

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

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BRKAKING THE WAY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.

Vol. 4.—No. 19.—Whole No. 97.

NEW YORK, MARCH 23, 1872.

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73-85.

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76-88.

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78 to 103.

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56

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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 ap-
pearing in our times.

The scope of this book is broad. One-fourth of it is
occupied by an Address to the Protestant Clergy, re-
viewing 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 Protestant-
ism 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, Lu-
theranism, 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 re-
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But the main object of the book is to afford conclu-
sive proof, aside from historical evidence, of immor-
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dence on that subject as the Apostles had. More
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This book affirms that the strongest of all historical
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POST OFFICE ADDRESS.—It is useless for subscribers
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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, & c.,
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ADVERTISEMENTS inserted at twenty cents per
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subsequent insertion.

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

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

- The Principles of Government, by Victoria C. Woodhull; \$2 00
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Majority and Minority Report of the Judiciary Committee on the Woodhull Memorial;
The Principles of Social Freedom;
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per 100; 5 00

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.

POST OFFICE NOTICE.

The mails for Europe during the week ending Saturday, March 23, 1872, will close at this office on Wednesday at 11 1/2 a. m., on Thursday at 11 a. m., and on Saturday at 11 a. m. P. H. JONES, Postmaster.

INTERNATIONAL BANQUET.

The several sections of the International Workingmen's Association of this city will give a grand banquet, on Thursday evening, March 18, at the Cassino, on Houston street, between Broadway and the Bowery, in honor of the birth of the Paris Commune, this being its first anniversary.

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.

- 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).—Meets every Thursday at the N. W. corner of Fortieth street and Park avenue, at 8 P. M.
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.

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION.

[From London Eastern Post.]

The General Council of the International Working Mens' Association held its usual weekly meeting on Tuesday evening last, at the Council Rooms, 256 High Holborn, W. C., Citizen Serraillier, late member of the Commune of Paris, in the chair.

Citizen Marx called attention to the fact, that two men who had been active members of the International in France, had become Bonapartist agents, and were now trying to create a movement in favor of Bonaparte amongst the workmen of France. In furtherance of this object they had published a pamphlet in Brussels with the title of L'Empire et la France Nouvelle—(The Empire and New France)—in which they tried to prove that a Bonapartist restoration would be the best thing possible for the working classes, and that the Empire, and that only could save France.

It was announced that large batches of Refugees were being landed in England without any means of subsistence, and a committee was appointed to devise means to relieve them; in the meantime money was voted to alleviate their present necessities.

The rules of a new French section, Federaliste de Retraite, were laid before the Council for approval, and were referred to a committee to report upon, in accordance with the standing orders of the Council.

A letter from America was read, asking what English Republican leader was intimate with Prince Napoleon, commonly called plon plon. A cutting from the New York World was enclosed, in which was described an interview with the Prince. The reporter stated that he was accompanied by one of the Republican leaders of England. Hence the desire to know what Republican was fond of the favor of any prince, even though he might only be a Bonaparte, a first cousin to the author of the coup d'etat, and one of the first to skeddadle when he found the tide of war turning against France.

Citizen McDonnell announced the formation of an Irish branch in Soho, on Sunday evening, and stated that it was proposed to start another in Marylebone. The movement was taking root in Ireland.

ST. LUKE'S BRANCH.

On Thursday the members of this branch met at their branch, 27 President street, to elect officers for the ensuing term. Letters were read from absent friends, among others, from G. Bennett, an active member of this branch, who sent 10s. to their funds, and hoped soon to be in a position to announce the formation of a branch in Wood Green, despite the many difficulties he has to encounter. Much dissatisfaction was expressed that Maltman Barry was still received by the Association in the face of his expulsion by the British Federal Council, to which they respectfully drew the attention of the London branches. R. Foster, Secretary.—London Eastern Post.

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION.

[From London Eastern Post.]

The General Council of the International Working Men's Association held its usual weekly meeting on Tuesday last, at the Council Rooms, 256, High Holborn, W. C., Citizen Serraillier, late member of the Commune of Paris, in the chair.

Dr. Marx reported that an International combination of manufacturers had been projected in Berlin. In its articles it declared that "one of its principal functions shall be to spy into the acts of the International Working Men's Association, and give reports thereon to the Government. To act upon hints given by the Government relative to the said Association, and to execute all measures which the Government may officially demand. The organ of the Berlin Bourse, in commenting upon it, said "the success of the movement is impossible, no Association which thus declares itself a police agency will ever obtain the confidence of the manufacturers, and the opposition of the working class is a certainty."

The Secretary for Italy reported that the movement was spreading in that country; new section had just formed in Milan and had forwarded its rules for approval. Being in accordance with the General Statutes they were confirmed.

Citizen Engels reported that the whole attention of the members of the Association in Spain was occupied with the Government measures to put down the International. Senor Sagasta, the new Prime Minister, had sent a circular to governors of provinces, informing them that while the rights of public meeting and of free speech were to be maintained inviolate in general cases, they were not to be allowed in the case of the International, as it was an Association antagonistic to all law and Government. The members of the Association had a perfect right to hold their theories but not to express them. For the members to express them would be equivalent to the commencement of a revolution. The first action of the sections in Madrid was to at once summons a public meeting to decide upon the course of action to be taken in the matter. Though there could be no mistake as to the intention of the Government in the matter, no action had been taken as yet. That though, might be owing to the dissolution of the Cortes. That, dissolution was considered by the Radicals, as a coup d'etat, and a general impression prevailed that the people would not proceed to the election, but that blows would ensue. The International is considering what action it shall take under the circumstances, for though it has made it a practice to abstain from politics hitherto, it finds itself compelled to act politically as well as socially. In fact, it thoroughly recognizes the principle laid down in the conference resolutions, that the Political and Social questions are indissoluble.

A new section had been formed of commercial clerks in Barcelona; the members wished to be put in communication with other sections composed of commercial clerks, with a view to united action.

Citizen Frankel announced that the last number of the Volksville had been seized, on account of an article in it from the pen of Louise Michel, the communist. The editor, Neumayer, had been arrested upon a charge of high treason, and owing to the persecutions he received, he had become insane.

It was announced that the movement was continuing to pro-

gress in France. A new section had been formed in a town where no branch had previously existed. A federal committee in the south of Wales had declared its entire concurrence in the resolutions of the conference, especially to that relative to the union of political and social action.

The Secretary reported that he had received a letter from Australia, asking for information, with a view to the starting of branches in the Antipodes.

Another letter was also received from the Taunton Republican Club giving in its unqualified adherence to the principles of the International.

THE ACRES AND THE HANDS.

BY DUGANNE.

"The earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof," Says God's most holy word; The water hath fish, and the land hath flesh, And the air hath many a bird; And the soil is teeming o'er the earth, And the earth hath numberless lands; Yet millions of hands want acres, While millions of acres want hands.

Sunlight and breeze, and gladsome flowers, Are o'er the earth spread wide, And the good God gave these gifts to men, To men who on earth abide; Yet thousands are toiling in poisonous gloom And shackled with iron bands; While millions of hands want acres, And millions of acres want hands.

Never a rod hath the poor man here, To plant with a grain of corn— And never a plant where his child may cull Fresh flowers in the dewy morn; The soil lies fallow, the woods grow rank, Yet idle the poor man stands! Ah! millions of hands want acres, And millions of acres want hands.

'Tis writ that "we should not muzzle the ox That treadeth out the corn!" Yet, behold, ye shackle the poor man's limbs That have all earth's burdens borne. The land is the gift of a bounteous God, And to labor his word commands; Yet millions of hands want acres, And millions of acres want hands.

Who hath ordained that the few should hoard Their millions of useless gold? And rob the earth of its fruits and flowers, While profitless soil they hold? Who hath ordained that a parchment scroll Shall fence round miles of lands, When millions of hands want acres, And millions of acres want hands?

'Tis a glaring lie on the face of day, This robbery of men's rights! 'Tis a lie that the word of the Lord disowns, 'Tis a curse that burns and blights! And 't will burn and blight, till the people rise, And swear, while they burst their bands, That the hands shall henceforth have acres, And the acres henceforth have hands.

HUMAN WELL-BEING.

ART. 2.—SOCIETARY HOMOGENITY.

In each harmonic stage of societary development all the presiding principles harmonize with the presiding aspiration, and any principle that does not harmonize with the presiding aspiration of any harmonic stage cannot dominate in it. The aspiration for individual pre-eminence presides in the first harmonic stage.

The despotic principle of compact, the compulsory principle of dispensation, the arbitrary principle of rule, the dictatorial principle of commerce, the patriarchal principle of familism, the chattel principle of service, the authority principle of religion, and the obedience principle of morality—all harmonize with the aspiration for individual pre-eminence, and, therefore, in the first harmonic stage they are the codominating principles, and by their domination all the principles and aspirations of the second, third, and fourth stages are rendered harmonious as conserving coadjutants.

The republican principle of compact, the compensative principle of dispensation, the representative principle of rule, the comparative principle of commerce, the industrial principle of familism, the computational principle of service, the agreement principle of religion, and the honesty principle of morality, all harmonize with the aspiration for individual rights and therefore in the second harmonic stage they are the codominating principles; and by their co-domination all the principles and aspirations of the first, third and fourth stages are rendered harmonious in the second as conserving coadjutants.

The democratic principle of compact, the co-operative principle of dispensation, the majority principle of rule, the joint stock principle of commerce, the insurive principle of familism, the attractive principle of service, the popularity principle of religion, and the impartiality principle of morality, all harmonize with the aspiration for equal investments; and therefore in the third harmonic stage they are the co-dominating principles; and by their domination all the principles and aspirations of the first, second, and fourth stages are rendered harmonious in the third, as conserving coadjutants.

The fraternal principles of compact, the communistic principle of dispensation, the constitutional principle of rule, the free principle of commerce, the universal principle of familism, the voluntary principle of service, the goodness principle of religion, and the righteousness principle of morality, all harmonize with the aspiration for equal benefits; and therefore, in the fourth harmonic stage, they are the codominating principles; and by their domination all the principles of the first, second and third stages, are rendered harmonious in the fourth as conserving coadjutants.

These principles in the order stated comprise all the possible generic principles of the societary world, in the only possible order of actualization, and this order, these principles, aspirations and developments of the societary world are as certain as the order of the unfoldments of the stellar, the planet, the zoological and the societary worlds.

In each harmonic stage there is a pivotal institution on which its principles are balanced in dominancy, and on these depend the permanence of all societary arrangements.

These pivotal institutions are based on personal gender and they regulate commerce as based on sexual differences.

In each stage the pivotal institution is in principles and aspiration a complete model of all its institutions.

The pivotal institution of the first stage was named marriage, and suitage is proposed as the name for the pivotal institution of the second stage.

Principles of different grades cannot by any possibility dominate together in harmony, and any grade of principles cannot long hold sway except they are balanced on their appropriate pivotal institution.

So long as marriage remains the pivotal institution, the principles of the second stage cannot be balanced in dominancy.

S. T. FOWLER.

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EMMANUELO;

OR,

NEWS FROM THE NORTH POLE.

[Being an accurate history of the first settlement of Emmanuelo, the great island within the Polar Sea, which occurred on or about A. D. 76; together with a description of the present inhabitants thereof, their laws, manners, customs, etc. Carefully compiled and arranged from a manuscript found in Iceland by John Merriweather; said document being attested by Ivan Kornikoff, of Russia; Jacob Petrolavski, a Polish Jew; Adrian Circovich, a Hungarian, and Walter Geddes, of Scotland, the modern discoverers of the island].

INTRODUCTORY.

The good ship Katrina sailed from Cronstadt, in Russia, for Leith, in Scotland, on November 27th, 1858. Her crew were eleven in number including the Captain, and she carried also seventeen passengers, counting myself, John Merriweather, among the latter. She was 550 tons burthen, and was laden with hides and grain. When we had been out about a week we met with a succession of heavy gales which drove us northward off our course; the vessel became leaky and unmanageable, and was at last wrecked on the coast of Iceland. Only three souls were saved out of the twenty-eight, Johann Gottsberger, Caspar Bulwinkel and myself. The place where we landed was called Yorokil, and contained about one hundred inhabitants. They were all very kind to us. We were half famished and half frozen. Johann, who had received internal injuries, died within a month; before the end of the year Bulwinkel was lost in a fishing excursion, and, of the survivors from the wreck, I alone was left on the island. I say alone, for the city of Beildavik, where there was a Danish Consul, was two hundred or more miles away from Yorokil, which is situated on the northeastern part of Iceland, and there was no communication with it whatever of which I could avail myself.

At the time of our disaster, when putting on the preserver to which I believe I am indebted for my life, I placed in my pocket a small compass, which I believe might be useful should I be spared to get on shore. I mention this, because the manuscript, the contents of which I am about to make public, was obtained through its agency. It was a well constructed instrument, having been made by Evans of Liverpool. The people of the village, though they had heard of the Mariners' Compass, had never seen one before. I explained its operation, as soon as I had learned their language. Being fishermen, often driven out to sea, they readily comprehended its use. One day, our people (having been invited to a merrymaking by the Jarl of Karsloe, the head of a neighboring settlement) called upon me to accompany them. I did so, taking the precaution to bring my compass with me, for I knew it would be asked for. Karsloe was a larger place than Yorokil, situated about twenty miles to the south of us, on the sea coast also. As we were traveling along I looked at my instrument and found the needle was very much deflected, and that, instead of north, as far as I could make out by the position of the sun, it must be pointing nearly due east; as we proceeded it gradually fell away to the north. I requested Eric Drontheimer who was driving the sled, to stop, whilst I got out to look into the cause of the phenomenon. I found, on traveling back over the course that we had come, that the needle changed again toward the east. Believing that there was iron ore near in large quantity, I followed the direction pointed out by the needle, and it soon led me to the sea shore. On nearing it the deflection became greater, and finally the needle stood at an angle of at least seventy degrees. Looking carefully about, I could perceive nothing but sand and seaweed, until, on further observation, I noticed something of a reddish color shining in a clump of the latter. I went forward and picked it up, and found it to be a light metal cylinder, painted red, with white ends and bands. There was no sign of moss or tint of green upon it. It looked as fresh as if it had been painted the day before. It was about eighteen inches long and four inches in diameter. It was not heavy, for I found that it would float easily. Taking a spear-head out of my pocket, which I was carrying to Karsloe to get altered, I tried to scrape off some of the paint or composition with which it was covered, and found the metal underneath to be highly magnetic; so much so, that I could easily carry it by its attraction to the iron. The metal of which it was composed was of very fine quality and of a blueish tint, much like what gunsmiths call plum-color. With some difficulty I succeeded in opening one of the ends, and found within a roll of what I first took to be sheets of paper, but which afterward proved to be of cloth of very fine texture, far finer than cambric. They were of a yellow tint, and covered with writing. Some of the names were in Hebrew characters, richly ornamented, but the body of the composition was evidently the work of an uneducated man, and was in English. I have been blamed for correcting and re-writing the manuscript, but, in the original,

which has been unfortunately lost or destroyed, not to mention glaring defects in style, it required great study to arrive at the true meaning of the writer or writers, for, by the pronouns used, it would be impossible to tell whether they were one or many.

Although I confess myself to be deeply grieved at the loss of the original manuscript, which prevents the absolute certification of the truth of the document I am about to submit to the public, I am more distressed for the loss of the singular ornamentations of the Hebrew words, than for the manuscript itself. Many of these contained careful drawings of plants and animals, such as I had never before seen, and some were skillfully executed in colors of rare brilliancy. I feel sure that they would have silenced all cavillers against my veracity, and would certainly have proved invaluable to students of natural history in our colleges. It is impossible to describe them in words; and alas! I have no skill with the pencil to re-depict them for the benefit of mankind. They must remain a sealed letter, unless the expedition lately started succeeds in forcing its way to "Emmanuelo," and, what is probably more difficult, returning hither again. This is rendered still more dubious by the fact, that those of the outer world who are there now, appear to be so well satisfied with their condition, that they at least express no desire to revisit us.

Feeling however, that in these times, something more will be expected by the public to confirm the truth of this statement than the simple assertions of an unknown writer, I beg respectfully to append the following:

ATTESTATION.

I, John Merriweather, of Broadway Hall, Woodbury, Devonshire, Great Britain, being of sound mind, and having due respect for my religion, which is that of a Christian, do hereby affirm that I believe the main part of the statements contained in the manuscript called "Emmanuelo; or News from the North Pole;" to be substantially correct. I further declare, that, in offering it to the public, I am not animated by an unworthy desire for fame or pecuniary reward, but simply send it forth with intent that it may aid the cause of humanity, and assist in perfecting the brotherhood of mankind. Of course this endorsement does not pertain to the natural, geographical particulars of the work (the correctness of which I have no means for ascertaining), but simply to those general statements and the deductions therefrom, which are therein contained.

JOHN MERRIWEATHER.

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.]

LETTER FROM ENGLAND.

THE WILLOWS, Bridgewater, February 12, 1872.

MESSENGERS. EDITORS.—I observe an article in the *Banner* of the 3d inst., headed "Names Wanted," being a counter petition to one in circulation "for the purpose of committing the United States Government to the creed of Evangelical Christianity."

Therefore, as I am very earnestly opposed to having the United States Constitution degraded by any sectarian dogmas or creeds, I shall feel obliged by your placing my name to any or all remonstrances that may be got up against any such sanguinary encroachments; for creeds or dogmas of any kind can only be enforced, as past history sadly demonstrates, by racks and inquisitions too horrible to contemplate, and more disgraceful to humanity than any other feature in the world's history.

I had not the least expectation that bigotry existed of so dark a die as to make the attempt to blacken the white flag of the American Constitution, which is now inviting all nations of the earth to come under its peaceful banner, allowing freedom of thought and speech to all, permitting all and every one to worship as he or she may feel disposed, or to abstain from all worship except Truth and Justice.

