional light, which it is a pity—a great pity—the defunct States' rights party did not discover ere its last struggle; for by its brilliancy it might have been preserved to bless this country with its beneficent theories for another century. Its mission in this being impossible, we may be permitted to warn our heretofore recognized authorities in these matters that a new light comes to contest their position.

It is to be presumed that this appearance at this particular juncture portends disaster to the hopes of Gen. Butler in his aspirations for the Governorship of the Bay State, since the bold and terse enunciation of Constitutional law made by him a few days since at Gloucester is diametrically opposed to this "new light." Gen. Butler said that "the Constitution of the United States has granted to women the right of suffrage as against all State laws whatever."

Now we are great admirers of General Butler, and in a measure share in the necessary mortification from which he must be suffering, since we too think the Constitution has granted suffrage to women, as against all State laws whatever. Perhaps we should be the more mortified of the two at the rude dispelling by H. B. B. of our vision of suffrage attained. We could have endured our mortification; but to see General Butler humbled is quite too much, when, had he only been wise enough to have bridled his tongue an insignificant fortnight, he could have saved himself and his friends all this terrible humiliation.

But the die is cast, General Butler counts for nothing as against H. B. B., who, by a brilliant peroration, has at one fell stroke rudely swept away all the hopes which laid so near the hearts of women suffragists. Hereafter let us not set our hearts on aught that is liable to err, but go at once to H. B. B., to whom we now make our acknowledgments.

We pass over without notice H. B. B.'s heart-rending appeals to women to rally to the State Legislatures the coming winter to secure the right of suffrage that way, and at once ask H. B. B. to go with us a little further into the Constitution than he has apparently preceded.

H. B. B. quotes the section above referred to as follows: "Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives," etc. The italicized words show where he thinks the strength lies, and that the States now have the absolute right to say who may join in this appointing. Let us, however, call the attention of H. B. B. to the fact that if he judge of a whole flock of black birds by the white one which may happen among them he is liable to be deceived; therefore let us look at some other provisions of this same Constitution. This, however, is scarcely necessary if we pursue his argument, since by it he totally destroys all that he aimed to establish by this quotation, which was the right of the States to determine who may vote for Presidential electors. While in fact the quotation does not necessarily have any direct relation to the act of voting, which he himself shows, by calling attention to the fact that before the war South Carolina provided the

manner of appointing electors by giving that power to the Legislature. But it is not magnanimous to use weapons which your opponent placed in your hands, and as we can well afford to be magnanimous now therefore we pass over this slight fact without placing it to the general account.

Admitting that the paragraph quoted, standing by itself, confers all the power on the States which H. B. B. claims it does, what then? Further on H. B. B. says: "One of our greatest difficulties hitherto in enlisting the interests of politicians has been the supposed constitutional obstacles in our way." Mark you, he says the supposed obstacles. Are we then to conclude that possibly there were no real obstacles. "To establish woman suffrage or anything else by constitutional amendments is tedious and difficult. Not only is a subsequent popular ratification necessary, but, in almost every State, arbitrary restrictions exist, whereby a popular vote can only be reached by previous repeated majorities of two-thirds in both Houses of Legislation." [The last italics are our own. To these we shall refer subsequently.] In this brilliant paragraph H. B. B. gives us the difficulties in the way of woman suffrage, and upon them he goes off into a long dissertation about State laws which should be reamended so as to meet his demands, the chief of which is that the States, individually and not collectively, must grant suffrage to women.

Now, against this heresy we boldly oppose the Fourteenth Amendment, and challenge H. B. B. to contravert our opposition.

We would ask H. B. B. the question direct: Does the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution count for anything in the States, or can the States amend their Constitutions and enact or enforce laws in utter disregard of the direct provision of that Amendment? And H. B. B. you must answer it.

We assume that a provision of an amendment to the Constitution which should be made next year would override, annul and render void and of no vital effect all parts of State Constitutions and State laws which were not in harmony therewith. If this is not so, of what use would a Sixteenth Amendment be providing specifically for "sex?" In short, has the Fourteenth Amendment any modifying power over State laws which conflict with its provisions? We say emphatically that every State law and all parts of State Constitutions which provided anything in any way adverse to that amendment were killed dead the very moment it became a part of the supreme law of the land.

Are we right, H. B. B., or are we wrong?

Let us go to the Constitution itself and determine this matter.

Article six, section two, of the Federal Constitution, provides as follows:

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

Is that conclusive or is it not? If not, nothing can be hence we must decide that the Constitution of the United States is the supreme law as against all State laws whatever.

H. B. B. says "arbitrary restrictions exist in almost every State." By "arbitrary restrictions" we are justified in assuming H. B. B. means restrictions in suffrage by which women are prevented from voting.

The Fourteenth Amendment provides that: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States." And the Fifteenth Amendment recites that the right to vote is a right of citizens of the United States. Now, if the right to vote be a common right of citizens of the United States, how is it possible that arbitrary restrictions can exist in State laws which can prevent the exercise of that citizen's right, since the Fourteenth Amendment so distinctly declares that no State under any consideration shall either make or enforce any such law? Then what becomes of the "arbitrary restrictions," which it is affirmed exist in almost every State, since the Amendment blots them out of existence? In the face of that amendment, what power have States over citizenship or its rights, since they can enforce no law to abridge them? This, perhaps, may seem to H. B. B. to be a "short cut" to woman suffrage, but we much fear it will be rather a "long cut" for him before he will be able to get away from its logic. We will ask the attention of H. B. B. to that section of the Constitution which is the fundamental one in regard to the right of the people to exercise the suffrage.

Article one, section two, of the Federal Constitution provides:

"The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature."

Although in the beginning of this we presumed that Gen. Butler's authority was no longer of any account, still the minority report on the Woodhull Memorial states the case involved here so well that we think we are justified in using it in place of anything which we might add:

The first clause of this section declares who shall choose the Representatives; mark the language: "Representatives shall be chosen by the people of the States," not by the male people, not by certain classes of the people, but by the pe-

ple, so that the franchise one by one the first clause no power to shall be by the moiety of the p It is true the regulate the q already said, t from the power The two clu ered in connec the Constitution The Consti of general pri made as to the their domicile citizen to vote could not be r ily left to the to be in harm of the framers government.

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SEP. 1, 1871.

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THE CONSTITUTION A TITLE-DEED TO WOMAN'S FRANCHISE.

—How excellent franchise in woman is.—CHAUCEY.

CHARLES SUMNER, SENATOR OF THE UNITED STATES:

Honored Sir—I am asked by a number of good women (neighbors and friends of mine) to solicit from you a remedy for a grievance which they suffer. They are public-spirited citizens who want to take a citizen's part in the next presidential election. They believe that the Constitution, by its Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, secures to women, as to other citizens, the right of suffrage. But the State laws of New York, in defiance of the supreme law of the land, deny to women this right. My clients therefore appeal to you, as senior of the Senate and guardian of liberty, to procure the passage of an act of Congress to enforce the Federal Constitution in the State of New York, so that all citizens herein residing, who possess the qualifications prescribed by law, may exercise unmolested the elective franchise.

In giving the reasons which warrant (nay, compel) this equitable interpretation of the Constitution, I am not presuming to enlighten your learned mind on the meaning of an instrument which you hold in the sacred keeping of your oath of office, but am simply executing a semi-official duty of my own as the president (until lately) of a society for the equal rights of American citizens without distinction of sex.

What is a citizen of the United States, or of a State? This question was never explicitly answered in the Constitution until the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment. Previous to this amendment, a Kentuckian was first a citizen of Kentucky and thereby of the United States, but this amendment makes him first a citizen of the United States and thereby of Kentucky. Or he may be a citizen of the United States and not of a particular State. "All persons," says the amendment (and mark the sweep of the phrase), "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the States wherein they reside." Even the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, in a majority report against woman's constitutional right to vote, has declared that the term "all persons" is used in this amendment without limitation by sex; or in other words, that not men only, but women also, are citizens. If I here adduce no judicial decision to this effect, it is only because the point is too self-evident to have been ever questioned in any court. Whenever raised in the courts of the United States with regard to parties to action under the Constitution, it has been brushed away as frivolous. And probably the Supreme Court will never say that "all persons" include men and women until it shall first feel called upon to say that "all parents" include fathers and mothers, or "all children" boys and girls. If, however, anybody for the sake of a cavil should still deny that women are citizens, I point him to these three facts, namely—to pre-empt land, one must be a citizen; to register a ship, one must be a citizen; to obtain a passport, one must be a citizen; and to three other facts, namely—women pre-empt land; women register ships; women obtain passports. Furthermore, as when Solomon, in naming three things, added a fourth, I add that women are naturalized and thus made citizens. In other words, women are citizens.

