

WOODHULL & CLARLIN'S WEEKLY.

PROGRESS! FREE THOUGHT! UNTRAMMELED LIVES!

BEAKING THE WAY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.

VOL. 3.—No. 21. — WHOLE No. 73.

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 7, 1871.

PRICE FIVE CENTS.

AMOURS DIVINES;

OR,

LOVE SCENES IN THE ORIENT.

- I. Mary Magdalene.
- II. Salome.
- III. Martha and Mary.
- IV. Joanna.

A Remarkable Production.

Pronounced by some to be "blasphemous and horrible;" by others "tender and beautiful." Will be published in a few days.

"Men are but instruments
Which God doth play; and those he fingers most
We call inspired or breathed upon."

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This little book, of thirty-six pages, reads like a fairy tale. It gives a plain and sharp statement of all the vivid facts in this lady's life. The thrilling story is told without fear or favor, and one cannot read it without exclaiming that truth is stranger than fiction.

The little brochure costs only TEN CENTS A COPY, and is sent by mail to any address in the United States, postage paid.

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Rail Road Bonds.

Whether you wish to Buy or Sell
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THE LOANERS' BANK OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

(ORGANIZED UNDER STATE CHARTER.)

"Continental Life" Building,

22 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK.

CAPITAL..... \$500,000
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This Bank negotiates LOANS, makes COLLEC-
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CURRENT BALANCES, and liberal facilities offered
to our CUSTOMERS.

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THE

New York State

LOAN AND TRUST COMPANY,

119 BROADWAY,

CORNER OF CEDAR STREET, NEW YORK.

CASH CAPITAL, - - \$1,000,000.

INTEREST ALLOWED ON DEPOSITS, SUBJECT
TO CHECK, SAME AS UPON BANK.

This Company is authorized by law to accept and
execute all trusts of every description.

To receive Deposits, allowing interest on the same;
to loan and advance money, to receive upon storage
or deposit Bullion, Specie, Stocks, Bonds and Certifi-
cates or Evidences of Debt.

To take the management, custody and charge of
Real and Personal Estate and Property, and to act as
Trustee of Railroads and other Corporations.

The Company will also take charge of all kinds of
Securities for safe keeping; collect Coupons and In-
terest, etc.; remitting for the same, or crediting in ac-
count, as may be desired.

The New York State Loan and Trust Company has
a paid-up Cash Capital of ONE MILLION DOLLARS,
and by its Charter has perpetual succession. Its
place of business is central; all its operations are
under the direction of a responsible Board of Trus-
tees; EXECUTORS, ADMINISTRATORS, TRUS-
TEES OF ESTATES, GUARDIANS OF INFANTS,
MARRIED WOMEN, AGENTS having charge of
Estates, FEMALES, and others unaccustomed to busi-
ness, will find it to their advantage to keep their ac-
counts with this Company, affording as it does all the
security of a Bank, with the advantage of the accumu-
lation of interest on their accounts.

TRUSTEES:

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OSBORN & CAMMACK,

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STOCKS, STATE BONDS, GOLD AND FEDERAL
SECURITIES, bought and sold on Commission.

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OF

KOUNTZE BROTHERS,

NEW YORK,

14 WALL STREET.

Four per cent. interest allowed on all deposits.

Collections made everywhere.

Orders for Gold, Government and other securities
executed.

BANKING HOUSE

OF

HENRY CLEWS & Co.,

No. 32 Wall Street, N. Y.

Letters of Credit for travelers, also Commercial
Credits issued, available throughout the world.

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

Drafts and Telegraphic Transfers on Europe, San
Francisco, the West Indies and all parts of the United
States.

Deposit accounts received in either Currency or
Coin, subject to check at sight, which pass through
the Clearing-House as if drawn upon any city bank;
4 per cent. interest allowed on all daily balances;
Certificates of Deposit issued; Notes, Drafts and
Coupons collected; advances made on approved col-
laterals and against merchandise consigned to our
care

Orders executed for Investment Securities and
Railroad Iron.

CLEWS, HABICHT & Co., 11 Old Broad street,
London.

Central Railroad Company

OF

IOWA

First Mortgage and Equipment

7 PER CENT.

GOLD BONDS.

FOR SALE BY

A. L. HATCH, Fiscal Agent.

64-70

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NEW YORK

STATE RAILROAD BONDS.

A First-Class Home Investment.

FIRST MORTGAGE

GOLD BONDS

OF THE

ONDOUT & OSWEGO

RAILROAD.

Principal & Interest Payable in
Gold.

Seven per Cent. Semi-Annually.

This Road covers 100 miles of the most direct pos-
sible line, between the Great Lakes and deep water
navigation on the Hudson River, the whole line of
which will be completed and in operation on or be-
fore October 1st, 1872, and give a new line of road to
Lake Ontario and the West, 25 miles shorter than any
line that can be found.

It passes through the Cement, Flag-Stone and Lum-
ber regions of Ulster County, and the rich, agricul-
tural bottoms of Delaware and Greene Counties, all
of which have not heretofore been reached by railroad
facilities, and from which sections, the formation of
the country prevents the construction of a competing
line.

The 36 miles of road operated for three months is
already paying net earnings equivalent to 7 per cent.
gold, on its cost of construction and equipments.
The issue of Bonds is limited to \$30,000 per mile of
COMPLETED ROAD, the coupons payable in gold in
this city.

PRICE OF THE BONDS, 90 IN CURRENCY.

Full particulars of the above may be had of, and
the Bonds for sale by

Edward Haight & Co.,

9 Wall Street, NEW YORK CITY.

Financial Agents of the R. & O. Company.

56

57

MARKET SAVINGS BANK,

82 NASSAU STREET, N. Y.

Six Per Cent. Interest Allowed.

Interest commences on the 1st of each month

HENRY R. CONKLIN,
Secretary.

WM. VAN NAME,
President.

INGERSOLL LOCKWOOD,

late United States Consul to the Kingdom of Saxony.
Author of "FRODOGARDEN: SOUVENIR."
Translator of "Bismarck's Speeches," etc.

1. "COUNT BISMARCK, THE GREAT PRUSSIAN PRIMER."
2. "NATIONALITY AND NOBILITY."
3. "WOMEN'S FACES."
(New Lecture.)

Although one of the youngest in the lecture field, Mr. Lockwood's success has been most flattering, and press-notices, indorsing his rare abilities, have been received from all places where he has lectured. The following is a sample:

Ingersoll Lockwood, of New York, is one of the most popular lecturers in the country. He has been a foreign minister of the government (when only twenty-one years old) and is one of the most genial speakers of the present day. [Evening Mail.]... The lecture was interesting; exhibits a wonderful readiness in the subject, and presents an array of curious 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 Association, by Ingersoll Lockwood, on "Count Bismarck," was a very fine effort indeed. [Troy Express.]... A good audience was in attendance at Twiddle 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. [Albany Journal.]... Irresistible and masterly. [E. 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 Journal.]

Terms, \$100, with modifications.

CATAWBA WINE.

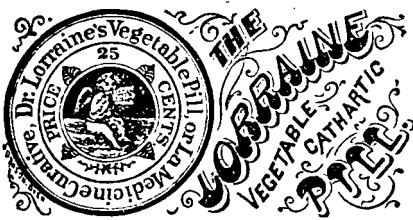
The Kelley's Island Wine Co.

Have opened a Depot for the sale of their celebrated SPARKLING AND STILL CATAWBA WINE at
28 & 30 WEST BROADWAY.

Families wishing a good article, may rest assured that all wine ordered directly from the Company's Depot will be just what it purports to be—pure grape juice.

64-67

GEO. C. HUNTINGTON.



MILD, CERTAIN, SAFE, EFFICIENT
It is far the best Cathartic remedy yet discovered, and at once relieves and invigorates all the vital functions, without causing injury to any of them. The most complete success has long attended its use in many localities, and it is now offered to the general public with the conviction that it can never fail to accomplish all that is claimed for it. It produces little or no pain; leaves the organs free from irritation, and never overtaxes or excites the nervous system. In all diseases of the skin, blood, stomach, bowels, liver, kidneys—of children, and in many difficulties peculiar to women—it brings prompt relief and certain cure. The best physicians recommend and prescribe it; and no person who once uses this will voluntarily return to the use of any other cathartic.

Sent by mail on receipt of price and postage.
1 box, \$0 25.....Postage 6 cents.
5 boxes, 1 00....." 18 "
12 " 2 25....." 39 "
It is sold by all dealers in drugs and medicines.
TURNER & CO., Proprietors.
120 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass.

THE BALTIMORE & OHIO R. R.

Is an Air-Line Route from Baltimore and Washington to Cincinnati, and is the only line running Pullman's Palace Day and Sleeping Cars through from Washington and Baltimore to Cincinnati without change.

Louisville in 29 1/4 hours.
Passengers by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad have choice of routes, either via Columbus or Parkersburg. From Cincinnati, take the Louisville and Cincinnati Short Line Railroad.

Avoid all dangerous ferry transfers by crossing the great Ohio River Suspension Bridge, and reach Louisville hours in advance of all other lines. Save many miles in going to Nashville, Memphis, Chattanooga, Atlanta, Savannah, Mobile and New Orleans. The only line running four daily trains from Cincinnati to Louisville.

Silver Palace Sleeping Coaches at night, and splendid Smoking Cars, with revolving arm chairs, on day trains.

Remember! lower fare by no other route. To secure the advantages offered by this great through route of Quick Time, Short Distance and Low Fare, ask for tickets, and be sure they read, via Louisville and Cincinnati Short Line R. R.

Get your tickets—No. 87 Washington street, Boston; No. 229 Broadway, office New Jersey R. R., foot of Cortlandt street, New York; Continental Hotel, 828 Chestnut street, 44 South Fifth street, and at the depot corner Broad and Prime streets, Philadelphia; S. E. corner Baltimore and Calvert streets, or at Camden Station, Baltimore; 485 Pennsylvania avenue, Washington, D. C.; and at all the principal railroad Offices in the East.

SAM. GILL,
General Supt., Louisville, Ky.
HENRY STEFFE,
Gen. Ticket Agent, Louisville, Ky.
SIDNEY B. JONES,
Gen. Pass. Agent, Louisville, Ky.

PROGRESS of DENTISTRY.

DR. SIGESMOND, Surgeon Dentist to the Woman's Hospital, is the inventor of Artificial Teeth without plates or clasps. Can be inserted permanently without extracting any roots. Warranted twenty years. The most painful decayed teeth or stumps restored by filling or building up to natural shape and color without pain, at 63 East Ninth street, near Broadway, near Union Square. 63-128.

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NOISELESS.

LINK-MOTION.

LOCK-STITCH

**Sewing Machine**

Challenges the world in perfection of work, strength and beauty of stitch, durability of construction and rapidity of motion. Call and examine. Send for circular. Agents wanted.

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BLEES SEWING MACHINE CO.,
623 BROADWAY, New York.

THE STOCK EXCHANGE BILLIARD ROOMS.

Seven first-class Phelan Tables.

69 & 71 BROADWAY,
(Nearly opposite Wall St.)

Open from 7 A. M. to 7 P. M., exclusively for the Stock and Gold Boards and Bankers.

The Finest Qualities of Imported Wines, Brandies and Cigars.

Wholesale Store—71 BROADWAY.
JOHN GAULT.

PIANOS!**PIANOS!****CABINET ORGANS**

AND

MELODEONS,

AT

MERRELL'S,

[Late Cummings,]

Piano Warerooms, No. 8 Union Square.

A large stock, including Pianos of the best Makers, for sale cheap for cash, or to rent. Money paid

for rent applied to purchase. Repairing done well and promptly. Call and examine before deciding elsewhere.

M. M. MERRELL,

LATE CUMMINGS,

No. 8 Union Square.

GUNERIUS GABRIELSON,
FLORIST,
821 BROADWAY,
CORNER OF TWELFTH STREET,
NEW YORK.

Choice Flowers always on Hand.

TRUE CIVILIZATION.

PART I.

(Formerly entitled "Equitable Commerce.")
Fourth Edition. 117 12mo pages. Price, post-paid, 50 cents.

Address, **J. WARREN,**
Cliftondale, Mass.

\$1,000,000!!

By authority of a special act of the Legislature of Kentucky of March 12, 1871, the Trustees of the Public Library of Kentucky will give a

GRAND GIFT CONCERT

AT LOUISVILLE, KY.

ON TUESDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1871,
Under the direction of the best Musical Talent.

100,000 TICKETS OF ADMISSION.

\$10 Each in Currency; Half Tickets, \$5; Quarter Tickets, \$2 50.

Each Ticket will consist of four quarters, value, \$2 50 each. The holder is entitled to admission to the Concert and to the amount of gift awarded to it or its fraction. Tickets number from 1 to 1,000,000.

THE CITIZENS' BANK OF KY. IS TREASURER.

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

During the Concert, the sum of

\$550,000 IN GREENBACKS

Will be distributed by lot to the holders of tickets in the following Gifts, viz:

ONE GRAND GIFT OF.....	\$100,000
ONE GRAND GIFT OF.....	50,000
One Gift of.....	25,000
One Gift of.....	20,000
One Gift of.....	19,000
One Gift of.....	18,000
One Gift of.....	17,000
One Gift of.....	16,000
One Gift of.....	15,000
One Gift of.....	14,000
One Gift of.....	13,000
One Gift of.....	12,000
One Gift of.....	11,000
One Gift of.....	10,000
One Gift of.....	9,000
One Gift of.....	8,000
One Gift of.....	7,000
One Gift of.....	6,000
One Gift of.....	5,000
One Gift of.....	4,000
One Gift of.....	3,000
One Gift of.....	2,000
Ten Gifts of \$1,000 each.....	10,000
Fifteen Gifts of \$500 each.....	15,000
Eighteen Gifts of \$400 each.....	14,400
Twenty Gifts of \$300 each.....	14,000
Twenty-five Gifts of \$200 each.....	15,000
Thirty Gifts of \$100 each.....	15,000
Forty Gifts of \$100 each.....	16,000
Forty-five Gifts of \$100 each.....	13,500
Fifty Gifts of \$200 each.....	10,000
Four hundred and forty-six Gifts of \$100 each.....	44,600

Seven hundred and twenty-one Gifts in all.....\$550,000

After paying the expense of the enterprise, and making the distribution of the gifts, the balance of the proceeds arising from the sale of tickets will be appropriated to the establishment of a

FREE LIBRARY IN LOUISVILLE,

TO BE CALLED THE PUBLIC LIBRARY OF KENTUCKY.

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

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

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

Tickets are like greenbacks—good only to the holder.

Buyers will note that there are only One Hundred Thousand Tickets, instead of Two Hundred Thousand, as in the San Francisco Gift Concert, and that there is \$50,000 more distributed. I sold last, and made the awards in four months, and paid \$185,000 to ticket holders from November 2, to 15th, 1870, and turned over \$12,000 to the Secretary due tickets not presented.

It will be particularly noticed that it is a matter of impossibility for any one to know what numbers draw gifts, as it is not known what the gift of any number drawn from the first wheel will be, until the sealed box, with amount of the gift plainly printed, is taken from the other wheel and opened in full view of the audience, therefore the larger gifts may not come out until toward the last, or in the middle of the drawing. The \$100,000 gift in the San Francisco Gift Concert, under the management of C. R. Peters, was the 200th number drawn, and was awarded and paid to a gentleman in New Orleans.

The Numbers and Gifts are drawn by Blind Children from 8 to 14 years of age.

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

11 Tickets for \$100; 28 Tickets, \$25; 56 Tickets, \$50; 113 Tickets, \$1,000.

The undersigned, late principal business manager of the very successful Mercantile Library Gift Concert at San Francisco, California, has been appointed agent and manager of the Gift Concert in aid of the Public Library of Kentucky.

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

MANNER OF DRAWING.

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

14,364 TICKETS DISPOSED OF IN JULY.

To insure ticket holders, the public are assured that if only 25,000 tickets are sold, only 25,000 numbers go in the large wheel, the 721 gifts awarded, but diminished pro rata. In case 50,000 tickets only are sold, only numbers 1 to 50,000 go in the large wheel, and the 721 gifts diminished one-half; and in case only 85,000 tickets are sold, the entire 721 gifts will be paid in full, it being intended no unsold tickets shall participate.

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

Persons desirous of acting as Agents for the sale of our tickets in any city of the United States and Canada, address

CHARLES R. PETERS, Manager, Louisville, Ky., Office, 120 Main street, Johnson's Block.

R. T. DURETT, President.

W. N. HALDEMAN, Vice-President.

M. W. CLUSKY, Secretary.

CITIZENS' BANK, Treasurer.

For Tickets and Information.

PATENT**STOCKING SUPPORTER**

AND

LADIES' PROTECTOR.

NO MORE COLD FEET—NO MORE DEFORMED LIMBS.

MRS. DANIELS takes pleasure in offering the above articles to ladies, with the assurance that they will give satisfaction.

The trade supplied at a discount.

No. 63 Clarendon Street,
BOSTON.

OR **MRS. C. A. GAYNOR,**
824 Broadway, New York.

SYMPHER & CO.,

(Successors to D. Marley.)

No. 557 BROADWAY, NEW YORK,

Dealers in

MODERN AND ANTIQUE

Furniture, Bronzes,

CHINA, ARTICLES OF VERTU.

Established 1836.

**A BEAUTIFUL SET OF TEETH,**

With plumpers to set out the cheeks and restore the face to its natural appearance. Movable plumpers adjusted to old sets, weighted Lower Sets, fillings Gold, Amalgam, Bone, etc.

TEETH EXTRACTED WITHOUT PAIN,

With Nitrous Oxide Gas.

No extra charge when others are inserted.

SPLENDID SETS, \$10 to \$20.

L. BERNHARD, No. 216 Sixth Avenue,
Between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets east side.

S. J. & F. BEEBEE, BROKERS,**IN GOLD, STOCKS & BONDS**

No. 7 NEW STREET,
NEW YORK.

ROYAL HAVANA LOTTERY.**\$330,000 IN GOLD**

DRAWN EVERY 17 DAYS.

Prizes cashed and information furnished. Orders solicited and promptly filled.

The highest rates paid for Doubloons and all kinds of Gold and Silver and Government Securities.

TAYLOR & CO., BANKERS,

No. 16 Wall Street.

WM. DIBBLEE,**LADIES' HAIR DRESSER,**

854 Broadway,

HAS REMOVED FROM HIS STORE TO THE

FIRST FLOOR,

where he will continue to conduct his business in all its branches TWENTY-FIVE PER CENT. CHEAPER than heretofore, in consequence of the difference in his rent.

CHATELAINE BRAIDS,

LADIES' AND GENTLEMEN'S WIGS,

and everything appertaining to the business will be kept on hand and made to order.

DIBBLEEANIA for stimulating, **JAPONICA** for soothing and the **MAGIC TAR SALVE** for promoting the growth of the hair, constantly on hand. Consultation on diseases of the scalp, Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, from 9 A. M. to 3 P. M. Also, his celebrated

HARABA ZEIN,

or **FLESH BEAUTIFIER**, the only pure and harmless preparation ever made for the complexion. No lady should ever be without it. Can be obtained only at

WM. DIBBLEE'S,
854 Broadway, up-stairs.

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY

The Weekly of V. C. Woodhull and
Claflin, published for the Proprietors,
at No. 10 Stanton street, New York.
Subscription price, \$2 00 per
annum in advance. Single copies,
10 cents. Sent by mail, by the Constitution,
and by the Union and Capital, speech
by Victoria C. Woodhull.
The Proprietors of Finance, speech by Victoria C.
Woodhull.
The View of Political Equality, speech by Ten-
nent C. Claflin.
Majority and Minority Report of the Judiciary Com-
mission on the Woodhull Memorial;
Each per copy 10
per 100 5 00

THE INTERNATIONAL

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

- Section 1 (German).—Sunday, 8 P. M., at the Tenth Ward
Hotel, corner of Broome and Forsyth streets.
- Section 2 (French).—The second Sunday in each month,
2 P. M., at No. 100 Prince street (especially to accommodate
female members) and every other Sunday, 9 A. M., at the same
place.
- Section 6 (German).—Friday, 8 P. M., at No. 10 Stanton
street.
- Section 8 (German).—Monday, 8 P. M., at No. 53 Union
avenue, Williamsburgh, L. I.
- Section 9 (American).—Wednesday, 8 P. M., at No. 35 East
Twenty-seventh street.
- Section 10 (French).—First Tuesday and third Saturday in
each month, 6 P. M., at No. 650 Third avenue, between
Forty-first and Forty-second streets.
- Section 11 (German).—Thursday, 8 P. M., West Thirty-
ninth street, between Eighth and Ninth avenues, at Hessel's.
- Section 12 (American).—The second and fourth Sunday in
each month, 8 P. M., at No. 44 Broad street.
- Section 13 (German).—The first and third Tuesday in each
month, 8 P. M., at No. 301 East Tenth street.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL will speak in Farwell Hall,
Chicago, Ill., Wednesday, October 18, on "The Great Po-
litical Issue."

