

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN WEEKLY.

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BELAKING THE WAY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.

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NEW YORK, JUNE 28, 1873.

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Du Lac, 16th and 17th; Oshkosh, 18th, 19th and 20th;
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[From the *Chicago Daily Sun*, Nov. 30, 1871.]

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most widely circulated agricultural journals in the
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already issued the first number (since the fire) of the
Western Rural, the same size and in the same form as
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on glancing at the neat, artistic head and well-filled
pages of the *Rural* that anything uncomfortably warm
or specially disastrous had ever happened to it. Suc-
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"The Largest and Handsomest Paper for
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WHAT "THEY SAY."

[From the *Chicago Evening Post*.]

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[From the *Letter of a Western Mother*.]

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REGISTERED. INTEREST PAYABLE IN
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THIS GREAT TRUNK LINE, when completed
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The Principles of Government, by Victoria C. Woodhull	\$3 00
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The Impending Revolution	25
The Ethics of Sexual Equality	25

INDUSTRIAL JUSTICE.

1. Go to, now, ye rich men; weep and howl, for your miseries that shall come upon you.

4. Behold the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is kept back by fraud, crieth, and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord.

Gen. Ep. James v. 1-4.

THE INTERNATIONAL.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERAL COUNCIL.

The time of the Recording Secretary has recently been so fully occupied that he has been unable until now to revise and write out several important papers and resolutions intended for publication. We print herewith, however, the following result of his labors, which the reader will find in their natural order:

ADDRESS TO THE WORKERS OF AMERICA.

Citizens—Believing that the monopolists of America, aware that our mission is the union and organization of the workers and producers against the idle and non-producing classes, are striving to excite the fears of the ignorant and weak by slandering ourselves and misrepresenting our principles and objects through a corrupt press and time-serving politicians; believing also that our purposes and measures need but to be known to be indorsed by all honest men and women, we, the Federal Council of America, hereby submit to you the following statement, and ask your co-operation:

The association originated during the course of the visit which a deputation of Parisian workmen paid to the Universal Exhibition of London in 1862. They had been sent over at the expense of their comrades to study the general condition of European industry, became acquainted with English workmen and were initiated into the nature of Trade Unions, and discussed the subject of strikes. The idea naturally occurred to them that if the principle of co-operation in strikes was a good thing for the workmen when applied to one country, it would be far more effective when applied on a grander scale throughout Europe. The basis of an International Association was then proposed, whose members should engage themselves to support each other in all countries, whenever strikes should be deemed necessary in the interests of the working classes, and it was agreed that a great European meeting of delegates of workmen should be held in London in 1864. The meeting took place on September 28, 1864, in St. Martin's Hall, and the association was then organized, and a Central Provisional Council appointed. This council convened a General Congress of the working classes, which assembled in 1866 at London, and issued a declaration of principles.

This declaration affirmed that the emancipation of the workingmen must be effected by the workingmen themselves. That the economic subjection of the workingman to the possessors of capital was the cause of his political, moral and material servitude. That every political movement should, therefore, be subordinated to his economical emancipation. That all efforts to arrive at this had hitherto failed through want of a common interest between the workingmen of every profession in every country. That the Association acknowledges no rights without duties, no duties without rights. And that everybody who accepts and defends its principles is eligible to become a member.

The organization as finally settled consists of—1. Sections. 2. Federal Councils. 3. A General Council. 4. General Congresses of each Federation and of the world. Measures originate in the Sections. The several Councils are but their executive. And the General Congresses are the legislative bodies, presumed to meet every year to determine the future course of the Association, subject to the approval of its members. The various International Congresses held at Geneva, Lausanne, Brussels and Basle, one called a private Conference, held in London, and the several National Congresses held by each nationality, have discussed and adopted the following points, which may therefore be said to constitute the platform of the Association:

- 1st. The total abolition of all class rule and all class privileges.
- 2d. Complete political and social equality for all, without distinction of sex, creed, color or condition.
- 3d. Nationalization of the land and of all the instruments of production.

By which it is understood that the State shall, as speedily as possible, without harm to any one, assume possession of the lands and the labor-saving machinery which have been alienated from the people, and thus be able to accord employment to all who may need it.

- 4th. A reduction of the hours of labor, so as to allow more time for improvement and recreation.

5th. Education to be undertaken by the State; to be obligatory, gratuitous, secular, scientific and professional.

6th. The subject of religion to be ignored by the association; no religious creed or difference to be recognized.

7th. The abolition of standing armies, as being provocative to war, and hostility to war itself as being destructive to the best interests of mankind.

8th. Money to be issued by the government only, to be a legal tender and to bear no interest.

9th. The adoption of the principle of associative production, with a view to the complete supersession of the present system of capitalistic production.

But as the principle of autonomy, or the right of each nationality to determine for itself its own methods of action in conformity to existing social and political conditions and forms is fully recognized, at least two of the nationalities, namely, Switzerland and America, have adopted as a tenth and last measure the principle of the Referendum: "That all laws shall be submitted to the people for their approval or rejection;" and they have accepted a form of organization adopted to accomplish this purpose. Our Sections, therefore, are to be organized by primary election districts; our Councils are to be municipal, State and National, and our Congresses Federal. In other words, within existing forms of government we propose to establish another of our own, having for its object the emancipation of labor by the supersession of capitalistic rule.

Believing that our principles are true and our measures just, we therefore issue this our appeal to the workers of America, and ask them to organize sections in accordance therewith. Information may be obtained of either the recording or corresponding secretaries.

We may add that trades unions and other labor organizations adhering to our principles are entitled to representations in our Councils.

By order of the Council,

WM. WEST, Recording Secretary.