I was a citizen and resident of the United States for fifty years; my last place of residence being in Cincinnati, as my documents now in Committee of Post Office Expenditures will show me to be; also the originator, attended by its successful accomplishment, of the cheap postage system in the United States. And I still hold in my possession the documentary evidence of my citizenship.

I cannot conclude this communication without expressing my admiration of an article in the same paper, entitled "More Light," in which you come out so nobly and boldly to the rescue of the fair fame of the purest, the bravest, and withal the most influential of women, viz., Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull, who is sacrificing her means, her health and obedience to the world's fastidious etiquette, to serve the cause of humanity. Although I never previously sympathized with that wing of Spiritualists called "Free Lovers," yet I consider the document of that lady, which appeared in a former number of the *Banner*, entitled "Social Freedom," to be full of more profound arguments on the subject, than anything that ever came under my notice. Let her traducer who is without sin cast the first stone. But it is to be feared that, as a general rule, the greatest maligners are the greatest sinners.

I have not yet received WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY. I hope it will soon arrive.

You are at liberty to use this in any way that may be beneficial to the cause of free thought and free speech. I am still a friend of progress in my 79th year.

CLEMENT PINE.

HARPER'S NAST-Y MARRIAGE VS. "FREE LOVE" AND TRUE MARRIAGE.

"Surely the wrath of man shall praise thee; the remainder of wrath thou shalt restrain."—PSALMS 76, 10.

Editors of Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly:

Will you allow me space for a few words on the subject above named? I have viewed with considerable interest Nast's picture

in *Harper's Weekly* of February 17, representing a miserable woman clambering up a rough, rocky mountain, carrying on her back three children and a besotted drunken husband with a rum bottle in his hand; who being met by a so-called angel of darkness carrying a scroll bidding her be saved by free love, tells her: "get thee behind me satan! I'd rather travel the hardest path of matrimony than follow your footsteps." I have also read your comment on the picture and the article accompanying it, and although it is a pretty effectual settler of the "pious" authors of that attempt at caricature; still a thought or two occurred to me while looking at the picture, which I would like to present. It suggested the old proverb, "truth will prevail." In this case truth very decidedly prevailed in telling a story very different from what the artist's servile devotion to false morality sought to make it tell. I speak to those who have seen the picture. If any such, capable of thinking, have failed to see the points of which I speak, it must be because of a hurried look, with minds otherwise occupied. Let such ones look again. It is almost as hard to make genuine art lie, as it is to make figures lie. And in this case the artistic inspiration of this artist was altogether too much for his old conventional prejudices. He evidently endeavored to give the face of the burdened devotee to conventionalism, a look of pious meekness and resignation; but has really given her what devotion to such a false sense of duty must inevitably produce in all such victims—a look of utter soul-languor and despair—one which shows that all hope and vigor of soul and body, and all the enlivening and exalted emotions are crushed by the terrible weight of the false sense of duty to make her own God-given nature the supporter of a beastliness more beastly than the beasts, if such a word may be used, and the beasts will forgive a comparison which is only made because it is impossible to make a suitable one.

The child whose face shows in that picture is also such a one as such a union might be expected to produce—an ill-formed burlesque upon humanity—with shrunken, shriveled, vital region; the languid, expressionless face of the mother, minus the grief, and the brutal head of the father.

The same artistic inspiration mastered the artist's prejudices in his representation of his "Mrs. Satan." Despite the bat's wings, the horns, and cloven foot, supposed to be suitable for a "satan," and the attempt to make the features appear gross and sensual, the artistic necessity of preserving enough of the look of the woman he attempts to caricature, to have the public recognize the likeness, compelled him to present a head and face which even, when coarsely printed in caricature and surmounted with horns, nevertheless plainly shows lofty spirituality, earnest philanthropy, and excellent moral development as the leading characteristics. So conspicuously prominent, indeed, do these traits appear in spite of all, that it does not require a phrenologist to discover them. Every observer must see them, even without understanding what it is that gives expression and reveals character to the eye.

In viewing the picture, the text of scripture above quoted came to my mind, and I could but exclaim, O glorious spirit of divine art! how thou makes the folly and prejudice of bigots to praise both thee and the truth! He, who partially under thy inspirations, still seeks to idealize groveling slavishness, and to slander the grandly human and truly moral, thus always finds his thrusts piercing that which he would foster rather than the intended object of his assault! Let such artists try again and again. Though involuntarily their assistance, they are effectual preachers of reform doctrines. May God bless them, and give them vigor and zeal to continue making such blunders, till taught by them they shall learn to see, and consciously assist the truth they now unwittingly serve.

Fraternally yours, in the love of truth and its teachers, even though they are involuntary ones,

CALEB S. WEERS.

EDITORS OF WEEKLY: In article five, section first, of the constitution submitted in your last issue, would not a proviso exempting from taxation and execution, the homes of all to a reasonable amount, with a graduated tax on surplus property for defraying the expenses of government, be more in harmony with the genius of our institutions? Our wise legislators at Washington seem determined that women shall have no hand in governing the race. Were women equally determined that they would have no share in propagating the race till their rights were acknowledged, I think a compromise would soon be effected. When science demonstrates, as it assuredly will, (when free from the leading strings of religion), that the two conditions represented in the sexes are each convertible into the other, thereby making one of all, and that existence is founded on that interchange instead of one being eternally subservient to the other, the rights of woman will be respected. For this we contend.

J. TINNEY.

WESTFIELD, N. Y., February 6, 1872.

STRAY SHOTS.

It is not true that a resolution was passed at a late convention of the kingly dead-heads of Europe, in which it was forbidden for any member of it to cry "Hats off," under pain of re-decapitation.

Money is, by human decrees, made the exchange for labor, but it is beyond the power of man to make it the equivalent of labor. The creator of wealth, of which money is merely the representative, can only rightfully be balanced by itself. Money was invented to be the servant of labor, not its master.

The editor of the *Christian Union* must be a man of very vivid imagination, seeing that he declares that here "the working class is the whole population," and when to that statement he adds that "there is no conflict of interests among us," he exhibits also, a serenity which it is positively charming to contemplate.

The Republican and Democratic gladiators, who have been waiting in the political arena for the advent of the labor lion, are pleased with the result of the Columbus Labor Convention. The question with them now is—not who shall combat with, but who shall take charge of the poodle let loose on that occasion. Wait till May, gentlemen, and you will see the real animal.

WANTED.—A cottage by the sea, built in the very florid Gothic style, with none of the modern improvements. A cool, shady, quiet location preferred, with a good out-look. A place suitable for the retirement of an aged fisherman, where he may occasionally amuse himself with the net and spear, arrange all his little matters around him, and have his own way in every thing. Address P. N., Vatican, Rome.

Dr. Malthus asserted that "too many were invited to the feast of life, and that, consequently, some must go without a share therein." The worst paid class of workers are the mil-

lions of British agricultural laborers who put the aforesaid feast on the table. The question is, ought the latter to be deprived of the food their labors have produced, in order to make room for idlers with tickets, who at present are first served?

There are four revolutions in progress throughout civilization: social, industrial, political and religious. All are progressing; but the success of either cannot be predicted until they coalesce. Our present systems are not only useless, but mischievous and prolific of crimes and criminals. Under any circumstances, those relics of the dark ages are doomed. Let them pass. The world waits for the morning.

M. Louis Blanc told the French Assembly last week, that "if they passed the bill before them (imposing penalties on Internationals), they would throw France back three centuries." He is wrong. It would only necessarily convert the "Internationale" from an open society into a secret one. The word among the people is "Producers to the front," and it is not in the power of the French Assembly to materially retard their progress.

For a long time the clergy, in right of their profession, have supervised the public schools of Prussia, but Bismarck has succeeded in passing a measure which places them henceforward under State control entirely. Count Arnim is despatched to Rome with a box of ointment to heal the offence. He ought to be a good doctor, for, to use the classic language of the footman in Pickwick, "The Pope is wounded in the most tenderest part of his buzzum."

The attempt of the insane lad, O'Connor, to assassinate the Queen of Great Britain with a pistol with nothing in it, might be turned to advantage by the ill-paid Bohemians of this country. A good, solid lie (well adhered to) against the I. W. A., would secure favor with the British shop-keepers just now. Mr. L. Napoleon, who got up one to order against the I. W. A., previous to the taking of his last plebiscite, can instruct newsmen as regards the way in which he managed such affairs in France.

By cable telegram we learn, that the pope has sanctioned the divine right claim of the Count de Chambord, and ordered the priests in France to defend it. Per contra, the *Tablet* of the same date inform us, that "the church, in educating her own children in her faith and discipline, is taking the very course necessary to save republicanism from perversion and destruction, and to secure the stability and perpetuity of the republic." It is asserted that every stick has two ends; which is the "infallible" end of this one?

The N. Y. *Herald* of the 9th inst., concludes its report of Mrs. McKinley's lecture on "Free Love," as follows: "Mrs. McKinley deserves great credit for the bravery with which she managed her menagerie, and the great untamed ought to have received a vote of thanks for confining themselves to growls under such exasperating circumstances."

To this we reply, Amen!—not having previously been instructed by the N. Y. *Herald*, they probably did not even dream of suppressing "Free Speech," the only right left to woman, by illegal physical force.

Our social science reformers are fond of amusing themselves with statistics. They compute that were it not for diseases, wars, and famines, there would not be standing room for our people on this continent by the year 3000. Probably they could add something to this useful information, by informing us from the present rate of increase, how many millions of dollars per capita the people ought then to possess, also into how many thousand hands it will be concentrated. Having solved the problem they can conclude their labors by estimating, from British statistics, how many hundred men will be likely to own this continent about the same period.

At the Court of Special Sessions, on Saturday last, three children were brought before Judge Dowling, charged as follows:

Lion Ullmann, aged 9, accused of stabbing Lawrence McEvoy, aged 10. Convicted.

The second, a wretched little fellow, aged 8 years, was charged with having stolen a wheel-barrow. Acquitted.

The third case was that of a child of eleven years, who was condemned for the crime of stealing a pair of shoes.

Two of these will most probably be sent to one of our houses of refuge, where they will cease to be a burden to their parents, and where their physical, intellectual, and moral wants will be properly attended to. When the Japanese visitors come, let us not show them our tenement houses in proof of our civilization, but our alms-houses and prisons.

A leader in *Frank Leslie's* newspaper is devoted to the discussion of "The new Order of Amazons." The writer begins bravely; but, before concluding, he evidently trembles in his boots. He says:

"Ku-klux in the South was never half so dangerous a thing as this new order, as many unfortunate men have found to their cost, and more soon may."

Yes, well they may; for in his next paragraph he insinuates that it has become necessary for man to assist in "restraining them within the the limits which God and nature has assigned to them."

Truly when man does that which God and nature have failed to accomplish, woman ought to submit tamely to the legal and political degradation to which he at present condemns her, but not till then. The article bravely concludes with the following noble threat:

"But the revolver and the ballot box let her leave in the coarser hands of the rougher part of the species, let her greatest safeguard—her weakness—cease longer to assure her of love and protection."

Horrible! What will poor woman do? Blow the trumpet, Balaam!

TIRALLEUR.

ECHO ANSWERS: "WHAT!"

DEAR WEEKLY: What has befallen the *Golden Age*? It has become as dull as an orthodox heaven, and as "proper" as an ancient Puritan sister. Sure Theodore Tilton is not going to "backslide," become considerate like Horace Greeley, or anti-progressive like William Lloyd Garrison?

A few months ago we regarded Theodore Tilton as the Chevalier Bayard of the nineteenth century; a brave knight doing battle for the truth and running a gallant tilt against every hoary wrong, each new deceit. We saw him standing, as we supposed, not only physically but morally, head and shoulders above his fellows, "The noblest Roman of them all," but of late the paper into which he was wont to infuse so much of his spirit, comes to us like a body without a soul; the

fire extinguished, the glow and fervor vanished. Why is this so? Theodore Tilton did the world good service when he published Victoria Woodhull's biography, and if he made enemies through his courageous daring, he made himself also *countless friends*. From East to West, from North to South, men and women cried "God bless Theodore Tilton! Heaven sustain him!" I have read and re-read his "Legend of good women," one of the most exquisite productions of his pen. I look in vain for its equal in the pages of the *Golden Age*-to-day. Has Theodore Tilton abandoned the "Forlorn Hope of the Race," or is he lost in the mazes of "Sleepy Hollow?" Must it be said of him also, "Ye did run well: What has hindered thee?" Please respond and oblige your faithful subscriber and friend.

MARCIA.

March 3, 1872.

WAITING.

BY MARY C. CURRAN.

Waiting for the inspiration,
That will wake the sweet vibration
Of the slumbering chords;
Waiting for the entrancing measure
That shall flood the soul with pleasure,
Like an angel's song.

Waiting for the artists power
That shall come in some glad hour
To this untaught hand;
To transfix and give expression,
To the soul's deep intuition
Held in silence long.

Waiting for the inner vision,
That shall reach the Home Elysian
Where our loved ones dwell;
Till instead of doubts distressing,
We shall feel the fond caressing
Of their loving hands.

They will come and guard our pathway
Even through the shadowy gateway
To the bright Beyond;
Where the songs of the immortals,
Greet us, in the star-gemmed portals
Of the Better Land.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

PROGRESSION.

While the conservatives are hugging their false ideas, and the bigots their musty creeds, the car of progression is moving surely onward, clearing away the old rubbish and making new paths through the wilderness of ignorance, and causing flowers of thought to grow in the place of thorns and thistles. In the long ago past, one Paul thought it advisable for women to remain at home, and if they were lacking in wisdom and knowledge, to ask, and be taught by their husbands. In Paul's day such a course might have been right, but not so thought Lucy Stone, Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony in the nineteenth century. These women found, within their deep, yearning natures, certain rights which were denied them by custom and education, and at once they commenced work with tongue, pen and efforts to fight against the popular tide of might and ignorance; by their zeal and sacrifices they slowly gathered to themselves men and women who were willing to place their shoulders to the wheel of reform and help move on the car for the weak and timid ones, who should, by reason of their weakness, have a free ride.

To-day the world moves, and men and women are digging into the rich quarries of their being and bringing forth the treasures of mind and thought; they are reading the gospels of the stars, moon, sun and flowers; the gospels of the insects, mineral, vegetable, animal, up to man. In fine, they are beginning to read and understand that universal language which has never been confounded, consequently needs no interpretation.

And because of this free language Victoria C. Woodhull dares to maintain her cause, and shock the world to its very center, by her radical teachings, and iconoclastic movements. I say: All hail! to the brave little woman who is willing to lead, and plead the cause of the needy, suffering women of America. All hail to the little woman who astonishes the learned men of the day with her deep, reasoning powers, logical arguments, indomitable will, and persevering energy. Her power, ability, and right have opened to her the Halls of Legislation, the Senate Chamber, and avenues hitherto closed to women; while her truthfulness, spirituality, and soul purpose are to her a shelter and defence against the shafts of envy, malice and contumely cast upon her by the ignorant, and would-be great. Work on, brave woman, your hour of victory is coming—you are gathering around you a bright assemblage of noble, earnest workers, whose souls are imbued with lofty purposes, and who are not afraid to work. Among the brave, true workers who have joined you of late, are Laura De Force Gordon, who won praise and renown for her earnest, convincing arguments upon the woman suffrage question, in California, before the Senate convened in Sacramento, two years ago.

Also the gentle, persuasive, earnest Laura Cuppy Smith, who with her stormy, affectional nature reaches deep down into the soul of humanity, and bids them be true to their needs and their rights. Truly these indefatigable workers won golden opinions from all sorts of people upon the golden shores of the Pacific, and they have come among us to gather new laurels and achieve a grand success with the noble band of strong working women who are determined to unbar the iron doors of opposition, and enter the temple of freedom, there to work for the amelioration of suffering down-trodden humanity, and enact safer laws for the guidance of future generations. Truly the world moves, and we are living in a glorious age.

Mrs. M. L. SHERMAN.

ADRIAN, March 7.

THE PORTENTS OF THE HOUR.

[From the Banner of Light.]

Those who have endeavored by observation to render themselves at all conversant with events as they are daily transpiring among men, must be fully satisfied that, in the world of political life, as well as that of the theological inculcation, great changes are impending, whose magnitude may not, at this early stage be grasped, but whose forecast shadows are as threatening to "established" things of a fossiliferous order, as was the mystic "Upharsin" to the trembling Belshazzar. Signs of uneasiness, and active inquiry as to the justice of their state, are perceivable everywhere among the great toiling masses, who give their lives but for a pittance which is to support (?)

or, rather, keep from starvation their beloved families; signs of distrust for the future by the capitalist, who guards his treasures with a jealous eye; signs of fraudulent dealing and gigantic "ring" speculations, and soulless corporational operations, are about on every hand, and the hour of change must come; the guard on the dial of time is even now—to the quick, prescient ear—clinking its warning of the last step ere the stroke shall sound!

While we have not turned our attention to treading the crooked paths of political caucuses, or joining the exciting struggle of current election campaigns, yet, in common with all lovers of humanity, our prayer is, and ever has been, for the sustenance of a free government, unharnessed by creed, unbound by any privileged order on this continent of North America; and as we belong to a class whose prayers are measured by their works, rather than their words, we have ever tried to match our deeds with our professions. And holding such views, it is with a feeling of melancholy that we look across the seething bosom of the land to day, and mark everywhere the outcropping tokens of disintegration, which will, if not curbed, precipitate all that has yet been gained for political freedom in the New World either into the arms of a military despotism, or the ranks of that frail sisterhood typified by Mexico and the South American republics.