Well, then, women being citizens, what are their rights as citizens?

The Constitution as it stood in the early days, and long before it reached the Fourteenth Amendment, declared in the fourth article: "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."

What were these "privileges and immunities?" The Washington Circuit Court, two generations ago, through the wise lips of Judge Bushrod Washington, declared its unanimous opinion that one of these "privileges and immunities" was "to enjoy the elective franchise as regulated and established by the laws or constitution of the State in which it is to be exercised."

The Fourteenth Amendment, a later flower of liberty, exhibits these "privileges and immunities" in still fuller bloom. "No State," it says, "shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."

The difference between the Fourth Article and the Fourteenth Amendment (both being similar in phraseology, as strikingly portrayed in a recent decision by Justice Bradley, of the Supreme Court of the United States, as follows: "The new prohibition that 'no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States' is not identical with the clause in the Constitution which declared that 'the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.' It embraces much more. . . . The privileges and immunities secured by the original Constitution were only such as each State gave to its own citizens. . . . but the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits any State from abridging the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, whether its own citizens or any others. It not merely requires equality of privileges, but it demands that the privileges and immunities of all citizens shall be absolutely unaltered and unpaired."

Now, from these data, let me swiftly draw the practical

The papers at the first announcement of Mrs. Wharton's crime rushed blindly, as they always do, to the conclusion that where there was smoke there must have been fire, and the usual penny-dreadful trash about Borgia, Brinvilliers de Gange, and all the female poisoners was ventilated as freely as if it had not been said a thousand times. A woman's honor, feelings, life were not of the least significance with these revelers in garbage, and it now turns out from the chemist's report that in one case at least suspicion of poison was unfounded. Innocent or guilty, there is the grossest impropriety in anticipating justice for the sake of pandering to a wife-mouthing appetite for wonders. With one honorable exception the press raged furiously in the same way in the Buffenbarger case, and it now turns out that the man died a natural death.

Sorosis is said to be so sick as to be almost *in articulo mortis*. We are very sorry for it. Not because Sorosis was of any particular use or had any special public value. It was a private society for social and friendly reunion and interchange of kindly sentiment; but its dissolution gives occasion to the curious to open their mouths and exclaim that women can never be brought to dwell together in harmony. Men are always exemplars of such delightful unanimity, so disinterested and so free from envy and uncharitableness. The fault of Sorosis was precisely that it had no common tie of external action. It was too exclusive in its organization, not broad enough in its design.

The following letter explains itself and some other things: NEW YORK, Sept. 1, 1871.

To the Anti-Monopoly Committee at Albany:

GENTLEMEN—I have received your circular announcing the formation of a new political party to be known as THE ANTI-MONOPOLY PARTY. But on reading your platform, I find that you are opposed only to such commonplace monopolies as Banks, Railroads and the like, and the greatest of all American monopolies gets no stinging blow at your hands. I mean the monopoly of the elective franchise by one-half of the citizens of the United States, against the equal right of the other half to the same prerogative. So long as you remain accomplices in this most unconstitutional of all monopolies, pray do not affront the King's English by calling yourselves anti-monopolists.

Bluntly yours, THEODORE TILTON.

TO THE WORKINGMEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

FELLOW-WORKMEN:

The subjoined call of the G. C. of the I. W. A. is hereby submitted to you. Judge yourself of the double-tonguedness of Mr. Washburne, the United States representative in Paris, in his dealings with the Commune; and if your mind should be biased about the "Commune," brethren, don't forget that all your information about it came through the channel of its deadly adversaries—a subsidized press. Don't forget that the "Commune" was a workingmen's government, and as such was hated, dreaded and calumniated by all the privileged classes and their ubiquitous mouthpieces and subordinates, just as they calumniate every workingmen's movement in this country. (See, for example, the miners' strike, the so-called riot in Scranton, the strike in Amador, Ohio.) Don't forget that the "Commune" fought and fell for claiming the rights you either enjoy or are striving for, i. e., the right of self-government and the right of the laborer to the fruits of his toil.

We are ready to furnish those requesting it with a copy of the complete vindication of the "Commune," as issued by the General Council of the I. W. A.

Fraternally greeting,

The N. A. C. C. I. W. A.

THEODORE H. BANKS,
CONRAD CARL,
D. DEBUCHY,
JOHN DEVON,
F. FILLY,
E. GROSSE,
B. HENRIET.

MILLOT AINE,
L. RUFFEL,
R. STARKER,
GEO. STIEBELING,
TH. WEISS,
WM. WEST.

F. A. SOROSI, Cor. Sec., Box 101, Hoboken, N. J.
New York, August 1, 1871.

progress of the elective franchise from its early restriction to white men to its subsequent inclusion of negroes and to its consequent inclusion of women.

The Federal Constitution in the First Article said: "The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature"—a phraseology which, by common consent, was taken to mean that, not the national government, but the States, had authority over suffrage—and, accordingly, the States administered suffrage to suit themselves, without Federal interference. And yet, lest any State, from local prejudice or sectional animosity, should injuriously withhold this right from citizens moving into it from other States, the Fourth Article, with humane liberality, said: "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States"—or, in other words (to quote Justice Washington), shall "enjoy the elective franchise as regulated and established by the laws or Constitution of the State in which it is to be exercised." But the States, following a narrow and unworthy policy, excluded certain of their members from citizenship and suffrage; for instance, persons guilty of having been born black; and all this was done by the States without Federal countercheck, because of the universal acknowledgment that the States, and not the National government, rightfully controlled suffrage. But later, the American people, taught by the fiery lesson of a war against slavery, passed the Fourteenth Amendment, which said: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the States wherein they reside"—thereby no longer permitting any State to say to any of its native-born or naturalized members, "You are not citizens." And this amendment further declared: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States"—thereby no longer permitting any State to say to any of its citizens, "You shall be denied the right of suffrage," but, on the contrary, securing to these citizens their right of suffrage "absolutely unabridged and unimpaired."

In short, under the original Constitution, each State gave the right of suffrage to such citizens as it chose, without dictation by the Federal government; but under the new amendments, the Constitution itself now directly secures the right of suffrage to citizens of the United States, and forbids the States to deny or abridge this right.

Now see what this logic proves for women. An argument arises from it, step by step, like the rounds of a ladder, and conducts us to the high conclusion that women, like all other citizens, are already enfranchised by the Federal Constitution, and that the States cannot disfranchise them without violating the Supreme Law of the land. The successive beads of the rosary are these: Inasmuch as, by the Federal Constitution, "all persons" (including women) are citizens; and inasmuch as citizens have "privileges and immunities," among which is suffrage; and inasmuch as these privileges and immunities, including suffrage, cannot be denied or abridged by the States, but must remain "absolutely unabridged and unimpaired"; therefore the National Constitution ordains, first, that women, like other citizens, have the right of suffrage; and second, that they have it so securely that the States cannot impair or abridge it.

If I were to take a hammer and chisel, and engrave this argument on the wall of Gibraltar, I could not say which would be the more impregnable, the logic or the rock.

You are aware that this interpretation is no novel or subtle device of mine. I speak as its expositor, not its originator. Being, as it is, a palladium of the rights of women, I am happy to remember that it was first brought into conspicuity by a woman. The anti-slavery controversy in England owed its final and victorious watchword, namely, "Immediate and Unconditional Emancipation," to a woman—Mrs. Elizabeth Heyrick. In like manner, in the United States, the final and victorious watchword for woman's struggling cause, namely, her right of suffrage as decreed already by the Constitution, was proclaimed at the Federal Capital by a woman—Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull. You know this lady. You remember her Memorial, asking Congress to enforce her constitutional right to vote. You characterized the argument with which she accompanied it as one of the ablest that you had ever heard. You have not forgotten how it elicited the corroboration of many of the best legal minds of the country. Nor need you be retold that it drew forth in its favor, from General Benj. F. Butler and Judge Loughridge, acting jointly, one of the most laborious and admirable reports ever submitted to the House of Representatives. But there can be no higher authority in its support than the assenting verdict of your own judicial mind.

