

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

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Vol. 4.—No. 17.—Whole No. 95.

NEW YORK, MARCH 9, 1872.

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73—85.

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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 marvellous—incredible, 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, Madison Square, New York.

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Interest, the Spiritual Philosophy, its Phenomena, etc., Current Events, Entertaining Miscellany, Notices of New Publications, etc. **WESTERN EDITORIAL**

CORRESPONDENCE BY WARREN CHASE, St. Louis, Mo. **WESTERN LOCALS** BY CEPHAS B. LYNN.

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WILLIAM WHITE & CO., is preferable to Bank Notes, since, should the Order or Draft be lost or stolen, it can be renewed without loss to the sender.

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Subscribers in Canada will add to the terms of subscription 20 cents per year, for pre-payment of American postage.

Post Office Address.—It is useless for subscribers to write, unless they give their Post Office Address and name of State.

Subscribers wishing the direction of their paper changed from one town to another, must always give the name of the Town, County and State to which it has been sent.

Specimen copies sent free.

Subscribers are informed that twenty-six numbers of the Banner compose a volume. Thus we publish two volumes a year.

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS.—Your attention is called to the plan we have adopted of placing figures at the end of each of your names, as printed on the paper or wrapper. These figures stand as an index, showing the exact time when your subscription expires, i. e., the time for which you have paid. When these figures correspond with the number of the volume and the number of the paper itself, then know that the time for which you paid has expired. The adoption of this method renders it unnecessary for us to send receipts. Those who desire the paper continued should renew their subscriptions at least as early as three weeks before the receipt-figures correspond with those at the left and right of the date.

Patrons of the BANNER, when renewing their subscriptions, should be careful to always state the place to which the paper is mailed; and the same care should be exercised when a change of location is desired. By particularly attending to this, our mailing clerk will be relieved of a great amount of extra labor in hunting through the thousands of names upon our books before the name required can be found and the alteration made; whereas, if the full address is given, he has only to consult his alphabet of towns to turn direct to the name upon the subscription book.

ADVERTISEMENTS inserted at twenty cents per line for the first, and fifteen cents per line for each subsequent insertion.

All communications intended for publication, or in any way connected with the Editorial Department, should be addressed to the Editor. Letters to the Editor not intended for publication should be marked "private."

All Business Letters must be addressed:



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
Constitutional Equality, by Tennie C. Claflin;	1.50
Woman Suffrage guaranteed by the Constitution, speech by Victoria C. Woodhull;	
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;	
The Principles of Social Freedom;	
Carpenter and Cartter Reviewed—A Speech before the Suffrage Convention at Washington;	
Each per copy;	10
per 100;	5.00

POST OFFICE NOTICE.

The mails for Europe during the week ending Saturday, March 9, 1872, will close at this office on Wednesday at 11:30 A. M., on Thursday at 11 A. M., and on Saturday at 11 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, 8 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).—Every Friday, at 805 Third avenue.
- 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.

INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

All persons desiring to become members of, or to form 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. Elliot, 208 Fifth street, New York.
- German Corresponding Secretary, Edward Grosse, 214 Madison street, New York.
- French Corresponding Secretary, B. Laugrand, 335 Fourth avenue, New York.
- Spanish Corresponding Secretary, Majin Janer, 112 Lexington avenue, Brooklyn.
- Italian Corresponding Secretary, Antonio Brumi, 621 East Twelfth street, New York.

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.

TO THE INTERNATIONALS.

FRIENDS:—For more than twenty years I have been assiduously preparing for the practical solution of the social problem, and I now heartily desire to join my efforts with yours, and hesitate only because I cannot as yet see that you have a reliable foundation.

Such a foundation I claim cannot be found or laid in the presence of personal or industrial chattelhood for man, woman, or child.

By marriage, personal chattelhood is imposed on men, women and children, and by the hiring system of service industrial chattelhood is imposed generally without respect to sex or age.

Individual rights should be fully respected, but this cannot be in the presence of marriage, or the hiring system of service, and, therefore, I desire to see an organization that shall exclude these institutions, and thus make room for personal and industrial freedom.

In the development of such an organization the first objects should include a permanent, attractive home; complete integral, educational advantages; the full employment of all industrial talent, and equitable, commercial arrangements.

To accomplish this, men and women must organize suitable groups, according to adaptations by the election of representative leaders, and as the patriarchal family was the sequence of marriage, so the industrial family will be the sequence of suitable groups.

The groups of any branch of production, may organize their families into productive unions, by the election of representatives to a board of production.

In any commercial district the boards of production may organize the productive unions into a commercial union, by the election of representatives to a congress of exchange.

The congresses of exchange may organize the commercial unions into a universal union by the election of representatives to a general tribunal.

Thus organized, each man, woman and child (including all representative servants) can be justly debited and credited for all service rendered or received, and solvency can be made the test of suffrage right.

In this way children and all others will become self-invested, self-possessed, self-controlled; industrial capitalists equally worthy of representation.

For the balancing of accounts, bills of credit can be issued in denominations suited for commercial exchange. This currency will be measured by time, and represent work done; therefore it will be a true and reliable labor currency that will render powerless all political and monetary arrangements with all monopolies based thereon.

The products of industry can be stored in convenient places where they may be drawn in exchange for the bills of credit.

A savings bank may be instituted where may be deposited any surplus credit, as a fund from which to advance credit to children and others in need; and after a suitable industrial basis has been accomplished, each person, old and young, will be required to meet only their own expenses.

On the deposits made in this bank, or on any loan of labor or its representative, interest will be realized according to the decrease of cost in production, so that an hour's time loaned will on its payment equal the products of an hour with the improved facilities of production.

Taxes and fines will be levied only on the basis of service rendered or damage done. Voting will be done in journal and balanced in ledger.

This Industrial Republic can act as a political party with more effect than can a merely political party.

S. T. FOWLER.

UNIVERSAL CHURCH.

PROPHETIC ORDER VERSUS ORGANIZATION.

Progress implies imperfection or unattained perfection in an individual or in a body. Prophecy is based upon the idea of progress. Now, as the last and greatest of Jewish prophets was Jesus, and even his "testimony" is affirmed to be "the spirit of prophecy" itself, the conclusion is logical that the organizations resulting from his teachings and precepts were not a finality, but that prophecy and progress were still the law, not less than the hope of humanity. Consequently the disintegration of Christian organizations has been as uniform as their formation down through the ages, and is still more potent and actively operative to-day than at any previous period of mundane history.

The first spiritual conference, organized in New York, by Partridge, Brittan, Benning, Gray, Hallock, and others, was itself a protest against all organizations, not even a chairman being in order. Babel buildings are falling before the angel of Spiritualism; the prophet—Shaker church—alone remains in the land, to witness the dissolution of all things—the overthrow of kingdoms, nations, peoples, tongues, and churches—upheaval, "turning things upside down."

THE PROPHET.

Who is the prophet, and whence does he derive his almighty power and authority that he alone remains amid "the wreck of matter and the crush of worlds?" The prophet, before whom kings tremble and become as supplicants. "Pray for me that the things which thou hast spoken come not upon me," is the voice of the despotic tyrant no less than of the necromancer. Samuel, the prophet, made and unmade kings in Israel.

When Benhadad, King of Syria was sick, "he sent Hazael to Elijah, a prophet in Israel, to inquire of the Lord, taking with him forty camels' burthen of every good thing in Damas-

cus," as a present, and received for answer, "Thou mayest certainly recover, but the Lord hath shewed me, that thou shalt surely die." He then informed Hazael that he would become king of Syria, and what he would do in Israel. To Saul, Samuel said, "The Lord sent me to anoint thee king of Israel." Again: "Anoint Hazael to be king over Syria, Jehu, king over Israel, and Elisha to be prophet in thy room."

David also was thus anointed king. The prophet Moses "poured oil on Aaron's head, and anointed him for high priest." The higher law in Israel was, that no king, or high priest, was equal in power to, or safe from being supplanted in office through, the order of prophets. Could anything be more pertinent than the inquiry, "Who is the prophet, and from what fountain does the spirit flow that the anointing oil typified?" This is the more interesting from the fact, that the gift of prophecy was common to the race, and was thus unlike other powers peculiar to the Jewish organization, all of which were exclusive, and made the Jews themselves the most separated and isolated of all people, "dwelling alone, not even being numbered with the nations."

PROPHETIC GIFT UNIVERSAL.

So that a prophet, when once his character as such was established, was no longer held as belonging to any particular people; but, as we have seen, was sought unto as a representative man, ranking above the officers of all human organizations, however divinely appointed by tutelary deities. It was this conflict of authority between the Prophets and the organizations, that caused the former to be so often stoned and killed. "Which of the Prophets have not your fathers killed, and stoned them who were sent unto them?" "It cannot be," said the iconoclastic Jesus, "that a Prophet perish out of Jerusalem!" and himself did not elsewhere die.

The high priest, king and priesthood, were "the powers that be," who had been appointed of their God. From that standpoint, what was a Prophet, but a rebel against the existing organization, or a martyr under it? By the law of self-preservation—the first law of nature—did he not deserve to be persecuted and killed?

There were some thirty men, immediately preceding Jesus, each of whom claimed to be "some great one"—the Messiah of the Jews. These had worn out the patience of the Romans, so that Jesus was summarily dealt with. Gamaliel refers to this class as those who had made much trouble, coming to "nothing" but their own dispersion or destruction.

As the mushroom grows out of the dunghill which has hitherto produced only toadstools, so does the true Reformer and Prophet grow out of those elements which had previously produced a crop of spurious or imperfect Prophets and Reformers, for all of whose idiosyncrasies, short-comings and crudities he is held responsible. "Save me from my friends," is the fervent prayer of every genuine Reformer or Prophet. The half-way Christian, who cries "Lord, Lord," worshipping Jesus as one of the Three Gods, who died to let him live in lust uncondemned, of all others, is the greatest sinner, and the least known of the Christ Spirit.

Abraham, the father of the Jewish nation, who, by common consent, is held as the type of Jesus the Messiah, was himself a prophet and friend of the Hebrew God. He met Melchizedek; who (under the popular ruling) was a heathen; but he was "king of righteousness," a "king of peace," a celibate; being "without father and mother, and without descent, beginning of days, or end of life, made like unto the Son of God (whoever that may be), and abideth a priest continually." In plain English, Melchizedek was a Christian, who had not only been ministered to by the Christ Spirit, from the seventh or resurrection heavens, but he had incarnated that Spirit in his character, and was a "high priest of the Most High God." Unto him poor heathen Abraham very properly confessed his sins, which thenceforth became an established Jewish ordinance. He also paid the sacrificial tithes to Melchizedek; not only for himself, but for all the Levitical priesthood (yet in his own loins) down to Jesus, his descendant and antetype, who confessed his sins, if at all guilty, to John the Baptist, the Christ Prophet, as did Abraham to Melchizedek; for John was the antetype of Melchizedek, as was Jesus of Abraham.

PHYSICAL WAR CONDEMNED.

Abraham had just returned from the "slaughter of the kings," when Melchizedek, "the king of peace," taught him that physical war was animal—brutal; and wrong for him, and all that should proceed from him.

It took two thousand years for Abraham to reach that gift of peace in the person of his Jesus, who, under the law of Prophecy and Progress, became the "Prince of Peace," and was anointed king of righteousness; for "he loved righteousness and hated iniquity;" and the Christ Spirit also "anointed him with the oil of gladness above his fellows."

CELIBACY.

It is said of Jesus (prophetically), "His life was cut off from the earth, and who shall declare his generation?" He having no physical (or natural) posterity, like Abraham; but, like Melchizedek, he too became a celibate, forsaking his earthly generative relation of father and mother, of brother and sister, for those who knew and did the will of God, this being eternal life, and not confined to earth, made him without descent, beginning of days, or end of life; thus receiving the kingdom of heaven as a little child, precisely as the Shakers of our day commence their spiritual travel.

PRIESTHOOD.

Melchizedek was "made like unto the Son of God." Thus, after the similitude of Melchizedek, there ariseth another priest and another priesthood. "For Jesus is made a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek," outside of the Mosaic law, yet including it as a "schoolmaster," to prepare souls for the Christ order, the Christian life.

UNIVERSAL CHURCH.

Thus does a ministration from the innermost (or seventh) sphere, end the world of generation, physical war and private property, to all nations, in all times, and in all worlds.

"Jesus was made higher than the heavens" of generation, or the angels in them, from which alone the Jews had received their ministrations. Nor do the generating, warring Gentile Christians receive ministrations from any other than generative heavens and hells.

REPENTANCE.

John the Baptist, the greatest of Jewish prophets, the Melchizedek of his day, who told the soldiers to "do violence to no man," was the minister of baptism to Jesus, who came to him acknowledging the order of confession, as Abraham went to Melchizedek, and as Ann Lee went to James and Jane Wardley.

COMMON PROPERTY.

Melchizedek and John were each a minister of the Christ spirit, "the second Adam, the Lord from heaven." Abraham paid tithes of his property, thus acknowledging that it all belonged to the Lord. Jesus gave the whole, retaining not anything. "All things common."

PEACE.

When Abraham and his posterity—all true Jews—did fight, it was as spiritual mediums, always (like Moses and Elijah) depending upon the spirits to slaughter their enemies. But Jesus would not call fire down from heaven, as did Elias, to kill, but learned of the Christ spirit to do good to all—evil to none; and to be "first pure, then peaceable."

PROGRESSION OF PRIMATES.

From the day that Melchizedek blessed Abraham, the Jews traveled toward Christianity—progressed. As the result of that progress, Jesus, probably the best of Jewish boys, progressed toward Christianity, until he "saw of the travail of his soul, and was satisfied" therewith, by incorporating it into his character, so that the "prince of this world" found nothing of it in him.

CHRIST ANGEL AND INTERMEDIATE PROPHETS.

The intermediate Prophets, between Melchizedek and John the Baptist, were ministers of the Christ heavens. It was this that raised them above all earthly powers and principalities, above the kings and the holy anointed high priests, and the subordinate priesthood, while acting officially as Christ ministers. But themselves, as men, were often far from being Christians. Even Jesus was not born a Christian, but a Jew; "born of a woman, born under the Law," and had to work out his salvation as have all other men; only he had none but the Christ Spirit to help him after John had baptized him. Hence the Prophet Zachariah says that he was shown, in vision, Joshua—Jesus—the high priest, "standing before the Angel of the Lord (the Christ Angel), and Satan at his right hand to resist him. And the Lord (Christ Angel) said unto Satan, The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan. Is not this a brand plucked out of the fire" (of lust)?

CONFESSION OF SIN.

"If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." "Now (Jesus) was clothed with filthy garments, and stood before the (Christ) Angel. And the Angel spoke to them who stood before him (John and his disciples), take away the filthy garments from him," by confession; and the Spirit said, "I have caused thine iniquity to pass from thee, and I will clothe thee with change of raiment. So they clothed him with garments (a work of time); and the (Christ) Angel of the Lord stood by," to help, and said to him: "If thou wilt walk in my ways, and if thou wilt keep my charge, then thou shalt keep my courts, and judge my house." It was conditional even with Jesus the Messiah, to whom Christ first appeared, to begin the work of human redemption. And we have still the Spirit of Prophecy and the laws of Progress operative unto the second appearing of the Christ Spirit in Woman, as the first had been in Man. That second appearing has been and is often prophesied of.

"Hear, O (Jesus), the high priest, thou and thy fellows that sit before thee (Christians); for they are men wondered at. For, behold, I bring forth my servant, the Branch." "A rod"—Jesus—"shall grow out of the stem of Jesse; and a branch"—Ann—"shall grow out of his roots"—the Gentiles; "and to her shall the gathering of the Gentiles be; and his rest shall be glorious."

"For, behold, the stone—(Branch)—that I have laid before Jesus; upon it shall be seven eyes: behold, I will engrave (by revelation) the engraving thereof, saith the Lord of hosts, and I will remove the iniquity of that land in one day."

"In that day, saith the Lord of hosts, shall ye call every man under his vine, and under his fig tree." There shall be co-operation in the civil Government; and also Communistic elements, out of which shall grow Christian Pentecostal Communities of Gentiles, with "all things common, as the body, and an abiding of the Christ Spirit as the soul, of the Universal Church."

THE MAN JESUS.

Moses was a Prophet of the God of Israel, but he had a vision of the Christ Heaven, which was "the (spiritual) mount" and was to "make all things (in his natural order) after the pattern" of what he saw there; that it might serve as a prophecy of the spiritual order yet to come on the earth, to succeed, include and supplant himself and dispensation. Moses said, "The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet, from the midst of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken." Such was Jesus, who came teaching a higher law than the Mosaic—more spiritual.

CHRIST.

Jesus asked, "What think ye of Christ?" "Whose son is

he?" They said, "David's." "Why then does David, in spirit, call him Lord? How is he David's son?" Now, inasmuch as Jesus never objected to being called the "Son of David," it is self-evident that he knew the Christ Angel to be a distinct person—the second or spiritual Adam—through whose agency he became a "Son of God;" and "to as many other men as received him, he" and his successors "give the same power to become sons of God."

SPIRITUALISM.

If Paris were a spiritualist, she would, comprehend, that, in killing "the Communes" by hundreds, she is increasing their power to injure her; and furnishing them with the strongest motive to use it—vengeance. Cannot she read? or is she "drunk with blood?" "How long, O Lord, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood?" asked the martyrs. Until your fellow servants, the Prophets, that shall be killed, as you were, is fulfilled." In other words, until an infidel government succeeds the church and State governments of Christendom—Republics that are untheological.

THE BRANCH, ANN LEE.

The "Two Witnesses"—male and female—inspired from the resurrection—Christ—heavens, "to prophecy in sackcloth and ashes," under persecution, during the "1,260 years" rule of this "wilderness" Christianity, closing in 1792; when the untheological civil government of the United States ended the power of Babylon priests to kill the Prophets. Up to this period, the spiritual truths of their testimony had "tormented" the church and State organizations, whether Catholic, Protestant or Greeks, in all of which are interblended War and Peace, Marriage and Celibacy, Riches and Poverty, Churches and Barracks, Monastic Institutions, and Houses of Prostitution, Charitable Orders and the Inquisitions of Rome and Naples, Prisons (like the Tombs and Ludlow jail) and a hireling Police, with a hireling Priesthood, under a "One God" and "Three God" system, which prays continually for the second coming of the man Jesus—as Christ—who, now that he has appeared "in ten thousand of his saints," proves to be the English woman Ann Lee; and "to as many as receive her, she" and her successors "give power to become sons and daughters of the Lord God Almighty." F. W. EVANS.

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.]

OLD TRUTHS IN NEW FORMS.

PRAYER.

If I pray, unto whom or what shall I pray? Unto "God," whose laws and manner of working are everywhere immutable? "who is indeed without change or the shadow of turning," and who, therefore, can in no way come to my aid, or by special Providence change in the smallest degree the conditions which imprison me? Shall I pray to any guardian angel who is controlled by a fallible spirit like my own? Shall I pray to my fellow-man, who is as weak and ignorant and erring as myself? Shall I not, rather, when my soul aspires to another, a purer, a higher condition, strive to comprehend, actualize and harmonize all the laws of my being, and placing myself in the truest relationship to the combined forces which are ever acting upon me, exclaim, not "Oh! Father, if it be thy will, let this cup pass from me," but blessed be the hand which has given me this cup—bitter though it be—if it but lead me nearer to the Divine and Infinite Truth.

There has been too much prayer and too little action, too much leaning upon Lords, Gods and angels, upon priests and saints. We need, now, to be set squarely on our own feet, and told to stand erect alone unsupported in our manhood and womanhood. If we stumble and fall we must raise ourselves up, and gaining new strength by the effort, count every wound and bruise a guide to make us more wary in the future. The ignorance of the past has instilled into us from childhood to maturity the idea of our weakness and incapacity. We have been overawed by the teachings of the best, the purest and the most learned among men. Those who by their virtues and genius have best illustrated the highest propensities of man and woman have impressed upon us from our tender years the fatal lesson; our literature is filled and infused with the same degenerating teaching; everything that has appeared the wisest and most worthy is based upon this foundation; we are taught to pray on rising from or going to rest; before and after our daily repasts, for rain and for dry weather, in sickness and in health, when we marry and when we are dying, everywhere and forever the same sad story of our weakness, and incapacity, our miserable dependence upon a power outside of ourselves.