What are the necessities of the hour? It is comparatively easy to enumerate them—but where are the unselfish, patriotic souls who are ready to sacrifice all in their attainment? We want undisturbable guarantees of religious liberty, the enactment and enforcement of just laws, the purity of the ballot-box, proper qualifications in candidates for office, popular education in its most all-embracing sense, an impartial Executive, an incorruptible Congress, a fearless judiciary, and a steadfast opposition to all sorts of corruption and evil practices in politics or social life, no matter among what people or in what party.

No one, not blinded by animosity or culpable ignorance, can deny these propositions—in fact, the various rallying cries of the party organizations express a determination—not, however, coupled, we are sorry to say, with execution when they are successful—to inaugurate in a broader degree the reign of these much-desired principles, which are the crowning nimbus of the republic.

There are also many writers and speakers who, from individual standpoints, are teaching what they believe to be panaceas for all political wrongs, and their ideas and plans, as well as those of the dominant party, must be received and considered by every one who desires to take in the range of the great questions which time seems at last, Sphinx-like, to propound to the statesmen of America.

Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull, who, through her able journal, as well as by her eloquent utterances, has done brave work for truth, and whose course, in all good acts, we have ever commended, has set on foot, in common with other earnest workers, a project for a grand Combination Convention, to be held in New York City about the first of the coming month of May, where all branches of radicalism and reform may meet together to discuss plans of union against a common outside pressure. Its movers intend to construct a platform and nominate candidates for President and Vice-President—the first so broad as to be susceptible of including every human right, and the latter the best possible exponents of every branch of reform.

With regard to this enterprise, we have, as before stated, an anxiety to perceive the line of operation on which it will be founded, as the problem to be dealt with is one of more than usual magnitude, calling for its treatment cool heads and steady hands. Mrs. Woodhull, in the course of her editorial in her WEEKLY of March 2, has succinctly given the history of the rise of the present dominant party, in the following words:

"The Republican party grew into power, not because it was the representative of freedom as an abstract principle, but because freedom was right, and its application demanded to cure an existing ill. It sprung into existence, boldly undertook its task, and as grandly accomplished it."

But she impeaches that party, as having supinely ceased its labors for human advancement when its first great work was done, and declares that:

"The recent actions and avowals of the leaders of the Republican party make it impossible for any citizen of liberal tendencies to any longer maintain or affiliate with it. In its self consciousness of the power of position, and having the control of all the patronage of the Government, it ignores the demands of a large body of its adherents. It imagines it can stand and defy them. It thinks they will not desert from its folds. It does not believe there can be another party organized of sufficient strength to endanger its success in the next election."

Looking at the case from her position, she maintains that the people cannot remain in a state of quiescent lassitude; that other needed reforms are coming to the surface demanding attention, and that those who defend and promulgate these help to human amelioration, though ostracised and downtrodden by the party in power, even as *its* friends were sneered at and opposed in the days preceeding the late civil war, will, when properly concentrated, move on to certain victory.

"The Republican party was the consolidation of all the more radical elements of the country. It conquered political power, and the defeated party rebelled, from which followed a terrible conflict, such as was never before known. The new party, whose organization is now under consideration, has the same elements of success for its foundation, and the same promise of triumph that the Republican party had."

Upon this view of the case she issues the call for the several reformatory elements of the country to come determinedly together—the great laboring class; the emancipationists from tyranny of every kind and character; the people of progressive tendencies, whose hearts entertain liberal and expansive sentiments, that they may organize their forces for successful operation, under the broad designation of a "Human Rights Party." The issue of this call has already attracted wide attention. The *Boston Daily Advertiser*, as one of the advocates of the present order of things, in a lugubrious editorial article, commencing with the name of Mrs. Woodhull, practically confesses, before the close of it, that the threatening combination of parties and people for reform and progress and liberal government presents initial characteristics not to be contemplated with perfect satisfaction. The Woodhull banner is inscribed with what the *Advertiser* and its hunkerish class do not relish the reading of. This year is to witness a pretty thorough shaking up of the dry bones of old fossilism, and the more sagacious of that side of the house begin to scent out the fact already.

We shall watch the development of the new party movement with great interest, hoping that its adherents on coming together will clearly state the views entertained, and the ground occupied by themselves, that no ambiguity may mislead the general public as to their intention, and no reformer of any shade be left in doubt and uncertainty as to the course he should pursue concerning it. As we have frequently said, the forward movement is inevitable—the only question arising is the practicability of the plans now and then presented for the furtherance of the ends desired.

SPEECH OF MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE—THE LAST EVENING OF THE WASHINGTON CONVENTION.

The arguments to-day before the Judiciary Committee were the culmination of long ages. The seed of to-day was sown far down in the past. Geologists tell us that marks of rain storms which occurred hundreds of years ago are visible now in the solid rock, and that the direction of the wind at that time may also be plainly told by noticing the slant of the rain drop marks. So in woman's demand to-day for self-government, we find the rain drops of past thought; we find what was the direction of men's minds in the early times of the world. Nations were bound in slavery, yet the desire for freedom never left them. They were repressed in their efforts for education; in their efforts for religious liberty; in their efforts for political liberty, yet they continually desired freedom, and worked for freedom.

All great leaders in the past promised more liberty, greater freedom to their followers. Liberty is the divinest instinct of the human heart; it is the divinest word ever spoken; it is the one word that is sweeter than home or mother.

Political equality has been the dream of the ages. When at the death of Smerdis, the Magician, the political power of Persia fell into the hands of seven noblemen, even then, arose a vision of political equality. One of those seven noblemen, even then, proposed a democratic form of government. But only within the last hundred years has this dream of freedom begun to be realized, and not until this country set up a government which declared all men to be equal, and alike capable of self-government. Where were human rights before that day? Where were the rights of men before that day? Did they come into the world newly created then? Did the Declaration and Constitution create those rights at the time of our Revolutionary war? Were a band of men that hour born into the world who possessed natural rights never before possessed by human beings? In ages of the past the common people—common men—were believed to have been created solely for the benefit of kings and the nobility; they were deemed to be of use only to fight the battles of kings; they were poorly fed, they were poorly clad, they were tyrannically treated; they did not own a foot of land, they did not own the houses in which they lived; they did not own their children, they did not own themselves; their very thoughts were governed by a different class of men from themselves; they were fined, imprisoned, burned at the stake if they dared think for themselves either in matters of politics or religion. In those past ages parents alone possessed the education of the world; a knowledge of books was deemed degrading to nobles, and above the capacity of common people. The Bible was kept chained in cloisters, and it was expounded by these men. These ages forever passed away when the Declaration of American Independence was issued, and liberty was at once seen to be the heritage of the common people, to be the birthright of every body. Men are now educated, they possess books, they read the Bible, they possess houses and lands, they shine in the government, they think for themselves in religious matters, and we call this the age of enlightenment, while we call the others the dark ages. This progress at first moved slowly but with the newspaper, the steam-engine, the telegraph, it has flown like lightning, and ideas now rule the world. Nothing is so strong as an idea. Nothing is so intangible as an idea. The rule of the world was once force, it is now fast getting to be consent.

The world has even gained its growth through protest. Every religious or political reformer is a protestant. But where do people get their right of protest unless within themselves? All protests against tyranny come from within. When the old revolutionists protested against the exactions of King George's government, they found that right of protest within themselves. They found the right to life and liberty, and self-government within themselves. These rights were as old as the creation and were laid before the foundations of the world were laid, but men had been kept under bonds; all these rights during thousands of years had been kept hidden under the crown of some king, but the rights were there though they were hidden. All that was needed was to see them and to use them. Women are part of the world; they are a component part of humanity. Their rights have been repressed, held back, kept down, but still they exist, and the world is waking up to the fact. Think you women cannot decide for themselves what is right and what is wrong? Think you any human being can bear another human being's responsibility? Women came into the world as part of the family, as part of society, under government. They find these institutions ready moulded for them; their lives, their liberties, their happiness is controlled by them. Shall they not protest if they find these institutions too narrow for them? Whenever God creates a new soul, a new idea then comes into the world, and society must be shaped to meet that person's needs. Buckle says the civilizations of the past fell because they were one sided in their growth—because they did not develop equally in all directions, but sacrificed some constituents in order to secure the progress of others. The impressions of the world have been that justice was a one-sided idea, that if one person received it another person would be injured. This can never be. Rights, though as Emerson says, when strongly stated they may seem to conflict with other rights, yet this can never really be so. Equal and exact justice to one person can never prove of lasting injury to another person. Neither declarations, or constitutions, or laws can destroy or create rights; they can neither destroy or create justice. They can only proclaim these things to exist. The very word declaration signifies proclamation. To declare is to proclaim.

The rights of men in the past were held in obedience; they were not lost, but men were so busied in searching for the divine rights of kings that they forgot the divine rights of their own humanity. I have a right every hour to as much fresh air as I wish to breathe; but supposing you shut me up in a room with every door tightly closed, so that I breathe the same vitiated air over and over again, that does not do away with my natural right to breathe fresh air. I have a right to do it if I do not use it. It is sometimes claimed that as all women do not wish to govern themselves, therefore no woman shall govern herself, and this is called an argument against us. We need not wonder to find Tories among women; Tories existed just the same at the time of the revolution. A slavish soul does not deserve freedom either for itself or for another. But let us see if all men now use the ballot. How was it in my own State of New York in 1826, the year in which doing away with the property qualification for white men was voted upon? You would judge that to have been a question of importance, you would think all men in the State would that day have voted; but how was it? Not one-third of the men of the State voted that day. Of the 312,000 voters New York at that time possessed, less than 100,000 went up to the polls that day. Did any one say those men no longer ought to possess the ballot? Did any one say that as less than one-third had voted at this very important election, therefore it was a reason why all men should be disfranchised? Not at all. No such thing was proposed; no such idea entered their heads. Every man in the State, every

man in the whole country knew that the right to the ballot and the use of the ballot were entirely disconnected. Supposing a man never voted till he was a hundred years old, no one would think he had therefore lost his right to vote; and provided, he lived so long and went up to the polls on the very last day and hour of his life, men would reverently stand aside and make him room. At no election ever held have all men voted. In New York, in 1868, was the closest election in fifty years, party feeling ran high, but all the men in the State of New York did not vote. There were even then nearly 26,000 men who did not vote, but no one said, as so many men do not care for the ballot, therefore no man shall vote. If a man never votes at all, you do not say he has lost the right. If a foreigner, from the most despotic government in the world, comes to this country and takes out papers of citizenship, although his ancestors never voted but have always been under authority, you allow him to vote. If every other man in the nation refrained from voting, this foreign-born man who never before voted will be allowed to exercise his right of self-government, for, although it is less than one hundred years since the first government was instituted which recognized human rights, the scales have dropped from the eyes of many men besides Americans, and all nationalities, European, Asiatic, and African, have come to the United States to enjoy their natural right of self-government.

The lesson of human rights is one easily learned. Foreigners have learned it, and so have American wives and daughters. We would be dullards indeed, did we not read the lesson too. It is not alone written in the last twenty or thirty years that women have been interested in these questions of natural rights. They have been interested ever since the first protest was made by the Colonies. Mercy Otis Warren bore a powerful hand in bringing about the Revolution. She was in constant correspondence, during the Colonial struggle, with the Adams, both Samuel and John, and Hancock, and Gerry and Knox and Jefferson. She was consulted on all the great questions of the day, and "her political opinions were sought by men who gave them vital action in the council and on the field." She was part and parcel of the committee of correspondence which did so much to educate and develop the sentiment of liberty in the Colonies; and her brother, James Otis, was indebted to her for many of the ideas he gave to the world. To the end of his life her influence over him was all powerful, and her advice constantly sought by him. His speech upon the Bill of rights contained the pith of the Declaration of Independence, of which Jefferson gets the credit; much of it came from her. Is it strange that we have learned the lesson?

Over women has been an absolutism as positive as ever ruled a nation. The men of the country have been under a Republican form of government; the women have been imperially ruled. The blood of our fore-mothers begins to boil in our veins. They resisted taxation at that early day; shall not we?

That taxation without representation was tyranny was a fundamental doctrine of the women of '76. In 1770, six years before the Declaration of Independence, the women of New England made a public, combined protest, against taxation without representation; and as tea was the article upon which Great Britain was then expending her strength, these women of the American Colonies united themselves into a league, and bound themselves to use no more tea in their families until the tax upon it was repealed. This league was formed by the married women, but three days afterward the young ladies held an anti-tax meeting. These young ladies publicly declared they did not take this step for themselves alone, but they protested against taxation as a matter of principle, and with a view to benefit their posterity. These public protests of women against taxation were made more than five years before the commencement of the Revolutionary war. They were the real origin of the famous Tea Party in Boston Harbor, which did not take place until three years after the public protest of the women. The women of to-day are the direct posterity of the women of the revolution, and as our fore-mothers protested against taxation without representation, so do we, their descendants, protest against being taxed without being represented.

The fortunate hour has come for Republicans to take up the question of woman suffrage. The negro question has ceased to be an element of American politics, and the Republican party is hard pressed for an issue that will give them a strong hold upon the next Presidential campaign. The party journals have for a year declared that the party, as a party, has exhausted the gratitude of the country. Woman demands of the Republican party that it shall declare her enfranchised, and in furtherance of this demand she arraigns the present Government at the bar of its own faith. The Constitution of the United States was founded upon the principles of the Declaration of Independence. In the formation of the latter we show a woman to have had much hand. The faith of this Government, of this Congress, is founded first on the declaration. The whole spirit of the Declaration is, that those who are not protected by a government in the enjoyment and exercise of their natural rights, do not owe that government allegiance. This is alike the faith of the legislative and the Executive officers of the United States. We have, this day, demanded of these bodies that they show their faith by their works. It is the faith of this government that no legislative body has the power or the right to legislate for people without their consent.

We arraign the present Congress at the bar of its own faith, and demand of it that it shall throw off its present usurped, unjust powers over woman, and strictly adhere to the first principles of Republican government.

It is the statement of the Declaration of Independence, and the faith of the government, that government derives all its just powers from the consent of the people for whom it makes laws.

The legislative bodies of this country make laws for 18,000,000 of women. By their own faith, their rule over woman is unjust. By their own faith, they have no authority at all over women. By their own faith, their present rule over women is an usurpation, a tyranny, a rule of force and not of consent.

It is the faith of this government that taxes should not be imposed upon persons without their consent.

By this faith we arraign this government as tyrannous, and contradictory of its own foundation principle, when it taxes women, as it now does, not only without her own consent, but in absolute opposition to her wishes, by refusing her vote in regard to taxing her own property, as I was refused in my own village of Layetteville, in July last, and as many another woman has been refused before me, and her property sold by distress, upon her absolute refusal to pay the taxes imposed.

It is the faith of this government that every person has an inborn right to a trial by a jury of peers, and this faith is founded upon the Declaration of Independence.

We here again arraign this government at the bar of its own faith, and demand of it an adherence to its charter of rights.

There is no republican form of government in this country for women. However much men may be under a Republican form of government; however much they may be under a just and equitable form of government, the women of the coun-

try are imperially ruled. They suffer under all the oppression that the colonies did. They feel the same injustice that the colonies did, they feel this day the same injustice felt by their foremothers in 1770 when they publicly protested against taxation without representation.

The Declaration of Independence is not a mere formula of words; it is the judgment-bar of the American Government, and by it the country lives or dies. The word people is nine times mentioned in the Declaration of Independence; men but once, although in law, man is a generic term, signifying the whole people, and the laws on taxation, criminal jurisprudence etc. etc., are promulgated and executed under the generic term man. The only right a state in the union has to levy or collect taxes, is by, and through, and under the word "man," "he," "him," "his," etc.; and yet in all forced executions of law, every executive from the President down to the town constable, reads man, to mean woman.

Before the death of Thaddeus Stevens, he declared his belief that the elective franchise, the ballot, was one of the inalienable rights intended to be secured to the people of this country by the Declaration of Independence. The Declaration of Independence is the basis of American Constitutional law, and is the unfailing standard by which constitutions and amendments are to be tested. We date our birth as a nation from the promulgation of that document. We had no constitution till thirteen years afterwards. This country actually existed under such conditions for thirteen years before we had a constitution.

Luther Martin, Attorney General of Maryland, and one of the delegates of said convention, said in his report to the Legislature of Maryland, upon the secret proceedings of the convention, that those members who advocate the equality of suffrage, took the matter up on the original principles of government; they urged, that all persons considered in a state of nature, before any government is formed, are equally free and independent, no one having any right or authority to exercise power over another, and this without any regard to personal strength, understanding, or wealth. That when such individuals enter into government, they have each an equal right to a voice in its first formation, and afterward have such a right to an equal vote in every matter which relates to their government. Now women, at the commencement of government, either had an equal voice with men in its formation, or they did not have such equal voice. In case they did have such equal voice at that time, they still have it, and no question of personal strength, understanding, or wealth, has anything at all to do in the matter. In case they did not have equal voice in the formation of the government, they are still free and independent, and no one has any right or authority to exercise power over them.

Which horn of this dilemma will you choose?

An enlargement of suffrage has been the course of this republic in the past, and as a consequence it has grown in freedom, in enlightenment, in power.

A gradual abridgment of this right has been the mode in which aristocracies have been built on the ruins of popular forms of government. Much quotation is made from "the fathers." It is quite time, in a convention like this, to give quotations from the mothers of the revolution as well.

Mrs. Warren, who had so much influence in the revolutionary struggle, prepared a history of that war from notes taken by her in a diary that time. In the preface of this history she bids us recollect that every domestic enjoyment depends on the unimpaired possession of civil and religious liberty, and that the increase, prosperity, and happiness of this country depends on the full and free enjoyment of rights and liberties.

Men talk to us about precedent! Well, precedent is, after all, folly. Supposing some person or some body of persons did in the past do something a certain way! What of it?