Objections are urged against this construction, but, when weighed, are found wanting.

It is objected, for instance, that not the National government, but each individual State, has authority over suffrage. The preceding reasonings have already dealt with this idea. Let me deal with it again, to nail it to the counter. Three-quarters of the States solemnly ratified the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. All the States, as soon as these two amendments were added to the Supreme Law, thereby surrendered to it all the powers which these two amendments contain. Among these powers is one prohibiting each and every State from abridging or denying the right of suffrage to citizens of the United States. So that the States no longer

possess a function which they have abandoned to the National government. And Alexander H. Stephens understands this so well in the case of the negro that he wants the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments expunged in order that the States may resume their power over suffrage, and recall the ballot from a race which these amendments enfranchised. The National Constitution, and not State law, is now the clear fountain out of which springs the citizen's guarantee of suffrage.

Another objection is that, though the Constitution prohibits disfranchisement on account of color, it does not on account of sex. This argument (or rather misrepresentation) is founded on the Fifteenth Amendment, which says: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." But of whom does this amendment speak? Whose rights does it guarantee? For what purpose was it framed? It enacts, as its terms declare, "the right of citizens of the United States to vote." Now who are these citizens? They are both men and women—not men alone. The preceding amendment had just declared "all persons" (including women) to be citizens, and had secured to both sexes their right of suffrage. The Fifteenth Amendment then says the right of men and women, or, to use a shorter phrase, "the right of citizens of the United States, to vote shall not be abridged or denied on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." In other words, the Fifteenth Amendment, legislating in behalf of the whole body of citizens, including men and women, provides that, however any State may qualify the franchise of these citizens on account of age, property or intelligence, nevertheless it shall not deny this franchise to these men or women on account of "race, color or previous condition of servitude." The Fifteenth Amendment was born blind to sex, and wears a bandage against color.

Another objection is that, as the Constitution gives to the States the right of fixing the qualifications of voters, the States may make sex one of these. To this I reply that the citizens, or "all persons," whom the Constitution thus presents to the States to be qualified as voters, are already shown to be both men and women. After the Supreme Law has once enfranchised these men and women, the State laws cannot disfranchise these women any more than it can these men. All that the States may do is to "regulate and establish" suffrage by imposing equal qualifications on all citizens, both men and women. Moreover, what must necessarily be the character of these qualifications? No State can exact a qualification which, in the nature of things, cannot be attained by the citizen from whom it is required. Thus age, property and intelligence may be made qualifications because the citizen has a fair chance to attain them all. But to impose a specified color or sex as a condition precedent to voting, is not to qualify, but to abolish the right of suffrage in the case of all persons of the opposite color or sex. For a negro could never change his color, nor a woman her sex. To fix impossible qualifications is not to "regulate and establish" suffrage, but to disestablish and annihilate it altogether.

Another objection is that the new Amendments were not intended to ordain Woman Suffrage. Neither were they intended to prohibit it. The intent (or the non-intent) serves my argument as well as it can serve the opposite. But with or without an intent, a law stands as it is written—*Lex lata scripta est*. As written, the Constitution secures suffrage to all citizens, whether white males, negroes or women. But what was the "intent?" I happen to know that a number of able men, including Senator Matt Carpenter, George W. Julian, Gen. Ashley, Judge Woodward of Pennsylvania, and others, either during the pendency or after the passage of the new Amendments, discovered in them a title-deed to Woman Suffrage; and some of these legislators voted for and others against these Amendments on this account. Furthermore, this discovery, being thus promulgated before the Amendments were adopted, became immediately thereafter the basis of a powerful and widely-echoed demand for the enforcement of this construction. It is therefore a contemporaneous judgment, not a long-deferred afterthought, which thus takes these two Amendments at their word, nor permits them to keep their promise to the ear for the sake of breaking it to the hope. Even Mr. Bingham, the author of the Fourteenth Amendment, became convinced last winter that this Amendment bore within it a richer burden of meaning than he had meant to freight it with; for, when Mrs. Woodhull took her claim to Washington, he said to her at first, "Madam, you are not a citizen," and it was not until she pointed out to him his own phraseology in the Constitution, namely, "All persons born or naturalized, etc.," * * * are citizens"—it was not until he had put on his spectacles to read his own handwriting a second time that he thereupon acknowledged, as chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, that the phrase "all persons" must include both sexes. So that if the very author of the Fourteenth Amendment has, since its adoption, changed his mind concerning its "intent," the rest of the people, for the same good reason, should do the same wise thing.

But you yourself, sir, have taught (and I cannot forget the lesson) that public statutes are to be interpreted evermore in the interest of liberty, and not of bondage. In the Senate, Feb. 5, 1869, you said: "The true rule under the National Constitution, especially since its additional amendments, is, that anything for human rights is constitutional." As if to

give dignity to this declaration, you added: "No learning in the books, no skill acquired in courts, no sharpness of forensic dialects, no cunning in splitting hairs, can impair the vigor of the constitutional principle which I announce. Whatever you enact for human rights is constitutional; and this is the supreme law of the land, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." In view of this declaration by your own lips, I add the just deduction that as civil liberty is as much the human right of women as of men; and as the elective franchise is as much the constitutional right of women as of men; therefore both the law of nature and the law of the land unite by their own inherent "intent" to ordain the beneficent enfranchisement of women and men.

But if this reasoning be too vaguely drawn from general principles, and if I be summoned to substitute for it what Lord Chatham called "the statute-book doubled down in dog's ears," I then appeal to the same decision of Justice Bradley, of the Supreme Court, to which I have already referred, and which, in speaking of the Fourteenth Amendment and its intent, says: "If the Amendment does in fact bear a broader meaning, and does extend its protecting shield over those who were never thought of when it was conceived and put in form, and does reach social evils which were never before prohibited by constitutional enactment, it is to be presumed that the American people, in giving it their imprimatur, understood what they were doing, and meant to decree what in fact they have decreed."

Now, without stopping to answer further objections (all of which will answer themselves), I point to article fourth, section second: "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government." For years negroes were excluded from their civil and political rights on the pretext that they were not citizens. When negroes were declared by the Fourteenth Amendment to be citizens, these citizens acceded to the "privileges and immunities" of citizenship, among which was the elective franchise. But the very amendments which thus secured this chief of all "privileges and immunities" to the negroes secured it at the same time to women. To deny to negroes in New York State the right of suffrage would be to violate, not only the Fifteenth Amendment, which declares that this right shall not be denied on account of color, but to violate also article fourth, section second, which declares that the United States shall guarantee to each State a republican form of government. In like manner, to deny this right to women is to violate equally the same provision of article fourth. A republican form of government, since the adoption of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, requires just as absolutely the participation of negroes and women as it heretofore did of white males. A citizen is a citizen, whether white or black, male or female. Neither you nor I nor any other man can invent a reasonable reason to the contrary.

I now remind you that the Constitution nowhere denies suffrage on account of sex. If any such denial is derivable from the instrument, it must be by inference. But if there be any denial, even by inference, it is a denial of man's not of woman's franchise. Thus the Fourteenth Amendment declared (and this was a blot which the Fifteenth rubbed out), "When the right to vote at any election * * * is denied to any of the male inhabitants," etc. Here is an implication that certain male inhabitants might (for instance, for the crime of a tropic skin) be disfranchised. But there is nowhere a single reference, direct or indirect, through the entire text of the Constitution, to a possible denial of suffrage to female inhabitants. But even if there were some such dim allusion, it would melt away and disappear before the clear-shining doctrine that fundamental rights like the right of suffrage cannot be taken away by implication. The fact that a man's rights are expressly established does not prove that a woman's rights are impliedly denied. A law which gives the franchise to men does not thereby refuse it to women. But the National Constitution puts an end to all this special pleading by comprehensively guaranteeing the right of suffrage to all citizens, both men and women.