Also, at same place, Friday, October 20, on "A Part of
the Social Problem."

OUR NEW WESTERN AGENCY.—Mr. A. J. Boyer, formerly
of the "Nineteenth Century," has become our General
Western Agent, with office at 116 Madison street, Chi-
cago, Ill., where subscription may be made to the WEEKLY
and advertisements will be taken. The rapid growth of the
WEEKLY in Western favor has induced us to establish this
branch office, and we are happy to be able to announce the
engagement of one so favorably known to Reform as is Mr.
Boyer, with whom we trust all our friends will join in the
endeavor to introduce the WEEKLY into every city, village
and hamlet in the great West.

"NOTICE EXTRAORDINARY."

We desire to obtain the name of every Suffrage Associa-
tion in the United States, with the name, if possible, of the
President and Secretary of each. We shall publish docu-
ments from time to time bearing on the question of Woman's
Equality, which we desire to furnish the Associations for
gratuitous distribution. We have now on hand a number of
such, which, upon getting the addresses wanted, will be im-
mediately forwarded.

Will our friends everywhere please attend to this at once.
The time for decisive and positive action has come.

POST OFFICE NOTICE.

The mails for Europe during the week ending Saturday,
Sept. 30, 1871, will close at this office on Tuesday at 11:30
A. M., on Wednesday at 12 M., on Thursday at 11:30 A. M.,
and on Saturday at 12 M. P. H. JONES, Postmaster.

THE GOLDEN AGE.

The *Golden Age* remarks that most of our millionaires are
60 years of age. Wm. B. Astor, 78; A. T. Stewart, 70;
Vanderbilt, 78; Drew, 71; Peter Cooper, 79; George Law,
78. It might have added that most of the leading men of
the world are men who have passed their climacteric—
Thiers, Gladstone, Moltke, Gortschakoff—while the long list
of able men in our own country is made up from men whose
age should, in the flippant judgment of the day, entitle them
only to rank among the "fogies." Few men attain fame,
wealth, or wisdom until they are fifty. Fifty years! what is
it, after all? Not a hair-line in eternity.

[For WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.]

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE EIGHTH NATIONAL CONVENTION—THE AMERICAN ASSO- CIATION OF SPIRITUALISTS.

BY HENRY T. CHILD, M. D., SECRETARY.

FIRST DAY—TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1871.

MORNING SESSION.

Mrs. Brown said—I gladly welcome you, friends, to this
Eighth Annual Meeting of the American Association of Spir-
itualists.

Believing in the equality of woman, there seemed to be
good reason why you should have elected a woman to the
office of President. For seven years good and true men had
presided over this Association.

There seems no great cause for alarm, for we have come to-
gether as men and women seeking the shortest and safest
way to the kingdom of heaven. If I fail in my work, it will
not be my first failure, nor your first disappointment. But
we shall not fail.

We believe in the ministry of angels; some have come
here burdened with great sorrows, some have come to listen
and to see what we can do. We welcome all, and trust all
will work together harmoniously for the great end we have
in view.

The meeting is now organized and prepared for business.
The Secretary read the call.

On motion of Dr. Bailey, a committee of five was ap-
pointed on credentials—Dr. Bailey, Dr. Hallock, Peter P.
Good and Anna M. Middlebrook.

The committee reported a list of delegates from sixteen
States and the Territory of Columbia, numbering one hun-
dred and sixty-one (161).

The delegates from each State were requested to propose
the name of one person for each of the following committees:
on Lyceum; on Resolutions and Finance.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The report of the Executive Board of the Convention of
the American Association of Spiritualists was afterward read
by the Secretary, Dr. H. T. Child.

An address was received from Utah, signed on behalf of
the Utah Spiritual Movement, by one hundred and sixty-three
persons (163), giving a history of this movement, which com-
menced in Utah in October, 1869. From its earliest incep-
tion it has had innumerable difficulties:

PRELIMINARY.

At a public meeting of the members of the Utah Spiritual
Movement, held at their new hall—the Liberal Institute—on
the evening of Sunday, August 27, it was unanimously re-
solved, that they be represented by letter at the forthcoming
National Convention of Spiritualists, to be held in Troy,
State of New York, on September 12, 1871.

ADDRESS.

The Utah Spiritual Movement to the National Convention of
Spiritualists:

GREETING: The members and friends of this Association,
recognizing it as an outgrowth of the great common Spiritu-
alistic Dispensation, by which the higher spheres of hu-
manity are awakening communication between themselves
and every portion of mankind in mortality, send to the
Spiritualists of the whole nation, through their representa-
tives in Convention assembled, expressions of love, fellow-
ship and collaboration in the great cause.

The Utah Spiritual Movement publicly commenced its
work in October, 1869. From its earliest inception it has
had innumerable difficulties to contend with, in the way of
fanaticism and priestly power. Unlike movements started
by the spirit-world elsewhere, it has had to adapt itself to
the mental growth of the people, and travel up with them to
the widest expression of expansive thought. In this upward
struggle it has manifested many phases of growth and devel-
opment, both as to the ideas it has propagated and in regard
to its modes of action. A people steeped in the idea of the
necessity of divine leadership, and the greatest advocates of
the doctrine of priestly organization that the world pos-
sessed, had to be gradually lifted up to a sense of the right
of the human soul to judge of everything human or divine
for itself. Hence the spirit-world counseled the temporary
institution of an immediate system—a species of stepping-
stone to greater liberties—organized on the outset much in
the external form of the Mormon priesthood, but minus its
claims to arbitrary authority or interference with temporal-
ties. This form, as anticipated and provided for, was
speedily outgrown; but the principles taught in connection
with the organization, being as high and as broad as the
most advanced conceptions of the spiritual philosophy, have
been expanding in their power and influence until to-day, as
daring in thought as any in the world, and mentally and
spiritually on a level with the rest of their brethren and sis-
ters of the spiritualistic world, the band of Utah Spiritual-
ists, by this mode, present themselves in your Convention,
claiming brotherhood and fellowship at your hand, and de-
siring to work with you in the common cause of human
progress.

The Utah Movement, which now for the first time repre-
sents itself in your councils, was planned in the spirit-
spheres, for the three-fold purpose of breaking down the
One Man Power existing in Utah, throwing open the
country to the march of civilization, and developing its
wealth and resources for the benefit of the nation; and at
one and the same time for the greater and nobler object of
bringing the creed-bound inhabitants of the Territory into
communication with the light and intelligence of the higher
life.

By the agencies raised up by the spirit-world for this pur-
pose, in spite of the ban and anathemas of the church,
hundreds have been emancipated from the One Man Power
and the Spirit of the system broken. A free-press has been
established and the mineral development of the Territory
worked up; while on the Spiritualistic side, hundreds have
been made believers in the great truth of spiritual commu-
nication and a constantly increasing awakening in the minds
of thousands.

These are some of the things which a Spiritual Movement
has given birth to. And they may furnish an answer to the
question—"What of practical utility has Spiritualism ac-
complished?" If no where else, an illustration of its
ability to deal practically with religious, political and even
financial evils, may be found here, where a representative of
the Great Union Pacific Railroad declared to his Company
that the *Tribune* (the organ of the Movement) "had done
more to develop the mineral resources of the country, en-
courage immigration and increase the trade of the great
railroad, than all other agencies in Utah put together." These
points are referred to in gratulation of the Great Spiritu-
alistic Cause, to which the Utah Movement stands but as one
of a thousand centres of action; and as a prophecy of what
the agency of the leading minds of the other World will yet
accomplish for mankind at large.

The Utah Movement is, we believe, destined to grow into
one of the largest centres of spiritualistic power. It has
been commenced among a purely inspirational people. A
larger number of mediumistic persons, in proportion to the
population, can be found congregated in Utah than in any
other part of the world. The doctrine of Revelation and
angelic intercourse has gathered them together, and for its
realization they sigh day by day. It will take but the break-
ing of their mental bonds to constitute them the most earnest
spiritualistic people of the age. Accustomed to mission the
world for the propagation of the doctrine of Revelation and
Inspiration when sustained only by the faintest manifesta-
tions of spiritual power, what will they not do in behalf
of the same immortal truths when intercommunication with
the upper life becomes, as Spiritualism will yet make it, a
tangible fact of their every-day lives?

As fast as opportunities offer and wisdom dictates, your
best mediums and speakers should come here. A great field
for their labors will be found as soon as sufficient openings
for their support present themselves. Not less than fifty
thousand dollars having been raised and expended by the
Spiritualists of the Utah Movement in sustaining a press,
holding meetings and building a large hall—dedicated from
its inception to unlimited truth—and performing such mis-
sionary labor as has been possible, together with heavy re-
sponsibilities constantly upon us, prevent us from imme-
diately procuring such aid as we need.

The Utah Spiritualists will always welcome their brethren
and sisters from any part of the world. With them they
testify to the truth of intercommunication with the immor-
tal dead—the grandest truth of this or any previous age. A
truth which solves the mystery of the past and present, un-
locks the future to our anxious gaze, and reveals the grand
progress of our common humanity beyond and this side the
grave; opens a portal through which the garnered wisdom
of unnumbered ages, and the sweet sentiments of higher
planes of life and action, can be transmitted to human-
ity below. A truth more potent with the human heart—a
greater evangelizer of the life—a mightier iconoclast of error
than all other truths put together. In the bonds of that
great truth they greet that vast and ever increasing army,
whose destiny it is to lift up the panoply of death which
overhangs the world, and "bring life and immortality to
light."

Signed by 115 names on behalf of the Utah Spiritual
Movement.

Dr. R. T. Hallock moved that the communication be en-
tered upon the minutes of the Convention. Adopted.

The remainder of the afternoon was devoted to volun-
teer remarks. Mr. E. S. Wheeler, of Boston, made quite an in-
teresting address, keeping the attention of the entire audience,
and was frequently greeted with loud applause.

Mrs. Susan C. Waters next made a few remarks, main-
taining the fact that in prosecuting our endeavors we should
strive to elevate our companions around us. One question
presents itself to us, and that is: Why have we accomplished
so little in the past? It is because all have not paid enough
attention to the minor details of life, and as the little atoms
make mighty masses, so our endeavors should be concentrat-
ed, and thus make our efforts in every way effective.

Brief remarks followed by Dr. L. R. Cooley, Mr. P. P.
Good, Mr. D. W. Hull, Mrs. E. Anna Hinman, Dr. Hallock,
Dr. Edwards, of California; Dr. H. F. Gardner, of Boston,
and several others.

IN THE EVENING

quite a good audience was in attendance, and the meeting
opened with music by the Lyceum choir. This concluded,
Mr. Moses Hall introduced to the audience the young me-
dium, J. Jefferson Reilly, a youth of perhaps eighteen years,
quite intelligent and pleasing in appearance, who in his early
life was brought up in the Catholic faith, and not having the
advantage of education, was never inside of a public school
as a pupil. Last evening he was under the influence of
the spirit of Jimmie Bradley, a little boy six years of age,
who died some time since. He gave about ten tests during
the evening, walking freely around the room, and when he
met anyone with whom he wished to communicate he
stepped nearly in front of them, telling them of some de-
parted friend whose spirit was now hovering near them, and
in some instances giving the first names of the individuals,
or telling of some favorite article worn by them to which
the spirit under which he was acting had reference. It is
needless to say that all the persons he addressed recognized
the spirit addressing them. There is certainly some curious
mystery about this young man, yet Mr. Hull offers to pay
double the expense of the trouble of a person not professing
to be a Spiritualist who will test him in private.

After the young gentleman had come out of the trance,
an address followed by Dr. R. T. Hallock, of New York
city. He spoke upon "The Mutual Relations of Ancient and
Modern Spiritualism," and during his address, a medium,
which, by the way, was clothed with the expression of
had the undivided attention of his audience. His address
was slow, and his peculiar style of expression and delivery
could not fail to warrant attention during the entire course
of an hour he so profitably occupied.

At the conclusion of Mr. Hallock's address, a hymn was
rendered by the choir, then came some remarks which
could have listened to without loss for an hour or more.

Mrs. M. S. Hoadley. Every sentence Mrs. Hoadley uttered was full of good words for the cause of Spiritualism, and she was frequently greeted with applause.

WEDNESDAY—SECOND DAY.
MORNING SESSION.

Singing by the choir.

A poem was read by Mrs. Mary Peebles, entitled, "By-and-By." An invocation by Rev. Mr. Harter, a radical Universalist.

J. M. Peebles was afterward introduced and made quite extensive remarks. He said Spiritualism is not a local matter—it is cosmopolitan, it is wide as the earth. What has it done? Better ask, what has it not done? Only a Rip Van Winkle could press that question. It has unrolled before us a new geography of the heavens. It has given the world new inventions, it has made the poor rich. It has not only foretold common events, but also has foretold steamer explosions and railroad accidents. Strengthening the weak, it continues to thunder the old Baptist word "Repent." O come, let us worship in this temple. Organization is a vexed question, but still it demands elucidation. Organization to systematize efforts, evolved spontaneously, should be continued. The objects of Spiritualism should be to establish meetings, especially children's lyceums. Nothing better could be done by our wealthy Spiritualists than to establish colleges for the education of the sexes. We need these institutions, for we must have speakers and mediums in our midst, as our older speakers are passing away by the finger of Death. Who does not support in word and deed children's progressive lyceums?

The great charm that bound me to Troy for five weeks last winter was the Progressive Lyceum. I felt that I should do all in my power to maintain the Lyceums. To build up a society the speaker must be a social as well as a moral individual. When a society finds one thus qualified, it is a sign of progress. This society in Troy is regarded as one of the most flourishing in our land. Our goal is broad, full of charity and kindness. There will, however, be higher forms in the future. Physical manifestations in the future will be submitted to more trying tests.

At the conclusion of Mr. Peebles' remarks, which were earnestly listened to and frequently greeted with applause, a fine selection was rendered by the choir.

A short address followed by Mr. Eli F. Brown, of Indiana. He remarked that it has been said that the present is the child of the past and the parent of the future. So the Lyceum is the parent of Modern Spiritualism.

The subject of education is of itself one of the greatest import to the human family. Its health and vigor depend upon their physical and mental strength. The Sabbath-school is the chosen and legitimate institution of the churches. In the Lyceum we feel the inspiration of divinity. Order is heaven's first law. The best means for conducting a lyceum is in having order. Lyceums experience other wants that are needed in their nature. Lyceums fail because the workers do. Workers fail because they make too little effort and do not strive to merit success. Another cause of the failing of a lyceum is that the parties who undertake to conduct it cannot agree. We need some means in order that the lyceums may be maintained. Our efforts should be increased a hundred fold. A lyceum can scarcely fail with a suitable hall and teachers to take an interest in the welfare of the children. We have no fear of the final success of reform. It is not what we want in the future, but what we need now.

At the conclusion of Mr. Brown's remarks and the singing of a few selections by the choir, Mrs. S. E. Warner made a very effective address.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Song by the choir. The Chair introduced Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull, who delivered the following address:

MRS. WOODHULL'S ADDRESS.

THE TRAINING OF CHILDREN—GOOD ADVICE TO MOTHERS.

I scarcely know how it has come about that I am on this rostrum, in the midst of a Spiritualistic Convention. I have been a Spiritualist and a recipient of heavenly favors ever since I can remember; but, for reasons never explained, I have not been known to Spiritualists, nor they to me. In my humble way, I have been an earnest advocate of the principles of the spiritual philosophy, while to me its truths are quite as real as are the facts of material existence; and all my hopes for the future of humanity are founded upon the inauguration of a complete unity of purpose between the two spheres in all things upon which the good of humanity depends. I thank this Convention for its hand of fellowship when so many others are set against me. If I have faults and errors, they have come from a misunderstanding of Him to Whom I owe all that I am and Who in my childhood taught me of the angels, in my youth smoothed the stony paths I trod and in maturer years instilled in my heart a love for all humanity, and to be Whose servant is still all my ambition.

I propose to speak briefly of children, a subject which, though comparatively ignored, is to me one of the most important. I believe that Spiritualists have an interest in all kinds of reform, and therefore must have in this, which lies at the basis of all others, since a perfected humanity must come of perfect children.

We have often wondered that, among all the medical authorities, there have not been more who devoted some part of their profuse writings to the ante-natal care and treatment of children. No more important addition could be made to our system of social economy, nor to our pathological literature, than a strict analysis of fetal life for popular circulation. While so much has been said and written regarding children's care and treatment after birth, that part of their life previously has been entirely ignored. It would be just as proper to ignore their life after birth until some still future period, say three, five, or seven years of age as to do so before birth.

To lay a good foundation for a good life, it is required that the proper care should be bestowed upon it from a very point of beginning. The tiller of the soil exercises special care and his best wisdom in the preparation for the future harvest. He knows, from oft-repeated experience, how important it is to have the very best seed, of the very best variety. He knows that seed thus selected, planted side by side with unselected seed, and receiving no more care, will yield not only larger harvests but also that they will be of choice quality.

Having the best seed possible, his next step is to have the ground properly prepared, into which at just the proper season, he deposits it. All these preparatory measures are a part of the process by which our fruits, grains and vegetables have been brought to their present state of perfection. Everybody knows that fruits and vegetables which grow wild and are poisonous, are capable of being brought by cultivation to be delicious articles of diet. Everybody knows that by study and care our most celebrated breeds of horses and other stocks of domesticated animals have been obtained. Everybody knows that deep scientific research is constantly being made in almost every department of production, and that those engaged in the respective departments eagerly apply every new fact which science makes clear. It is an admitted fact that the future character of what is to be produced can be very nearly, if not absolutely, determined by those who have charge of the process. Even the color which the herdsman desires for his cattle can be obtained; and what is true regarding color is just as true regarding all other indices of individuality.

Notwithstanding all these accepted facts which are coming to be the rules and guides of people, when we approach the subject of making the same rules and guides so general in their application as to include children, the world stands aghast and with one united effort, frowns it down.

Nobody denies the importance of the subject, but those who speak at all argue that it is one of those things which we are not prepared to meet. Not prepared to meet! And the whole Christian world has been preaching regeneration these eighteen hundred years! which they tell us is the one thing necessary. All the importance claimed for regeneration we willingly admit; all badly produced persons require regeneration; but as to it being the main thing, we beg to demur. If regeneration is an important matter, generation is still more so. It is to the consideration of this fact, as demonstrated and practiced in all departments of nature below, that the human must come and acknowledge itself a proper subject of. Just so far as science can demonstrate, and humanity will put its demonstrations to practice, just so far can the necessity for regeneration be done away.

It is too true that the courage to face this question is generally wanting, and when it is attempted all society pretends to be outraged. Are human beings, then, to be always considered of so much less importance than the things they make subservient, that they should forever be left to come into this world's existence as individuals at random? We know the obloquy that has fallen upon all who have ever attempted to hold the mirror so that society would be obliged to contemplate itself; but, notwithstanding all this, we feel there is not a more noble object. We have considered all the bearings of this matter, and have determined to stand by the flag we have thrown to the world—"Children: their Rights, Privileges and Relations;" and we shall maintain it argumentatively, if possible; defiantly, if need be, against all opposition, let it come from whence it may, or let its character be what it may. Argument we know we shall not have to encounter. Scientific hindrances we know we shall not find in our path. Common sense we know will offer no word of reproach. We shall, however, encounter hoary-headed bigotry, blind intolerance and fossilized authority—and we are prepared.

It is laid down as an undeniable proposition, that the human race can never even approximate to perfection until all the means of which men make use to produce perfect things are also made use of in their own production. Let those who decry the proposition turn to their so much-revered Bible and read: "Ye cannot gather figs of thorns nor grapes from thistles"—and learn wisdom therefrom. It must be remembered how great an "infidel" was he who first demonstrated Arterial and Venous Circulation, which has come to be of such importance in diagnosing diseases. It is generally true that those things which result in the greatest benefit to humanity meet with the most blind and insane opposition in their first struggles for recognition. If this subject of children is to be judged by this rule, it is to develop into greater importance than any which has yet occupied the human mind.

But it is asked, How can this be done? It cannot be done immediately to the fullest extent, but the recognition of its importance can be forced upon humanity, and the practice of its evident deductions can be attained by degrees. Once let it become divested of this absurd idea of "impropriety," and humanity will begin to practice its teachings. It is only required that reason be exalted to its proper place and influence, and analogies, with which nature abounds, will become the great teachers.

The difficulty with which we shall be met at every step is, that it is nearly impossible to make people realize that their lives here are for any other or higher purpose than for each of them to acquire for him or herself the great amount of personal gratification. They cannot yet sufficiently realize that each individual is made one of the means by which the whole of humanity is advanced. They cannot yet be brought to reduce to practice what all admit, that he or she is the greatest man or woman who does the most for humanity; nor have they more than an undefined belief that in doing the most for humanity they do most for themselves. Yet this has been the logic of the doctrine of Christianity nearly two thousand years.

