

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

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

VOL. 4.—No. 13.—WHOLE No. 91.

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 10, 1872.

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73-85.

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56

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88. tf.

LYRIC HALL, SUNDAY EVENING DISCOURSES

By CORA L. V. TAPPAN,
EVERY SUNDAY, AT 7:30 O'CLOCK, P. M.
COMMENCING DECEMBER 31, 1871.
Introductory Addresses by Mrs. Mary F. Davis and
Mrs. C. B. Wilbour.

AT TRENOR'S LYRIC HALL,
Sixth Avenue, Reservoir Square and 42d Street, N. Y.

The friends of Mrs. Tappan will be glad to learn that she has accepted an invitation to deliver a series of discourses in this city; (where among so many pulpits and rostrums not one is occupied permanently by a woman,) it is known to all familiar with the progress of liberal ideas, that she is one of their most advanced, as well as eloquent representatives, spiritual, exalted and humane. Of her wondrous powers, the distinguished poet, critic and scholar, N. P. Willis, wrote and published fifteen years ago, with other equally approving words: "I am perhaps, from long study and practice, as good a judge of fitness in the use of language as most men; and, in a full hour of close attention, I could detect no word that could be altered for the better—none indeed (and this surprised me still more) which was not used with strict fidelity to its derivative meaning. The practical scholarship which this last point usually requires, and the earnestly unhesitating and confident fluency with which the beautiful language was delivered, were critically wonderful. It would have astonished me in an extempore speech by the most accomplished orator in the world."

The attendance and co-operation of yourself and friends respectfully solicited.

By order of Advisory Committee,
H. M. RICHMOND, 13 Clinton Place,
Chairman and Treasurer.
JAMES M. FARNESWORTH, Organist.
New York, December 25, 1871.

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A REMARKABLE WORK

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A large handsome volume, beautifully printed and bound. Price \$2.

CONTENTS.

Prefatory Address to the Protestant Clergy.
Book I. Touching communication of religious knowledge to man.
Book II. Some characteristics of the Phenomena.
Book III. Physical manifestations.
Book IV. Identity of Spirits.
Book V. The Crowning Proof of Immortality.
Book VI. Spiritual gifts of the first century appearing in our times.

The scope of this book is broad. One-fourth of it is occupied by an Address to the Protestant Clergy, reviewing the present attitude of the religious world in connection with modern science and with modern ideas touching the reign of law, human infallibility, plenary inspiration, miracles, spiritual gifts. It sets forth the successes and reverses of early Protestantism and asks their explanation. It inquires whether it is Protestant theology or Christianity that has been losing ground, for three hundred years, against the Church of Rome. It discusses the effects on morality and civilization and spiritual growth of such doctrines as vicarious atonement, original depravity, a personal devil, an eternal hell. It inquires whether religion is a progressive science. It contrasts Calvinism, Lutheranism, Paulism, with Christianity. Inspiration it regards as not infallible, yet an inestimable gift of God and the origin of all religions—a gift for all ages, not confined to one century nor to one church; a gift pre-eminently appearing in the Author of our religion.

But the main object of the book is to afford conclusive proof, aside from historical evidence, of immortality. It shows that we of to-day have the same evidence on that subject as the Apostles had. More than half the volume consists of narratives in proof of this—narratives that will seem marvelous—credible, at first sight, to many—yet which are sustained by evidence as strong as that which daily determines, in our courts of law, the life and death of men.

This book affirms that the strongest of all historical evidences for modern Spiritualism are found in the Gospels, and that the strongest of all proof going to substantiate the Gospel narratives are found in the phenomena of Spiritualism, rationally interpreted: Christianity, freed from alien creeds, sustaining Spiritualism; and enlightened Spiritualism sustaining Christianity.

Finally, the author gives his conception of the foundation motive of Christian morality and Spiritual progress, as set forth by Christ himself.

It is a book eminently suited to an era like the present, when the debatable land of morals and religion is freely explored, and when men are disposed to prove all things ere they hold fast to that which is good.
G. W. CARLETON & Co., Publishers,
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THE WOMAN QUESTION IN A NEW LIGHT.

SUBJECT: "WOMAN, AND HER RELATIONS TO TEMPERANCE AND OTHER REFORMS."

Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, in a letter to Gen. Jordan, of Pennsylvania, says:

"I had the pleasure of canvassing with Leo Miller, Esq., in New Jersey, and I most cordially recommend him to our friends in your State as a gentleman of rare talent and character and a most effective and eloquent speaker."

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The Books and Speeches of Victoria C. Woodhull and Tennie C. Claflin will hereafter be furnished, postage paid, at the following liberal prices :

The Principles of Government, by Victoria C. Woodhull.....	\$2 00
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The Great Social Problem of Labor and Capital, speech by Victoria C. Woodhull;	
The Principles of Finance, speech by Victoria C. Woodhull;	
Practical View of Political Equality, speech by Tennie C. Claflin;	
Majority and Minority Report of the Judiciary Committee on the Woodhull Memorial;	
Each per copy.....	10
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POST OFFICE NOTICE.

The mails for Europe during the week ending Saturday, Feb. 3, 1872, will close at this office on Tuesday at 11 A. M., on Wednesday at 7 1/2 A. M., and on Saturday at 9 A. M.
P. H. JONES, Postmaster.

THE INTERNATIONAL.

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

- Section 1 (German).—Sunday, 8 P. M., at the Tenth Ward Hotel, corner of Broome and Forsyth streets.
- Section 2 (French).—Sunday, 9:30 A. M., at No. 100 Prince street.
- Section 6 (German).—Thursday, 8 P. M., at No. 10 Stanton street.
- Section 8 (German).—Sunday, 3 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 Thursday 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. 15 E. 38th street.
- Section 13 (German).—The first and third Tuesday in each month, 8 P. M., at No. 301 East Tenth street.
- Section 22 (French).—The second and fourth Friday in each month, 8 P. M., at Constant's, 68 Grand street.
- Section 35 (English).—Meets every Friday evening at Myers', 129 Spring street, at 8 o'clock.

NEW AND EXTRAORDINARY DEPARTURE—REFORMERS IN SECRET CONCLAVE.

WHAT THEY PROPOSE TO DO AND HOW—GRADUATED TAX THE PANACEA FOR ALL OUR ILLS.

In accordance with a call extensively circulated, there assembled, at the corner of Bowery and Bleecker, January 9, 1872, a number of the oldest advocates of reforms, to consider the great questions of the hour with reference to united and specific action. The sessions continued for three days, and resulted as will be seen. Lengthy letters were received from Gerrit Smith, John Maguire, of Mr. H. H. May, of Illinois, E. T. Peters, of Washington, D. C., one or two Congressmen, and many others. These laborious, though not always luminous, documents were partly read and partly not read; and, as their authors were not present and offered no very specific or feasible method of working out their own problems or meeting the purposes of the convention, they received small consideration.

Three distinct financial schemes were presented, discussed and dismissed as wholly impracticable, and the subject went to a permanent committee. All of these schemes comprehended local banks or their equivalent. The general tendency of the convention was to the Labor party plan, the principles of which were briefly stated by Mr. J. B. Wolff.

From Mr. Peters nothing new came. Gerrit Smith opposed some things in the labor and other movements; among them public schools and interference with labor by State action. His idea that common charity would secure the children of the poor against ignorance was not credited by the committee. He clearly intimated his acceptance of the principle of Graduated Tax. (It was not named in the call.)

Hon. John Maguire rode his old hobby of securing to each person a share (sufficiency) of the soil, whether he occupies it or not, as the remedy of our fleshly ills.

Resolutions were passed on all the usual topics, and particularly against land grants, usury, high rents, monopolies, and in favor of limiting the lands to homesteads and actual settlement, etc.

Among them all was not seen the stalwart form and resolute countenance of the indomitable Gregory, one of the oldest, most energetic and faithful of all the reformers, having been a chartist in England, and identified himself with all the progressive movements of this country. He will meet them no more.

Thos. A. De Vere pertinaciously insisted that it was wrong

to waste so much logic and eloquence on the walls of that room, as all who were there were thoroughly indoctrinated. He wanted and would have large public meetings, full reports, and take the world by storm.

Three distinct propositions were enunciated:

1. That human capacity is as much a common element as air, water or land.
2. That natural rights are based on natural necessity, and not on conventional arrangements; and that, therefore, claims on the common elements should not be determined by what a man can produce, but on what his normal condition needs and must have to make a complete manhood.
3. That a graduated tax on accumulated and accumulating property is the true method of limiting excessive wealth and leveling up the laboring class to the comprehension and enjoyment of their rights.

On this subject a labored and lengthy report was made, which we give below, and which was discussed at length and critically during the sessions of the meeting, and finally adopted without a dissenting vote.

The meetings throughout were characterized by earnest endeavor and kindly feelings. There was no disposition manifested by the members present to urge individual plans as the only means of effecting the needed reforms; on the other hand there was a spirit of concession and disposition to yield minor to major matters.

After effecting a permanent organization, with all the necessary appurtenances, the convention closed by a sort of experience meeting, which reminded one very much of an old-fashioned Methodist love feast. It looks very much as if the disintegrating process that gives individuality had completed its work, and that reformers will soon come together on fundamental principles to battle against common wrongs.

REPORT ON GRADUATED TAXATION.

The Committee on Graduated Tax, through its chairman, J. B. Wolff, stated that the committee had carefully considered the subject, and submitted the following report :

1. Civil government is a conventional organism demanded by human necessity, exists legitimately only by the consent of the people and for their benefit. It is predicated of the sovereignty of the individuals, which comprehends the ability and right of self-government, and therefore the right to empower another to act.
2. Protection and allegiance are the reciprocal bonds between the sovereignty of the individual and that sovereignty represented in the government.
3. The rights to life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness; to support from the common elements according to normal condition and natural necessity, and to the full and perfect development of brain and muscle, are inherent, inalienable, and must follow the individual through all the possibilities of life.
4. The purpose of civil government is protection of the weak against the strong; the ignorant against the wise; the honest against the dishonest; and everybody against the selfish.
5. The fundamental principle in protection is limitation, extended into absolute prohibition in things clearly adverse to the common good.
6. The evils of poverty and crime are largely caused—1. By the inequality of natural capacity; 2. The unequal distribution of the products of labor; 3. Our commercial methods; 4. The idleness engendered by our present methods.
7. If each able-bodied person performed a *pro rata* share of useful labor, and the results were equitably distributed, there would be little ground of complaint.
8. That an absolute measure of values is impossible; that an absolutely equitable distribution of the products of labor is impossible; that an equitable subdivision of the soil is impossible; and that inequality of capacity and defective laws and customs are the chief causes of our social evils.
9. One of the chief errors of our civilization, and a chief cause of excessive accumulation, is the recognition by custom and law of the assumption that one may prey upon his fellows, solely because nature has endowed him with the capacity, the very thing society is organized to prevent.
10. We can find the remedy for the evils of which we complain only by recognizing the body politic as a body corporate—each a member, with specific functions, rights and relations; in a word, that society is one grand individuality, of many members, with common rights, obligations, claims—mutual, reciprocal.

THE REMEDY.

In considering the remedy we are confronted with the inquiry: How far may government limit the individual for the common good? The answer is plain: Its powers extend to the protection of all persons from the abuse of the inequality of natural capacity. This brings us squarely to the questions: Has government the right to limit individual wealth? What is a just limit?

How shall it be accomplished? How can the results be equitably applied to the common good?

These questions demand answer. Before answering we submit a brief statement of the facts as they exist and are recognized. Society is constantly drifting into two classes, rich and poor; made antagonistic by conflicting purposes and interests, which give rise to wars and other evils. There is now, and seems always to have been, a hopeless struggle between labor and wealth, the producer and non-producer; the baneful effects are seen in poverty, suffering, ignorance, vice and crime; mutual wrongs, antagonisms and fierce, unnatural struggles to obtain justice on one side and to retain power to oppress on the other, are the inevitable sequences.

As an evidence of the alarming and certain encroachments of aggregating wealth, especially in the Old World (and measurably true in our own country, and entirely so in cities), we have only to give the facts relating to agricultural usurpations of capital in the soil of England and Scotland, and these sad revelations faithfully index all of landed Europe. We quote from the *Westminster Review*, of unquestioned authority :

"In 1688 there were in England 40,000 families, 'freeholders of the better sort,' and 140,000 'freeholders of the lesser sort,' in all 180,000 families, possessing freehold estates. This is exclusive of the nobility, baronets, knights, esquires and gentlemen, who are classified separately, and number 16,560 families, all of whom owned more or less land. Taking, therefore, Gregory King's estimate of the total of landed families of all ranks and conditions at 849,000, it would appear that every family in four were freeholders at the time he lived. How different the state of things at the present day, when one-half of England is owned by 150 persons, and 19,500,000 of acres in Scotland are owned by 12 persons."

We say this is measurably true of our condition, and to that dread condition are we rapidly tending by the cohesive power of land monopoly. To this cause may we naturally trace the massing of people in cities, and the slow progress in advancement of our rural population. With overcrowded cities and large towns comes the power of capital, by that universal law of supply and demand, to dictate unequal and unremunerative terms to the industrial classes; hence clashes, strikes and feuds where defenseless labor ever yields to its superior, capital, and thus must the result inevitably be under the present unequitable relations between two natural elements which should be in accord.

There are three enterprising men in the city of New York to-day, whose rapid aggregation of wealth proves conclusively that if they were allowed to live another generation, or if their representatives are equally acquisitive, they will be the legal owners of nearly all the railways of the State, the majority of all the dwellings of the city, and the largest share of all the merchandise of this great metropolis. This is the inevitable tendency of property to accumulate. Hence the necessity of a reasonable limit. It would conduce to harmonize industry and capital, because capital, having no incentive to exact and oppress, could afford to be liberal and just, and therefore would coalesce with and harmonize all the disagreements and exactions now imposed upon labor. The natural tendencies and will of man are toward justice and goodness, and, except for the demon of avarice, he would choose justice and mercy.

Thence we recur to the question, How shall capital and industry be made to harmonize? and how shall labor receive a proportionate reward? How shall we avert this surely gathering storm between the producers and planners and employers of industry? How shall we commence to restore the most vital element of life, man's birthright in the soil? and how distribute all accumulated and accumulating wealth with even-handed justice? These are the vital questions of the hour, and upon their practical solution must depend the destiny and perpetuity of the American Republic. The problem can be solved by direct ad valorem graduated taxation on accumulated and accumulating wealth.

The right of government to limit, by direct or indirect methods, is a question of organic and statute law. Direct taxation is practiced in all the States. Graduated tax is exhibited in the income tax, homestead and tool exemption; taxation for protection is seen in the revenue laws; limitation is expressed in acts of incorporation, special licenses, and has an illustration in the Brooklyn Ferry Company, which is limited to ten per cent. profit, and requiring the surplus to go to cheapening fare and improving accommodations. Result: the best ferries in the world.

The authority to do this is fundamental to the compact; it is the chief purpose of civil government.

The limit of this power, as well as the limit of individual wealth, cannot be determined definitely. The maximum beyond the ordinary necessities and obligations is a question of expediency to be determined by the common good alone.

We therefore propose to commence the work of leveling up by limiting by means of a graduated tax, that shall rest heaviest where there is most strength, and which in its effects will be found the impossibility of large estates. We submit the following schedule as a working model of this scheme, subject of course to alteration by the Legislature :

"That whenever a citizen of the State shall be the possessor of five thousand dollars of taxable property, real or personal, to be determined by the returns of the Board of Assessors of the county in which he resides, there shall be levied and collected annually upon such five thousand dollars (in the usual forms and through the usual channels) a tax of one-half of one per cent.; and upon all estates between five and ten thousand dollars, the sum of one per cent.; upon all estates between ten and twenty thousand dollars, one and one-half per cent.; upon all estates between twenty and forty thousand dollars, two per cent.; upon all estates between forty and sixty thousand dollars, two and one-half per cent.; upon all estates between sixty and one hundred thousand dollars, three per cent.; upon all estates between one hundred and two hundred thousand dollars, three and one-half per cent.; upon all estates between two and three hundred thousand dollars, four per cent.; upon all estates between three and five hundred thousand dollars, five per cent.; upon all estates between five hundred thousand and one million dollars, seven per cent.; upon all estates between one and two million dollars, ten per cent.; upon all estates between two and three million dollars, fifteen per cent.; upon all estates between three and five million dollars, twenty per cent.; upon all estates of over five million dollars, fifty per cent."