We find that everything else in nature grows and blooms, and flourishes alive. Each tree and flower, each animal or insect develops from its birth according to the laws of its own organization, but upon man alone is imposed the degenerating necessity of prayer, of depending upon a strength not his own. How shall we wonder then, with such instruction forced upon us at every step through life, and surrounding us from the cradle to the grave like a foul atmosphere from which the vitalizing principle has been withdrawn; how shall we wonder that we grow so slowly; that we are so weak and so often stag-

ger along that path of life which we should tread with the firmness and courage of being responsible to ourselves alone. As well expect the child which has been held always in its mother's arms to sustain itself and walk alone, when its limbs have long remained bound up in its swaddling clothes.

Let us therefore become wise in time, applying ourselves diligently to learn the laws and principles by which we are governed and controlled; adapt ourselves to them, and harmonize ourselves in body, in heart, in mind and in spirit with their requirements. Thus shall we acquire strength of our own and cease depending upon any being, whether above or below us, cease our whinings and supplications, and if we must recognize anything as holy let it be our own saved humanity. Let us study Science, not Theology, let us cultivate philosophy, not creeds; let us follow the dictates of nature and of reason, not the commands of popes and priests. Then standing erect in the majesty of our own glorious selfhood, let us march boldly onward and upward, in the only pathway which leads to a perfect realization of harmony, of wisdom, of love and of justice. VERA.

MONEY AND MERCHANDISE.

I am delighted to see by David Wilder's communication in the WEEKLY of February 24 that he desires and proposes to have "a sound paper currency, not founded upon gold," because that is exactly what those with whom he appears to differ, propose and intend to have. I beg to suggest that my memory runs back to the days of the old United States Bank, that I lived under the shadow of its portico, and that I heard its merits cussed and discussed by able men when I was younger and greener than I am now. I dare say many of the friends who agree with me, also can say that their ideas are based on far higher studies than those of the United States Bank or Suffolk Bank systems, and that they had come to substantially the same conclusions long before the legal tender act was passed.

When it is said that gold should be the measure or standard of value, it is gold as merchandise that is meant; it is simply intended to convey the idea that by a dollar we mean something which will buy a piece of gold of the weight and fineness of that which we now coin as a dollar. And the only reason why this particular weight of fine gold has any value, is that it costs a certain amount of human labor to produce it. As a measure of value, it is no better than any other product of human labor of equally uniform cost of production, and it is probable that its cost is less uniform than that of wheat or corn. But as it has heretofore been used as the standard, and is still used by foreign and barbarous nations, it may be well during the transition from the Natural to the Scientific system, to retain gold as one of the standards by which to determine the value or cost represented by the monetary unit.

We do not propose to continue to use the irredeemable legal tender note, overdue and depreciated as money; nor do we intend to substitute for it the promise to pay of any individual or incorporation. The difficulty with the United States Bank note, and with all bank notes under the Suffolk Bank, or New York State Bank system, was that they were promises to pay specie, when it was well known that the promise could not be performed; in other words, the profession was a lie.

But the people, and our friend D. W., and his friends, may as well make up their minds to it, it is determined that no set of men shall have a monopoly of supplying the country with a private-speculation currency, "entitled, in a certain sense, to be called money," in lieu of money itself, which, on the contrary, they mean shall be issued by the General Government alone, representing the whole people, and for the equitable benefit of all. They mean to have a National Money that shall "purchase and pay" for all the products of labor, and for labor itself, better than can be done by gold or by any other barter trade. And having emerged from barbarism and leading strings, we mean to use a comparatively costless material for our money, its value depending upon its functions or spirit, and not upon its material or body. Nor do we mean to stultify ourselves by calling any sort of merchandise money, and then repudiating its use, substituting an ambiguous currency in its stead. F. S. C.

AMERICAN INVESTMENTS.

The very large amount of European capital that continues to be absorbed by the various issues of attractive American securities, makes the question exceedingly pertinent whether there is not a limit to the amount which the world can safely invest with one nation, even if all such loans should be against reproductive property.

Whatever the enormous aggregate of these investments may be, it is simply the result of adverse commercial balances, settled through the transfer of these loans against property in the United States; that is the totality of these claims against America, now held by Europeans, is the measure by which the United States have failed during the past seven or eight years in supplying their current expenses, and, like all delinquents, have been forced to pledge the future for that which the present could not provide.

During the creation of this foreign debt there has been the new acreage of the West, the greatly increased facilities of inter-communication, the growth of the cities, and the general increase of population, with its accompanying developments but neither the acres, nor the improvements thereon, the cities nor their inhabitants can be transferred from the United States to satisfy claims of foreign creditors.

Any demand against a nation, whether expressed by government or corporate bonds, when held by non-residents, requires in settlement a removal of value in some form from the debtor to the creditor nation.

As it is impossible to transfer the realities which these debts adumbrate, creditors can only receive payment in those articles produced by the labor of the people.

Before even these products can be thus employed, the wants

of the people must first be supplied; for the primal and absolute law of production requires food, raiment, and shelter, before the physical strength necessary to create can exist.

As, therefore, the surplus products alone of a nation have any value to foreign creditors, the following abstracts from United States statistics, for a period of nine years, will clearly reveal to all European holders of American loans, that during this period at least it would have been impossible for them to have received any return from such investments, except by pledges upon its future industry:

	Domestic exports, including specie.	Imports less re-exports.
1863,	\$240,413,072	\$236,796,336
1864,	243,991,847	309,305,355
1865,	195,045,647	215,991,019
1866,	418,196,492	430,770,041
1867,	329,783,725	397,223,067
1868,	352,381,698	349,023,682
1869,	318,038,624	412,140,841
1870,	420,578,952	431,927,925
1871,	513,044,273	513,033,875
Total,	\$3,091,914,329	\$3,236,210,741

Adverse balance, \$264,296,412

Before a United States official balance sheet can present the total adverse balance, there must be added to the declared deficiency the freightage, now almost entirely in foreign hands, the undervaluation of imports, and the smuggling which the high tariff induces, together with interest on debt already incurred.

These officially ignored but actively operating causes have swelled the actual foreign indebtedness of the United States to probably ten times the declared deficiency of \$264,296,412.

The transfer of such an enormous amount of debt has been much aided by the governmental action in herding throughout the financial world the monthly cancellation of the United States bonds.

But they carefully avoid giving publicity to the fact, that for every dollar the people have been freed from this central debt, they have pledged themselves to five times the amount, and in a far more perilous way, by sending National, State and corporate pledges in settlement of the continued commercial deficiencies to Europe.

All of the cancelled bonds (except call for \$100,000,000, December 1st, 1871, and to meet which the government, through agents, sold an equal, if not greater, amount in Europe) have been purchased from residents in America. As a unit, the United States have not been strengthened through this reduction, beyond the saving of expense in collecting and paying the interest thereon; for what was lost to the people through taxation was returned to the same people through coupons; but the debt incurred to non-residents for commercial balances will require, if ever paid, bushels of wheat or bales of cotton to be sent out of the country.

Since 1865, when the maximum of debt was reached, the United States have cancelled about \$455,000,000 of bonds. During the same period the people have pledged themselves for commercial deficiencies at least \$2,500,000,000; that is, while the government has stopped \$27,300,000 of interest from the American people, the same people have laid themselves under obligation to Europe for \$150,000,000 of interest, in addition to their annually deficient trade balance.

That the capacity of the United States for self-support is far less than it was previous to the present oppressive taxes and excessive issue of irredeemable currency, a review from 1858 to 1862 will clearly reveal:

	Domestic exports, including specie.	Imports, less re-exports.
1858,	\$293,758,279	\$251,727,008
1859,	335,894,384	317,873,053
1860,	373,189,274	335,233,232
1861,	228,099,885	315,004,725
1862,	213,059,519	188,902,253
	\$1,444,510,942	\$1,408,740,282

Bal. in favor of U. S. \$35,870,550

At that time, 71 per cent. of the ocean commerce being under the American flag, the true balance was much more favorable than the official one; whilst then no high tariff led to a concealment of imports, through under-valuation or smuggling.

To those Europeans who are dependent upon these securities for support, the future is certainly pregnant with financial danger, and none the less imminent because many prominent bankers of the hour ignorantly or willfully allure their customers into investments, which the mania of the moment alone renders possible.

New Years, 1872.

C. BEINTON, JR.

THE SPIRIT OF PROGRESS.

"Speak to the people that they go forward."—Exodus xiv, 15.

When the command reached Moses from on high to thus address Israel on the border of the Red Sea, it was, perhaps, the most trying extremity of their early history. The progress of the human race, like the out rolling of a vast scroll, is also in keeping with the steady evolutions of the globe. The course of genuine reform is ever onward. Forward is the spirited word of command.

"Come up hither, and I will show the things that must be hereafter," said the Spirit of prophecy to the beloved revelator on the Isle of his wonderful visions of human progression. And so it has ever been. 'Tis the Divinity that stirs within. The powers above ever call and beckon us through heavier and opened door, to advance and progress toward the spheres of the higher.

But if it does not enhance our social, individual comforts, our happiness as a people, what is progress to us, what is human progression? In Prussia the spirit of national progress has unfurled her golden banner, and on it is inscribed "Liberty and Unity."

In old Austria the silver lining of the late war cloud unrolls the expediency of the prompt abolition of many old customs, and the granting of a more liberal franchise.

In Italy the cry is liberty, full and free.

In France, the cry for bread, thrills the guilty rulers with another revolution's fearful dread.

In England, the turbulent cry of reform, like the sound of overwhelming waters, is swelling louder and louder. The power behind her throne will yet make England a working man's Republic.

And Russia, even within her once despotic borders, the restless spirit of reform is rife and active.

But in the South, the South American Republics have battled their way to a higher and more liberal life; and old Spain, even indolent, imbecile old Spain, has at last awoke, and shaking off the despotic dust of years, seems impulsively moved with the irrepressible spirit of progress.

In our own native land, what do we see and feel? In the South, the late field of as severe a struggle for national life as the race perhaps has ever passed, our poor exhausted, but still beloved South, defeated, but not despairing; cast down but not forsaken; they too are coming up into a nobler, holier life of liberty and society.

Not to the past, to the future looks true nobility, and finds its blazon in posterity.

But turn we to the east and what do we see. The strength and stability of all the essentials to elevate and ameliorate the condition of the race, possessed and moving here. How gladdening to behold? But hark, what sound is this salutes the ear like the rolling of many waters? and lo, how brilliant the light that strikes the sight, like gleamings from the mount of transfiguration. The elective franchise, the power and privilege of redress placed in the clean, true hand of woman.

And yet westward the car of progress takes its onward way. As all past systems after serving their day, have waned and passed away; so the present, not excepting that of an effete and imperfect Christian, is destined to give place to a philosophy more humanizing, and still higher will the external spirit of progress and ceaseless change urge us forward into the daily practice of the higher and the better life. The spirit of progress is not only the spirit of profligacy, but is also the impelling power of transformation and reform. Therefore all real art and genius, all science and invention for the races' improvement are the regular means and method by which the divine spirit of utility effects all reformatory changes.

The first duty of the legislative powers of a government emanating from the consent of the governed, should be not to enslave in poverty, but to prevent all criminal idleness by affording sufficient employment and protect them in their rights of living. When any government cannot do this, there exists a radical wrong. Government should not only speak to the people that they go forward, but should lead and assist the people in that course of progress which will be sure to increase their possessions and enhance their prosperity and refinement.

REICHMEYER.

DOGS AND PROSTITUTES.

We clip the following from a Western journal:

We understand the dogs of the city are going to hold an indignant meeting and protest against the recent order of the Mayor, classing them with "hogs, prostitutes and other animals."

"He shall hold her when his passion shall have spent its force something higher than his dog, a little better than his horse."—Tennyson. This was said of a wife, but our editor has found a class of women who are lower than dogs, and yet we dare say that both he and the Mayor are familiar with their haunts, and in their hearts they honor these "soiled doves," these "priestesses." But what a show of virtue they put on. If the Mayor thinks that this classification of the human animal called prostitutes, with dogs, sets off his virtues in a purer light he is mistaken, and should his eye fall upon these lines, we hope it will assure him, that one person at least, knows him for what he is.

It is evident that both the Editor and the Mayor understand the subject they are talking about. And these prostitutes who have pleased the "Gods." Are they lower than the dogs? Is there less in them of the divine, than there is in the Mayor's dog? These "Gods," who hold themselves men, are the only Gods whom it were a dishonor for a woman to know. Verily it were better for the woman were she born a dog, even of the "female persuasion" than to have been so unfortunate as to attract these men. How long will the intelligent, refined, Christian women of America suffer this degradation to come to one of their sex, and no dishonor to him who degrades her? When will they wake up to the fact that prostitutes are just as good as libertines, if not a little better? And when will they learn that in teaching men to be just to these fallen women, they raise the standard of honor in which those same men will hold the wife.

MRS. JULIA A. SMYTHE.

PHILADELPHIA TRACT, No. 2.

It has not been long since I wrote of the narrow-minded system that environs the Academy of Music in our city. During the past week I learned that the Musical Fund Hall can be placed on the same list, as both ignore the civil rights of a large body of our citizens, and exclude them from participating in any entertainments given therein. This exclusiveness, this injustice, this tag-end of Southern slavery existing here in our midst, instead of being harbored and encouraged, should be done away with. Who will begin to act in this matter? The public halls in this misnamed "City of Brotherly Love" must be open to all people.

A PHILADELPHIAN.

A KINDLY CRITICISM.

LAFORTE, IND., February 14, 1872.

DEAR VICTORIA: I know that you are reasonable and lenient enough to answer the following question kindly, even though it may contain a criticism upon yourself.

When in your lecture upon social freedom, you remark that you have a right to change your love every day if you wish, do you not make an extravagant and useless expression?

Victoria C. Woodhull or any other noble souled woman is not so fickle minded as to be so changeable in her conjugal relations—the most sacred departments of her being; but many might infer that such would be the frequent consequence of the perfect freedom of conjugal affection.

We know, yes, the pitying angels of heaven know that all true men and women should work together to arrest the fearful tide of ill flowing from false social conditions, and God speed all noble workers in the cause of social elevation; but let us weigh well the utterances upon this all-important subject, trusting that every sentiment we may express shall assist in lifting our brothers and sisters of humanity up into that spiritually minded condition wherein each soul seeks for that pure and harmonious *Mateship* which yearns for steadfast love—for sacred fidelity.

While upon the other hand, let all who write or speak upon this deep question, explain their sentiments in such a manner as to be understood. Yes, to be understood that we may not believe there is virtue in the union of two beings who are not married in soul. The golden wedding described by our excellent brother Hudson Tuttle, in his last chapter on Communism published last summer in your brave cotemporary, the *American Spiritualist*, is gloriously beautiful where two conjugal partners are purely mated; but it would be a grand mockery where this union did not exist.

Let us not commend the rising generation to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of discord and repulsion.

Sister Victoria while you are teaching the purity of freedom, and the freedom of purity, would you not be glad if the competent mind of Hudson Tuttle would give his views on True Marriage?

SADA BAILEY.

No, we made neither an extravagant nor a useless expression when we made the one referred to. It is time, in the advance

of the ages, that the broadest freedom should be proclaimed. It was necessary that the whole false fabric of society should be shocked to its very center by the statement of the whole truth; and that is the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. We did not utter it specifically for ourselves in the light in which we are charged with it. But that does not harm us. And we repeat again, if we are so unfortunately developed as to wish to change our love every day; if there is nothing within us but the mere desire for sexual change; if it is the height of our soul's ambition to grovel in the animal part of our natures, away from the refining presence of the intellect and spirit, why then we repeat: that we and other living soul have the right to determine when, and how frequently, we may change our love. If the individual have not the right, to whose keeping has it been entrusted? If it be ever proper to change our love; if we may conscientiously ever do it; if indeed we may rightfully love more than once during the whole course of our life, it must follow that there is none but a natural limit to the right to change. The capacity in this case is the prophecy of the right, just the same as it is in all other things. The trouble with us is that we have always been taught to regard the sexual relations as something that should never be touched upon; while in fact, if there is one department, which more than any other of our lives should be fully understood, it is that department. The reason there is so much that is in a low state of development in sexuality is because it is utterly ignored in our education. If these things were made a necessary portion of every child's education, is it to be, for a moment, supposed that present conditions could continue? Never! It is knowledge that we want. It is light, more light that humanity require. And I shall never cease to lift my voice; and never stop my pen, until the importance of this grandest and greatest of all earthly subjects is completely analyzed, and its laws reduced to practice. Therefore, I say; Proclaim it long and loud, that every one is free; and that nobody has the right to rule over another, even as to love.

JOSEPHINE S. GRIFFING.

IN MEMORIAM.

When a pure, brave and sweet soul passes from its earthly toils, joy and pain strive for mastery of our hearts. Pain, that her strength shall no more stay our weakness, that her tenderness shall no more soothe our sufferings, that her courage shall no more refresh our flagging faith. Joy, that the toils are done, that the weary head rests, that the worn hands are folded, that the anxious, pitying heart is at peace. Yet our own parting from the loving spirit is hard, and joy for her relief is whelmed at our loss.

The noble band of women who, since 1847, have labored for the enfranchisement of their sex, is now broken. Josephine S. Griffing died last week; quitting us before many whom it was thought she would outlive. Till lately her name was little known in the nation; but the poor and the outcast, the lame, the blind, and the bedridden, whose guardian angel she was, will long water her grave with their tears.

She was born near Hartford fifty years ago. Her maiden name was White, and she was a niece of Mr. Waldo, the artist, who painted all our grandparents' portraits, and lived to paint those of the grandchildren during a hale, genial old age. She married young, and went to Salem to struggle with the forest and the soil when Ohio was half woods. From Salem an influence went out all over the State that lifted public opinion to a higher level in many things. Side by side with Parker Pillsbury, she fought the devil of slavery; and beside her domestic duties, she did yeoman's service in the cause of freedom. The war brought her to Washington, where for a time she kept a boarding house in which George W. Julian and other leading Republicans lived more as friends than as boarders. But the time needed her in a larger sphere. The exigencies of war drove into the District of Columbia, after the abolition of slavery there, thousands on thousands of untutored and starving freed people. As agent of the Freedman's Relief Association, she undertook the care of these, and labored for them while her strength lasted, with scarce a day's vacation, but such as sickness compelled. The strong were sent where they could find employment, the feeble were fed and clothed. And this was done in the face of bitter opposition from Democratic spite, local prejudice, and War Department officiousness. She carried appropriation after appropriation through Congress; winning support from the best Senators and Representatives, overcoming the worst, and wetting the knots of red-tape that army jealousy tied. The best men of the nation were her friends and helpers. Wade, Sumner, Stevens, Julian, Dawes, Ashley, Wendell Phillips, are a few who can tell of her achievements. All over the land, hearts of every station in life will thrill with sorrow at the news of her decease.

In 1867, she took a leading part in forming the Universal Franchise Association, and from that time forth added to her other tasks the active advocacy of Woman Suffrage of which she had long been a supporter. In this she took the leading part, being from the first, President of the Managers and members of the Executive Committee. In presenting this subject to Congress and the public, she showed the rare tact and judgment that marked her every act. In noisy, turbulent meetings, her gentle simple dignity commanded a hearing; and when she began to speak in her low, sympathetic tones, the rudest listened with respect; while she carried her hearers with her so easily that they hardly suspected they were giving ear to anything uncommon, till her ceasing startled them first into thrilled silence and then into rapturous applause. Labor-

ing harder and harder, she failed in health steadily; till at last May's meeting in New York a great screen was placed behind her on the platform, that her weakened voice might reach the audience. She died of sheer overwork, faithful and earnest to the last.

Lacking earthly advantages and the fascinations of youth and beauty, Josephine S. Griffing did not win the fame that more fortunate women did; yet those who really knew her, will agree that scarcely one was her natural superior. She possessed in a signal degree that balance of mind most needful for a popular leader; and united with a loveliness that made her weather-beaten face angelic, a practical sagacity and executive force that made even Edwin S. Stanton her warm friend. The public may learn what they have lost; but, never can they know what we have lost who loved her.

Farewell, but not for ever, heroic soul! "Nor shall willows weep for a tree that is greener; nor a broken column symbolize a work completed nor, if inverted, flame a pure fire ascending." Thy name is graven, not on lifeless stone, but on countless sad hearts thou hast helped to cheer. These are thy monuments, proudest and grandest memorial. Rest now, on the breast of the father and mother of the world!