The teachings of Christianity are well enough; they have been taught persistently. But we have now arrived at that age of the world which demands adequate results as proofs of the validity of assumed positions. The Apostles taught that "certain signs" should follow those who believed. Do these signs exist within the heart of the professed representatives of true Christianity? By their fruits shall ye know them. We do know them by their fruits, which are not so perfect as to warrant the conclusion that humanity has passed from being "professors" into being "possessors."

Human life may be compared to a military campaign, in which no amount of valiancy and good generalship can overcome the defects of an imperfect organization of the "body" with which it is to be made. We may as consistently expect a badly organized army to make a good military campaign as to expect a badly organized child to make a good social campaign. To this, the very beginning of organization, should all reformers turn who expect to produce any beneficial results, which shall be ultimate and

lasting, and which shall mark the perfecting process of humanity.

Women by nature are appointed to the holy mission of motherhood, and by this mission are directly charged with the care of the embryonic life, upon which so much of future good or ill depends. It is during this brief period that the initials of character are stamped upon the receptive, incipient mentality which, expanding first into childhood and on to manhood or womanhood, reveals the true secrets of its nature.

The rights of children, then, as individuals, begin while yet they are in fetal life. Children do not come into existence by any will or consent of their own. With their origin they have nothing to do, but in after life they become liable for action which perhaps was pre-termined long prior to their assuming personal responsibility. In youth, children are virtually the dependents of their parents, subject to their government, which may be either wise or mischievous, and is as often the latter as the former. But, having arrived at the proper age, they step into the world upon an equality with others previously there. At this time they are the result of the care which has been bestowed upon them from the time of conception, and whether they are delivered over to the world so as to be useful members of society, or whether they go into it to prove a constant annoyance and curse, seems to be a matter which cannot be made into such personal responsibility as to make it a subject of their own determining. At this period they find themselves possessed of a body and a partially developed mind, in the union of which a harmonious disposition and character may have resulted. Respectively, they are possessed of all shades of disposition and character, from the angelic down to the most demoniacal; but all these are held accountable to the same laws; are expected to govern themselves by the same formula of associative justice, and are compelled by the power of public opinion to subscribe to the same general customs.

All people are obliged to meet the world with the characteristics with which they have been clothed, and which they had no choice in selecting. When all things which go to make up society are analyzed and formulated, it comes out that society holds its individual members responsible for deeds of which it is itself indirectly the cause, and therefore responsible for.

It is a scientifically demonstrated fact that the mind of every individual member of society is the result of a continued series of impressions, which are continually being received by their senses, and transmitted to and taken up by consciousness, which becomes the individuality of the person. If any one doubts this, let him listen to what Professor J. W. Draper, President of the New York Medical University College, says upon this subject:

"There are successive phases * * * in the early action of the mind. As soon as the senses are in working order * * * a process for collecting facts is commenced. These are the first of the most homely kind, but the sphere from which they are gathered is extended by degrees. We may, therefore, consider that this collecting of facts is the earliest indication of the action of the brain, and it is an operation which, with more or less activity, continues through life. * * * Soon a second characteristic appears—the learning of the relationship of the facts thus acquired to one another. * * * This stage has been sometimes spoken of as the dawn of the reasoning faculty. A third characteristic of almost contemporaneous appearance may be remarked—it is the putting to use facts that have been acquired and the relationships that have been determined. * * * Now this triple natural process * * * must be the basis of any right system of instruction."

It appears, then, that contact and constant intercourse with external manifestations is not only necessary for the production of thought and its collaterals, but that to retain the consciousness which makes thought possible such manifestations must be continuously impressed upon the individual. This seems to be conclusive that mind is the result of the experiences of the manifestations of power.

Without these experiences, children would grow up simply idiotic. The "Professor" says, emphatically, that a recognition of this process must be the basis of any right system of instruction. To state the proposition comprehensively, the education of children should consist in surrounding them by such circumstances and facts as will produce upon them those effects which will tend to develop them toward our highest idea of perfect men and women.

The chief difficulty about these things is that their direction has been assumed by the professors of religion rather than by scientists. Science is eminently progressive; religion is as eminently conservative. Science, in its analysis of the facts of the age, comes in direct conflict with the theories of religious sects. Happily, these things are now undergoing change, and they who once taught that the world was created out of nothing in six days and nights, of twenty-four hours each, have given way to the demonstrations of geology, and are forced to admit that their previous belief was founded in an allegory.

The common practice of the world, in all things which it desires to modify or remedy, is to begin at the extreme, where the effects are found, and from them to work backward toward the beginning. The whole course of the world regarding crime has been to punish rather than to prevent it; to work with the effects of education. What men or women are at the time they become recognized citizens, society makes them. They are its production, as much as the apple is the production of the tree. If the apple is a bad apple, it is not its fault; that lies in the tree. If men and women are bad men and women when they arrive at legal age, it is not their fault, but it is the fault of society, in which they are born, raised and educated.

It is scientifically true that the life which develops into the individual life never begins. That is to say, there is no time in which it can be said life begins where there was no life. The structural unit of nucleated protoplasm, which forms the centre around which aggregation proceeds, contains a pulsating life before it takes up this process. The character of the nerve stimulus of which this is possessed, and which sustains this evidence of life, must depend upon the source from which it proceeds. In other words, and plainly, the condition of the parents at the time of the conception is a matter of prime importance, since the life principle with which the new organism is to begin its growth should be of the highest order.

Cases of partial and total idiocy have been traced to the faulty inheritance of the parents at and previous to conception. On the other extreme, some of the highest intellects and the most noble and lovable characters the world ever produced owed their condition to the peculiarly happy circumstances under which they began life, much of the after portion of the growing process of which having been under

favorable circumstances irritable and nervous, driven to their own conclusions.

We are aware that the mention of them; of nature which world to be its pests, its worst enemies, are still bluish with well-founded

But the time must discussed, but when a conception, fetal life, womanhood will be an

Virtue nor modesty ignoring or ignorance modesty and true general complete knowledge in that we have done with the world with human

It is required that we and that lies in the comparison. And just to tion leads. It is the law will rise to be thus a new direct interest in of the present its right have under the best and which can be formulated not permit that their rig will be "John the B

"Prepare ye the way," them. Such is the prop will do well to listen to The New York Tribune vice among us is the certain nervous and cer selves tend to make of nals or drunkards, and can avert the danger. plize in this way:

"A man may drink with no apparent harm come nervous wrecks, incurable drunkards, til its pathology and consumption or any at are stale truths to medi even those of average wickedly regardless of riding our jacks and al our people are taught the stomach and blood a common sense and a eternal damnation, and for the same reason that clean sewers. Another training of children—the forcing of their brains, feverish ambition and our society, and partly cation. The simplest p and abuse of the brain's parents. To gratify a school days, many a ma

If the boy show any sign instead of regarding it as tion of the blood vessels ing it accordingly, it is and the inflamed brain gives way exhausted."

When a paper which which is involved in the Tribune does, comes so n may be seriously consider rived in which to speak d

The remedy is twofold union of persons addicted deavor to reform those w

A positive assertion is h the right to produce a bu upon it such a load of phys cites. It is the merest shad and for the sins of his or, bial nonsense and the p which grows in your orch the trees; but it is no mor children for the crime of t

Marriage, or the union o of the human race. Wha to the children they produ sustains to them are brood parents are but parts of so ing less, so that while they, a long time left to the sp their parents, it can be co cely.

The relations which shon tion of society are those w marriage in its special func far has been utterly ignored a marriage union, does soci promoting and protecting ask what the results of the of this question entering into that has been thought of is pealed to live out the rem together, utterly regardless of

It is a well-established fact that nearly all the consump tions through life has its sour which, for delicacy, has b what business or right has that his or her system is load become the propagator of the true of all other diseases and mitted, and not more of thos physical than of those which moral. When the world anal tion it will have comm-ned a will never be intermixed with

Education in matters whi should be one of the first steps have been foolishly and crim premises that to instruct childr them into unfortunate conditio is the truth. If there are des

Edward S. Wheeler next spoke on the same subject. Mr. Gurney, Mrs. Abbie E. Cutter, Dr. Hallock, Dr. Bailey, and several others made addresses, all advocating the same cause of lyceums. The afternoon meeting then adjourned until 9 o'clock next morning.

EVENING SESSION.

The Lyceum Exhibition.—This embraced, besides several pieces, duets, etc., by the children, some very fine music by the Lyceum choir. The recitations and singing by Miss Emma Wilbur, Miss Emma Barto, Jessie Hatfield, Miss Ella Holcomb, Miss Alice Merritt, little Miss Grace Lodewick and Mamie Lawrence, Master Alex. Friend, J. Epstein, Frankie McCoy, Messrs. J. McDonald and Chas. Hoyt were all given without the least fault or hesitation. The fine musical selections given by Prof. Holcomb and orchestra should receive special praise.

A. A. Wheelock, from the Committee on Lyceums, made the following report:

Whereas, It must be apparent to Spiritualists and all friends of the Children's Progressive Lyceums, that this beautiful system of education, indispensable to the development of children into a full grown manhood and womanhood of spiritual freedom, has not attained that permanency and efficiency the merits of the system and the hopes of its earnest friends would justify. Your committee in the brief time allotted to them have earnestly endeavored, in part at least, to analyze the numerous causes of failure to carry forward successfully Lyceums already organized, which varied and numerous causes, though they do hinder and retard the growth and efficiency of Lyceums, belong to the local condition which may be termed the minor causes of failure; we do not deem it essential to enumerate these, but consider it most essential that this meeting consider the main causes of failure of Lyceums, which we believe to be the unfortunate practice so generally adopted of having two organizations, wherever they attempted to do anything practically to advance the cause—one known as a "Spiritualists' Society," and the other as "The Children's Progressive Lyceum."

Besides the increase of labor, time and money to sustain two organizations, the general experience has been that more or less rivalry, jealousy, discord and inharmonious have been created, causing the final and utter failure of both. We recognize but one purpose in all true reform—the good of humanity, and knowing that in unity only can there be found sufficient strength to realize success in organization, your committee respectfully suggest that Spiritualists everywhere commence a radical "New Departure" in organization.

First. That all the objects involved in the practical work of Spiritualists be concentrated in one organization for each locality.

Second. That organizations, local, State, Territorial and national, shall be adjusted to harmonize with this idea.

Third. That all local organizations be known as "The Spiritualists' Progressive Lyceums," and that in all localities for organizations Spiritualists are earnestly requested to bring all their energies and means to the support of the Lyceum Movement and its legitimate outgrowth.

Fourth. That regarding the Lyceum system a holy ministration of the angels to humanity, it was not intended in principle or practice to embody a system of instruction for one-seventh of time only, but that in its genius and scope it is designed as the basis of a method of progressive education for all humanity, alike applicable by the law of necessity to all days and all time.

Fifth. That we may realize something practical in the interest of education, Spiritualists are requested to rally to the support of the Lyceum everywhere and to so adjust their local and other organizations with the requirements of legal status as to enable them to become the guardians or recipients of such bequests as may be left by generous, wealthy Spiritualists to support the cause.

Sixth. That regarding the continued education of young and old, the constant gaining of wisdom by all, while remaining in the body, the great work Spiritualists have to do, we deem it of the first importance that immediate measures should be taken to establish one or more advanced Lyceums or schools, where the speakers and teachers of Spiritualism may receive the highest culture and all the benefits a complete scientific education can give.

Eighth. That considering the Lyceum system, when fully understood and intelligently and faithfully carried out, of sufficient breadth and scope to do all the practical work of Spiritualism, within the broad, generous, just principles of that organization, we regard with great satisfaction the action of one of the Lyceums of Baltimore, in instituting a part of the Lyceum movement, "The Young People's Spiritual Association," the by-laws of which say: "The Committee on Lyceums shall take measures for opening and sustaining new Lyceums, visit those already established, and endeavor to increase their number and efficiency."

The report was discussed in an animated manner by A. A. Wheelock, Moses Hull, Edward G. Granville and Edward Wheeler, who offered the following as a substitute:

Resolved, That we earnestly recommend the formation of union local organizations of Spiritualists' societies and Lyceums among those in sympathy with their philosophy, wherever such may be. Such local societies to have for their object the collection of statistics regarding the number and disposition of those concerned; the equal spiritual and mental and physical education of both sexes and all persons and the union and fraternization of all, in State, national and international association for the general purpose of preserving an orderly freedom and aiding the evolution of progress.

In pursuance of this purpose, we would also recommend that our Board of Trustees take into consideration the gradual and healthy development of the work of this association as set forth in article second of its constitution, and put into action a system of questions and suggestions inviting answers from all persons interested in the issues involved. Also, that said Board at the next annual meeting of this association make such recommendations for action by that meeting as a clear judgment shall embody measures to the end desired.

THURSDAY—THIRD DAY.

MORNING SESSION.

G. A. Bacon in the chair.

Letters were read from Agnes Cooke, J. M. Spear and G. Kate.

The report of J. M. Peckles on the World's Convention,

stated that it appeared the time has not come for such Convention. The report of A. A. Wheelock on Education was received, and both committees were released.

The report of Eli T. Brown, missionary, was read.

The following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the report of the Lyceum Committee and the substitute proposed by Mr. Wheeler be referred to the Board of Trustees to digest the subject and prepare an address to the Spiritualists at large.

The hour for the election having arrived, Dr. Gardner, Dr. Hallock and Mrs. Woodhull were nominated. On the first ballot, the two former had 25 votes each, and Mrs. Woodhull, 23. On the second ballot, Mrs. Woodhull had 42, Dr. Gardner, 36. Mrs. Woodhull was declared elected. She was introduced by Mrs. Brown, who said: "Friends, we have most of us, and perhaps all, been looking away toward Washington, and counting the months and years before we should have the pleasure of voting for Victoria C. Woodhull for President of the United States. Now we have paused for a moment and elected her President of the American Association of Spiritualists. I am happy to introduce her to you, a brave-souled woman, to stand where I have stood during the past year."

Mrs. Woodhull said: I scarcely know what to say in return for the honor you have bestowed upon me. When I started to come to Troy my heart was very faint. I felt that I should meet a great many persons who misunderstood me; but I had an assurance that your hearts were in the right, and that if I had been misunderstood, when I reached out my hand it would be received. All I have to say is, by my work ye shall know me.

The tellers reported. Dr. H. T. Child was elected Secretary; Levi Weaver, Treasurer; A. A. Wheelock and Anna N. Middlebrook members of the Board of Trustees for three years.

Afternoon session devoted to resolutions. Evening address by Mrs. Woodhull, on "The Constitutional Right of Women to Vote." Addresses by Mrs. Middlebrook, Moses Hull, and closing remarks by Mrs. Brown, retiring President.

In introducing her speech Mrs. Woodhull said:

I thank the Troy Times for the opportunity it has given me to say a word to this Convention, which has honored me so highly. Agitation of thought is the beginning of wisdom. Hence I like it. Whatever others may think of it, I know that the social question lies at the base of all reform. It is the great question, and we can't shirk it if we would, and I wouldn't if I could; but our friends of the press cry Free Love. But it doesn't frighten me one bit, for I have never known any other love than free love; they may be acquainted with some other kind. We have laws that give the lie to it, but for all that sensible people know that it is the law that lies and not love. I spoke to you yesterday of children. I now add that we can never have perfect children born in hateful conditions, and we might just as well meet this question right here and now as to delay it, since it must be met sooner or later. I have boldly proclaimed these doctrines ever since we started our paper. The Times may call them "nastiness," but I call them my religion, and I am as ready to die for it as were the early martyrs for their religion. If proper generation is not a good religion to preach, what will you say for regeneration, which is so widely discussed? I tell you, my friends, that they are afraid that their occupation will be gone. If I am asked, do you believe in promiscuous intercourse for the sexes, I reply I don't believe anything about it. I know that it exists to an alarming extent; and more, I know that a great many of those editors who write me down are among its best representatives. But if you ask me if I believe such a condition a high one, I will say, I think it to be that which the Times calls "nastiness." I hope it does not view my doctrines through colored glasses. I believe promiscuity to be anarchy, and the very antithesis of that for which I aspire. I know that there are all degrees of lust and love, from the lowest to the highest. But I believe the highest sexual relations are those that are monogamic, and that those are high and spiritual in proportion as they are continuous. But I protest, and I believe every woman who has purity in her soul protests, against all laws that would compel them to maintain relations with men for whom they have no regard. I honor that purity of life which comes from the heart, while I pity the woman who is pure simply because the law makes her so. If to hold and practice such doctrines as these is to be a deep Free Lover, then I am a Free Lover.

Mr. E. S. Wheeler submitted the following resolution, which was enthusiastically adopted:

Whereas, We have lost all hope in existing political parties for the purification of the political atmosphere and restoration of the government to Republican principles and usage; and

Whereas, An Equal Rights Party has been organized; therefore

Resolved, That we hereby declare our firm adherence to its interests, and pledge our support to its able candidate for the Presidency.

The Association, after eight sessions, adjourned to meet at the call of the Board of Trustees next year. This was one of the largest and most enthusiastic meetings of the Association.

"It is easy to undertake, but more difficult to finish, a thing."

"This term is equally applicable to all ranks—Whoever is ignorant is vulgar."

"By the street of 'by-and-bye' one arrives at the house of Never."

"Between the yes and no of a woman I would not undertake to thrust the point of a pin."

"Patience and shuffle the cards."

"A soldier had better smell of gunpowder than musk."

"Other men's pains are easily borne."

"A bad cloak often covers a good drinker."

"Pray devoutly and hammer on stupidity."

"When a thing is once begun it is almost half finished."

"Lay a bridge of silver for a flying enemy."

—DOX QUINOTX.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To Correspondents.—All communications intended for publication must be written on one side only. The editors will not be responsible for manuscripts not accepted. Correspondents will please send their names. Many valuable communications are received but cannot be printed.

WORKING GIRLS.

"If you only would. It might do some good, but should all be so grateful. Just a few words, you know. It was such a sweet childish face that looked up at me with such a sweet childish voice that uttered the earnest and withal so sad and yet so hopeful that I caught the dear girl in my arms and kissed the forehead that had not yet learned to curse the fate that doomed to a level only a grade less miserable than the best of men, the rank of a working woman."

Give me patience, O Heaven! Have not I already more than "a few words" on the subject? Have not I laid down upon my head the anathemas of men, men who would fill the ranks of an army? Have not I looked and written all that a human being could say or write on what good has it done?

Don't I know just how hard you will find it to get me? Haven't I followed the sister who went forth into the world long ago—before you were conscious of the dreary struggle in store for you, and who dropped beneath the burden of life's trials long ere the journey was ended, as so many thousands had done before her? Don't I know how and last her heart beat when she entered the office of Jones & Co., shirt manufacturers, where the big boss read, "Wanted girls to work on shirts—good wages, steady work to good hands," and how her heart felt zero when she learned that the "good wages" amounted to three dollars a week, and the "steady work" was the truth the advertisement contained?

Don't I know all about the little brothers and sisters at home, too young yet to go forth into the world to battle with adversity as she was doing, who had to be clothed and fed partly by her efforts? Haven't I thought the many a time without number? Haven't I planned for you, thought for you and prayed for you until my hair nearly turned gray and what good has it done? Do you receive more for your labor than you did before I took up the pen in your defense? Are you better treated? or more respected? do you find your life less irksome? your toil less severe? Can you suppose for a moment that anyone cares a fig for me, or for what may say or write on the subject? Bless your dear heart, might shout myself hoarse, and write myself blind, as my purpose, it would not make a particle of difference, the world would lead neither ear nor eye to the subject, but would continue paying their starvation prices just as long as a woman was to be found who hadn't worked herself to death already in his service. I might use rivers of ink and seas of paper and the effect would be about the same as a handful of peas thrown upon the hide of an alligator.

I am positively unhappy. You haunt me day and night. Not with your sweet, childish voice, and earnest, hopeful pleading face, that a few moments ago looked into mine with the sad, eager, woe-begone look that will, ere long, chase the light from your eyes and the smile from your lips. Your wan, pinched face is ever before me, sleeping or waking, and even in my dreams I hear your pleading voice beseeching me to say "a few words" in your defense. Just as if I had set myself down in the beginning of life committed to do nothing until the end came, with never a thought or wish for any one but myself. O, it's too much! it drives me nearly wild! and to think, too, that I am powerless to do and assist you! I know how hard you will have to work for the miserable pittance you will receive, at work, perched on only for a man's strength. I know the long, long hours that must drag wearily away before you rest that your head upon those tired hands and say, "it is finished at last, my task is accomplished for this day at least."

When I think of the bitter injustice of the laws that degrade the working women to the ranks of penury, and most the level of brutes, my very soul cries out in agony and I can scarcely wait myself for that "good time coming" when a woman's labor, well and faithfully performed, shall meet with the same recompense awarded her brethren. I can only try and comfort you by holding before you a mirror of futurity. Lord! the prospect brightens. Take courage. Take comfort. The good time will come just sure as dawn cometh after darkness.

"Man's inhumanity to man" never half equalled his inhumanity to woman; but as he never yet was shamed out of the former, we can't expect he will relent toward the latter, but after a while the supreme power of tyrannizing over the "weaker sex" will have passed out of his hands. We don't intend taking the reins out of his hands entirely; but will he still retain his hold of one of them, we'll lay our hands on the other, and with a flourish of the whip in our left hand—for a while at least—we'll progress nicely.