B. HUBERT, Corresponding Secretary,
19 Catharine street.

T. R. KINGET, Corresponding Secretary,
234 East Fifth street.

WM. CARSEY,
G. W. MADDOX, } Committee.
HUGH MCGREGOR, }

PROPOSALS OF THE JURASSIAN FEDERATION TO THE AMERICAN FEDERATION.

1. That the General Congress take place on Monday, first of next September, in a town in Switzerland; the delegates, to meet on Thursday, August 28, in the appointed place, to prevent intrigues like those of the Hague.

2. That the General Council shall be abolished and the following different commissions substituted:

First—A commission for correspondence between the several Federations, and especially to centralize correspondence relative to the convocation of the General Congress.

Second—A commission of statistics gathered from all the Federations.

Third—A commission of resistance to gather all facts relating to strikes, and to serve as a medium between Trades Unions wishing to have recourse to its services.

These three commissions must sit each in a different Federation. The Congress shall designate each year the Federation where each commission shall sit. The personnel of the commission shall be selected by the Federation in which the commission shall sit.

It was unanimously

Resolved, That the only General International Congress shall be the one directly convoked by the Federation themselves—not the one that may be convoked by the pretended G. C. of New York.

It was also

Resolved, That the Jurassian Federation will take the necessary steps for the choice of the city where the next General Congress will meet, and after having referred it to the Jurassian sections, then to propose the subject to all the Federations.

ADOLPH BOOS,

Rec. Sec. of Federal Executive Committee.

LOUIS PINDY, Cor. Sec.

ALEX. CHATELAIN, Treasurer.

LOCLE, Switzerland.

PROPOSALS FROM THE ENGLISH FEDERATION.

1. That there shall be a reorganization of the Association upon a federative basis, and that a declaration shall be inserted in the general rules guaranteeing entire liberty of action to each Federation, which right shall not be interfered with by any Congress or Council; such declaration to form the fundamental pact of the Associations.

2. That in conformity with the organic principle of the Association, there shall be held, as heretofore, annual International Congresses, which shall discuss questions of principle and general measures of administration; but such Congresses to have no power to alter or discuss the fundamental pact or interfere in the internal affairs of any Federation.

3. That the General Council be abolished and replaced by a "Federal Executive Council," which Council shall serve as a bureau of correspondence and inter-communication between the different Federations, but to have no power to interfere in the internal affairs of the Federations; such Council to be wholly or partly elected by the Federations. A contribution of 1d. per member to be levied, as heretofore, to defray the expenses of that Council.

4. That the Federal Councils be abolished and replaced by "Executive Councils," with the prefix of the respective Federation attached, as for instance, "The Belgian Executive Council," "The British Executive Council," "The American Executive Council," "The Spanish Executive Council," &c. The title of "Federal Executive Council" to be reserved for the central bureau as expressive of the Federative Character of the Association and of the functions of the said Council.

5. That the name of the Association be changed to one of the following, or a name of a similar description: "The In-

ternational Federation of Labor," "The International Labor Union," "The International Labor League."

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BELGIAN CONGRESS.

The Belgian Congress of that Federation took place at Verviers on the 13th and 14th of April. Six federations were represented by thirty-seven delegates. A large number of policemen were on duty in the railroad depot to keep order. The soldiers were under marching orders in three neighboring towns, and at the first signal the militia had to be under arms.

As soon as the delegates arrived in the place a procession was formed by all the workingmen who had come to escort them to the place of meeting; between seven and eight thousand people were in line; everything went off peacefully and harmoniously.

On the first day, Cit. Verryeken, of Brussels, offered a proposition, which, after discussion, was adopted, to the following effect:

"This Congress will appoint a committee to draw up International rules based upon the non-existence of a General Council. These rules shall be submitted to each of the Belgian Sections and proposed to the Belgian Congress to be discussed."

On the second day the important question of tactic and of principle, "The General strike," was discussed.

It was resolved to make an appeal to the working people of the country (fields and farms), and a committee was accordingly appointed for that purpose.

RESOLUTION OF SYMPATHY WITH MRS. WOODHULL.

At the meeting of the Federal Council, held June 8th, on motion of Citizen Madox, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE I. W. A.,
OPEN SESSION, June 8, 1873.

Whereas, the cause of equal rights, which is the equal inheritance of all persons, is imperiled by the manifest conspiracy of the ruling classes, therefore be it

Resolved, That we take cognizance of the persecution of one of our members in the person of Victoria C. Woodhull, arraigned upon charges of which she must be presumed to be innocent until her guilt has been established. We tender her our cordial sympathy in her present illness, and we warn her enemies of the future that there is a storm gathering over the heads of the oppressors of the people which must sooner or later burst and overwhelm them in a common ruin.

SOCIALISTIC.

In a Boston paper (for the "educated classes") of May 21, we find the following:

"Ellen Mahoney, a nymph from North street (the Five Points of Boston), tried to commit suicide yesterday by throwing herself into the sea at Sargeant's pier. She made a bad mistake, however, for an unromantic sailor, by the name of Nelson, fished her out, and she was then hung up to dry in Police-station No. 8."