And now, over the grave of Josephine Griffing, a word to all true workers for woman's freedom. Good friends, one of our departed sister's strongest traits was, that she was the friend of us all. No one of us can say that she ever quarrelled. She always refused to take part in dissensions, and struck all her blows at the foe—oppression. So, before the gap she leaves in the ranks is filled, can we not agree that, whatsoever differences exist among us, we will work together in her conciliatory spirit, and when all cannot take the same way, will wish God speed to all, in their own! I. K. H. WILLCOX.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Hattie J. French writes: We were favored last evening with a lecture from Victoria C. Woodhull on the "Impending Revolution," delivered at Lincoln Hall to a large and appreciative audience, who manifested their interest by close attention and constant rounds of applause. While Mrs. Woodhull was speaking I saw a large band of spirits immediately over her head, arrayed in pure white, each waving a red and white flag; the vision is significant of *Liberty* for the children of earth, and equality for all classes. Some four weeks since I saw a vision which I will describe, as I am impressed it was significant of something important in the grand revolutionary movement. I saw an army of women arrayed in line across Penn. avenue, dressed in white, bearing in their hands red and white flags; a platform was erected on one side of the street, with men for spectators, when suddenly there dashes through the line a pair of dark horses, with the same kind of flags in their heads, attached to a carriage, with one single man in it driving. The vision opened with a beautiful light, with golden letters, from an arch with these words: "Triumphant we live to enjoy our natural rights by the free use of the ballot." The problem will soon be solved. The crisis is now upon us, when every true lover of freedom's cause will be called into line, to battle for the freedom which has been denied the women who are under the despotic power which now rules the land. Equality and Justice must walk hand in hand. The people must enjoy that liberty which they have inherited from God. When truth shall live in the hearts of the people, then we shall enjoy the God-given principle of Light, which the world can recognize as the living principle of God's just laws made perfect in man.—*Correspondence American Spiritualist*.

WHO ARE OUR FRIENDS.

CORNVILLE, ME., January 27, 1872.

MY DEAR SISTER WOODHULL: During the week just closed, Prof. Wm. Denton, delivered a course of five lectures in Skowhegan, on geology. He stopped during the week at the house of an aristocratic lady by the name of Philbrick, a professed Spiritualist and a medium. Wishing to see the Prof, I called on him at Mrs. Philbrick's, though I had very strong impressions before I went that Mrs. P. would receive me just as she did. She met me in the hall in a very cold and formal manner, and soon we were seated in the parlor. The first thing that met my eye, lying on the center-table, was a copy of WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY. I immediately remarked that I was glad to see the best paper in the world on their table. Immediately Mrs. P. and the Prof. opened fire on Mrs. Woodhull, and free-lovers generally. For a half hour and more there was brisk firing I assure you.

I felt it to be my duty, without fear or favor, to boldly avow my belief in the pure elevating principles of free love. Nothing was more unexpected to me than the battle we had. Both the lady and the Prof. came out in the strongest terms against those who practice free love, while I defended them with equal warmth to my cost, as far as the friendship of the lady is concerned. In justice to Mr. Denton, I will say he did not use as hard words against yourself as other free-lovers he mentioned. He called S. P. Andrews a bad man; said he got his money by keeping a prostitute, which I knew nothing about, and did not believe. Now, all their talk affected me no more than the wind that blew out doors. But it showed who are our friends, and it also showed that we have a tremendous battle to fight on this very important question. The most important act the Spiritualists ever did, was to chose Victoria C. Woodhull for president, for it is going to make a sifting among the Spiritualists, which is just what is needed. Yours, in love and truth. SEWARD MITCHELL.

Another subject: It is proper for me, with my ideas of justice, to say that I intended before this to have sent you some money; but since I wrote you, some time since, I have had a mortgage of one thousand dollars put on my little farm of less than two thousand dollars value; money raised to pay my wife, who has left me, partly because for ten years I have been obliged to live on the pure and elevating doctrine of free love. I was born a free lover, and can never remember a day when I was not one. I want to see you more than I can express in

words. I want to bid you God-speed, for you are publishing the most important paper in the world. It is astonishing to see with what lightning speed your principles are spreading. I am looking with intense interest for Congress to pass a declaratory act; but if not, then for the new government. I wish to so live, that when the bride cometh, my lamp shall be trimmed and I shall be ready to go out and meet her. But I am wandering from my subject. Though I am heavily in debt, I am not without money, and your paper must be sustained. I forgot to say that Mr. Denton said your paper would fail. I enclose in this letter two dollars, and earnestly wish it was two thousand. S. M.

OCCULTATION OF TUTTLE.

BY J. WETHERBEE.

HE PASSES BEHIND WOODHULL.

What ails Hudson Tuttle? the question might be asked of some others, also, large and small; but his complaint seems to be the most pronounced. One thing is certain, he has not got "Bright's" disease, judging by his articles of late on the Woodhull pronouncements; I will not attempt a diagnosis, but simply use his "occultation" as a text for some remarks on modern Spiritualism in that connection.

I certainly do not see the fact that he says he does, in his article in the *Banner*, "that the Spiritualists are now divided into two great parties," etc. I see in the body of Spiritualists, and always have, a granulated mass of mentally hungry people who have struck a light in a dark world, and with that and no other treasure in common are each on their own hook seeking after truth, more or less influenced, but recognizing no authority, and certainly no leadership. As a body without a head we are *sui generis*; perhaps it would be safe to say, we are hydra-headed or all head. Let no one, then, presume, to be the head, for forthwith will he be tail. The coming man or coming woman of this new awakening has not arrived; I am inclined to think they are not on their way. The choice of Mrs. Woodhull, at the so-called National Convention at Troy, did not put a head on our body, and would not, had the votes been for Hudson Tuttle, or Emma Hardinge, or anybody else, with an idea to promulgate, or not.

Do I hear Tuttle or any one say that an injury in the world's eyes is inflicted on us, when a woman is chosen President at a Convention, who has an offensive accent in her mission, or that society considers it offensive? then say I, that is one point in her favor on general principles, as Spiritualism stands in the world's eyes. If a venal press, and a weak pulpit, and refined(?) society cast stones or slurs at her for her commendable boldness on a delicate subject, which everybody knows is true, it is proof not only that there is something rotten in Denmark, but that the stone or slur slingers are Danes, and the Spiritualists should protect and not ostracise such a teacher, and I am happy to feel that in this case they generally do; the grieved ones are not over numerous—the noise is from the outside mostly.

To-day, after the past few months experience with Mrs. Woodhull in the front, if it were possible to have a real national convention, or if the yeas and nays of our granulated mass could be obtained on the subject, for or against her, as a, or the bright particular star of the hour, she would put the less notorious but well-meaning lights in the shade, and Mr. Tuttle would not have to say the vote was doubtful. Why do I say this?

Because she is smart, accents Spiritualism as well as reform, means work, and every one who listens to her special and offensive (?) subjects feels that she has an honest purpose, and that the galled jade of respectable society winces under her touches of truth. No Spiritualist and no truth-seeker anywhere can object to her concentrated thesis, which is simply this: that marriage is a matter of conscience, not of law, and those who cannot live together owe it to each other to do as Abraham and Laban did to avoid strife, and that society should protect them in that right. I have given that advice in cases under my own observation, and I would go and do likewise myself if conditions required it, and feel that I was not condemned by the Eye that never sleeps, and certainly not by my own conscience; though I conceive of a more excellent way; but out of two evils I always advise choosing the least, and so does Mrs. Woodhull. Whether the world is ready now for such a revolution as Mrs. Woodhull teaches, is a matter of opinion, and concerns herself alone. If Mr. Tuttle, or any one else sees in it error or sin, there is no harm in preaching his or their side or view of truth, but Spiritualism is not eclipsed or disgraced by either party; and unless one wishes to be a final authority for the other, it is neither's business, and it is as weak as Taunton water for Mr. Tuttle to talk of division, or of side issues, or "new disgraces" in reference to Mrs. Woodhull's pronouncements, suggestions, &c., in connection with her office as the President of the Spiritualists. She is my president just as far as she is in the front and uttering my truth, and so is Mr. Tuttle when he is doing ditto; the inference the world will draw from the position or teaching of either in office or out of it, is of no consequence. Spiritualism has but one distinctive idea, never stated clearer than by Tuttle in his article in the *Banner*, viz.: "man is an immortal spirit retaining identity and individuality after separation from the physical form and possessing the power to communicate with earth." And Spiritualists are naturally radicals or reformers, more or less active, and tincture by their affiliation all the varied reforms, and of course all political parties, as Tuttle says.

If as prevision indicates, religion and heresy are tending to be political; that liberty and authority are to be elements in politics, as I think they are; if injustice to any class of men

or women, to Catholics or Protestants, to Evangelists or Spiritualists, is, or is to be manifest, than you can no more keep Spiritualists, almost as a body, from taking sides in politics, than the orthodox can keep them out of Heaven; and they will take sides, and be active, just as the truth appears to each; and in doing so, now and then, they are not doing any damage to Spiritualism, but acting as Spiritualism teaches, which is expressed in this sentiment, viz.: "I am not my brother's keeper."

Now, Mrs. Woodhull, prescient, and I think honest, pressing where she thinks the most good can be done, finds herself in the woman's rights movement, and in that sees, perhaps, with clairvoyant eyes, the state of the case, aims her arrows where she thinks she can do the best work, and the logic of modern Spiritualism justifies her doing just what she is doing, and so it justifies Mr. Tuttle in his view of the case, but does not justify Mr. Tuttle in calling her movement a "new disgrace," and right or wrong in her act, the disgrace, the eclipse, the occultation is with the author of the "Arcana of Nature," if with either.

If Spiritualism cannot carry any load of human ills or sins you put upon it, it is not the world's elixir I took it for; so let that idea elaborate itself.

Mrs. Woodhull's power and influence are great; she has come, or gone, to the front by virtue of her political and social convictions, and boldness in expressing them. She has had the opportunity of showing up her Spiritualism in large audiences and conspicuous places, and has incited the tongues of others to do so too; and though the choosing her for President, at Troy, may have been a farce, as Tuttle thinks, or injudicious, that is a matter of individual opinion; but being done, if she felt backed up by the Spiritualists from that small-sized fact, and took courage under a mistake, supposing a corporal's guard was a spiritualistic solidarity, and was braver than she otherwise would have been, and returned the compliment by speeches and by the press, in showing her Spiritualism, then the Troy convention did a good thing, and perhaps acted wiser than it knew, which is my opinion, and for which it has my approbation, though I am aware that that is of little account; but I count one any way.

No one who reads this and knows me will suppose I would have no line of distinction between virtue and vice. God forbid! But like other thoughtful Spiritualists, I think there is less difference between good and bad people than there is between good and bad acts. I think modern Spiritualism is a disturber of the world's peace; many think it ought to be put under bonds to keep the peace. I am not one of such; I glory in it as a disturber. The fault is in the world, not in it. The world calls it hard names—free lovers, blasphemers, disturbers, impostors, lunatics. I rather enjoy it; I know we are better than the church averages, and full as good as the world averages, and I discount in advance some enjoyment from the fact, that in the good time coming "over the river," there will be so many eyes opened and such fun, to look on and see the virtuous, religious, proper and respectable human parcels opened by the side of us, free lovers, blasphemers and lunatics; and then to see open-eyed mankind in that "palace of truth" be forced to declare as the ancient hero did: "Is there so little difference between Alexander and a robber?" And, more than that, to see the difference, more or less, to be all on the credit side of the latter's account.

I have such confidence in Mrs. Woodhull's honesty of purpose and the intrinsic truth of her teaching that I give her my hand as a valuable aid to the cause of modern Spiritualism, and as freely as I do to Brother Tuttle or Sister Hardinge and believing the three are far better and far brighter than the world, or our *ism* averages. I mean nothing invidious when I utter this apostolic paraphrase viz: Tuttle, Hardinge and Woodhull, these three, but the greatest of these (at least for the moment) is Woodhull. If I was worthy of being in such a zodiac, you might add or substitute Wetherbee for either of the first two names, and still the greatest of these would be Woodhull. I illustrate with my own name so as not to offend. I fear that some of this criticism which has attracted my attention, is from the fact, that Woodhull is comparatively a new light, and the old and tried lights in justice should not be obscured by new ascendants. I have no right to judge so, and certainly not to say so, but it is rather human and very womanly. Whether true or not, a beatitude is never out of order, so let me say this: "Blessed are they who are born to be stars, for they shall see trouble." I am glad I am nothing but a lantern and dim at that in a dark road, tied to a stake in the ground, but still I like to look at the stars, though I take no stock in them as stars, only as men and women.

Let me quote one sentence from many good ones from Mrs. Woodhull, in speaking of her position as president, in reply to one of Tuttle's articles, viz: "Humanity is larger than Spiritualism, and I belong to humanity first and to Spiritualism so long as it does not interfere with my first allegiance; and I should be false to every principle of truth and honor, did I permit any limitations to be placed upon recent declarations of individual rights." I endorse that sentiment, and I feel in my heart that Hudson Tuttle does, too; and when he passes out of his obscurity, he will say so. It is individual opinion, not Spiritualism, that would obstruct any one's efforts for humanity in its struggles for freedom, equality and justice. Mr. Tuttle will endorse that idea as strongly as I do. His error is in supposing Mrs. Woodhull is taking Spiritualism, and by its aid and in its name is teaching pernicious doctrines. He does not understand Mrs. Woodhull, and does not make out his case, and when he says, her speeches on political and social relations are a "new disgrace," he simply utters a Tuttleism, and if Mrs. Woodhull is premature or in conflict with modern Spiritualism, which does not appear to me to be the case, she

is uttering a Woodhullism. Spiritualism stands on its own bottom, and the laugh comes in when any one fears for its good name. The hour of respectability and usefulness has not yet come nor is it coming to Spiritualism.

Those who are afraid of dirt must go in under cover till the going is better. Mr. Tuttle will not retire for he believes as I do, I think, and on the subject of his late Woodhull articles, if I was talking instead of writing, I should say, Hudson, you need a dose of salts, you are bilious; Spiritual medicine, of course, that is, a dose of deep, broad thought, and then we should have again some of his golden words, perhaps another "Arcana of Nature." He certainly would not say to an inspired woman if there ever was one, touching society in its weak spot and commanding its attention by her truthfulness and earnestness, what he said in the *R. P. Journal*, viz.: "We become conscious that fortune telling is not conclusive to clear political thought." It is not becoming for one noted medium (Tuttle) to be sarcastic to another "fortune teller" it is possible here as elsewhere, there is only one step between the sublime and the ridiculous. This remark is kindly meant, but Spiritualists, especially mediums, act unseemingly when they fling "fortune telling" in another's face; the cobbler in the "Forty thieves" replied, when asked who lived in all these fine houses? "Cobblers all;" in such a sense we might say of all of us, "fortune tellers all." It is a pleasant thought that occultations are generally short, and as the moon said to Venus when hiding it from us, "If you'll stop, you will shine," so let me say to Tuttle who is in eclipse now; stop! Tuttle, and you will shine, and the occultation will be over.

THE OUTLOOK FOR WOMAN.

To the Editor of the Golden Age:

The late National Woman Suffrage Convention, held in Washington, differed in its political aspects from any such convention ever before held. It gave evidence of a power, to change the present political status, and was in many respects the promise of a result, now little anticipated by the Republican wire-pullers of the next Presidential campaign. As soon as we came on here to arrange matters for the convention, and had time to feel the Congressional pulse, we found it beating to but one tune—continuance of power and political spoils. The course of Republican leaders was in striking contrast to that of last year; that is, as far as the convention itself was concerned. Last year, prominent Republican politicians sat upon our platform, took part in the convention, and were, up to Colfax, interested listeners in the audience. This year nothing of the kind occurred. They gave us no speeches, they did not come upon the rostrum, they made no perceptible part of the audience. They dare not take up a moral issue that might shake the party. But they had their plans laid. The sop was already prepared with which to stop woman's complaints, and woman's demand for the recognition of her constitutional rights.

A prominent judicial gentleman said to me, "Congress means to hold the Declaratory Law under consideration until after the Presidential election. But in the mean time, members will instruct election inspectors in their districts to receive the votes of women; when the seats of Representatives, thus elected, are contested, the Republicans will throw the whole force of their party power into the scales, making of it a party measure, and the matter of woman's voting will then come to a judicial decision, and that is the way you women will get the ballot. You cannot move the Republicans this winter. They feel themselves strong at present, and secure, and dare not take up a question which might cause a division among them, no matter if they are divided now; affairs are working towards a re-nomination of Grant, and another four years of Republican rule. A question of the importance of Woman Suffrage would develop antagonisms which we dare not risk."

It is in full view of the present non-action of the Republican party that I say our convention gave evidence of a power to change the present political status. There are wide-spread and growing radical parties in the country, outside of the specific woman-suffragists, the Labor reformers, the Internationalists, the Spiritualists, the Free Religionists, the Temperance men, the new Educational forces; and these persons have arrived at a point where they will be heard. The Democrat party is in a ferment, not knowing what policy to choose or what platform to erect, putting off its nominating convention until it sees more clearly the signs of the times; while within the very heart of the Republican party is a body of men, strong in intellect, great in influence, men of foresight, ambition, policy, who stand ready to throw themselves into the balance against the present administration. Seated with us upon the platform during our convention, taking part in it by speeches, listening day by day in the audience, were such persons. Our resolutions recognized their sympathy and invited their co-operation. We have been met with the most generous responses not only in private, but by public action. The International section of this city, two days after the close of the convention, passed a resolution of co-operation. Members of the National Labor Union called upon us privately, and the Executive Committee have since by a large vote postponed its nominating convention which had been appointed for February. Politicians out of power are rapidly seeing the advantage to be gained by the co-operation of the women, and are seeking methods to work this influence to their own aid. Even Southern men of the most conservative anti-administrative tendencies are declaring that as their slaves vote, their wives and daughters shall have the ballot too. Mrs. Elizabeth Merriweather of Memphis, Tenn., a lady of fashion, wealth and culture, the wife of an

ex-rebel colonel, recently voted in that city. From the polls she went to a large fashionable wedding. Judge Campbell of Louisiana, who resigned his seat upon the Supreme bench at the opening of the war, has three daughters, and says they, too, must have the ballot. There is an element in the South which has not yet been counted upon, but which in the end must be very influential; this is the Southern women, who as a class will ultimately enter this contest with an unanimity entirely beyond Northern women.

Southern slaveholders' wives, from the very nature of their position, holding property of disputed right, always interested themselves in political questions. Their interest was at once personal and selfish. Now their property has not only been taken from them, but is absolutely set to make laws for them. The only thing necessary to do is to disabuse their minds of the idea that woman suffrage is a knot in the tail of the Republican kite, and at once they come to us a powerful and educated ally, and bring with them their husbands and sons.

This is the third winter in succession that the women of the National party have had a hearing before Congress. In 1870 we had a hearing before the Committee of the District. This was a grand innovation; Charles Sumner was present, and at its close he said he had been in Congress for twenty years, and through many exciting scenes—the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the outbreak of the Rebellion, the issuing of the Emancipation Proclamation, the District of Columbia Suffrage Bill—but in it all he had seen nothing which rose to the grandeur of that hearing; the earnestness and eloquence of the speakers, the interest of the members, and intense desire to hear, which crowded the Committee-Room with men and women. Last winter came the Woodhull memorial, claiming citizenship and the ballot under the already existing Amendments, and this winter a hearing of certain memorialists before the Senate Judiciary, an innovation for which there was no precedent. As was expected, the memorial was reported against—but look in what way. The prominent Republicans upon that Committee, among whom are Trumbull, Matt. Carpenter, and Conkling, were obliged to swallow those Amendments whole, and go back for authority to the effete doctrine of State Rights. This summersault shows what politics is when it becomes a party-question alone, as it is with these men who are only seeking the perpetuity of power and spoils.