I am sure you have often weighed the golden word citizen. What is its precious meaning? Worcester defines a citizen to be "an inhabitant of a republic, who has a right to vote for public officers;" Webster, "a person who has the privilege of exercising the elective franchise" and Bouvier, in the Law Dictionary, "one who, under the Constitution and laws of the United States, has a right to vote for Representatives in Congress, and other public officers, and who is qualified to fill offices in the gift of the people." In the spirit of all these definitions, the Supreme Court has declared as follows: "There is not to be found, in the theories of writers on government, or in any actual experiment heretofore tried, an exposition of the term citizen which has not been understood as conferring the actual possession and enjoyment, or the perfect right of acquisition and enjoyment, of an entire equality of privileges, civil and political."

I am tempted to mention that I have transcribed the preceding declaration (which forms part of the decision in the Dred Scott case) without going for it to a law-book, but from one of your own speeches, in which you accompany it with the following comment: "Thus," you say, "does that terrible judgment, which was like a ban to the colored race, now testify to their indisputable rights as citizens." My dear friend, on reading this passage I was reminded of King David's sage reflection, that God causes the wrath of man to praise Him, and the remainder thereof He restrains. The

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THE WEEKLY BULLETIN OF THE PANTARCHY.

POSITIVISM, NEO-POSITIVISM, UNIVERSOLOGY.

JOHN H. NOYES.

Some time ago, the Positivists of New York City published in *The World* a Creed or Programme of their Doctrines, which, except for the want of room, I should be very glad to reproduce in *The Bulletin* of the Pantarchy, in part for its great ability and intrinsic excellence, but more as a basis for criticism wherein it seems to me to come short of being integral or complete. But the Positivists are not without help and sympathy, and proper organs through which to get their ideas published to the world; and I am more anxious to use space in spreading before the world such criticisms and ulterior truths as seem necessary, and to make my own views understood by them and others.

The publication in question called forth from JOHN H. NOYES, Chief of the *Oneida Community*, at Oneida, New York, also in *The World*, a reply and series of comments replete with elevated and advanced thought, and expressing so well in nearly all its positions precisely what I should wish to say myself, that I shall republish it in full, adding in brackets such comments as I wish, still, to make on the controversy. Mr. Noyes has somewhere done me the honor, I believe, or from his point of view probably the discredit, of calling me the American Comte; yet, I unite with him in nearly every stricture he has made upon Comte, and find both my head and my heart prompting far more of sympathy with what he says in this article than I do with the general positions of the positivists, apart from the general basis of positivism, which it seems we all concur in accepting.

S. P. A.

ONEIDA COMMUNITY, January 1, 1869.

To the Editor of the World:

SIR—As I do not like to appear before your public uninvited, please allow me to state that I received some weeks since a copy of *The World* containing the Positivist Creed, with the request that I should give my impressions of it. On this invitation I immediately commenced studying the article; but, before I was ready to write, another paper, a week later, brought Henry Edger's card, saying that this Creed "in no wise represents the mature ideas of Auguste Comte," and that "there does exist quite another sort of Positivism than that enunciated by this anonymous, irresponsible, collective (?), self-appointed apostle—a Positivism with a totally different, if not, indeed, diametrically opposite, order of tendencies."

This was discouraging. I knew something about Henry Edger—that he is the accredited representative of the Parisian Positive Council, one of the ten apostles said to have been appointed by Comte himself for the propagation of his doctrine—and I supposed (till his card came) that the Creed was his production, or at least was sanctioned by him. I had not imagined that Positivists were divided into sects and had already got into the old purgatory of internal ecclesiastical strife. Their positiveness, their absolute certainty in regard to the truth and demonstrability of their system, and their full assurance and promise that they would rescue the world from the dissensions and anarchy of the old religions and bring it to peace and unanimity, had led me to imagine that they were marching upon us in one harmonious column. Indeed, I fancied that the Creed was the opening of the battery which had been ordered by the grand "Council" to commence the final attack on the unscientific religions. I verily supposed that all Positivists, to a man, were behind it, and that I had got to nerve myself for the shock of decisive battle between Comtism and Christianity.

When Edger's card came, I felt a little disappointed, as though I had lost my labor in studying the Creed. My first thought was that I might as well leave Edger to fight it out with his rival apostle, and not meddle with the matter till Positivism shall present a creed that is reliably official and orthodox. On further reflection, however, my interest in this heretical manifesto has recovered itself, because I have come to regard it as an indication that Positivism in this country is going through an experience similar to that of Swedenborgianism, *i. e.*, is being Americanized, and that we are to have a free eclectic sort of Positivism, that will be more popular and comfortable than the authoritative and hierarchical system represented by Edger and his constituents.

We all know that Swedenborgianism exists among us in two quite distinct forms. There is the Swedenborgian Church proper, on the one hand, with its ritual and hierarchy—a reverent and formal body, but rather small; and, on the other hand, there is a Swedenborgian party, comprising all the outside untrammelled readers and lovers of the Swedenborg philosophy. This is a vast body, very indefinitely bounded, having members in nearly all the sects, but developing itself most characteristically in the semi-organic masses of Spiritualism. This party holds Swedenborgianism in the loose, free-thinking way that suits the American genius, caring little for the authority of the man Swedenborg, and not at all for that of his ecclesiastical successors and representatives.

My idea is that Positivism is falling into the hands of a party similar to this, and that the orthodox hierarchy represented by Edger is likely to be eventually an insignificant minority. Positivism modified by the free spirit of Young America must be quite a different thing from the French original, and probably will take another name, or at least will cease to be called Comtism, as Swedenborgianism has become Spiritualism.

It will certainly be very difficult for Mr. Edger to bring any great portion of the American people to such a reverence for human authority that they will take Paris for their sacred city and hub of the universe, and look back to the French revolution of 1789 as the beginning of the millennium. We have plenty of hubs here, and we think a good

deal of our own revolution. Americans will read Comte and skim off what they like of his philosophy; but it will go hard to get them down on their knees before him, calling him "our incomparable master," and writing his saint's calendar—Bichat, Guttentberg and the rest—at the head of their letters, instead of old January and February.

I judge, therefore, that the New York Creed published in *The World* may be a pretty good representation of the popular Positivism that is coming in this country. I see in its symptoms of the Americanizing ferment. It says in so many words that the name Positivists "never ought to have been and can no longer be limited to M. Comte and his sect." It claims as fellow-Positivists all the great thinkers and scientists, such as Spencer, Lyell, Darwin, Huxley and Tyndall, though some or all of them repudiate both the sect and the name. Above all, it slips into the midst of its descent on the proper cultus for the new religion, the following irreverent and disorganizing parenthesis: "Suggestions for worship may be taken from Comte (carefully avoiding his complicated organizations and cumbersome details)." This is the very trick by which Fourierism was decomposed and brought to naught. Verily, "our incomparable masters" over the water are not going to put free Americans under another papacy of forms!

In this view of the Creed—considering it a manifesto of American Positivism, cut loose from Comte and the French hierarchy—I think it deserves study and discussion, notwithstanding Edger's denunciation of it; for the mental independence it represents is the best part of our national birthright. It is surely a good thing that Americans do not swallow the universologies of the Old World whole, but take them in pieces and use only what they can in some sort digest into American flesh and blood.

It would be folly to interfere with "free trade" in ideas and undertake to prohibit or obstruct importation of philosophies from abroad; but I confess I am glad that our people are getting in the way of working over what the "incomparable masters" send us. Swedenborg and Owen, Fourier and Comte, have to take their luck here with Christ and the Bible. The American privilege of decomposition and eclectic reconstruction gives no preference to importation of sacred things from Europe over those from Asia.

This country is evidently an excellent field for the development, or at least the trial, of systems studied out on the other side of the ocean. Owen could do nothing with his Communism in England, but had to come here himself, and send his colonies here for practical experiments. Fourier studied and wrote in France, but his system never got beyond the embryonic stage there; it had to come here to be born. Swedenborg, the Teuton, has found the field of his fame in the United States. And now Comte, another Parisian, is coming over to seed us. Our native stock seem to be excellent breeders; but we have to import our bulls. We are a nation of learners and executives; but we look to Europe for our "incomparable masters."