The funds thus collected should be applied to the payment of public obligations: 2. To general public purposes; 3. To the special purposes in removing the causes of poverty and crime by providing comfortable conditions and proper culture for those who need them. A Board of Commissioners would be demanded for the judicious management of the funds.

The effects would be immediately but gradually to redistribute accumulated wealth, and thereby forever to prohibit monopoly of a ll kinds. The measure is eminently just, because it looks to the permanent stability and general good of society. It would place a limit to the cupidity of man, without in the least taking from him his individual right to accumulate an ample sufficiency of what is termed wealth or property. It leaves him free to acquire, and only limits him when he begins to oppress. It simply admonishes him that he has garnered up enough of the world's goods to make him contented and happy, and that if he desires to accumulate more it must be with a view to benefit those who have been less fortunate than himself. The tendency would inevitably be to make men kindly and philanthropic where they now become austere, grasping and oppressive.

Would the measure be politic and well received by the American people? Unhesitatingly, yes; because of its manifest justice: because it places a limit upon avarice. It compels avarice to stop somewhere, and allow others the opportunity to acquire a reasonable competency. Because its tendency is ever toward redistribution. Because land, the foundation of all wealth, would forever cease to be monopolized. Because man's ambition in the race for wealth would be satisfied by his limit, and his efforts would then naturally turn to channels of usefulness, in aiding to build up a true order of Christian society, instead of, as now, to withhold his wealth, adding house to house and field to field, only to oppress and make wretched—in a word, to commence to realize the Christian idea in every-day life of "Do ye unto others as ye would have others do unto you."

In conclusion, your Committee would say that the principle of limitation applies to all the elements and forms of wealth; it matters not in what quantities or by what tenure the land is held. The inevitable effect is limitation and redistribution in the interest of the whole community.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Our correspondence column admits every shade of opinion; all that we require is that the language shall be that current in calm, unfettered social or philosophical discussion. It is often suggested that certain subjects should be excluded from public journals. We think that nothing should be excluded that is of public interest. Not the facts but the style to determine the propriety of the discussion.

We are in no wise to be held answerable for the opinions expressed by correspondents.

N. B.—It is particularly requested that no communication shall exceed one column. The more concise the more acceptable. Communications containing really valuable matter are often excluded on account of length.]

"FREE LOVE," MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

BY MRS. GOODRICH WILLARD.

No. I.

The conservative world to-day professes to be greatly shocked and dreadfully disgusted at the "free-love" doctrines put forth by a certain class of woman suffragists.

Now, if the "free lovers" are so greatly in error and the conservative world so nearly right, it seems to me that it would be very easy to show up the errors of the former, and thus put a stop to the spread of their false doctrines.

Instead of this, what do we see? The conservative world, including the Church, seems utterly powerless to check the "free-love" tide. There must be a reason for this, and, to me, the reason is very plain. It is because the conservative world is deeper in the mud than the "free lovers" are in the mire. Satan cannot reprove sin with any hope of success. The difference between the "free lovers" and the conservatives is that the former preach boldly what the latter secretly practice.

I believe that to-day Victoria Woodhull is leading a virtuous life, while the majority of those who are howling at her are secretly and habitually guilty of adultery or licentiousness; and they howl because they fear exposure. I am glad if the time has come for the fulfillment of that prophecy which declares that that which is done in secret shall be proclaimed on the house-top.

Conservatives! Pharisees! hypocrites! put your own feet on the solid ground of moral right and virtue—cast the beam out of your own eye before you attempt to pluck the mote from the eye of your sister.

There is, there can be, no difference of opinion about the right of every person to exercise the freest love for everybody that is lovely and lovable, in the same sense that we love a beautiful or fragrant flower. Such a love must be free; no law can touch it, because it is purely a personal matter. It does not even require that the love should be mutual, and, of course, it cannot involve or injure the rights of any other person. There would be no pith or point to the assertion or to the opposition to free-love doctrines on such grounds. But such love does not imply or constitute marriage.

True marriage implies a mutual love and a contract or compact of union between two persons of opposite sex. Nothing less than this can be called marriage in any true sense of the word. The real question at issue is, shall we have marriage at all or shall we not? Shall that love—shall that sexual relation that implies parentage, that involves the rights and happiness of partner and child, that lies at the very foundation of all social organization and order—I say, shall such a relation be regulated by mutual legal compact—shall it be tethered to law and order, or shall it be left solely to individual control, and therefore in multitudes of cases to the fickle caprice of designing or misguided men and women.

I reply in the most positive and emphatic terms, that social organization and order imply the regulation by civil law of all important relations that exist between or affect second and third parties. Civil law is, or should be, the expression of the highest moral tone of the best developed element of society, and this moral tone, expressed and enforced by law, controls, or should control, the lower and baser elements, which, if left to themselves, would recognize no rights but their own selfish desires.

[Ah! Mrs. Willard, are you not making a rather broad assertion? Does social organization imply the regulation as you first state; or the control, as you state last? There is a wide difference between the right to regulate and the right to control. It seems to us that Mrs. Willard utterly ignores the logic of individual freedom, since she says "some people would recognize no rights but their own selfish desires." Doesn't Mrs. Willard see that freedom is the only cure for that lawlessness of which she complains, which is legalized by present marriage customs? Or can she not comprehend that in freedom no expression of selfish desires is possible, unless they first find a consenting party. And who has the right to object in that case? Be sure you comprehend freedom, Mrs. Willard, before you presume to settle what its consequences will be.]

Men will bind themselves before the world to obey a much higher code of morality than they would practice in secret; and it is in this way that society lifts itself up to a higher plane of life and action. In the light of a higher morality than their own, men are ashamed of their secret practices, and when they secretly disobey laws to which they have openly given a voluntary assent, it becomes necessary to expose them, and then their own sense of shame and their fear

of further exposure are often enough to compel reform and obedience.

[A most successful manner by which to manufacture hypocrites! Compel men to be open in all their actions, and banish canting sycophancy. If Mrs. Willard can invent a system by which to legislate morality into men and women, perhaps by a little further experiment she may also find the means to legislate intellectuality into them, and thus do away with the necessity of education.]

Mrs. Woodhull asserts most positively that all which is good and commendable now existing in the marriage relation, would continue to exist if all marriage laws were repealed to-morrow. I am just as positive that it would not continue to exist long. Public opinion might preserve and maintain the present legal status of sexual morality for a while, but civil law is the form and expression of public morality, and this moral tone or status could not long remain after its form and expression had been destroyed.

[We do not know by what authority Mrs. Willard assumes this position. We have the right to assume the position which we occupy, since the extension of freedom in every other direction has been accompanied by beneficial results. It is one thing to assume: anybody can do that. It is quite another matter to deduce conclusions from the logic of events. Only those who can separate principles from effects are capable of this.]

Civil marriage should embody the form and expression of the highest moral sense of that sexual relation that implies parentage; but to-day it does not. The best and most intelligent element of society has outgrown our civil code of marriage laws and regulations. I am just as much opposed to the present unjust laws and conditions of marriage as Mrs. Woodhull, but I would not abrogate the present laws until I had substituted better ones.

[We have never advocated the immediate and unconditional repeal of all laws to regulate marriage. But we do say the reasons that we presented to prove the right to institute such laws apply equally to numerous other things beside marriage. If the children argument is advanced to prove the right to control marriage, why should not laws also be enacted to compel people to eat and drink such things as the doctors tell us are conducive to health. It seems to us that health for children is of a vast deal more importance than the mere matter of support during youth. It is always an indication of wisdom in a person who undertakes to wade in deep water to be sure he knows all the surroundings, lest in escaping one "hole" he falls into others of which he knows nothing.]

In all the relations of life (especially in one so fundamental and vital to society as the sexual), where two or more persons are concerned, the law should seek to bind the parties to deal truly and justly by each other, to keep them on their best behavior, to throw them upon their honor, and when either of them fails to come up to the standard of what is just and right, then the law should take cognizance of the failure in such a way that the one who has acted falsely and basely should feel that he has compromised his honor and disgraced himself, and that in so far as his conduct has been base, he has shown himself or herself unworthy of trust and confidence.

[To the doctrine of total depravity we oppose that of the innate goodness of the human heart.]

If public opinion could become so demoralized that a man could feel as if it was perfectly honorable for him to desert his wife at any time, even when the law of maternity had placed her in a condition that made his loving care and attention essential to her health and happiness, I am very certain that greater misery and worse children would result therefrom than under the present laws and conditions of marriage, bad as they really are.

[Women should be placed upon such a footing by the general customs of society that they will be perfectly independent of men. Then there will be no such thing as desertion. And women will only have children when they desire them. Such children are never, while all others are liable to be, bad, not only intellectually and morally, but also physically.]

If I understand Mrs. Woodhull aright, she would have no legal form or recognition of the conjugal relation; and now, with the kindest feelings toward Mrs. Woodhull, and without at all impugning her motives or her character, I must say, in all sincerity, that I believe that such doctrines, if fully carried out and practically realized, would produce such a lawless condition of society as would render social order and self-government impossible.

[According to Mrs. Willard, society all these years has been advancing backward. It ought to have been going toward despotism instead of toward freedom; toward absolutism instead of democracy.]

I am uncompromisingly opposed to every form of slavery, but I am just as strongly opposed to unbridled license and lawlessness. It is no more slavery to bind ourselves by a solemn compact of marriage in such a way as would lead us to repress the evil passions and tendencies of our nature and cultivate the best feelings and affections toward each other, than it would be slavery to join a temperance society and bind ourselves not to get drunk.

[Will Mrs. Willard define slavery, and also license? And is she commissioned to declare what evil tendencies and evil passions are? Why shouldn't the law compel us to join a temperance society? And why shouldn't the law

forbid the bearing of children having such tendencies and passions?

If there were no dishonor or legal hindrances attending the separation of conjugal partners I am very certain that, in very many cases, there would be so little restraint to the indulgence of bad temper and the picking of quarrels for slight causes that love would seldom last longer than the honeymoon. It is a very easy matter to kill love by neglect and ill-temper, and just as easy to cultivate and strengthen it by kindness and attention.

[On the contrary, the only way to insure constancy is to be in a state of perfect freedom.]

Two persons may not be able to promise to love each other and to live together as long as life shall last, but they can promise to do their best to insure such a result. The conditions of the marriage union and compact should be such as to compel the parties, as far as possible, to do their best to be always true and constant and affectionate toward each other. Nevertheless, divorces should be granted whenever the best good of all parties concerned demands it; but the best good of children and of society should be the paramount consideration. Patriotism and parentage and honor should forbid us to be governed by our own selfish feelings, because parents should feel that they are mainly responsible for the existence and training and character of their children.

[And who is to be the judge? If we had perfect men and women, we would make no objection.]

The marriage compact should be such as to make men and women careful in assuming those relations that shall make them parents. If men and women could, without loss of character and honor, select conjugal partners one day, desert each other the next, and unite with other partners on the third day, there would be very little caution, I trow, in the selection of conjugal partners. When it shall become just as honorable for men and women to take a new conjugal partner every week or month, or every year, or every three or five years, as it is for them to remain true and loving to each other as long as life lasts, then truth and constancy and firmness of character will cease to be virtues, and falsity and fickleness will take their places, and the social conditions upon which to build a firm, self-governing republic will have ceased to exist.

[Assumption without anything to sustain it.]

Every permanent organization, whether natural or social, must be governed by law—by such laws of equilibrium and justice as shall produce order and harmony. Natural organizations are controlled by natural laws; social and political organizations must be governed by social and civil laws. The law of gravitation binds the earth to its integrity and holds it in its orbit; the laws of marriage should bind men and women to their integrity in the conjugal relation, that society may be held together and preserved from anarchy and dissolution.

[Arbitrary law can control nothing. Laws to govern must be the natural laws. These, in the relations of society, have not been discovered. When social laws shall be as well known as the laws of mathematics are, then we shall be governed by law. But until they are discovered, we want freedom to investigate and experiment. Suppose Franklin had been prevented experimenting with lightning until he had discovered the law, where would our telegraphs have been? Mrs. Willard would have us learn to swim before going near the water. It is high time that social matters should be reduced to a common-sense standard, and treated as we treat all other matters. Then the superficiality of Mrs. Willard's strictures will become apparent even to herself.]

A FREE THOUGHT FOR THE ORGAN OF THOUGHT.

I have just been cheated by "a true Christian," and I have been thinking how it is that he can reconcile himself to the deed. This is the manner in which he does it. He believes himself to be "one of the elect," and, therefore, "pre-ordained" to go to Heaven, do what he will. Moreover, he reasons that Christ died for those who believe in Him (Christ), and as this "true Christian" believes that Jesus Christ was God himself, who died to save sinners (who believe in Him), so he, the Christian, will be "saved" for so believing, and that all who do not so believe will go to hell. This process of reasoning appears to my weak mind to be a cheap method of forgiving sins as compared to that of the honest fellow who takes a dollar in his hand and goes to the priest, begging an "intercession" for a sin committed. Somebody is cheated. Is God, the priest, the devil, or the "Christian?"—Yours truly,

WM. JONES.

SAN JOSE, Cal., December 26, 1871.

Mesdames Woodhull & Claflin:

Permit me to inquire, Will the International part of your paper stand firing into? There are certain questions you must answer. You may as well meet them from my pen as from any other. I shall endeavor to reflect the public opinion of a large portion of my countrymen as well as my own. You ignore one class of our citizens, *i. e.* men of military antecedents. They are numerous, clanish, suspicious and conservative. You must convince or fight them, there is no alternative. Very truly,

GERRY E. DANDFORD.

[The Internationals have no desire to fight. But if in the march of equality and justice they find their passage opposed by bayonets, bayonets will most certainly be used to open the way.]

PACIFIC TENDENCIES.

SAN FRANCISCO, January 2, 1872.

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY: We have just rented a very desirable house in a central locality, and are fitting up rooms for the general headquarters of the liberal minds of this city and for the Pacific coast, and shall keep all the leading reform papers and liberal books of the day on hand and for sale, and act as general subscription agents for the same. Shall have a reading-room and keep a record of the names of leading minds as fast as we become acquainted through an extensive correspondence and sending circulars, &c., &c. Especially do we intend to make your WEEKLY, the *Golden Age* and Mrs. Dunaway's *New Northwest* our specialties—regarding them as the *avant couriers* of a higher and nobler civilization. MR. AND MRS. MORSE.

The *Telegram* of Nov. 14, 1871, contained the following, which we transfer to our columns at this late day for the sake of preservation. It will stand an honor to that paper when others will blush for the manner in which they stand written down:

WOMAN'S VOTING AN ANTIDOTE TO POLITICAL ROWDYISM AND VULGARITY.

The women fought another battle for suffrage on Saturday in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, and were again defeated. Chief Justice Carter, however well he may be disposed toward the women, fears to interpret the constitution of the District in their favor, for in no other city of the country is there so much conservatism on the woman question among the regular residents as there is in Washington. Society there is largely composed of Southern people who get frightfully respectable in the atmosphere of the official capital, and who look upon the least deviation across the conventional line by women as something vulgar and abhorrent. Judge Carter had not the moral courage to offend this frigid and exclusive element of the population, and he gave the benefit of a doubt in the framing of the District constitution against the women. The Judge said some wise things in the course of his decision, as, for instance, giving the right to all men to vote, irrespective of qualifications resulting in political profligacy and violence verging upon anarchy. We believe that if the women were given the right to vote it would have a beneficial effect on the results of elections in large cities. Women, as a general thing, would cast their votes for respectable men, and thus neutralize the power now wielded by the roughs, thieves and drunkards. Women would not be bribed by bar-room politicians, nor influenced by the fraudulent machinery of primary meetings. They are instinctively good judges of men's characters, and would need but few hints to arrive at a correct estimate of the different candidates. Their presence at the polls would have the effect of repressing rowdyism and doing away with the scenes which at present make our city elections so utterly disgraceful. Respectable men would go to the polls if women were permitted to vote, and hereafter our elections would be as orderly as a church meeting.

The time is not far distant when long suffering and degraded woman will enjoy as full a measure of political and civil rights as man. Her entry into an active participation of political duties with man will inaugurate a better era for the Republic. It cannot degrade, but on the contrary must help to elevate her. It will teach her self-reliance, raise her self-respect, enlarge the scope of her human sympathies, and make her a stronger and more capable wife and mother.