Think you the country at large will swallow this? Think you honest Republicans will be thus whipped about to the time of some men's ambitious aspirations? The whole seven members of this Senate Judiciary Committee are lawyers, whose whole training and whose whole life have been spent in trying how not to do it. The life and practice of an ordinary lawyer is a life and practice of verbiage, of twisting, of condemning the innocent and letting the guilty go free. Nothing enlarged, grand, noble, statesmanlike can often be expected from him. In reporting, as these men did, they were but living up to their life-training, which is to gain their own ends, no matter how long it drags justice. But, adverse as this decision is, it must have good effect. We have statesmen in Congress—we have thousands of earnest, honest men throughout the country, who, even to gain an end, will not betray their principles. These men recognize the national character of the Amendments; they know that they have entirely overridden and killed out State rights, and that the more broadly and largely freedom is shown to be extended by them, the grander has been the work of the men. There are men who can see a constitutional question in its bearings as such, above quibbles, and in spite of where it leads. For such an one, a grand possibility has now arisen.

To the Republican party this Scripture sentence is applicable: "Let him that standeth take heed lest he fall." We women are in earnest. We have been put off from time to time. The negro's hour is past, and yet ours does not seem to come as was promised. We are fast consolidating our power, and we mean the disintegration of the Republican party unless it speedily recognizes our full political citizenship. The work must be done this winter if at all. Gen. Butler, when he last week presented the roll of petitions containing 35,000 names—a roll more formidable than was any sent up in anti-slavery times—said as sure as the sun rose from day to day, just so sure was the ballot to women. But hereafter we bide no man's time, no party's time. We will make a party; we will burst the Republicans into ten thousand fragments, and from the ruins we will pick the wise, the moral, the just, and incorporate them with our other forces into a grand, consolidated party, strong as the Republicans were ten years ago, and we will place our own nominee in the Presidential chair in 1873. Towards this end all things are working, for now is the crisis of the woman suffrage movement.

MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 2, 1872.

THE COMING WOMAN QUESTION IN VIRGINIA.

The audience at the custom-house last evening was a good one for Richmond. The occasion was worthy of a large attendance. The lecture of Mrs. Gordon, especially, if considered only a display of oratorical powers and abilities, was a full and rich compensation for the expense and trouble of attendance. The audience, was far from insignificant in an intellectual point of view, and the attention paid to the remarks of the ladies was of the most earnest and respectful character.

About eight o'clock Mrs. Bodeker, of this city, Mrs. Gage and Mrs. Gordon entered the court-room together, and quietly took seats near the clerk's desk. Presently Mrs. Bodeker rose, and after a brief reference to the present status of the woman question and the proposed discussion of it in Richmond, introduced Mrs. M. Joslyn Gage, of Fayetteville, New York. That lady, a modest, handsome, erect, middle-aged woman—took the stand, and immediately began her discourse. She spoke rapidly, and entirely *ex tempore*. She traced the history of all movements, in all countries, for the amelioration of the condition of woman, and especially the efforts of the liberal and enlightened in our own country for the improvement of her con-

dition. The prejudices of sex were fast giving way. Schools and colleges were opening to her. Her claim to the ballot was founded upon the fundamental principles of the government, and this is the one thing needful to a purification of the social and political atmosphere of the nation. As a speaker, Mrs. Gage is not at all impressive, but her manner was unmistakably that of a well-bred, refined, and cultivated lady.

At the close of her remarks, Mrs. Bodeker rose and introduced Mrs. Laura De Force Gordon to the audience, who came modestly, yet confidently, to the stand, and took up her subject with the grace and ease of a true orator. It is stated that this lady was at one time a regular candidate for the California State Senate, and that she came within one vote of being elected. (She had not proceeded far with her lecture last night before we had made up our mind that, had we been a qualified voter in her district at that time we should have supplied the lacking ballot. Mrs. Gordon handled her subject with consummate skill.) She exhibited a wonderful command of language. Her sentences were characterized by a grace and elegance of construction rarely equalled by the most celebrated male orators whom we have ever heard. In this respect we have no hesitation in pronouncing this lady a perfect success. Her arguments upon the main proposition, namely, female suffrage, were strong and pointed, evincing careful study of the whole subject. She met the usual objections to the extension of the elective franchise to the women of the country in a masterly style, and wholly demolished them as insufficient to the mind of any intelligent and reflecting person. She dwelt upon the inadequate pay of the working women of the land, claiming that their lack of political power and influence was the ruling cause of their degradation and virtual exclusion from places of equal honor and profit with men.

Mrs. Gordon's lecture possessed great persuasive force, and convinced us that her influence in the cause is to be measured only by the opportunities and facilities at her command to reach the public ear. We cannot refrain from giving her a friendly hint to beware of the Democratic party. It is true, we regarded her allusion to that organization last night as a clever pull at the political wires, with the view, perhaps, of familiarizing herself with party machinery; but her own clear mind must realize the absurdity of expecting any reform whatever through the agency of the so-called Democratic party of the United States.

The ladies will lecture again to-night at the same place, and we hope the court-room will be filled with our citizens.

SECOND EVENING.

As on the first evening, Mrs. Gage led off. She gave a history of the successes and failures which had so far followed the efforts of the women to secure an enlargement of their rights and privileges, and bailed both the Republican and Democratic parties over the coals for their failure or refusal to champion their cause, declaring the present was a most auspicious time for the latter organization to jump into the current and float into White House, and to general control of the affairs of the nation.

Mrs. Gage was of course followed by Mrs. Gordon, who was even more entertaining and captivating in her remarks and manners than on the previous occasion. And bolder, too, for she declared that man had no right to deprive woman of any right which he himself enjoys; that man was not created woman's superior or protector; is not her protector; each human being his or her own protector. The exclusion of woman from participation in the affairs of the State, created an aristocracy of sex, which, if not removed by a reversal of the order of society, would ultimately work ruin to the government. As long as woman was forced to occupy an inferior position, politically, she would have no higher aim in life than the vanities and frivolities of the fashionable life of the present day. That the question of suffrage was left by the Constitution of the United States to the several States was a lamentable mistake; for the reason that, if the aggregate wisdom of the nation could not reach a just conclusion on the subject, it was idle to suppose that the States separately would be more likely to do so. She claimed the ballot for woman as a right as well as a necessity. Woman's influence in politics would be as ennobling as it is in a social sense. Separate, each sex would retrograde. Man and woman were created for each other. We have the divine injunction that it is not good for man to be alone. Female influence is refining and elevating in a social and moral sense, and why should it not be in a political sense. The national house is out of order. Disorder will increase till woman has an opportunity to set things to rights. What Uncle Sam wants is a wife.

Mrs. Gordon's remarks were lively and highly entertaining, and we are only sorry that we have not space to give them entire. As we have said, her address is good, enunciation clear and perfect, gestures graceful, and her arguments convincing.—*Richmond State Journal*.

A STORY FOR THE TIMES.

There is a fable among the Hindoos that a thief, having been detected and condemned to die, happily hit upon an expedient which gave him hope of life. He sent for his jailer and told him that he had a secret of great importance which he desired to impart to the king, and when that had been done he would be prepared to die. On receiving this piece of intelligence, the king ordered the culprit to be conducted to his presence, and demanded of him to know his secret. The thief replied that he knew the secret of causing trees to grow which should bear fruit of pure gold. The experiment might be easily tried, and his majesty would not lose the opportunity; so, accompanied by his prime minister, his courtiers and his chief priest, he went with the thief to a place selected near the city wall, where the latter performed a series of solemn incantations. This done, the condemned man produced a piece of gold and declared that if it should be planted, it would produce a tree every branch of which would bear gold. "But," he added, "this must be put in the ground by a hand that has never been stained by a dishonest act. My hand is not clean, therefore I pass it to your Majesty." The king took the piece of gold, but hesitated. Finally he said, "I remember in my younger days that I often filched money from my father's treasury which was not mine. I have repented of the sin, but yet I hardly dare say my hand is clean. I pass it, therefore, to my prime minister." The latter, after a brief consideration, answered: "It were a pity to break the charm by a possible blunder. I receive taxes from the people; how can I be sure that I have remained perfectly honest?" "No, no," cried the governor, drawing back. "Remember that I have the serving out of pay and provisions to the soldiers. Let the high priest plant it." And the priest said, "You forget; I have the collecting of tithes and disbursements for sacrifice." At length the thief exclaimed: "Your Majesty, I think it is better for society that all five of us should be hanged, since it appears that not an honest man can be found among us." In spite of the lamentable exposure, the king laughed; and so pleased was he with the thief's cunning expedient that he granted him a pardon.—*Exchange*.

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EDITORS AND PROPRIETORS.

IN MEMORIAM.

Another great and good woman rests from her well-spent, earthly life; another grand soul has cast off its material habilements deserted its tenement of clay, and gone to a larger field of activity. Another of the faithful and earnest laborers in the grandest reform of the age, has passed to still more responsible duties—

JOSEPHINE S. GRIFFING

lives in spirit.

This glorious woman's absence from our ranks, leaves, indeed, a sad rent. Who, who can make her place good? Who among us is worthy to take up the task she has laid aside? Who is devoted enough; who can forget herself in the magnitude of the cause sufficiently to offer her life as this woman has done? If there is one, let her come forward and make good our loss.

Well do we remember when first we met this large-souled woman. We saw her but to love her; and never since then, even amid the most trying scenes, have we ever seen her fail to be equal to the emergency. Benevolent and kind-hearted, her ear was always open to the distresses of others, with which she always sympathized and which she often relieved, even when her necessities were the greater of the two. But when truth or principle was involved, she was as firm as a mountain. None ever saw her yield to the petty expediences to which too many invariably resort. The truth in her soul always found expression through her tongue. She was one of the best women we ever knew.

The poor and the oppressed always found in her an untiring, unselfish friend. Never shall we forget the long lines of "Freedmen" who daily sought her hospitable door, when they had none other at which to apply. Thousands of these now remember and bless her for the kindly loaf of bread and the steaming cup of coffee she so judiciously dispensed. And we also remember, and the blush of shame rises to our face as we remember, how earnestly she besought Congress to reimburse her in the miserable pittance of ten thousand dollars for all she had expended for these people; but they were too engrossed in their ambitions and party schemes to heed her feeble voice. She never obtained it, and it will stand recorded against them when they shall meet her again.

And the women of this country, when they shall have their right, will never realize all they owe to Josephine S. Griffing. She, Christ-like, laid her life down in their service. So long as she had strength, it was freely given. So long as she had breath her voice was heard in their behalf. And if she had one regret at leaving us, it was that her mortal eyes had not seen the consummation of the work, which, of all in which she had engaged during a long life, was nearest to her heart. But she had no selfish purpose even in this. She realized that her time to depart had come. When we were last with her, less than two weeks since, she placed her faded hand in ours, and said: "I shall be with you but a few days longer. Let me entreat you not to faint by the wayside. Let not the tongue of slander dampen your courage, nor the breath of envy and jealousy embitter your heart. Fight the good fight, and humanity will bless you in the coming time, even if they curse you now."

But we are not of those who mourn her as lost. Indeed, we feel that her quickened soul will hereafter render the enslaved of earth still greater and more effectual service than ever before. She may even have been needed on the "opposite shore," to assist in carrying forward the grand works which there have their origin. If assistance were required, who so pure-minded, so spiritually refined, and thereby capacitated to render it, as she? Little do we know as yet of the great

economies of life. From the material she passed, almost unperceptibly, to the spiritual; and how beautiful is it to be able to feel that she was needed there even more than here, and that she was worthy to be chosen.

How insignificant does the average life appear, when compared to hers! She labored not to lay up treasures on earth, but she had a rich and a glorious inheritance, already laid, when she has gone. Beside her majestic spirit, those, whose chief aims here are to lay up the treasures of earth, at the expense of that which constitutes spiritual wealth, will stand as the merest pigmies, both in statue and importance. Death—physical death—is, indeed, the great leveler—the great judgment seat; after passing which, all are estimated for just what they are. All seeming, all affectation, remains upon this side, and none may hope to cover their lack of true wealth of soul, by the externals of pomp and allurements, which money can purchase here. No one can there buy the way to position and honor. Natural law reigns supreme, while every soul gravitates to its appropriate place. And thus it will come that the order of masters and servants of this life, will there be found reversed. In this view of life, here and there, we shall find cause, even to rejoice that our well-beloved sister, has removed to a more congenial clime.

The following resolution was adopted at a meeting of Mrs. Griffing's friends in Washington:

A meeting of the friends of this excellent woman was held yesterday, Mrs. Mary F. Davis presiding, and Mrs. J. B. Archibald acting as secretary.

The following resolutions were offered by Mrs. B. A. Lockwood, after appropriate and touching remarks by J. E. Snodgrass, G. B. Stebbins, and the following ladies: Mary F. Davis, M. B. Hosmer, B. A. Lockwood, and J. B. Archibald.

Whereas God, in his wisdom and goodness, has permitted death to remove from our midst our beloved sister, Josephine S. Griffing; therefore,

Resolved, That we, the friends and co-laborers of Mrs. Griffing, do most sincerely regret her death, and regard her life as replete with usefulness, invaluable to us, and beneficial to the world.

Resolved, That we appreciate her broad and beneficent charities, regardless of sex or color, prompted by a heart which beat for all humanity, her sympathy with the afflicted and the oppressed everywhere; and that she will be ever held by us in grateful remembrance.

Resolved, That the love and sympathy of this meeting be tendered to her orphan children in their bereavement; they who, in her death, suffer an inestimable and irreparable loss, but whom we can direct for comfort to Him who has promised to temper the wind to the shorn lamb.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to her family, and that they be published in the daily papers, and one or more of the journals devoted to the elevation of woman, as a cause to which our departed friend gave so much of sympathy and work.

Mr. Stebbins brought the interesting and telling fact that it was from the benevolently fruitful mind of Mrs. Griffing that the project of the Freedmen's Bureau had originally come. She not only suggested the grand and good idea, but was virtually the author of the bill authorizing its establishment, which was presented by Mr. Sumner.

THE MAY CONVENTION.

If there had been anything wanting to show that the people in all directions are heartily sick of our present government, we have had it in the rush upon us of letters, from every direction, making inquiries as to the probabilities and possibilities of the coming convention, which, it is pretty generally understood, is to be a sort of a common and spontaneous gathering of all kinds of reform, which find existing customs, forms and laws, standing in the way of the realization of their hopes.

The people generally begin to wake to the comprehension that they are living under a system of despotism instead of under a government such as is foreshadowed by the text upon which the constitution was founded and the government erected. The theory of individual freedom, they find, is so hedged in by the financial, commercial, and industrial systems imported from Great Britain, that sight of it is almost lost. The two are incompatible. They cannot exist together, since the last, in practice, deny the existence of the first in theory.

Laboring under the misapprehension that, because the theory of our government was the true one, the practice must, necessarily, be also true, we have gone on from bad to worse, until the government, instead of being the government of the people, as a whole, has become nothing more than a conspiracy of "office-holders," "money-lenders," "land-grabbers," "rings," and "lobbies," against the laborer, the mechanic, and the farmer, by which the former, a contemptible minority, manage to appropriate all the wealth created by the latter, the great majority; and to luxuriate in it, while they only escape starvation and want in all its varied forms, struggling along from youth to age in all the despair of poverty, and die amid its utmost squallor, wanting the meanest comforts of life.

And yet these conspirators seem to think that it is all right, all safe. They think, since they have the reins in their own hands, that nothing can divert them from their career of triumph. But a sad day awaits them unless they "hold up" long enough to at least listen to the complaints of the people over whom they are riding with such complacency. Mutterings low but sullen are already heard, which will burst into ungovernable fury at the very first opportunity. In this city alone there are now over fifty thousand people either entirely out of work or working at starvation prices, just to keep the souls and bodies of their families together. These people, when thus driven to desperation, begin first to question if such things can be right, next to realize that it is all wrong; and this leads to inquiry regarding the causes. They begin to see clearly that, by some unaccountable process, all

for which they have labored all their lives is in the possession of a few capitalists, merchants and landlords, who have never laid their hands to productive industry.

Any political reform which ignores this condition is not worthy to be begun. Not even the degradation of woman, in being compelled to submit to male domination, is a question large enough to stir the people with an enthusiasm sufficient to rouse them to the dethronement of the existing conspiracy. It must be the concentration of both these wrongs, which cry out for redress, that will accomplish this. Nothing less than this can call away the supporters of General Grant. Thousands upon thousands are in the Republican ranks, not because they love it leaders, but because there is no other and better place for them to go. And besides these there are other thousands who have held aloof from politics, because they see its inequities. All these will come out from their retreats and join a Human Rights Party. If those who are moving for the consolidation of all the opponents of present parties into one grand party by the proposed convention, are wise, they will inaugurate a movement, which will sweep over this country like a tornado, and completely uproot every form of despotism, which now exists to the joy of the few, but to the sorrow of the many.

THE COLUMBUS CONVENTION.

The National Labor Unionists have held their convention at Columbus, putting forth a platform and nominating candidates for President and Vice-President. But whoever heard that Judge Davis or Governor Parker were National Labor Reformers? Have either of them ever spoken or written anything regarding the chief claim of that remarkable platform? Can either of them even explain the money plank of that platform? We doubt it. And what do they know about the other reforms which labor demands at the hands of government? We have suggested that Mr. Julian, being thoroughly conversant with the land question, was an exponent of the principle of labor reform, and, therefore, a fit candidate. It was objected that he did not understand the money question and that he knew nothing of political economy. What do these gentlemen know of political economy?

Why did not these pretended reformers go to Columbus and place in nomination some prominent advocates of labor reform? How do they expect to touch the hearts of the laboring men of the country with such candidates, standing on such a platform?

But the role enacted is clear enough. It is not labor reform that these men want, but it is office. They went to Columbus with their plans all cooked, ready to serve out to the people; and already the Cincinnati Enquirer thinks the nominations good enough for the Democratic party to accept. And if they can't take it as a whole, they may be permitted to substitute a head, while they swallow the tail.

They have pettifogged so much as to substitute Philosopher Horace's three sixty-five one-hundredths per-cent. interest idea, only just to make the change even, you know. It is so convenient to get interest in even sums, especially if it be just a little more than the odd amount would be. Some of them were bold enough to introduce Woman Suffrage. But it was snuffed out, before it had scarcely made its manners to the male lords of creation. They can't carry suffrage. It is too heavy a load. All they dare open their mouths to ask for, is the contemplated sop of three sixty-five one-hundredths per-cent. interest. Not a single human right, not a single principle stripped of an expediency did they dare enunciate; and the bare mention of the right of woman to the ballot, sent them into a tumult instant.

It is not strange, however, that old dogs cannot easily take to new tricks. Having always trained in the school of the politicians, they are frightened out of their wits if they ever make a near approach to the line of principle. For heaven's sake don't make a positive stand! Don't let the common understanding, that we are on the fence, be despoiled! Let us do nothing to invalidate our chances for a good sale! and others, are their favorite mottoes.

We live under the despotism of political parties. If this set of persons who made the late nominations at Columbus were to succeed, the despotism would only be shifted from that of the Republican party to that of the Trades Unionists. There is a no more despotic body of people in the known world than these same Trades Unions. Skilled labor is their cry, and it would be still more unendurable than that of capital now. What do they care for the common day-laborer? Nothing! What do they care for the great agricultural interests of the country? Nothing! Neither of these great classes of producers are ever even thought of in their nicely drawn theories. Nobody but a Unionist shall be permitted to even live if they can help it. We say out upon such consummate hypocrisy; since the common people prefer to remain the slaves they now are to masters who, if arbitrary, at least have the advantages of intellectual perception, rather than be sold to another set who cannot lay claim to even this redeeming trait. Let the opposition to the Chinese show how deep a common humanity these new would-be despots are possessed of; and yet they would have the people think they are for reform!

Why, in New York city, there are not less than seventy thousand Trades Unionists, and yet they are so blind as to be passively led to the altar of sacrifice, year after year by those appointed leaders, not knowing they have the power to right the wrongs of which they complain. They pretend that their wills are more social than political, while the fact is they are wholly political. The stealings of Tammany are directly traceable to these Unions, since, if they had carried their organiza-

tion to political purposes Tammany had not even had life, to say nothing about successful existence.

That fact of the business is, that these people don't want a common equality; they want the rule of the Unions. They know if they spread their platform so as to include all kinds of labor that the Unions would be as badly in the minority as they are now, in comparison to capitalists. So they prefer a simple reduction of the spoils of capital instead of the clean-sweeping of all class laws, and the enfranchisement of all kinds of labor from the iron heel of wealth.