This state of things is doubtless best for the present; but it cannot be final. The same spirit of freedom that makes this country so excellent a seed-field for the Old-World thinkers, will some time enable it to produce thinkers of its own. And the transition to this desirable consummation is begun, when we are smart enough to pull the systems of the "incomparable masters" in pieces, and take or reject as we please.

Success, then, to the New York City society in its eclecticicism. Hail to American Positivism. Only let us not hurry the reconstruction. The idea of building religion on the positive certainties of science is a grand one; but we will make a better thing of it in this free country than Comte ever dreamed of. Several sciences that are needed for the foundation were not quarried in his time. It was late in life before he had any idea of the importance of love and "sentimentalism" in universology; and these are the things that the whole scientific world leaves till the last, though they must be attended to first when we begin to build the final palace of truth. And it is only in the free air of America that it is possible to think and experiment on these primaries. It will be time to hope for the vast synthesis of truth which Comte attempted when the highest professorships in our universities shall be those of the intuitional and sexual philosophies.

[Most of this is admirable. I might object to Mr. Noyes' use of the term universology in a plural form, inasmuch as there can be only one real universology. It is a term which I have devised and employed to denote a specific and very new and peculiar system of thought, while his use of the term has a more general and vague and popular purpose; but as he seems to need a word for the looser idea of any system of thinking claiming to be universal and constructive, as well as theoretical, I can afford to allow him to borrow the term for that purpose, without danger of serious injury to its more determinate meaning.]

Mr. Noyes' name, *American Positivism*, for what he so well describes as a mere eclecticicism from Comtism after it has been subjected to the common solvent of American Free-thinking, is perhaps well chosen, although, as this same process is going on in England and other countries, some other name, as *Diffusive* or *Eclectic Positivism*, for instance, may be preferable. The other idea with which he has conjoined this, that of integrating all the other great thinkers, such as Spencer, Lyell, Darwin, Huxley and Tyndall, with Comte; of, in a word, making Positivism to mean the whole body of certain knowledge, or of the scientific order of knowing, is a somewhat different idea; and for it I have introduced the terms *Echosophy* (and *Echosophers*), from Greek words which mean *to have or possess wisdom*, as contrasted with Philosophy and Philosophers, which denote, etymologically, merely *the love of wisdom*, and admit of the merely speculative element.

Finally, for the specifically new and still different aspect of Positivism which centres on the specific science of Universology, and then laps back and integrates with it all the older style of Echosophy, I adopt the term NEO-POSITIVISM (or New Positivism). This, in combination with Proto-Positivism, or the old style of Positivism (and Echosophy) makes INTEGRALISM.

Mr. Noyes himself recognizes that we shall some time be enabled to produce thinkers of our own; that we shall not always have "to import our bulls," and adds, very truthfully: "The transition to this desirable consummation has be-

gun when we are able to pull the systems of the 'incomparable masters' in pieces, and take or reject as we please."

Mr. Noyes says, with admirable boldness and candor, that the idea of building religion on the positive certainties of science is a grand one; and, further on, he professes to have learned "to follow the truth, lead where it will and cost what it may." These are grand utterances of what are also fundamental ideas of Universology in the high and specific sense, and of Integralism. We are beginning where thinkers and religionists can both stand together, on these grounds, to have laid the foundations of the New Catholic Church of the Future.

Mr. Noyes says: "It will be time to hope for the vast synthesis of truth which Comte attempted when the highest professorships in our universities shall be those of the intuitional and sexual philosophies." This utterance is very advanced, and in the right direction. It is still, however, short of the Universological truth of the subject. Intuition and social relationship are immensely important, but they are still, however, only specialties of a ruling character, if you will, among ordinary specialties, but still no more than that. The highest professorships of the Pantarchal University, as head-centre of all the universities, will be that of the Specialty of Universality itself, or of Universology as such; in the settling of those universal and reconciliative laws which shall integrate all the specialties and harmonize all dissensions, that of sexual and all other philosophies, intuitional and scientific as well—the mediatorial function.]

The first thing about Parisian Positivism that strikes the Yankee mind, is that it is Frenchy; that it smells of European mouldiness; that its ritual, for instance, indicates a reaction against Popery, and an attempt to rival it. Reaction against a bad thing is very sure to be bad itself. Owen's "Communism" produced Warren's "Individual Sovereignty." Slavery gave us fighting anti-slavery. Chills alternate with fevers. A true thing does not come by reaction from evil, but by diving into good. We know that all men are affected, and the great thinkers as well as the rest, by the religious and political atmosphere which they breathe; and it is to be expected that systems coming from European thinkers should be tinged with European reactions.

Indeed, the entire quarrel between theology and science, which seems so portentous and fierce even in the New York version of Positivism, is a European affair, with which we have nothing to do, except as it is imported and thrust upon us. New England theology, instead of quarreling with science, has always taken the lead in nursing it and giving it scope. New England ministers and churches have given the world the system of free schools. Yale College, religious as it has been from its foundation, introduced into this country, through *Silliman's Journal*, the whole train of modern physical sciences.

I was bred in the theological seminaries of Andover and New Haven, and I know that Moses Stuart and Edward Robinson taught a system of interpretation for the Bible as thoroughly scientific as that of the German Rationalists; for they imported it directly from German Rationalism; and I know that Dr. Taylor, of the New Haven school, was as free and fearless in his speculations as Comte, and as sincere in his attempt to found a scientific religion. He taught me to follow the truth, lead where it will and cost what it may; and that I take to be the first precept of science. Under that precept I have traveled far enough into the regions of free thinking to shake hands with the scouts of Positivism, and yet I have no thought of abandoning Bible religion. I believe in pretty much all the science that the New York Creed parades, and in Christianity too. I have followed Lyell into the geological ages, and Tyndall into the correlation of forces, and even Darwin into his endless genealogies; and yet I am as sure now that Christ is king of the world (Mr. Noyes' "incomparable master") as I was before science began to swell into infidelity, which, indeed, is within my remembrance.

This, I suppose, is about what the Bible-men of this country generally would say for themselves. They have no such quarrel with science as Positivism arranges for them, nor any idea of giving up their religion because their knowledge of physics is increasing. They look upon German Rationalism and French Atheism as the reaction of Europe against the superstitions of Popery—a far-off affair, with which they have nothing to do on either side. The mistake of Positivism is in trying to import this quarrel, and make us take sides upon it. And this is sure to be the mistake of all imported systems. Hence the necessity of our doing our own supreme thinking—which we shall do by-and-by.

We have other and better and more positive things than Old-world quarrels to attend to. Our business is to use our freedom from European antagonisms to push science into regions that are not open to European thought and experiment. We have our revivals to study; our free and progressive religious experiences; our mesmerisms and spiritualisms; our sexual philosophies and stirpicultures; our socialism in all varieties of experiment, religious and non-religious, successful and unsuccessful. These are vast and rich fields for observation and induction, which can only be seen at a distance by European thinkers. This country may be regarded as a great laboratory, in which the facts for the final religious and social sciences are being accumulated. So Europe itself evidently thinks, for it sends all its religious and social theories here to be put through the crucible of experiment. Comte wrote too early and in the wrong place. He will give us an impulse toward the final religion of science; but American Positivism, "carefully avoiding the complicated organizations and cumbersome details" which he built up against European superstitions, will wait patiently till the facts are all in before it attempts the construction of a conclusive universology.

[It is a pity that Mr. Noyes can't be quite integral; that he cannot discharge all theological bitterness from his soul, and see the good there is in everything; and especially he does not appear to see quite clearly that out of the "bad thing" and that other "bad thing" "the reaction against the bad thing," comes a higher good, so that it is by these actions and reactions that the supreme good is evolved. The True and Final Community System will be precisely that which shall span the whole distance from Warren's "Individual Sovereignty" to Owen's "Communism," including all the "good" things which Mr. Noyes finds lying somewhere between

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them. Let him not be the first to make the blunder of shooting down the outpost sentries of the other army of progress with which he is destined, despite of himself, ultimately to fraternize.