We are other persons, in another age of the world, under circumstances entirely our own. We know more than those persons did. We have learned from their mistakes, as well as their well-doing; and beside that, our wants are our own, not theirs. What was justice to them, may be rank injustice towards us. It is not the past we want, but the present. It is not precedent we are after, but justice. Let us have liberty to become ourselves; let us have liberty to develop our own resources. Tariff men make great cry about developing the resources of the country, but it is not half as necessary to develop the country, as it is to develop the people, and that can only be done by giving them all social, and religious and political opportunities. What right have you to bar me out from your advantages? Who made you keeper over my soul? Stand aside! I'll find out what the world needs of me. I'll find out what is for my best good. A great many people spend their time making a path for their neighbors to walk in, without taking heed just where their own feet travel. We have the experience of the past to grow from; the world was never as wise as it is to-day—never as free as it is to-day. It is a weakness, a lack of wisdom, to look all the while at precedent. We are the ancients. We are wiser than those before us. They have helped us along, to be sure, but after all they did not know our necessities quite as well as we know them ourselves. They could not foresee the needs of this generation. They probably knew their own needs, but they don't know ours. Civilization advances, moral civilization, religious civilization, political civilization.

Men understand the Christian religion now, much better than they did at the time of Christ; much better than they did a couple of hundred years ago, when they burnt people at the stake, or severed them asunder in the name of Christianity. They understand social civilization better than they did, when blood was demanded for blood, and as the Scripture has it, "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," much better than they did when the old, the sick and the helpless were left alone to die. Men understand political civilization much better than they did when they beheaded men on account of their political opinions, or buried them in dungeons so deep that the sound of a human voice or the light of the sun never entered. But the world is still at school. It has not yet learned all of justice, although it understands human rights better than it did when the punishment of crimes was guided according to the rank of the offender—better than it did when kings and nobles could do with impunity things which if done by a peasant would have condemned him to death.

This generation, this very people, have advanced in civilization within the last ten years. They have advanced so far that they see moral and political rights do not belong alone to people of one color of skin, and that black men, equally with white men, are human beings. Now we want to advance them another step; we want them more fully to learn what justice is.

Government, whether monarchical or Republican, is not a finality; it is not the end; it is only the means to an end. Woman wishes to live first for herself alone; to use her own faculties for her own good first. Until she does so, she is not fully herself, and until she has freedom to develop herself, she cannot be of full worth to herself or others. After a woman's individuality is fully recognized does she owe community a debt—and not before. Government is indebted to woman before woman is indebted to government. She comes

into the world a new thought, a divine idea, to find this web of government entangled about her. Every way she may strive to move she is caught fast. You have noticed the frantic efforts of a fly to loosen himself from a spider web. He moves a little in this direction; the spider glides swiftly up and attaches an unseen thread to his wing; he makes a move in an opposite direction; the spider again noiselessly attaches a second thread, and soon the fly finds himself incapable of the least exertion.

Woman finds herself in this spider web just as soon as she opens her eyes into life. The world is finished for her from the very moment of her birth. The spider has spun the web of government and gotten the thread of laws cunningly fastened all about her. Nobody asks, "Do they suit?" Nobody asks "What are your wishes?" You find the web spun and you are expected to leave it so.

What man would believe such a theory was meant for him? Not one. Man does not look at the customs of the world to ask if he must believe. He does not accept the dead thoughts of past ages; he looks into his own soul and there finds his answer. The world is woman's too. She is part of this restless, changeful mass called humanity. She, too, has a future entirely beyond this present life, and should she be debarred from making the best possible use of all her faculties? Should she be prevented from helping herself?

Restrictions are of two characters—natural and legislative. Natural restrictions adhere in the very nature of things: for instance, men are restricted from flying because they were not created with the ability to fly. A statute against flying would be a burlesque on law. Nature herself made the restriction when she made the man. But no such restriction exists as to suffrage. On the contrary, when people were made responsible, accountable beings, they were endowed with the right to self-government. The power of self-government carries with it the right to self-government. Laws are not made for idiots, insane or infants. They are made for people capable of obeying them. They are made for people capable of self-government, of self-restraint. Our reform is the truest, broadest, grandest reform the world ever saw; it is the ultimate of Christianity; it is undoing the heavy burdens and letting the oppressed go free. The truest republicanism is recognized in the Ten Commandments. The equality of the father and mother in the family is there declared; the equal moral responsibility of man and woman is asserted. The right of life is recognized, the right of property is recognized. When we come down to Christianity, we find these laws put in practice. Some people tell us the world is not ready for our reform; the fact is the world never seems prepared for any step. When Christ came into the world, he did not find the world ready to receive him. He came to his own; his own knew him not. They accepted him not; they passed him by on the other side; they crucified him; and notwithstanding all this, it was time he came.

The cry always is, the country is not quite ready. It has always been so. Mrs. Warren, in the history of the revolution, says, the declaration of the independence of the colonies had been contemplated for several months before the words were publicly spoken, but congress feared. That body was apprehensive that the people at large were not prepared for it. By and by a patriotic member spoke the word, response was immediate, and men rendered themselves immortal.

Ten years ago our country had not made up its mind that it was prepared to put an end to slavery. Suddenly a gun was fired away down south. It boomed along the sea-shore up to New England; it echoed among the mountains of the middle States; it rode along the valleys and across the prairies of the far west, and in an instant we knew the knell of slavery had been struck. We were prepared for it. Just so will it be with our question. As soon as our question gets to be a public question, in the light of being a party question; just as soon as one of the great political parties of the day take it up, you will find the country ready for it. The only question will be, why has it so long been delayed?

When we use the ballot we only speak through it. Through it we say how the money raised by tax upon our property shall be used. Through it we only express our individual will in an authoritative manner; we only protect our own selves. That women should possess the ballot is only carrying to its legitimate ends the theory of our government, and when she does possess it fully, equally, unequivocally, shall we for the first time have a true Republic.

It is no argument against suffrage, it is no proof against woman's desire for suffrage because many of them do not beg for it. Many a woman, who, knowing her dependent condition, dares not say to-day she would like the ballot, would use it to-morrow if she had the opportunity. In Rome, for a considerable period before the subversion of the Republic, the usage was to vote by tablets with letters expressing assent or dissent to a proposed measure. The result of this voting was often very different from the opinions publicly expressed. Cicero speaks of this diversity as showing how real opinions, not spoken for fear of listening tyrants, appeared in these silent suffrages of the people. So would it be with many women who to-day deprecate the use of the ballot. Open it to them,—free them from espionage and force, and few would fail to use it. Few people desire to be ruled by others. It is because our government is founded on the principles of self-government that it is better than any other government. All governments rule people, but that is not what the present generation wants. The people of the United States,—the people of the nineteenth century want to rule themselves. They have made up their minds that they themselves know what is for their best good. They have made up their minds that kings or other masters cannot take quite as good care of their interests as they can take themselves; and the way they take care of their own interest is to use the ballot—to vote, to express their own opinions through that simple little piece of paper, which is white upon one side, and on the other side has a few printed words, that is all, and yet it is more powerful than the sword; it is a greater defense than a standing army; it is more glorious than the crown of kings; it is one of the privileges, immunities, and inalienable rights of a citizen of the United States. It is man's, it is woman's, it belongs to us all. It is yours, it is mine, and to prevent me from using it is to rob me; it is to steal my birth-right; it is to make me a slave; it is to put another person's will in place of my own; it is to take from me my responsibility; it is to bury my talents; it is to destroy my individuality; it is to swallow me up in another.

Justice for women will surely come! As well attempt to stop the avalanche when it is rushing down the mountain side, as to attempt stopping women's demand for justice; as well attempt to stop the rising of to-morrow's sun, as to attempt to hold back the ballot from women. Liberty is hers by divine right; equality shall be hers by just laws, for right is more powerful than the avalanche; it is brighter than the sun, and it will surely make its way into men's minds; it will enable them to see the truth, and justice will at last triumph. The past has been man's, the future will be woman's—the future in education, in politics, in religion, in government, in all human and divine methods of a higher culture and a purer morality for the world.

[CONTINUED FROM NINTH PAGE.]

or prisons. Moses allowed divorce, without adultery and by the woman. Christ himself acknowledged the justice of separation. We are not inclined to the opinion that there is much "reason or conscience" in many modern marriages. If these attributes were obeyed, there would be little need for divorce laws, as people would not wish to be put asunder. Common sense and truthfulness do not enter as component parts of the mental superstructure of this poor critic.

"OUR GOSSIP."

This lively theatrical sheet, which circulates in several of the best and most popular theatres of the city is always full of the tersest and most charming items of the drama and fine arts. It is much more than a mere theatrical circular, has thousands of readers outside of theatres, and presents a good array of advertisers, which is one of the best tests of journalistic success. We trust it may "Gossip" these many a year.

"THE BANNER OF LIFE."

The first number of this sheet is upon our desk—a perfect pattern of beauty and taste. It is the *Cosmopolitan* resuscitated under a new name and better auspices. It will be devoted to "individual, family, social, church, municipal, national, political, religious, reformation, restoration, and redemption,"—a broad platform enough, to be sure. The contents of this number, however, give good promise of fulfillment of its purposes. It contains a large number of able articles from a variety of able writers, while the piquancy of its editorial matter is a veritable relief from the monotonous round of partisanship with which the secular press is filled. It is published by E. R. Swackhamer, at 932 Sixth avenue, at \$2 per year.

TRIBUNE ON PHYSIC.

The New York *Tribune* carries the lives of the world, and so hurls javelins at all the enemies of public virtue and private rights. Poor Mesmer, who is dead and gone long ago, comes in for a prod to gratify the spasmodic virtuous impulse of the old philosopher, who never was a Spiritualist, never had mediums in his family, never admitted that the Fox girls were too many for him and his committee, never was identified with Communism—none of that. What if the Paris doctor does delude his patients? Do not all the legalized scientific *secundem artem* quacks charge whether they kill or cure? Has the green Greely yet to learn that the regular diplomatic doctors never guarantee cures? That this is deemed the height of charlatanism? Of course the Paris doctor is a scamp, for Mesmer did the same thing. Splendid logic, this. The moon is made of green cheese, ergo, all planets are green cheese. "Can a more lamentable misfortune befall any one than to be fooled in one's physic?" That depends on the kind of physic administered. It might be quite fortunate to throw the pills away and take the box, or have sawdust or bread pills substituted. Mesmerized water won't hurt any one; poisonous drugs may. Nature is the great healer, and mesmerized water will not obstruct nature; physic ignorantly administered may—often does, and we have to pay, kill or cure. "Throw physic to the dogs" and give us mesmerized water.

BANNER OF LIGHT.

To this "Luminary" belongs the honor of having safely passed through that portion of its orbit in which danger ever impends, with perfect safety; and of having gained the position from which it can send forth its glorious rays of sunlight, to enliven and gladden the world, in serenity and confidence. Look backward fifteen years and consider the blank darkness in which the spirit world was still enclosed, and remember what was requisite at that time to boldly attempt to pierce the gloom, in order that some faint rays of spirit light might penetrate the awful blank of uncertainty which separated "this from that."

To undertake the management of what was intended to dissipate the darkness in which this world was enshrouded, required something more than courage; it required a faith which would move mountains.

Such a faith had they who flung to the breeze the ever glorious BANNER, which alike in storm and calm has shed its genial, life-giving LIGHT.

The first number of volume thirty-one of this paper is before us, as usual laden with things which make glad the soul of man. Unlike almost all other journals this one, which was once ostracised, has not since its maturity, in turn, ostracised other and later efforts. It keeps pace with the march of reform, never lagging behind to question this, or to condemn that, but always investigating, analyzing, accepting and growing. While others stop in their course and are submerged, by the surging, rolling tide, as it restlessly bears along in its God-directed track, this one is ever found on the crest of the foremost wave, boldly pointing where the next and greater "swell" will land humanity. This is the secret of its continuous success; and to the Editor-in-chief, Luther Colby, whose hand never leaves the rudder, and whose intellectual sight foresaw this secret, does the *Banner* owe its present proud position. Untrammelled by bigotry or prejudice, unrestricted in length or breadth, unfathomed in depth, it moves majestically along, smiling complacently at its enemies, pitying its luke-warm friends, comforting the afflicted, healing the sick and raising the dead. Such is the *Banner of Light*—an honor to its conductors and a blessing to the race.

[See editorial from the "Banner," in another column.]

THOSE WHO KNOW US.

TENAFLY, N. J., March 10, 1872.

VICTORIA WOODHULL—Dear Madam: In answer to an article in your paper of last week, "A word to the wise," let me say that, as far as I am concerned, I ask no higher praise than to have it said that you—maligned, denounced, cruelly and wickedly persecuted by priests, politicians, press and people—ever find a warm and welcome place in my heart, and by my side. You are doing a grand work, not only for your sex, but humanity. I have read all your speeches and bound volumes on political and social equality, and I consider your arguments on the many national questions now moving popular thought, able and unanswerable.

Do not let the coldness and ingratitude of some of your sex wound you, while such noble women as Lucretia Mott, Martha C. Wright, Paulina W. Davis, Matilda Joslyn Gage, Mary J. Davis, Susan B. Anthony, and Isabella Beecher Hooker, are one and all your sincere friends.

The latter spent a few days with me not long since, and one night, as we sat alone hour after hour, by the bright moonlight, talking over the past, the present, and the future, of woman's sad history and happier destiny, and of your sudden and marvelous coming, she abruptly exclaimed, "that little woman has bridged, with her prostrate body, an awful gulf over which womanhood will walk to freedom." Many of us fully appreciate the deep ploughing, sub-soiling, under-draining you have done for public and private morals in the last year, and while the world sneers at your blunders, we shall garner up your noble utterances with grateful hearts. The *WEEKLY* is all that the most fastidious could ask this week. I specially like the editorial, "Positive and negative reform." I am amused in reading the *Republican* and *Democratic* journals to see how firmly fixed these old parties are in the faith that they are to live on indefinitely, when the democracy *per se* has been in its grave at least four years, and the republican party is in its dotage, so weak in the knees it cannot bear its own weight, and so blind it cannot tell its own friends. The labor party, in refusing to do justice to woman, has sealed its doom also. Now is the time for the advance guard in all reforms to organize their forces into a "Peoples' Party." Those who understand the true principles of government, if they would save what we have left of freedom, and secure equal rights for all, must now come to the front and be leaders of numbers, as well as leaders of thought. If we desire a peaceful solution of the many questions now looming on our political horizon, the best men and women of the republic must assemble at an early day, and take counsel together. When we get the united thought of man and woman on national questions we shall have the complete humanitarian idea, that harmony in political action hitherto unknown.

It is strange men do not see this; and, yet, not so strange after all; for when we talk to them of the "feminine element" they think of the frail specimens of womanhood who preside in their households, and say what possible benefit could these bring to us? forgetting that the poor, cribbed slave would be transformed in freedom, and in her native dignity develop powers that he never dreamt she possessed. To-day, in dependence, she reflects the man by her side, not her own true nature, or her God.

We shall never know what a true, grand womanhood is, until woman has the full liberty to bound her own sphere, and you, dear friend, are doing much to usher in that glad day.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

HUDSON TUTTLE AND HIS "NEW DISGRACE."

BY ALLAN CUNNINGHAM.

In common with your numerous readers, Messrs. Editors, I have read with an astonishment and regret no less profound than sorrowful, Mr. Hudson Tuttle's numerous attempts to bring odium to the woman's suffrage movement, the American Association of Spiritualists, and to the cause of Spiritualism generally, by his frequent attacks, through the spiritual press, because of the public position of Mrs. Woodhull, and the relation she sustains to these active and respective bodies or departments of reform.

The author of "Physical Man," "Arcana of Nature," "God Idea," "Arcana of Spiritualism," etc., (volumes of varied merit, containing no original idea of his own, mainly valuable as compilations to the general and discursive reader), has de-throned himself from the position he has hitherto meritoriously held among Spiritualists, by the petty character and quality of his recent newspaper controversy. Instead of definitely maintaining any great moral principle, he unfortunately appears to have gotten up for his own especial gratification, and entered upon a sort of free fight, to the disgust of a large constituency, in which he voluntarily champions an unworthy and ignoble side. In this encounter he exhibits characteristics which one expects to see in a professional of the prize ring, rather than in a philosopher of the spiritual school.

How comes it that one who has heretofore been credited with generous outlook of vision and catholicity of thought, should and could thus suddenly fall from such a height to such a depth? What is the real as well as ostensible reason for such manifestation at this particular time? Surely behind all these "launching diatribes" which have flooded the spiritual press for the past two months, there must be, it is safe to assume, a more tangible and significant cause than what appears on the surface.

Such a persistent avalanche of personal opposition cannot be reconciled on the hypothesis that Mrs. Woodhull was made President of the National Organization of Spiritualists—this supposition is altogether too thin. Waving, however, everything of this character, as an observer watching more or less closely whatever is going on, I have to confess myself unable to see the relevancy of Mr. Tuttle's emphasized points, as sought to be made against Mrs. Woodhull. Distrusting my own judgment, I sought the opinion of my neighbors, acquaintances and friends; and though some of them were, and still are opposed to Mrs. Woodhull, for some reason or other they could not tell, with one exception all saw as I did, and deplored the narrowness of mind, the littleness of comprehension and boyishness of exhibition generally, made by the Autocratic Philosopher of Berlin Heights, of free-love notoriety.

BROOKLYN, February 22, 1872.

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

TENNIE C. CLAFLIN.

At the Academy of Music, on the 29th of this month, Tennie C. Claflin will make her *debut* on the rostrum upon the subject of, "The Ethics of the Relations of the Sexes: or, Behind the Scenes in Wall Street," which will be the most searching analysis of present conditions that has as yet been presented to the public. As there is a very general desire to hear this lecture, it will undoubtedly draw an audience similar to that which lately greeted the "Impending Revolution," at the same place. Those who would make sure of obtaining ingress to the Academy, should secure seats at once at 44 Broad Street, and remember that the doors will open at fifteen minutes past seven o'clock.