Had this convention constructed a platform of Human Rights and nominated candidates, being the best possible exponents of its principles; had they even made one of their nominations representative of them it might have had hope of success, even with its dead weight of party hacks and political prostitutes who are always on hand for their sop, since there would have been a possibility of securing the powerful co-operation of suffragists. But they haven't even the ghost of a chance as the matter stands. They have nothing with which to fire the popular heart; and the popular heart will be fired, and that which produces the combustion will be seized hold of and hurried on to triumph, not by the trades but by the common people—the common laborer, if they can understand that better.

SENATOR WILSON.

The Honorable Senator spoke in Dover, N. H., on the evening of the 23d. inst. He said the Emancipation Proclamation made four million citizens. A lady spoke to him after the meeting asking him "why he did not also include women as having been made citizens?" O! said he, "the people are not ready for that yet." She replied, "Are you not laboring under a slight mistake; is it not the party to which you pander, instead of the people, who are not ready to acknowledge women as citizens?" To this thrust the learned Senator deigned no reply. He had none to give. When will our government consist of men who work for the people, instead of working the people for themselves?

THOMAS GALES FORSTER.

The labors of this fearless reformatory orator are already yielding fruit. Apollo Hall every Sunday morning and evening resounds with his heavy blows dealt at the fossilized remains of conservatism. All over the country it is tottering, tottering, tottering, indeed almost falling. Soon it will tumble and great will be its fall; and greater its ruin. Mr. Forster's labors besides being destructive will also be constructive. Out of the chaos a new society will arise. Mr. F. will be one of its architects.

ANNA DICKINSON.

It is well known that Miss Anna Dickinson was at one time a believer in Spiritualism and a medium, but fearing lest she might peril her growing fame by acknowledging a belief in such an unpopular theory, she took occasion, very early in her career, publicly to repudiate all faith in, or even tolerance for, this "issue," and at the close of this lecture she was approached by an old Quaker gentleman in whose family she had frequently exercised her mediumistic powers, with this straightforward question: "Anna, when did thee lie? To-night, when thee affirmed thee was not a Spiritualist or when thee personated in a trance state, our son who was drowned." It is said that the eloquent Anna found herself for the first time at a loss for words.

MEDICAL DESPOTISM.

The bill now pending before the New York Legislature, confines all medical practice to legally authorized doctors—whether qualified or no. If they will enact that all legal doctors shall be qualified to meet their obligations to the sick, there will be some compensation to the public. The bill is an attempt to create a legal monopoly of medicine, and the healing art generally.

Protests should be sent up at once, or we shall be enslaved before the public are even aware of this new outrage upon individual freedom. There are thousands of persons all over the country who will have no other than a clairvoyant doctor. And yet it is proposed that these people shall not be permitted to be treated by those who, experience has taught them, are the best physicians; in fact, that they shall be treated by a "regular," or die without seeking medical relief.

Because a person has graduated is no sign that he or she is a physician, since it is no evidence of fitness. While if a person is found who is naturally led to practice medicine it is a sign of fitness. And such are always successful practitioners. And there are any number of persons now living who have testified and who will testify, that after exhausting the medical authorities they have been cured of diseases of all kinds by the simple prescription of some "quack" or charlatan, practising under the name of a Clairvoyant; or, perhaps, by that supreme humbuggery, called Magnetic healing.

And it is these classes of practitioners against which this bill is leveled. The "regulars" find their occupations fast passing out of their hands, and some expedient must be resorted to, to save themselves from ruin. Nothing short of a legal enactment is thought to be sufficiently potent to compel the people to return to them to be leached, bled, physicked, vomited and mercurialized. The people are such ignoramuses that they don't know what is best for them. They must have a law to take care of them, and to teach and show them who are their proper and competent physicians.

We have long known that this despotism was to be enforced. Well, it is only one more added to the weight, which will soon break the yoke, when all will tumble together to final destruction.

THE LUCIDNESS OF THE PHILOSOPHER.

Philosopher Horace is a political economist, so he says. "His political economy teaches him that the merchants who import tea and coffee pay millions of dollars to the government every year on these articles." This is his statement in the *Tribune*. We wonder he did not supplement that deduction from his political economy, with one something like the following: The Congress should not interfere with the Collectors of Internal revenue, because our debt is large and we cannot afford to have our income decreased, and these men pay millions of dollars to the government every year. To just such foolishness do wiseacres fall when they think themselves above being taught.

Why Mr. Philosopher, with all your political economy, backed up by H. C. Carey *et al.*, have you not yet learned that Collectors of Revenue would not pay the government a dollar, unless they first collected it from the people? The merchants who pay "millions of dollars annually," are nothing more or less than another sort of revenue collectors, who collect the numerous demands of the government made upon the widow and orphan for every pound of tea and coffee they drink. Verily, there are many things under heaven, which are not dreamed of either in thy philosophy or economy, Horace.

WOMEN AND PATENTS.—What women in New York took out seventeen patents in 1870, all sold before issue? Will the *World* answer?

WOMEN AND LAW.—Cambridge debated days without deciding whether she would admit a woman to her law department. Poor mullet-head!

Mrs. Cole of the Columbus Convention got the hysterics and resigned her chairmanship. We are not surprised. Mrs. Swishelm was there, and wasn't that cause enough?

INSURANCE BY WOMEN.—Why not? Men refuse to insure women except at a heavy discrimination, and self defense demands that they should insure each other. We hope the Hartford women will organize at once and proceed with the "Charter Oak."

AUNT GATES, the daughter of a revolutionary hero, is finishing her earthly pilgrimage in a Massachusetts poorhouse. This is public justice. Thousands of the descendants of the soldiers in the late unpleasantness, will meet the same fate, while the officers fare sumptuously.

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND women of Massachusetts, pay taxes on \$131,000,000 of property, and are ready to vote whenever the other half of the republic enforce the doctrine that taxation without representation is tyranny.

OLIVE LOGAN'S PROTEST, which is still running the gauntlet, should have been made precisely three years ago. Her divorce from Delisle was a protest against the legality of that Union. The present marriage neutralizes the first, and restores the equilibrium.

TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION.—The Gentiles of Utah are making much ado because they are taxed without representation. How about the 20,000,000 women of the U. S. who are in the same fix. The funny part of this glaring injustice is the fact that the aggrieved party is begging favors at the hands of the majority in consideration of the reciprocal favors when the *outs* are *ins*. "In a horn" as they say out West.

THE MEANEST OF ALL. The meanest and most cowardly wretch who crawls on the earth is the owner of a newspaper who allows its columns to be used to injure the reputation of some hated one.—*San Francisco Pioneer*.

The public will please take notice that the above is from the pen of a woman. No editor of a secular paper in New York, would dare utter such a statement. Scarcely a day passes that some one of them does not do this meanest of all things. But if a *Suffrage-Journal* happen to republish any of this villainy, they set up a terrible howl.

BEAUTY OF OUR MARRIAGE LAWS.—Cornelius Jourdan has an income of \$950 per annum; lives in his own house; has been married seven years; refuses to support his wife; has never treated her properly. She has been compelled to pawn her clothes to prevent starvation; has no money to redeem them, and now appeals to the courts for relief. This is a little worse than Moses. He allowed a woman, for whom the man did not fulfill the marriage obligations, to gather up her duds and depart, because the man "acted deceitfully." If deceitfulness were now a ground of divorce, pray how many would be bound?

SWEAT BOXES FOR DRUNKEN WOMEN.—Mrs. Waters of Philadelphia gets drunk, so says the *Sunday World*, and acts when drunk much like a drunken man, which is all very wonderful. One would naturally expect an excess of amiability, but she has contracted too long with the muscular gender for that, and so acts like a bull (not a drunken man) in a china shop, and so Mr. Waters, the legal owner of Mrs. Waters, treats her to a sweat box three by four in the cellar.

Now we thank Mr. Waters for this invention, his marvelous ingenuity, and recommend the same treatment for drunken husbands, which we know will cause a sudden rise in lumber, and make a corner in that article.

Since the newspapers publish the names of drunken women, we propose a standing list of drunken men—not gutter drunkards, but respectable upper ten, aristocratic drunken men—that which is good for the goose should be good for the gander. Send in the names. Get the sweat boxes ready.

PAULINA WRIGHT DAVIS.

Next week we shall publish a letter, received too late for this week's issue, from this distinguished and faithful laborer in the enfranchisement of woman. Her address is Naples, Italy, care of Rogers Brothers, Bankers.

LAURA CUPPY SMITH.

This talented lady is to speak before the Spiritual Association in Springfield, Mass., the Sundays of March, and desires engagements in that vicinity for week day evenings. She speaks on a variety of subjects, political and social as well as religious.

MEMORIAL OF ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, ET AL., TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE ARGUMENTS THEREON BEFORE THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE, AND THE COMMITTEE'S REPORT ON MEMORIAL.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

The undersigned, citizens of the United States, believing that under the present Federal Constitution all women who are citizens of the United States have the right to vote, pray your honorable body to enact a law during the present session that shall assist and protect them in the exercise of that right.

And they pray further that they may be permitted, in person, and in behalf of the thousands of other women who are petitioning Congress to the same effect, to be heard upon this memorial before the Senate and House at an early day in the present session. We ask your honorable body to bear in mind that while men are represented on the floor of Congress, and so may be said to be heard there, women who are allowed no vote, and therefore no representation, cannot truly be heard except as Congress shall open its doors to us in person.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.
ISABELLA BEECHER HOOKER.
ELIZABETH L. BLADEN.
OLYMPIA BROWN.
SUSAN B. ANTHONY.
JOSEPHINE L. GRIFFING.

HARTFORD, CONN., December 12, 1871.

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, WASHINGTON, JANUARY 10, 1872.

MADAM: The Committee on the Judiciary, to whom was referred the memorial of yourself and others, asking to be heard before the Senate in behalf of the constitutional right of women to vote, and, modified by your letter of this morning, so as to ask that the committee hold a public meeting in the Senate Chamber for that purpose, have concluded that it would not be consistent with the usage and rules of the Senate to admit memorialists to appear and advocate their claims before the Senate, nor for the committee to ask the use of the Senate Chamber for public discussion before them.

The committee would, however, be happy to receive any communication you and the other memorialists may think proper to make, or, if the memorialists prefer to present their views in person, the committee will hear them in its committee-room at 11 o'clock A. M., next Friday morning.

Very respectfully,
LYMAN TRUMBULL,
Chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary.
MRS. ISABELLA BEECHER HOOKER.

ARGUMENT OF MRS. HOOKER.

Gentlemen of the Judiciary Committee:

In accordance with your courteous invitation of the 10th, I have the honor to present to you an argument upon this question:

Are women entitled, to vote under the United States Constitution, as amended?

It is not important to inquire what was the status of women before the adoption of the fourteenth amendment. By that amendment they are clearly made citizens. No one denies this. The first section of the amendment is as follows:

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."

The whole question is, what is the meaning of the term "citizen" as here used. The term is familiar to law and politics, and the authorities are very numerous and uncontradicted which make citizenship the right to vote. These authorities consist of lexicographers, English and American, and legal and political writers.

It is said, however, that to give the term a meaning by which women become voters under it is contrary to the actual intent of Congress and the State Legislatures in passing the amendments, as, unquestionably, the legislators who voted for it had personally, (with, perhaps, a few exceptions,) no thought of enfranchising women.

To this it is replied: 1. That the question is not whether they thought of enfranchising women, but whether they used the term as a term of *enfranchisement at all*; for if it would have enfranchised black men, it would have enfranchised women and unquestionably the predominant idea in these legislators was a political benefit, not very precisely measured, to black men. 2. An inquiry as to actual intent in such a case is never admissible. A rule that allowed it would make every law uncertain. An enactment can be construed only by the language in fact used, and where that language is doubtful, by

other parts of the same enactment, and by a consideration of the public evil which the law was intended to remedy. The evil to be remedied in this case was the political disadvantages under which black men, made free by the thirteenth amendment, still labored. The object was to give them a positive political benefit. The terms used are such that, necessarily and confessedly, whatever benefit accrues to black men under it accrues equally to women.

It is said, in the next place, that the term "citizen" has acquired a meaning in American usage, legal and political, that does not carry with it the idea of suffrage; and the report of the Judiciary Committee on the Woodhull memorial places its adverse construction of this amendment entirely on the ground of an American use of the term in its restricted sense. Such a use of the term undoubtedly exists. Webster recognizes it and so do some of our political writers. But this meaning is a secondary and lower one, and has not attained such dignity of use as to enroach at all upon the well-established general meaning, and would not be presumed in a law, much less in a Constitution. The American authorities are strongly in favor of the larger meaning.

The term is used in the second section of the original Constitution, article four, which provides that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." In *Corfield vs. Coryell*, 4 Wash. C. C. R., 380, the court say: "The inquiry is what are the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States? They may be all comprehended under the following general heads: (Here follows a statement of numerous rights, civil and political, closing as follows:) 'To which may be added the elective franchise as regulated and established by the laws or constitution of the State in which it is to be exercised.' And in the *Dred Scott* case, 19 Howard, 476, Mr. Justice Daniel says: "There is not, it is believed, to be found in the theories of writers on government, or in any actual experiment heretofore tried, an exposition of the term 'citizen' which has not been understood as conferring the actual possession and enjoyment, or the perfect right of acquisition and enjoyment, of an entire equality of privileges, civil and political." And the Supreme Court of Kentucky, 1 Little R., 333, says: "No one can, in the correct sense of the term, be a citizen of a State who is not entitled, upon the terms prescribed by the institutions of the State, to all the rights and privileges conferred by those institutions upon the highest class of society."

These are American authorities, and would seem to settle the question that the term has not acquired a distinctive American meaning variant from the well-established general meaning.

It is said, in the next place, and finally, that the second section of the fourteenth amendment shows clearly that the term "citizen" could not have been used in the sense of full citizenship. This objection is the most serious one that the argument encounters. That section, so far as it relates to this subject, is as follows: "When the right to vote is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State."

The consideration of this section is perfectly legitimate in the inquiry as to the meaning of the first section. It is said, with great force, that here is an implied admission that the States retained the power to exclude black men from the right to vote, and it will be asked why, if that right is absolutely conferred by the first section, and is one of the privileges and immunities of citizens which no State may abridge, the amendment does not boldly forbid any such State legislation, instead of merely imposing certain limitations upon the State that should assume to exercise such right of exclusion.

Two answers have been made by public writers on the subject which are merely specious. One is, that if the second section be construed as admitting the right of a State to exclude certain classes of men from the franchise, yet it could not operate as an admission of the right to exclude women. The fallacy here is, that if the citizenship conferred by the first section does not secure against all legislation the right of suffrage to men, it does not secure it to women; the question being merely as to the meaning of the term "citizen," as used, and not as to its application to either sex, as such. The other answer that has been made is, that this section is repealed by the fifteenth amendment, which forbids the denial of suffrage in the cases where this section seems to allow it; and it is asked, with apparent confidence, whether a law that is repealed can have any further operation whatever. The fallacy here is, that the operation of this second section, so far as it relates to the present question, is wholly in throwing light upon the meaning of the term "citizen," as used in the first section, and this operation is just as perfect after its repeal as before; precisely as a part of a will that has been revoked by a codicil, may yet be read with the rest of the will if it will throw light upon the meaning of the whole.

It is believed, however, that a valid answer can be made to the objection which is founded upon the second section, and that the view here presented will be ultimately sustained by the legal opinion of the country.

1. It is not a necessary inference that the right to exclude from suffrage is admitted by the second section, for this section will bear a construction that is consistent with the enlarged construction which we give to the first section; and it is a well-settled principle that a construction that favors the extension of liberty is itself to be favored, and one which restricts liberty is not to be adopted, except under a necessity. This second section provides for a penalty, in the reduction of its basis of representation, in every case where a State should deny to any class of citizens the right of suffrage. Now, this is not necessarily a concession of the right but may be regarded as a punishment of the attempt to exercise the so-called right. The matter was practically so much within the power of the States, (and the States in view were the disorganized Southern States,) that it would be far easier for Congress to enforce the penalty for denying the right of suffrage than for the President to protect that right. It may be regarded as a case, well known to the law, of cumulative remedies. It is precisely as if, in addition to the express prohibition by the Constitution of making the war by any State, there had been a provision that if any State should make war upon a foreign State, such State should pay the entire expenses in which the general government should become involved by the war. This clearly would be only a penalty and not a concession of the right, the object being to increase and not diminish the security of the general government against any attempt of a State to do the act prohibited.

2. The first section of the fourteenth amendment is entirely senseless and idle, except upon the construction we claim. The term "citizen" means either "voter" or merely "member of the nation," as distinguished from an alien. Judge Carter, in his late opinion in the case of *Spencer vs. The Board of Registration*, in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, sees this necessity, and that there is no intermediate status, and holds that the term means merely a person clothed with the civil rights of an inhabitant, as distinguished from an

alien. Let it be borne in mind, then, that those who deny the construction which we claim, must make the word citizen mean merely "not an alien." Let it also be borne in mind that by the thirteenth amendment, which abolished slavery, every inhabitant of the land became a free inhabitant, so that nothing is now added to the force of the term "inhabitant" by prefixing to it the word "free." It follows, therefore, that the fourteenth amendment, under the adverse construction claimed, means only that the persons referred to in it are inhabitants of the land. Let us see, then, how it will read: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States are inhabitants of the United States and of the State wherein they reside." This is sheer nonsense. In the construction of an ordinary law, passed by a legislature in the crowded moments of its last hour, every court would say that it must, if possible, give the law a construction that will make it have a sensible meaning and effect, and that of two constructions, one of which gives it sense and purpose and the other none, the former is, without a question, to be preferred. How much more should such a rule be applied to an amendment of a national Constitution, deliberately adopted, first by Congress and then by three-quarters of the legislatures of the States?

3. It is a universal rule, in the construction of statutes, that the construction of an enabling or enlarging statute must be liberal and in the direction of enlargement. This rule is applicable with much greater force to the construction of this amendment; because, in the first place, it is dealing with the most fundamental of all political rights, that of free citizens in a Democracy and is besides an amendment of a Constitution which is itself the charter of freedom, and the amendment is made for the purpose of giving larger freedom than that free Constitution originally gave. This rule alone is enough to settle the question of the construction of this amendment, especially as the question is between a construction that shall make it an enlargement of liberty and a construction that shall make it confer nothing that was not before possessed.

The whole question thus far has been considered with reference to the fourteenth amendment alone. The fifteenth amendment, though, as we think, conferring no new rights, yet should be briefly noticed. That amendment is as follows: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Here it will be seen that the language, in its natural meaning, implies a pre-existing right to vote. It is not like the case occurring in some of the State Constitutions, where it is provided that the right of trial by jury shall not be denied or impaired, in which case it has been held not to confer a new right, but merely to protect, in its then existing form, a right that was enjoyed when the Constitution was adopted. This construction of the fifteenth amendment, however, though the natural and obvious one, is not a necessary one, since, if there had been no fourteenth amendment the fifteenth would undoubtedly be held to create a new right of suffrage. The argument, from the language used, though not without very positive weight, cannot be regarded as decisive of the question, and the claim that women are entitled to vote must rest essentially upon the construction of the fourteenth amendment.

There is, however, an adverse claim that is made under the fifteenth amendment, which ought to be briefly considered. That claim is, that even if the fourteenth amendment gives the right to vote, yet the fifteenth, in prohibiting the denial of the right to vote on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, impliedly confers the right to prohibit it on all other grounds. Now, if it has this effect, it does so merely by impliedly repealing that clause of the fourteenth amendment which provides that the rights of citizens shall not be abridged. But it is a well established rule of law that a repeal by implication is never favored, and will not be sustained unless the implication is a clear and necessary one. Much more would not such a repeal be sustained where the clause claimed to be repealed was a part of the constitution, and was intended as a security for human rights and liberty. The rule that would favor a construction toward liberty of the fourteenth amendment, would equally forbid a construction toward curtailment of liberty of the fifteenth.