MRS. FRANCES KINGMAN.

In the record of a commonplace life there are actions that the greatest philosopher would fail to comprehend or account for; in the record of a life where strong passions and a finely cultured intellect blend, there is much that should not be written of or judged, for we know not whether the acts that may seem wrong to us are so; or are sparks of thought-fire from the living, burning brain of the Great Infinite. The divine works in and through us, and even the great actors of a play, are not always the movers that rule the end, or the acts.

"The outward, wayward life we see—
The hidden springs we may not know."

The subject of our sketch is one of those women who have become teachers through the moulding of sorrow. Born in Randolph, Mass., with the old Puritanical element burdening the air she breathed, she grew up one of that class of women whose brains are in an ever active state. This fermentation must find vent, and in doing this the old rules are swept away, and the soul that was "born to better things" than the dull, plodding slave-life of the women of earlier days soars beyond the boundaries of caste and "what will people say," and enters an area where it can develop and use its powers.

Some of these women become teachers, some lecturers, others preachers or authors; but let the path they choose, the calling they follow, be what it will, they give it a strength of purpose, a devotion of intellect, that man is not capable of. The whole power of a strong soul is exerted to advance and extend the idea or aim whose attainment forms the acme of her ambition.

Mrs. Kingman has chosen reform—reform in all its branches—and she gives to its advancement an intellect finely cultured, a ready command of language, and a subtle knowledge of its needs. Her arguments carry conviction along with them. If she strives to alleviate the wrongs of her sex, she is bold and lucid, showing that she claims no

more than the Father of all endowed her with. If there be a social evil that should be righted by pity and not by force, then the words of persuasion flow from her, and we feel the full justice of her plea. She is radical without being blood-thirsty, a position very hard to gain in these days, when the force of a blow echoes through the spirit of a word.

Mrs. Kingman is earnest, and through sorrow has been educated to believe more in charity than in judgment. False laws emanate from noble minds; but although these laws press hard on some of us, shall we condemn the judgment of the man?

There are wrongs that strike deep at the roots of our affections, wrongs that chill and repress the outpourings of brave and earnest souls, and these wrongs Mrs. Kingman has felt; but while their memory lingers with her, the magnanimous nature of woman forgives the wrong, and when battling intellectually to remove the suffering she has borne, far from the lives of those women who are yet to come, she allows no mention of her own suffering to creep in; she allows no vituperation to be given the one who caused it.

Mrs. Kingman became connected with the periodical press in early life, and as a writer of fiction was soon popular. At first, imagination alone—the beauty of ideal objects, of ideal happiness—occupied her mind; but as her years matured and sorrow came, she allowed her intellectual power to be drawn into the channel of progressive thought, allowed her experience to be given to the benefiting of her sex.

It was through the pages of "Intuition" that I first be-



MRS. FRANCES KINGMAN.

came acquainted with Mrs. Kingman as an author. Judged as a novel, "Intuition" is defective; judged as a lesson of life, it is splendid. The story shows how, sorrow-stricken by the hand of death, hope dawned through the darkness of doubt, and truth was shown through the light of the spirit unto a weary-seeking mother-love. There is no plot, only the picture of death in life, of sorrow that flows therefrom, and of the comfort that arises from the knowledge of an existence that pertains to earthly life, but does not end when earthly life ends—does not fade away, but passes on to a brighter sphere, from whence it can and does return—held to earth and earthly beings by the passion of love, which is of the past, present and future—which is God. She shows in this story one trait of a great novelist—the power of naturally and faithfully delineating character, a power that would beautify the most inane plot. Nature—the homely nature that talks, thinks and acts like the men, women and children we see every day—is truly depicted in her work, and gives it its principal charm. It is a woman's book, and a book that every woman should read.

As a lecturer Mrs. Kingman will eventually stand in the foremost rank; in fact, as far as intellect and magnetic power go, she stands there now; all she needs is an opportunity to exert and exhibit them. She has a fine address, a good eye and a clear voice, and to make them felt she has a culture of mind, a power of intellect and an earnestness of manner that show she means what she says and knows what she means—a thing that it would puzzle some of our lecturers to explain.

Before I became acquainted with her as a lecturer, she had delivered two lectures, one entitled "American Mothers and Daughters," the other, "Wasted Lives," in several of our large Eastern cities. They were her first attempts, and although I did not hear them I can furnish the proof of the manner of their reception.

Of the lecture, "American Mothers and Daughters," delivered in Union Hall, Providence, R. I., Mrs. Paulina W.

Davis thus writes to the editor of the *Providence Journal*:

At the hour appointed, 8 o'clock, Mrs. Kingman appeared upon the platform, laid her manuscript upon the table, and went through her lecture as earnestly and conscientiously as though the hall had been filled with an enthusiastic and applauding audience. She announced her subject as "American Mothers and Daughters." She commenced by reviewing the education of the Geeks and Romans, contrasting it with the present frivolous mode, marking broadly the distinction between an education for a noble patriotism and the education for self and selfish ends in husband-hunting and money-getting. Her appeal to mothers was earnest, almost sublime in its deeply religious tone, and the pathos of her appeal for women who may have fallen from purity was more tender, more Christ-like and touching than any I ever heard from any other person. * * * I am not given to flattery or over-much praise, but I think the regal presence of this woman and the perfect literary excellence of her lecture deserve all the praise that may be said of them.

W. F. N., writing to the editor of the *New Bedford Standard*, says of these two lectures and the orator:

Mrs. Kingman possesses a magnificent presence, a good voice, distinct articulation, and a great earnestness of manner. American mothers received excellent and important lessons, which certainly are needed in every city, town and village. Mrs. K. sublimely denounces the folly and wickedness of an education wholly in words and accomplishments. She pleads most earnestly for a reform among children regarding natural things.

"Wasted Lives" she treated in a highly interesting manner. It is a lecture full of variety, demonstration and truth.

Of Mrs. Kingman's later lectures I have had an opportunity to judge, as it has been my good fortune to listen to "Public Men and Things," "God's Newspaper," "Reserved Seats," and others, all of radical tendencies, and all showing the discrimination of a finely cultured and strong intellect, and the eloquence of an inspired soul. To me the principal aim of all these lectures seems to be the advancement of the human race; not of the female sex alone, but of all who are creatures of nature's forming, of all who possess the spark of God-nature that ennobles the power of thought and feeling.

To me this woman is a revelation, for she shows that the God-power is not muscular strength, is not manhood alone; but that it is as strong in the finer nature of woman, and more pure in the spiritual beauty of her formation. God-power is thought-power, and the mind that possesses power sufficient to seize hold of and explain the workings of nature, the causes and results thereof, is nearer God, is more like God than the nature that stubbornly beats upon a door, striving to batter down the guarding walls to seize the prize it hides, and often burying the treasure inextricably in the ruins—using brute force in place of thought, stubborn will in place of spiritual investigation.

Believing firmly in the usefulness of Mrs. Kingman's earnestness of purpose and power of intellect, I will yet allow others to lay their evidence before the public, that those who are seeking for knowledge may know I am not alone in my admiration of her power and estimation of its strength. Writing to the *Banner of Light*, Mrs. Ellen Dickinson, of Vineland, New Jersey, closes her communication with these words:

Now permit me to call your attention briefly to Mrs. Frances Kingman, who gave us two grand lectures last week. She is a brave, outspoken woman, whose ear is attuned to the "still, sad music of humanity." She denounces shams with fearful emphasis, and marshals before us existing wrongs and abuses, and

Talks with them, too,
And takes upon her the mystery of things
As if she were God's spy.

Her love of practical truth "haunts her like a passion; it is to her an appetite, a feeling and a love."

Also, in the *Banner of Light*, Charles Kenyon, of Chicago, writes from Wilmington, Delaware:

"May I be allowed to give to the readers of your common-sense paper a brief idea of my feelings last evening, in listening to a discourse delivered here by Mrs. Frances Kingman, entitled 'God's Newspaper?' a radical, spicy cutting up of tradition, and an eloquent, classical arrangement of the Creator's advertisements for His world and worlds without distinction.

"I am a Churchman, a Baptist by profession, but have been shaking beneath doubts and fears for a long time, and believe some good influence carried me last evening to the Spiritualists' meeting in this place, to listen to a lecture which caused me to resolve to go among such people oftener; and my appetite has been sharpened, I assure you, by listening to this lady, whose personal appearance is regal, and who is an ornament to any profession. I want more common sense cathartic. I need purging of doctrine. I need to find what place I occupy in the columns of the great paper named 'Creation.'

I insert this, that perchance some other weary traveler, in resting by the wayside for a Monday's train, may be carried by some good influence to a spiritual meeting, to hear, if not "God's newspaper" read, something as spicy, reasonable, classical and awakening."

Is more needed to show that to this woman God has assigned a purpose? Is more needed to show that to her God has given powers possessed by few? I think not; but if there should be those who doubt, to such I say, if you can, listen to her lectures; if you cannot do this, get her "Intuition," and read it, and if she does not bring you both comfort and knowledge, then am I a false prophet.

THOMAS S. COLLIER.

BRUTALITY OF THE NEW YORK "HERALD."

In an editorial in the Sunday *Herald* the following paragraph occurs, which we recommend to the attention of our readers, that they may remember it when suffrage is attained:

"Undaunted by repeated failures, an effort is now made to give to women in the Territories the right to vote and hold office, and Mr. Wilson, of Massachusetts, introduced a bill yesterday to that effect. We are not aware that there is anything in existing laws to prohibit women in the Territories or elsewhere holding any offices which they may be fortunate or unfortunate enough to get; but as to their taking part in political strife and chicanery there or anywhere else, we know of no man who would propose such degradation for his own wife, sister or daughter, and the sooner this unwholesome fungus of agitation is covered up from public attention the more creditable it will be to American society. The thing is a stench in the nostrils of all respectable, right-minded people."

THE PRESENT AGE.

One of the most pleasing signs of the times is the increasing liberality of the press, and there is no more notable example of this than the *Present Age*, of Chicago, Col. D. M. Fox, editor. Its columns do not fear the admission of the most opposite views of persons or principles. We are extremely obliged to Colonel Fox for the admission of Mr. Hudson Tuttle's, so-called, reviews of ourselves and of Social Freedom, since assumption and assertion require only to be placed beside principles and argument to make their weakness palpable. Truth always shines brightest when rubbed the hardest; and we glory that there are some people who are willing to perform the service of polishers. We hope more papers will follow the lead of the *Age*, and give Hudson Tuttle and his class of objectors a full hearing. They can do the truth no better service, or oblige us half so much, in any other way.

INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

All persons desiring to become members or forming Sections, and trades unions or societies wishing to affiliate with the International Workingmen's Association, can procure all the necessary information and documents by addressing the regular officers of the Federal Council of North America, as follows:

English Corresponding Secretary, John T. Elliott, 208 Fifth street, New York.

German Corresponding Secretary, Edward Grosse, 214 Madison street, New York.

French Corresponding Secretary, B. Laugrand, 355 Fourth avenue, New York.

Spanish Corresponding Secretary, Majin Janer, 112 Lexington avenue, Brooklyn.

Italian Corresponding Secretary, Antonio Brumi, 621 East Twelfth street, New York.

THE ESCAPED NUN IN WASHINGTON CITY.

Miss Edith O'Gorman, for several years an inmate of St. Joseph's Convent, Hudson City, New Jersey, is going to Washington City, and will soon deliver her startling and thrilling lecture on "Life in a Convent." The daily papers of that city will give full particulars as to hall, date, &c., in a few days. She has recently been appearing before crowded houses in other cities, the largest halls being filled to overflowing. Her agent, Mr. Wm. F. Phillips, is now in Washington City perfecting the necessary arrangements. We bespeak for her a crowded house.

MRS. A. M. MIDDLEBROOK.

Recently we gave our readers some account of this talented lady, whom we are able to count among our most respected friends. She is open to engagements to speak upon any subject of general interest—religious, political or social—anywhere in the States east of the Mississippi River. Terms, \$75 and expenses. We take pleasure in recommending her to our friends, as one of the most profitable as well as entertaining speakers in the field. Her address is box 778 Bridgeport, Conn.

NOTICE TO CLERGYMEN.

We have recently been the recipients of numerous letters from clergymen in different parts of the Union asking our terms to them for the WEEKLY. In view of the greatly increased interest manifested by this class of citizens in the principles we advocate, since the Steinway Hall lecture, we announce that we will send the WEEKLY to them complimentary upon an application for it; as well as to all public speakers, of whatever class or persuasion; and to Spiritual lecturers we shall be especially gratified to furnish it.

THE WASHINGTON CONVENTION.

We are sorry to be obliged to inform the many friends who have sent and are sending for the number of the WEEKLY containing report of this Convention, that the edition is exhausted. An extra issue of 5,000 was not sufficient by one-half to meet the demand.

[From the American Spiritualist.]

WHAT'S TO BE DONE POLITICALLY?

Observing as we have and sensing as we do, the very general dissatisfaction and disgust which prevail throughout the country at the present status and prospective condition of the old political parties, and their lamentable inability or unwillingness to satisfactorily meet the vital issues which press upon the people for settlement, we are seriously constrained to ask the question which forms the caption of this article—what is to be done, politically? No citizen who thinks at all but knows it is a forlorn hope to expect any essential change for good by continuing in the old party ruts any longer; that it is folly to look for it, and out of all question to obtain it. A valued friend thus expresses our sentiment: "All who read the signs of the times, and are not crystallized into permanent structures, or who retain in any degree the elasticity of thought essential to wisdom, cannot fail of seeing that the present political parties, with their merits and demerits, have substantially finished their course." The Democratic party, as a party, has gone to seed. Its distinctive issues which once gave it prominence and vitality, long since became defunct. True, its leaders are afflicted with periodical efforts to galvanize it into temporary life, but without avail. There is no hope of its resurrection.

The Republican party, too, seems to have served its day and generation. Having done its work—pre-eminently a specific one—the removal of slavery and the carrying of the country through war and reconstruction, it is getting ready to be laid aside. Being stricken with death, let no one seek to indefinitely preserve its corpse because of its former prestige and vitality. Let it have, in proper time, as it deserves, generous burial and an enduring monument. Affectionately embalm its virtues, cherish its merits, and endeavor to improve upon its good deeds. Its existence was once a necessity. By virtue of that necessity it was born, grew mighty and conquered. The same necessity exists to-day for another organization, like unto it in some respects, but broader, juster, more impartial and comprehensive than ever the ordinary Republican imagination dared conceive.

The inspirations of the hour already point to the formation of such a party, on a basis so complete and commendatory, and in accordance with principles so consistent and universal, that the good sense of the people, the throbbing heart of the masses will gladly respond to its claims and rally to its support. They only await the signal call, which will also arouse the great army of reformers and men of intelligence in every section of the country, who for years have eschewed party politics, to again enter the ranks and battle with renewed zeal and courage for Progress and the Rights of Man. The country is awakening to the fact that the realities of national life, instead of being seriously, conscientiously and intelligently considered, are but sported with. As heretofore, the real bone of contention between the prominent political parties, is the possession of the goose which lays golden eggs. The struggle for success is still the spoils of office. The exciting stimulant is pelf, place and power. Now so long as this kind of selfishness is the main spring and guiding star of our political action, there is no political hope. A cry, wrung from the people's heart, goes up to heaven for change. The times are pregnant with movements of a revolutionary character. The enfranchisement of woman; the settlement of disputed questions by arbitration; the sequestration and civilizing of our Indians; prohibiting criminal wastefulness of the public domain; the revocation of corrupt grants of land subsidies to railroads and other monopolies; remodeling our laws of taxation and usury; enforcing public education and civil service; reducing government expenses; simplifying national affairs; abrogating, by making uniform, conflicting statute laws respecting marriage and divorce—not only these and other essential reforms are to be effected through the machinery of politics, the principles of which, according to Burke, are merely those of morality enlarged, but the most vital problems of a free government are yet awaiting solution.

In ascertaining what is to be done, the question naturally arises, what is wanted? We answer in general terms—improved legislation. This necessitates another and a better class of legislators; honest and intelligent men and women, who will not favor corporations, institutions or combinations of any kind, however powerful, at the expense of the people; who will no longer tolerate the subversion of the rights of the humblest individual to the aggrandizement of any special class, but on the contrary who will insist upon extending equity and justice alike to each and all, guaranteeing the broadest individual freedom compatible with the public good; in the administration and execution of the laws, legislating in the interest of the people and for the people.