Is it possible to insult a despairing unfortunate in a more heartless manner than it is done in these words? A girl who has passed through all the degrees of the deepest degradation, and who still has retained enough moral strength of reaction to put an end to her life by committing suicide, must originally have been endowed with the best of tendencies. She can only have been brought on the path of vice through the guilt of others. In other surroundings she would, in all probability, have become a happy wife and mother. This does not, however, shield her from the judicial tribune of man's coarseness, which first drives her to despair, and then vilifies her. She is only a woman, and a woman has no claims to be humanely judged, according to the ruling ideas of the male beast, particularly if this beast has managed to lower her under his own level. To seduce the innocent by means of lying and flattery, then put the seduced on the street, then traduce her, then bring the traduced to despair, and finally to ridicule her in corner-loafer style, as one of those fellows would the capers of a chased or wounded animal—this constitutes the daily glorious doings of thousands, who would be enraged if their humanity and fitness as judges of morals, legislators and rulers of human society were questioned. The one who would call them to account they would consider ripe for the insane asylum. In none of the relations of life can there be found such a deeply-rooted, traditional want of conscience, which has become a second nature, as in the relation of the male sex to the female. No slaveholder could be more penetrated by his matter-of-course right to abuse his slaves, or sacrifice them to his humors, than the majority of men are of the *a priori* conviction that the weak woman is destined to serve as a sacrifice to his lust, and abandoned in reward; to be ruined as a consequence of her degradation.

The Vienna papers lately announced the suicide of three well-educated girls in one week. All of them had been seduced by their "lovers," under all kinds of pretenses, and then been abandoned. The whole city busied itself with the unfortunate ones. Yard-long reports of their lives and their ends filled the papers; a numberless multitude conducted them to their grave. But not a word of condemnation was said of those who indirectly must be considered as the murderers of the seduced girls, and who probably in the meantime have been selecting new victims for their consciousnessless. The unhappy girls found sympathy because they belong to the educated classes, and were not prostitutes. But even they did not excite any doubts as to the matter-of-course rights of the debauchee to seduce credulous women and then deliver them over to despair. In another column we give some remarks about this matter from a Rhenish paper. It is the first verdict of condemnation about the responsibility of the males in this regard that we have seen from the other side of the ocean. But even in this Republic such a verdict would be something new. Does there, besides the *Pioneer*, exist a single paper, edited by men, which treats the consciousness

and responsibility of the male sex in regard to ill treatment of women, and prostitution in an adequate way? Even in cases of the greatest brutality, the moralizing press, which under other circumstances understands so well to indulge in reflections, has no words of condemnation if the victim be a woman. We have never read so many reports of ill-treatment and murder of women by their husbands as during the last few months. The facts were reported as simply and in as dry a manner as a fire or an accident, and that was the end of it. About any scamp who runs away with a few thousands from a bank, about any public officer whose cash account is short, long leaders are written, which go to show how corrupt the times are; but the acts of brutality and bestiality, which show the corruptness of the times in the inhuman position of the "strong" half of humanity to the weaker, do not deserve any consideration. When, then, will there be put an end to this state of affairs? When will the pestilential excrement which continually is spreading the poison further through society, whose poison in it is coming to an eruption—when will prostitution be extirpated? One fact is certain, it is not the men who are going to rid society of this pestilence. As little as slaveholders ever abolish slavery and kings ever introduce a Republican form of government, as little will the great mass of men pull the female sex out of the mud-hole of prostitution. The women must themselves perform the main part of this work of redemption, and they will not be able to do this before they, through the ballot, have got a commensurate participation in the making of the laws. We will risk to assert that this participation would have been granted long ago to them, if the majority of men, the brutal part, had not feared that the abolition of prostitution would follow this measure as a consequence. If we imagine prostitution out of the way, the majority of men would be in favor of women's rights. The anxious knights, who through the press express so delicate regards for the womanliness of women in trying to keep them from the ballot box, from the turmoil of politics, do not have the slightest objection to the ruin of millions of representatives of womanliness in the turmoil of prostitution, and in reality only fight for the conservation of the brothels.

And what do they thereby conserve? Only a warrant of their own ruin. It would be to credit the majority of men with too tender feelings, to make them understand that the free woman would ennoble themselves morally and aesthetically. But they may perhaps in time become impregnable to physical considerations. Statistic proofs are continually filling up, which show that human kind is continually deteriorating, and one might almost say rotting.

The scrofulous rabble is constantly increasing, and this not alone among that part of the population which is sunk in misery. How many men are yet to be found who do not carry the vice poison in their veins as a punishment for their contempt of woman, and threaten to let it be inherited by their innocent offspring? This is the only, also suicidal revenge which hitherto the debauched woman can take on her spoilers. In time it will only be the women not given to prostitution who do not directly participate in the poisoning of the human kind, and keep up the hope of a regeneration.

REFORM.

BY MOWSHER JENKINS.

Oh, list to the sound of that wave sweeping on,
So mighty and great and so grand;
'Tis the wave of Reform which will sure overwhelm
All who in its pathway stand.

The wave of Reform in the Church and State,
Steadily pursues its way;
Liberty pure is its steadfast mate,
And none its grand course can withstand.

Though bigots may howl, and its merits decry,
Their efforts will surely prove vain;
For the wave will push on—pass relentlessly by—
And crush them e'en while they complain.

Then all hail to Reform! all hail to the light
Which from mind's serfdom millions will free!
'Twill be to all mankind a beacon most bright—
A beacon of sweet liberty.

WOMAN'S EQUALITY.

BOSTON, June 3, 1873.

Dear Friends—You remember well the story from the Bible of the woman who, being caught in the act of adultery, was brought out by the authorities to be condemned and stoned.

They have never informed us what was done to the man! As usual, I presume he escaped without censure. Surely there are many cases (are not all?) so.

There must have been a man concerned, for adultery is rather a difficult matter for a single person to commit.

Well, I suppose no one can account for the man's escape, so we will conclude that the custom of to-day was the fashion of two thousand years ago, and vice versa.

Poor woman, even to-day, unless pretty safely guarded and watched, she fears that she is being overlooked and neglected. Eight out of every ten will tell you that they have all the rights they need. They really don't know any better, and therefore deserve our compassion rather than contempt.