But it will be said that the fifteenth amendment becomes without purpose and effect, and really as senseless as we claim the fourteenth amendment to be under the construction which we oppose, if it is to be regarded as operating only in the way claimed, and not as conferring rights not previously existing. This is a point of some force, and which can be replied to only by the fact that there was an impression upon the minds of the legislators and of the people, that the fourteenth amendment did not confer the right of suffrage. That impression weighs nothing in now determining the meaning of the fourteenth amendment; but it furnishes the explanation that seems to be needed, of the passage of the fifteenth amendment. It was, in our view, wholly unnecessary, but it was generally thought to be necessary. The difference in the two cases is, that the fifteenth amendment was passed under a supposed necessity; and with therefore a complete object: while the fourteenth amendment, under the construction which our opponents give to it, not only conferred nothing, but was believed at the time to confer nothing, and had therefore no purpose whatever. Our view, that the fifteenth amendment was unnecessary was held by some leading statesmen at the time. Mr. Sumner in the Senate, declared it to be so before its passage, and proposed instead of it a mere law of Congress recognizing the right of suffrage and regulating its exercise.

It is, at any rate, very clear that the construction, of the fifteenth amendment which makes it impliedly allow the denial of suffrage on all other grounds than the three stated cannot be sustained. Such rights as those with which it deals will never be allowed, in a free constitution like ours, to be curtailed or restricted by mere implication. If that construction is adopted, and a State may deny the right to vote on all other grounds but race and color, and previous servitude, then of course a State may deny the right to all naturalized foreigners, although they have acquired and enjoyed the right, and may also deny the right to vote to persons of a particular height or color of hair, or profession. Indeed, to reduce the case to an absurdity, suppose the women are allowed to vote in Massachusetts, and being a great majority over the men, turn round and exclude the men. This would be precisely the ground on which women are now excluded—that of sex—and yet, can anyone doubt that the constitutional right to vote, of men would be sustained?

It is worth noticing that the act of Congress of May 31, 1870, to carry into effect the provisions of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, is entitled "An act to enforce the right of citizens of the United States to vote in the several States of this Union."

Our conclusion, stated in a few words, is this: All women are citizens. Every citizen, in the language of Judge Daniel, in the *Dred Scott* case, has the "actual possession and enjoyment, or the perfect right of acquisition and enjoyment of an entire equality of privileges—civil and political." The right to prescribe qualifications rests with the States, in the absence of any law of Congress pre-

scribing them. These qualifications involve time of residence, age, and other matters that are entirely within the reach of the citizen by acquisition or lapse of time. Mr. Sumner has demonstrated, in a manner that cannot be answered, that the qualifications thus left for the States to prescribe must be those under which the citizen can become a voter, and cannot be such as would permanently exclude him from the right of suffrage.

It has been said that it is not fair for women to take advantage of a right to vote, no matter how clearly given them, which there was no actual intention to give. This objection does not touch the argument we have been making, but it may be well to say a word upon it. The law has so far dealt so un- fairly with women, that it would seem as if they should not be severely criticised for taking advantage of the law, when, though by mere accident, it happens to favor them. But it is especially to be considered that their claim is in accordance with the whole spirit of the Constitution, and in harmony with all the fundamental principles of our Government, while the denial of suffrage to them is in opposition to those principles. If anything is settled in this country as an abstract general principle, it is the right of tax-payers to have a voice in the legislation that is to determine their taxes, and in the appointment of the officers who are to levy and expend them, and that the members of the nation should elect its rulers. Our error (and the day is not far distant when we shall all see its absurdity) is in making these fundamental rights the rights of men alone, and in denying them to women. The latter have equal intelligence, patriotism and virtue, and their fidelity to their country has been as well proved as that of men, and it is difficult to see any good reason why they should have no voice in deciding who shall be the rulers of the nation, what its laws, what its taxes and how appropriated. What the policy that is to affect, for good or evil, the business interests that they are becoming more and more largely engaged in. With all this equality in their favor, may they not be allowed, without censure, to avail themselves of a legal right? If the freedom of the slave could have been declared by our judicial tribunals, under some guarantee of freedom in the National Constitution, originally intended only for white men, all lovers of freedom would have rejoiced. When Alvan Stewart, thirty years ago, attempted to get such a decision from the Supreme Court of New Jersey, there was not a cavil heard among the opponents of slavery. So when, in the face of the whole legal opinion of England, Granville Sharpe got a decision in favor of the slave Somerset, forever overthrowing slavery in England, by an application of latent principles of the English constitution, the whole world applauded, and does to this day. It was thus, as we understand it, that slavery was overthrown in Massachusetts, a lawyer claiming before its courts the application to a slave of a clause in its bill of rights supposed to have been intended only for white men. We would add that it would not accord at all with the good sense and directness of method that specially characterize the American people, for the friends of woman suffrage to labor years for the passage of a further constitutional amendment, when they already have all that such an amendment could give.

Having attempted a strictly legal view of this question, permit me, gentlemen, to say that in my heart my claim to vote is based upon the original Constitution, interpreted by the Declaration of Independence. I believe that Constitution comprehensive enough to include all men and all women. I believe that black men needed no other charter than white men. I recognize the stress laid upon Congress, by reason of the infancy of that race, their past bondage, and the duty of protection toward them. But the great principles of liberty and responsibility contained in the Declaration and the Constitution should have afforded protection to every human being living under the flag, and, properly applied, they would have been found sufficient. For my own part, I will never willingly consent to vote under any special enactment conferring rights of citizenship upon me as upon an alien. Like Paul, I was free-born. "With a great sun obtained I this freedom," said the Roman centurion to this old patriot apostle; but he replied, "I am free-born." There is music in those words to my ear. They are the deep utterances of a soul that loves its country as itself.

You sit here, gentlemen, in judgment on my rights as an American citizen, as though they were something different from your own; but they are not. By whatsoever title you sit in these seats and make laws, wise or unwise, just or unjust, for this great people, by that same title do I claim my share in this great responsibility, owing allegiance to God and my own conscience alone. I may have been born with less capacity than the least among you, with small chance of growing to your mental stature, or reaching your standard of moral elevation; but I have a perfect right to sit in your midst, pigmy that I may be, since I am one of "the people" who did ordain this glorious constitution, and one of "the governed," whose consent is made the basis of a government that can be called just.

It is for this reason that I and my fellow-memorials have asked to be protected in the use of our present rights rather than endowed with any new ones; and we do pray you, gentlemen of the committee, to give immediate attention to our claim, and report to the Senate within a short time, favorably if you can, adversely if you must, because we not only wish, in common with thousands of other women-citizens, to vote for the next president, but to have a potent voice in his nomination; and we wish to know, therefore, how far Congress will aid us, and how far we must work out our own salvation; for we can wait no longer. We feel that we have neglected our duty already, also what means this appalling official corruption that is bringing dismay to the stoutest hearts among men, and leading them to doubt the wisdom of republican institutions, the strength of the great doctrines of liberty and responsibility on which our government is founded? We do not doubt these great doctrines, we know what they mean and where to tend. Our ship of state carries two engines, gentlemen, and was built for them, but heretofore you have used only one, and now you have reached the place where not only two seas meet, but all ocean currents are struggling together for the mastery. The man power alone will not save you, but put on the woman power, and our gallant ship will steady itself for a moment, and then ride the waves triumphantly forevermore.

Gentlemen, we come to you with petitions no longer. Here is our declaration and pledge, issued a year ago this day, signed by thousands of women, and eager names are coming every day:

"DECLARATION AND PLEDGE OF THE WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES CONCERNING THEIR RIGHT TO, AND THEIR USE OF, THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE."

"We, the undersigned, believing that the sacred rights and privileges of citizenship in this republic were guaranteed to us by the original constitution, and that these rights are confirmed and more clearly established by the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, so that we can no longer refuse the solemn responsibilities thereof, do hereby pledge ourselves to accept the duties of the franchise in our several States so soon as all legal restrictions are removed."

"And believing that character is the best safeguard of na-

tional liberty, we pledge ourselves to make the personal purity and integrity of candidates for public offices, the first test of fitness.

"And lastly, believing in God as the supreme author of the American Declaration of Independence, we pledge ourselves, in the spirit of that memorable act, to work hand in hand with our fathers, husbands, and sons, for the maintenance of those equal rights on which our republic was originally founded, to the end that it may have, what is declared to be the first condition of just government, 'the consent of the governed.' And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

We did hope to present this to Congress itself in the Senate Chamber to-day. We believe that women, being unrepresented in that body, are entitled to appear there by their memorialists in person, and we have so asked. But Congress has referred us to you, and you have declined even to submit our proposition officially to that body. You find no precedent for this, you say, forgetting, gentlemen, that history makes its own precedents. The men of America made theirs in 1776; the women of America are making theirs to-day, and may God prosper the right.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 12, 1872.

ARGUMENT OF SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

Gentlemen of the Judiciary Committee:

It is not argument nor Constitution that you need; you have already had these. I shall therefore refer to existing facts. Prior to the war the plan of extending suffrage was by State action, and it was our pride and our boast that the Federal Constitution had not a word or a line that could be construed into a barrier against woman so soon as we could remove the State barriers; but at the close of the war Congress lifted the question of suffrage for men above State power, and by its amendments prohibited the deprivation of suffrage to any man by any State. When the fourteenth amendment was first enacted in Congress we rushed to you with petitions, prying you not to insert the word "male" in the second clause. Our best women-suffrage men, on the floor of Congress and in the country, said to us the insertion of the word there puts up no barrier against women; therefore do not embarrass us, but wait until the negro question is settled. The fourteenth amendment with the word "male" was adopted. Then when the fifteenth amendment came up without the word "sex," we again protested, and again our friends declared to us that the absence of that word was no hindrance to us, and again begged us to wait until they had finished the work of the war. "After we have freed the negro, and given him a vote," said they, "we will take up your case." But have they done as they promised? No, they have refused us our rights, although they have given the negro his, and now, when we come before you, asking protection under the guarantees of the Constitution, the same men say to us our only plan is to wait the action of Congress and State Legislatures in the adoption of a sixteenth amendment that shall make null and void the insertion of the word "male," in the fourteenth amendment, and supply the want of the word "sex" in the fifteenth amendment.

Such tantalization endured by ourselves, or by any class of men, would have wrought rebellion, and in the end a bloody revolution. It is only the friendly relations that subsists between the sexes, the affection that women bear to men, that has prevented any such result here. Gentlemen, I should be sure of what your decision would be, if you could only realize the fact that we, who have been battling for our rights, now more than twenty years, have felt and now feel, precisely as you would under the same circumstances. Men never do realize this. One of the most ardent lovers of freedom, and firmest defenders of it, said to me, two winters ago, after our hearing before the committee of the District, "Miss Anthony, I never knew, at least, I never realized before, in my life, that you feel disfranchisement just as I should myself, the disgrace of it, the humiliation of soul."

We have petitioned for our rights year after year. Although I am a Quaker and take no oath, yet I have made a most solemn affirmation that I would never beg for my rights again, but that I would come up before you each year, and demand the recognition of those rights.

What we ask of the Republican party is, simply to take down its own bars. The facts in Wyoming show how a Republican party can exist in that Territory. Before women voted, there was never a Republican elected to office in that Territory. After women voted, the first election sent a Republican to Congress, and three Republicans to the House, and four to the Council. Thus the nucleus of a Republican party was formed by the votes of women. The Democrats seeing this, are determined to disfranchise women. Can you Republicans, so utterly stultify yourselves, can you so entirely work against yourselves as to refuse us a declaration of our rights? Can you deny us the protection we ask?

We pray you to report immediately, as Mrs. Hooker has said, favorably, if you can, adversely, if you must. We can wait no longer.

Autograph signatures to the Declaration and Pledge will be received and put into the folios provided for them, until the day that the votes of women are received all over the United States, on the same terms with men. Several names on a sheet, or single names with the Post-office address, should be forwarded to Mrs. A. A. Sargeant, Washington, D. C., and when accompanied by a contribution of money, large or small, an acknowledgment will be returned, together with one or more tracts on the subject of suffrage. It is earnestly desired that a printing fund should be supplied by the contributions of women, and a system of tract distribution maintained throughout the Union.

E. CADY STANTON, Pres. Nat. W. Suff. Com.
ISABELLA B. HOOKER, Chairman Ex. Com.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

[January 25, 1872. Ordered to be printed.]

Mr. Carpenter from the Committee on the Judiciary, submitted the following Report:

The Committee on the Judiciary, to whom was referred the memorial of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Isabella Beecher Hooker, Elizabeth L. Bladen, Olympia Brown, Susan B. Anthony and Josephine J. Griffing, citizens of the United States, praying for the enactment of a law, during the present session of Congress, to assist and protect them in the exercise of their right, and the right of all women, to participate in the elective franchise, which the memorialists claim they are entitled to under the Constitution of the United States, together with various other petitions and memorials to the same effect, and various protests in opposition thereto, respectfully submit the following report:

By the Constitution of the United States, prior to the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, the power to regulate suffrage, even in the election of President and Vice President, Senators and Representatives in Congress, was possessed by the States composing the Union, so that Congress could make no affirmative provision concerning the same; nor could Congress alter or amend regulations made upon this subject by the respective States. Article I, section 2 provides as follows:

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

Section 3 of the same article provides:

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Article III, section 1, provides:

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress.

From these provisions of the Constitution it is apparent that the States possessed the sole power of determining the qualifications of electors therein. And, so far as these provisions are concerned, it is manifest that each State had the power to make such discrimination as it pleased between its own citizens in regard to their participation in the elective franchise. Each State might admit all citizens, male and female, over a prescribed age, or only some classes of them, or might require a property qualification, which would, in effect, exclude all citizens not possessing the required amount of property. Each State might discriminate in this particular between its citizens on account of race, color, servitude or upon any other ground. And under this Constitution the several States established various and incongruous regulations upon this subject. In Massachusetts no distinction on account of color was recognized, while in other States all persons having even admixture of African blood, however slight, were excluded; and some States required a property qualification, while others did not.

There is, however, another provision of the Constitution which merits consideration in this connection. Article IV, section 4, provides:

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government.

Under this provision it is insisted, with some plausibility, that a State government which denies the elective franchise to a majority of the citizens of such State is not "a republican form of government." But your committee are not satisfied that this proposition can be maintained. In construing the Constitution we are compelled to give it such interpretation as will secure the result which was intended to be accomplished by those who framed it and the people who adopted it. The Constitution, like a contract between private parties, must be read in the light of the circumstances which surrounded those who made it. The history of the colonies, the history of the Confederation and the circumstances under which the Constitution itself was framed and adopted, must all be taken into account; and then we must ascertain by reading the whole instrument together the sense in which particular provisions and phrases were employed. If any State government which to-day excludes from suffrage a majority of its citizens is not in form a republican government, then a State government which did the same thing at the time the Constitution was adopted was not in form a republican government. The exclusion of all female citizens from the suffrage cannot impair the republican form of an existing State government, unless the same thing worked the same result upon the State governments in existence when the Constitution of the United States was adopted.

It was assumed on all hands that the governments of the thirteen States which framed and adopted the Constitution were in form republican; and this provision was intended to keep them so, and make it impossible for any State to change its government into a monarchy. The construction of this provision now contended for would have made it the duty of the Government of the Union, during the first year of its existence, to enter upon the reconstruction or remodeling of the governments of the States by which the Union itself had been spoken into existence. In view of the history of those times, it cannot be maintained that the States or the people intended to confer such a power upon the Government of the Union; and no one can doubt that such an attempt on the part of the Union, in regard to the thirteen States, would have been condemned by the unanimous voice, and resisted by the united force of the people. If such a power did not then exist under the Constitution of the United States, it does not now exist under this provision of the Constitution, which has not been amended. A construction which should give the phrase "a republican form of government" a meaning differing from the sense in which it was understood and employed by the people when they adopted the Constitution, would be as unconstitutional as a departure from the plain and express language of the Constitution in any other particular. This is the rule of interpretation adopted by all commentators on the Constitution, and in all judicial expositions of that instrument; and your committee are satisfied of the entire soundness of this principle. A change in the popular use of any word employed in the Constitution cannot retroact upon the Constitution, either to enlarge or limit its provisions.

There is another provision of the Constitution which is generally referred to in this connection, but which, in the opinion of your committee, has no application to the subject. Article IV, section 2, provides:

The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

It has been much discussed whether the right to vote and hold office in a State was within the privileges and immunities protected by the provision above quoted. But it is unnecessary to consider that question here, because, even if the right to vote and hold office be considered as embraced within this provision, still it was in the power of the State to which a citizen might remove to determine what class of citizens should or should not vote or hold office in such State; and the citizen removing to such State was only entitled to the privileges and immunities possessed by the class of citizens to which such removing citizen belonged under the Constitution and laws of the State to which he had removed.

We come now to consider the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, under which, also, the right of female suffrage is claimed. The fourteenth amendment so far as applicable to this subject, is as follows:

All persons born and naturalized in the United States, &c., are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

The second section of this amendment provides that—

Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election, &c., is denied to any of the male inhabitants being twenty-one years of age, &c., the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

It is evident from the second section of this amendment

above quoted that the States are considered to possess the power of excluding a portion of their male citizens from the right to vote, upon grounds or reasons to be determined by themselves; because this section determines that, in case the State shall exercise this right so as to exclude citizens of the United States, except for commission of crime, the basis of representation for such State shall be correspondingly reduced.

It was argued before your committee by the memorialists—who, by a departure from the usual practice of the committee, were admitted to a public discussion of the principles involved in the memorial—that the right of every citizen, male or female, to vote was secured by that clause of the first section of the fourteenth amendment which provides: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States;" and that the second section was designed to fix a penalty upon the State for a violation of the former provision.

But such a construction is at war with all the theories of constitutional government. An unconstitutional act is void. In other words, an unconstitutional act is no act. The legislature of a State may attempt to pass a law impairing the obligation of contracts; but, as the legislature cannot pass such an act, the attempt is void, and the obligation of the contract is not impaired. It would, therefore, be absurd to punish a State for the vain, ineffectual attempt to impair the obligation of a contract, a thing it could not do, and therefore had not done. So, if by the first section of the fourteenth amendment no State could make or enforce any law to deny the right of suffrage to any portion of its male citizens over twenty-one years of age not guilty of crime, then an attempt to do so would be merely void, wholly inoperative, and it would be absurd to punish such State for doing what it could not do, and, therefore, had not done.

One remedy under the Constitution against any attempted, but unconstitutional legislation of a State is by application to the judicial courts of the Union, which have jurisdiction in all cases arising under the Constitution and laws of the United States, and a supervisory control by writ of error over State courts in regard to causes in which either party asserts a right or privilege under the Constitution or laws of the Union which is denied or overruled by the State court.

The positions maintained, first, that no State can deny to a citizen the right to vote; and, second, that in case the State shall do what it cannot do, certain consequences shall follow, would degrade the fourteenth amendment to the level of compounding, or granting indulgence for, the commission of unconstitutional acts. It would make the amendment say, first, no State shall do a certain thing; but, second, if a State shall do what it cannot do, it shall forfeit certain rights. It is hardly to be supposed that the fourteenth amendment intended to say that a State was forbidden by the Constitution to do a certain thing, but might do so by submitting to a reduction of its basis of representation in Congress.

But there is another reason, equally conclusive, against the construction contended for. By the fourteenth amendment Congress is empowered to enforce all the provisions of that amendment, by appropriate legislation. Therefore, if a State should attempt to exclude from the right of suffrage any persons entitled under the fourteenth amendment to participate therein, it would be the undoubted duty of Congress to defeat such attempt by appropriate legislation. So that to regard the second section of this amendment as imposing upon the State a penalty for denying this right, includes the absurdity of imposing such penalty for an attempt of the State to do what it is the duty of Congress to prevent.

Again, the right of female suffrage is inferentially denied by the second section of the fourteenth amendment, which provides that in case a State, in the exercise of a right conceded to exist, shall exclude a portion of the male inhabitants specified, "the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such (excluded) male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State." The basis is not to be reduced in the proportion which the number of the excluded male citizens shall bear to the whole population of the State, male or female, but only in the proportion which they bear to the number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State. It is evident, from this provision, that females are not regarded as belonging to the voting population of a State.

The fifteenth amendment is equally decisive. It provides:

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be abridged or denied by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

This amendment would have been wholly unnecessary if the fourteenth amendment had secured to all citizens the right to vote. It must be regarded as recognizing the right of every State, under the Constitution as it previously stood, to deny or abridge the right of a citizen to vote on any account, in the pleasure of such State; and by the fifteenth amendment the right of States in this respect is only so far restricted that no State can base such exclusion upon "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." With this single exception—race, color, and previous condition of servitude—the power of a State to make such exclusion is left untouched, and, indeed, is actually recognized by the fifteenth amendment as existing.