We have said nothing can reasonably be expected from either of the political parties but a futile attempt to bolster up and prolong the present unfortunate condition of affairs. Thus the way is clear and the necessity imperative to organize another party, or form a basis of action wherein the principles of equal rights and impartial justice shall have full and free play.

All the political signs portend a new departure more marked and significant than any which the ordinary politician either dreams of or discerns. If equal to the necessities which underlie and call it into being, it will be of a character sufficiently catholic and comprehensive, and adapted to all its ends, as to gather all the various elements in the great body politic which now find no satisfactory channel to express itself, and uniting these forces into one grand and resistless body, immediately inaugurate a new party on a higher, wiser and more humanitarian basis than any of the past, and march forward to victory.

SHOW UP THE HYPOCRITES.

Mr. Justice Strong, of the Supreme Court of the United States, is the head and front of the effort making to so amend the Federal Constitution as to secure a recognition of the existence of Almighty God therein. For three generations the people of the United States have lived in all good conscience under a compact of government destitute of any such recognition, but now comes Judge Strong to insist that such existence is a sin. When a man thus arises to say I am holier than thou, not alone to us but to our departed fathers, it is proper to inquire into our mentor's own claims to sanctity. Let us ask, Who is Mr. Justice Strong, and

what special virtue authorizes him to launch his condemnation at his countrymen?

Our first forcible recollection of Judge Strong is connected with his judicial career in Pennsylvania just prior to his elevation to the Supreme bench. At that time certain of the great railway corporations of Pennsylvania found themselves hampered in an attempt to create a coal famine by certain provisions in their charters which rendered imperative the transportation of coal at a given rate per ton. The miners were digging out the coal at one end of the line; at the other were millions of people eager to receive the fuel; between the two stood the great corporations, anxious to charge such exorbitant rates of freight as to forbid the free transmission of the article, and by thus engineering a coal famine at one end and a coal glut at the other grind down the coal miners' wages and force the coal consumers to pay greatly enhanced prices for their coal. The charters, with their positive requirement of a toll of but so much a ton for transportation, stood in the way of the operation of this scheme. How to evade that requirement became the question, and Judge Strong found the answer. He decided that "tolls" did not mean rates of freight. So far as "tolls" were in question the companies must conform to their charters. But coal was not an article made amenable to "tolls;" the companies might lawfully charge what they would on this article; and fortified by this decision the coal famine set in on one side and the coal glut on the other. Consumers were robbed mercilessly by a heavy advance in coal, and the miners driven almost into insurrection by the reduction of their hire. The great corporations profited by the theft and oppression, and Judge William Strong put it into their power to perpetuate the wrong. He would pretend to vindicate the divine law; not so can he hide the scandal, the injustice, the brazen truckling to power of his conduct in the case of the Pennsylvania coal troubles, where he wrested the law of his country to purposes of extortion and fraud.

Again. Shortly after this iniquitous decision, perhaps in consequence of his being capable of such baseness and subservency, Judge Strong of Pennsylvania became Mr. Justice Strong of the Supreme Court of the United States. A decision had been rendered by that court that men who had incurred debts in gold must pay in gold. This was particularly obnoxious to the great railway companies Judge Strong had served so well. Two new appointments to the Supreme Court were soon thereafter made, and one of them was Judge Strong. The adjudged case was reopened. Mr. Justice Strong voted to reverse the prior ruling of the court, and by his vote and that of the other new justice the ruling was reversed. The decision was made that men who had borrowed in gold might lawfully pay back in paper. Repudiation, non-fulfillment of promise, chicanery, lying is what Mr. Justice Strong decided to be law.

This unjust judge, this perverter of the law, this servant of Mammon, makes himself the head and front of an effort to procure, forsooth, the recognition of Almighty God in the Constitution of these United States. Out upon the whited sepulchre!—*New York Sunday World*.

LA COMMUNE.

BY JOHN WILLIAM DAY.

"MY DEAR M. PASSA: I charge you, if ever the party which I have supported should attain power, and if it should threaten its adversaries with its vengeance, to make use of this letter to tell them that, at my last hour, I earnestly ask those who have the honor to defend liberty not to avenge its victims; that would be unworthy of liberty and of us who are dead. Your very devoted,
L. ROSSELL.
Nov. 28, 5:30 A. M."

—Last message of Gen. Rossell, written half an hour before his execution at Sartory.

"Patience, friends, the eye of God
Every path by murder trod
Watches, endless, day and night
And the dead man in his shroud,
And a nation weeping loud,
And our hearts are in His sight!"
WHITTIER

I.
The cannon's roar grew louder, the first hot shell-drops fall,
Swelled to a blazing tempest along th' embattled wall;
While, as the lightning quivers the Alpine gorges through,
High o'er the battle's yawning rifts the blood-red ensign flew.

II.
As Biscay's tumbling surges against her headlands roar,
So Breton moblets thundered the shattered bastions o'er—
The coward Papist Bretons, whose feet ignobly fled
When Bismarck from the spike-crowned North his "immigration" led.*

III.
Red as the ocean's bosom, beneath his boundless sky,
When rings the circling cutlass to the charging boarder's cry,
Thy streets, O Paris! bloomed, till blood and ember's glow
Mixed with thy smitten, trailing flag—a trinity of woe!

IV.
A bleak November morning! The sun disdains to shine
Where deadly Chassepots glitter along the *genie's* line.
Again the blood of martyrs sprinkles that grisly door,
He passed, who lit a darkened age, and Calvary's earthquake roar.

V.
God of a struggling people, hear thou thy children's cry,
Give light to souls in darkness and truth to front each lie!
Bleach thou each nation's banners to purity's white fold;
Oh, be man's deathless brotherhood to far horizons rolled.

VI.
Speed thou the day when freemen shall be our only kings,
And Reason the Shekinah between Thine Ark's great wings,
Quench thou each warrior's slogan in battle's fiery den,
And give to weary, waiting ears fair Bethlehem's song again.

VII.
Man builds the tomb of martyrs his fathers' hands have made,
His skirts—than theirs—no purer from hatred's deadly shade;
But still the golden morning climbs up the paling sky,
And hearts that trust Progression's law move on to "do or die!"
Boston, Mass., Jan. 2, 1872.

* Edmund About wrote concerning the German army: "It is not an army, but an immigration that has come upon us."

DRAMATIC AND MUSICAL.

The present theatrical season in this city has, thus far, been almost unprecedentedly successful, and no manager with a strong company, or who has been liberal in his expenditures for scenery, costumes and appointments, has failed to increase his bank account.

The Nilsson season of opera at the Academy of Music was the most lucrative one ever known in this city, and was extended much beyond its original limits; while Wachtel, and more lately the Mulder-Fabbi opera company, nightly crammed that immense old rookery, the Stadt Theatre, to its utmost capacity.

On Saturday evening last, the occasion of the one hundred and fiftieth performance of "Divorce" at the Fifth Avenue Theatre, Mr. Daly celebrated the event by presenting to every lady in the audience a programme printed on satin, bordered with silver fringe and mounted on a tasty gilt roller.

That wonderful goat at Niblo's has become one of the sensations of the day, and the Majiltons are as active and wonderful as ever.

Mr. Barrett has won fresh laurels in his rendition of "Cassius" in "Julius Caesar" at Booth's, many of his admirers considering it his finest effort.

At the St. James Theatre, Mr. Mackaye has met with a degree of success during the last week or two that must be quite cheering, and has decided to run "Monaldi" another week before producing the new society play of "Marriage."

"John Garth" is still the attraction at Wallack's.

Mr. S. B. Mills and Signor Sarasate gave the first of a series of four matinees at Steinway Hall on Saturday last. They were assisted by Signor Randolfi and Messrs. Bergner and Dachauer.

Within the past two years, much improved a naturally fine organ, and is now one of our most pleasing baritone singers. We doubt the propriety of his attempting "Oh, raddier than the cherry," which has been made famous by Santley, for comparisons naturally arise, the result of which cannot be unfavorable to Santley.

Signor Sarasate's violin playing displayed the same exquisite taste and finish as on previous occasions. Mr. Mills' manipulation of the pianoforte was wonderful to behold, and he displayed an amount of power hardly to be acquired by ordinary mortals without the persistent use of Indian clubs or dumbbells.

On Monday next the Parepa-Rosa Grand English Opera Company will commence a short season at the Academy of Music. Carl Rosa, of course, is director, and Mr. De Vivo the business manager. The company will comprise Parepa-Rosa and all those who appeared with her recently, with the addition of Mr. Charles Santley, the famous English baritone, late of the Dolby troupe.

NATURAL LAW—NATURAL ORDER.

MESDADES EDITORS: With deep interest I read your paper and watch your earnest inspirations for social reform, and the talent, energy, industry and courage exhibited are highly gratifying.

In this work I am no less interested than you, but so far my labors have been more secluded. In pursuance of solicitations made and assented to in the Fall of 1850, I have been medimistically associated with a congress of angelic humanizers in making theoretical preparations for the thorough, practical solution of the problem of human well-being, angelic and carnate.

This preparation required a thorough acquaintance with the abstract requirements of the law of generative possibility in their order of occurrence; their general application to existence as a generatively progressing potency, and their special application to the societary world as a distinct generative sphere, that we might obtain a knowledge of its generic realities, actual and possible, and the order in which its possible realities may be actualized.

Having accomplished this, it follows, as a natural result, that we differ from those who have not viewed this subject from a like comprehensive standpoint of law and order.

The frank utterances of your hearty aspirations for good and truth furnish many points worthy of consideration that have incited in us a desire to express some of our views to your readers.

Woman suffrage seems now to claim a full share of your attention, and its agitation will prove of great service by rendering apparent woman's subject con-

You claim woman suffrage as a constitutional right, push that claim to its issue, and it will demonstrate that the actual status conferred on woman by marriage is that of a chattel subject, and not that of a citizen ruler.

You will then cease to patch marriage or any other despotic or politico-despotic arrangement of society, and seek to substitute new, genuine republican garments for these filthy, decaying rags of antiquity that have so long befouled us.

No one denies the necessity of regulating suffrage by law, and we claim that it is regulated unerringly by the law of possibility.

This law declares that the ability to vote depends on the power of choice, and that in the absence of this ability or power the right of suffrage cannot be present.

When any person is subjected to the control of another the power of choice becomes invested in the controlling, and is absent from the controlled person, and by this transfer of the power of choice and of the ability to vote the right of suffrage is alienated.

Citizenship cannot by any possibility inhere in or attach to any person in the absence of self-control, and the want of self-control is, has been and ever will be the only actual bar to suffrage; and age, sex, color and parentage have been only apparent and not real bars.

The white male cannot vote while he is a minor; the negro cannot vote while he was a chattel, and so it is, has been and will be with woman, till she refuses the subjection imposed by marriage.

This requisition of the law of possibility applies to all dependent persons in the ratio of their dependence, for dependence subjects to control; also hiring chattels are not an exception, for it can be shown that they have suffrage only in appearance.

All political republics are organized despotisms. Organization is distinctively the republican form, and therefore a political despotism organized over the people of a nation gives to it a republican appearance, while in principle it is only despotic.

The money dispensation is the inevitable adjunct of all political compacts, and by its power all the mills of State and Church are run, to grind and render poor they who perform the works of use; for this it was instituted, and not to facilitate commerce or furnish a currency. Therefore beware of all monetary currencies.

Political parties are the engines by which all political despotisms rule.

Each political party is managed by a few heads or leaders who determine party politics and select candidates for office.

All political parties are operated by the money power, and on it their efficiency depends; therefore any new party that may arise, will by degrees be subjected to the supervision and control of the moneyocracy through the management of moneyed supplies.

In party rule, a variety of parties are necessary, that the people may be allowed an apparent choice of officers, while in reality they have only a choice of party.

In this way the officers chosen by party leaders are made to appear as the representatives of the people, while they actually represent only party lead and moneyocratic despotism; and also it is made to appear that they have suffrage, while they have it only in appearance.

Thus through the engineering of political parties and the money power, officers and people are ruled by the moneyocracy and compelled to give of the products of their toil without compensation.

The word citizen was derived from city; city, from site; and site, from sit. Site signifies a place to build on; city, full of sites.

The s of site and city was changed to c to signify inclosed, and, therefore, city signifies many sites in one inclosure.

In olden times cities were located, inclosed, protected and governed by the chiefs or heads of tribes, families or clans.

Political was derived from poll, the final l of which signifies a head.

In the word pole the stem of p represents an extension as plain as the ground; the semi-circle or bulb, a bud or sprout; the o, the outside coat or peel, and its shape as of a tree; the l, an extension from the plain; and the e, branches as of a tree.

In poll the first l signifies extending upward, and the second signifies extending out around, like the head of a tree or man.

In each city only the polls or heads had a controlling voice or vote; these were citizens; those under control, denizens; and visitors were aliens.

A citizen is one who incloses, controls and protects the denizens of a city.

By marriage woman as a class is rendered subject, and therefore she is a denizen and not a citizen, and such will be the case until as a class she refuses and ceases to be subjected by marriage or industrial dependence.

Negro slavery, marriage and minorage are all personal chattelisms, and as such they are bars, apparent as well as real, to suffrage.

Hiring service is an industrial chattelism, and as such it is a real, though not an apparent, bar to genuine suffrage. It allows of apparent, but not of genuine, suffrage.

Chattelhoods, personal and industrial, are all real and insurmountable bars to genuine suffrage.

Personal and industrial freedom is the only practical road to genuine suffrage.

Personal freedom is a prerequisite of industrial freedom, and this is a prerequisite of genuine suffrage freedom, or at least its concomitant.

The Washington Chronicle says that "the people are not disposed to attach much importance to the Custom House frauds in New York." Just so the Democratic papers in this region said about five months ago that the people were not disposed to attach much importance to the Tammany frauds in this city, but the next election proved the folly of their confidence.—N. Y. Sun.

THE TRUE WOMAN.

The following song, composed—as was stated by Mrs. Hooker—by one of the women delegates to the recent convention, who had never before written a line of poetry in her life, on the cars as she was coming to the city, was sung with telling effect on Friday afternoon, the immense audience, which filled Lincoln Hall to its utmost capacity, joining in the chorus with the greatest enthusiasm:

From the dreary homes of sorrow, where pale children sit in tears;

From the happy homes of plenty, that know nor cares nor fears,

Comes the swelling song of freedom down the swiftly moving years

That "Souls are marching on."

Chorus—Glory, glory, hallelujah, &c.

They are marching to the front, where the lines of battle form;

They have seized the frowning battlements of prejudice by storm;

Lo! gentle woman stands revealed in Heaven's majestic form;

Her soul is marching on.

Ah! sisters, do you see her—this true woman of to-day?

Ah! brothers, do you welcome her to just and loyal sway?

God's angels, bending o'er, her have sped her on her way.

Her soul is marching on.

And, gathering in her bosom, with true motherly embrace,

The beating hearts and tender forms of all God's human race,

She'll carry them, with steady step, before the Father's face,

Where souls are marching on.

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VICTORIA C. WOODHULL and TENNIE C. CLAFLIN,
EDITORS AND PROPRIETORS.

A NEW CONSTITUTION.

In this number we present for the consideration of reformers the first draft of a new constitution. The failure of Congress to take action upon the important question of the denial of the suffrage to one-half the citizens of the country clearly indicates that they do not intend to give up their usurped powers over such citizens; while the new doctrine that Government has the right to deny suffrage to any citizen is at least an intimation that the attempt may be made even to place a large portion of the so-called lower or laboring, male classes upon the same plane that women citizens occupy.

Now, if our present constitution will permit such despotism, it is quite time to begin to inquire about a new one, and into what principles it should be founded upon. In the construction of this instrument the idea of a perfect equality in all things in which equality by nature is prophesied was kept steadily in view. It is believed that all the reforms demanded to place humanity upon a common and just plan are provided for.

In regard to the detail little attention has been given. It is to be expected that, before a new constitution is adopted, even if it should contain the principles introduced in this, the form will be changed in many respects. But it has become important that the various reforms which have found expression in resolutions and platforms should be formulated into a working model. And it is with this idea that this model has been presented.