THE MAY CONVENTION.

As we have previously remarked, there is a call under consideration for this convention which, when issued, judging from what we have been informed about it, will startle the country from one extreme to the other, and throughout its vast area. The times are portentous of grand events, and those who are moving in this matter are competent to grasp and master the situation. Until it appears, let every soul which has an interest in the future of humanity be gathering itself up for the emergency, and be ready to give its whole strength in support of the grand movement which will date from the day the forthcoming call shall be made to the public.

THE ACADEMY OF MUSIC.

This elegant Temple of Art, with its capacious accommodations and convenient appointments, has generally been dedicated to operatic and terpsichorean purposes. Until quite recently we do not remember that it was used as a lecture hall. It has, however, been demonstrated that it has one of the most scientifically constructed auditoriums in the country. A voice, even of small volume and compass, easily fills the whole vast space, which makes it the most desirable hall for a speaker that the city affords. It seems that all the special lecture halls in the city were built without regard to the principles of acoustics; and it is well nigh ruinous for common speakers to attempt to be heard in all their parts when filled to their utmost capacity. For this reason we predicate that the Academy will become the most popular lecture hall as it now is the most favored in other respects of all the public halls of the city.

DEMOCRATIC DEFEAT.—In Moscow, Muscatine county, Iowa, there was an election last week for a Board of Trustees. Two tickets were run—the democratic and the woman's rights. The former nominated all men, and the latter all women, who were elected by overwhelming majorities. Here is powder for the big guns in the female suffrage cause.—*Evening Telegram*.

Yes! And it was because there were those who DARED to act up to the logic of their theories, that such a result obtained. Will others learn wisdom from this demonstration of our Western friends?

A NATIONAL DISGRACE.

The National Commissioner of Education gives the startling information that one-seventh of our entire population can neither read nor write; and this seventh over ten years of age. Out of a population of nearly forty millions, five millions seven hundred thousand have never received the benefit of a common school education. But even this disgraceful showing reveals only a very small part of the real ignorance that exists. Besides the millions who can neither read nor write, there are millions more who write so badly as to be unintelligible, and who read so poorly as to fail to comprehend what they read. This last class of people include the great proportion of those who can read and write. While if those who can read properly and write correctly were separated, their numbers would astonish us still more than does the number who cannot do so at all. These alarming facts, if they were given their due weight, should rouse the people to an investigation of the causes which conspire to bequeath us such results. If civilization is in any sense dependent upon education, they not only indicate a sad showing, but a terrible failure on the part of those who are educated, to look after the demands of such as are below them in this regard.

The real meaning of the case, however, is something quite different from what it is usually supposed to be. It is one of those systems of aggregations of power in the hands of the few by which the many are made subservient. The ignorant masses always have been, and always will be, in virtual bondage to the enlightened few. The monopoly of education is fully as terrible a despotism as is the monopoly of wealth. Indeed, without the first, the last would be impossible. It is the possession of education which makes the monopoly of power in any direction possible. If all people were equally educated the prevailing unequal distributions of wealth and favor could not be maintained.

Our Declaration of Independence declares all men are born equal. If the government were administered in the spirit of that declaration, equality would be proportionately sustained in all the various phases and spheres of life, and among all people. But the government does not even take cognizance of any measures which have for their aim the equality of the people. Indeed, though it is the entire spirit of the reasons given for the revolution out of which it grew it is questionable if a single legislative act stands upon our Statute books, State or National, from which it could be deduced that equality was its purpose.

A government which has failed in every particular to base its legislation upon the idea of equal freedom, rights and duties, for all its citizens does not deserve, because it has not earned the name of a Republican government the very first principles of which is equality.

But this even might be overlooked, had the question never been raised. The impotency of the government to carry out the principles upon which it was founded, might be excused; but when that impotency assumes to itself, by the power of position, the right to deny equality, and absolutely to prevent its existence, the time for excuse is passed. The same spirit that determined the declaration of independence from the rule of English despotism, should possess and determine us to declare our independence from this later despotism, which is even more intolerable than the former was, because more pretentious; being a clear usurpation by the government of what can only rightfully exist in the people.

Thirty years from to-day, the present infant generation will be the ruling spirit of the country. But is the present ruling spirit taking any note of that fact? Is it caring for what the future shall be? No! it spends its strength in hatching schemes by which its own selfish propensities can be gratified, leaving the future to take care of itself. In our highest halls of legislature President-making is the order of the day. Weeks and months of the time of Congress are consumed in windy and wordy declamation for party purposes, by which to entrap to their support those whom they have conspired to keep in ignorance, while the vital interests of the people either languish in the committees or in vain contend for respectful consideration before the bar of the House and Senate. And into such a conspiracy has the government, inaugurated through the blood, sufferings and privations of our fathers, degenerated.

Indeed, the purposes for which our fathers bled and died have been so fearfully perverted by their descendants that it is almost useless to expect any redress, except, through a complete reversal of the present order of things. In all directions and departments we see nothing but wrong—nothing but a perversion of the principle of equality to self-interests. Every year, finds some new and cunningly devised legislation becoming law by which the monopolists hope to obtain a still firmer grasp upon the vitals—the industries—of the country. Every year some devices pass into law having in view the transfer of the support of government, to a still greater extent, from the capitalists to the laborers; and every year finds a smaller number of the rich growing richer, and a larger number of the poor, poorer, while a competent education is still more exclusively confined to the few whose parents have the means to invoke the benefits of Harvard or Yale.

True, reform is abroad in the land, pleading its demands; but nevertheless upon every point exposing its weakness. Its great misfortune is that it is not integral. A little squad of people here and a still smaller squad there, are uselessly expending their time, strength and limited means in the fruitless endeavors to obtain a little relaxation in their several directions; and each so suspicious of every other as to pass into convulsions if its especial domain be invaded, or it is requested to lend its aid for any further or greater end. And each of these reformers is

so bigoted in his own estimation that he conceives that his idea is the great panacea for all the ills of humanity, and denounces every thing else as bitterly as he does the ills he seeks to cure. Thus the vitality of reform is spent in numberless diverse directions with small results. This unphilosophic condition, however, is legitimate. It arises out of the fact that people—even reformers—know next to nothing about principles, or causes. They observe a certain deleterious effect and set themselves about to ameliorate it, never stopping to inquire whence or why it came.

Now, there must be an entire change of programme by Reformers. Let them be of whatever sort they may, they must unite and *en masse* march against the common enemy. They must come down to the truth, that all true reform is one at bottom, springing from the same general principle of the demands of justice; and that nothing is reform that is not directly related to this principle and connected with all that are related to it.

But if there is one thing which more than all others ought to secure the attention of all classes of people, it is education for the young. It is clear that many grow up in ignorance. Whether this comes from the incapacity, or indifference of parents, need not be inquired into here. It is sufficient that the fact exists, and that it is prophetic of destruction to the future of this country. If parents do not give the necessary education to children to make them desirable members of the society of which they will form a part, then society itself not only should, but must secure it to them. It should do this; first, because it is its own interest; and second, because it is a duty it owes to its future construction.

It is a false idea that children belong to parents, instead of society. In the last and best analysis, parents are but the agents of society to continue its existence. They produce children who shall constitute society. Then, do not children belong to society in a still more important sense than they can belong to parents? And no short-sighted policy, suggested merely by the affections, should be permitted to militate against both the welfare of society and the interests of children. In other words, parents have no right to exercise a control over children that shall make them bad members of society, but to assert that children *belong* to them, is to assert such a right which, carried into practice, produces the unfortunate conditions from which we are now suffering.

As civilization has spread and enlightenment become more generally diffused, and the benefits of education more distinctly understood, society has gradually extended its sway over the conduct of its children. Compulsory education is now advocated by the best humanitarians. From this to a perfect system, is but a single step. If society have the right to demand that all children shall have a certain amount of education, it certainly has the right to the entire control of their education. It not only has the right to this control, but it is a duty it owes to children to exercise it. It is more important that children should be made good men and women, and profitable citizens than it is that the selfish whims of parents should be gratified. Parents revolt against resigning control over children, but they must learn to consult the interests of children and the good of society before their own selfish affection which would be gratified at the expense of both children and society.

And education should be such that every child, male and female, on arriving at a mature age, shall have had equal advantages to all the possibilities of education. Society has no right to conspire with its members to permit a certain favored few of its children to monopolize all the power of education. And we declare that society is itself responsible for a very large proportion of the crime it makes laws to punish. But such is its inconsistency, though it is so plain that almost every body overlooks the fact, in the supposition that the responsibility resides in the individual. Children, at their majority, are what society makes them, and there is no escaping the conclusion. It must be taken hold of, and our present system of education modified to meet it, and its decrees, let them interfere, as they will, with parental authority and selfishness, must be inexorable.

"VIDI," THE LIAR.

In the *Baltimore American* there is a letter by this liar, which is such an outrageous perversion that we feel it incumbent upon us to hold him up to contempt. There are a set of fellows in certain centres of population, especially in Washington, represented by Don Piatt, and in New York by this "Vidi," who eke out a precarious existence by retailing the most extravagant falsehoods regarding prominent events which a prurient mind can invent. They are a disgrace to journalism, and a still greater disgrace to humanity. And the editors who pay for and publish such vulgarity are infinitely worse than the writers. We wish we knew this prurient-minded individual, but we do not; he hides behind a *nom de plume*. But we will hold that up, since we lack the one for which it stands. Note the lie;

"Woodhullism has had its votaries from before the flood, but it was reserved for the growing indifference of absolute social liberty to make room for it among social systems. Henceforth very likely it may be an organized and public power, as it has hitherto been a potent element of personal character. But in its appearances of success there is a vast proportion of illusion. Mrs. Woodhull took the Academy of Music for an evening last week, to make her latest and as yet worst demonstration against everything at which her wild and lawless feelings revolt. But it so happened that the Committee of Seventy took the Cooper Institute the same evening to hold a charter-ratification meeting. Consequently the Woodhull demonstration was a discomfiture.

The other place of amusement caught the floating public. The great speech was heard by a few and read by none; for the newspapers, having something else to talk about that morn-

ing, ignored the poor conceited creature altogether. Considering that the newspaper demand for sensations is the sole mechanical agency whereby such people are able occasionally to work their kite up into the air a little, this failure to engage the lift of a single reporter's line for the great effort is full of significance.

Now this is a fair specimen of what this class of vultures are capable. An utter lie from beginning to end. The very reverse was true. The Cooper Institute meeting was an audience of about two hundred persons. At the Academy of Music there were seven thousand two hundred tickets taken at the door. But this liar, in the face of the *Herald's* report, which said that the Academy was literally packed, with as many more who could not obtain entrance, says "the great speech was heard by few and read by none."

It is quite true, as we have stated, that the demonstration was so vast, the administration journals decided to ignore it as the best method of limiting its influence upon the public mind. They realized the danger of giving publicity to the fact that fifteen thousand people were called out to hear the most revolutionary speech of modern times. But the well-based fear of journals, nor yet the lies of "Vidi" can ignore the Impending Revolution. It will come in spite of them, and swallow them all together in one common destruction.

The shallowness of this penny-a-liner is however expressed by himself. He speaks of the Academy of Music speech as the social speech, while not a word regarding the social relations occurs in it. Nevertheless he goes on to depreciate the awful tendencies of "Woodhullism," citing as examples the fact that he was spoken to by several unfortunate women while passing down Broadway one evening. He would have it understood that nothing of this kind ever occurred until since the advent of the doctrines of free love, of which he shows himself as ignorant as he is devoid of truth, where facts are in question.

Hear this philosopher and moralist:

Privately the doctrine works devastation enough by unshackling the passions from conventional restraint and from the sense of shame. This change promises to become a most momentous one, revolutionizing the conditions of sin in society, and throwing virtue on her own unaided, inward strength.

This view of the case is, we have no doubt, legitimate enough for "Vidi" to entertain. We have no question about the necessity of law to control his actions. This is clear enough, since if there were a law to punish a liar, he would probably have refrained from the lies of which we have convicted him. It would not have been, however, because of his regard for truth but from his fear of the law. He would have it imagined that everybody's virtue rests upon as slim a tenure as his veracity does, which we beg leave to doubt. Now though this person affects so much morality we will wager almost any thing that he is a regular consorter with these same women whom he describes. Like Don Piat, who can affect more and have less virtue, than any other living man, mercilessly ruining in the world's estimation one of Ohio's fairest daughters, and thereby blasting the hopes of one of its most promising statesmen, this class of cormorants, lie constantly concealed behind the mask of hypocritical affectation, seeking whom they may devour. And yet they write pattern articles on morality. Out upon such shams, such hypocritical cant. And out upon such journalism, and out upon the editors who conspire with such rascals to degrade the public tastes to their own level.

To conclude our respects to this "Vidi," to whom we trust we shall some day have the opportunity of expressing what we feel in our soul, we offer, without comment, the last part of his letter to the *American*, merely asking the calm consideration of the case set forth, which, if it be as it doubtless is in this particular instance, an invention, is nevertheless an illustration of many that do really exist as standing indictments against our present social despotisms:

Here is a case, however, which no artificial category could cover, and it happens to be substantially the usual case with the sex from which Mrs. Woodhull apostatized. The wound is deeper still than infamy, and the want is what society could not meet if it would. No philosophy or sophistry or even social countenance had a balm for the conscious degradation and the torture of helpless passion in the secret heart of the woman who wrote the following note. I copy it *verbatim* from the original, received the other day in Fulton street:

"Fulton Street Prayer Meeting—I write because I am hopelessly wretched; am young, wealthy, the world says happy. I live in the first circles here. I am married to a man I dislike. I have two children by a man I love, and he lives with his wife. I have no faith, no hope, nothing. I am wretched and miserable. I don't believe in your meetings, and yet I write because I am so unhappy." [No signature].

Earnest prayer was offered for this wretched victim of unbelief and sin that the Almighty Deliverer, toward whom she was involuntarily groping in her blind despair, would reveal Himself and set her free by a superior attraction and a stronger love from that which chained her soul in torture and sin.

THE FEMALE SUFFRAGE IN MAINE.

The bill authorizing female citizens to vote at Presidential elections in this State, passed the Senate by a handsome majority. For the purpose of future reference, we record the yeas and nays.

YEAS:—Messrs. Chaplin, Dunning, Fletcher, Foster of Kennebec, Hadlock, Hinks, Humphrey, Irish, Kennedy, May, McLellan, Nickels, O'Brien, Philbrick, Webber—15.

NAYS:—Messrs. Cole, Davis, Dingley, Foster of Penobscot, Hobbs, Howes, Kimball, Pennell—8.

In the House this bill was defeated by a vote of 53 to 41. Among the yeas we are glad to see the name of Mr. Holden, of Portland. Mr. Fessenden and Mr. Knight voted against it.

It is only a question of time. That the female "people" of this country are to exercise the right of suffrage at no distant day, is inevitable. That such a bill passed the Senate and received a handsome minority vote in the House, is one of the signs of progress. The world does move.—*The Monitor*, Portland, Me., March 9.

PRESS JUSTICE.

We have a new sensation of the free lust kind, in the case of Rev. A. B. Carter of the church of the Holy Saviour. Before we proceed we want it distinctly remembered that we did not bring this social scandal to light, and owe all we know to the pure daily press. The Rev. Holy Parson is accused of seducing a young lady and procuring an abortion, as well as with putting his victim into a house of assignation.

The *Star* asks, Which is the sinner? If the charge be true, the man is the greater sinner, because of his age, calling, education, his wife and children; these are arguments against him; it is barely possible she waylaid and seduced him; and if she did, the facts still stand against him. It was his business to save her soul, not prostitute her body, ruin her reputation, murder the fruits of their joint act, and send both to hell, if he was not a hypocritical ranter as well as a lecherous divine.

The *Tribune* in harmony with its vulgar and brutal instincts, without hearing evidence further than the charge and denial, at once denounces the woman as attempting to blackmail the innocent soul maker as well as soul saver. We prefer to wait the hearing of the evidence. The frequent recurrence of those Rev. monogamic free lust digressions, as furnished in the columns of the *Tribune*, shows as a class, the per cent of Rev. seducers as very fair; and the inference at first blush against the cloth.

So far as this particular case is developed, the impression is against Mr. Carter. The lady would hardly risk the exposure and loss of standing in the community, where she was thoroughly protected, unless, indeed, there is a necessity for another abortion, which may explain the fact of her desparation and imperative demand for the remaining \$30,000.

That he met her in the vestry is conceded. That that was a convenient place to conduct such a transaction, immediately under the droppings of the sanctuary—who will question?

We suspend judgment, and await with patience this piece of pious scandal. We hope the Rev. gentleman will not charge his little misdemeanor to our paper and doctrines. The *Weekly* was not in existence when this little affair was said to have commenced. Meantime we are curious to know, if it be total depravity or the special depravity of these particular sinners, or monogamic, permanent legal marriage without regard to fitness; or is it a false public opinion begotten of all these.

Here legal motherhood is creditable, hence illegal motherhood begets disgrace, and hence suicide and murder. When the day comes that motherhood is deemed the right of all healthy women, and no disgrace attaches to the manner of it, then murder and abortion will cease, and not until then.

There are countries where this unchristian and unjust discrimination does not exist, where an unmarried mother stands as well as a married mother; and there these pests of christian monogamy do not exist.

We cannot see why an unmarried woman, the mother of a child whose father is physically and morally complete, or of average completeness, should stand below a woman who is a widow, or a woman who prostitutes her body and soul to rearing the offspring of drunken, diseased and brutal legal fathers.