There, child, go! Don't look at me in that way. My time will come, I tell you. God grant we may both live to see it! But you will have to do many a hard task before that day, and learn by heart many a bitter lesson. The burning an expense far exceeding 1 go, I tell you. Go forth into the world to struggle and die with the waves of adversity and injustice that will surge over and around you until you are fairly

ruined. It's a sin to sin in the name of pity. Don't raise a selfish look in them, but alter the stern dog-beggary because she is

Mrs. Woodhull. Enclosed as a memento, with my last number, is a little book, which I have called my wonder, a very possible work, generations of suffering, prejudice, dog which, and disciplined phantoms. Your courageous paper is of the age. The sarcastic bold the world's workers that were my ideal in fact in fostered superstition—long ages has fertilized right, and spread out I have to its initiated expert met, at last, in your reform of its frauds. The work of purified reason.

You are seeking the filth been rooted in idolatry, chaste. The paucity of largely due to the subtle tendency that has forever chained with bells of soul. You are boldly disabusing long-time error in heralding emancipation! I wonder, grove heraldry; how, the devotes—saves to usages, false because capricious, in this dark night of profound gloom and whitened you could make such a future generations. True, boldly taken, and, thus far, with guile and wiles, seducing you with headless purpose with his old incantations of unscrupulous insinuation and prey; yes, even a branch of reform; and the reformists grows darker and it with his lying hordes and jealousy among ourselves. The campaign you have inaugurated, is a lifelong prosecution.

I ought to add a current ap-dissent to your kind and well-beautiful home. I tried to st-prise. Much as your sympathy people, you do not appear aw-tomed to restraints of affluence. was cordially invited to visit struggle for a lowly existence in the unappreciated lowly; and aspiring to merit the friendship then I was rejected. A pallet in been enough for me, and say and the stately haughty and the behind the barriers of impunity, cipline my sensitive nerves to lu the walls of Adam's poorest cl-Way profanity and sullen alien everywhere present? Why the same shivered into premature or-begs neglect, and bitter inappor-because the churches have carpet colleges are forbidding by reason born: and fashion puts scholard-gorgeousness of the rich home's r-pidly with the wages slave's wo-in gin, and equaler sucks its solas of wealth, but from its antipodes! that I have myself thus degenerat-what I ought to be. Plunged as I-ving my class, the wages slaves, much I should like, to be your fre-

THE INTERNAT

So many responses to the "A-English-speaking working women and States, in favor of the formation e-ations, have been received, that it is li-ly the demand for the printed doc-ment the inquirers with the needful i-urpose. I have, therefore, determin-

So many responses to the "Appeal of Section 12" to English-speaking workingmen and women of the United States, in favor of the formation of English-speaking sections, have been received, that it is found impossible to supply the demand for the printed documents required to furnish the inquirers with the useful information without incurring an expense far exceeding the sum sent for that purpose. I have, therefore, determined, with the consent of

9. Everybody who acknowledges and defends the principles of the International Workingmen's Association is elig

Hands round, ye faithful Masons, from the bright fraternal hall
We part upon the Square below to meet in Heaven again.
Oh! what words of precious meaning these words Masonic are—
We meet upon the Level and we part upon the Square.

MRS. MARGARET CADY, widow of the late Judge Daniel Cady, and a daughter of General James Livingston, of the Revolutionary army, died at Johnstown, N. Y., on the 16th instant, aged eighty-seven years. Mrs. Cady was an accomplished lady of the old school, and in her prime remarkable for dignity and grace, and for brilliant conversational powers, and the hospitality she dispensed among a large circle of friends, her mansion being always crowded with guests. She was related to many of the distinguished old families of the State besides the Livingstons, as, for instance, the Schuylers, the Clintons and the Ten Broecks. She was the aunt of Gerrit Smith and of Major-General A. B. Eaton, Commissary-General of the United States Army. She was very kind and liberal to the poor, and was an exemplary member of the Presbyterian church more than seventy years. Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton writes as follows: "I grieve to inform you of the death of my dear mother. She was a grand, brave woman. Her name headed the largest petition sent to the last Constitutional Convention of the State of New York asking to have the word 'male' stricken from the State constitution. She has said for years that she hoped to be enfranchised before entering the kingdom of Heaven; but the wheels of progress moved too slowly for her earnest wish to be gratified, although she had watched and waited eighty-seven years."

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THE SPIRIT WORLD—ITS RELATIONS TO THIS.

If any one believe that the world into which humanity pass in their exodus from this visible material sphere is one of magnificent indolence, he is greatly mistaken; or if he believe that its inhabitants spend their time singing Psalms to the Great Jehovah, or in praying to be delivered from "this tormenting fire," he is not less wide of the truth; or if he believe that a listless anarchy prevails, into which no system or order is intruded, he is equally at fault.

Nothing can be more at variance with the reality than are most of the conceptions which people have inherited from an intolerant superstition and a bigoted theology. They have been educated to look to Bible students for an understanding of the unseen, and they have for ages told them that the Holy Book contained the complete revelation of God to Man. At the same time they have taught that this God is Infinite, Omnipotent and Omnipresent; forgetting to be consistent with the fact of which all should be cognizant, that the Bible is a very small book to contain the complete revelation of an Infinite Power; forgetting that Omnipotence includes all power, they have portrayed a Devil, to whom they have allowed even more strength than to God himself, since he has had more extended sway than they have attributed to Him; forgetting that Omnipresence is impossible of a localized personality, or, in fact, of any personality; they have pictured God at some important point in the universe which neither geography nor astronomy has been able to locate.

We say it is the inconsistencies of these fables with which the preachers of the "everlasting gospel" have been so absorbed in cramming the souls of humanity that have produced the present unphilosophic direction to which their minds tend. But thanks to the genial warmth of modern ideas, the cold icebergs of superstition, ignorance and bigotry are now fast disappearing, and he who should stand in his pulpit and preach that hell is paved with infants' skulls, and that the lake of fire and brimstone is still fruitlessly endeavoring to consume the souls of the damned, would not be tolerated a single hour. But a milk and water edition of the same inhumanity is still hawked at the price of from one to twenty thousand per year, and is still labeled Christianity.

We are told that the Bible teaches immortality, and yet when the demonstration is offered, these same expounders turn upon and rend those who would supplant the doctrine of faith by the logic of fact. They seem to have an intuitive comprehension that their sincere positions to save souls which could never be lost, will be jeopardized if this new heresy spread. They seem to see their Holy seventh-day sanctuaries given up to a religion which can do good to humanity as well upon a Friday as upon a Sunday. They begin to realize that knowledge will supplant a blind faith, and that with this their occupation will be gone.

With all their watchfulness exercised over the members of their flocks, and in spite of all the anathemas they have suspended over the heads of the unfaithful, thousands upon thousands have been lured from the fold to listen to the voices of the loved whom they had thought lost, and their souls have been opened to spirit life in all its beauty. These, still remaining in the body of the Church are as a leaven, which must leaven the whole body. Degree by degree, step by step, are the pretended shepherds compelled to modify their doctrines and teachings, in order that their sheep may

not entirely desert the fold. And thus is the whole Protestant Church gradually, unconsciously, though none the less surely, being transformed from believers in immortality into knowers of it.

In the meantime, however, the Church, in league with an almost equally interested press, will continue to cry out "Crucify him! crucify him!" Daily and weekly will column upon column be published and read, denouncing, defaming and misrepresenting those who have become possessors of the New Faith. Every public gathering they hold will be written down in the most approved fashion. Their speakers will be caricatured and their speeches garbled; and if the purpose cannot be accomplished in any other way, words will actually be put into their mouths which were never uttered; as witness the New York *Tribune's* report of the late Convention at Troy, N. Y., into which whole sentences were injected that were never uttered in the Convention. And yet such a press make pretensions to honesty. Really, Mr. Horace Greeley, are you not sinking into your second childhood more rapidly than even your enemies give you credit for? If you think your readers don't see through such pretentious misrepresentations you are certainly presuming quite too much upon their devotion.

But while all these forces are busily at work endeavoring to shut the eyes of the people against the sight of the Spirit World which is opening to their view, the Spirits themselves are just as busy presenting the view, and of the two the latter are getting the most attention. And these irreverent parsons and the malicious press will awake some morning, not far distant, to learn with surprise, if not with dismay, that the armies of Spiritualists with whom they have long been battling with apparent success, have been reinforced by the whole Spirit World, organized into solid phalanx and ready to be hurled upon them, to once and forever destroy their too long continued resistance to the onward march of the world of ideas. The campaign is already not only conceived but well developed, and thousands who look into the heavens and see the marshaling hosts are expecting the denouement every day; sceptics may hoot and howl, may cry insanity or whatever they please, those who see and know look calmly on, and with a serene happiness contemplate the rapidly approaching crisis.

To these, however, we have a word to say. Are you not almost as criminally negligent as your opposers are willfully obstinate? Are your houses ready? Are they swept and garnered ready to receive your new allies? And are you endeavoring to prepare the way to make their paths straight? Much, we fear that your indifference is nearly equal to the sum of opposition, and that it will be so regarded by those who shall come to you. It behooves us all to bestir ourselves and see what is to be done after the glorious consummation shall have come. Those who have been blessed by the comforting assurances which wipe away, alike, all tears and fears, should lay hold of humanity and teach them the principles of life. Four millions of outspoken men and women, with six millions more standing ready to speak when the time shall come, and these reinforced by the combined spirit-world, are a power which, when once set in motion, will burst and sweep over the land like a thunderstorm, purifying its elements now loaded with the death and decay of the old civilization.

Then will the prophecies of all ages be verified. Then, in reality, will each and every individual place his faith in an Infinite, Omnipresent and Omnipotent God—their common Father—and regard all humanity as a common brotherhood, created in God's own image, and bearing alike His seal of divinity and immortality. Then no more shall one set himself above his brother or sister, but all shall acknowledge each as of common and equal origin, and not only entitled to, but possessed of, a common destiny.

THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT.

We are often asked the question, "Why there had to be a Fifteenth Amendment to enable negroes to vote, if the Fourteenth made all persons citizens and voters; and if the last Amendment was required for negroes, is not a Sixteenth required for women?"

We reply, that does not by any means follow. Neither does it follow that the Fifteenth Amendment was necessary to enfranchise negroes. As all are aware, the Fourteenth Amendment, by its first section, makes all persons citizens, and forbids the States to abridge their privileges as citizens. Had the Amendment stopped there, everything would have been clear. But, for some reason, there was a second section added as follows:

"Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed; but whenever the right to vote at any election for electors of President and Vice-President, or for United States Representatives in Congress, executive and judicial officers, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male persons shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in that State."

As might have been expected, the Southern States preferred to deny the negroes the right to vote, and have their representation reduced accordingly. But, for all that, it was

only an inferential right they had to do so. While section first absolutely prohibits any such right on the part of the States, the second leaves an inference to the contrary. This would not hold in law, and could have been overridden in the courts, since no inference can stand against plain assertion.

But to have attempted to adjudicate this question in the Courts would have involved unnecessary expense, a long delay and a deal of trouble. Beside, the Republicans wanted the negro vote, and could not afford to wait for such a consummation. They preferred to add another amendment as the readiest method of remedying the inconsistency and apparent contradiction of the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment. It will be seen that the authority obtained from the Fourteenth Amendment, by which the States continued to exclude male negroes from suffrage, can only be applicable to men, since it expressly says: "When the right to vote is denied to any male inhabitant." In the absence of even an inferential right as to women, how can it be assumed that such a right exists directly in the face of the positive prohibition of the first section of the same amendment.

It only requires that these things be analyzed in order to be understood. Read the Constitution and its amendments from beginning to end, and there is not a single sentence in it which gives even in the faintest manner the right to men to deny equal political right to women. And in this matter of inference, which apparently made an additional amendment necessary to the negro, the deduction is most emphatic and clear that it does not apply to women made citizens by the preceding section.

THE NEW YORK "HERALD" AS A CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY.

Judge Underwood, of the United States District Court of Virginia, has written a letter in which he says he feels very confident the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the United States Constitution, together with the Enforcement act of May 31, 1870, have secured the right to vote to the female citizens of Virginia as fully as it is now enjoyed and exercised by male citizens.

The *Herald*, in commenting upon this statement, says:

Judge Underwood, of Virginia, has unofficially rendered an opinion that the women of Virginia have a right to vote under the Fifteenth Amendment. The fact, indeed, seems to be that the women have a pretty strong argument. The Fifteenth Amendment speaks of all citizens with the qualifying adjective "male," and a number of judges learned in the law have thought as Judge Underwood does about it. Happily, it is feminine nature to retract and become sorry for all that has occurred as soon as they have the best of the argument, and we trust now that the ladies will calm their ruffled tempers and be quiet. At the same time we feel pretty sure that as soon as they are unrestrictedly granted the suffrage they will refuse to use it.

Thus, it seems, that which the *Herald* considered "an abomination," during the time we were pressing this construction of the Constitution upon Congress, last winter, it is now constrained to admit to be a pretty strong argument. This frank admission on the part of the *Herald* is really another exemplification of its general consistency. When convinced it admits it. In this regard the *Herald* differs in toto from that paper which is never convinced, and when driven from all tenable positions, more loudly than ever indulges in invectives, misrepresentation, and even downright falsification. The *Tribune* is infallible. It is always right, and everybody else differing, is all wrong. In fact, it seems to be Dr. Greeley's opinion that nobody has any right to question his authority. Beware, Dr. Greeley, lest your vanity lead you to your ruin.

But we are exceedingly obliged to the *Herald* for some information it gives of which we were not previously aware. We have been pretty close students of the Constitution, but the point in question we have always entirely overlooked. The *Herald's* version of the Constitution must differ from ours, since it says: "The Fifteenth Amendment speaks of all citizens with the qualifying adjective male." In our version of the Constitution, that qualifying word occurs but once, and that is in the Fourteenth Amendment; but, even there, it does not qualify "all citizens," but distinctly says "any of the male inhabitants." Now, no one can, by any possibility, construe that phrase to mean all citizens.

The *Herald* is either guilty of inexcusable ignorance or desires to insinuate that this matter of citizenship applies only to men; in the latter case, it is a most unjustifiable attempt to continue the old delusion that men only are citizens under the new amendments. Will the *Herald* please explain this little discrepancy, and in future remember that there are some people who read the Constitution, and who will not accept its renderings unquestioned?

THE REVERE railroad slaughter in Massachusetts has forced upon the railroad chiefs the necessity of meeting and talking about increased care in running trains. This talk is not worth a cent. The drawback of joint stock enterprise is the facility it gives to dishonest management and the perfect irresponsibility of managers who shift all their loads on to the shoulders of subordinates and the pockets of shareholders. Make directors and superintendents liable in person, not in pocket. Under the old revolutionary rule blundering generals were cashiered and sometimes guillotined. The official decapitation of superintendents and directors, and their imprisonment in jail for gross mismanagement, would diminish accidents. Hanging a commissary has often improved the army rations.

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SENATOR CARPENTER TO THEODORE TILTON

MR. TILTON'S REPLY.

Editor of the Golden Age:

MY DEAR SIR: Yours of the 12th instant, enclosing a pamphlet copy of your letter to Mr. Sumner, maintaining the right of female citizens to vote under the Constitution as amended, and asking me to read it and drop you a line saying whether or not I think the case proven, was received this morning.

I had previously read your letter, as I do everything you write; for while I do not always concur with you, I do admire your independence of thought and the brilliancy of your genius. I love you for the utter recklessness of consequences with which you adhere to what you believe to be just, and the valor with which you defend the irresistible conclusions of right reasoning.

While concurring entirely with what I understand to be your opinion, that female suffrage is demanded both by principle and a wise regard for the public good, I am not satisfied that that desideratum has already been secured. There is great force in the argument of your letter to Mr. Sumner. You have put your views strongly and well; and I regret to dissent from your conclusions.

The strongest point you make is founded upon that provision of the old Constitution which imposes upon the United States the duty of guaranteeing to every state a republican form of government. The answer to that is, that the Constitution, deriving its authority from the will of the people, must be construed as it was understood by the people at the time of its adoption. Women have always been citizens, and their right to sue and be sued, as citizens, in the courts of the Union, has never been questioned. So that, with your idea of a republican form of government, it follows that there never was a republican state of this Union; and that even of the thirteen states which adopted the Constitution not one had a republican form of government at that time; and the Constitution required the general government to enter immediately upon a radical and fundamental reconstruction of the very states which had spoken the general government into existence. It is impossible, in view of the history of that day, the then condition of the country, the understanding of all those who took part in framing the Constitution and commending it to the people for their adoption, to maintain that such a thing was contemplated. It was assumed on all hands that the thirteen states which were expected to enter into the Union by adopting the Constitution, were republican; and the object, and the only object, of this provision, was to keep them so. There is no doubt that the judicial courts, under the old Constitution, would have held that those state governments of which the Union was originally composed were republican in form, although females were not admitted to suffrage. If such States were republican then, they are now. Whatever may be necessary, in the abstract, to constitute a republican government, there can be no doubt that Massachusetts, for example, when she adopted the Federal Constitution had a republican form of government, within the meaning of that phrase as employed in the Constitution.

In regard to the provision, "The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens of the several states," there was always considerable diversity of sentiment as to whether the word "privileges" included political rights. In an early case, *Campbell v. Morris*, 3, Har. & McHenry, 554, the court, speaking of this provision, said, "It is agreed it does not mean the right of election, the right of holding office, the right of being elected. The court are of opinion it means that the citizens of all the states shall have the peculiar advantage of acquiring and holding real as well as personal property, and that such property shall be protected and secured by the laws of the state, in the same manner as the property of the citizens of the state is protected. It means such property shall not be liable to any taxes or burthens which the property of the citizen is not subjected to. It may also mean that as creditors, they shall be on the same footing with the state creditor, in the payment of the debts of a deceased debtor. It secures and protects personal rights."

On the contrary, in *Corfield v. Correll*, decided in the Circuit Court by Justice Washington, the opposite view was taken, and the right of suffrage was regarded as included in, and protected by, this provision. In neither of these cases was the point directly involved, so that what is said in both cases is *obiter dicta*, and the Supreme Court of the United States has never decided the question, nor, that I am aware of, ever even incidentally expressed an opinion. Yet I think it safe to say that subsequent cases had so far followed the theory of Mr. Justice Washington, that down to the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, it is probable the Supreme Court would have so held.

But the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments seem to sanction the idea entertained by the court in *Campbell v. Morris*, that the right to vote was not included

in the phrase "privileges and immunities of a citizen."

The first section of the Fourteenth Amendment declares, "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." And had the Fourteenth Amendment stopped with the first section, I think the right of all citizens, black and white, male and female, to vote and hold office would have been secured; because I believe that upon the whole Constitution, thus amended, the elective franchise or privilege would have been held to be one of the privileges of a citizen of the United States. But the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment puts the matter at rest by clearly recognizing the right or power of any state to exclude a portion of the citizens from the right to vote; and declares that when the right to vote shall be denied to a portion of the male citizens of the United States, or any way abridged, except as punishment for crime, the basis of representation in such state "shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of excluded male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state." It is evident from this section that a state had the power after the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment to exclude a portion of its citizens from the right to vote; from which it follows that such right is not one of the "privileges and immunities" which the first section declares no state shall abridge. And again, this section, by reducing the basis of representation in such case in the proportion borne by the excluded citizens "to the whole number of male citizens" in such state, proceeds upon the theory that females are no part of the voting population of any state.

The Fifteenth Amendment is equally damaging to the right of female suffrage. If, by the Fourteenth Amendment, the elective franchise had been secured to every citizen, the Fifteenth Amendment would have been wholly unnecessary. It is true that in terms the Fourteenth Amendment only applies to the states, while the Fifteenth forbids either the states or the United States to exclude a citizen on the ground of race, color, etc. But this variation in the phraseology of the two Amendments is unimportant, because by the Constitution, after the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted, the states only, and not the United States, could fix the qualifications of voters or determine who should enjoy that right.

The Fifteenth Amendment is as follows: "The right of the 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."

In both the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments suffrage is spoken of as a right, not a privilege; and in the Fourteenth Amendment, as I have already shown, the distinction between "privileges and immunities," which no state may abridge, and the right to vote, which a state has the power to deny to a citizen, is clear and manifest. But it has been said that the phraseology of the Fifteenth Amendment, "the right of citizens of the United States to vote," recognizes voting as one of the rights of a citizen. The Fifteenth Amendment was not intended to repeal the Fourteenth. The two stand together in the Constitution and must be construed together. The Fourteenth Amendment recognizes the power of a state to deny the right to vote to any citizen for any cause whatever. But the Fifteenth Amendment narrows the power of the state in this particular so far that such exclusion cannot be made on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. In every other particular the power of a state to deny the elective franchise to its citizens is as broad as it was before the Fifteenth Amendment was adopted. And I have no doubt, so far as these Amendments are concerned, of the power of any state to exclude citizens from the right of suffrage for any other reason or account than race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

You may say, and I admit, that this is taking a professional rather than a popular view of the question. But the constitutional rights of a citizen must stand that test, in a country like this, where every right must come to the standard of judicial reasoning; and I have no doubt the courts will take this view of the subject.