Deluded people! how little you understand the heavy fight which Victoria Woodhull is making for you and your unborn daughters! Did the women of America see as clearly as I think I see, the tremendous issue upon which we stand, they would flock in thousands and tens of thousands round our banner and help us in this fight.

But what can be expected of a generation of slaves? Century after century has passed away and all this time the stronger has ruled and trampled upon the weaker; woman has been grovelling in the dust, it has become a second nature to her to acquiesce. Certainly, Americans are better off than are Europeans, Africans and Asiatics, but are they justly treated, does this democracy take its cue from the old world? Churchmen would give us to understand that it did. We

don't want such arguments; we are tolerably free, but not entirely free, some distance from it.

The American press, as Mrs. Stanton said, is "like a dumb dog" on the question of social freedom. This is a sad evidence of its demoralization and corruptness. As Wendell Phillips once said of a conservative Boston daily, "You can always hear the jingle of the Beacon-street dollar behind its editorials;" so it is with, alas! too many of our editorial brethren. Woman's equality has no claim on them. Oh, no; some women could make quite a little breeze if they wished to. Like the Massachusetts legislators, our male friends fear that women will supplant them in their profession.

The slaveholder makes desperate efforts to hold his victim. Whether he will succeed or not remains to be seen. The gulf stream of new light which flows from such heads as that of the late John Stuart Mill favors our ship. We may safely count on the advance of years for strength. No earthly power can stop the march of knowledge. The day is dawning; the turning point is at hand; the harder we are pressed the sweeter will be the victory. Let none be discouraged, let none fall back, there is no word now but advance. Though our leaders seem to be under a cloud for a time, the cause still goes marching on.

When this movement becomes "popular and paying" we'll have the "big dailies" and small weeklies on our side.

Let every Free-lover stick to the flag, for prejudice, ignorance and slavery must go down, down together to their final doom, and Woman, who represents the highest point to which the race has developed, will rise free, pure and happy, and "the way for future generations" will have been broken.

W. B. WRIGHT.

EDITORS OF WEEKLY:

The following note was received from the wife of an educated Englishman, both over seventy years of age, now living in Illinois.

A. KENT.

Beloved Brother and Sisters—How I do love you with my unchanging love. It was good to have a line again from you, and deeply have we been interested in the WEEKLY you so kindly sent us. Well, I trust I am a Free Lover, for God and Christ have made me so. I feel that your pamphlet should be spread far and wide. It needs a reintroduction among society. * * * Your principles in that small work have the transcendence above all I have seen. I wish for truth's sake and for the benefit of my own sex and mankind in general that these few sentiments now impressed on my mind could find a place in some honest, philanthropic journal.

MRS. M. A. WALKER.

I never saw those people; but they are wise and good. I think Mr. Walker was formerly a preacher. They are too poor to take the WEEKLY; I must send them mine. If the WEEKLY was not so crowded it would pay to print the other side for the benefit of those good people's prayers, if no more. I have no truer friends.

A. KENT.

THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE'S BOMBHELL.

Our country papers roll up the sayings of the Chicago Tribune, "like a sweet morsel under their tongues," just as everybody expected they would do. We have good authority for saying that the Tribune is paid for administering this large dose of "rampant denunciation," and as long as it does pay, and that paper, as well as hosts of others in the country are "bought" by the priest monopoly, they will continue so to do. Of course there are plenty now like the editor of the Commercial, who want no better opportunity than to skirmish in line of battle with the Tribune, and bring their small artillery into action. Ho! every one that thirsteth for a sensation! Where could the elect ones find so juicy a carcass to feed upon as a woman's name, spoken today in mingled cursing and blessing, from Maine to California, and one which is so much the property of "the people" that on the one hand tens of thousands recognize in her the advent of a new hope for the world; on the other, the Tribune feels itself "elected" to "cry aloud and spare not" in such language as the following: "Coarse, gross, filthy, blasphemous," and as a very marked crisis of editorial frenzy, the word "nasty" comes near being the last word of this respectable journal. What a libel on their "brand-new" city, that, as stated, "her audience frequently applauded her and laughed with unrestrained freedom at her coarsest jests!" Now, we beg leave to remark that whatever the "sentiments" of Mrs. Woodhull may be, and whatever she may be personally, those who know her have never laid upon her the charge of coarseness and ribald wit. One of our own Toledo editors could, if he would, refute that calumny, and as so far as his own private statement vouches for the truth of anything, the verdict he gives from actual acquaintance with Mrs. Woodhull, having frequently called upon her at her own home, bears testimony to her "almost timidity," and a face "as pure as the sun ever shone upon." If to be wholly truthful in setting forth the causes of our terrible social evils be "obscene and libidinous;" if to show up the lives of hundreds of prominent divines and laymen and their secret indulgences be obscene; if nine-tenths of her announcement of the principles of social freedom, as set forth in her speech at Steinway Hall, is sufficient to blacken her character and call down the curses of this immaculate generation on her head, we glory in this offering of herself a sacrifice for the sins of the people. Talk about the heroes of the battle field! The men or the women who do battle with the ignorance and the "ills that flesh is heir to" in this generation, are greater heroes than Waterloo or Bunker Hill ever saw. Most reformers have been content to fresco, mansard and flaggee over a rotten structure, so that the outside was able to be respectable, if the shams underneath did not show the patching of the social system. Ah! Let all the Tribunes in the land howl and clamor and flourish the whitewash in the faces of the people, the truth that this woman tells has somehow the ring of the true metal in it, and all the newspapers in the land cannot fill the gap that grows wider every day. In the words of Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker, quoted by Mrs. Cady Stanton, in a letter published one year ago in

several of the Eastern papers, we find the following: "This little woman has bridged with her prostrate body an awful gulf, over which all womanhood will walk to freedom." And on this matter of personal invective I will quote Mrs. Woodhull's own words: "That class of persons who have a propensity to steal or destroy the character of others, are more reprehensible than any other, save only those who invade the rights of life, since to place them in such relations to third persons is to destroy their means of happiness; and those who invade the pursuit of happiness by others, should be held to be the worst enemies of society, proportionably worse than the common thief, since what the burglar takes may contribute to actual needs, but that which the assassin of character appropriates does neither good to himself nor to any one else, and makes the loser poor indeed."