The right of motherhood is founded in nature, and is before, above and beyond all human legislation. There is neither vice nor virtue in it, except as it agrees or disagrees with the natural justice of the case.

In the eyes of the world this woman's confession forever bars her from respectable society. If this man is proven guilty, it will seriously mar his standing—ordinarily it would soon be forgotten.

After marriage, this obligation rests lightly on him, heavily on her. Few men are strictly faithful—few women unfaithful.

The *Times* is as unjust as the *Tribune*; it saddles all the blame on the woman. We think it more reasonable to judge after the evidence; that it is mean, unmanly and libellous to use the power of the press to manufacture public opinion against either, even if both are guilty, which is just as probable as that the woman alone is guilty; and in this case even more so. But the press is willing to accept the denial of the man—but not the affirmation of the woman. The woman loses her social position by her confession—the man retains his and his salary. Let any honest mind compare the cases, and the injustice of the press is apparent. And yet we do wrong to demand justice for women, in the eyes of such creatures!

The fact that the girl is willing to retire, and that the reverend gentleman is inexorable, does not prove her guilt nor his innocence. This spirit of persecution is illy in keeping with the life and precepts of the Master; and however innocent he may be of this particular charge, he has proved one thing beyond a doubt—and that is, that he is unfit to be a Christian minister. He cannot endure persecution without resentment—vengeance; and this adds strongly to the suspicion that he is not free from blemish in the affair.

We are pleased to learn through our Pacific Slope advices that Mrs. Mary Olmstead Hanks, late of this city, one of the most earnest and energetic workers in the suffrage cause here, and one of the really practical women connected with the late mismanaged Workingwomen's Association, is about entering the lecturing field in California and Oregon. Her subjects are the "Relations of Marriage and Industry," "Land for the Laborer," and "How to Regulate the Conflict between Capital and Labor." She made a very able and eloquent address on the first of these subjects lately at the Woman's Suffrage Convention in San Francisco, and we feel assurance in predicting for her a brilliant and successful future.

APOLLO HALL.

THOMAS GALES FORSTER.

This celebrated trance orator is rousing an interest in reform which is something quite new for New York. At once the most open to the coming of the new and the most indifferent to its presence in this city, which should be the very centre and soul of spiritual reform it is behind almost all other cities of the country. There are reasons, however, and good ones for such a condition. The immediate centre of two millions of people, it should have been far in advance of all other cities in spiritual progress. But the extreme individuality of Spiritualists has prevented their own growth. So fearful have many of the most prominent persons been of organization, that they have overlooked the great necessity for it. Without organization, any body of people are like an unorganized army, are useless as an effective power, and like a mob, is destructive of the very purposes for which it collected. We are glad to see however, that the spiritual fossils are taking back seats, and, that it is beginning to be perceived by the more enlightened, that organization for material purposes, instead of hindering, is actually a necessary accompaniment of spiritual growth. It might as well be contended that a journal which advocates spiritual ideas, should not be supported by an organized power, as to maintain that Spiritualism can perform its work as a disintegrated mass. It is in view of these considerations that we hail the advent of this talented speaker in New York for a definite season. Out of chaos, he will evolve order, and out of weakness he will create strength; when indifference will be succeeded by an interest for something more than, and beyond, individual conviction.

THE "LYNN TRANSCRIPT" ON FREE LOVE AND DIVORCE.

It is an old "saw," that "None are so blind as those who will not see." Another: "Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad." It was doubtless for the purpose of fulfilling this Divine method of dealing with human ignorance that the God of Moses and the Jews hardened the heart of Pharaoh, and led him into the folly of attempting to follow the absconding children of Israel, and so accomplished by water what he had failed to do by frogs, lice, locusts, and other vermin.

A writer wilfully blind, in this magnanimous paper, makes a sweeping attack on Spiritualism and social reform, as presented in our Steinway Hall speech. To the charge of "Spiritist vagueness and incoherence," we need only reply, that most of the manifestations come from those who have been educated in the regular orthodox schools for eighteen hundred years; and some of them have been hundreds of years on the other side; so that these communications are fair samples of the work of our enemies. If after Spiritism has run the machine two hundred years, we cannot show up better results, we will own up the failure. One thing is certain, the average intelligence of Spiritualists is above that of any orthodox church; and the doctrines taught by them are more rational than those which Moses professed to obtain directly from God, without the poor ungrammatical media, and those which Paul professed to obtain from the Holy Spirit. We need only cite the doctrine of eternal damnation, fit only to come from a demon, if such a monster be a possibility.

If the readers of the *Transcript* are persons of ordinary intelligence, and will carefully analyze the quotations from our speech, not the comments and deductions of this dishonest, pious blockhead, they will see that there is not a word discordant with natural justice, the supremest of all laws.

1. The writer lowers, degrades divine matrimony to a mere business contract, and the ownership of the woman by the man. "Is a business contract bondage? If my wife may be mine today, and another's to-morrow." A business contract may be a great bondage, when it lacks equity—has been entered ignorantly—when one party has taken advantage of the ignorance or necessity of another party.

"Fruitful sexual union, with or without marriage, constitutes marriage." Such is the law of New York and some other States.

Conjugal love is subject to reason and conscience. It is immoral to allow it to go forth to improper objects—an exclusive and exacting passion, tolerating no rivals. This comes (exclusive and exacting) of nature and God. Jealous exclusiveness of the conjugal passion, is the natural safeguard of home. It is the human heart and conscience, as well as the deologue that says: "Thou shalt not commit adultery. There is nothing in Christ's Gospel that will prevent the meekest and lowliest Christian from exterminating vermin." Now this is enough to inflict on the reader from this Christian moralist who interprets Christ, who taught forgiveness, and forbearance as permitting a man to murder another under the pretext that he owns a human being called a woman or a wife.

The writer makes conjugal love the subject of a legal contract and perpetually binding, regardless of any injustice. It does not define what is a proper object, what the equities of the contract are or what the conditions of release; and holds the woman as the property of the man, without any rights. Now this writer is the veriest ignoramus, if he do not know that two-thirds of all the men in the country have been at some time unchaste, and have violated this contract. And if the rule of the courts and the equities of contracts were applied, two-thirds of all the marriages would be dissolved instantler.

Now we wish to say to this pious interpreter of Christ that in heaven there are men and women, and yet there is no marriage there. We presume they will be kept in separate pens

[CONTINUED ON SEVENTH PAGE.]

FREE LOVE:

ITS SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY AND POETRY.

A LECTURE BY FRANCIS ROSE MACKINLEY, AT IRVING HALL,
MARCH 8, 1872.

I am about to speak of love, the most exciting and interesting of all topics, and to speak of it with that perfect freedom which is the characteristic of thought, and must be, finally, the attribute of action, when thought shall conquer ignorance and prejudice.

Let me ask of my hearers to forget the bias of preconceived opinion, and yield themselves to the impulses of enthusiasm, or the suggestions of reason, which I hope to quicken in all earnest minds that hear me.

From those who come here with a predetermination to misapprehend me, and who will watch my every phrase in search of material for detracting criticism, I can expect only such misrepresentation or ridicule as is the ordinary destiny of unwelcome truth.

These truths, which I shall now utter from the profoundest conviction, must be, I believe, iterated and reiterated to women, and by women; for as it is through woman's ignorance of them that she has most suffered, she has the most to gain from their incorporation with that public opinion the enlightenment of which is the first necessity toward reform.

To this end I speak, as the invisible spirit of thought inspires me.

I ask only for a patient hearing.

The love of the sexes, hitherto almost wholly instinctual, emotional and impulsive, is in these days attracting the careful attention of the purely speculative intellect. It is seen that all radical reform of society must culminate in a reform of the relations between the sexes. In order to have a better world, we must begin by generating better individuals.

The laws of generation, the profoundest mystery of being, are to be studied in the future in the light of pure reason.

Thus far they have been almost altogether under the guidance of religion, except where Nature has swayed them in spite of the superstition of man.

It has been dimly perceived, and stated in all mythology, that sex is the original law of creation. All divinities are gods and goddesses. In the primitive form of Christianity, the worship of the female principle is retained, in the adoration of the Virgin Mary.

Metaphysicians have philosophized this grand inspiration of the human mind into the plainer statement that everything is dual, positive and negative—odd and even—male and female. The conjunction of these two is the law of evolution in matter, which when developed into spirit, as in human beings, becomes love, or the desire of sympathy and perpetuation.

Love, then, is the law of human evolution, through which only can the race be improved. As yet it has been passionate, poetical, involuntary. Science has to complete the cycle, by adding to this romance of the youth of human nature an intelligent and positive will.

The creative energy of Nature repeats with infinite combinations this Thema of sex, this first division of the unity, whence is all variety; so the musician or composer, imitating this same process, makes ever-varying harmonies with modifications of sound, or the chemist reproduces all substances, or creates new ones, with differing juxtaposition of materials.

Motion, the producing force of unconscious nature, becomes love when it reaches the perfect modulations of the heart of man—the heat of the spirit expressing itself in matter.

The sexual search of the male for the female—the female for the male—is the thread invisible wherewith the fates spin the whole web of existence.

Rock and brain are the Polar termini, the base and summit of Nature's efforts in our visible sphere—rock, the grossest form, and brain the most spiritualized expression of matter. Rock is the crude product of the coarse action of the dual forces of the great battery of creation; brain, their last inconceivable subtilization.

"From the almost inflexible granite," in the words of Prof. Youmans, "up through more and more mutable forms of matter, solid, liquid, gaseous, organic, rises the primal impulse of nature, till it reaches the summit of the scale in the human brain." That primal impulse of nature is love. But midway in the progress of this "eternal art edging good from ill," appears the principle of animal generation, the germ whence, when Nature reaches the perfect echo of herself in the human consciousness, love springs into glorious being.

The law of chemical affinity in the world of matter becomes the law of generation in the animal kingdom.

Science, by means of chemical combinations, has learned to sway the elementary forces of nature, so as to minister to every want of man. When science shall have learned that men and women are hieroglyphs of nature's forces, her elementary principles in various combinations taking form on their way to perfect consciousness, all individual tendencies will be scientifically respected, and the law of affinity as much observed in the relations of the sexes as in the practical chemistry which makes use of that law.

The old monk who pounded sulphur and charcoal together saw the pestle of his mortar go through the ceiling, and so discovered gunpowder, and taught to chemists the danger of mixing oppugnant essences. Dire experience of the evils of imperfect generation should teach us the observance of the analogical law in the combination of the elements of humanity, so as to produce in the future more love and less discord.

Let us consider this question of analogy a little further.

Poetry is made up of comparison, simile, metaphor, allegory and the like, derived from the constant repetition of like processes with the same materials which marks all the phenomena of nature.

Science, watching this method of nature, will learn from the control of small things how to apply the same processes universally.

The analogies between the parts of the human body and society have long been the theme of poets, as in the familiar fable of the body and its members, so beautifully expressed by Shakespeare in *Coriolanus*. Swedenborg says that the human form is derived from celestial love in every minutiae of thought.

St. Paul declares that Christ is the head of the body of humanity.

When these analogies are recognized as absolute truths, and not as fancies and intuitions, pathology, or the explanation of the nature of diseases, will suggest the cure or prevention of social as well as individual ills.

Herbert Spencer is constructing a science of sociology, based upon the recognition of this repetition of the same laws in the individual man and the total humanity.

Stephen Pearl Andrews has so far elaborated the presentation of this echo of the laws governing the development of the human body and that of society, that he has founded upon them a new social science, which will in time be recognized and put into practice. Of this science perfect freedom in the loves of the sexes, governed by a knowledge of the laws of the human frame, is one of the elementary principles.

Thus free love, or freedom in the loves of the sexes, will be found to be in the end a scientific necessity, an absolute fate, which it is idle to contend against.

Let me try to state the great law of the evolution of love upon which I found this statement and prediction—a law which, as it grandly permeates the whole story of humanity, is repeated in little in every love affair.

The antique fable of the birth out of darkness of Eros, the god of love, signifies, according to Pythagoras, the birth of love in the soul.

In wise comments upon this myth this divine old philosopher has expressed, very succinctly, the law of the evolution of love out of chaotic motion.

This primal darkness, the eternal womb whence love is born, represents the selfish instinct of man, wherein is evolved that love which is the very essence of light and harmony and joyance. Thus, as we worship the perfect freedom of true love, or the restraint of passion or prejudice, we tend in our lives to instinct—downward into the darkness of chaos—or, to the sublimity of self-abandonment, upward and outward into the light of love.

Pythagoras declares that "Love appears first in matter warring with the evil principle, or with darkness and the fixed. Love is the principle of affinity in all things, and is the cause of the oneness of the world. By the law of love it is that planets revolve around the sun; for as the love of the child causes it to revolve in a manner about the parent, and the love of the mistress and lover causes them to move harmoniously together, so move the heavenly lovers, the planets, with their sun. Hence the people of the East call the sun the husband of the planets, because they move about him, bound by his love. If the power of the love of two heavenly bodies is equal in each, then are they sun and planets, each to the other, and move in one circle, about their common centre; and this is the most beautiful of all heavenly motions. All love is mutual, even among the stars, and the lover originates it in her he loves, and she in him in her turn."

Can these sublime analogies of the laws of motion and the laws of love be more suggestively stated?

These great harmonic laws must rule in this preparatory sphere, as they do in the heaven, of which all true love is but the anticipation, ere we can rid ourselves of the evils of our present society, equally incident to both marriage and free love.

The majority of human beings are yet in the darkness of instinct, out of which Eros is born—free lovers by the license of nature, and not by a rational comprehension of the Trinity of Principle in Love.

Pythagoras may be said to be the founder of that school of thinkers—the free lovers of the day—who claim that perfect freedom in love, as in the exercise of every other faculty, is to be the finality of a perfected society.

He found in Love the same principle of threefold evolution which he had discovered in all nature.

According to his division, which the free lovers of to-day accept, the first kind of love is base in its degree, regarding only the pleasure of the lover, and not that of the person loved. This is the low instinct of love, which reckes not at what cost of evil to another gratification is obtained. The second kind of love is personal, and of the heart, and unites husband and wife, parent and child, friend and friend. This is the affection that would share its pleasure with another; but it is limited to such as are able to return good for good, and pleasure for pleasure. Our boasted Christian civilization has reached no higher than this second grade of love—a love still alloyed by selfish considerations. The third and last kind of love takes in all mankind, existing, present, and to be hereafter; and so the true lover becomes finally the free lover, and, having truly loved one, learns to love all, and this is the love and charity that Christ enjoined.

O that I could awaken in the hearts of those who hear me that throb of divine enthusiasm which accompanies a true, noble, generous and self-abandoning love, which, bursting the bounds of personality, includes all humanity in its hopes and aspirations! This is the last touch of nature that will make the whole world kin.

These three kinds of love described by Pythagoras influence the whole relations of the sexes. The first kind—the selfish, animal impulse—and the third kind—the universal love—are alike only in the demand for freedom, though otherwise as exactly opposite, in spirit and intent, as the lowest animal and the highest reason. The intermediate or second kind of love is represented by the restricted condition of marriage as a legal or religious tie.

These three subdivisions of love bring about the conjunction of the sexes. In the first, as desire or animal instinct. In the second, the same impulse modified by the love of one, as a part of one's self—a selfish longing of possession, to which is to be added what phrenolo-

gists call philoprogenitiveness, the desire and love of offspring; while in the third, the intensity of amorousness is controlled and directed by a scientific knowledge of the laws of love and an intense fear of the known consequences of breaking them—a restraint so absolute that no superstition or law can compare to it in efficacy.

Let me still further illustrate this proposition. The instinct of freedom in love—free love—begins in the animal world, where blind propagation reigns. Refined into voluptuousness in man, it becomes, in its most tasteful exhibition, a poetic sensuousness, as in the Greek worship of Venus. This may be said to be the first division of love, developed up to its ultimate.

Christianity introduced a still further refinement upon this, or a polar antagonism or rebound from the coarse license that characterized its lowest expression. This was embodied in monasticism and monogamy, and assumed its most poetic form in the half-love, half-worship of chivalry—the adoration of the knight for God and his mistress—the perfect love consistent with perfect honor, chanted in the lays of the Troubadours.

This idealization of marriage was the natural protest of the conscience or heart of humanity against the exorbitancies of the passions in the first evolution of Love. It has gone to the extreme of an insufferable restraint upon the affectional nature, against which the world rebels, and seems in danger of lapsing into the barbarity of the first evolution, when science intervenes and completes the law, by showing the necessary transition to be to a rational freedom in love, superadding to these elements of sensuousness and worship the most perfect check upon the abuse of the mere propensity of love, in a knowledge of the laws of life; till the final ideal Free-Lover will combine the beauty and voluptuousness of the fair divinities of old religion with the honor and faith of chivalry and the scientific knowledge and caution of a profound philosopher; who will, with Madame Roland, only consider pleasure to be a happiness in the union of what will regale both mind and body without the cost of regret.

Nature has symbolized in the human body this great triune law of the development of love. The organ of veneration at the very summit of the brain is the pole of the opposite vengery; the one the highest worship, the other the lowest love. Intermediate is the heart, irrationally emotional. We are now in the period of evolution represented by the heart. When to this shall be added the wisdom symbolized by the head, the cycle will be completed in the era of perfect freedom.