A new constitution is something definite. It is a rallying point in which people can see some ultimate object expressed—some specific thing to be accomplished—some defined method by which to reach the attainment of their desires.

The impending revolution will involve the principles enunciated in this constitution. It expresses in terms that are unmistakable that individuals are not only entitled to freedom, but also to equality and to justice. It also destroys the idea to which officials cling, that government is something over and superior to the people. It makes the people the government, and its officers simple servants.

We are aware that sneers of derision, scorn and contempt will meet this proposition. We shall undoubtedly be adjudged doubly insane, but nevertheless we assert that this country is to have within the present decade a new constitution founded upon the principles expressed in this.

Had Congress interpreted the present Constitution in the interests of true democracy, instead of in those of despotism, so that further reform could be possible under it, a new one would have been unnecessary. But we are told that our Constitution is no safeguard for our liberties. Even the right to be represented may be destroyed. What hope, then, is there for the future, except in the adoption of a constitution which will, beyond a doubt, be a perfect guarantee. To secure an end of such vital importance should be the work of the immediate future. It should be secured before those who would rule us shall have fastened more fetters upon us—before they succeed in strengthening their present hold upon the vitals of society. For the first time in the history of our government is the right to disfranchise all citizens asserted. One step more in the same direction,

and they will not only assert the right, but actually perform the act. Will men be so blind as not to see the drift of events. It is most evidently to monarchy. But a storm will arise which will set the tide in the opposite direction—in that of a perfect democracy. The new Constitution points the way.

PERSONAL AND PRESIDENTIAL.

All the readers of this paper, and some others, know perfectly well that Victoria C. Woodhull has not been an inactive woman during the last two or three years. Her private life is her own, although it has been a subject of free comment. As the individual American, however, is supposed to live in a glass house, into and through which the public have a right to look, she has, perhaps, no ground of complaint on that score only that, with some others, she would complain not of intrusive comment but of deliberative misrepresentation. Her public life is at the public service.

In April, 1869, the world was startled from its propriety by the announcement of a woman's intention to run for the Presidential chair. A few persons thought this was a freak of insanity, others read in it an outrageous craving for personal notoriety.

Some wonderingly inquired whether "the woman" could possibly be in earnest, while the community at large laughed at the ridiculous presumption of a woman who thus dared to outrage the proprieties and brave an ordeal of unfriendly criticism and aspersion from which a case-hardened political adventurer might well recoil. A few generous exceptions there were, indeed, who neither blamed nor ridiculed, but saw in the fact a Sign of the Times, and left events to shape their own course. Among the foremost of these bold free-thinkers was Mr. Bennett. The columns of the *Herald* were thrown open to Mrs. Woodhull; in them her presidential pronouncement and her views of government were enunciated, and if the *Herald* did not praise, it did not blame. It simply recorded progress and change, and left its readers free to choose between the old and the new.

The objects that Victoria C. Woodhull had in view in her presidential candidature were multiform. The most prominent was the deliberate announcement of her conviction that a woman had political rights—that she had, moreover, intellectual capacity for the highest political position. A woman's claim to the highest office in the gift of the nation at once covered the whole ground of "woman's rights." The right to vote and to work had been talked; the equal capacity of woman had been advanced, but nothing practical had been done. Victoria C. Woodhull stepped to the front, and, grasping the hostile weapons, concentrated them on herself, and undertook to receive the full charge of ridicule, obloquy and detestation, in the hope that the cause might triumph.

Her object has been gained. A woman has been heard in Congress, a woman's arguments have been respectfully listened to by the Judiciary Committee. Women are admitted to colleges, practice law, in one Territory have been admitted to political rights, and that cause which was once a by-word and term of reproach, a laughing-stock and a thing of derision, is now held in respect and is become the leading question by whose issue the social and political regeneration, not only of this nation, but of all nations, is to be determined. It is decided that woman's equality with man in all the functions of social and political life is to be the corner-stone of the new edifice in the coming time.

The growth of the woman question, like all great projections of free thought in all reformatory periods of the world's history, has opened up innumerable correlative topics. A review of our whole social and moral condition is impending. After dissonance, harmony.

Inasmuch as the self-nominated candidature of Victoria C. Woodhull for the Presidential office still disturbs some weak minds with visions of unknown possibilities, and inasmuch as she values unity of action far beyond any purposes of personal advancement, Victoria C. Woodhull repeats, what she has frequently said, that the purposes for which she advanced her name signifying Presidential aspirations are accomplished.

We are approaching a season of Presidential nominations, and all political parties are skirmishing for favorable positions and points of departure. It is nearly certain that the regular Republicans will renominate General Grant. It is not yet evident that the Democrats will not nominate an independent ticket. There is a deal of wire-working going on looking to union between disaffected Republicans and Democrats, and undoubtedly such a programme is already formed. Whether it can succeed is not certain, since democracy will resist final burial with all the energy of despair. But such a consummation will come or there will be a straight Democratic nomination, in which case there will also be a broad field for a third party, made up of all the varied elements of radical reform, standing upon a platform of unmistakable meaning, and under the appellation of

THE EQUAL RIGHTS PARTY.

It was with this view that the National Labor Union were invited to postpone their Columbus Convention; and the general favor with which the idea of a Union Convention is received promises well for its accomplishment.

It should be in a peculiar sense a spontaneous gathering,

to which the people should go, leaving all personal ambitions and prejudices at home; and, being imbued with the great purposes in view, they would construct a platform of principles to which none could object, and wide enough for all to gather upon, and which would inspire enthusiasm in the hearts of the people, from the very fact of the harmony and unity of purpose in which it was conceived. This is an age of rapid progress. Who can say that a party thus begun might not sweep over the country like a refreshing rain after a long drouth, to the perfect astonishment even of its own movers.

At all events, there will be several elements in the next canvass which have never before manifested themselves in a Presidential election, each of which, acting separately, would produce modifying effects upon the vote. The Labor Unionists are a power if they resolve to work for political purposes. So also are the Temperance Reformers, while the Woman Suffragists are by no means to be ignored; and the more recent developments looking to the political action of Spiritualists will cause whatever parties there may be in the field to proceed with the utmost caution. The Spiritualists alone, acting in unison, can defeat any party, and they will defeat any party which does not carry at its head the promise, at least, of Equal Humanitarian Rights.

It is all of these branches of reform that should meet in common convention and organize for the impending campaign.

It is because such events are at hand that Victoria C. Woodhull at this particular time wishes her position distinctly understood, so that nothing relative to it can be made an objection by anybody to the proposed Convention. Whatever she has done has been with the sole view of pushing the car of progress and justice, and entirely without reference to personal considerations. She has and makes no claim upon anybody, but feels amply repaid for whatever service it has been her privilege to render the common cause. Indeed, she believes there are wider fields of reform than open to view in the White House, while those upon which she has recently entered are so radical and revolutionary, and so generally unpopular among those who now hold and dispense the national favors, that the idea of political preference in her case is precluded. She has only to add, that had she been a political aspirant, she would not have entered upon them. Let people who have made her motives only those of an ambitious woman consider this before they repeat their assertions. She will work for the election of the candidate of the Equal Rights Party, and to defeat any party which still adheres to the right of the government to, at its will only, dispense the right to vote among citizens, or, if it please them, to withhold it altogether.

STATES RIGHTS—BY OLIVER JOHNSON.

We are occasionally astonished at the exhibition of want of comprehension made by people who are usually cool-headed and clear-brained, and never more so than by Oliver Johnson's recent article in the *Woman's Journal*. It seems to us that there is a chronic unwillingness on the part of some to ever admit the fact that our theory of government permits no exercise of authority, except over a consenting community.

In the first place, a government, to have legal existence anywhere, must have lawful beginning somewhere. If the right to form a government do not exist in the people before it is formed, when and where does its lawful existence begin? Government is fashioned by the people; and being their creature it appears to us the height of absurdity to assert that it can turn upon and limit the creating power.

Although this doctrine advanced by Oliver Johnson is not the same lately advanced by the *Woman's Journal*—voting a Natural Right—yet the *Journal* makes no dissent from his argument. We hold, if Oliver Johnson claim that this Government has a legal existence now, he must admit that the right to vote exists in the people. There is no escaping from the deduction, since no argument nor logic can be brought forward to disprove a self-evident proposition.

But Oliver Johnson is not consistent in his own statement of his case. He affirms that the Fourteenth Amendment does not affect citizenship or its rights either in men or women. Is this so? Before the Amendment, citizens were first, citizens of the State, and secondly, under certain conditions, though not always, citizens of the United States. After the Amendment, people were, first, citizens of the United States, and by virtue thereof citizens of the State where they reside. Now admitting that the States had a right to deny the ballot to their own citizens not citizens of the United States, does it follow from that that the same right continues when those citizens become citizens of the larger sovereignty?

But even admitting that the State under the first sentence of the Fourteenth Amendment still retained the right to make the denial, under the plea that it was not prohibited, how can the same be maintained under the restriction of the second sentence of the Amendment—"No State shall make or enforce any law that shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States." Oliver Johnson does not deem that provision worthy of notice, since he makes no reference to it.

But he evidently had it under consideration, since he feels compelled to make it appear that Judge Taney's decision in

the Dred Scott case—we presume he means Justice Daniels'—was a forced decision made for that particular case. That decision states in the most positive terms that the term citizen conveyed all the rights of participation in government that any person has.

Oliver Johnson might be held to be consistent in his position about that decision if that were the only authority touching the point in question. But unluckily for his assertion, as well as for his consistency, every authority which involves the term citizen is of the same tenor as that decision. Indeed the decision itself repeats that the term citizen, as describing a person connected with the government, is held to have that signification in all theories of government and by all writers upon government. Even the root of the word confirms that position, and all the dictionaries repeat the confirmation. And that Oliver Johnson should ignore the authority of Johnson, Webster, etc., in the matter, when he and the New York *Tribune*, with which he is connected, are such sticklers for the common rendition in other cases, does not look very well for either his consistency or perspicacity. And when he makes the positive assertion that Judge Taney "invented the doctrine that no one was a citizen who was not a voter," he displays a frightful exhibition of ignorance or a wonderful amount of presumption.

But let us see how his premises and conclusions agree. He premises by saying that citizens are not necessarily voters; and that neither the Fourteenth nor the Fifteenth Amendment changed the relations of citizens; and that neither made citizens voters. We believe that is a fair statement of his premises. But, in assuming that, he utterly ignores the fact, not of history, but existing in our very midst since the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment—that negroes are voters. Has there been any State laws making negro citizens voters? Mr. Johnson should have pointed the law out if there has been, otherwise he should make such positive statements with a little more caution, because all people are not ignorant of all things.

But Mr. Johnson cannot plead ignorance. He knows that negroes were made voters in this State by the Fifteenth Amendment, and that, too, in spite of the State law, which required that negroes should have a property qualification before voting. That was not excluding them on account of race, but on account of lack of property. Mr. Johnson knows that statute stands on the statute books of this State to-day, and yet he knows that every negro, whether he have property or not, votes when he pleases.

Oliver Johnson also fails to make any statement of his position as to what a republican form of government is, which the general government must maintain in the States. He does, however, state that a State may exclude any citizen from the suffrage for any reason except race, color and previous condition of servitude. Does Oliver Johnson hold that the government would be republican in practice if all citizens except negroes were excluded? He must either so hold, or he must admit that the government whose form will permit of such exclusion is not republican; and he says ours does permit it.

And what would have been the terrible wrong had any State that chose to do so driven every negro from the polls. Oliver Johnson conveys the idea that it would have been a great wrong to serve negro citizens thus. But ten times the number of the negro citizens, in the form of women citizens, are driven from the polls, and Oliver Johnson does not deem the fact even worthy of comment. In your love and admiration for the negro, Oliver Johnson, you have absolutely forgotten that there are any women citizens, who, previous to the Fifteenth Amendment, were on the exact ground occupied by the negro men.

But Oliver Johnson clinches his conclusions, as is usually the case, by the general antidote to woman suffrage—the Baby Medicine. "It proves too much," he says, and consequently don't prove anything. Is that a logical or a sensible position? Suppose the amendments do prove that even a child who desires to vote has the right to vote, would that invalidate the claim for women? Not at all. It would only prove that the effect of the amendments was much broader than there was any intention to make them. But they are made, and whatever their legitimate results may be, cannot be avoided; *ita lex scripta est* is the common law, and the Supreme Court have already decided this very point in regard to its application to these amendments, against Oliver Johnson's "too much proof." Whatever is proved must so stand until limited by further adequate legislation.

But Oliver Johnson makes sad use of circumstances in the application of his Baby Medicine. He confounds the right to regulate and establish with the wrong of prohibiting and disestablishing. So long as voting exists there must be regulations to govern its performance. No man objects that he is required to attain a mature age before he is permitted to vote, but if a part of the men were required to attain the age of forty in order to vote, while others voted at twenty-one, there would be objections directly, and if Oliver Johnson were among the former, I think he would be found among the most strenuous of them.

Now that is the reason women object. They do not claim the right to exercise the right to vote before the age at which men vote, but they claim if twenty-one years of age entitles men to exercise the suffrage, that it should also entitle women to it; otherwise there is an inequality, which Mr. Madison declared should be remedied by the General Government.

Now what did Mr. Madison mean when he said it was

deemed proper that the general government should remedy inequalities? Did he mean that the general government should exercise any supervision over the right of suffrage? Oliver Johnson says the general government can have nothing to do with the power of the State in regard to the vote. We place the good and deliberate judgment of the broad-minded statesman against the mere opinion of a person, one of whose principal characteristics is strong prejudices, which frequently make it impossible for him to discover the principle, when surrounded by a distasteful personality.

But why did not Oliver Johnson give the readers of the *Woman's Journal* his reasons why women, being twenty-one years of age, should not vote? It must be either right or wrong that they do not. If wrong, where is the remedy? If right, why does he advocate woman suffrage? If consistency were a little more conspicuous in the arguments made against national citizenship, we think they would have more weight. To make the arguments of the "too much proof" men consistent, they should, besides saying, while citizens twenty-one years of age, being men, should, citizens twenty-one years of age, being women, should not vote; that insane, idiotic and criminal citizens, being men, should, while insane, idiotic and criminal citizens, being women, should not vote. Is not that a plain and consistent demand?

Again, if it is so absurd to say that women ought to vote, because there are babies in the United States, what has Oliver Johnson to say about the reservation of the right to hold property during minority? We hope he will see the necessity of strengthening his argument in this regard. We have always supposed that the right to hold property was only in abeyance during minority both in men and women. But we suppose Oliver Johnson must hold that this power must be conferred by the State to men after arriving at majority, while women never attain to that desirable condition.

It is a strange fact that all the late blatant advocates of human rights for negroes have suddenly awakened to the fact that there are no such things as human rights for women. Gentlemen, this is not a question in which women are alone interested. It is one in which you are just as deeply interested as women are. Are you all so blind as not to see why this States' rights pretense is set up by the party in power? They not only do not want to admit women to the ballot, but they want a well-established precedent to exclude any man whom they may find opposing them at the first advisable time. You are advocating a delusion which, mark our words, will some day turn upon and rend you.

It opens the door to all sorts of abuses. Once admit the power to discriminate among citizens, in a government builded upon the equality of citizenship, and the power to discriminate against all classes is granted. How will men relish the practice of that doctrine when women do acquire the ballot if they should adopt it as against them? It may seem very nice now. Think how you would like to put yourselves in our places and then say there is no power in the General Government over the dearest privilege contemplated in our form of government.

Oliver Johnson may have convinced himself that he has "demonstrated the absurdity of the above doctrine," and that he has given a plain and convincing reason why a woman, in every respect equal with her brother at twenty-one years of age, should not vote; and that it is no business of the General Government whether she does or does not, but we have a better opinion of the clearness and comprehensiveness of the common mind than to believe that it will be convinced by any such an inconsequent line of argumentation.

MANSFIELD, FISK AND STOKES.