CHARLOTTE A. BARBER.

FREE LOVE.

I believe in love; it is the only true religion. I love everybody—my neighbor as myself, but don't want them to meddle with my affairs or monopolize my husband (providing I had one). I love and admire a beautiful man physically, morally, intellectually and Spiritually, and true to the heart's core. I am seeking my affinity with the same deep earnestness, as the Jews of yore sought the promised star of Bethlehem; and his eye must be pure and as clear as that star, and his system free from the diseases common to men that practice promiscuous sexual indulgence.

J. A. SPAULDING.

Dear Sisters—I undertake with great diffidence to present some views counter to your own, as announced in your comments upon the article entitled "A New View of the Case," in WEEKLY of 26th ult.

That you made the wisest choice possible of a subject to successfully carry out your very evident designs, in the selection of Beecher, I think few will dispute; but I do not so clearly understand or fully indorse your measurement or estimate of his character—that he is not an intellectual giant nor the profound thinker that his adoring friends would have the world, with themselves, believe, ought to be patent to all close readers and thinkers familiar with his writings and speeches, sermons and lectures.

A master of rhetoric it may be admitted that he is, and in his own peculiar line without an equal as an actor—in possession of an extraordinary and apparently inexhaustible stock of literary finery and gewgaws exactly suited to his extended range of superficial ideas, and not altogether lacking in the substantial and their appropriate habiliments—these seem really to constitute the elements of his success, the basis of his great popularity, forced, however, upon the public attention by the aids of the pecuniary influence and so-esteemed highest and most refined social standing and qualities of the renowned "Plymouth congregation."

The ideas of great goodness of heart which you insist upon according to him, notwithstanding and in the face of his many and undisguisable deviations from the "straight and narrow path" of truth and right, seem to me (pardon the criticism) utterly incongruent, besides, a goodness of heart or interior goodness of which he himself is unconscious and his best friends do not suspect him, seems hardly in any reasonable view of propriety to be justly accredited to him.

That there is an interior goodness and wisdom in every one, that shapes, controls and ultimately secures a desirable destiny for all, I think I know, but that is not his nor mine.

A rose is only the medium through which its odors are given to our delighted sense; and the same may be said of the *pothos fatida*, except the delight.

The closing sentence of your comments reads thus: "We feel that we know that the later philosopher (?) though compelled by the same great public, to save himself from moral death, to declare that the world does not move, still knows in his heart that it does;" that is; the great public has compelled the great philosopher, divine preacher and revered citizen to virtually utter and act a lie, to save himself from the very status in which that lie inevitably involves him and at the same time furnishes the proof. Do you mean this, my sisters? I trow not; or is mine the unwarrantable inference?

Our Brother Beecher, since there is nothing unclean *per se* (as Paul affirms that Jesus taught), may be a veritable Christian, but the only acceptable evidence of such fact—evident purity of motive in what he does—seems to be deplorably wanting in his case. Now, with your permission, and with the brotherly intent to relieve him from his present embarrassing dilemma, I would propose to take the stand with him (and perhaps others) and begin the revelation of every private secret deed done in violation of God's laws—or what are assumed to be His laws, and so accepted—to the whole world, to the intent that "everything now hid shall be revealed," and thus a prophecy of Scripture fulfilled, assured that what shall now be candidly confessed will not have to be repeated at "the general judgment," in which he, as a minister of the Gospel, assuredly believes; giving him the assurance, too, that such primal confession on the part of the proposer will so far transcend his own as that his shall appear as white as snow in comparison; in no boastful sense or way, however, but that truth may be magnified and glorified by the sacrifice of self.

Our brother may think the proposition unfair, because unequal, and unworthy of notice in consequence of the difference in social standing or otherwise, but I would remind him that the proposer may have as good a standing before God (if not before the Plymouth congregation and the world) as himself, and that his may be a false estimate of his own value and qualifications, engendered by a perverted estimate of what is substantially good and true, by those who have placed him in his present dangerous and unenviable position.

Jealousy and envy being sometimes assigned as reasons for such criticisms, I will only affirm, solemnly, that I would not assume or accept his position with all of its emoluments of pecuniary recompense and adulation—if I possessed far

greater abilities than are conceded to him—in view of the unmitigated fraud that it imposes upon a blind and gullible humanity, and because I esteem the conscious approval of God infinitely more satisfying than the praises of men, or anything else, real or imaginable.

Thine sincerely,

S.

WAS HE HENPECKED?

BY PHEBE CARY.

"I'll tell you what it is, my dear,"
Said Mrs. Dorking, proudly,
"I do not like that chancleer
Who crows o'er us so loudly.

"And since I must his laws obey
And have him walk before me,
I'd rather like to have my say
Of who should lord it o'er me."

"You'd like to vote," he answered slow.
"Why, treasure of my treasures,
What can you, or what should you know
Of public men, or measures?"

"Of course you have ability—
Of nothing am I surer;
You're quite as wise perhaps as I,
You're better, too, and purer.

"I'd have you just for mine alone;
Nay, so do I adore you,
I'd put you queen upon a throne
And bow myself before you."