Truly your friend,

MATT. H. CARPENTER.

MILWAUKEE, Sept. 18, 1871.

MR. TILTON'S REPLY TO MR. CARPENTER.

HON. MATT. H. CARPENTER,
Senator of the United States:

I thank you for your kind personal reference to myself, and proceed at once to reply to your able argument. The proposition which I set forth and illustrated in my pamphlet called "The Constitution a Title-Deed to Woman's Franchise" was this, namely, that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments guarantee the right of suffrage to women as to other citizens. In that tract (which anybody may have for the asking) I argued my case so fully that to marshal all the points a

second time to the same conclusion would simply be to imitate Robert Browning's thrush that

"Sang each song twice over."

and in my case without the bird's certainty of being able

"To recapture
The first true careless rapture."

Let me, therefore, give only such an outline of that argument (to which your present letter is a reply) as will make my rejoinder to this reply so clear as to fail of anybody's misapprehension.

I hold that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments have so thoroughly changed the former relation between the national government and the states that whereas, under the original Constitution, the states administered the right of suffrage as they chose, without restriction by that Constitution, yet this instrument, as now amended, directly confers the right of suffrage on all citizens of the United States, and forbids the states to deny or abridge this right.

A great lawyer from Rhode Island said to me a few days ago, "The people of the United States have not yet begun to realize that they no longer live under 'the same sort of government as before the war.'" He said this in direct allusion to the recent constitutional transfer by the states to the United States of the American citizen's charter or title-deed to suffrage.

In other words, before the war, we were all in the habit of looking to the states as the fountain whence springs the legislative guarantee of suffrage; but the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments now bid us to draw this guarantee from the deeper well of the National Constitution.

Going to this Constitution, we find therein that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the states wherein they reside." Furthermore, we find therein that "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." What, then, logically follows from these provisions? Why, as "all persons" (including women) are citizens; and as all citizens (including women) are entitled to what the Constitution styles "privileges and immunities"; and as no state (nor even the United States) can now deny or abridge these "privileges and immunities" which belong to all citizens (including women)—I have, then, only to prove that among these "privileges and immunities" is the right of suffrage, and I shall have thereby proved that women, like other citizens, possess the right of suffrage.

Now, in my letter to Mr. Sumner I proved this by citing the very decision to which you have referred, namely, Justice Bushrod Washington's in the Washington District Court, it being the unanimous opinion of the Court that among 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."

Chancellor Kent, referring to this decision, takes precisely the same ground, and enumerates among these "privileges and immunities" the right of suffrage.

By this line of reasoning, I demonstrated that women, like other citizens, have the constitutional right of suffrage.

II. But I can prove the same point by an entirely different argument. You say that "privileges and immunities" do not include the right of suffrage. For the argument's sake, grant it. I do not need to base the constitutional guarantee either of man's or woman's franchise on the phrase "privileges and immunities." I find an all-sufficient guarantee of the right of suffrage in the simple term "citizen."

The Supreme Court of the United States, in the *Dred Scott* decision, declared as follows:

"Who, it may be asked, is a citizen? What do the character and status of citizens import? Upon a principle of etymology alone, the term citizen, as derived from *civitas*, conveys the idea of connection or identification with the state or government, and a participation in its functions. But, beyond this; there is not, it is believed, 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 and equal share of 'privileges, civil and political.'"

The above is the American idea of a citizen, as authoritatively declared by the Supreme Tribunal of the nation.

Now, in the light of this decision, as woman is a citizen, (which you admit), it logically follows that being a citizen, she is "entitled to the actual possession and enjoyment, or the perfect right of acquisition and enjoyment, of an entire and equal share of 'civil and political' rights."

This line of reasoning, equally with the former, inevitably demonstrates woman's constitutional right of suffrage.

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III. Now, what are the chief points of difference between these reasonings and your reply?

One is, I hold that since the Constitution, by the new Amendments, has declared that "all persons" (including women) are citizens, therefore the constitutional guarantee of a republican form of government to each state requires the political equality of white males, negroes, and women. You deny this.

Another is, I hold that the phrase "privileges and immunities" includes "the right of suffrage"—as Justice Washington and Chancellor Kent long ago announced. You deny this.

Still another is, I hold that the new Amendments, in most explicit terms, forbid the state constitutions and laws either to deny or abridge the citizen's right of suffrage, but on the contrary guarantee to every citizen the right of suffrage unabridged and unimpaired. You deny this.

Finally another is, I hold that (by a decision of the Supreme Court) a citizen, in virtue of simple citizenship, possesses the right of suffrage. You deny this.

So let me go over these several differences in detail.

IV. I will, therefore, give you my idea of a republican form of government. You confess that the strongest point of what you praise as a strong argument is, that the constitutionally declared citizenship of negroes and women presupposes and requires the political equality of these and all other citizens as a condition precedent to a republican form of government.

A debate as to what constitutes, or has constituted, or ought to constitute, a republican form of government, would be largely a battle about the meaning of words. I freely admit that our fathers, when they wrote the original Constitution, supposed that even with negro slavery, and with a limited white suffrage, and with no constitutional definition of a citizen, and with nothing but state pride and prejudice to foster the franchise of the few in preference to the many, were nevertheless establishing (as they thought) a republican form of government. But I deny that the constitutional guarantee of a republican form of government to each state is to be limited in our day to the same narrow meaning which our fathers gave to it a century ago. No. It takes more to constitute a republican form of government now than it did then. For, as Tennyson said of England, so we can say of America, that it is a land

"Where Freedom broadens slowly down
From precedent to precedent."

You are wrong when, in speaking of the early times, you say, "If the States were republican then, they are 'republican now.'" On the contrary, if the states should be no more republican now than they were then, they would not have republicanism enough to justify the name.

For instance, suppose the Virginian negroes in Jefferson's time had gone to him and said, "You have adopted a National Constitution which guarantees to 'Virginia a republican form of government. Give us, therefore, our freedom and suffrage; for a republican form of government requires that we, too, like 'you, should be enfranchised.'" The answer would have been, "No, we consider that we can keep our 'negroes, not only disfranchised, but in slavery, and 'still have a republican form of government.'" But suppose the Virginian negroes of to-day should be suddenly disfranchised and remanded to slavery by the Richmond Legislature. What then? Why, I would wager a thousand ducats that I could name a United States Senator from Wisconsin who would make the Senate Chamber ring with a fiery and eloquent demand upon the Federal government to reach out the arm of its authority into Virginia to guarantee to that state "a republican form of government."

Have I not a recollection of a passionate and brave speech of yours, made in your own city of Milwaukee, in which you were applauded to the echo for demanding the negro's right to vote, and in which you denounced the pretended republicanism of a government which denied to any class of its citizens their political rights? I submit to your fine appreciation of just views the unanswerable proposition that if a republican form of government in this country now requires the participation of the negro, it equally requires the participation of woman. In other words, it requires the equal participation of all classes of citizens. Any other republicanism is a sham, and you ought not abet it.

V. I now re-assert, in order more fully to prove, that the phrase which guarantees to citizens their "privileges and immunities" includes among these, and as the chief of these, "the right of suffrage." I have already said that Justice Washington and Chancellor Kent held this view. Let me add also that the Supreme Court of Massachusetts long ago corroborated the same.

But, kicking against the pricks, you say, "In both 'the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, suffrage 'is spoken of as a right, not a privilege.'" You mean by this that "the right of suffrage" is something outside of "privileges and immunities." But here, as before, you are at disagreement with higher authorities than yourself. Justice Bradley of the Supreme Court of the United States, in a late decision, says:

"What are the privileges and immunities of citizens 'of the United States? Are they not also rights?'"

I set the judge's decision against the lawyer's plea!

Furthermore, if you do not think with these wise judicial minds that the phrase "privileges and immunities" includes "the right of suffrage," what then does that phrase mean, and why was it recently introduced a second time into the Constitution? Let you should fail to give a good answer to this question, I will transcribe for you the answer made to it by one of your brethren at the bar, Mr. A. G. Riddle, of Washington, who says:

"One consideration alone is absolutely conclusive of 'this argument, and from it escape is impossible. 'Persons born or naturalized in the United States 'and subject to the jurisdiction thereof,' were already 'in the full and complete enjoyment of every privilege 'and immunity known to our political system, except 'the elective franchise, and its correlative the right to 'hold office. The only difference between the naturalized and unnaturalized individual is this right of 'voting. I pray our opponents to tell us, then, what is 'conferred by this first section of this wonderful article, if it be not these rights? Nothing else remained 'that it could confer; and this view alone silences 'cavil, even. If this section does not confer or 'guarantee the exercise of the elective franchise, then 'at infinite pains have we mined among the foundations of our marvelous structure, and have deposited 'there as one of them an utter sham, full of the 'emptiness of nothing. Let him escape this who 'may.'"

I reëcho Mr. Riddle, and say, Mr. Carpenter, you cannot escape it!

VI. Let me now show that American citizens, instead of looking as heretofore to the several state constitutions or laws for the right of suffrage, must henceforth look for this right only to the Constitution of the United States. This great instrument, as newly amended, has received within itself, by voluntary surrender from the states in ratifying these new Amendments, the power heretofore possessed by the states alone over the right of suffrage. Before the adoption of these Amendments, you yourself were first a citizen of Wisconsin and so by implication of the United States; but since their adoption, you are now primarily a citizen of the United States, and thereby of the state wherein you reside. Before their adoption, your state could give or withhold your right of suffrage; but since their adoption, the Constitution gives to you this right beyond the power of your state to deny or abridge it. The two Amendments are doubly explicit on this point, for the Fourteenth says, "No state shall make or enforce any 'law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities 'of citizens of the United States"—among which (as I have shown) is the right of suffrage; and the Fifteenth, instead of the round-about expression "privileges and immunities," uses the direct and point-blank phrase, "the right of citizens of the United States to 'vote.'"

Do you think I attach too much importance to my deduction from the phrase "privileges and immunities"? Let me, then, quote a decision of Chief Justice Brown of Georgia. In speaking of these "privileges and immunities," he says:

"Whatever they may be, they are protected against 'all abridgment by legislation. Whether the 'privileges and immunities' of the citizen embrace political 'rights, including the right to hold office, I need not 'now inquire. If they do, that right is guaranteed 'alike by the Constitution of the United States and of 'Georgia, and is beyond the control of the legislature."

So, then, in the light of this decision, there is no mistaking the fact that the citizen's "privileges and 'immunities' (including the right to vote, and to hold office) have been so solidly settled by the new Amendments as to be beyond denial or abridgment by the states.

If now you ask me, Have the states no function at all as to suffrage? I answer yes. The states have now precisely the same function as to suffrage which they had before the adoption of the new Amendments, except the one mischievous power to deny or abridge it. Once the states assumed the right to deny or abridge it; but they voluntarily gave up this assumption when they lately joined in ratifying a constitutional provision against such denial and abridgment by any state. The states, therefore, while they cannot deny or abridge, may regulate and qualify the right of suffrage; they may say at what age citizens may vote; they may fix the times and manner of holding elections; they may prescribe as qualifications, for instance, intelligence or property, though I hope they never will do so; but they cannot lay any qualification which, in the nature of things, cannot be attained by the person on whom it is laid—as, for instance, to require that a negro should become white, or a woman become a male—for, to fix such a condition would be, not to qualify the right of suffrage, but to deny it altogether.

If now you should say that, according to my reasoning, the right of suffrage belongs not only to men and

women, but also to children, I admit it. Citizenship (including the right of suffrage), is conferred at birth. It is a birthright. But as with certain other birthrights, the exercise of the right of suffrage is reserved till its possessor becomes of age. Other birthrights are held in reserve still longer. For instance, our orators are in the habit of flattering school-children by saying, it is every American boy's birthright to be eligible for Representative, or Senator, or President; and yet, to be Representative he must wait till he is twenty-five; to be Senator, till thirty; and to be President, till thirty-five. Moreover, the Constitution guarantees that the citizen's "right to bear arms shall not be infringed"; but this provision does not prove that this same citizen, while yet an infant, may play with gunpowder, or handle muskets, or draw swords.

A citizen possesses all his rights of citizenship from birth; but some of these rights, like the right to bear arms, he does not exercise till the military age; others, like the right to vote, and to possess inherited property, till the legal age; and others still, like the holding of the higher offices of state, till a yet wiser age.

VII. I now show that a citizen (whether man or woman) by virtue of simple citizenship (and with nothing else as his or her credentials) possesses constitutionally the right of suffrage. What is a citizen? Let me recall to you, in answer, some of the citations in my letter to Mr. Sumner.

Grant White says, "A citizen is a person who has 'certain political rights, and the word is properly 'used only to imply or suggest the possessor of those 'rights.'"

Noah Webster says that "a citizen is a person, native or naturalized, who has the privilege of voting 'for public officers, and who is qualified to fill offices in 'the gift of the people.'"

Worcester says that "a citizen is an inhabitant of a 'republic who enjoys the rights of a citizen or free 'man, and who has a right to vote for public officers, 'as a citizen of the United States.'"

Bouvier's Law Dictionary, which gives the legal meaning of the word, says that "a citizen is one who, under 'the Constitution and laws of the United States has a 'right to vote for Representatives to Congress and 'other public officers, and who is qualified to fill offices 'in the gift of the people.'"

Turning from the lexicographers to the publicists, I find Thorbecke saying that "the right of citizenship 'is the right of voting in the government of the local, 'provincial, or national community of which one is a 'member.'"

Turning to the courts, I quote the Supreme Court of Kentucky, which declares that "No one can be in the 'correct sense of the term a citizen of a state who is 'not entitled, upon the terms prescribed by the 'institutions of the state, to all the rights and privileges conferred by these institutions upon the highest 'classes of society.'"

Finally, I will repeat a declaration which I have already adduced from the Supreme Court of the United States, as follows: "Who, it may be asked, is a citizen? '... Upon a principle of etymology alone, the term 'citizen, as derived from *civitas*, conveys the idea of 'connection or identification with the state or government, and a participation in its functions. There is 'not 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.'"

Now these citations prove that a citizen, by virtue of simple citizenship, has the right of suffrage.

So, having admitted (as you gallantly do) that woman is a citizen, you have by this admission put it out of your power to deny to her the political rights which the literary critics, the learned lexicographers, the international law-writers, the state courts, and the Supreme Court of the United States have unanimously conferred upon her by virtue of her citizenship!

VIII. One part of your argument is inconsistent with another. You tell me that the Constitution must be judged according to the intent of its framers, and that as these framers did not intend to enact woman suffrage, therefore woman suffrage is not enacted. And yet you say that if the Fourteenth Amendment had stopped with the first section, then "the right of all citizens, black and 'white, male and female, would have been secured." But, suppose it had stopped there; this stoppage would not have been with the intent to secure woman suffrage. How, then, according to your theory, could this first section of the Amendment have secured woman suffrage without the existence of an intent to do so? Your logic is like the self-consuming monster in the fairytale, that opened two mouths which gnawed at and devoured each other.

IX. But in admitting that, if the Fourteenth Amendment had stopped with the first section, it would secure both negro and female suffrage, you have admitted away your whole case, and proven all I claim. Interpreting the Constitution as you say I must—that is, according to the intent—I hold that the Fourteenth Amendment does stop with the first section; or, in

other words, that it practically no longer contains the second; for the second has been rendered null and void by the Fifteenth Amendment. Reasoning from the intent, this is as plain as a sign-post. The intent of the second section has given place to the entirely different and far nobler intent of the Fifteenth Amendment. It was the intent of the second section to say to the rebel states, "If your black citizens remain unenfranchised, you shall suffer a loss of your representation in Congress." I spent a whole winter, before eighty lyceums, denouncing the infamy of that clause—infamous because, under it, there seemed a prospect that the southern whites, who had been rebels, would trample under foot the southern blacks, who had been loyalists—a revenge which the ex-slaveholders were then apparently willing to purchase at the paltry price of a diminished representation in a government which they despised. But then came the Fifteenth Amendment forever prohibiting that possible crime. This Amendment said to those states, "Your black citizens shall never be disfranchised—no, not though you are willing to purchase their disfranchisement by an abridgment of your power in Congress." Now you can easily see that, since the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, there is no possible way by which the rebel states could avail themselves of the seeming and damnable opportunity which the second section of the Fourteenth gave to them to strangle the citizenship of the negroes. The intent of the Fifteenth Amendment thus renders nugatory—it chills and kills—the intent of the second section of the Fourteenth—just exactly as the permission for the continuance of the slave-trade till 1808 has been null and void ever since that year. So, judging as you say I must, by the "intent," I force upon you, from your own premises, the irresistible conclusion that the Fourteenth Amendment no longer contains, in vital force, that baleful second section which, you say, if omitted from it, would leave to the purified remainder the beneficent function of enfranchising all citizens, "white and black, male and female." Held to your own logic, out of your own mouth you are condemned.

X. There is an ingenious and plausible yet fallacious sentence in your letter which I single out to speak of by itself, lest, if left unanswered, it should prove a pitfall to catch the unwary. You say:

"It is evident that a state had the power after the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment to exclude a portion of its citizens from the right to vote, from which it follows that such right is not one of the 'privileges and immunities' which the first section declares no state shall abridge."

The answer to this is two-fold: first, whatever power a state had before the adoption of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, to withhold the right of suffrage from its citizens, the moment these Amendments were adopted this power ended, for the citizen's right of suffrage then became forever fixed by the National Constitution beyond the possibility of the states to deny or abridge it; second, by your own admission, it is only the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment that gives any right to a state to disfranchise its citizens, and by your own doctrine of intent the Fifteenth Amendment was adopted for the express purpose of nullifying the apprehended effect of that second section.

XI. But whatever power you think the Fourteenth Amendment gives to a state to disfranchise a certain class of "male citizens," no such disfranchisement could thereby attach to female citizens. Justice McKay of Georgia, in speaking of the constitution of his own state, says:

"The rights of the people of this state, white and black, are not granted to them by the constitution thereof. The object and effect of that instrument is not to give, but to restrain, deny, regulate, and guarantee rights. And all persons recognized by that constitution as citizens of the state have equal legal and political rights, except as otherwise expressly declared."

This is a principle which applies to the Constitution of the United States as well as to that of any particular state. Since the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, all persons recognized in the Constitution as citizens of the United States, and whose right of suffrage is therein guaranteed, are entitled to the enjoyment of this right except as the Constitution itself shall otherwise "expressly declare." Now, although the Fourteenth Amendment by an express declaration foreshadowed the possible disfranchisement of certain "male citizens," yet, as it made no such "express declaration" concerning female citizens, it could not possibly imply, or hint, or suggest, or tolerate the disfranchisement of woman.

XII. You think the Fourteenth Amendment gives to a state "the power to exclude a portion of its citizens" (meaning thereby its males) "from the right of suffrage." Why do you say a portion? What portion? If a portion, then the whole. There is no prescribed stopping-place. Do you pretend to say that an Amendment which begins by declaring that "no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the priv-

ileges or immunities of citizens of the United States," could then, in the next breath, constitutionally disfranchise all its male citizens? This is absurd. And this absurdity is an additional reason for the absolute necessity of including among "privileges and immunities" the right of suffrage, otherwise the Constitution would present the disorganizing spectacle of building up the citizen's rights with one hand only to tear them down with the other.

XIII. But if the right of suffrage be included in "privileges and immunities" (as I have shown it to be), then no state can possibly possess what you call "the power to exclude a portion of its citizens from the right of suffrage," because, in so excluding them, it would be thereby depriving them of certain of their "privileges and immunities"—and this the Constitution expressly forbids the states to do.

XIV. I fancy that about the very time you were penning to me your letter, our mutual friend, Gen. Butler—who is an older, I do not say a better, lawyer than yourself—was uttering to an applauding Massachusetts audience the following words, which could not be more put to my purpose if he had foreseen that I wanted them as a counterpoise to yours:

"Upon the best examination I could give I came to the conclusion that the Constitution of the United States has granted to women the right of suffrage as against all state laws whatever. I have no doubt 'as to their right to vote, be voted for, and be appointed to office under the Constitution and laws of the Commonwealth.'"