It is seldom that we offer anything that looks like an apology for whatever appears in these columns. We do not wish any one to think this is an apology for the presentation of the following article. It is well known that our columns are free. The advocates of most diametrically opposite views find expression here. And this we believe to be the freedom of the press. When editors assume that they are better judges of truth and justice than their readers are, and that they know better than they do what their intellectual cravings and wants are, it seems to us but another form of authoritative dictation, from which the world has already suffered too long. If the article below were a common one, if indeed it were not almost perfectly our views upon the principles of social freedom, we should have said not a word. But there are personalities involved which are held to and tried by the principles, which would be just, even if severe, were all the suppositions entirely correct, which we do not believe them to be—at least we do not know that they are—and hence we cannot permit so severe a criticism upon a sister whom we know, whatever part she may have played, must need comfort more than she deserves chastisement, to pass without comment; and who in her deep distress requires love rather than reminders of whatever she may have failed in to live her best life. We have never seen Josie Mansfield, but she is a sister in distress, and that is sufficient to command from us a sister's consideration.

It is the curse of woman that society almost compels her to look to her sex as her only means of sustenance, and of arriving at the comforts of life. The mere fact of her sex is the only recommendation woman has by which to obtain favor with men. To all her ambitions men turn a deaf ear. To all her propositions men say, "You are out of your sphere." Offer men anything but their persons, and women

meet no response. Her sex is all the stock woman possesses. Upon that she must trade, or go to the scullery. It is true that some women do earn their livelihood by labor. But most of this labor is such that a large proportion of men would never condescend to perform if they were similarly placed with women. Therefore when we find women disliking to be mere servants, men should be careful in their judgment of them. They should first place themselves in their places and see if they would have done any better under the same circumstances. If men would stop and question themselves a little they would find, if all the material conditions of the sexes were changed—if women possessed the power of property to the exclusion of men, as men possess it to the exclusion of women, that they would be what women are—if, indeed, not a great deal worse.

We must remember that some women possess ambition to excel, while almost all possible avenues for its exercise are closed to them, and the door held by men under lock and key. But, against all obstacles, they sometimes press forward, and should we be surprised if sometimes, when the door gives way before them, they are precipitated into unknown depths and unthought-of abysses? Should we not rather be surprised that so few unfortunate circumstances occur, since, as we say, every woman who dares to push against the door held shut in her face is liable to be precipitated into the snare which society has prepared. And she knows right well that society will hold her responsible, never even permitting the idea to be advanced or to be raised in her behalf that it was a trap set by them in which to catch her.

It is undoubtedly all true that Fisk loved and won Josie Mansfield. How many others, before or since, he may have loved and won, it does not yet appear. But that he represented a very low scale in the order of social freedom there are very good reasons to believe. Who can tell by what terrible deeds he may have tortured Josie Mansfield? Who can or who dare unfold the orgies forced upon her in her own home—given her, it is true, by him, but nevertheless her home. Is it not true that there are things more terrible for the woman's heart to bear than actual loss of love? Imagine your heart's idol in the hands of your enemies, tied to the stake, and the curling flames hungrily licking up the writhing flesh, and yourself a compelled observer, and then say there are no torments worse than to be burned. And after you have imagined that, then still further imagine the same sort of torture continued day after day, until weeks and months are compassed, and afterward consider that Josie Mansfield may have been tormented even unto frenzy, and have seen no avenue for escape.

We do not know what scenes enacted in her house may be uncovered in the trial that must ensue, but we believe that when the trial shall have ended people will think less harshly than now of Josie Mansfield; and that some of the representatives of the press who have called her harlot and prostitute will be glad to replace them by less offensive words. And what are the facts by which people assume that Stokes ever replaced Fisk in her affections? We are aware that it is impossible for a man to be even civil to a woman and escape the judgment of busybodies who spend so much time in attending to other people's business that their own always suffers. But we submit that a man has a right to befriend a woman, and that society has no right to assume anything beyond their knowledge. This idea of selfish exclusion—that a person is sold and delivered to one person when married, so that even the common humanities are set at naught, is on trial before the world, and as sure as sunrise succeeds to sunset, so sure will it be condemned.

Therefore, we say when people assume that Josie Mansfield transferred her affections or favors from Fisk to Stokes, that society is prejudging something of which it knows nothing. And we will not yet believe but that there is some deep-seated cause for all that now seems mysterious, which will be unraveled during the trial, and which, as we have said, should in a measure excuse, if not justify, the part which it is now assumed has been played by Josie Mansfield.

But even held inexorably to the sternest principles of social freedom—giving everything self demanded—which, of course, have been invaded by all parties to the present case, it must not be forgotten that there are weak as well as strong people; and that it is the duty of society, instead of casting the contumelious stone at the social diseases engendered by false laws, customs and creeds of its own promotion, to endeavor to find the healing, strengthening balm which shall renovate and cleanse the entire social body, making each of its members good and strong, and truly and healthily related to every other member:

NEW YORK, January 25, 1872.

MESDAMES EDITORS: Since I have seen no expression of opinion in the columns of the WEEKLY, purporting to be a free paper, upon the recent social convulsions, I ask space for the following, which I have been unable to obtain elsewhere:

An earthquake swallows up a city; a volcano pours forth its lava; a tempest sweeps over and desolates a section of country; a terrible fire gathers a Chicago into its unsatisfied maw, and the sea opens to receive a devoted ship-load of human life, and the world, though shocked at the result for a period, wonders why such things are, and then gathers wisdom and knowledge from them as though they had been appointed of God—as they are, in the absolute sense—for

the special benefit of the race. But responsibility for these terrors is never charged home upon the author. They are accepted by the world as the inevitable results of the outworkings of matter in form. They are not registered as crimes on the part of the Almighty.

But these things are in the material world. Yet the world of humanity was built after and upon the material world. It observes the same rule and law of evolution. It moves in similar phenomenal channels. And yet individual humanity detects no resemblance between their phenomena, nor recognizes the latter as inevitable in the general design of the universe.

To a mind who can at a single grasp comprehend the unity of life and the unity of matter, all the phenomena attending evolution, whether in one department of nature or another, or whether in the division of a department, result from a common law. The properties of matter determine what phenomena shall follow when a given power is applied to it. Fire applied to gunpowder produces an entirely different result from that produced when applied to a granite rock. So do the properties of a human being also determine what results shall follow when a given power is applied to the personality.

As the law which governs the contact of fire and gunpowder can never govern the contact of fire and granite, so neither can the law which governs one kind of human properties govern all other kinds of human properties.

Each individual composing humanity is a different compound of passions, impulses and intuitions, with various modifications, produced by culture and attending circumstances, all of which make an infinite variety of, or individualizes, humanity.

Just as people recognize or fail to recognize these general relations, do they comprehend or fail to comprehend the relations of humanity. Our whole system of society and government is built upon the failure to take any of these things into any consideration whatever. All our systems are arbitrary. None of them are shaped to meet the natural conditions to which they are applied, generally quite to the contrary—to place conditions in unnatural relations.

No one can doubt this if he takes anything more than a superficial view of what is continually occurring upon all sides. Everywhere in society, in its social, governmental and other relations, and more frequently than in the domain of matter, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, fires, tempests and tornadoes are continually occurring. But they are viewed from an entirely different standpoint than that from which the same phenomena in matter are viewed. This is an error for which there is no excuse. No analogy in nature can justify this distinction. Nevertheless society continues to maintain it and holds its individual members personally responsible therefor, while in reality they are no more responsible for the phenomena evolved through them by the various applications of varied powers than is matter responsible for the phenomena when under the rule of various forms of power.

With these propositions in mind, let us proceed to a view of a late social phenomenon in this city. James Fisk, Jr., by a combination of circumstances, from an unknown peddler suddenly became a prince of finance and a power in Erie. For this sudden transformation he was denounced as one of the hugest of swindlers. All sorts of schemes, plots and counter-plots were attributed to him. Nothing was too disgraceful to emanate from him. Everything—anything—was expected from him.

But how different was James Fisk, Jr., in this regard from other men in similar positions? Have not other railroad magnates doubled the stocks of their respective companies and cheated everybody whom they could reach? If Erie has issued and sold new stock, and thus depreciated its shares in the hands of stockholders, causing serious diminutions of their accumulations of wealth, have not other railroads doubled their stock in the hands of their shareholders and robbed the community in general to pay them enormous dividends? And which is the worst monster against humanity? We say the latter, since where an individual was made to suffer by the transactions in Erie thousands have been robbed of their just gains and made to endure privations by the latter.

But the blindness of the community is so great that it will not permit its members to see that neither of these things could possibly occur by the mere personal designs of those who manage them. There is a fault—the chief fault—back of theirs. This is a government in which the people make their own laws, through their representatives duly elected. And the cause of all these things is in the laws thus framed, which permit and sanction such trespassing upon the rights of individuals. These monster corporations organize under certain definite forms of law, without which they would have no power to do anything. These laws not only permit them to do what they really ought to do, but also many other things which they have no human right to do.

We say, then, while these people who are the immediate perpetrators of these outrages lack an appreciation of the high moral relations that should exist in a community of brothers, that the community itself is the more reprehensible, since they in the first instance give these corporations life, and then guard them against interference, and foster their depredations. But why a Fisk more than a Vanderbilt, an Astor or a Stewart? If one ground his fortune from the people by the assistance and connivance of law, so also have each of the others done the same thing. Therefore, so far

as the means by which their several fortunes have been accumulated are concerned, we can see no moral difference, and it does not appear that either has been done illegally, since law finds no remedy. The same things may go on indefinitely unless the law is changed, and there is nothing but submission for the people. In fact, the people want to be swindled, otherwise they would change the law and put a stop to such proceedings. They have the power; they fail to use it; hence they indirectly sanction not only all that has occurred but also all that may occur in the future.

James Fisk, Jr., then, as a financier, was no better and no worse than thousands of other men. As a railroad manager neither was he, morally, better or worse than his contemporaries; while everybody admits that behind all his pomp and external glitter he had a heart which was always open to the condition of those by whom he was surrounded. He had the love, respect and confidence of those over whom he presided; while in his general characteristics he commanded an intellectual power and an administrative talent of which few men can boast. That power raised the Erie Railroad from being an unsafe road over which to ride, into one of the most magnificent and best appointed roads in the world. And it remains to be shown that the road's funds were misapplied by Fisk.

But we now stand at the threshold of the door through which society enters and pronounces its decree of excommunication against him. His social relations were not, like his financial schemes, fortified by the laws by which society pretends to govern itself. He would not admit the right of society to rule him in that part of his nature by which he stood related to it, any more than he would have permitted society to dictate what his relations should be to his God. In other words, he demanded freedom in those matters which related to his own personal affairs; he not only demanded, but he also made use of that freedom, caring not a whit for the meddling of those who by no possibility could have any rightful interest in them.

Whatever his relations with his legal wife may have been—and we do not pretend to know, certainly we do not care, since it was none of our business—it was quite plain that they were only legally married. Though it does not appear that they had any contentions over that—an example which we think some, at least, of his accusers might take pattern after and not only benefit themselves, but also remove unfortunate conditions from influencing the tender minds and hearts of their children—yet it does appear that there was a mutual regard and respect existing between them, which was undoubtedly maintained by their sensible separation.

In this condition he became, as evidently he was, enamored of Helen Josephine Mansfield; and of her we know nothing, nor care to know, except so far as she stands related to what has now become a phenomenon by which the public is to be instructed. From all the circumstances which are known about this relation, it is fair to conclude that Mr. Fisk was a most devoted lover. He showered everything that money could buy upon her without stint. Every comfort of life was hers without the asking. Luxuries she had to the full extent of her ambition, and it does not appear that he bestowed these favors elsewhere during the period of his devotion to her. Society may tell us that this was all wrong, because it was not sanctioned by law. But do we not remember how infamous are some of the things he did that were sanctioned by law? In this, however, he became a law unto himself, and in the teeth of the law and the face of the public denunciations he maintained it. And we say he was a moral hero, whether we regard the facts as good or evil. We say he is a thousand times more honorable than many of his accusers, who have constantly done and are doing, *sub rosa*, what he had the courage to do publicly. Neither does it appear that he was in the low condition of promiscuity. All the circumstances connected point to his regard for Mrs. Mansfield as that arising from a singleness of love. She accompanied him on his journeys, was respected and recognized by him in public and private as his equal in all things in which society would permit him. And society will some day enter up the verdict that if he was not altogether right, they were altogether wrong. And we wish we could say as much to the honor of Mrs. Mansfield. The circumstances do not, however, permit it. On the contrary, if we have any right to judge her at all, everything shows badly against her. While Fisk rendered her the homage of a truthful and honest affection, she evidently regarded his money and her jewels, luxuries and equipage, as of much more value to her than his love. She permitted, encouraged and desired him, not because he was her devoted lover, or because that devotion met with response in her soul, but because he was the Prince of Erie and rich, because he could gratify her desire for diamonds, velvets and external show. We may misjudge her. We hope we do. Nevertheless, this is as the case appears at present.

She obtained not only his money, but she also participated in his business secrets. He, confiding in her honor, concealed nothing from her. What he knew, she possessed, and if every other act of her whole life can be justified, the use of his confidence, after he discovered the motives which allied her to him, are sufficiently infamous to render her name a stigma upon the honor of womanhood.

It has been said that Fisk's treatment of Montaland was the first cause of estrangement on the part of Mrs. Mansfield; that she was terribly jealous, and not without reason;

and that previously to the *entree* of Montaland, there was not so much as a discord between them. But whatever the facts may be, they can be no excuse for what was unwomanly in Mrs. Mansfield. They could give her no right to traffic in Fisk's confidences or his private letters. She claimed and exercised the right to individual freedom of action, without regard to legal forms or claims. This she had no right to do, unless she at the same time accorded, without reservation and without revenge as an arbiter, the same right to everybody else. People who claim freedom must not only grant but also be guided by its principles. Hence Mrs. Mansfield cannot justify her dishonor by quoting Montaland, whether in the role of opera-bouffe or as successor to her place in Fisk's affections.

Nobody can deny that Fisk had the right to protect himself in every possible way from her resentment, when he would no longer purchase her silence with his money. She thought to compel him to her terms. She thought to sell him what he had intrusted to her honor, at the price of his ruin, and he protested by all the means money could furnish or law offer. And he was right. But he was about to finally defeat her designs and those of her present accepted lover, Stokes, and to put it out of their power to further annoy him. This so exasperated Stokes that he waylaid him, and without giving him an opportunity to defend himself, shot him down in cool deliberation.

Fisk is buried in his grave and Stokes in the Tombs, from which, unless the administrators of the law permit him to escape, he will emerge to follow Fisk, in a manner which he would be glad to exchange for that by which he sent him.

But what of Josie Mansfield? Will her ill-gotten wealth, diamonds and fineries prove a panacea for the part she has enacted in this earthquake in our social system? She must be made of much meaner stuff than her physique would indicate if she can feel a compensation in them. By her duplicity, treachery and falsehood to her woman-nature she has consigned one man to death and sent another on the direct way to the same fate.

Are you not proud of your work, Josie Mansfield? No, we know you would gladly give your own life if you could undo the work of the last few months. All the vengeance you would have executed upon the man whose greatest weakness was his faith in you, cannot resist the logic of that Saturday's work. It has performed its mission, and your conduct stands out in bold relief against the fair fame and future honorable mention which a true course of life would have won you. But you sunk affection into the mud and made love subservient to your vanity; and you have your reward. And your name will live in history as a warning and example to all those who in future might be induced to follow in your footsteps.

Yet your fate will not be different, except in degree, from that of all who barter honor and virtue for money. Had you loved the man you have slain instead of his wealth, although that love had not the sanction of law, society even, while declaring against your immorality, would have secretly applauded your courage, and rendered homage to your truth to the instincts of your own soul, which no law society may frame can satisfy against its own longings.

It is such instances of viciousness as you have given the world that apparently justify its denunciation of everything that looks not to law to sanction its behests. And though the world has connived with you in the commission of this murder, as it connived with Fisk in his stock speculations, it nevertheless will not fail to hold itself blameless. Since you have proved yourself a traitor to the principle of freedom in the social relations, of which the world knows nothing, making that principle a means to gratify your selfish motives, others who would love the principle because it is a part of themselves will be obliged to bear the judgments which rightfully belong to you. That which would have been an honor in the hands of a better woman you have set up to endure the taunts due your own misdeeds.

The world will forget you in its eagerness to crush out the principle which you have prostituted and outraged. In the name of freedom you usurped the most degrading tyranny, but freedom will be obliged to suffer the consequences, and its apostles endure the damnation you have justly merited.