"You'd put me! you! now that is what
I do not want precisely;
I want myself to choose the spot
That I can fill most wisely."

"My dear, you're talking like a goose—
Unholy and improper,"
But here again her words broke loose,
In vain he tried to stop her.

"I tell you, though she never spoke
So you could understand her,
A goose knows when she wears a yoke
As quickly as a gander."

"Why, bless your soul! what would you do?
Write out a diagnosis?
Speak equal rights? join with their crew,
And dine with the Sorosis?"

"And shall I live to see it, then,
My wife a public teacher?
And would you be a crowing hen,
That dreadful unsexed creature?"

"Why as to that I do not know;
Nor see why you should fear it,
If I can crow, why let me crow,
If I can't then you won't hear it."

"Now why," he said, "can't such as you
Accept what we assign them?
You have your rights, 'tis very true;
But then we should define them!"

"We would not peck you cruelly,
We would not buy and sell you;
And you, in turn, should think, and
And do just what we tell you!"

"I do not want you made, my dear,
The subject of rude men's jest;
I like you in your proper sphere:
The circle of a hen's nest!"

"I'd keep you in the chicken-yard,
Safe, honored and respected;
From all that makes us rough and hard,
Your sex shall be protected."

"Pray, did it ever make you sick?
Have I gone to the dickens?
Because you let me scratch and peck,
Both for myself and chickens?"

"O, that's a different thing, you know,
Such duties are parental;
But for some work to do, you grow
Quite weak and sentimental."

"Ah! yes, it's well for you to talk
About a parent's duty!
Who keeps your chickens from the hawk?
Who stays in nights, my beauty?"

"But, madam, you may go each hour,
Lord bless your pretty faces!
We'll give you anything but power,
And honor, trust and places.

"We'd keep it hidden from your sight
How public scenes are carried;
Why men are coarse, and swear, and fight—"
"I know it, dear; I'm married!"

"Why, now you gabble like a fool;
But what's the use of talking?
'Tis yours to serve, and mine to rule,
I tell you, Mrs. Dorking!"

"O, yes," she said, "you've all the sense,
Your sex are very knowing;
Yet some of you are on the fence
And only good at crowing."

"Ah! preciouslest of precious souls,
Your words with sorrow fill me;
To see you voting at the polls
I really think would kill me!"

"To mourn my home's lost sanctity,
To feel you did not love me;
And worse, to see you fly so high,
And see you roost above me!"

"Now, what you fear in equal rights
I think you've told precisely;
That's just about the place it lights,"
Said Mrs. Dorking wisely.

REFLECTIONS

RESULTING FROM A CONVERSATION WITH AN INTELLIGENT FRIEND ON THE SOCIAL EVIL.

Speaking of the earnest workers for the enfranchisement of woman from a thralldom more terrible than a thousand deaths, the friend could not conceive of the good resulting from the radical views of Victoria Woodhull, especially her doctrine of Free Love. I suggested, doubtless she was an agitator, to produce a moral earthquake and awaken deep thought. Lightning and thunder from Jehovah's eternal throne are requisite to purify the atmosphere and disperse the fog and smoke arising from the dens of iniquity—a bottomless pit in which the victims of the social evil are rapidly sinking. Remedies and way-marks are veiled in utter darkness, and the breathings of torment, anguish and despair rend earth and heaven. Let earth and heaven join in concert-prayer for their enfranchisement! Let all creation supplicate for a deliverance for the abandoned! Are they not our brothers and sisters? Should not our sympathies be moved to render aid? If a fellow-being was sinking beneath the waters, assistance would be rendered immediately, and the drowning man rescued. Is not the soul infinitely more precious than the body? And shall those who can render aid tarry and doze, letting the golden moments flee forever without making an effort? Solemn thought!

Woman in the present era is catering to sensualism in all her movements. Society, caste, dress, food are incentives in this direction. The matrimonial relations are subservient to this ignoble end. In maternity woman's thoughts and aspirations flow in the same low channel, as she is all the while an appendage or slave to the inordinate passions of her lord and master. Is legalized prostitution any less sinful, when weighed in God's scales of truth and justice? Is it a wonder that woman's voice should be crying aloud against such slavery? Should she not make an effort to break her shackles? Has she not an inalienable right to freedom? Should she not have power over her own body, and keep the spirit inviolable from all carnal desires? She must lead off in her enfranchisement, and attract man to a more elevated life. Instead of drawing him downward, and consenting to be a slave to his base desires and sensual loves, refine and lift him heavenward. Like a magnet, draw him, inspire him with unselfish love, that his imagination and thoughts may be pure. Thus she will aid him to rule his passions.

Such a help-mate will solicit his magnanimity, call out his manhood and he will be pleased to aid her in her earnest struggles for freedom.

Let the sexes co-operate and move in concert, this will speed this important reform, and thus confer honor on each other.

Should the secret caverns of the social iniquity be opened and ventilated, human nature would be shocked and appalled! Should the secrets be revealed in the marriage state, where man has a legal right to indulge his unbridled passions, where there are no bounds set to the unfruitful works of darkness, would not humanity shudder? Are such abuses of God's great law of uses any better than Mormonism? Let facts speak and the hidden abominations be proclaimed, and the highest law of reproduction instituted, that the race may be improved.

A conflict is imminent, and woman, by persistent will, divine love and earnest struggle, will compass man, attract him to purity, enlisting his higher faculties. He will solicit her inspirational and spiritual element to aid him to ascend the summit of holiness.

Thus shall the sexes harmonize and perfect each other by strict adherence to Jehovah's equitable law.