XV. The closing line in your letter—the snapping end of your whip—is, that the courts, when they come directly to pass upon woman's constitutional claim to suffrage under the new Amendments, will take your view instead of mine. But on the very day when I received your letter, I received the text of a decision by Chief Justice Howe of Wyoming, upholding my view and overthrowing yours. I am proud and pleased to point to the fact that the very first time a court has spoken on this subject, it has judicially vindicated my proposition that the National Constitution is a title-deed to woman's franchise, anything in the state constitutions or laws to the contrary notwithstanding. I quote this late, wise, and just judgment—and from a Chief Justice—as follows: "Under the Fourteenth Amendment, 'women should enjoy the same civil and political rights as are vouchsafed to men—if that Amendment means what it says, and the language is clear and unambiguous. The Amendment in question says, 'All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the protection of the laws.' Few people will be found so idiotic as to assume that women are not 'persons.' Their personality is made manifest everywhere, and always. The most distinguished jurists have decided that citizenship and the right to participate in public affairs are inseparable, and that the one cannot exist without the other. The legal meaning of the word 'citizen' is a person (in the United States) who, under the Constitution and laws, has a right to vote and to hold office. The Amendment in question affirms that all persons born or naturalized in the United States shall be entitled to the immunities of citizens. Women are persons; therefore they should be entitled to all the privileges of citizenship. It has, however, been urged against this theory that Congress had no intention of enfranchising women when the above was passed. But no principle of statutory construction is better settled than that words shall be taken in their natural and ordinary sense and meaning, and that the intention of the law-makers is to be learned from such usual meaning of the words employed. If Congress intended to enfranchise women, that intention is clearly manifest in the Amendment in question. If not, why was not the word 'male' used so as to exclude the female sex? If Congress intended to exclude women from the rights of citizenship, how is that intention to be proven? Certainly not by the terms of the Amendment, for these terms are unambiguous and clear. And, as has been said, the language, if plain, must be taken in its ordinary acceptance, as conclusive with respect to the intention of the law-making power."

Swiftly succeeding the publication of the above judicial decision, the following announcement appeared in the Washington correspondence of the New York Herald:

"WASHINGTON, Sept. 24, 1871.

"Judge Underwood, United States District Judge for Virginia, transmitted a letter in which he says he feels very confident the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments of the United States Constitution, together with the enforcement act of May 30, 1871, have secured the right to vote to the female citizens of

Virginia as fully as they are now exercised and enjoyed by male citizens."

I will add, on the authority of a friend, a statement which I hope will not prove unfounded, namely, that Justice Bradley, of the Supreme Court of the United States, has privately declared, in very emphatic terms, that the Constitution, as now amended, guarantees suffrage to women.

XVI. There is a sunbeam in your letter which I borrow to add a little lustre to mine. I mean your frank and sagacious statement "that female suffrage is demanded both by principle and a wise regard for the public good?" Do you say by principle? What, then, is the principle which demands female suffrage? Is it any other than the self-same principle which demands male suffrage? And what is that principle? It is the one great principle of self-government which I have illustrated in my argument first to Mr. Sumner and now to yourself—the principle of republican equality—the principle by which all citizens have equal rights of citizenship—the principle which makes the "privileges and immunities" of all citizens (among which is suffrage) the same to all—the principle by which citizenship, in its very signification as determined by the Supreme Court, demands the equal participation of all citizens in the functions of government—the principle, in short, by which the Constitution makes all persons citizens, and which gives to all citizens the right of suffrage, and which thus guarantees the constitutional right of suffrage equally to white men, to negroes, and to women, all these being citizens. In view of this principle, and of your confession that female suffrage is demanded by it, and also by the public good, I am filled with equal surprise and regret that you have lent your senatorial name to a double indictment against the Constitution of your country, first as violating the fundamental principle of political equality, and second as arrayed in hostility against the welfare of the Republic.

In conclusion, I reciprocate in full measure the kindly feeling with which you honor me, and subscribe myself with equal friendliness,

Your fraternal antagonist,

THEODORE TILTON.

COMING EVENTS THAT ARE CASTING SHADOWS.

Many of our Western exchanges predict low prices for corn and pork. In some journals fifteen cents a bushel for corn and three cents per pound for pork are indicated as the probable prices which the Western farmers will receive for their products next year. These prices betoken no good fortune for the Western farmer. The Western farmer, under the high tariff system, will be made to exchange two pounds of pork for a yard of calico, and will receive less than three yards of calico for a bushel of corn. How long will the Western farmer stand legislation which produces such a result? Prior to the war the South was the chief customer of the West for mules, horses, hogs, bacon, wheat, flour, lard and many other articles. Year by year, as the "free labor farming system" expands at the South, the Southern consumption of Western products will grow less. During the war the government became the great purchaser of Western products. At the close of the war, exhausted, the South purchased heavily from the West through sheer necessity, exchanging more than the value of her cotton production for the necessities of life. Gradually the South is recuperating, buying year by year less of corn, mules, horses, pork, and all manner of Western agricultural products. What prosperity can the West expect in future under the high tariff system of the North, with the expansion of the "small farm system" in the South made imperative by Radical legislation?—*Augusta Chronicle*.

The foregoing extract implicitly regrets plenty as a national misfortune. We shall all have so much to eat, so much to wear, and grain that we shall suffer from *embarras de richesses*. Even the war seems to have had its credit side. It made an outlet for Western produce. Men died and women sighed, but farmers made money. Corn at fifteen cents a bushel and pork at three cents a pound ought to be a blessing, and yet, paradoxical as it seems, the difficulty of getting merchandise in exchange may make abundance valueless to the farmer, however infinitely precious it might be to half-fed millions who live in cities far away from farms, overflowing with fatness and granaries bursting with excess. This is a very lamentable condition of civilization which can be equalized the cost of prime necessities so as to make them interchangeable, and which creates artificial scarcities in midst of plenty. Europe, owing to atmospheric causes, the accidents of war, suffers for food. The British, French, and German crops are both short, but Europe has great values in useful manufactures. America is suffering plethora, yet neither can reduce her own wants to a part of the other's superabundance. Can there be a more convincing argument for free trade—for the untrammelled production by either section of those commodities most in accordance with the genius and needs of the people? Another and a potent hint must be to ourselves, only, may be taken from the shocking and almost at fifteen cents a bushel, and the West will be at cents on the cent, and the cities will be at the mercy of transport. The *London Morning Herald*.

Intermittent. No word to the south and Napoleon. And it is true. The major part are the common places of the war.

THE WEEKLY BULLETIN OF THE PANTARCHY.

MY RESPECTS TO MR. BOUCHER, AGAIN.

I shall not attempt to compete with Mr. Boucher in his elephantine playfulness, but shall confine my remarks to a few words applicable to his argument. Mr. Boucher objects to my saying that I *object*, and I *propound*. As this is, however, exactly what I mean, when I say it, and as he, in the exercise of his *role* as teacher, has not seen fit to tell me what I may say, I shall probably subside into silence, for fear of going wrong, after this last effort to put him a little right on some points in the few words I may now indite (I hope that word isn't wrong, is it?)

I made a mistake, it seems, in supposing that Mr. Boucher used the phrase *Sovereignty of the Individual* in the technical sense of the only writers on social science who have ever defined and employed it, inclusive of the well known and profound thinker, Mr. Warren, who first introduced it, and gave it currency in the world. He tells us now that he used it in a new sense of his own, or rather in a vulgar and abused and abusive sense borrowed from the ignorant misapprehenders and maligners of Mr. Warren's idea, and abusive of the great and intelligent class who adopt and hold the doctrine of the Sovereignty of the Individual as their social religion; that he has done, in a word, with this technicality of a new doctrine precisely what Mr. Tilton has done with *Free Love*; that instead of resorting to those who believe the doctrine and have cautiously and scientifically defined it, and cast it on the world, he has preferred to resort to the vulgar, prejudiced and uninformed opponents of the doctrine, and to adopt their definition.

But there is this degree of fairness in Mr. Tilton that there is not in Mr. Boucher. He tells us, distinctly, to start with, that he looks to the vulgar for his meaning of words, and not to those who have originated, adopted and defined them, as part of the code of their lives; while Mr. Boucher surreptitiously foists on his readers the vulgar misapprehension instead of the true and scientifically correct apprehension of a well-known and much used technicality. Certainly, had I, for one, suspected this ignorance, or trick, or license of genius, for it might be any one of the three, I should not have been betrayed into this discussion, but I was all the more deceived in Mr. Boucher's case, because I know that he claims to be a social scientist, and not a merely popular and surface writer; and because he really has some rightful claims to that character; although I have the arrogance to think that he may with safety still go to school a while before he assumes, in any large way, to be my teacher; and I underscore the word *my* because there are very few persons as yet who have any profound or even adequate knowledge of social questions.

I have no authority to restrain either Mr. Boucher or Mr. Tilton from resorting to these loose and popular meanings of terms which have a precise and definite meaning in the mouths of those who adopt the same words as descriptions of themselves and their beliefs, but I thought that I had a right to *object* and to *state my objections*, and I think so still.

I was, I say, betrayed into the assumption that Mr. Boucher knew and was dealing with the scientific and really all-important meaning of the doctrine of the Sovereignty of the Individual, since he proposes to be treating his subject scientifically. Nor was there any arrogance in this assumption. Mr. Warren and myself are the only writers of books on the subject, and the only ones who ever gave the term a definition. The term is as characteristic of Mr. Warren's contribution to Social Science, as *Unitism*, *Duism* and *Triplism*, or *Integralism*, are of mine. I think Mr. Warren might even object to a writer's adopting this phrase for some other and contradicting conception, on the general equities of the law which prohibits any one from appropriating the trade mark of another merchant (in ideas); but, not to put too fine a point upon it, I do object (I must still be allowed the phrase, though Mr. Boucher objects to my *objecting*), I do object to his using a settled technicality of a science which he is attempting to teach, not only in an untechnical sense, without notice, but also in the sense of the untaught misapprehenders and falsifiers of the doctrine.

Mr. Boucher thinks it arrogant that I should have assumed that he was using this term in the sense which Mr. Warren, who introduced it, impressed upon it, and which I, who have voluminously expounded it in a work at one time extensively read, and from which, I have no doubt, Mr. Boucher either directly or indirectly derived no small part of his radical education, have still further defined and guarded. My apprehension of arrogance is that he, in quietly ignoring a social theory and doctrine which for twenty-five or thirty years has much occupied the public attention, and in assigning, without notice, his own meaning to one of the most distinctive technicalities of a school of thinkers quite his equals, to speak modestly, gives the better illustration of that essential quality. A writer should have achieved a very high position before he could reasonably hope to put the stamp of his genius on a term in that manner, adverse to the technical meaning which brought it into use, and with

which it had already acquired an extensive currency. The unconscious arrogance which crops out so innocently is usually the genuine article, and couples naturally with the mistake of taking for arrogance that simply well assured confidence which comes of thorough investigation and the consciousness of complete familiarity with a subject, and which is entirely compatible with great modesty.

But Mr. Boucher now claims to understand us (Mr. Warren and myself), and quite unconsciously again he now takes to telling us *what we mean*. We may, he says, "have gone to seed," and have carried the doctrine of the Sovereignty of the Individual in his sense of the term ("as a general principle applicable, to a large degree, to the people generally of the present age, and particularly as a characteristic of the people of this country") farther out, and farther on, than anybody else. Now he defines the same thing as "selfishness" and "hogishness," and credits Mr. Warren and myself at the most with the possibility that we may be the most prominent teachers and illustrators of these characteristics.

This misapprehension, if it be such, and misrepresentation, if otherwise, is a worthy brother to Mr. Tilton's characterization of *Free Love*, the holiest religion of some of his best neighbors, best by his own admissions on the subject, as "promiscuity" and "filthiness."

It is a tedious business to undertake the education of people who think they know, and yet who falsely represent what they profess to represent. I have made some effort, however, to enlighten Mr. Tilton on the meaning of free love, and will spend a like exertion now on Mr. Boucher with reference to the *Sovereignty of the Individual* with its limitation, *at one's own cost*; and I presume that I shall not find it necessary to continue the discussion, no matter what may follow.

A vulgar and superficial misapprehension of great and beautiful doctrines, carefully defined by the best of thinkers, is something which cannot be prevented, but when all this occurs with persons who claim to teach and profess to understand, it is something still more sad. And I have little hope or expectation of enlightening the parties directly in fault. I have usually found their pride of opinion greater than their love of truth. But good often comes to the readers who act as bystanders to the discussion.

What, then, is the doctrine of the Sovereignty of the Individual scientifically limited, as repeatedly and cautiously stated by Mr. Warren and myself, in definitions challenging the criticism of the thinkers of the world?

The naked term the *Sovereignty of the Individual*, is not safe from misapprehension, as we have said and shown, whence the necessity of the limitation, *at one's own cost*. Even this I have found undergoing another kind of misapprehension. Some folks persist in thinking that it means, that a person is authorized to do any act whatsoever, provided he is willing to take the risk of the consequences which may fall on himself. I have sometimes taken the liberty to modify it, as follows: The *Sovereignty of the Individual*, not at the cost of others; or, *The Sovereignty of the Individual in all things short of encroachment*. The shorter phrase, *the Sovereignty of the Individual*, is then, if used, to be understood as an abridgment merely of the full formula.

Now, in this doctrine, so defined, there is, on the one hand, the chartered right of every human being to judge and decide upon the nature and propriety of his own actions, and to be the umpire and regulator of his own life, up to the limit afterward stated; and, on the other hand, the peremptory inhibition of every encroachment, and the inculcation of a wholly new, or newly defined religion and chivalry of respect for the individual rights of all other individuals. It is an Ithuriel's sword, flashing both ways, and defending equally the rights, and prescribing the duties of all—the duty of deference to the rights of others. It is, in a word, the best thought out, the subtlest and most far-reaching, the best defined, and the most truly admiring doctrine ever yet formulated in social science; and, as I before said, *the absolute ideal basis of social order*. I knew precisely what I said when I used that expression, and meant the whole of what the words contain. Mr. Boucher says to this: "Whew! it almost takes [away] one's breath to repeat it." The simple honesty or honest simplicity of his surprise is convincing proof that he really never has at all comprehended the meaning, hitherto, of the doctrine of which the *Sovereignty of the Individual* is the abridged expression.

His innocence, on this ground, of the intention to misrepresent, and the fact that he is unaware of this meaning of the term is further illustrated as follows; he still ends by saying: "I reaffirm my position and deny all this statement about it, taking the phrase in any sense [in which] it may be used."

His position which he reaffirms is, then, that Mr. Warren's doctrine and mine is simply "selfishness" and "hogishness," carried farther out than the prevalent selfishness and hogishness of a selfish and hogish age and generation—the same thing, indeed, gone to seed. Of course it is not worth while to reply to such a criticism. And what he denies is that the doctrine is the absolute ideal basis of social order. I only ask, what could be more so? It is the charitable assumption that this reaffirmation and this denial were made in real ignorance of the true nature of the doctrine.

I do not care to discuss further the question of the complexity of truth. It is a complex question, and it is somewhat difficult to make my thought on the subject exactly intelligible, even to those who want to understand it—hope-

lessly so, I fear, to make it understood by those who wish to obscure and misunderstand it. By a bold figure of speech I spoke of telling lies, as a necessary preliminary to telling the final truth. To an antagonist who takes me up literally I have no reply to make, no defense to attempt. They that have ears to hear let them hear."

"Is it not true," he asks, "as a matter of fact that, just as you have quoted me as stating, that the doctrine of the Sovereignty of the Individual is predicated upon the theory, or rather the idea, that we are but individuals—that we are wholly selfish, and not at all social beings?" Certainly not. A thousand times, no! Just the contrary, through and through. The Sovereignty of the Individual, as just now explained, and as explained years ago in the works which Mr. Boucher should have read before venturing on this discussion, assumes sociability as the very subject it is to regulate, and regulates it precisely, teaching the new religion of deference for the rights of all—and is pre-eminently the absolute ideal basis of social order.

Mr. Boucher again says, if Eclecticism is Integralism, then we agree, etc. Yes, if.

He concludes, as follows:

Now of Integralism. Integral means whole, the whole, don't it? You say of it: "Which means the whole stick, or the whole hog"—which stops at no mean, etc. Just so! The whole stick, the rotten part with the sound. The whole hog, the filth with the flesh, the entrails, bristles and all. The whole of all systems, theories and practices whatever, the false parts with the true. My dear Mr. Andrews, wherein does growth, improvement, progress, any hope for humanity, consist, if not in the rejection, the elimination of the bad and the false, and the election and adoption of but the good and the true?

What is bad for one use is good for another. Integralism rests on that perception. Rejection and elimination certainly relatively to the individual case or purpose, but save for other uses what is rejected. As our friend is back on the hog question, I will tell him a story apropos of the same. A lady friend once said to me of a mutual and highly-esteemed friend, and I confess rather startling me, that "he (the friend) is just like a hog," resting a little on the animal; but then continuing, "he is good, every bit of him. You can use him all up, even to the hoofs and bristles."

This, then, is Integralism. The idea is a deep one, and will not be compassed by any flippant or common-place criticism. It is, too, an all-important one, which will repay study. I would recommend to Mr. Boucher to make a serious effort to comprehend it.

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

SPIRITUALISM AND SCIENCE.

Mr. Crookes, the chemist, Mr. Huggins, the astronomer, and Mr. Sergeant Cox have taken the initiative in England in the investigation of the phenomena produced by or in the presence of Mr. Home, "the great American medium," and they found themselves compelled to report in favor of the existence of a new force so connected with mind or the soul that they confer on it the name of *Psychic*. They published the results of their investigations in the *London Quarterly Journal of Science*, which says in a note: "It argues ill for the boasted freedom of opinion among scientific men that they have so long refused to institute a scientific investigation into the existence and nature of facts asserted by so many competent and credible witnesses, and which they are freely invited to examine when and where they please."

Mr. Sellers, the President of the Philadelphia Franklin Institute, who professes to have some special knowledge of "magic" or "the black art," criticises the learned scientific experts, and throws doubt upon their competency and the sufficiency of their tests. He does not, however, seem to speak with great confidence or authority on the subject. When the scientific men begin to form parties for and against on this occult subject, we shall probably begin to get at a sufficiently prolonged and varied investigation to settle the matter finally. S. P. A.

EXTRACTS.

I transfer with pleasure, to my limited columns, the following extracts from a long and vigorous article by Mrs. MARY S. HEBARD, of Rochester, N. Y., published in the *National Standard*, September 16. Mrs. Hebard has, I know, much more to say on the radical enfranchisement of woman, and it is to be hoped that she will not hide her talent in a napkin. S. P. A.

....The world is oppressed with masculinity. The masculine element is now the conservative element. The mass of men seek to repress all high expression of the feminine principle; they seek to keep alive a condition that makes the weakness and dependence of woman keep measured tread with their own sensuality. Men soil the waters of life, then force the generations to drink.

....So long as woman consents to be controlled by a power less virtuous than herself, evils will exist; so long as woman consents to be the scavenger of the masculine element, so long will crime be perpetuated; so long as she continues to be the mother of diseased spiritual and physical organizations, so long will she continue to be the commissariat of hell!

....War, rapine and sensuality, the triune demons of the past and present, are the legitimate creations of the active forces of the masculine period. When a piece of property is ablaze, and likely to be destroyed, men rush and ring the bells loudly until the midnight is alive with activity; but when a sister soul is sinking down, down to perdition, who is on hand to save?

Those members of society are the most satisfied with existence they are not to be blamed, for each, they know not that the new drawing, their sustenance.

When the Angel of Providence will burst upon the world there are signs of breaking upon the watch-towers of I arden which betokens dawn, to a holier destiny; and that sun of intelligence whose rays the dew, and dispel the chill ed over earth through the rule. And as this sun of the eternal morning, the t aroused to a sublime activity and real knowledge, suffering humanity may be the gods. The nuptials of All of value in the mascul and carried forward to quib of subsequent periods. T having by and through sac perfections and weakness be joined in holy wedlock the divine child of this div

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Three members of society are the most corrupt who are the most satisfied with existing conditions. Individually they are not to be blamed, for their perceptions being dark, each knows not that they have ever drawn, and are not drawing, their sustenance from corrupt fountains.

When the Angel of Progress rolls away the stone from the sepulchre where the love principle lies entombed, then will first open the world the resurrection morn. Already there are signs of breaking day. Those who are standing upon the world's waters of thought tell us that a star has arisen which betokens dawn, and which will guide woman to a better destiny; and that star proclaims the rising of that sun of intelligence whose rays will drink up the damp and the dew, and dispel the chill, and the mould that has gathered over earth through the long dark night of the masculine rule. And as this sun of righteousness arises and ushers in the eternal morning, the thinkers and the workers will be aroused to a sublime activity, and the chasm between ignorance and real knowledge will be bridged, that sorrowing, suffering humanity may walk fearlessly to the kingdom of the gods. The nuptials of the ages will then be solemnized. All of value in the masculine age will have been preserved and carried forward to quicken and vitalize the active forces of subsequent periods. The masculine and feminine forces having by and through sad experience thrown off their imperfections and weaknesses, they will, as Wisdom and Love, be joined in holy wedlock, and the millennial age will be the divine child of this divine marriage.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Rabelaisian and Pantagruelistic character of the following communication should not be an objection if it does not commend it to the Pantarchians scattered abroad. I have kept it on my table for some time, with a view to somewhat extended comments; but must now confine myself to the few notes in brackets below:

ABBEY OF THELEME, Aug. 9, 1871.

MY DEAR PANTARCH: You said to me the other day, in conversation, if I remember right, that I lacked obedience to Truth for its own sake, and rather patronized it.