See, on the question of waiting for more accumulation of facts before "attempting the construction of a conclusive universology." *Primary Synopsis of Universology and Alacato*, Nos. 29-42.]

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

THE NEW BREED OF MEN.

The existing humanity in this world is merely the muck-heap of materials out of which the true race of men and women is to be reared by culture and right generation. There is not and never has been any decently well-constituted and well-ordered human society on the planet. There never was a decent home, of a high and complex order. Little simple dots of domestic harmony, scattered here and there in the midst of a prevailing domestic devildom, have given a suggestion of what social harmony might be, and have so sweetened the tooth of humanity for the charms of home that they are frightened to death if anybody proposes enlarging the sphere of that harmony, lest what little there is of it should be disturbed or broken up in the experiment.

It is thus that the love of the good and the true makes bigots of us all. Bigotry is only love of truth and devotion to the little good that people have, coupled with narrow intellectual capacity, and consequent inability to see that that truth can be extended, and that that good can be increased.

People declaim against the breaking up of the family. They do not perceive that what socialists aim at is the extension of the family. The family on the small scale, the mere little group of blood relations, is susceptible of its own little first accord of harmony, which is very delightful; but, viewed otherwise, it is a little hotbed of selfishness—the worst antagonist of the Christian spirit of universal love. It is the small centre, the knot, or clique, or horde, declining allegiance to the larger center of social organization and charm.

The true organization of Industry and Social Life is the Hive. The honey-bee is the accepted type of industry, and what the bees would be without an organized hive, human beings are without the phalanx or unitary home. They betake themselves to their little selfish knots, grouped under a leaf or shivering under the edge of a roof, for the want of any organization competent to the expression of all their social wants.

It is only when the family shall be enlarged to the inclusion of two or three thousand individuals, with all domestic labor organized, aided by machinery (which is not applicable to the isolated household), and rendered attractive by every convenience and by the true spiritual atmosphere, by congenial and varying companionship, and by all the conditions of individual development and culture, from infancy upward, that human beings can be generated worthy the name of men and women. All men and all women are to-day, in the first instance, stunted and dwarfed by unfavorable conditions; battered and distorted, next, by the struggle for life; and finally diseased and half rotten from manifold sicknesses begotten of unscientific and ignorant living. But as "the destruction of the poor is their poverty," so the destruction of the ignorant is their ignorance. The moment anybody knows anything more than they know, of what they need and might do to better their conditions, and tries to tell it to them, they rage and fly at you, or cackle and squawk, like so many infuriated or terror-stricken creatures of an inferior order, and do all they can to destroy their friends or to crucify their saviors. "O! Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how oft would I have gathered you as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not." Such is the wailing voice of the bulk-discouraged saviors of mankind in all ages.

And every true reformer is a savior. It is the narrowing tendency of dogmatic theology to contract every supreme quality down to the attribution of a single personage—the type of oriental monarchy. Probably not one in ten thousand of the most assiduous readers of the Bible ever dreamed that one could, in good scripture phraseology, speak of more saviors than one; and that, too, of those who should stand on Mount Zion. All such talk they attribute to the reckless spirit of modern progression; but the Old Book is a great magazine of prophecy for every occasion. Let the reader turn to the last verse of Obadiah and he will find it said—

"And Saviours shall come up on Mount Zion, to judge the Mount of Esau; and the kingdom shall be the Lord's."

Humanity is, as yet, a great uncivilized mob. Religion, unaided by science, has tried her hand at civilizing it, and, while something has been accomplished in the preparation of materials, no great satisfactory result has been achieved. Religion has been a Savior, but, again, not a Savior alone, but *Saviors*, are wanted, and the Savior of Society now in demand, to enable humanity to take the next great step, is Science. Religion has an instinct of *what* is wanted; Science must indicate the *how*. Religion has foretold from the first the future advent of a perfected humanity to inhabit the earth; Science must inaugurate the new race or breed of men.

Religion is a female, yearning to be impregnated by positive thought, but reticent, still, and opposing and dreading the unknown change. Science is the male, severe, aggressive,

disruptive, revolutionary. It is by the congress and co-action of the two that impregnation and proliferation, and the new race of humanity will ensue.

A woman feels drawn in love to a particular man. That proves nothing, or next to nothing, with regard to his inherent quality or his adaptation to her in respect to the best result in the production of offspring. It is no more than the fondness of a child for particular kinds of food, which may be the worst, physiologically, for it. Reason, judgment, systematized knowledge, the reported experiments of others; race, blood, temperament; a thousand considerations never, or almost never, taken into the account, have all got now to begin to be consulted. A new profession of experts in this scientific specialty must spring up. It must be understood that the woman experimenting on the improvement of progeny is conducting a grand scientific process, of more consequence and value than anything in chemistry, or any of the inferior sciences; and that she is entitled to the aid of all who know specially anything on the subject.

In this manner alone this natural function of woman will be elevated in the respect of mankind; elevated in the rank of estimation and effects, and one of the conditions of instituting the new breed of men will have been secured.

But the first condition for this, even, is freedom. The woman, who in the pursuit of her aim, of giving to the race better specimens of manhood and womanhood, shall breed from half a dozen different sires, must be as much respected in society as she who adheres, from mere habit it may be, or from the absence of any high ambition, to one; to the dull monotony of the ordinary household.

But all this involves other changes in our social habits and opinions. The true way of receiving children at birth into the community; of providing for, training and educating them; and of utilizing their varied talents to the utmost—all these things have now to be discussed, and considered and ascertained.

The assumption that just the order of social life that we have inherited from the past is the perfection of wisdom; that it alone of all things is right, just as we have discovered that everything else is wrong, is such an instance of folly, of sheer boobyism, as to make it difficult to tolerate men of sense when they assume it. It is difficult to determine whether it is best to scold, or to ridicule, or to argue, or to protest. The right thing would be to be allowed to teach; but men must first be convinced that they are ignorant; that there is something to learn, and that there is somebody that has thought about the subject as they have not, and knows something about it which they do not. And all this takes time, and patience, and power.

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

YES, THE WORLD DOES MOVE!

Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe admits that Free Lovers may be as good people as anybody else; although, *of course*, they must be mistaken, not knowing as much of what they have studied and are intelligently talking about as she who never thought about the subject. And then the Rev. Mildmay, D. D., goes into analysis and finds that, yes, to be sure, there is a sense in which Free Love is all right; but that there is another sense, the only one in which it really means anything, in which it is all wrong. And Theodore Tilton calls for definitions of Free Love, in order that he may choose between them; and Horace Greeley admits that a sinning wife, as well as a sinning husband, when the sin is such as was once held to be the unpardonable one for the woman, may, in certain limited cases, better be forgiven. He has not yet specified so high a number of offenses to be condoned as "seventy times seven," from modesty, probably, as he would not presume to rival the master.

The signs of the times are encouraging. Stowe, Mildmay, Tilton and Greeley may yet be converted to a decent respect for the first principle of human rights, the right of *self-ownership*, with the more fundamental fact that that right is "inalienable." The fact that people consent to become slaves don't, therefore, make them slaves rightfully, after all. The fact that folks greedy of possession *confiscate others to their use* an *by agreement*, don't, therefore, after all, vest any valid title to the chattel so conveyed; for by the fundamental principle of Americanism certain rights are *inalienable*. S. P. A.

FRANKLINVILLE, N. C., Aug. 29, 1871.

DEAR ANDREWS—You know the story of the old war horse, superannuated and turned out to grass. You have heard how, at the old familiar trumpet call of passing cavalry, he broke pasture and claimed his accustomed place in the marching ranks.

Well, dear old friend, your bugle blast reaches my ears too. Your mustering squadrons wake the echoes of my mountain pasture here; and how do you suppose a veteran steed like me can resist the old habit, not to say attraction, and curb myself from wheeling into line? With ears ever alert for the new summons to the same old conflict, I have heard every foot of your horn, sometimes full, sometimes faint; but the trumpet never seemed to mean me, entrained in other harness, till now.