In this thoughtful age this wondrous mystery of sexual love, which has so long eluded analysis as to have been left almost wholly in the realm of the imagination, is now receiving the most considerate and deliberate attention of both sexes. Woman especially, beginning to use her intellect in regard to the position of her sex, is emerging out of the secondary or heart period, into the trinary or head; is learning to reason more than love, as she has previously loved more than reasoned. Hitherto mock modesty has hesitated to lift the veil which obscures these most intricate of the arcana of nature; but now the whole being of thinking humanity is aroused to the consideration of this philosophy of sexology, of this fundamental and elementary basis of being, a philosophy which addresses itself to both thought and feeling, reason and emotion, which recognizes man and woman as the representative types and symbols, or analogues, in the mystic language of the universe, of the two radical divisions of consciousness and existence, the positive and negative poles of being. Man, *as sex*, Nature's ideal of reflection, or the power of thought—woman, Nature's image of herself, the all-inclusive entity incarnate; these two, again, echoing the whole universe, as Nature's concentrated expression of spirit and matter.

Love, then, in the largest sense of the word, is the greatest law of creation, the God-principle in it. It is the creative and generative impulse of nature which makes all life. It is the cause of worship, the incitement of all romance, the theme of the legendary and poet.

"For love is heaven, and heaven is love."

To attempt to restrain this wildest impulse of the soul of man is as idle as to try to curb the religious emotions or the powers of thought, attempts as yet totally unsuccessful, though their constant renewal has deluged the planet in blood.

Freedom to love! Without this freedom life is stripped of its purport and beauty. The chronicles of the race, as recorded in tale or history, prove that whatever restrictions have been put upon that omnipotent passion have made countless millions mourn, have turned existence into a terror and horror, have, by making love criminal, except under the restrictions of law and custom, perverted the noblest aspirations and quenched the light of hope in the truest minds.

Out of this romance of passion and the impediments that have been thrown in its way by false institutions, narrow prejudices, or the selfish sense of ownership, the poets have weaved that woeful story of miserable expectation, or wild imagination, temporary fruition, and hopeless disappointment, which gives pathos and verity to the couplet:

"The course of true love never did run smooth."

The poets have all despised the conventionalities which would trammel love, even in its wildest vagaries; and they have told in song the tale of free love, until all feeling hearts beat in sympathy with a true free-lover, who obeys the elective affinities of nature and hates the cold obstacles that oppose them.

Love defies restraint, as the final causes in nature defy analysis or control. Only by obedience to its own immanent laws can it be regulated.

The modern movement in favor of free love is a demand prompted by the daringly experimental and positive spirit of the age for an open and public recognition of that perfect freedom in love, as in worship, which fully developed humanity has always exercised latently; however, much Church and State have suppressed its public expression, by inculcating the fixity of idea and stagnant belief, with

which they obstruct the current of free thought. It is an extension, into the sphere of love, of that importunate claim for liberty which is the cry of the innumerable oppressed.

The advocates of free love are accused of generalization, and want of accuracy of statement in the explanation of free love doctrine. As well accuse of indefiniteness these groaning millions struggling with the utterance of their wrongs! The fault, if it is one, is incidental to the nature of the subject and to all demands of reform, which must begin in protest before they can end in plan. What more general than the oracular utterances of Isaiah, denunciations of kings and priests, and dreams of the future glory of the people? Who (but the Scribes and Pharisees) asked for detail in the all-comprehending axiomatics of Christ, proclaiming the coming reign on earth of perfect freedom and perfect love?—St. Paul was no doubt logical enough before he was converted, but afterward who more sublimely indefinite? Luther, Cromwell and Wesley inveighed against abuses with broad and coarse insistence!

Those who feel and see the necessity of reform or revolution can but tell it to the world as God and Truth inspire them. When all true minds are fired with this apprehension, the change comes about in some manner that no mortal intellect could pre-see. How absurd seemed the cry of the early abolitionists for the immediate freedom of the negro; and how utterly unforeseen the manner in which that most wondrous event of history was accomplished! The great laws of thought, that tend ever toward the good of humanity, are constantly in action. Let us aid them and not oppose them.

I am stating and restating this law of free love as clearly as I can, but I cannot impress minds who can conceive of no higher love than the material impulse. Such minds cannot apprehend the mental position of the philosophical free lover, who believes in the providence of eternal laws, who thinks out his or her action in love as far as destiny permits, who includes the material sensation in the apprehension of love (as in the definition of Pythagoras), and who believes in all the freedom of the worshipers of Aphrodite, corrected only by a true scientific knowledge of the laws of sex, and respect for the rights and freedom of others.

The excitation of the sublimest capacities of the emotional nature is the noblest and truest use of love. Ignorance and repression convert this into the misuse which now exists. Knowledge and freedom would arouse its fullest harmony.

I am often asked for a definition of the term free love, the phrase exciting different suggestions in different minds, as they are in differing stages of development.

To the animal man all love is animal propensity, and free love means to him the indiscriminate and unthinking licentiousness in which most men of the day indulge who have the power and money.

The conscientious believer in restrictive marriage is ignorantly of the same impression. He cannot see outside of the bounds of habit or opinion into the universe of love and freedom.

To the free in thought, the two words that comprise the phrase free love convey its obvious meaning: freedom, the largest possible liberty in the use and enjoyment of the divinest attribute of humanity, Love.

What Wm. Penn claimed for his colony of Pennsylvania, freedom to worship God each one after his own fashion, the first time in history so broad a principle was recognized in the founding of a government, I claim for myself, and all free lovers, freedom to worship love, which to me is God, and freedom to pursue that worship according to the bent of my own nature.

I will acknowledge that there is a deep and natural truth in the repulsive association of ideas with the words Free Love. This results from the sheer abstract consideration of its lowest phase, without thought of the two other principles that correct it. All eating might thus be pronounced gluttony, forgetting how taste and adaptation and science make it the minister and not the tyrant of the body. By lust alone man goes back into an animal. The undeveloped thinker imputes this tendency to free love.

The next step in the law of evolution in love corrects the animal love by marriage, or the love of one. But this is the rebound of over-action from the opposite excess, which would confine the whole principle of love to marriage—an impossible restriction, which is continually rebelled against.

The third and last step—to which society is now approaching, and is there indeed in fact, though the old prohibitions and prejudices remain—recognizes all the freedom of sensation, but with every possible limitation of heart and intellect, and so constitutes a perfect system of free love.

St. Paul teaches the spirito-material philosophy, which the thinking free lover contends is to become a science and to check the irregularities of human generation. He states in the twelfth chapter of First Corinthians, in his broad, generalizing way, the design of Providence to perfect the scheme of the body in true use of all its parts.

"God hath tempered the body together, having given more abundant honor to that *part* which lacked.

"That there should be no schism in the body, but that the members should have the same care one for another."

Believing, with St. Paul, in all the God-made members of my body, I am perfectly willing to accept all that can be conveyed by the term free love, as I accept the instincts, the heart-throbs, and the thoughtful emotions of my being.

To the vulgar apprehension all love is lust, all freedom license, all frank speech ribaldry. The statue of the Venus de Medicis, to an artist, suggests the highest ideal of form—the very incarnation of creative love. In the ordinary mortal this goddess in stone excites only the lowest emotions. The ears of the groundlings always catch the lowest significance of words. It is easier for children and savages to learn obscenity than elegance of diction. They naturally seize the phase of language which corresponds to their undeveloped condition.

Promiscuousness in the relation of the sexes is anarchy under our

present social system—the anarchy which is intermediate between despotism and freedom.

Perfect freedom between the sexes will finally develop into the perfect harmony of love and wisdom.

Society is not yet out of the anarchical stage of development—the reign of force and fraud. How can its loves be better than its lives?

I would boldly state that the world has never produced a true lover. It must first produce a true man. The ideal lover of the poet and romancers is but the faintest foreshadowing of such a god, who could not be developed as society is now constituted.

Nor have there been as yet any true love relations. They have been dreamed of, but never realized. Prompted only in man by the selfish emotions acting upon the imagination, they have first enthroned and then enslaved woman, or discarded her when she proved to be an encumbrance and not an incentive.

Perhaps this is too sweeping an assertion. If there is a free lover to-day such is Mr. Stephen Pearl Andrews. I have had the pleasure of being admitted into his household during the life of the late Mrs. Andrews, his great and good partner in devotion to humanity, and the happiness that prevailed there was as perfect as possible under opposing material conditions.

It is because there has been no free love spiritually or sexually that the race is so degraded. Restraints upon love have bred false natures, for love only begets love.

The average man of the nineteenth century is but a fighting and a trading animal, and perpetuates the strongest of the breed of fighters and traders, and this *bourgeoisie* of cunning and force contrives to rule the world.

When man gets to be a loving and a thinking being, and, thanks be to the gods of thought and the printing press, such an era approaches, he will correct with wisdom, his highest love, his lowest love—desire. Desire is the law of sexual perpetuation in the animal world. In the spiritual world it is magnetic attraction.

When the world shall have arrived at this much longed-for stage in its progress, false generation will cease, and the planet be peopled with gods in the flesh.

As yet there has been no true breed of men under the accidental or intuitional action of love. There is a superabundance of imperfect men in the present over population of the globe, with only here and there a specimen that suggests the possibilities of the race. Malthus was right in his fear that the world is peopling too fast.

The Shakers have gone to the extreme of ignoring sex altogether in their religious perception of this fact. Like the followers of George Fox, the Quakers, they protest against the excess of indulgence by the opposite ascetic extreme. But they develop the spirit at the expense of the body. Witness their lank forms and lantern visages. This total negation of the material power by which the soul expresses itself, ignoring the necessary functions of the sublime atomy which man inhabits, is like monasticism, a criticism, and can never become general.

The very opposite pole of this spiritual law of sexual selection crops out in the religion of the Mormons, who appear to have reverted to the spiritual impulses of the ancient Israelites, or to have protested, like Mahomet, against the monogamy of Christendom.

The Oneida Communists, the modern Essenes, a much-abused and little understood society, are illustrating what may be termed a mean between these two extremes of Shakerism and Mormonism. They are elucidating the laws of love experimentally, through a mixed religious, sensuous and scientific system, which is one of the most remarkable movements of the time, as evidencing the tendency of thought in the direction of free love.

Marriage, also, is performing its part in the great drama of love evolution; but to the eye of free thought it is a local, temporary and partial institution, like existing governments and religions, and not a universal law of universal humanity.

"Let me not to the marriage of true minds admit impediment,"

says Shakespeare. And this is the sentiment of the free lover, who asks only for freedom to all alike, to obey their own idiosyncrasies in this as in all other natural impulsions.

But marriage is but a tie of the body; it cannot fetter the soul. Character and destiny are stronger than the Legislature, or that half-developed humanity whose well-intentioned ignorance asserts that what it thinks good for itself must be good for all others.

The freedom I contend for is now habitually assumed, in private, by all who desire it or find it a necessity of their natures, whatever may be their public and formal pretenses.

Obedience to the conventional restraints of marriage is, practically among men, such an absurd assumption that, as no one practices it, no one believes it in others.

"That household virtue most uncommon,
Of constancy,"

as Byron calls it, grows more and more uncommon, as reason takes the place of

"Hoary error grown holy by traditionary dullness."

If, with the power of Asmodeus, we could, for one night, unroof the houses of this city, what husband or wife would be secure from some revelation of that undercurrent of life of which its shining outward surface gives no intimation.

Far is it from the desire of a free lover to separate parties who are happily mated under the legal bond; but shall others who are less fortunate be constrained to abide in their misery?

Freedom to mate, as each one's nature dictates, uncontrolled by partial laws, is the demand of the reformer in love, as perfect freedom in all action is now the demand of every intelligent thinker.

Those who are afraid to trust all humanity with perfect freedom in all things, may perpetuate the reign of force for a time, and so continue the era of wars and revolutions; but their power to check the spread of free thought grows feebler every day. Prometheus, the

eternal friend of man, is unchained, and the tyrant Jupiter foresees his downfall.

I am sure that the truest life must be a life of universal love and freedom. In a perfect condition of society, special loves which jealously demand the entire consecration of one to the other will be almost unknown. The fire and enthusiasm and passionate ardor which is now confined to two lovers who feel only for each other, will be shared by all the members of such a community.

Imagine a society, even as large as the world, where all the inhabitants have the freedom and intelligent recognition of each other's rights which will make them accordant; where all are as developed as it is possible in earth life, each prompted by a divine humanity, understanding, caring for and helping the other. Sympathies between them would be continually alive, and their loves as natural and poetical as those of the plants.

This is what would be called to-day promiscuousness, or anarchy; but in such a consonant state of society, it would be as the harmony of the spheres. To the believer in free love, this anarchy, these wild and instinctive vagaries of humanity seeking the true laws of love, are but means to the great end of nature.

"All discord, harmony misunderstood,
All partial evil universal good."

Those who are playing these grosser parts in the drama of life are truer than the Tartuffes who disguise their natures with respectability. They are of those members of the anatomy of humanity which, as St. Paul says, as yet lack that abundant honor, in which all the members shall rejoice.

In the by-gone history of love, woman has been, for the most part, a passive recipient, forbidden to think or reason upon her nature and destiny. She has had love made to her, as it is expressed.

But, in the closest analysis of the process of love-making, it is the woman who makes love—or, to express it more symbolically, she is herself love; that alone is the law of her nature. Her latent power of fascination, her magnetic will, which, unconsciously to herself, sends out its spirit emanations like an aroma, and enwraps the personality of the male in a psychological web, an invisible entanglement, like the net which Vulcan threw around Mars and Venus; these promote the first influences of love in the male. When thoughtful women learn to know this power, they will control where they have hitherto been made subservient.

Indeed, thoughtful men and women do not *fall* in love, as it is appropriately called. They do not mistake the halo which fancy throws around the object of desire for an appreciative and lasting affection.

The whole story of love, as we know it in poetry and romance, and there alone has it been written in the past, ends in marriage or consummation. After that comes the misery of degradation, or the contempt of familiarity, conditions too coarse and commonplace for the purposes of art. The tricky spirit of love, who plays fantastic games with the idealism of two natures, disappears, like the love of Titania for the weaver. Law and custom would chain this Ariel, and this attempt has furnished the comedy of the ages, from Aristophanes to the runaway wife of yesterday.

With woman alone must rest the repression of the vagaries where-with the love demon has defied the world. Man is already a free lover in the lowest sense, while woman is a slave to those laws, customs and superstitions which, with total ignorance of her true nature, force her to love and bear children, under barbarous restrictions.

As woman's intellect develops into a perception of her true influence, she will no longer submit to be used as a toy, an ornament, a necessity or a fetish, blindly adored at one time, and despised and cast aside at another. As she learns her rights, she will maintain them, and her first and most absolute right is that of the disposal of her person according to her own judgment or will.

Never before in the history of the race has there been such an awakening of woman to a sense of her rights and duties, and the broadest field opening for their exercise, as now in this country. It would seem like one of those strange historical analogies, or cyclic recurrence of similar phenomena, which so startle the student of history, as revealing the periodicity of the laws of evolution; as if the free loving, esthetic, tasteful, sensuous and nature-adoring life of ancient Greece of the age of Aspasia were to be renewed in this country, with the modification of American civilization. How free the Greeks were in their love is expressed in their worship. Indeed, all religious worship is love, ultimating in veneration. All antique myths are founded, in all their recitals of the life of the gods and goddesses upon free love, upon the most thorough abandonment to its two principles, freedom and love. Venus, the goddess of universal love, and the patroness of perfect freedom in the relations of the sexes, was adored, under various names, in all mythologies; and her son Cupid, the inspirer of love, was called "the god of gods." Even the chaste Diana forgets herself with Endymion; the discovery of this lapse of the goddess of Chastity being greeted with the inextinguishable laughter of all Olympus.

In that delicious dream of Greek life, which, to the poetic soul, is the revelation or adumbration of all that is possible of beauty in human existence, woman, or the idealized or divinized attributes of her nature, was the presiding goddess; and so will she be again, in the new Atlantis, that with such vast preliminary preparation is founding upon this continent.

The brilliant enlightenment of Ionic civilization, a thought Pharos in the ocean waste of past ignorance, is to be renewed and repeated here in America, with a general diffusion of intelligence among the masses, and with such material appliances, larger sense of human rights and positive knowledge as will be added to it by the technological and mechanical dexterity of the modern America. Plato, the highest type of that Greek mind whose sublime speculations took in all the past history and future possibilities of man, believed that the human races were created in distinct centres, and on a graduated scale of ascending types of form, according to the transcendental architectonic of the divine idea; the infinite plan of the divine mind.

We may conceive, then, that the same divine intent, after ages of separate schools of development, is bringing together on this vast continent, under one form of government and language, all these types of mankind, out of which is to be created a millennial race, by amalgamation, assimilation and coalescence of all the others, combining all the qualities developed in each under a long course of distinct training, until a new type shall come forth, to the production of which woman, lending all her intuitive powers, shall add thereto a knowledge of the laws of being.

Free love, as a philosophy, science, art and rule of life, will be the practice of this perfected race, as it will have been the means of their development. A marvelous indication of this is the fact that never before in history has there been such a sudden broadening of thought, an escape from the trammels of the past, as among a rapidly increasing class of American women, who foresee and foreshadow in thought and act the future destiny and mission of their sex.

These typical women are the precursors, announcers and heralds of this coming era of entire freedom.

Marriage, or matrimony, making one woman the sole mother of one man's children—the meaning of the last term, as its etymology indicates—is the pettiest of the methods adopted by the artistic energy of nature, in the admixture of these types of mankind, now for the first time brought altogether in this cosmopolitan civilization of America. These revolutions of type have been brought about by the freest exercise of the generative functions; as, for example, in the mixture of the white and black types in the Southern States. In the past, wars have been the principal means of the amalgamation of races. Now, when a trip round the world is a summer excursion, the process has grown more rapid and certain. The soldier, sailor, and traveler are as naturally free lovers as they are free thinkers. Prejudices are bred in the bounded horizon of narrow localities, and roughly dissipated by the knowledge and sight of the world.

Monogamy and the household virtues will breed aristocracy (talent run to seed, as Emerson calls it), respecting the fashion, or cunning in merchandise and molelike views of human nature, God and destiny; but all free and genial and great souls know that freedom in love is as truly the genius of humanity, and its inevitable tendency, as that freedom of thought and action for which they have ever struggled.