I have enough combativeness in my individuality to desire to combat this statement, and though I believe you, scientifically, to be as great a thinker as ever lived, yet I, as a woman, fully sensible, as I hope, of woman's nature and destiny, believe that the smallest true woman who knows herself is greater than the greatest man, inasmuch as all is greater than a part; and Nature, which is female, includes Science, which is male.

—“Over that art,
Which you say adds to nature, is an art
That nature makes.” (1.)

How can woman patronize Truth? She is Truth; and man is only seeking after it. The ancients, whose mythology is the perfect abstract and chronicle of the idealized and personified attributes of the human soul, worshiped Truth, and all the other highest virtues, and Virtue herself, as goddesses. They knew that Truth is female. Their highest male impersonation of Reason is Jupiter, a mere symbol of Power or Force, true Reason being a goddess, and his omnipotent will is yet to bow to the veritable Prometheus of humanity, woman; when she shall assert her rights, not merely through suffrage, but through love. (2.)

I am informed that you have discovered, in your linguistic researches, that the vowels are female, and the consonants male, the one sound itself, or ideal harmony; the other the horrid mangling cut off, as yet jangling, and out of tune, whose dissonance jars the harmony of life. Let me inform you, sir, in all loving and womanly kindness, that you are too proud of your sheer intellect, and must be taught to worship the rounded womanly soul and body, the truest expression of the creative art of nature.

Without the predominant influence of woman, the Pantarchy would make a debating machine of the human soul, and turn the war of arms which has desolated Mother Earth—another unfortunate female—into a war of words; daunting the ear with din of opinionated men, like the bear garden of the Liberal Club. We women know better than this. We want Art, and Grace, and Sentiment, and Free Love; that you should have found out that great principle, which I have always known, proves to me that you are one of the best of men, but are not yet up to nature's last great work, a woman, who can only be appreciated by such a poet as Burns, who says, you remember,

“And Nature swears, the lovely dears
Her noblest work she classes, O!
Her ‘prentice han’ she tried on man,
And then she made the lassies, O!”

Now, my woman's intuition does not deceive me. I know how you will reply to this, if your fancied male superiority, the only fault in your character, will permit you to deign a reply. You will say, in the natural order of things, man represents the Head. But have we not had enough of that, and should not the heart reign forever hereafter? Are we not on our way back in the Scientific Order? Man's brain has run to seed, and he is using it in the most frivolous or pernicious pursuits; like Agassiz, an intellectual shark, ravenous after small fish bones, or Morse inventing that diabolically perverted telegraph, which has done more for war and vile trade than for love and truth.

After all, dear Pantarch, confess the truth of female superiority, and that it is through women that peace and love and innocence and purity, the true millennium, is to come. You men are great planners, but nature, which is the female side of God, ignored by your whole Hebraical male theology and linear science, is the divinity which shapes that which you but rough hew.

Fourier suggested sublimely and planned exquisitely, and

so have you; but nature, in long ages, has been perfecting woman for her coming reign upon earth, and it is through her that the golden age is to come, the description of which Shakespeare, who seems to have been familiar with Communism, among all his other accomplishments, puts into the mouth of Gonzalo, in “The Tempest”:

“If the commonwealth I would by contraries
Execute all things; for no kind of traffic
Would I admit, no name of magistrate;
Letters should not be known; riches, poverty,
And use of service none; contract, succession,
Bourn, bound of land, tillth, vineyard, none;
No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil;
No occupation; all men idle, all;
And women, too, but innocent and pure.
No sovereignty.
All things in common nature should produce
Without sweat or endeavor; treason, felony,
Sword, pike, knife, gun, or need of any engine
Would I not have, but nature should bring forth,
Of its own kind, all foison, all abundance,
To feed my innocent people.”

You, after all your great thinking, have not as yet done as much practically for humanity as my bold and brave friend Victoria, whose destiny it is, I think, to finally establish women's right to vote.

And you doubt my real love of truth. My whole life has, like yours, been spent in its service; and because of this unswerving adherence I found myself, at a very early age, an outcast from society. I am proud, however, that my patronage of truth is the only fault you find with me, great fault as it is. You, with your whole sex, know nothing of woman.

“We are spirits clad in valhs;
Man, to man, was never known.”

How much less woman to man! She is to him, as yet, the veiled Isis, whose exterior only he has seen. Let me offer myself to your study, you who are so thorough in your power of analysis, and I think, on further acquaintance, you will modify your opinion of me, and find that I have been as much misunderstood in my mission as you have in yours. I have been true to my woman's nature from my youth upward. Educated in a Catholic convent, I thought asceticism virtue, and vainly essayed to rival Santa Theresa by wearing a rope round my loins and inflicting excruciating torments on my youthful body; but I could not long remain in *cette galere la*; and soon found myself, when I got out into this male invention of life, where a male God, male laws, male socialisms, are the only rule, sufficiently martyred in the endeavor to obey nature, instead of the intolerable male principle which would control and pervert it.

But, in your inmost soul, dear Pantarch, you know how it is yourself with women. You talked to me from a superficial view of my nature, and therein offended my reverence for myself, as a representative of my sex. You are very wise, and it is necessary that you should be, for you have to map out the plan of humanity and regeneration; but you do not know woman yet. Without her love your wisdom is at fault; and there is a hitch in your lingo-wise “Trinism,” a Gordian knot, which the sharp sword of your science cannot sever. Perhaps, if you were to fall in love and find one woman whom you could love and worship, it might aid your intuitions; but, as Spencer says in his “Shepherd's Calendar”:

“To be wise and ever to love,
Is granted scarce to gods above.”

Yours, thelemically, pantagruelistically, pantisocratically, and, mayhaps, when you thoroughly convert me, pantarchially.

Otherwise named in this planet, at this time,

FRANCES ROSE MACKINLEY.

(1.) [It is the beauty of poetry and the bane of science that words have various and often opposite meanings. Because I say that Nature corresponds with Woman, and Science with Man, my fair correspondent takes advantage of, or is taken advantage of, by the duplicity in the meaning of the word “Nature,” which in a certain large and vague sense includes Man or Science or Human Knowledge, and also Art, because it includes everything; but this is not the technical meaning of Nature when that term is contrasted with Science. Then it is not only not the whole, but it is a lower or less advanced stage of development.]

(2.) [It is always cruel to dispel illusions if they are agreeable. Universologically viewed, Science, and so Truth, of the Intellectual order is the essentially Male Principle, as Love is the essentially Female Principle. The greenness of the uninstructed intuition (analogous with the love side of the mind, poetical, feminine) would here again claim to be all. Analogy is, however, altogether a dangerous field, unless it is first scientifically discovered, elaborated and demonstrated.]

“A little learning is a dangerous thing;
Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring.”

S. P. A.]

ALEXANDER HAMILTON once said to an intimate friend: “Men give me some credit for genius. All the genius I have lies just in this: When I have a subject in hand, I study it profoundly. Day and night it is before me. I explore it in all its bearings. My mind becomes pervaded with it. Then the effort which I make the people are pleased to call the fruit of genius. It is the fruit of labor and thought.”

“Let the hen live, though it be with the pig.”

“We cannot all be friars, and various are the paths by which God conducts the good to heaven.”
“Covetousness bursts the bag.”

THE COMMUNISTS.

Two American journalists, amid a storm of open obloquy or faint-hearted deprecation, have had courage to stand up in defense of the Paris Commune—George Wilkes and John Russell Young. George Wilkes, after his manner, is outspoken and partisan; Mr. Young, though he, too, can hit hard, is more philosophical and analytical. He confines himself to a temperate statement of the Commune's intentions and actions. Wilkes carries the war into Africa, and pours broadsides of hot shot into the Versaillesists, the Bonapartists, the Bonapartists and all the aiders and abettors of conservatism and thugocracy. Men's opinions mostly run in channels, and a moderate check will sometimes, as we know, deflect a mighty torrent. The generous candor of these great-hearted champions of a cause that most writers had agreed to despise and vilify, has already borne its fruit. Even the *Herald*, which, at the outset of the Commune resistance, could not find words sufficiently harsh nor facts sufficiently one-sided to crush the Commune, now qualifies its tone, and reluctantly admits that the Commune and the Internationale represent public opinion (that God of the *Herald's* idolatry, to justify which, *per fas aut nefas*, is even the *Herald's* law), and that the Internationale may yet be a thorn in the sides of autocracy and class legislators. The stone that the builders rejected may yet indeed be the great corner stone of a new civilization. The theory of the Communists, however imperfect, contained within itself the germ of a great political regeneration, a thing not altogether to be lightly esteemed, even in this country of half universal suffrage, of free speech for the majority, of primary nominations, and pure, undefiled city and national governments. But if a new law of distribution and a new gospel of political faith be a desirable possibility in this land of the free and untortured, what a tremendous cataclysm is suggested by the chances of their promulgation and adoption in the priest and property ridden systems of Europe. That the beginning of the end is at hand is apparent to all who can read the signs of the times. Here we have Mr. Disraeli ex-prime minister of England, the head of the Conservatives, writing “Lothair” to prove to mankind, and to English Protestant mankind in particular, the danger of lying asleep amid the plots and machinations of the Romish propagandists, and crying aloud that the robber is at the very door, and to awake and defend themselves against his craft and violence. Mr. Gladstone, the great Prime Minister in case, flouts the British House of Peers openly, bringing the contempt of the nation upon that governor and moderator of the constitutional machine, and at the same time holds parley and temporizes with Bradlaugh, the arch-agitator, the despoiler of crowns and dignities, and in the sanctum of the ministerial study permits that personage to say he will hold a meeting which shall not be suppressed, and to tell the first minister of state: “You keep the police and soldiery quiet, and I will keep the people quiet. If not,” and so forth.

On the other side of the English Channel the Thiers government decimate a city, pluck up and burn, as with red-hot iron, every stem and radicle of Communism, teaching their political opponents the lessons of terrorism and revenge, and sowing seeds of terrific retribution for a future day.

In the city of New York an infamously corrupt administration claims to hold power by the far-reaching strength of its own iniquity; because the displacement of its chief will throw five hundred families out of bread who otherwise live, by his permission, on the proceeds of the public plunder. Of fences against law, iniquity in high places, fraud, corruption, and the habitual mockery of religion and morality by their very professors, until faith and practice have passed into a byword, the observance of external observances, and the neglect of essential decencies are the regular way of life in the great cities of both hemispheres, and wars, oppressions, taxation—the rich becoming richer and the poor poorer—fair splitting and twisting of words in place of solid equity in the temples of injustice, personal aggrandizement in the legislature, shows and pretenses everywhere.

And yet we want no change. We do very well as we are. We need no upheavals, no demagogues, no Communist nor International. The sky is serene, the sun shines, the summer wind blows softly, and, as in the days of Noah, we eat and drink and rejoice, and say, there will be no flood the time!

HAS THE “TRIBUNE” HEARD FROM “THOSE COURTS?”

Not long since the New York *Tribune*, in a bombastic and characteristic article, claimed it carried the courts of the country in its breeches pockets, and asserted that if women came meddling round them they would be politely requested to go home and mind their own business. There is nothing that places a person in so ridiculous a position as to assume to know all about a thing, when it is a thing a parent to everybody else that he knows nothing at all about it. In this respect Dr. Greeley is particularly unfortunate, since he pompously assumes so much, while in reality he knows so little—except about raising cabbages, in which we are quite willing to admit him to be an adept, so much so that everybody else engaged in cabbage raising test they can't understand a thing he says upon the subject.

But we have no idea of entering upon this matter just now. The time will come, however, when we will be prepared to hold so faithful a mirror to the Doctor's face as himself in that he will be able to see how far he has come as everybody else now does. We merely desire to know now, if he has heard from the courts.

ART AND DRAMA.

The reappearance of Miss Cushman at Booth's was an event to which the play-going public of the highest pitch of enthusiasm. From the slight fragments of *Lucretia*, the brilliant *Andromeda*, to the grandest conceptions interpreted by a high priestess of the drama, was indeed a stride. Miss Cushman is the impersonation of the highest drama as a way been a marked personage. Her style was of an old-fashioned character, rather than perfect grace or modulated harmonies—not that Miss Cushman was deficient of pathos and tenderness, but it was the pathos of vehemence, untrammelled by formalism, the outbreak of instinct, not the repressed passion or calm emotion of social culture. Her grief and sorrow in *My Heroism* was a striking instance of her power in the display of wild, uncontrolled, tearful soul anguish. *Queen Andromeda* is one of the most noble examples of dignified womanly suffering that we have on any stage. Scarcely less sublime is the character of the majestic *Widow*, whether in his towering peaks of power or in his descent from the highest round of earthly grandeur. Between the exuberance of these two exalted instances of the uncertainty of worldly happiness so like and yet so unlike, there is scarcely room for a choice. The Queen's most unmerited misfortune and her saint-like resignation win us to her cause, but *Widow's* magnificent arrogance, the stupendous retribution on the oppressor, the man's breadth and depth of character, and his very power to taste and know the measure of his degradation and downfall in all their fulness, quickly divert us from the Queen's sad life and concentrate our attention on the more dramatic because more contrasted story of her mighty enemy.

Miss Cushman has been so long absent from the stage that her old admirers feared for her fame in her reappearance. Her reception was tremendous. The house was crammed. The seats had been taken, and could have been filled two or three times. The thundering applause, the call and recall told the great actress the sentiment of the public in thrilling tones. The acting itself was a repetition of the olden time. She was most successful in the council chamber and the other scenes in which the queenly inviolability had to be asserted. As the suffering, fallen woman she was somewhat less impressive. It was generally thought that her voice failed; probably the exhaustion of a reappearance after so long an interval, and the emotion consequent on so great a triumph, affected her vocal organs.

There is more external passion in Miss Cushman's *Katharine* than altogether comports with the Shakespearean ideal. True that the Cushman performance is repression for Cushman, but a very slight show of anger suffices for a Queen, too deeply wronged, too deeply conscious of her wrong to be angry. Indignant she certainly is, but it is the indignation of conscious merit, not temper, or even petulance. Her wounded spirit has sounded the depths of wounded sensibility; there is no dishonor—she is too pure, too exalted to feel the taint of dishonor. Even if the superstitious of canonical law should apply to her case, she sees so clearly through the immensity of the injustice, that she knows herself from the outset to be a martyr in the cause of woman's wrongs, a saint in the spotless purity of her own soul. Miss Cushman makes one or two points which are scarce justifiable by the text of Shakespeare, though acceptable to the audience and giving a cue for applause—and the air and expression with which she leaves the court pertain rather to overtaxed patience bursting its limit, than to the assertion of self-respect by the daughter of kings or the royal independence of a crowned queen.

Mr. Creswick, the great English actor, is certainly not superior to many Americans. He substitutes declamation and elocution for feeling and magnetism. The measured step and slow is not necessarily a royal bearing, nor is deliberate enunciation the only vehicle of great thoughts, nor such outward show the distinctive mark of the great minister and king of men. Creswick is not equal in true dignity or noble bearing to Booth, while we miss entirely that rounded speech and rich intonation which make Mr. Booth's elocution so satisfactory, and leave us with a sense of having stood on the threshold of great things. A little more, a touch of the Promethean fire, and the statue would have been life.

Mr. Waller's *Henry the VIII.* was a good performance; the make-up was perhaps not burly enough for bluff King Hal—as he has come to us by painting and tradition. The impetuous self-assertion of the self-indulgent tyrant was toned down into something more nearly accordant to modern ideas of royalty. This probably realizes the Shakespearean intention; for the poet would not have cared to give the father of Queen Elizabeth in all his unmitigated and detestable brutality.

Of the minor characters, Pateman's *Lord Sands* has been excepted against by some critics, who, finding only motive for praise in the leading characters, must needs have vinegar in their salad. It is said that the old fop has been made grotesque—an idea suggested by Pateman's powers in grotesque. In point of fact *Lord Sands* is the only element of comedy in the play to relieve its sorrow or lighten its heavy state, and *Lord Sands* is a ridiculous old party who apes the airs of youth and flirts among the belles with an assumption of juvenile taste for indiscretions that make him laughable. Pateman brought this out exactly, without losing the style of a man of high degree. Even the attempt to cut a figure in the dance, with the reminder of rheumatic twinges, was strictly within the limits of comic gesture and action proper to the character.

The *mise en scene* was good, but by no means equal to what Booth's has done in other revivals.

LINA EDWIN'S THEATRE.—The announcement of a return to Offenbach on the part of Kelly & Leon filled their bijou theatre on Monday evening with one of the largest and most appreciative audiences of the season. The public are always pleased to hear Leon's

sweet voice in music so well suited to his capacities as an Offenbach opera singer. *La Rose de Saint Florent* was the gem for Monday evening, and we hope it will soon be followed by a revival of *La Grande Duchesse*, *La Belle Helene*, etc. A *Dime Novel*, a sensational play, in three well-stirring scenes, the joint production of Mr. Kelly and his efficient and gentlemanly treasurer, Mr. E. C. Wright, found the audience with delight and closed the pleasant evening's entertainment. A varied and interesting programme suited to all tastes, is always offered by Kelly & Leon, and they reap their reward in overflowing good houses.

DEATH THE LEVELER.

BY J. PHIRLEY.

The guinea of our birth and state
Are shadows, not substantial things;
There is no armor against fate;
Death lays his mighty hand on kings;
Heaps up and crowns
Most humble down.

And in the dust he equal made
With the poor creaked scythe and spade.

Some men with sword may reap the field,
And plant fresh laurels where they kill;
But their strong arms at last must yield;
They tame but one another still.

Early or late
They stoop to fate
And must give up the murmuring breath
When they, pale captives, creep to death.

The garlands wither on your brow;
Then boast no more your mighty deeds;
Upon the purple altar now
See where the Victor-Victim bleeds;
Your heads must come
To the cold tomb;
Only the actions of the just
Swell sweet and blossom in their dust.

WOMAN ITEMS.

The Nebraska men voted down infant education and woman suffrage, while they upheld free liquor. Do our readers take the idea?

A fashionable mamma's advice to a married daughter: Never take your husband to an evening party; there is nothing that is always so much in the way.

A Mr. Quick, in San Augustin, got cowbirded by a lady. He says it was for his Radicalism. She says, perhaps it was, only she never heard it called by that name before.

At the eleventh annual fair of the San Joaquin Valley Agricultural Society, Cal., ladies exhibited fruits and vegetables of their own raising. Other ladies made displays of pickles and preserves. Go ahead!

An Atlanta paper has the following statistics: "Of the sixty-nine young ladies who fainted away in Atlanta during the summer, fifty-seven fell into the arms of gentlemen, eleven fell on the floor, and one into a water bucket."

The *Scranton Times* complains that fashionably dressed women appear upon the streets of that city in an intoxicated condition. Very sad indeed! Who set them the terrible example? Does the *Scranton Times* ever empty a horn?

Miss Nettie A. Hamilton, of Brandon, has successfully passed the examination for admission to the Vermont University at Burlington, and has entered the institution. She has thus the honor of being the first woman admitted to a Vermont college.

The Princess Metternich longs for Eugenie, who was for years her only formidable rival in dress. There are no men worth dressing for and no women to dress against. And yet the princess is a clever woman and might find relief against the *tedium vita*.

Mrs. General Butler and Mrs. Senator Ames are both earnestly in favor of female suffrage. To them is given the credit of converting their husbands. A proof that woman suffrage will make husband and wife of one mind, which they notoriously are not under the present system.

Happy bridegroom.—"More money, madam! more money! have you forgotten that my money has bought everything you possess—the very dress you stand in?"

Fair bride.—"No, sir; nor have I forgotten that your money has bought what stands in it."

A little seven year old girl at Huntsville, Texas, manipulates the wires and sends telegraphic messages. She is the daughter of the regular operator at that place.

There will be some mixed messages one of these days. Woman's rights don't include seven year olds at the wires—even if they are females.

Olive Logan says that in Europe the woman suffrage movement is generally classed with Mormonism, Oneida communism and free-lovinism.

If Olive Logan really says this, which we very much doubt, how does she know? Europe holds a good many people—and so little is public opinion known that John Bright, no mean authority, was of opinion that London knew nothing of the real opinions of Manchester.

In Pittsburg a lady heard a burglar attempting to enter her dwelling through a front window, and, not wishing to soil her furniture and carpet with the blood of the intruder, she noiselessly quitted the house by a rear door, and proceeding to the front, discharged four barrels from a revolver at the burglar. One of the shots took effect in his leg, and he being unable to run, was arrested by a policeman.

The Athens (Ohio) *Messenger* says: "We saw in our village recently Joseph Simmons, of Canada township, in company with his bride of some ten days. Mr. Simmons is ninety-nine years of age, having been born in 1772, and has been a resident of

Canada for nearly seventy-five years. He has been married to a widow of seventy, and she looks quite youthful. They were understood to be about fifty years of age. Why should they? If Abraham and Sarah could carry on why cannot blemished and wrinkled Canada fashion, you know.