Did you not hear it? No! 'twas but the wind,
Or the car rattling off the stony street.
But, hark, that heavy sound breaks in once more,
And nearer, clearer, denser than before.
Arm! arm! 'tis I, 'tis I, the cannon's opening roar!

So I feel that I must drop everything and volunteer. Where, then, is my place? Appoint me to my post, and let it be among the foremost in the fight. By seniority of service, by long culture at your honored feet, by original projection toward the most radical reforms, I claim a place and step in your gathering ranks.

Though, since 1860, our paths seemed to diverge; though, from the necessities of a growing family, I apparently halted and hauled off from reform movements, turned "respectable" and let the government buy me up, yet the radical socialist in me ever remained my real self. Even in my ashes lived my wonted fire, ready to burst forth whenever there should arise any use for my style of fire.

I have always looked to you to haul me over my own coals; so, dear old leader, blaze away.

Yours, as aforetime, T. C. LELAND.

PROGRESS OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

It is gratifying to observe the progress in public sentiment upon this question. The deep-rooted prejudice against woman's appearance in public has already disappeared, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony are addressing large and appreciative audiences in various parts of this State, upon various subjects connected with woman's advancement. Our exchanges speak of their lectures in very favorable terms; while Laura DeForce Gordon is meeting with equal success in Nevada. In this city, Mrs. Emily Pitts Stevens, the talented editor of the *Pioneer*; Mrs. Mary F. Snow, President of the San Francisco County Woman Suffrage Association; Mrs. Mary J. Collins and several other women have very properly applied to be registered as voters, and on being refused, have carried their cases to the courts for decision, on the ground that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments entitle women to vote and hold office. Similar action has been taken all over our country, by some of the noblest and most distinguished women of the age, among whom we notice in Washington City, Mrs. R. K. Lippincott, better known as Grace Greenwood, the gifted writer, and Mrs. Josephine S. Griffing, the philanthropic agent of the Freedmen's Aid Society. In Wyoming Territory, the early solution of this matter has been greatly advanced by the recent decision of Chief Justice Howe, that the Fourteenth Amendment confers upon woman the right to vote and hold office. We await with deep interest the decision of the United States Supreme Court upon this question. In years gone by the Court rendered itself infamous by deciding that negroes "had no rights that white men were bound to respect." Let us now see whether it will decide that women have no rights that men are bound to respect. Meanwhile, in apprehension of an adverse decision, the friends of this cause should not relax their efforts in behalf of the proposed Sixteenth Amendment conferring equal rights upon all, without distinction of race, color or sex, introduced a few years since by Hon. George W. Julian in the House of Representatives, which through his eloquent advocacy has now many friends in Congress, and which, if once it becomes a part of the Constitution, will terminate the whole controversy in the interest of justice and equality. Some of our friends in San Joaquin County have suggested the propriety of running Mrs. Laura DeForce Gordon as a candidate for State Senator. We think this step premature, and would counsel the reformers of that county not to divide their forces. From our knowledge of Mrs. Gordon's brilliant talents, we have no doubt she would fill that office better than nine-tenths of the members of our last Legislature, which, with its immense Democratic majority, seemed to have no aim save squandering the public funds. When once woman's natural right to the ballot is recognized, and her elevating influence is felt in improved legislation, it will be a matter of general surprise that her equality was ever denied. All prejudices disappear slowly in the crucible of the public mind, and all genuine reforms are achieved by the earnest and persevering labors of their exponents. The advancement of public sentiment upon this question seems more rapid than that upon any other which ever agitated our country; and we rejoice at this indication of progress.—*San Francisco Chronicle*.

THE other day a woman postmaster was married—we call her maiden name Smith and her married name Jones. Now who was postmaster after that ceremony? Certainly not Miss Smith, for there no longer was Miss Smith. And certainly not Mrs. Jones, for no such postmaster was known to the Department. There's the bother. And woman must give up matrimony or must waive some of her "rights."—*Exchange*.

This is very poor wit. The law of New York entitles a married woman to all her own earnings. The change of name don't make a change of fact. The retention of the maiden name would save the bother. Sarah was not called Mrs. Abraham, nor is Eugenie Madame Napoleon.

IN 1860 England paid to India \$7,500,000 for cotton. At present she takes to the value of \$115,000,000, besides a heavy supply from Egypt, which, owing to favorable soil and climate and cheap labor, promises to be a great country. The Southern States, abounding as they do in all elements of fertility, will do well to abate their devotion to King Cotton and pay attention to other growths and products.

BARON JAMES DE ROTHSCHILD, during the Commune period in Paris, was one morning seated in his cabinet, when two fellows from the faubourgs, armed to the teeth, entered and asked to be shown in to Citizen Rothschild. "Gentlemen," said he, "what can I do for you?" "Well, this is what we have got to say. You have millions of money, and the people want bread, so you must share it if not—Share." Very well. How many are you in France? "Perhaps thirty millions." And how much money do you suppose I have? "Say a hundred and twenty millions." Well, then, among thirty millions they make five francs a head. You are two. Here are two. Here are ten francs for you and now we are out. The net was so confounded by the argument and by the rapidity with which the whole incident occurred that they took the money and disappeared.

ALONE BY THE BAY.

BY LOUISE CHANDLER MOULTON.

He is gone, O my heart, he is gone:
And the sea remains, and the sky;
And the white-winged vultures go by.

And the waves run purple and green,
And the sun-shine glows and glows,
And freshly across the bay
The breath of the morning blows.

I liked it better last night,
When the dark shut down on the main,
And the phantom feet lay still,
And I heard the waves complain.

For the sadness that dwells in my heart,
And the rune of their endless woe,
Their longing and void, and despair,
Kept time in their ebb and flow.

AN ENERGETIC MEMORANDUM, and shrewd and intelligent as he is active, is Mr. John C. Stockwell, of 25 Ann street, New York, the celebrated dealer in Paper, books, maps, pamphlets, newspapers, and any kind of refuse of the family, the office, or the shop, textile, fibrous, or tissue. Mr. Stockwell is one of those men who have converted waste into a crime. There is now no excuse for burning up or throwing away any of those unconsidered trifles, such as your old newspapers, rags, ropes, cordage, bagging, and even the clippings of business and your very grocery and dry goods paper. These, if thrown into a proper receptacle for a few weeks or months—according to the quantity made—would, if taken or sent to 25 Ann street, go far towards paying for the light or fire of the family for the year. Few people are aware of the amount of waste in this direction, and few, we fear, have realized how much it is their duty to economize and save the articles we have enumerated, in order that the books and newspapers which enter so largely into our enjoyments as a people may be produced as cheaply as possible. Let every one remember that every ounce of paper material destroyed is so much added to the cost of our reading matter.

A lady in a letter from Long Branch to the Philadelphia Press draws this unpleasant picture of the fashionable married women there:

A married woman of the fashionable kind at Long Branch has arrived at that point where there is nothing more that can be expected or desired. She has a suit of rooms set apart for her exclusive use. She has servants who have neither eyes nor ears; she has a carriage lined with satin as luxurious as elder down, which comes and goes by a wave of her jeweled hand. She has a professional bath to take her into the briny fluid, who knows how to manage so that even the Atlantic shall not visit her cheek too roughly. She has usually a very young man attached to her by invisible reins, after the dramatic manner of Aunt Trotwood and Mr. Dick. This innocent creature fills the measure of her vanity when nothing better has been gathered or the slaughter. The most desperate flirtations are setting and bubbling whilst the husband is growing bald with hard thinking in Wall street. If this woman is cursed with any progeny, she has a nurse or governess for every child, while a French maid waits at her elbow to comb and adjust her false hair, to powder, pencil and paint, to unhook, unlace or untie. Why Queen Elizabeth was denied more than half the luxuries this American princess enjoys. What return to the world does this woman make for all she takes out of it? Her mental organization is as false as her physical; and yet New York sends scores of just such women to all the fashionable resorts in the country. Can women be said to be enslaved when we have such pictures before our eyes? If such are in bondage, it is only the God who created them can unseat their eyes, notwithstanding Mrs. Cady Stanton and Mrs. Beecher.