Your committee have confined themselves to the precise question involved in the memorial, namely, the present constitutional right of female citizens to vote, as to which your committee are unanimous, and have not considered the broader question, whether the constitution ought to be so amended as to permit female suffrage, a report upon which might develop a difference of opinion among the members of your committee.

CHRISTIAN DESPOTISM.—Our is supposed to be a land of liberty and equality, and yet we have a despotism of public opinion which practically nullifies personal independence. It is well known that President Lincoln was a firm believer in modern Spiritualism, and frequently consulted familiar spirits; the same was true of his lamented successor; but public opinion—Madam Grady said these things must be done in secret. The moral of all this is that they both lacked moral courage.

Latterly the President's wife, Mrs. Lincoln, would consult a familiar spirit, much after the manner of Saul, king of the Jews; but society compelled her to observe the utmost secrecy to avoid the anathemas of our christian civilization and liberty. But prying eyes and ears discovered her true name and purpose, and straightway the press which never pollutes itself with personal private affairs, gives the fact wings of lightning and speeds it to every nook and cranny, to every palace and log cabin in the land. All this will do good in the end; but it is not pleasant to reflect that the despotism of public opinion compels secrecy in laudable investigation, and then violates our privacy by proclaiming our personal matters to the whole world; and this is the justice of our christian civilization and our theoretical equality and independence.

POEM.

BY F. C. FLYNN.

That impulse rising in the soul
Which needeth form or chain
Its warm outgushing to control,
Which reason must restrain,
Lest it should make defrauding claim
I would not clothe with love's sweet name.

I would not call that love which could
Be poisoned, marred, or stained;
Which could by any wealth be bought;
By any power be chained;
Which could not take unerring flight,
Guided by its own magnates bright.

O, no, thou pearl-winged dove go forth!
I'd scorn to check thy flight—
Soar onward where'er thou wilt—
Where ere thou wilt, alight.
I know thine own God-given powers
Will guide thee to celestial bowers.

Go forth in freedom, seek no guide
Save that deep pulse within,
Which swelleth like an ocean tide
When thou hast found thy kin.
Then fill thy cup with love divine,
Thou canst not drink what is not thine.

Trust thy attractions, and in turn,
Attract whate'er thou wilt.
I know within thy bosom burns,
No flame of lust or guilt.
Thou couldst fold up thy wings and rest
Within the purest angel's breast.

When man can make the new-born spring
Withhold her fragrant breath—
Or the eternal Spirit bring
An offering unto death—
Then thy white wing may feel the chain
Which now is forged for thee in vain.

Go forth! Enraptured I behold
Thee spread thy snowy wing;
So will I love the fragrant dew,
Thou ere dost from it fling.
Go! Naught can chain thee, spirit dove,
Wert thou not free, thou wert not love.

WARS AND RUMORS OF WARS.

BY J. B. WOLFF.

To the producers of all classes—Farmers, Mechanics, Laborers:

"A spec of war" looms up in the political horizon. Two great nations, of common origin and with common interests, are threatened with a violent conflict to compensate for the mistakes and misdemeanors of the rulers, who have nothing to lose, in blood or money, should the war come, and who will doubtless embrace the opportunity to increase their power and plunder.

All the friends of peace and prosperity should hold public meetings, and protest against war under any pretext, except actual invasion and attack; for the following reasons:

1. Wars cost each party more in money than the amount in controversy.
2. They are fought by those who gain nothing by the fight.
3. The expenses are paid by the producing classes, who are not consulted.
4. The producing classes, who fight and pay, are afterward treated as dogs; stunted and starved; while civil officers and military commanders are paid high salaries, fed, feasted, and fared sumptuously.
5. The demoralizing effect of war cannot be compensated in direct or constructive damages in money.
6. The government should pay to the citizen out of the public treasury the damages incurred by the failure on its part to fully protect the citizen, according to the true intent of the civil compact, and then reimburse itself from the offender, by legal methods.
7. If any nation, as a public and common offender, refuses the justice of the case, by impartial arbitration, then the remedy is NON-INTERCOURSE.

The principle in Section 6 should be incorporated into the organic compact, and made to apply to home as well as foreign damages. At present, in the absence of pecuniary responsibility in the offender, there are no means of reimbursing the damaged citizen for losses resulting from an imperfect protection on the part of the government. Until such means are provided, the purpose of government is not accomplished, and the right remains undelegated.

The practical application of non-intercourse—a simple negative method of punishment—would operate more disastrously on England, and would do more to hasten a crisis in her domestic affairs than two wars. War would unite her people—and perhaps unite our people, temporarily, while it would entail loss of life, loss of wealth-producing laborers, increased national debts, derangement of all industries and commerce, additional taxation, and general moral declension. And above all, we should insist that the expense of all wars shall be assessed and collected from the existing wealth of the country, at the time, so as to avoid the creation or increase of public debts. Forwarned is forewarned. Let us then be up and doing. If rulers wish to make war, let them do the fighting; the producing classes do all the paying. Or if they must have war, let the office-holders and capitalists take the place of privates, and make the rank and file, instead of commanders, QUARTERMASTERS, CONTRACTORS and PLUNDERERS generally.

AS AN OUTSIDER SEES IT.

The following significant article, a leading editorial, we copy from the Cincinnati Commercial, a paper having the largest circulation of any paper in the West:

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN OHIO.

The effort of the conservative ladies of the Woman Suffrage Association, of Ohio, to disassociate themselves from the female reformers who propose to employ political freedom, when attained, to secure a broader social freedom than they now enjoy, has proven a failure. How complete this failure is may be gathered from the proceedings of the convention held in Columbus during the week past.

The first resolution submitted to the convention invites all people "regardless of their religious faith or want of faith, regardless of their political or social opinions upon all other subjects, to unite and work" with the associated women of Ohio to secure the single end for which the organization was formed, namely, the ballot for women.

This gave rise to an animated discussion. Mrs. Swisshelm thought the invitation too liberal, an opinion that was shared by the Rev. Dr. Rexford; they did not want the votes of the free-lovers, much less their co-operation. Mrs. Swisshelm struggled to get a declaration from the Convention on the subject of marriage, and offered as a substitute for the resolution another declaring marriage to be the foundation of all human relations, and an essential distinction between man and the brute. As there was none to second the resolution, it was not possible to get the expression on marriage, which Mrs. Swisshelm sought.

Dr. Coulter, however, made some amends for this marked negligence of Mrs. Swisshelm, by reading and advocating a resolution distinctly repudiating all efforts to associate with the suffrage movement "any of the late theories on the subject of marriage and divorce, as advocated by a few persons who profess to be the friends of woman suffrage." This resolution was adopted, and with this action ended the struggle to separate the sheep from the goats in the reformatory movement.

If we are not mistaken there were no more than twelve delegates in attendance at Columbus, and possibly not many more spectators. It is not surprising, therefore, that the women comprising the Convention should have longed to put themselves into sympathetic relations with their more advanced sisters, even though they hold the marriage bond in light esteem, or boldly declare their right to have new husbands every day.

The resolution which repudiates their doctrines, and is supposed to have a saving grace so far as contamination by co-operation is concerned, conveys the impression that a few persons hold to the advanced notions of marriage and divorce. In the discussion upon it an attempt was made to belittle Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull and her sister. It was denied that they are representative women, or that they are leaders in this greatest of modern social reformations.

This is ingenious; but it is not correct. Mrs. Woodhull is a representative woman, and a leader of public opinion on the question which the Ohio Association declares itself organized to agitate. Her arguments in favor of suffrage have been accepted as the ablest yet put forward; and her views of the right of women to vote under the Constitution of the United States, without further amendment, have been widely adopted. The arguments of her celebrated memorial to Congress are simply restated in the arguments addressed more recently to the Senate Judiciary Committee by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Isabella Beecher Hooker, Olympia Brown, Susan B. Anthony and others.

It is not the handsome thing to accept the services and reap the benefits of the labors of such a worker in the social vineyard as Mrs. Woodhull has proved herself to be, and yet repudiate her views as to marriage and divorce, especially when she proclaims it to be the primary object of woman suffrage to break down the institution which Mrs. Swisshelm declares to be fundamental in the social economy.

We are not quite sure either that the Rev. Mr. Rexford is right when he attributes the falling off in the suffrage movement in Ohio and other States to the adverse influence of the Woodhulls. The least interesting meetings, with the smallest attendance, and the feeblest influence, have been in those States where the suffrage reform is in the hands of women of the now somewhat fossilized type of Mrs. Swisshelm and Mrs. Cole. It wants the radicalism of Mrs. Woodhull, backed by the eloquence of such poetic invigorators as Theodore Tilton, to give life and activity to the movement. Here, in Ohio, the cause of female suffrage has never so languished as now, and in the intense activities of the pending presidential election, it will scarcely be heard or talked about.

The valuable Hambletonian mare "Laura Cuppy," belonging to J. C. Goods, died to-day from the effects of a cold. She had made, without special training, a mile in 2:42, and could have been sold for \$1,800.—Morning Call, San Francisco, Cal.

The above fine animal was named after "our Laura Cuppy Smith," who is speaking during the present month in Springfield, Mass.

WOMAN AND BILLIARDS.—Why should not women spend their idle time in billiards and taking a social glass as well as men? Is it right for men to be drinkers and young men grog mixers? then it is right for women. That which is right in itself any person may do—that which is wrong in itself no person may do. That which is a privilege all may enjoy. A woman has started a billiard hall and gin mill in San Francisco, and we say go on sister, imitate your brother man, it cannot be wrong to follow your illustrious master.

The National Labor Reformers have made their nominations: For President, Judge Davis, of Illinois; for Vice-President, Governor Parker, of New Jersey. As regards the platform, we sum up our opinion of its demerits, in the following questions and answers:

- Q. Where is the great National Labor Reform party?
A. Gone a fishing.
Q. Where are its utterances on the freedom of the land?
A. "With the years beyond the flood."
Q. Where is its specific endorsement of its actions with regard to woman suffrage?
A. Generalized in the lame and impotent conclusion of the twelfth resolution.

Q. Who are the workingmen nominating to defend the interests of laborers?

- A. A couple of lawyers. "So ends the tale."

R. W. H.

STRAY SHOTS.

The Atlantic cable instructs us that peace is arranged between the Czar of Russia and the Pope of Rome. The former admits the claim of the latter to the appointment of Catholic bishops in his dominions, and the latter agrees to aid the former in the annihilation of the language of Poland. It is the old story over again; Pontius Pilate and the Chief Priest again shake hands over the crucifixion of the innocent.

In the list of poetic extracts given in the last number of the WEEKLY the British Wordsworth's description of "woman" ought to have been noticed. It is as follows:

"A creature not too bright or good
For human nature's daily food;
For transient sorrows, simple wiles,
Praise, blame, love, kisses, tears and smiles."

The beauty of this is, that it will answer for "the creature" man as well as woman. It has in it the genuine masculine arrogance, but is not without common sense, and might pass if it did not smack so strongly of cannibalism.

Verily the world moves. In ancient times, he who never lied, said it was difficult if not impossible for a camel to pass through a needle's eye. He may now behold at any of our fashionable churches, mastodons and megatheriums trotting merrily along with a lively hope that in the end they will be able to perform successfully the same difficult operation.

Some Protestant sects have commenced to imitate the policy of the Roman Church, in awarding spiritual honors to women, by the appointment of deaconesses, etc. It is rather too late in the day, however, for this plan to work, as the "Smileys" insist upon preaching.

It is believed that Judge Davis of Illinois (the Presidential nominee of the National Labor party) is one of the famous or infamous quintette of the Supreme Court, who lately made and applied their law in the notorious legal-tender decision. Should he be elected President, he will therefore combine in his own person all the governmental powers—legislative, judicial and executive. Under such circumstances, we may hope that our government will roll smoothly on—upon one wheel!

Shakespeare instructs us by the mouth of Macbeth, that

"The time hath been
That, when the brains were out, the man would die,
And there an end."

Now it is well known that the brains have been out of the Bourbons more than a century, and yet their ghosts are making night hideous with their "walking" at Antwerp. It would pay little Adolf Thiers to engage Edwin Booth to go to Europe as Hamlet, and lay that melancholy Count de Chambord, who don't seem to realize that he is dead, divine rights and all.

"Rest, rest, perturbed spirit."

It is evident that the British Ministry desire to institute non-sectarian schools for the people of Ireland, but Cardinal Cullen's carriage blocks the way. Per contra, in this State it has been decided to indoctrinate our children with theology in daily homeopathic doses, and Dr. McGlynn backs his truck right in the track of the public school locomotive. Who shall decide when doctors disagree?
TIRALLEUR.

GEORGE STRONG'S COLUMN.

Shall I say with my lips what my eyes have already told you? Shall I tell you what my heart is longing to say, or must I keep as a profound secret those three words which have the magic and sunshine of all time in them? I LOVE YOU.

Though it had consumed me, I never would have disclosed my love for you. If I had not found out that he was a drunkard and abused you. He who would go between a couple that love each other, though he cannot help it, is half a scoundrel.

Since he neither loves you nor you him, and is a drunkard; and since she neither loves me nor I her, and is a shrew; and as we both love each other, why shouldn't we declare it to the whole world and try to be happy in future? I am sure we have been miserable enough in the past, and those persons who oppose our future happiness, seem to me cannot have kind hearts, and I am certain that they have no brains, or they would know that whatever is conducive to our happiness, is also to theirs.

If to be all the time thinking of you, night and day, is any criterion to go by, then I am certain that I love you. And if I am made better and purer, as I certainly am, by thus loving you, can it, oh! can it be wrong? No, a thousand times no! I answer. All the world wears a roseate hue; my life is better, my thoughts are purer, and I speak kindness ever to my most inveterate enemies since I have known you.

She has owned that she loves me a little, the dear girl, and I am so happy. I love her so dearly, and I must try and be good for her dear sake, and that she may love me a little more; and God grant that I may so live as to be a comfort to her.

Oh! she has kissed me three times. I wish she would do so some more. Now I have something to live for. All my future life shall be devoted to trying to be worthy of her, for she is all goodness, all sweetness, all purity. And God grant that she ever may remain so, for it were better that I were dead than that she should ever suffer from any cause of mine. Church and State may keep us apart, through its base organ of public opinion working on her timidity, but not the whole world can keep me from loving you.

I see no shadow, I hear no foot-fall, but I know that my beloved is coming, for I feel so kindly toward all the world that I can't write a word of satire, even against Calvinism.

ALISM.

While pilgrimage over the waters, a strange book fell into my hands, entitled: "The Key to Alism," written early in 1843, by A. F. Barnham, and published in Paternoster row, London, 1847. Mr. Barnham, though styling himself an Alist, was a Spiritualist before the "Divine Revelations," by A. J. Davis, or the "Rochester rappings," by the Fox media.

In this gentleman's autobiography, page 13, he says: "I have a firm and unalterable conviction in my soul that I have ever been attended by a guardian angel, or demon, like that of Socrates. In these matters the ancient church was infinitely more orthodox than the present. To that angelic minister who pervades me with his presence I am often indebted for those thrilling inspirations that convert solitude into rapture—those spiritual illapses so genial that they make existence like a vision of poetry and a dream of love." "The patronage and encouragement of spirit come from the spirit. Jesus comes to spiritualize the world; but not by the world."

"It is only by suffering in the world that you can rise above it. Thus, Jesus appeared at Jerusalem a solitary, earnest *divine Spiritualist*, understood and appreciated by only a few elect minds."

But what is the meaning of Alism? A, or Aleph, termed the first divine point—the *punctum infinitum* of the Kabalists is said to be the first name of Deity, Al, or Allah. It represents, in prophetic language, life, light, power, greatness. The perfect Alberti, in the beginning of his "Hebrew Lexicon," says: "A is the first letter in most languages, signifying purity, inspiration, procession." Olivet, in his "French Treatise on the Hebrew Language," writes thus: "A, as a symbolic image, represents 'Al,' the Supreme Being, and man universal. In its hieroglyphical acceptation it characterizes the unit, the central point, the abstract principle of things. As a sign, it implies power, life, continuity—denoting at times Jah, Jew, Je, Jehovah, Adam, Adonar, Al—and hence, *Alism*. The unity of the Deity; the one mass of humanity; the wisdom of the oracles, and the present ministry of spirits stream like golden sunbeams through his writings. His lengthy drama, under the head of "Socrates," is magnificent. Here follow fragments:

SOCRATES.

ACT I. SCENE I.—ATHENS.

Socrates solus, basking in the sunshine.

Philosophers have many a pleasure—known
Felt—by themselves—which to the vulgar world
They rarely express; and when they do, how seldom
Do the hearts of men respond! Ay, at this moment
There is a rapture in this sunshine—spreading
Its hot overwhelming lustre over Athens,
Which they conceive not; unto me it is
Symbolic of the incommunicable flame
Of Deity! It seems to embrace me, like
The beatific vision of Olympus,
Transforming what it shines on, to its likeness;
It enters into my very soul, and makes
A summer of my conscience! I rejoice
To anticipate the eternity when I
Likewise shall be as a sunbeam.

SCENE II.

Pericles.

Well met, my Sophocles: my eager soul
Has been so fired by politics and war,
That now she longs to bathe in the cooling streams
Of Hippocrene. After the hard debates,
Cheerings, hissings, and hootings, that still ring
On my ears, 'tis quite refreshing to encounter
A poet.

Sophocles.

Ah! my Pericles, your knack
Of flattery is unrivalled, it has raised you
To all you are; beware, lest it may sink you
To all you may be.

Pericles.

Now, sweet Sophocles!
Don't moralize. On the stage 'tis well enough;
But, by the faith of the stars, when off the boards
'Tis a fashionable nuisance.

Sophocles.

A tragedian
Is nothing without morals. But I see
Your humor—you would talk with me as doth
A brother with a brother

Pericles.

Ah! dear friend, it may be honored
But not for Pericles. I'm sick at heart;
When I look back on my career of glory,
What do I see? At home a crushed nobility
Crushed by my crushing—fallen off, and sunk
In name and honor; a mad populace,
Drunk with the poison cup of flatteries
I mixed to lull them into criminal dreams
Of bribery—perjury—that I might steal
Their filthy suffrages; 'twas I that did it.

Sophocles.

My Pericles, you do belie and slander
Your better self. There were far nobler purposes
In the centre of your soul, which urged you on
To your great darings.

Pericles.

Well, perchance there were!

A few such aspirations. Yet, Oh, Heaven!
How horribly have they been prostituted
In coming into action.

Sophocles.

I'll not hear you
Speak that against yourself, which your worst foes
Would smile to hear.

SCENE IV.—TEMPLE OF DELPHI.

First Priest.

Brother, how liked you the storm? In all the years
I've dwelt at Delphi, never have I seen
Such a battle of the clouds. Parnassus shook
To his very centre; from his towering peak,
A lightning-splintered crag fell crashing down
Amid the sacred groves; and much I fear
The safety of our temple.

Second Priest.

Peace to thy heart!

Fear nothing! Knowest thou not that Delphi bears
A charmed life? This spirit-haunted soil
Cannot be violated. Great Apollo's self,
Bright lord of the sweet, ever-blooming heavens,
Circles it round with his omnipotence;
Dread not the thunder; sooth say—it bodes
Much good to the tripod.

First Priest.

Prithee tell me how?

Second Priest.

There is a sympathy 'twixt heaven and earth—
A strange, mysterious law, in which the power
Of Phoebus is confest, by the high bards
And esoteric hierophants, who framed
The initiations; therefore our Apollo
Is oft invoked by a most subtle name.
Canst thou tell me which?

First Priest.

Nay, speak it freely to me;
My tongue is never traitor to my ears.

Second Priest.

Electra is that name. Ay, keep it close
Beneath the seal of silence; breathe it not
Without these hallowed walls. Mysterious essence
Of light and darkness! which our Orphean sages
Term *Electricity*—treasure of the wise,
Marvel of fools; 'tis unto thee the fame
Of Delphi is most due.

First Priest.

Thou speakest strangely—
My heart warms in thy confidence; say on.

Second Priest.

Thou knowest the rest. Thunder and lightning are
But the Divine *Electra* of the skies,
 wooing the kindred elements of earth;
And when the thunder bellows round the hills,
Mark you! our Pythian prophetess is then
Doubly inspired.

First Priest.