A lady at Wilmington, recently deceased left a very punch-strainer, which is referred to in the will in these words: "A silver punch-strainer, belonging to my maternal grandfather, James Parker. Its history is briefly this: Dr. B. Franklin and my said grandfather were printer boys in Boston, and saved a silver dollar each from their first earnings by selling newspapers in that city. They had these dollars made into punch-strainers and exchanged with each other, so that the strainer is made out of the dollar earned by Dr. Franklin. This is bequeathed to the Smithsonian Institute."

THE NEW QUEEN OF SPAIN AND HER SUBJECTS.

The sudden hostility of the nobility deepened on the arrival of Queen Dona Maria Victoria at Madrid. While even the rabble remembered the respect it owed to the woman, if not to the queen, and saluted her kindly, though without enthusiasm, the nobles fairly exulted in their opportunity in devising modes of manifesting their spite and ill-breeding. When the Queen drove past the Veloz Club, its members stepped out on the balcony and pressed their hats over their heads as low as the chin. The principal palaces, the Medina Cell, the Vista Hermosa, the Sexto, the Xipre, the Retorillo and others of medieval fame were not only undecorated, but locked up when she entered the capital. Open warfare was inaugurated by the female wing of the grandees against this foreigner, this upstart. The most bitter and unrelenting among the Queen's persecutors were the Duchess of Medina Cell and the Duchess of Caxto, the latter a Russian by birth, who had become a French patriot as Duchess de Morny, and had subsequently blossomed out into a full-blooded Spaniard. To exhibit their hatred of the *extrangerismo* in the most public and offensive manner became the whole study of these women. On the Fuente Castellana, the fashionable drive, they appeared dressed in the Bourbon fashion—white mantillas, lilacs and gigantic combs *a la Isabelle*. When the royal pair for the first time visited the Puente Castellana, the Governor of Madrid wished the nobility to comply with an old custom by lining the drive with their carriages on both sides, so that the carriage of their majesties might pass up and down alone in the centre. But no sooner had the royal equipage reached the centre of the drive than all the carriages of the nobility left the place. The next day this insult was repeated, and with the aggravation that the servants were clad in deep mourning. But the rage and indignation of the nobles culminated when the Queen, in defiance of the traditional etiquette of the Spanish court, ventured to show herself on the Prado unattended even by a single maid of honor. Since that fatal hour they have brooded over the dark scheme to emigrate in a body to Seville, and to shake the dust of a desecrated capital entirely from their aristocratic feet. Such, at least, is the threat gravely held out by the organ of the nobility, the *Lily Flower*, and the *Carlistic Margarita*.—*Lipine Old's Magazine*.

A WOMAN'S WIT.—Chambers' *Journal* vouches for the truth of the following story, which was originally published in the guise of fiction:

"Caroline A.—, a good looking, finely proportioned young lady, lived as a lady's maid with a fashionable young widow. One evening, after having assisted at her mistress' toilet for a dinner party, she amused herself, before putting away the various articles scattered about the room, in trying on a pair of silk stockings and dress shoes belonging to her mistress, and having done so, she viewed her well-turned limbs with complacency, saying aloud: 'There's a leg for a stocking, and there's a foot for a shoe.' Having satisfied herself as to their symmetry, she divested herself of her borrowed plumage, put the room to rights, and waited the return of her mistress, whom she saw in bed. That was the last time she saw her alive. She was found in the morning murdered in her bed, the jewel case and plate chest broken open and robbed. The robber and murderer left no trace by which he could be captured, and, in spite of the most diligent search escaped. Three years after, Caroline was engaged in a similar capacity by a lady, who took her to Paris. She had almost forgotten the murder, and, if she thought of it, it was not with any hope of discovering the criminal.

It happened that she was walking in one of the public promenades one afternoon, when, as she passed a group of men, she heard these words: 'There's a leg for a stocking, and there's a foot for a shoe.' In a moment the events of the evening before her mistress was murdered flashed on her memory. And now for her marvelous presence of mind. Pretending not to have heard anything she glanced sideways at the group of men. She saw there were three, but she could not tell which of them had spoken. She walked slowly by them, then she stopped in an undecided manner, and finally turned back, and walking up to them, she asked to be directed to a certain street. As she expected all of them had a word for her, and among the voices she easily recognized the one that had just spoken. Their language and looks were both very free, but she only told them that they were very impertinent, and that she would get the information she wanted from the first gendarme.

She thus averted suspicion if they watched her speaking to a policeman. The next difficulty was how to inform a gendarme what she wanted; she had only been a fortnight in France, and knew scarcely a French word. She, however, carried a pocket dictionary with her to assist in making purchases and as a means of acquiring a little French. Going over to a bench she sat down, and, searching through the dictionary, found the words she wanted, and she then wrote them with a pencil on the fly-leaf of the dictionary. The sentence ran thus: *Gendarmes Je vous prie de m'arrestez un moment*. The grammar was not very correct, as dictionaries do not teach

syntax; but the gendarme understood it and in another minute he had the murderer in his grasp. He was afterwards executed and hung on the guillotine.

THE NEIGHBORS.

One took a paper, and his wife
Was happier than a king;
His children all could read and write,
And talk of men and things.

The other took no paper, and
While standing through a wood,
A tree fell down upon his crown
And killed him—as it should.

Had he been reading of the news
At home like neighbor Jim,
I'll bet a cent that accident
Would never have happened him.

O. W. HOLMES.

Life with some people is a state of invention; they pass their time under a necessity of discovering things past finding out. What more may be where a genuine Yankee mind is the prime agent is pretty hard to conjecture. The latest "novelty" in domestic economy is an umbrella frame arrangement of things, joined at one end, which can be spread out into clothes frames, bare and lined, fruit dryers, shelves, hanging arrangements and last, though not least, a Christmas tree, wanting only the leaves and the curves of the branches to be as like as two peas. It comes to us from Brown's Agricultural Works, Shortsville, Ontario Co., N. Y.

POEMS OF PROGRESS, by Lizzie Doten. William White & Co., Boston.

These poems are light, flowing, easy, consisting, for the most part, of sentiment, with here and there one in which there is a strong touch of humor. Space will not allow of our copying the largest or best, which we should gladly do, but we give one tender, sympathetic elegy:

REST THOU IN PEACE.

"And the token that the angel gave her, that he was a true messenger, was an arrow, with a point sharpened with Love, let easily into her heart, which by degrees wrought so effectually with her, that at the time appointed she must be gone."—*PIERCE'S Progress*.

Rest thou in peace! Beneath the sheltering sod
There is a lowly door, a narrow way,
That leadeth to the Paradise of God:
There, weary pilgrim, let thy wanderings stay.

Rest thou in peace! We would not call thee back
To know the grief that comes with ripper years,
To tread in sorrow all Life's thorny track,
And drain with us the bitter cup of tears.

Rest thou in peace! With chastened hearts we bow,
And pour for thee a low and solemn strain;
Thy voice shall chant the hymns of Zion now,
But it shall mingle not with ours again.

Rest thou in peace! not in the silent grave—
Thy spirit heard the summons from above,
And blessed the token that the angel gave—
An arrow, sharpened—but with tenderest love.

Rest thou in peace! With blessings on thy head,
Pass to the land where sinless spirits dwell—
Gone, but not lost!—We will not call thee dead—
The angels claimed thee! Dear one—fare-thee-well.

J. M. HODGSON,

FLORIST AND GARDENER,

No. 403 FIFTH AVENUE.

Corner of Thirty-seventh street.

NEW YORK.

697 BROADWAY.

BROADWAY 697.

PIERCY'S PATENT SULPHUR AND MEDICATED Vapor Baths, (established, 1848.) 697 Broadway (Corner of 4th St., Waverley Place), New York.

Now conceded to be the great curative of the age, for RHEUMATISM, NEURALGIA, NERVOUS AND GENERAL DEBILITY, ALL CUTANEOUS AND SKIN DISEASES.

They give immediate relief in LIVER, KIDNEY and LUNG DISEASES. Equalize the circulation, cleanse and purify the blood, invigorate and strengthen the constitution. They cure the most violent COLDS, INFLUENZA, etc. As a luxury they are equal to any aqueous bath in the world. They are recommended and approved by the medical faculty. Thousands of our best citizens have tested and proved their healing qualities, as may be seen by calling at the old establishment.

The medications used are different from those in any other Baths in the city.

Rooms for Ladies or Gentlemen open from 9 A. M. to 9 P. M. all seasons of the year. Administered by Doctor Piercy.

N. B.—No danger of taking cold. Portable Baths for Private Houses furnished at short notice.

OCT. 7, 1871.

REDUCED P
BROWN
ROTARY FORGMAN
SHORTVILLE

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State and County

The machine

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REDUCED PRICES FOR 1871. BROWN'S SUPERIOR FEED STAFFS

BROWN ADAMS & CO.

TANNER & CO.

NEW YORK

AND EXCHANGE

DEALERS IN THE STOCK AND
BOND MARKET.

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NATIONAL BANK, PER PER CENT. GOLD
AND SILVER, AND DENVER CITY
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NATIONAL BANK, PER PER CENT. GOLD
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H. B. CLAFLIN & CO.

DRY GOODS, CARPETS,

HOSIERY AND WHITE GOODS, LACES AND
EMBROIDERIES.

YANKEE NOTIONS,

FLANNELS AND BOOTS AND SHOES,

CHURCH, WORTH AND WEST BROADWAY,

NEW YORK.

THE HAIR.

ZOECOME!

THE NEW HAIR RESTORATIVE
Will positively restore luxuriant and healthy growth
of HAIR upon the

BALD HEADED,

and will prevent the hair from falling out.

It has no poisonous caustic or irritating ingredient
whatever. It is as harmless as water, and WHOLLY
UNLIKE any other preparation for the hair.

It never fails. It has produced a fine growth of hair
upon those who have been bald for twenty-five years.
All who have used it, without exception, attest to its
great merits.

Persons in New York or Brooklyn wishing to test
the ZOECOME, can either personally or by note make
arrangements to have a hair dresser sent to their resi-
dence and apply it.

MRS. ELVIRA M. DEPUY,
64 Clinton Avenue, Brooklyn.

A HISTORY

NATIONAL WOMAN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT,
FOR TWENTY YEARS.

With the Proceedings of the Decade Meeting held at
APOLLO HALL, OCTOBER 20, 1870,
From 1850 to 1870.

WITH AN APPENDIX CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE
MOVEMENT DURING THE WINTER OF 1871,
IN THE NATIONAL CAPITOL,
Compiled by
PAULINA W. DAVIS.

For sale by all Booksellers. Price 50c.
A brief and liberal account of the most important
political movement of the day.—W. & C.'s W.

NEW YORK CENTRAL AND HUD-
SON RIVER RAILROAD.—Trains will leave
Thirtieth street as follows:
8 a. m., Chicago Express, Drawing-room cars at-
tached.

10 a. m., Special Drawing-room Car Express. No
accommodation for way passengers except in Draw-
ing-room cars.

10:40 a. m., Northern and Western Express, Draw-
ing-room cars attached.

4 p. m., Montreal Express, Drawing-room cars at-
tached.

6 p. m., First Pacific Express, with Sleeping cars
attached, for Rochester and Buffalo; also for Chicago,
via both L. & M. C. Railroads; for St. Louis, via
Toledo; and Louisville, via Indianapolis. (This train
will leave at 6 p. m. on Sundays.)

11 p. m., Night Express, Sleeping cars attached.
7 a. m., 3 and 5 p. m., Poughkeepsie trains.
9 a. m., 4:15 and 6:40 p. m., Peekskill trains.
5:30 and 6:10 p. m., Ring Ring trains.
6:40, 7:00, 9:10 and 10:15 a. m., 1:30, 3, 4:35,
5:10, 8:10 and 11:30 p. m., Yonkers trains.
9 a. m., Sunday train for Poughkeepsie.
C. H. KENDRICK,
General Passenger Agent.
New York, Dec. 8, 1870.

LETTER OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S
SUFFRAGE AND EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE
TO THE NEW YORKER.

Washington, D. C., Jan. 1, 1871.
The National Woman's Suffrage and Educational Committee, organized in 1867, has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your issue of the 1st inst., and to express its appreciation of the interest which you have manifested in the cause of woman's rights.

The Committee has the pleasure to inform you that it has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your issue of the 1st inst., and to express its appreciation of the interest which you have manifested in the cause of woman's rights.

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EQUALITY A RIGHT OF WOMAN.

BY VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

The author is presenting this book to
the public.

First. To show that woman has the same human
rights as man.

Second. To show that woman is a creature of serv-
itude, and that she is the most degraded and
degraded of all creatures.

Third. To show that woman is a creature of serv-
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Fourth. To show that woman is a creature of serv-
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Twentieth. To show that woman is a creature of serv-
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Twenty-seventh. To show that woman is a creature of serv-
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Twenty-ninth. To show that woman is a creature of serv-
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Thirtieth. To show that woman is a creature of serv-
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degraded of all creatures.

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Mr. Kurtz invites to his cool and comfortably fur-
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suring them that they will always find there the
choicest viands, served in the most elegant style, the
most carefully selected brands of wines and liquors,
as well as the most prompt attention by accomplished
waiters.

CARBOLIC SALVE
RECOMMENDED BY PHYSICIANS.
BEST SALVE IN USE.

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Assets, \$2,473,303 65.
Surplus, \$30,272 95.

Pomeroy's Finger-Pad Truss.

Patented Aug. 15, 1868; Feb. 8, 1870.

The adjustable "finger" of the pad effectually
closes the hernial opening, so that there can be no es-
cape of the intestine. Very light pressure is required
in the majority of cases.

This Truss has been critically examined by more
than a thousand physicians and surgeons, whose
names we have on record and can give as references,
and who are unanimous in the opinion of its superior
merits.

It received the highest award at the last two Fairs
of the American Institute, held in 1869 and 1870.

POMEROY'S ADJUSTABLE TRUSS,
WITH HARD OR SOFT PAD.

Patented March 19, Sept. 17, 1867.
Superior to all other appliances for rupture or her-
nia, except POMEROY'S FINGER-PAD TRUSS, and has
cured a great many cases of rupture. It is afforded
at a less price than the Finger-Pad Truss.

POMEROY'S NIGHT TRUSS,
WITHOUT METALLIC SPRINGS.

Patented May 23, 1871.
The best Elastic Truss made. It is especially in-
tended for the night and for bathing, but in many
cases is admirably adapted for constant use, and is
furnished at a low price.

W. POMEROY & CO.,
514 BROADWAY.

Between Spring and Prince streets, New York.

JUST PUBLISHED.—The Primary Synopsis of
UNIVERSITY and ALWAT (pronounced Ahl-
wah-to.) The new Scientific Universal Language,
by STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS, member of the
American Academy of Arts and Sciences, of the
American Ethnological Society, etc.; author of
"The Science of Society," "Discoveries in Chi-
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New York, DION THOMAS, 141 Fulton street,
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POWERFUL DEODORIZER AND DISINFECTANT.

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ARRESTS AND PREVENTS CONTAGION.

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Tenement Houses, Markets, for Water Closets
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eases, as Cholera, Typhoid Fever, Ship Fever, Small-
Pox, Scarlet Fever, Measles, Diseases of Animals, etc.
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SAVINGS BANK,

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SEMI-ANNUAL INTEREST AT THE RATE OF
SIX PER CENT.

on all sums deposited thereto will be paid depositors on
and after July 30.
Deposits of any sum from 10 cents to \$10,000 will be
received.

SIX PER CENT. INTEREST. FREE OF GOVERN-
MENT TAX.
Interest on new deposits commences first of every
month.

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EDWARD HOGAN, (Secretary)
REYNOLDS E. BELMERE, (Secretary).

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Order for Purchase and Sale of United States Securities, Stocks, Bonds and American Gold promptly executed at the usual commission.

Collections promptly made in all parts of the United States and Canada.

Interest, 4 per cent., allowed on deposits, subject to sight draft.

LOCKWOOD & CO., BANKERS,

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A GENERAL BANKING BUSINESS,

Including the purchase and sale on commission of GOVERNMENT AND RAILWAY BONDS, STOCKS AND OTHER SECURITIES.

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Bankers and Brokers,

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NEW YORK.

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Bankers and Brokers,

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SIX PER CENT GOLD BONDS.

Twenty Years to run.

We offer \$100,000 at 98 and accrued interest.

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DUNCAN, SHERMAN & CO.

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No. 11 Nassau Street,

ISSUE CIRCULAR NOTES and LETTERS OF CREDIT for TRAVELERS in EUROPE, and available in all the PRINCIPAL CITIES, also for use in the UNITED STATES, WEST INDIES. Also, TELEGRAPHIC TRANSFERS to LONDON, PARIS and CALIFORNIA.

NATIONAL SAVINGS BANK.

THE FREEDMAN'S SAVINGS AND TRUST COMPANY.

(Chartered by the Government of the United States.)
DEPOSITS OVER \$2,000,000.

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SIX PER CENT. Interest commences first of each month.

Four per cent. allowed from date of each deposit for full number of days, not less than thirty, on sums of \$5 and upward, withdrawn before January.

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Accounts strictly private and confidential.

Deposits payable on demand, with interest due.

Interest on accounts of certificates paid by check to depositors residing out of the city if desired.

Send for Circular.

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JOHN J. ZILLER, Cashier.

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POLICIES ON ALL APPROVED PLANS.

ALL POLICIES ENTITLED TO PARTICIPATION IN PROFITS.
DIVIDENDS DECLARED ANNUALLY.

THIRTY DAYS' GRACE ALLOWED IN PAYMENT OF PREMIUMS.
LIBERAL LIMITS OF TRAVEL.

ALL POLICIES NON-FORFEITABLE.

PREMIUMS PAYABLE IN CASH.

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JAMES D. REYMERT, *President*.
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J. JAY WATSON, *Sup't Agencies*.

Working Agents Wanted in all the States.

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JOSEPH FLEISCHE, Sup't German Department,

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NEW YORK AND NEW HAVEN

RAILROAD.

SUMMER ARRANGEMENT.

COMMENCING JUNE 30, 1870.

Passenger Station in New York, corner of Twenty-seventh street and Fourth avenue. Entrance on Twenty-seventh street.

TRAINS LEAVE NEW YORK.

For New Haven and Bridgeport, 7.45 (Ex.), 11:30 a. m.; 12:15 (Ex.), 3 (Ex.), 3:45, 4:30, 5:30 and 8 (Ex.) p. m.

For Milford, Stratford, Fairfield, Southport and Westport, 7.15 (Ex.), 11:30 a. m.; 3:45, 4:30, 5:30 p. m.

For Norwalk, 7.45 (Ex.), 11:30 a. m.; 12:15 (Ex.), 3 (Ex.), 3:45, 4:30 (Ex.), 5:30, 6:30 and 8 (Ex.) p. m.

For Darien, 7.45, 11:30 a. m.; 3:45, 4:30, 5:30 and 6:30 p. m.

For Stamford, 7.45 (Ex.), 11:30 a. m.; 12:15 (Ex.), 2:15, 3 (Ex.), 3:45, 4:30 (Ex.), 4:45, 5:30, 6:30, 7:15, 8 (Ex.) p. m.

For Greenwich and intermediate stations, 7.45, 11:30 a. m.; 2:15, 3:45, 4:30, 5:30, 6:30, 7:15 p. m.

Sunday Mail Train leaves Twenty-seventh street, New York, at 7 p. m. for Boston, via both Springfield Line and Shore Line.

CONNECTING TRAINS.

For Boston, via Springfield, 8 a. m., 3 and 8 p. m.

For Boston, via Shore Line, 12:15, 8 p. m.

For Hartford and Springfield, 8 a. m., 12:15, 2, 4:30 p. m. to Hartford, 8 p. m.

For Newport, R. I., 12:15 p. m. (Ex.), connecting with steamer across Narragansett Bay, arriving at 8:30 p. m.

For Connecticut River Railroad, 8 a. m., 12:15 p. m. to Montreal, 3 p. m. to Northampton.

For Hartford, Providence, and Fishkill Railroad, 8 a. m.; 12:15 p. m.

For Shore Line Railway, at 8 a. m. to Norwich and Providence; 12:15, 2; to New London, 8 p. m.

For New Haven and Northampton Railroad, 8 a. m.; 3 p. m. to Northampton and Williamsburgh.

For Housatonic Railroad, 8 a. m. and 3 p. m.

For Naugatuck Railroad, 8 a. m., 3 p. m., and 4:30 p. m. to Waterbury.

For Danbury and Norwalk Railroad, 7 a. m., 12:15 and 4:30 p. m.

For New Canaan Railroad, 7 a. m.; 12:15, 4:30 and 5:30 p. m.

Commodious Sleeping Cars attached to 8 p. m. train, and also to Sunday Mail Train on either Line. Drawing-Room Car attached to the 8 a. m. and 3 p. m. trains.

JAMES H. HOYT, Superintendent.

G. EBBINGHOUSE. G. A. WIDMAYER. J. BAUMAN.

G. EBBINGHOUSE & CO.,

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NEW WAREHOUSES:

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