Of course everybody knows who Phelan & Collander are, and that they manufacture the very best table for that most healthy, instructive and amusing game of billiards. If anything else were wanting to substantiate their claims as having perfected this invention for popular amusement, it could be found in the very decided and continuous increase in their sales. From an insignificant business it has, in a few years, grown to one of immense proportions, in which hundreds of hands and thousands of dollars are employed. See advertisement in another column.

We take special pleasure in calling the attention of all our readers who need dental service to Dr. Koonz at No. 1 Great Jones street, New York, who is both judicious and scientific in all departments of dentistry. His rooms are fitted tastefully and elegantly, and being constantly filled with the elite of the city testifies that his practice is successful. He administers the nitrous oxide gas with perfect success in all cases.

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LETTER OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE TO NEW NOMINEES.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 4, 1871.

President, Mrs. Isabella B. Hooker, Hartford, Conn.
Secretary, Mrs. Josephine S. Griffing, Wash. D. C.
Treasurers, Mrs. Mary B. Bowen,
Mrs. Ruth Cary-Deane,
Mrs. Pauline W. Davis, Providence, R. I.

DEAR FRIENDS:—Owing to protracted illness on the part of the chairman and secretary of the original committee whose duty it was to notify you of your appointment on the new National Committee, no official letter has been sent you. We trust you will pardon the delay, and accept this notice in the *Revolution* as due notification, and communicate directly with the secretary at Washington concerning your acceptance of the office.

The duties of the position will be light at present, and will consist chiefly in a correspondence with the original committee (who will, after January next, be known as a sub-committee), concerning the interests of woman's suffrage in your several States, and in personal efforts to secure signatures to the "Declaration and Pledge" and money for the printing fund, according to the inclosed "Appeal."

We send you a list of the names of the whole new National Committee, constituted by the convention held in New York in May last, and completed by the old committee after mature deliberation and consultation, according to the advice of the convention.

It will be seen that a few States are yet unrepresented. If any member of the committee can send us a reliable name from any of the following States, she will confer a great favor: Delaware, Kentucky, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas.

In behalf of the N. W. S. and Ed. Com.

Isabella B. Hooker, Chairman.
Josephine S. Griffing, Secretary.

President—Mrs. E. Cady Stanton, New Jersey.
Mrs. Harriet W. Sewall and Mrs. Angelina Grimké Weld, Massachusetts; Hon. Mrs. Jacob Elia and Mrs. Armenia White, New Hampshire; Hon. Mrs. C. W. Willard, Vermont; Miss Eva M. Wilder, Maine; Rev. Olympia Browne, Connecticut; Mrs. L. C. Bullard, New York; Mrs. Celia Burleigh, New York; Mrs. Martha C. Wright, New York; Mrs. Matilda Joselyn Gage, New York; Victoria C. Woodhull, New York; Mrs. Lucretia Mott and Miss Sarah Pugh, Pennsylvania; Mrs. Maria Mott Davis and Miss Mary S. Brown, Pennsylvania; Mrs. Washington Bladus, Pennsylvania; Mrs. Judge Underwood, Virginia; Mrs. Anna W. Bodeka, Virginia; Mrs. Victor Baringer, North Carolina; Mrs. Frances Pillsbury, South Carolina; Mrs. Mary Spaulding, Georgia; Mrs. Judge Miner, Missouri; Hon. Mrs. Samuel M. Arnell, Tennessee; Mrs. Adelia Hazlett, Michigan; Mrs. Nannette B. Gardner, Michigan; Mrs. Catharine F. Stebbins, Michigan; Mrs. Dr. Little and Mrs. Mary L. Gilbert, Ohio; Pres. Yellow Springs Wom. Suff. Association, Ohio; Mrs. C. Dundore, Maryland; Hon. Mrs. G. W. Julian and Mrs. Dr. Thomas, Indiana; Mrs. Robert Dale Owen and Mrs. Amanda Way, Indiana; Mrs. Lamon, Wisconsin; Hon. Mrs. S. Burger Stearns, Minnesota; Mrs. Amelia Bloomer and Mrs. Annie E. Savory, Iowa; Mrs. Governor Butler, Nebraska; Mrs. C. J. H. Nichols, Kansas; Hon. Mrs. Aaron A. Sargent, California; Mrs. Laura De Force Gordon, California; Mrs. Charlotte J. Goddard, Utah; Mrs. M. J. Arnold and Mrs. Mary Post, Wyoming; Mrs. Governor McCook, Colorado; Mrs. Governor Ashley, Montana; Mrs. Catharine Yale, New York.

SUFFRAGE TRACTS.

We frequently have applications for tracts and documents on woman suffrage, and for the benefit of all such as are seeking to know the truth as it is in our new gospel, herewith print a complete list of the documents which can be obtained by applying to Mrs. Josephine S. Griffing, 213 Capitol street, Washington, D. C.

1. Report of Special Committee of Connecticut Legislature on Woman Suffrage.
2. Legal Disabilities of Married Women.
3. Report of Annual Meeting of Committee Woman Suffrage Association.
4. Argument on Elective Franchise under the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution; by Hon. A. G. Riddle.
5. History of National Woman's Rights Movement for Twenty Years; by Mrs. P. W. Davis.
6. Restricted Suffrage; by Isabella Bercher Hooker.
7. An Appeal to the Women of the United States; by the National Woman Suffrage Committee.
8. Minority and Majority Reports of Judiciary Committee on the Woodhull Memorial.

Also, Blank Petitions to Congress for Suffrage.

Victoria C. Woodhull's "Constitutional Equality."

The New Disinfectant,
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WALTER HOCH, Vice-President.
REV. E. S. ALLEN, Secretary.

EQUALITY A RIGHT OF WOMAN.

BY TENNIE C. CLAFLIN.

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

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

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

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

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

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

WOMAN'S RIGHTS—NEW BOOKS.

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

It would seem as though everything conspired 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 bodily before the public in the recent trial. These conflicting elements of notoriety were enough to have made any one famous for the moment, and ought to make their books sell. The chief element of curiosity, however, was in the fact that they were denounced so bitterly by the *Tribune* as free-lovers, while they were, on the other hand, endorsed so enthusiastically by a lady so universally respected as Mrs. Stanton. Careful examination of their books fails to show anything so very startling in the doctrines put forth in them, however distasteful they may be to many. They advance many strong arguments for giving the women the right to vote, for a renegeing 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.*

THE ORIGIN, TENDENCIES AND PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT.

BY VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

This remarkable book, just from the press, contains a graphic consolidation of the various principles involved in government as the guarantee and protection to the exercise of human rights.

Such principles as, from time to time, have been enunciated in these columns are here arranged, classified and applied. A careful consideration of them will convince the most skeptical that our Government, though so good, is very far from being perfect.

Every person who has the future welfare of this country at heart should make him or herself familiar with the questions treated in this book. No lengthy elucidations are entered into; its statements are fresh, terse and bold, and make direct appeal to the reasoning faculties.

It is an octavo volume of 250 pages, containing the picture of the author; is beautifully printed on the best quality of tinted paper, and is tastefully and substantially bound in extra cloth. No progressive person's house should be without this conclusive evidence of woman's capacity for self-government. Price, \$30 0; by mail, postage paid, \$3 25.

There is simplicity, freshness and originality in this book which rivets the attention; and one rises from the perusal with the feeling of being refreshed, strengthened and made better by such a healthy mental stimulant. She divests the woman question of all its sentimentalities and places it where it should be, on the firm ground of justice. Read this book in the morning, when the mind is active, and it is a good preparation for intellectual work; it is full of suggestions, and compels thought in the highest direction. Your advice is get the book and study it.—*New World.*

MUTUAL BENEFIT SAVINGS BANK,
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DIVIDEND.—A semi-annual dividend at the rate of six per cent. per annum, on all sums of \$5 and upward which have been on deposit for one or more months next previous to July 1, will be paid on and after July 21, 1871.

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Surplus, \$200,372 95.

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Patented Aug. 15, 1866; Feb. 2, 1870.

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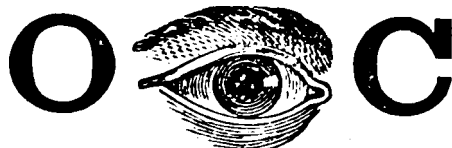
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