True, I have noted it,
But little recked the cause.

Second Priest.

If my thoughts err not,
Thus they interpret; Well our ancient sires
Knew that the Metaphysical geni, good and ill,
Reside in physical ethers, which to them,
Are even as our bodies to our souls.
Well, such an ether found they ages ago
On the slope of this Volcanic mountain. Quick
And subtle was its influence. The fables
Tell us the goats that browsed about the spot
First caught the intoxication; their weak brains,
Filled with the gaseous magical stimulus,
Reeled—and such frolics followed as surprised
The gaping shepherd wisacres. They, too,
Going with sober brows to investigate
The marvel, with like ecstasies were filled,
And talked strange lingo—anything but Attic.
A shrewd knowing theosophist, whose mind
Was steeped in Syrian and Egyptian mysteries,
Soon found the art to profit by the news.
You know the musty proverb, that "Fools sow,
And sages reap." Enough! They built a temple
Over the steaming crevice, and they reared
A tripod, furnished with recipient pipes,
By way of legs.

Pythia.

Draw near to me—
I'll tell thee something that thy ears will tingle
To hear it. You may believe that I
Rejoice in the lightnings; unto me, they are
Like the dear eyes of my own Semithus, and
I gazed and gazed, for I would rather lose
The power of looking, than not look at them.
Now mark me! at the instant when that flash
Burst o'er the temple—let me lean on thee—
I shudder while I tell it—at that moment,
I saw—O Gods! the very image of him
Who glitters in my dreams.

Sybil.

Lady, whom mean you?
Nay! do not look so wildly.

Pythia.

Yes, 'twas he!

Phoebus—Apollo's self. I knew him, Sybil,
By the vivid instinct; he stood forth before me
In his naked splendor; rivers of lustre fell
From his azure eyes; and round his kindling brow,
Was glory like an Iris; his sweet voice
Uttered divinest love; on his blazing breast
I died away—Oh, how serenely!
The rest was all oblivion.

Sybil.

Was it not, lady,

The phantasy of o'erwrought passion that
Embodied the unreal?

Pythia.

The unreal!

Beware, 'twere blasphemy to doubt. Oh! Sybil,
To the pale seer, the vision of spirit is
The sole reality—all forms of sense
Delusive apparitions. In the God
Who fills me with his rapture, there is nothing
Less than essential; and his ecstasy
Is the substance of all substances. Even now
The living germs of his resonant music
Comes rushing over me. Give me the silver lyre,
It is my best relief, when silence burns
Into a torture.

Priest.

There stands the Pythian prophetess; if thou
Wouldst seek celestial answer to thy question,
Tell it to her; through her Apollo speaks
The infallible oracles of Delphi.

Chærephon.

Lady,

Forgive me, if my coming hath disturbed
The harmony that, like a living soul,
Thrilled the high columns of the vestibule.
Mysterious spouse of Phoebus! Lo! I kneel
Before thee with reverence as if thou
Wert deified by his divinity!
Thy aspect is scarce mortal; yet thy smile
Betokens favor unto such as I;
May I invoke the oracle?

Pythia.

Thou mayest:

I know thee ere thou speakest, and thy name
Is Chærephon.

Chærephon.

Thy voice sweeps through my soul
As Zephyr through the aspens' leafy hair,
Making it shudder. I had thought to keep
My name a mystery.

Pythia.

Unto Pythia,

Mystery is not a mystery; in the dreams
Of yesternight, I met a spirit of the hour,
Who told me all thy history—ay, and showed
Thy form and features to me on the mirror
Of my entrancement. Do not start, fair sir!
I own a second sight—see all things openly
By the mind's eye—analyze the shadows
Of all emerging fates—and in the present
Condense the past and future: I beheld thee
On the low mountain side, amid the thunder,
As clear as now—heard thy words with thy guide—
All thou wouldst tell me were but reminiscence
Of my preformed conclusions. So thou comest
To inquire who is the wisest man among
The men of Greece; have I divined thee truly?

Chærephon.

Most truly; ay so preternaturally
Exact thy divination, that I feel
Even as a little child at his mother's knee
When first she bids his infantile faculties
Expand with experience.

Pythia.

Stay thou there

While I ascend the tripod. When thou see'st me
Clasping my hands, know that the inspiration
Of Phoebus is upon me; ask me then
Thy question, and my lips shall answer thee.

Priest.

Believe me, sir, you'll find the oracle
Most true.

Chærephon.

Pythia!

If in propitious moment, I invoke
Appollo's aid, tell me who is the wisest
Of all the Grecians?

Pythia.

The wisest is none other
Than Socrates, thy friend; there is the answer.
He hath a guardian genius who descends
From heaven to teach him what is truth; and he
Listens to the voice sounding within his conscience,
Which other men despise, and sink in folly.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

TUT-TUT.

"Open your mouth and shut your eyes
And I will give you something to make you wise."

Poor Tuttle! "How his righteous soul is vexed from day to day," over the constant agitation of thought, and bringing to the surface some radical "New Departure" from old "time-honored customs" which had been planned and schemed before people had got so well acquainted with the devil. To him, Spiritualism is a truth; he knows it is. But it is exceedingly dangerous to allow in our godly field, a sheep whose black spots may be largely magnified by the glasses through which we look. Whilst the neglected Emma Hardinge Britten would have all the Spiritualists of the United States get together and decide by a vote, just how much truth and error each one may believe, our saintly Brother Tuttle would draw lines around what he conceives to be truth, as expounded by himself and his particular friends, and put a check under the wheels of each aspiring brain, so that it shall not climb any higher towards the summit of truth. Verily, we should like to be made a member of his "Church," but we fear that there are so many "wild theories" in our brain, that he would not even allow us the privilege of believing Spiritualism to be true.

The man is certainly insane. Who would ever have thought that Hudson Tuttle would be the man to establish boundaries to the intellect of Spiritualists, and deprive them even of the privilege of believing Spiritualism to be a truth, if in addition to that they had outgrown their conservatism on something else?

"Man is an immortal spirit, retaining identity and individuality after separation from the physical form, and possessing the power to communicate with earth."

We are graciously allowed the privilege of believing this truth, provided we do not transcend certain conservative limits or something else. But if we do, we shall each be punished by taking this proposition away from us. All we have to do is to "open our mouths and shut our eyes, and see what God will give us," and however loathsome a worm he or the teachers of his "divine will" may see fit to drop in our spiritual craws, we must not gag at it or "throw it up."

The worst difficulty in the whole matter is that Spiritualism is about to get hold of the reins of government, and force everybody to become Spiritualists. Like the poor victim to the bowl who imagines the floor he stands upon is carpeted with snakes, this modern philosopher cannot see that these imaginary objects of his dread are the unreal phantasies of a diseased mind inflamed from a constant fear that some error may creep among Spiritualists which he may want the logic to expose. The trouble, after all, is that certain reformers have outgrown their conservatism and are about to depart from the time-honored custom of voting upon dead issues and force a living issue upon the people. A majority of the Spiritualists of our country accept these new issues, therefore Spiritualism is forcing itself into legal recognition. Astonishing! As well say some of these men believe in female suffrage; therefore, every man is compelled to become a female. Verily our brother will frighten every Spiritualist out of our ranks by his profound logic. Let us pray.

D. W. H.

TO THE LIBERAL MINDS OF THE PACIFIC COAST.

Mr. and Mrs. M. E. Morse, together with the aid and co-operation of the liberal minds in the city of San Francisco, have rented pleasant and commodious rooms in a central part of the city, No. 11 O'Farrell street near Market, for the general headquarters of the friends of human progress. Where they can meet for select social intercourse, have access to all the reform papers, books and periodicals of the day—where a registry of the names of persons who are "workers" in whatever field of reform will be kept, together with their residence and P. O. address; and from time to time published and copies sent to each, thus bringing them into sympathetic relations and a knowledge of their numerical strength, enabling them to concentrate their efforts and influence upon any specific reform. A place where friends from the country can obtain information and such directions as they need to facilitate their business and save them unnecessary expense. In short, we intend to make it a moral and progressive intelligence

office. We shall also act as general subscription agents for all the leading reform papers, fill all orders from the country for books, and transact any business for the friends living at a distance, they may see fit to intrust to our agency.

We expect to be sustained in our undertaking by the voluntary contributions of those who will consider it a pleasure and an opportunity to aid us by small monthly payments or otherwise, and by commissions or subscriptions for papers and books, and we particularly invite the friends of free thought to obtain their papers and books through this agency, in order to sustain us in making this effort a success and a blessing to all concerned.

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General Agents.

D. W. HULL'S APPOINTMENTS.

Lawrence, Mass., March - - - - 3
Crawfordsville, Ind., (Discussion) Mar. 9-20
Habart - - - - March - - - - 20-30
Kansas City, Mo., April - - - - 1-30
Mechanicsville, Iowa, May - - - - 1-15

He is only engaged for Sundays at some of these points, and will speak on political or reform subjects whenever desired during week evenings. He is at liberty to speak at other points after the middle of May. Address as above.

Discussions wanted, at Kansas City and Mechanicsville.

GLEANINGS FROM THE POETS.

MILTON.

In one pithy line the poet Milton informs us what his opinion was of the purposes for which Adam and Eve were created. It reads thus:

"He for God only:—she, for God in him."

It is evident that in this puritanical game of spiritual "Tit-tat-toe," the third player comes off third best. With such opinions, Johnny had no right to solicit the hand of any woman; and it is no wonder that both the Mrs. Miltons gave him particular Jessie, for he deserved it.

SHAKESPEARE.

The legal position of a wife is characteristically and faithfully drawn thus by Petruchio, in the "Taming of the Shrew":

"But for my bonny Kate, she must with me,
Nay, look not big, nor stamp, nor stare, nor fret,
I will be master of what is mine own;
She is my goods, my chattels; she is my house,
My household stuff, my field, my barn,
My horse, my ox, my ass, my anything."

This is not a pleasant picture to look upon, but it is the condition of vassalage, to which what is misnamed "law," has reduced millions of human beings. In the words of the same immortal bard—

"'Tis true, 'tis true:—pity 'tis, 'tis true."

BURNS.

It is pleasant to turn from these gloomy pictures to the poet of the people, whose works are not only in the libraries of connoisseurs, but are graven on the hearts of the masses. He thus discourses on woman:

"For you, sae donee, ye sneer at this;
Ye're naught but senseless asses o';
The wisest man the world'er saw,
He dearly lo'd the lassies o'."

Auld Nature swears, the lovely dears,
Her noblest work she classes o';
Her prettiest han', she lied on man,
And then she made the lassies o'."

We fearlessly assert that this view of woman is quite as orthodox as John Milton's and very much more human; for if, as the latter poet asserted, the sole end and duty of woman was to worship a man-god, it was not polite, even in a puritan, to tell her so. H.

WE commend the following from the "Central City Herald," Colorado, to the careful attention of our select circles, from which all are excluded who are not spotless:

"A 'Denver Woman,' in the Sunday's issue of the 'News,' reads all these silly society discontents a good sound lesson on the folly of their assumptions in regard to exclusiveness, and endeavors to incite in the bosoms of all, nobler emotions and higher aims than a desire to outshine each other in gaudy display and fashionable flippancy. This Denver woman is evidently a true woman, free from the petty selfishness and envy that too often characterize the followers of fashion and the votaries of pleasure, and her eloquent reasoning on this subject should effect much good. As society matters in Denver appear from our standpoint, we think the less said or done about select circles, exclusiveness and the like, the better. Too much attention should not be attracted to the antecedents of many who now hold high social and perhaps official positions in this new country, and let those who live in glass houses be careful about hurling projectiles indiscriminately. Let each man and woman endeavor to ennoble and elevate their own moral character and free their firesides, home circles and hearts from pollution and folly, and good society will embrace within its broad arms an entire community."

Colorado Territory is out of debt; has \$55,000 surplus; has no taxes for 1872; appropriates \$6,000 for emigration; has but one lawyer in the Legislature, and he is a farmer.

THE SOCIAL QUESTION.

Your bold avowels, and the high ground you have taken on the sexual relations of men and women, that have brought down on your head long tirades of scurrilous abuse, have also awakened many to the fact, that all arguments are not against you.

The discussion and settlement of the great social problem, involved in this issue,—effecting as they do the destiny of the race—deserve the thoughtful consideration, of the best and wisest men and women in the nation.

The prevalence of prostitution, the yearly increase of desertions and divorces, and the rottenness of our whole social structure prove, that either our entire marriage system is demoralizing and destructive of virtue, or that the race is fast growing in lewdness, licentiousness, and vicious practices.

Marriage, except as it awakens the fine sensibilities of man's nature, and excites the higher aspirations of his whole being—is no more God-ordained than any other act of His life. Morality is not a creature of law, and cannot be subject thereto, or regulated thereby. Your declaration, that horrified so many good people, "that you had the right to change your love and marital relations daily, if you pleased," is thoroughly correct in principle. It is not practical or possible for any one to change his or her love or marital relations three hundred and sixty-five times in a year, or even once a year; but, if it is immoral to do so, outside of statute law, no legal consent can clothe it in the garb of virtue.

Under the law, a man and woman may marry, and through the infidelity, desertion or other acts of either, the contract can be dissolved and new ones entered into as soon as the forms of the law can be complied with, each having the full and undoubted legal right to repeat this every day in the year.

No one has a right to do wrong, and the marriage-relationship, the most holy of all earthly contracts, should not be recklessly entered into or violently dissolved without grievous defects or inharmonies, of which the only competent and rightful judges are the contracting parties. Yours fraternally,

A. P. M.

HAYRE DE GRACE, MD., JANUARY 23, 1872.

EDUCATION.

The cosmopolitan conference, which is held every Sunday afternoon in Bleeker st., N.Y., is the spot where at present originates all the radical views in politics offered to the public. It was there that the proposition originated that the city should supply gas to the public as it supplies water, and that it should also assume charge of the various horse railway lines and run them at a price which would simply cover cost. Yesterday an additional proposal was made by Thomas M. Newbold, which had not been ventilated among the previous panaceas offered for public improvement. It was that children of those parents so designing should not only be educated, but supported and clothed at the public charge in immense establishments, where great economy in eating, light and space could be practised, and by means of which the expense of each child need not exceed three dollars a week, everything included. The various aptitudes of the young people could be discovered, and before reaching maturity, each might be instructed in a means of livelihood, either artistic, scientific or mechanical, in addition to ordinary educational branches. The influence of many homes, and of general associations, upon children especially, of the poor was spoken of as very injurious. This was considered as likely to be obviated, if the children resided in their school establishments. The scheme, it was asserted, would have the effect of rearing a new generation of orderly and well educated citizens. Prisons and almshouses would find few tenants, and, among the trained minds of so large a number of persons, many wonders in art and in mechanical inventions would display themselves for the general good.

The expense might be within thirty million dollars annually, from which would be deducted the present cost of the public schools. No tax is now so cheerfully paid as that for educational purposes, and additional charges for the proposed end would be met with equal readiness after the plan became in vogue. Such a system of concentrated living by the children would leave vacant a much larger proportional space in the homes of parents, and the latter would curtail the apartments now occupied by them. This might, at first, somewhat add to the number of untenanted houses, and temporarily stay building operations, but these objections would soon be still by the many persons who would settle in the city from elsewhere in order to enjoy the great advantages offered for their children.

[Philadelphia "Public Record."]

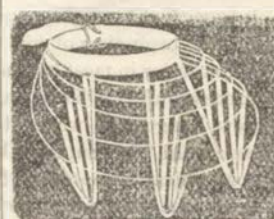
MR. THEODORE HAGEN, the editor of the New York "Weekly Review," one of the leading Musical papers of this country, in its issue of May 18, 1867, in speaking of the Colibri Piano, said: "It is much smaller, and weighs considerably less than any square Piano Forte we have yet seen. It can be handled with perfect ease; at the same time it offers none of those ungainly aspects which some other alterations of the usual shape have presented. It is a thorough square Piano Forte, only very small, but at the same time very proportionate and beautiful—and can speak to such an extent, with such power and sonority, that we must see, as well as hear it, to believe it possible. Here is truly a great soul in a small body." Throughout the scale the tone is even, very full and sonorous, brilliant and melodious; the action is easy, and the workmanship indicates great care on the part of those who were intrusted with it."

THE LOST HEIR OF LINLITHGOW is the name of Mrs. Emma D. E. N. Southworth's new novel, now in press, and to be published in a few days by T. B. Peterson & Brothers, Philadelphia. It will command a very large sale, as it is one of Mrs. Southworth's most powerfully written efforts, exciting and sensational, and is fully equal, if not superior, to "Tried for Her Life," "Cruel as the Grave," "The Maiden Widow," "The Family Doom," "The Changed Bride," "The Bride's Fate," "Fair Play," and "How He Won Her," which have proved to be eight of the most popular novels ever published, and which are having unprecedented sales, for Mrs. Southworth, as a novelist, stands at the head of all female writers. Her conceptions are marked by originality, and there is a purity and sweetness about her language which give a peculiar charm to her writings. Her characters are powerfully and touchingly drawn, and we learn to love them because they are more natural than affected. "The Lost Heir of Linlithgow" will be issued in a large duodecimo volume, uniform with Mrs. Southworth's other works, and will be sold at the low price of \$1.75 in cloth, or \$1.50 in paper cover; or copies will be sent by mail, to any place, post paid, by the publishers, on receipt of the price of the work in a letter to them.

PARK THEATRE, BROOKLYN.

On Monday evening Miss Minnie Foster, another aspirant for dramatic fame, made her appearance at this theatre in a new drama entitled "Mattie Madcap," adapted especially to her musical and terpsichorean accomplishments. She is a piquant, dashing little actress, giving much promise of future excellence in her peculiar line, which is the delineation of merry and pathetic character, somewhat after the style of Lotta. Notwithstanding that she was laboring under the affliction of a bad cold, she was well received, and succeeded at once in installing herself into the favor of her audience. The play in which she appeared is neither better or worse than the usual run of such pieces, but at this theatre it has the benefit of a good cast of characters, and an excellent stage setting.

NEVER was such a revolution in the eating world created as by the introduction of the Halford Leicestershire Table Sauce, now sold by every grocer, and in use by nearly every family. They who have had it once, will on no account be without it; and they who have not yet, for only fifty cents, obtained a bottle of the best relish ever put upon a table, make haste to follow the wise example of their neighbors.—Boston Journal.



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TURKO RUSSIAN BATHS

THE ladies are informed by Mrs. HYACINTHE ROBINSON that she entirely rebuilt and refitted and opened the Baths No. 112 E. Twenty-seventh street, near Fourth avenue, for ladies only, thus avoiding the inconvenience and unpleasantness attending those baths which are not exclusively for ladies. These baths include all the most recent improvements, and consist of the Hot Air Turkish Bath, Vapor Russian Bath, Cold Plunge Bath, Shower Baths and Douches, Maniculating, Shampooing and Dressing Rooms. Mrs. Robinson having had several years experience in conducting the Ladies' Department of the large baths in this city, assures those ladies who may visit these that they will find every arrangement calculated for the most luxurious and healthful enjoyment. Physicians sending their Patients to these Baths for the cure of Colds, Rheumatism, Neuralgia, Dyspepsia, Nervous and Ladies' Complaints, may be assured of having them well treated according to the most recent modes. Single Bath, \$1; Six Tickets, \$5; Fifteen Tickets, \$10. Open daily, from 11 A. M. to 4 P. M.

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 To those who have not heard this lady lecture, we would say, go by all means if you would desire to hear an earnest, well-spoken discourse, with an unbroken flow of well-pronounced, grammatical English. We have our own ideas about woman's mission and how far she unsexes herself when she ventures to lecture men, yet spite of our prejudice we were carried away by her words last evening at Maguire's Opera House.—*San Francisco News Letter*.

This lady pronounced a remarkable address last night at the Hall opposite the Academy of Music. Remarkable because of the extreme beauty of language and opulence of fancy, and interesting on account of its tender and grateful sentiment.—*The Daily American Flag, San Francisco*.

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Mrs. Laura Cuppy Smith gave an interesting and instructive lecture last night to a large assemblage at Maguire's Opera House, which if delivered by some peripatetic male pedagogue with a large reputation, at a dollar per head admission, would have received unbounded eulogiums from the press.—*San Francisco Examiner*.

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

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

WOMAN'S RIGHTS—NEW BOOKS.

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

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

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