"Home-keeping youth have ever homely wits."

The quietude of marriage makes contented conservators of the static or stationary; but the true lover, and the free lover, is an "eternal seeker, with the past at his back," goaded ever by ideal dreams and hopes that brown-stone fronts and Parisian upholstery cannot satisfy.

It has been said that our love, at its highest flood, rushes beyond its object, and loses itself in the sense of mystery. This is worship, the constant tendency of love to become universal.

But as each mystery is solved by science, we begin to find that the truest worship is the worship of the relations we bear to all things. We lose ourselves no longer in the mist of faith, but seek for the clear sight of practical doing.

Love and law, symbolized in woman and man, attract as humanity this overflowing love. From the love of one we are taught the love of all, and become reformers and free-lovers.

As it has taken the gestation of the ages to bring humanity to its present stage of development, so a long period must elapse before the principle of free love in sexual relations can be brought out of the anarchy in which it now expresses itself, and be inaugurated as the basis of the system of a free humanity.

But this principle must be taught to the people as a principle, and become a part of the persistent demand for liberty and reform so characteristic of the period in which we live.

The world is discovering that it has been governed too much, that the people should be the governors and legislators, by their own direct action, through suffrage, and that the State should be the minister of all private needs.

The State now provides for the education of children. The next step must be that it will take upon itself the control and support of them.

Mothers and fathers must learn to love other people's children, as well as they love their own.

To those whose sympathies are confined within the narrow circle of their own blood such a proposition as this seems a terrible heresy. In their isolated households their only thought is of what is good for themselves or for those in whom they are personally interested. But as scientific thought takes the place of intuition, emotion and superstition, both the generation and education of children will be left no longer to the blind impulse of passion or of uneducated love, but will be reduced to order and method.

It was truly argued by Robert Dale Owen, of Lanark, that all systems of reform other than those which looked to a reform of outward circumstances, must inevitably lead to injustice, oppression and misery. Not only the most intelligent thinkers, but the masses of mankind, are becoming aware of this truth, and are ready to accept any practical method of realizing it. This is evident in the rapid progress of the International Workingmen's Association, the first able, well-considered and broad attempt of the proletarian, or producing class, to organize a world-wide effort to improve its material conditions.

No wonder the kaisers and potentates of Europe and the financial aristocracy of this country tremble at the giant strides and serried advance of this new army of the masses. With pen and tongue, now the most powerful of weapons, this universal democracy is everywhere teaching the people to reason, think and protest. War and cunning, the only armory of the past, must succumb to this final impetus of the common sense of humanity.

The people's time is coming. For ages they have been but beasts of burden. They now demand a peaceable revolution, by which their right shall be paramount in all future forms of government. This is

the first step toward a new social order, of which finally free love, in its largest and purest sense, will be the crowning glory.

It is the claim of the International Democracy that all members of the human family are entitled, by nature, to land, water, air and light, to maintain their existence and properly develop their being. When these plain principles of justice obtain in society and government, crime will cease, and free thought and love spontaneously perfect mankind. In those days there will be no marriage nor giving in marriage, but all will be as the angels in heaven.

The crimes against society as it now is are protests against society's neglect of the welfare of its individuals. Make men and women free and happy, and all cause of discord will be removed. The body provided for, the soul will assert its powers. Each individual spirit only knows its individual needs, and, prompted by those needs, is acting out its necessary destiny. Perfect freedom to do this is the aspiration and right of each, and in an enlightened social state the protection of this right will be the only legislation.

In the cant of newspaper or current criticism these broad statements are "glittering generalities," or commonplace tirades. But no repetition can impair the efficacy of grand truths, which are all that "make men young, and keep them so."

It is the duty and mission of the earnest reformer to repeat, reiterate and re-enforce these great and necessary verities, trite though they may seem to the instructed thinker, until they impress so many minds that their practical application becomes inevitable. Convince the thought of the world and you secure its action, though the process is never so sudden as enthusiasm expects.

These attempts to reconstitute society on a freer basis are, say those of bounded mental horizon, dreams and impossibilities. But the dream of one mind becomes the thought of many others, and suggests, finally, some definite plan of realization. Roger Bacon, in the eleventh century, dreamt of the possibilities of steam. The fact is more wonderful than the fancy. By such dreams only does the race progress, and the despairing lover of humanity finds in them the relief of hope.

Material science is conquering the outer world, but its triumphs are of little avail to the majority of mankind, so long as money only can purchase the enjoyments of luxury and art which it is multiplying.

The true science is that science which, adopting the comprehensive axiom of Pope that "True self love and social are the same," seeks some remedy for *ill-paid labor*, the one curse that has weighed so long upon the poor, the ignorant and oppressed.

To those who think, desire and labor for humanity, this world is in so horrible a medley that they cannot contemplate its miseries without aspiration and effort for their alleviation. Their only resource against despair is to look upon the actual, as a step toward the possible.

It is sometimes a wonder to me that any one can read with calmness the history of the world for one day, as it is sketched in the daily newspaper. What a fearful record of crime, misery, suicide, villany, trade and trickery, unrelieved except by some dismal joke, some heartless satire, or reckless caricature, wherewith editors and reporters gloat over the grotesqueness of suffering, the ludicrousness of agony, or overwhelm with coarse humor and rough ridicule any enthusiastic reformer who dares to suggest some radical cure for these evils, instead of the partial alleviation, the cold alms-giving, which is all that Christian society gives to them.

The acme of this material civilization, socially, is in the present system of marriage, and isolated households, wherein there is so little of real happiness, culture, or true life, that no earnest soul can abide in them. Statistics show that a fearfully large proportion of the children born in this stringent wedlock are idiotic, deformed, imbecile and unhealthy. If they grow to physical maturity, they are dwarfs in sympathy and intellect, though giants in cunning and selfishness; who continue the course of chicanery and hypocrisy, taught them by the example of their fathers. They become narrow-minded conservatives, who find in the fierce struggles of business life the appropriate exercise of their powers of cold calculation. As the hired soldier would keep up the fearful game of war, they would maintain the strife of competition.

"Marriage," says one of its reverend supporters, "stands directly behind and underneath the whole order of society, and is one of the main pillars of the social and civil fabric in which we live." True! But this civil and social fabric is so essentially and inherently imperfect, that only those whose personal interests are bound up in its stability, resist its improvement. No thinking soul but sees that this crumbling structure has no other merit than that it must yield the materials for a nobler edifice.

But these upholders of the blind worship of the Juggernaut of existing civilization cannot quench the hope of those who contrast this miserable Present with an ideal Future. The free lover will continue to aspire to and labor for that perfect condition of life—long as it may take to achieve it—where all restriction shall be unnecessary, where all shall be peace and innocence and bliss—the free love era—the Saturnian age—where love shall banish the selfishness of jealousy; when the coarse animal impulse, out of which is developed the great sympathetic force of nature, shall be refined by science and religion; when the knowledge of the head and the fruition of the desire of the heart shall conjoin in love-passion, fervent with all the enthusiasm of the poet, but tempered by all the self-command of the saint or sage. The cold incredulity of economists and calculators cannot repress these hopes, nor tire and exhaust the indomitable patience they inspire in the laborer for the love of the race. The infinite spirit, developing the true soul through infinite processes, will not allow it to rest in the imperfections of the present.

The respectable married man may fulfill all the clerkly and churchly duties of the day, and so far act out his mission of quietude and acquiescence; but to the perception of genius his consciousness is of no higher grade than that of the bee or the ant, which has no interest or perception beyond its hive or hill.

The respect that has been paid to marriage has always been outward and conventional, never inward and heartfelt. Respectability has respected it, genius has laughed at it. When the Pharisees tried to entrap the sublimest of free thinkers and free lovers, Christ, with a sophistical question growing out of the supposed sacredness of this marriage institution, in his reply to them he ignores it altogether, as pertaining to the spirit—regarding it merely as an earthly, mortal and temporary expedient of this life. And so it is—the love symbolized by the selfish heart, and not that symbolized by head, heart and entire body.

The form in which the lowest evolution of love now openly expresses itself in our social condition, is in what is called Prostitution. It might as well be called Protestation—the dissent in action against an abridgment of liberty; for, as freedom in love is a demand of human nature, it is covertly, if not openly, practiced by the great majority of human beings—the sumptuary or impracticable laws against it or the force of public opinion being as impotent to prevent it as they would be against a force of nature.

The woman who sells the joys of her body for money is called a prostitute; but where are they who do not prostitute their souls for worldly recompense if they have but opportunity? The clergyman prostitutes himself for a larger benefice or a greater popularity, and his is the greatest of all the crimes of prostitution, as he blasphemes upon and leads astray the holiest impulses of the human soul. The lawyer prostitutes his brains for wealth, influence and position, being always ready to employ the whole power of his education and intellect in making the worse appear the better reason if he be but paid for it. The physician prostitutes science to money, tampers with life and health, and adopts the meanest arts to court success and riches. The merchant prostitutes his soul for gain; for how true are the words of the preacher: "As mortar sticketh between the stones, so does fraud between buyer and seller." The most unblushing of all the prostitutes is the politician; for his only thought is that of party subservient to personal interest. The editor prostitutes his wits to the desire of selling his paper. He writes that he may extend the circulation of his journal, and not that of truth. He is as shameless a prostitute as the preacher or clergyman, for he sells *lies*.

No wonder all these various male prostitutes flock in such numbers, though with every device of concealment, to visit their fellow prostitutes of the female sex, who pursue their trade without the necessity of hypocrisy. What a relief it must be to these dissemblers to throw off the strait-laced uniform of deceit which they wear in society, and abandon themselves to the freedom of license!

How few are they who are not prostitutes to public opinion! to the malign passion of self-aggrandizement, or to that spirit of the age, incarnate in its institutions, which opposes all change lest the equanimity of those who profit by these institutions should be disturbed; who think that "all the oppressions which are done under the sun" should continue if they may enjoy bodily luxury and social rank.

In the female sex, the married prostitutes of aristocratic position are, in truth, as many and as bad as those who sell themselves at a cheaper rate. They prostitute themselves to dress and show and gluttony and fashion, and on Sunday to hypocrisy; worshiping the good Principle with specious forms, while the secret meaning of their prayers is evil, thanking the god of their own imaginations—the reflection of their own mean natures—that they have been chosen out and elected to these worldly favors, while so many are consigned to a hopeless inheritance of ignorance and misery.

The use of the word prostitution, as applied to free sexual intercourse, is a prostitution or perversion of its etymological meaning, which is *to offer or set before*, as is the degradation of this noblest use of our material nature, by our present modes of thought and action, a like prostitution.

Could we but once recognize that this social evil is a *social necessity*, growing out of the present imperfection of our social conditions; that the misuse of the sexual functions is the overaction of the animal impulse, which will cease when the perceptive faculties are aroused to its restraint and true use; that this is a disease of the body politic, to be treated hygienically, like other maladies, not with barbarous legal and social penalties, but with greater freedom guided by knowledge, we should be on the verge of attaining to a truer life.

Laws, prohibitions and denunciations have been exhausted in this vain endeavor to restrain nature by human enactments. Is it not time to try what love may do—love trusted implicitly as a principle, in its every manifestation, its abuses and excesses, seen to be misuses and perversions of ignorance, or fierce rebellion against the tyranny of control.

The laws by which the human passions act are as absolute as those of nature, and perfectly analogous in their modes of expression. The law of compensation and balance pervades them both. The social evil is but the opposite pole of marriage.

"As surfeit is the father of much fast,
So every scope, by the immoderate use, turns to restraint."

Marriage is, too often, the refuge of the exhausted libertine of the male sex; or to woman an inevitable necessity.

Love is as uncontrollable, as omnipotent to its own end as the law of gravitation; and as heedless of human provisions and preaching as the Atlantic Ocean of Mrs. Partington's mop.

It is the domain of reason, in society as well as in the individual, to govern, regulate and direct this divine energy to the divinest purposes.

Swedenborg calls water the symbol of love. They are certainly alike, in that neither of them can be controlled other than by the observance of the laws inherent in them. When water is made to run up hill without extraneous force, love may no longer laugh at locksmiths.

The security of the rights of individuals, where they do not impinge the rights of others, is the great demand of the age. Among these rights the right to love, according to the individual impulse, should be as free as the right to speak or think. That this may lead

to abuses is no argument against its use. We have entire freedom of the press in this country. Such has been its misuse that we have no high standard of thought or culture in it. It is the daily exponent of the daily commonplaces of actual life. It barely keeps pace with the progress of thought amongst the least thinking, and is always behind-hand in the apprehension of any great purpose of reform.

But it is acting as a means towards an end; and its abandonment to selfish and partisan purposes, unbounded license of abuse, recrimination and falsifying, are but the perversion of this great power, which makes the millions think. Because the newspaper press of America has misused the freedom it enjoys, should freedom of the press be abolished? No! trust the freedom further, and it will redeem itself. Having thus far trusted the principle of freedom in thought, can it be restrained in love?

If I should be asked, this moment, if I am a free lover, I should, in conscience, have to reply, No! I am not a free lover. That reply would be made in the same spirit as, should I be asked, Are you a thoroughly developed and perfect woman? I should be forced to reply, No!

The conservative world need not be alarmed lest its starched system be in immediate danger. In the natural laws of progression, a long period of time must elapse ere the world shall be converted to free love.

Of true free lovers there are none. Of those who apprehend and advocate that principle there are few, and they have attained to it through a long course of earnest thought and observation and experience, or else are to the manner born, lineal descendants of the free thinkers and free lovers of the ages, to whom humanity owes what liberty it enjoys; but if to worship the sublime suggestions of free love, if to feel in one's inmost soul an ardent desire to live freely and to love freely and universally, can make me worthy of the appellation of free lover, then do I assert, with all my heart and in all sincerity, that I am proud of the title of free lover.

A true free lover will bind none, would hold none, except as the other is willing to be held and bound. The most passionate lovers, after the wild enjoyment of fruition has endured for a certain period, cease to physically allure each other. A constant interchange of magnetism exhausts, by a physical law, the conditions of attraction; which are then instinctively sought elsewhere. A true free lover, instead of deploring this physiological fact, submits to and acknowledges the philosophy of circumstances, and seeks to discover the cause of this magnetic repulsion.

Had Fisk and Mansfield been free lovers they would have both been spared the tragedy and anguish that has been theirs. The beautiful Josie would have acknowledged the freedom of her lover to devote his attention and passion to another, as she had acknowledged his freedom to devote it to her, or as she claimed and exercised a like freedom for herself.

Had Watson been a free lover, a student of the laws of love, he would not have pursued Mrs. Hyde with uncongenial attention, and impelled her to take his life. The claim of ownership, or right of possession, which all lovers, married or otherwise, assert for each other, is a tyranny that breeds innumerable rebellions. Of all the horrid absurdities begotten of superstition or ambition, and inflicted upon ignorance, this despotic attempt to chain the very life of the soul has produced the most evil, and all that gives inspiration and aspiration to a human being has been thereby perverted to jealousy, hatred and malice.

The wise and witty Sterne, though a clergyman, was a free lover, as indeed have been all great thinkers and actors, commanding men, and influential women.

In his *Sentimental Journey*, Sterne contends that as long as he was in love he found himself incapable of a mean action; but in some interval betwixt one passion and another, he says, "I always perceive my heart locked up. I can scarce find in it to give misery a sixpence, and, therefore, I always fall in love again as fast as I can, and the moment I am rekindled I am all generosity and good will again, and would do anything in the world, either for or with any one, if they will but satisfy me there is no sin in it."

To illustrate the power of love to work a social miracle, he tells this story:

"The town of Abdera, notwithstanding Democritus lived there, trying all the powers of irony and laughter to reclaim it, was the vilest and most profligate town in all Thrace. What for prisons, conspiracies and assassinations, libels, pasquinades and tumults, there was no going there by day—'twas worse by night.

"Now, when things were at the worst, it came to pass that the *Andromeda* of Euripides being represented at Abdera, the whole audience was delighted with it; but of all the passages which delighted them nothing operated more upon their imaginations than the tender strokes of nature which the poet had wrought up in that pathetic speech of Perseus, 'O Cupid, prince of gods and men,' etc. Every man almost spoke pure iambics the next day, and talked of nothing but Perseus's pathetic address, 'O Cupid, prince of gods and men!' in every street of Abdera, in every house—'O Cupid! Cupid, in every mouth, like the natural notes of some sweet melody which drop from it, whether it will or no, nothing but 'Cupid! Cupid! prince of gods and men.' The fire caught, and the whole city, like the heart of one man, opened itself to love.

"No pharmacoplist could sell one grain of hellebore, not a single armorer had a heart to forge one instrument of death. Friendship and virtue met together and kissed each other in the street. The golden age returned, and hung over the town of Abdera. Every Abderite took his oaten pipe, and every Abderite woman left her purple web and chastely sat her down and listened to the song.

May we not hope that what occurred at Abdera shall take place all over the whole planet, when hate and oppression shall be conquered by love and freedom.

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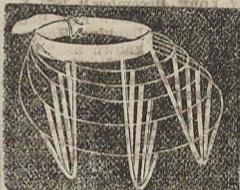
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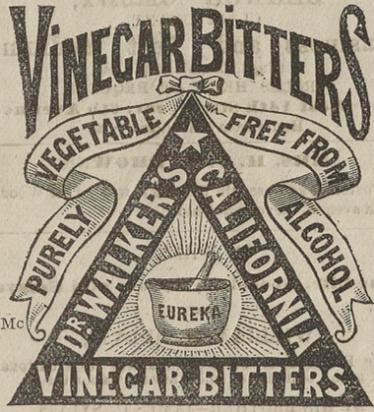
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