But freedom is strong and pure. It matters not if your hands have been laid upon its fair escutcheon. No matter if the world daubs it in dishonor of you. It will again become freed from the stain, and will boldly pursue its mission of mercy to the still enslaved of earth. The worst wish we have for you, Josie Mansfield, is that you may live to see the triumph of what gave you your opportunities, but which you had not the wisdom nor the honor to grasp.

And when, in the still watches of the long and painful nights that must be yours to endure, in which your mind will dwell upon your dishonor, know that the spirit of the man you slew is not dead—perhaps lingers forgivingly near you, watching for the first faint evidence in your soul of an awakening to a consciousness of the great wrong you did to him and of the greater to yourself.

While we thus arraign you before the bar of outraged love and freedom, we nevertheless stand upon the proposition laid down at the beginning. And as the most violent tempests most effectually clear the atmosphere, so too do such tempests as you have precipitated most effectually cleanse the social atmosphere. Thus, in the broad sense, are all things made to work together for good, and to the honor and glory of Him who reigns supreme.

"OMEGA."

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF THE WORLD.

DECLARATION OF PURPOSE.

We, the people of the United States—a National Union—and of the several States as its component parts, proceeding upon the Natural Right inherent in humanity, and in order to secure a perfect and enduring Union; to establish equality as a birth-right; to administer common justice; to secure peace, tranquillity and prosperity; to provide for the common defense; to promote the general welfare; to secure the blessings of freedom, and protection for the exercise of individual capacities to ourselves and our posterity; and to erect a government which shall be the center around which the nations may aggregate, until ours shall become a Universal Republic, do ordain and establish this Constitution of the United States of the World; which shall be the Supreme Law wherever it shall have, or acquire, jurisdiction.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

All persons are born free and equal, and are entitled to the right to life, which is inalienable; and to liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and these shall be absolutely unbridged, except when limited in the individual for the security of the community from crime.

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF PERSONS.

All persons are entitled to the full and unrestrained use of all their natural and acquired powers and capacities; but such use by the individual, or by aggregations of individuals, shall never extend to infringement upon, or abridgment of, the same use in other persons.

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE COMMUNITY.

The community have the right, under this Constitution, to organize and maintain government, by which every individual shall be protected in the exercise of rights, and prevented from interfering with others. But by organizing government the people shall surrender no rights.

DECLARATION OF THE SPHERE OF GOVERNMENT.

It shall be the sphere of the government to perform the duties required of it by the people under the guidance of this Constitution; and the government shall be vested with the power to perform them, and be limited to such performance.

ARTICLE I.

The Government shall consist of:
The Legislative Department;
The Executive Department; and
The Judicial Department.

ARTICLE II.

SEC. 1. The Legislative Department shall consist of:
A Senate, and
A House of Representatives;

Which shall be known as the Congress of the United States; and all legislative power is vested in the Congress.

SEC. 2.—1. The Senate shall consist of two Senators from each State, to be chosen by the Legislature thereof, and each Senator shall have one vote.

2. The United States shall be divided into five Congressional Districts, as follows:

3. The First Congressional District shall consist of the following States, to wit: Maine, West Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Indiana, Iowa, Nevada and Texas; and its proportion of all new States that may be admitted into the Union.

4. The Second Congressional District shall consist of the following States, to wit: Virginia, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Missouri, California, Vermont, Kansas and Nebraska; and its proportion of all new States that may be admitted into the Union.

5. The Third Congressional District shall consist of the following States, to wit: Maryland, Massachusetts, Ohio, Florida, Oregon, Minnesota and Delaware; and its proportion of all new States that may be admitted into the Union.

6. The Fourth Congressional District shall consist of the following States, to wit: Louisiana, Michigan, Connecticut, Georgia, Illinois, Tennessee and New Jersey; and its proportion of all new States that may be admitted into the Union.

7. The Fifth Congressional District shall consist of the following States, to wit: New York, Wisconsin, New Hampshire, Arkansas, South Carolina, Mississippi and Alabama; and its proportion of all new States that may be admitted into the Union.

SEC. 3.—1. At the Sessions of the Legislatures in all the States next preceding the expiration of the terms of Senators, first expiring, the Legislatures of the respective States shall elect Senators for a term of years necessary to complete five years from the time of the adoption of this Constitution; and at the Sessions of the Legislatures next preceding the expiration of the remaining Senators, the Legislatures shall elect Senators for a term to complete ten years from the time of the adoption of this Constitution.

2. At the Sessions of the Legislatures next preceding the expiration of the terms of the Senators elected as aforesaid, the Legislatures in the First District shall elect Senators for the full and regular term of ten years; in the Second District, for the term of nine years; in the Third District, for the term of eight years; in the Fourth District, for the term of seven years; and in the Fifth District, for the term of six years; and thereafter, in each of the districts for the full and regular term of ten years.

SEC. 4.—1. When vacancies shall occur in the Senate, by death, resignation or otherwise, the Legislatures shall elect Senators to fill the unexpired terms.

2. Any person thirty years of age who shall have been a citizen of the United States nine years, and of the State one year, may be elected Senator from such State.

SEC. 5.—1. The House of Representatives shall consist of Representatives chosen by the people, as hereinafter provided.

2. The terms of all Representatives who shall compose the House of Representatives at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall expire on the fourth day of March next succeeding the first election after the said adoption.

3. At the first election after the adoption of this Constitution, the First Congressional District, together with the Territories of Washington and Arizona, shall elect Representatives for the term of one year; the Second District, together with the Territories of Wyoming and Colorado, for the term of two years; the Third District, together with the Territories of Montana and the District of Columbia, for the term of three years; the Fourth District, together with the Territories of Utah and New Mexico, for the term of four years; and in the Fifth District, together with the Territories of Idaho and Dakota, for the term of five years; and thereafter, in all the Districts and their Territories, upon the expiration of the terms provided above, all elections for Representatives shall be for the full term of five years.

SEC. 6.—1. Representatives shall be apportioned among the States according to their respective population, not exceeding one Representative for every hundred thousand adult citizens; but each State and Territory shall have at least one Representative.

2. When vacancies shall occur in the House of Representatives, the Executives in the State from which they occur shall issue writs of election to fill them; but there shall be no election at any other time than upon the general annual election day hereinafter provided.

3. Any person twenty-five years of age who shall have been a citizen of the United States seven years, and of the State one year, may be elected Representative to the Congress from such State.

ARTICLE III.

SEC. 1.—1. The Congress shall assemble twice every year, the first term beginning on the first Monday in January, and the second on the first Monday in September; and these two shall constitute one Congress; and the first Congress which shall convene after the adoption of this Constitution shall be known as the First Congress of the United States of the World.

2. A person bearing the credentials required by the Congress, setting forth that such person was duly elected to be a Congressman, which shall be *prima facie* evidence that the person was duly elected, is entitled to a seat in Congress.

3. A majority of each House shall constitute a quorum, but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, under such rules as may be prescribed by the Congress.

4. Each House may prescribe and enforce the rules of its proceedings, except that without the unanimous consent of the House the "ayes and nays" shall not be demanded, except upon the final passage of bills and resolutions.

5. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, an abstract of which, together with all bills and resolutions introduced, and all bills and resolutions passed, having been duly approved by the President, shall be regularly published in the Congressional Journal, which shall be provided by law.

6. Neither House shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than one week; and final adjournments of both Houses shall be provided for at least twenty days before taking place.

SEC. 2.—1. Congressmen shall receive stated salaries, without mileage, as compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, which law may be revised every tenth year; and such salary shall be paid by the States which they severally represent, upon the certificate of the Clerk of the House to which they belong, that they are entitled to the same.

2. Congressmen shall be exempt from arrest in all cases, except for treason, felony, and breach of the peace.

3. Congressmen shall not perform the functions of or hold any other civil offices whatever during the term for which they shall be elected.

SEC. 3.—1. All bills shall originate in the House of Representatives.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives shall be sent to the Senate for its approval; but if, instead of approval, the Senate shall propose amendments, the bill with the proposed amendments shall be returned to the House for its concurrence. If the House do not concur, then a Committee of Conference, to consist of an equal number from each House, shall be appointed, upon whose action the House shall finally act, and again send the bill to the Senate for final concurrence or rejection; and if it be rejected, the provisions which shall secure its rejection shall not be considered again during that Congress; but if the Senate concur, then the bill shall be sent to the President of the United States. If he approve, he shall sign the same; but if he disapprove it, he shall return it to the House of Representatives, with his reasons therefor, which shall be entered upon the Journal, and they shall proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, the House shall still adhere to its previous action, by a vote of a majority, the bill shall be considered as finally enacted by the Congress.

3. At the ending of each Congress all the bills that shall have received the approval of the President, or which shall have been finally enacted by Congress, together with such as shall remain in the hands of the President after the final adjournment of Congress, shall be turned over to the Register of United States Laws, and be by him referred, through the Governors of the several States and Territories, to the people for their approval, to be by them voted upon at the next general election, before becoming laws; and if any bill fail to receive a majority of the votes of all the citizens voting upon it, then it shall be considered as rejected by the people; and it shall not become a law.

4. After the final adjournment of Congress at the end of any session, the House of Representatives shall remain in semi-session one week, for the purpose of reconsidering any Bill which the President may desire to return with his objections. If the President, however, shall inform the House that he will return no Bill, then the House may disperse; and all Bills not thus returned to the House by the President within the first five days of the semi-session shall be held to be approved by him and ready to be referred to the people.

5. All Bills which shall become laws by the approval of the people, shall be printed by the Register of United States Laws, and furnished to the States, and to the various Departments of the Government, and also preserved as shall be provided by law.

ARTICLE IV.

SEC. 1.—The Congress of the United States shall, as soon as practicable, and in the order prescribed, enact laws and prescribe rules and regulations, to provide for the government of the people, in accordance with the tenor and pro-

visions of this Constitution, and as set forth in the Principles of its Declarations.

SEC. 2.—The Congress shall prescribe a form for a Constitution which shall be common to, and adopted by, each State now constituting one of the United States; as well as adopted by every State that may hereafter be admitted into the Union.

SEC. 3.—1. The Congress shall provide uniform laws to raise a revenue to maintain the Government of the United States as organized under this Constitution. But no means shall be resorted to, which shall fall unequally, either upon citizens or upon States, except as hereinafter provided.

2. To maintain the equality of all citizens before the laws.

3. To secure the equal right to the exercise of all common rights.

4. To establish a general system of Criminal Jurisprudence.

5. To establish a general system of Common Law.

6. To regulate the naturalization of foreigners; commerce between the States, and with other nations; Marriage; Divorce; and Education; each according to the principles of the Declarations.

7. To fix the standard of weights and measures.

8. To establish Post Offices, Post Roads, Post Railroads, Post Telegraphs; and a Postal Money Order System to meet all the demands of exchange; and affix such Postal Rates for the same as shall be deemed necessary to maintain them; or to provide for their maintenance for the public benefit.

9. To provide for the maintenance of an Army of, not to exceed, ten maximum Regiments, in time of peace; and a Navy; and to regulate and govern the same.

10. To provide at once for the admission, free of duty, of every article of commerce not produced in the United States; and to provide for the free admission of all commodities classed as the necessities of life, when the general system of Revenue shall have been inaugurated.

11. To provide a regular reduction in the existing Tariff, which shall entirely abolish the system in its application to all foreign importations from countries opening their Ports to the commerce of the United States free.

SEC. 2.—The Congress shall have power:

1. To provide for organizing the Militia of States, and in time of war, for calling it into the service of the United States.

2. To provide for the promotion of the Arts and Sciences; and for that purpose may secure for limited times, not to exceed twenty years, to Authors and Inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings, discoveries and inventions; or at their discretion to purchase the same for the general benefit of the people.

3. To establish a National Money System, and to provide for loaning the money to the people, either as a means of Revenue, or at the cost of maintaining the system; and to regulate and affix the value of the same by providing for its conversion into United States Bonds, drawing a rate of interest not to exceed the established rate in the increase of the general wealth of the country; or, when less than that rate, the rate of the taxation laid on loans of money made to the people; the Bonds also to be convertible into money at the option of the holder; and to order the payment of any part of the public debt at any time at par in the National Money.

4. To inaugurate a system of surveillance over, and care for, the destitute classes, looking to their utilization as members of society, and to the abolition of Pauperism and Beggary, upon the principle that if people cannot obtain employment government should supply it to them; if they will not labor, government should compel them sufficiently to support themselves; if they cannot labor, government should maintain them.

5. To inaugurate and provide for the maintenance of a system of Industrial Education, which may be made general for all children, based upon the proposition that they belong to society as a whole, in a still more general and important sense, than to the individuals of it who are their parents; and especially that it is the duty of the Government to become the guardian and protector of all children whose interests are not maintained and protected by their parents; and provide for and adopt all children relinquished to society by their parents.

6. To inaugurate a new system of Prison Discipline, based upon the proposition that to be restrained of liberty is not as punishment for crime, since all rewards and punishments are administered by the immutable laws of the universe; but that it is a necessary precaution for the safety of the community; and which shall secure to every person restrained, or to the family, if dependent, the entire net proceeds of all labor performed.

7. To inaugurate a system of justice and equality as to property rights, based upon the proposition that the producer is entitled to the total proceeds of labor, which shall prevent the accumulation of wealth in the hands of non-producers; and to provide for the gradual return to the People of all monopolies of land by individuals, based upon the principle that the soil is, or should be, as common property as the air is, or the water, by requiring that upon the decease of persons seized of personal property to a greater amount than a sum to be ascertained by law, or of landed estate, such property and estate shall revert to the Government, for the benefit of the People; and when such system shall be inaugurated, then to forbid all sales and transfers of land, as well as gifts and nominal sales of other property, and to establish rules and regulations for the use, of all such property and estate, by the people for the public benefit, all of which looks to the practical recognition of the greatest of all human facts, the unity of the human race, having common interests and purposes, and to the perfect practice of the theory of equality, upon which this Constitution is founded.

8. To increase the rate of taxation on accumulations of wealth in excess of one hundred thousand dollars in the following manner, to wit: If the tax on one hundred thousand dollars be one-half of one per cent., on over one hundred thousand dollars it shall be one per cent.; on over two hundred thousand dollars it shall be two per cent.; on over three hundred thousand dollars it shall be three per cent.; on over four hundred thousand dollars it shall be four per cent.; on over five hundred thousand dollars it shall be five per cent.; on over seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars it shall be ten per cent.; on over one million dollars it shall be fifteen per cent.; on over one million five hundred thousand dollars it shall be twenty per cent.; and on over two million dollars it shall be twenty-five per cent.; and in the same proportions upon any other basic rate than upon one-half of one per cent. upon \$100,000.

9. To inaugurate and provide for a system of National Railways, based upon the proposition that whatever involves the direct interests of the public should be in the hands and under the control of the people, for the public welfare, and to that end may purchase existing railways, at a price to be ascertained by law, but not greater than the same could be constructed for, or construct new roads, as the circumstances shall seem to require; and the system shall be operated either at the cost of maintenance or for the public benefit, from the public funds.

10. To inaugurate a system of Public Markets for all the products of the world, having in view the abolition of the system of middle-men or hucksters, and which shall secure to producers the entire amount paid by consumers, less only the cost of transportation and distribution.

11. To abolish the Tariff, and provide for the control of the importation of foreign goods, in such quantities only as the demands of the country shall require; and to determine the price at which such imports shall be sold to the people by general law, except as is herein otherwise provided for free admission.

12. To inaugurate a system that shall give employees, equally with employers, a direct interest in the results of their co-operation for production; which shall, after the payment to the employer, of the same rate of interest for the money invested by him as is paid for the use of the National Money; and the payment of salaries to the employees and the employers, and all other legitimate expenses, divide the net profits in an equitable manner among them.

13. To provide for the return to the people of all mineral, coal, oil and salt lands, and for their operation for the public benefit.

14. And to propose to the several Nations of the world a plan for an International Tribunal to which all disputes of Nations shall be referred for arbitration and settlement; which plan shall also include provisions for an International Army and Navy to enforce the edicts of the Tribunal and to maintain the peace of the world.

ARTICLE V.

SEC. 1.—1. No taxes shall be levied by any legislative body in the United States, except for the legitimate purposes of government in protecting the rights of persons and nationality. Neither shall any legislative body have power to exempt any property whatever from taxation; or to discriminate in favor of any property as to rate, except as is herein otherwise provided; and there shall be no methods of taxation that shall, in any manner, protect certain classes of the people

at the expense of certain other classes, except as herein otherwise provided in Article IV., Section II., Par. 8 and 11. And no special taxes of any kind shall be levied, upon any pretext or for any purpose whatever.