Dear heroines, move on, be true to the principles of justice and truth, and know no word like impossible. You are the pioneers of a great enterprise, a mighty revolution, which doubtless will result in great good to mankind. May a divine hand guide and endow you with wisdom from the highest intelligence is the sincere prayer of your friend,

OLIVE F. CHANDLER.

SPIRITUALISTIC.

SPIRITUALISTS vs. MATERIALISTS;

OR, THE RELATIONS OF SPIRIT AND MATTER.

Brother Tinney writes, requesting a further expression of my views on points which are of a deep general interest, as follows:

He says "I contend that the relations between spirit and matter are reciprocal, that they are the same in substance and convertible into each other; I hold this in opposition to the divided basis upon which all phrases of religion are founded. My ideal is to unite all Spiritualists and materialists upon a common platform, and that can only be accomplished by admitting the reciprocal relations and convertibility of spirit and matter."

In advocating the unity of spiritualists upon a common platform, I do not wish to be understood as leaving the materialists standing out in the cold, because I recognize the fact that they have souls—even if they do not themselves; yes, and many of them have noble, vigorous and grand souls too! The fact that I insist upon Spiritualists recognizing individual freedom in the press and on the rostrum, gives the assurance that the materialist, and Christian too for that matter, shall have equal opportunity to present their views before the bar of reason as the Spiritualist. If the objection is raised that I advocate a single article of creed, or expression of a faith or knowledge in a future life which the materialist does not believe in and consequently cannot unite with Spiritual societies, I reply that the primary point to secure is freedom of speech in the press and on the rostrum, so that those who differ from us may have an opportunity to present their views, as the truth has nothing to fear in freedom—only error and bigotry fears to be exposed to a free discussion of all sides of questions.

If Spiritualists and Materialists desire to unite upon a common platform without any expressed creed I shall not raise a single objection, because my knowledge of the truths of

spirit communion are so convincing to my soul that I have not a single doubt as to the final result of a free investigation by the Materialists. But at the present time the great mass of Spiritualists are not inclined to ignore the fact that the creed of Spiritualism is very different from the creed of any other religion in existence, because they are based upon faith, and Spiritualism alone is based upon the laws of nature, as it has tangible phenomena, which places it at once beyond the realm of faith upon the demonstrable basis of a science. Materialists have no right to ask us to ignore our knowledge of the science of organic chemistry, because it has a basis in natural phenomena which can be reproduced. It is equally absurd for them to ask us to ignore the Spiritual phenomena which underlie and form the basis for the demonstrable science of spirit life, because they may not happen to have a knowledge of or have investigated the phenomenal basis upon which it rests. When scientific minds of recognized ability and standing acknowledge that there is an intelligent power or force which produces these phenomena, outside of the physical organism, which they cannot explain upon any other theory than that of Spiritualism, it is useless to talk of Spiritualists ignoring their science of life; when thousands of the most obdurate of Materialists have been convinced that Spiritualism has a phenomenal and scientific basis, it is of no use to talk of unity upon a common platform other than for free discussion.

The co-called Christian church denies that discussion in her religious press and on her rostrum; hence it is the solemn duty of Spiritualists to put to shame this spirit of intolerance and bigotry of Christianity. It is a burning-shame to the so-called independent secular press of this Republic, to say nothing about the spiritual and reformed press, that they have permitted the muzzle of prejudice and Christianity to hold them trembling in the attitude of moral cowards, because they dare not mete equal and exact justice to all the conflicting phases of religion, or the individual right to express opinions.

If materialists will examine candidly the claims which Spiritualism presents for its recognition as the science of all religion, and not as a religion of faith, they will not be many years in coming upon the only ground which ought to form the common platform of unity of all religions, and that is expressed in few words, viz., the honest truth! I recognize all as brothers and sisters who have equal rights to express their views and opinions, and that those opinions are entitled to the same respect and reverence as mine. Reason, common sense, love and charity are the final standards of truth. I freely accord to materialists a free platform for discussion; but my creed and my faith are my own individual property or right; and I stand ready to defend my principles and opinions against the combined world if necessary, until they are shown to be erroneous. Upon this broad platform of unity I can cordially meet materialists and acknowledge them to be worthy brothers and sisters in the great cause of human emancipation.

I will now proceed to analyze the proposition that "his ideal is to unite all Spiritualists and Materialists upon a common platform, and that can only be accomplished by admitting the reciprocal relations and convertibility of spirit and matter."

Physical matter may be defined as that which has size, bulk and inertia. Spirit may be defined as that principle of life or instinct which vitalizes, penetrates and intermingles with all forms of matter. Physical matter has the quality of inertia, while spirit is endowed with eternal motion; hence they are antagonistic in property, quality and principle. Spirit acts upon, directs, governs and subdues matter by appropriating it to the evolution of physical life in accordance with nature's chemical processes. On the other hand physical matter is acted upon by spirit and moulded into the diversified forms of life. The whole plan of the various kingdoms of nature are ordered, arranged and executed by the intelligence of spirit power; while matter is only the inert subject acted upon. This is apparent even in the advancement of science, art and civilization, as the intelligence of the spirit world in conjunction with spirits in the body are continually gaining grand conquests over the inert substances of earth. Spirit becomes the master while physical matter is powerless to resist the intelligence of spirit.

The egg is nature's chemical laboratory, wherein individual life-soul is transplanted from the Spiritual to the Material school of life; but you cannot produce life from the egg, or any other physical substance, unless the life principle has been obtained from the spirit side of life and incarnated in matter.