2. All taxes, whether for National, State, County or Municipal purposes, shall be laid and collected by one Revenue System, with the exceptions to which reference is made in the preceding paragraph.

SEC. 2.—No legislative body in the United States shall have power to give or loan the public property or credit to individuals, or to corporations to promote any enterprise, or for any purpose whatever.

SEC. 3.—No money shall be drawn from any Treasury of the people, in the United States, unless in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular detailed account of receipts and expenditures, giving each separate item in the accounts, of all public moneys, shall be published; those arising in the accounts of the United States and the several States, weekly; and those upon the accounts of other subdivisions, weekly or monthly; and the accounts of the United States and of the States shall be published in a periodical issued for the purpose, at the expense of the public, in a manner to be determined by law.

ARTICLE VI.

All legislation by all legislative bodies shall be in the form of General Laws; and no special legislation for any purpose shall be considered by any legislative body in the United States; and all laws enacted to cover special cases shall be absolutely null and void, and shall be held and maintained to be so by the General Government, as the special representative and conservator of the rights of the people; provided, however, that the Government of the United States, the States, or of any sub-division of a State may provide for any special internal improvement when instructed so to do by a vote of the citizens of their respective jurisdictions.

ARTICLE VII.

SEC. 1.—1. The Executive power of the United States shall be vested in a President and a Ministerial Cabinet.

2. Any person thirty-five years of age, who shall have been a citizen of the United States fifteen years, shall be eligible to the office of President or to the Ministerial Cabinet.

3. The President and the Ministerial Cabinet shall hold their offices during the term of ten years, and together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, shall be elected as follows:

The tickets of the several Presidential and Ministerial Cabinet Electoral Parties, in each State, shall consist of one person from each Congressional Representative District; and the number of Electors to which each ticket shall be entitled shall be in the same proportion to the whole number of electors to which the State is entitled, as the total vote cast for each ticket shall bear to the whole number of votes cast for all the tickets; to be taken from the districts standing at the heads of the several tickets; but disregarding all fractional remainders.

4. The sum of the unrepresented fractional balances of votes in the several States shall be determined by the Electoral College; and the Electors to which each ticket shall be found to be entitled shall be chosen by the Electors of the several tickets chosen by the States, already in the Electoral College; and such Electors shall be entitled to vote, the same as though regularly elected by the people.

5. During the month of December following the Presidential Election, the President shall issue a proclamation convening the Electoral College in the Hall of the House of Representatives of the United States, on a stated day in the following month, where they shall organize by electing from their number a Presiding Officer, a Secretary and Tellers; and they shall then proceed to elect by Ballot:

1st. A President.

2d. A Vice-President.

3d. A Secretary of the Department of International Relations.

4th. A Secretary of the Department of Home Relations.

5th. A Secretary of the Department of Finance.

6th. A Secretary of the Department of Revenue.

7th. A Secretary of the Department of Expenditures.

8th. A Secretary of the Department of Internal Improvements.

9th. A Secretary of the Department of Postal and Telegraphic Service.

10th. A Secretary of the Department of War.

11th. A Secretary of the Department of the Navy

- 12th. A Secretary of the Department of Commerce.
 13th. A Secretary of the Department of Criminal Jurisprudence and of Common Law.
 14th. A Secretary of the Department of Education.
 15th. A Secretary of the Department of Reformatory and Criminal Labor.
 16th. A Secretary of the Department of National Insurance.
 17th. A Secretary of the Department of Statistics.
 18th. An Attorney-General of the United States.
 19th. The Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, when there shall be vacancies.

6. The election shall be conducted in the following manner, to wit:

If no candidate shall receive a majority of the votes of all the Electors constituting the College within the first ten ballots, then the candidate receiving the smallest number of votes shall be dropped from the list of candidates, after each ballot, until an election shall be had; and the candidates thus elected for the respective offices shall be declared duly elected to fill them for the next term of ten years.

7. In case of death or unavoidable absence of Electors entitled to be present and vote in the Electoral College, the Electors present, on the ticket to which they belong, shall provide substitutes to act in the stead of the absentees, and they shall have the power to perform the functions, as though regularly elected.

8. No person shall be eligible to the offices of President, Vice-President, or to the Ministerial Cabinet, for a second term; nor shall any person once occupying either of these offices be eligible to any of them for the succeeding term.

9. The President, on retiring from the office, shall succeed to a seat in the Senate of the United States, as Presidential Senator, with the same powers and entitled to the same pay as other Senators, but to be paid by the United States; and shall be excluded from all professional pursuits.

10. In case of a vacancy occurring in the office of President, the Vice-President shall succeed to the office for the unexpired term.

11. In case of a vacancy occurring in the Ministerial Cabinet, it shall be filled by an election on joint ballot by the Congress of the United States.

12. The duties pertaining to each department of the Ministerial Cabinet shall be defined and prescribed by the Congress, according to their respective and appropriate spheres, indicated by their names.

SEC. 2.—1. The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia when in the service of the United States; and may require the opinion, in writing, of the Secretary of any Executive Department upon any subject relating to the Department.

2. The President shall have power, by and with the consent of the Senate, to make treaties with other nations, provided two-thirds of the Senate concur; and shall nominate, and by and with the consent of the Senate shall appoint, all foreign officers, and all other officers of the United States not herein otherwise provided, and which shall be established by law.

3. The President shall on each assembling of Congress, and at such other times as may be deemed necessary, give to the Congress information of the state of the country, or its foreign relations, and recommend to their consideration such measures as shall be deemed expedient or necessary.

4. The President may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses of Congress.

5. The President shall receive ambassadors from other nations, as well as all public ministers.

6. The President shall see that all the laws are faithfully executed, and shall exercise a general supervision over the entire Executive of the United States, and commission all officers of the United States.

7. The Vice-President shall preside over the Senate of the United States, and vote when the Senate is tied.

ARTICLE VIII.

SEC. 1.—Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State; and Congress shall by general law prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SEC. 2.—A person charged with crime who shall be found in another State, shall, on demand of the Executive authority of the State having jurisdiction of the crime, be delivered up to be removed to such State.

ARTICLE IX.

SEC. 1.—1. No incorporated company existing in the

United States, or under the authority of any law of the United States, shall upon any pretext issue stock certificates, to represent a greater sum than the actual amount of money paid in; nor shall any incorporated company make any stock or scrip dividends, nor money dividends to exceed four per cent., for any current year, upon its entire stock; nor shall any such company be permitted to, in any manner whatever, evade the letter or the spirit of these provisions; but whenever the earnings shall produce a sum in excess of the operating expenses, and four per cent. upon the capital stock, then the rate of charges shall be changed so as to reduce the earnings to the standard of four per cent. Any net earnings in excess of four per cent. for any current year, shall be paid over to the General Government.

2. Any company or corporation which shall evade or attempt to evade any of the provisions of this Article, shall upon proof of the same forfeit their charter to the people; and the Government, for and in the name of the people, shall assume the conduct of the affairs of such company, either paying to the stockholders the original amount of their investment, or the net earnings up to four per cent. per annum.

3. The provisions of Article IV., Section 8, for taxation, shall apply to the individuals comprising stock companies; but the taxes shall be collected from the companies.

4. The Congress shall have power to enforce and carry out the provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE X.

SEC. 1.—1. New States may be admitted into the Union whenever the people living within the limits of the proposed jurisdiction shall by vote of the majority decide to organize as a State under the General State Constitution; provided, however, that such proposed State shall contain a sufficient population to entitle it to at least one Representative in Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to make all needed rules and regulations for all the Territorial and other public property; provided, however, that they shall have no power to in any manner dispose by sale of any property whatever, except as provided by law for property other than land.

3. The Congress shall grant to any adult citizen of the United States, applying for the same, any desired and unoccupied part of the public land, excepting mineral, coal, oil and salt lands, not to exceed one hundred and sixty acres, so long as such citizens shall pay regularly to the Government the yearly tax required, and to be ascertained by law for such occupancy; but such tax shall not exceed the general rate for other property elsewhere in the Union.

4. Whenever the inhabitants of any Territory not already included in the Union shall have signified, by a vote of the majority, their desire to be admitted, they shall be admitted, after organizing as a State, under the General State Constitution, and when not having sufficient population to be admitted as a State, then as a Territory under the General Law established by Congress for the government of Territories.

5. All Territories shall be entitled to one Representative to Congress, who shall be entitled to vote upon all questions which do not specially refer to the Government of the States, or to the States as such.

ARTICLE XI.

SEC. 1.—1. The Judicial Power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court of the United States, to consist of five Judges—one from each Congressional Division of the Union; and of a Supreme Court of the several States, to consist of three Judges; and of District Courts in the several States, one for each Congressional District; and of such other Inferior Courts as may be ordained and established by the Legislature of the States by authority of the State Constitutions.

2. The Judicial Power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, and the laws which shall be made by its authority; and to all treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers, or Consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between the citizens of different States; between the citizens of the same State claiming under grants of different States; and between a State or the citizens thereof and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.

3. The District Courts of the several States shall have original jurisdiction over all cases occurring within the limits of their respective districts, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the Congress may make.

4. Appeals may be made from the District Courts of the States to the Supreme Courts of the States, and from the Supreme Courts of the States to the Supreme Court of the United States, in all cases where the Supreme Courts of the States are not a unit, under such rules and regulations as shall be prescribed by Congress.

5. The Congress may provide Courts for the several Territories.

ARTICLE XII.

The United States shall guarantee equality of rights, privileges and duties to all the States as States; to all the citizens of the several States as individuals, and shall see to it that no State shall enforce any law which shall trespass upon individual rights as declared to be such by this Constitution.

ARTICLE XIII.

SEC. 1.—1. All persons born, or who shall have been, or shall hereafter be, naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside.

2. The citizens of the United States shall be divided into two classes, to wit: Adult citizens and Minor citizens.

3. Adult citizens shall consist of all citizens who shall have attained to the age of eighteen years and upward.

4. Minor citizens shall consist of all citizens who shall not have attained the age of eighteen years.

5. All adult citizens except Idiots and the Insane shall exercise the Elective Franchise at their pleasure, for all purposes, subject to the following regulation only:

For all United States officers without reservations;

For all State officers and Representatives to Congress, after a residence in the State for three months;

For all other officers, after a residence within the limits of their jurisdiction for one month;

When not restrained of their liberty, being charged with, or after conviction of and restraint for, some crime. In all other cases the elective franchise shall be absolutely unbridged.

5. All citizens, while serving in the Army or Navy of the United States, or as officers of the United States, shall be entitled to vote for United States officers only, except as may be provided by Congress for officers within their respective organizations.

ARTICLE XIV.

SEC. 1.—1. All elections in all the States shall be held simultaneously on the first Monday in November of each year, beginning at six o'clock in the morning and closing at six o'clock in the evening.

2. All judicial officers, all legislative officers, except United States Senators, and all executive officers provided by or under the authority of this Constitution to officiate as heads of departments, divisions and sub-divisions, shall be elected by the votes of the people among whom they are to have jurisdiction; and all other officers in such jurisdiction shall be appointed by them, and hold their offices during good behavior; and shall be removed for cause only and in such manner as shall be ascertained by law.

3. Representatives to Congress, Representatives and Senators to the several State Legislatures, by Congressional districts, and all lesser legislative bodies, and all Judges of all Courts, shall be elected in the same manner by which it is provided that the Electoral College shall be elected, except that the districts having the largest fractional remainder of votes shall be taken to complete the quota of officers, and that the officers elected shall be those who shall have received the largest vote instead of in the order of numbered districts or divisions on each ticket.

4. All executive officers not otherwise provided, whether of the United States or the States, may be elected by a majority or plurality vote, or by minority representation, as may be provided by law.

5. No officer elected by the people shall ever be required to take an oath of office or to give bond for the performance of the duties of the office; the fact of election being *prima facie* evidence that the people accept the officer as capable and honest.

6. No officer elected by the people shall be removed from office during the term for which the election was had, except by a vote of the people in the same manner as in the election of the officer.

ARTICLE XV.

SEC. 1.—1. The Congress shall have power to pass no law that shall in any manner deny, abridge, or interfere with the most complete exercise of every power, capacity, and talent possessed by the individual; but shall guarantee every indi-

vidual peaceful pursuit therein, as against all other individuals.

2. That shall in any manner deny, abridge, or interfere with the right of two or more individuals to contract together in whatever manner, but shall guarantee protection to all contracting parties as against all interference.

SEC. 1. All contracts between individuals shall stand upon their own merits and upon the integrity and capacity of the parties involved, without appeal by them to any power for redress; provided, however, that when contracting parties, at the time of making a contract, shall declare in the contract that they, not having mutual confidence in their ability and integrity to faithfully perform the same, desire the guarantee of other parties, or that Government shall enforce them, then the Government may have the power to take cognizance of an appeal to it, through proper forms, to be prescribed by law, but not otherwise.

2. Laws may be made to compel the enforcement of pecuniary contracts on the part of incorporated companies organized under the authority of law; since their integrity and capacity may depend upon the perfectness of the laws by which they exist, which are the people's provisions, and not upon the honor and integrity of the individuals composing the company; and to require the record or publication of such contracts as may affect and indirectly involve the community.

3. No oath or affirmation shall be required by law of any person upon any pretext, or for any purpose whatever. But in any processes of law where evidence is required or given, if it be established that such evidence is false testimony, the person giving it may be held accountable in a manner to be ascertained by law.

ARTICLE XVI.

SEC. 1.—1. It is expressly understood that the Government thus organized has no power conferred upon it except that which is necessary to carry out the instructions of the people, as expressed through the laws framed by their representatives, and approved by themselves, according to the provisions of this Constitution.

2. The people may by direct vote at any time instruct their chosen representatives in regard to any issue before them, and all legislative bodies are to be held to be the representatives of the people, and not of their own ideas as opposed to the will of the people.

ARTICLE XVII.

The United States shall compel every State to maintain within its limits a Republican form of government upon all matters in all its legislation and administration; and such a form is pronounced to be one in which the rights of all adult citizens to participate is absolutely unbridged except by forfeiture; and in which the equal interests of all minor citizens are secured.

ARTICLE XVIII.

This Constitution may be amended in the same manner in which all laws are required to be passed, by the Congress of the United States and the approval of the people; provided, however, that all such amendments shall be approved by a vote of three-fifths of the entire vote cast.

ARTICLE XIX.

SEC. 1.—1. The House of Representatives shall have the power, whenever in the judgment of three-fifths of its members it shall be proper to do so, to submit to the people an Amendment to this Constitution abolishing all Senatorial bodies, which shall become the law when approved by the requisite vote of the people.

2. The people may at any time, without the initiative on the part of the Congress, amend, or abolish parts of this Constitution by a vote of three-fifths of the adult citizens, and the people shall have the right to vote upon any proposition of this kind at any general election; and all such votes shall have the same force and effect as though made upon subjects submitted to them by the Congress.

3. This Constitution shall be held to be adopted by the people whenever three-fifths of the whole number of adult citizens of the United States, according to the last census, shall have given it their approval; and they may then constitutionally proceed to organize the government as herein provided; but all other and previous legislation under the old Constitution shall continue in full force and effect, until the necessary legislation supplementary to, and in place of, it shall have been provided.

4. Nothing in this Constitution or in the legislation authorized under it shall be held as invalidating contracts existing at the time of its adoption, except in cases herein otherwise expressly provided.

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THOMAS F. WELLS,
THEODORE FABER, Trustees.
THOMAS C. LOMBARD,

Being a majority of the Trustees duly elected by and for the said corporation.

City and County of New York, ss.
Martin E. Twyford being duly sworn according to law deposes and says, that he is the Secretary of The Metallurgical Company of New York, a corporation duly formed under an act passed the 17th day of February, 1848, to authorize the formation of corporations for manufacturing, mining, mechanical, chemical and other purposes, and that the foregoing reports as to the amount of capital and of the proportion thereof actually paid in and of the amount of the existing debts of said corporation is a just and true report of the affairs of said Company with relation thereto, and that the said report is signed by a majority of the Trustees duly elected by and for the said corporation.

MARTIN E. TWYFORD.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 17th day of January, 1872.

WM. W. MANN,

Notary Public City and County New York.