The spirit, or soul, within is the active power that urges forward all the processes of development in nature. While matter is not created by spirit because it is eternal, yet spirit is constantly changing its forms. Just in the ratio that the soul can succeed in controlling the physical body in harmony with law will we see perfected specimens of physical beauty. Beauty must first exist in the soul nature before she can make it apparent through physical matter; but the highest capacities and beauties of soul may exist beneath an imperfect physical organism. It is true that disobedience of physical law may produce a poor body, although there may be a noble soul within struggling to find expression.

This illustrates the reciprocal action of spirit and matter upon each other, as to act and react are nature's methods of evolution; but nowhere is spirit or soul converted into matter or the reverse.

It is well established that our spirit friends can and do return to earth and give the most positive evidence of their identity, as well as assure us that they are immortal. They also bring back spirits who inform us that they have been thousands of years in spirit life and who claim still to be the same individual souls as when on earth, except that they have progressed in intelligence, and are less affected by earthly conditions.

These spirits teach that reincarnation is part of the great plan of nature, as it is a common thing in about say 3,000 years for spirits to be incarnated in another physical body. These spirits who have passed through a series of successive

reincarnations do not lose their soul identity, as they are the self-same souls—this soul-life which builds different physical organisms in order to acquire new experiences is constantly subduing matter and moulding it to its uses. The body is constantly changing through assimilation and disintegrating processes, so that once in about seven years it is an entirely new body; but the substance of the soul is always the same throughout eternity. Each impression is recorded accurately within the soul life, but never does it lose these impressions, neither is it possible for it to lose a single function or capacity, as you cannot divide the individual soul; neither is it possible to merge two souls into one, so that they will lose their identity and become one soul. If you cannot add to, take from, make a division of a soul, it is of necessity impossible to convert spirit or soul into physical matter other than the form in which soul has always had existence.

It is true that there is invisible physical matter which can be converted into visible matter, but both these forms of matter are wholly subject to and governed by the laws of physical evolution.

Spirit is also invisible matter or substance, but it is that substance you must bear in mind, which is so ethereal that it will intermingle with, or pass through all other substances, hence it possesses a quality which cannot belong to any other substance known as physical matter.

A substance in nature which possesses a quality that does not belong to any other form of matter is placed at once beyond the laws of physical matter, and hence it must be subject to other laws which rule in its sphere. Our spirit friends inform us that spirit is subject to laws that matter is not, and this information is in harmony with the analysis of reason. The logical conclusion from our chain of reasoning is, that it must be impossible to convert physical matter into spirit, as it does not possess all the qualities which would enable it to be subject to spirit laws. On the other hand, it would be equally absurd to suppose that the laws of physical evolution could be made to chemically change the form of a substance whose existence was entirely beyond the control of physical law, neither spirit or matter can be subject to or controlled by laws which govern in qualities they do not possess. In this analysis we find that spirit or soul and physical matter are not the same in substance, and we also find that they are not convertible substances, but their true relations are as opposites. In the reciprocal relations of free antagonistic discussion we find our platform of unity with materialism.

JOHN BROWN SMITH.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., June 2, 1873.

STANZAS.

Oh! chide me not for weeping,
She's still the same to me,
Though she has long been sleeping
Beneath the willow tree.

That name, when lightly spoken,
Falls sadly on my ear;
Deem not that death hath broken
A spell so strong, so dear.

Can the cold grave e'er smother
The heart's first, warmest flame?
That heart enshrine another,
And still love on the same?

Say not she early perished,
As flowers in autumn die,
And that the form I cherished
Dwells where her ashes lie!

No! Oft when tears are flowing
(As they are falling now),
And life's chill winds are blowing
Fiercely upon my brow,

That loved one who before me
Flew to her native sky,
Is bending fondly o'er me
As in bright years gone by.

How thin the curtain hiding
The spirit-world from me;
How oft, like shadows gilding,
That cherished form I see.

Then, though she has been sleeping
Long 'neath the willow tree;
Oh, chide me not for weeping,
She's still the same to me!

PERCY.

GRAND CENTRAL HOTEL, ST. LOUIS,
Monday, March 31, '73.

To Victoria C. Woodhull, Jennie C. Claflin, George Francis Train, and all whom it may concern—For the past months I have been dumb from sheer amazement at the startling events that have taken place in rapid succession, and this is one of the reasons you have not heard from me before. I have for the past two years been employed constantly as a lecturer, principally upon the spiritual rostrum. Exhausted, worn out, and despirited an hour ago, I have just been revived and respiration by reading the last number of WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY, which to me is indispensable.

On this 31st day of March, the anniversary of one of the grandest epochs known in the history of the world, I calmly, deliberately, and voluntarily, from a sense of duty and for no other reason than the obligation I owe to all mankind and the consciousness of right, have come to this resolution and make this solemn affirmation, which I pray that God's angels and all who sympathize with me in this work may help me to keep, viz.:

To devote my time, my energies, and all the strength and resources at my command, wholly and unreservedly, to the accomplishment of the following ends, until they shall be attained:

1. To the removal of the clutches of monopoly from the throat of the poor laboring classes.
2. To the procuring of the abolishment of the barbarous and inhuman practice of capital punishment.

3. To the making of prisons schools of reform instead of dungeons of darkness, dampness, fetid air and torture.

4. To the enfranchisement of women and the perfect equality and entire freedom of man and woman, socially and politically.

5. To the amendment of our present marriage laws, *alias* legalized adultery and prostitution; believing that taking the customary marriage vows and the consequent legal obligations is selling a beautiful birth-right of freedom and pure love, such as angels adore, for mutual dislike, misery, disease and crime, entailing upon offspring a blight and curse blacker than the mark of Cain.

6. To the overthrow of modern (so-called) Christianity, *alias* modern hypocrisy, superstition and mental slavery.

7. To the building up of the religion of humanity, love and universal brotherhood in its stead, and the developing of the science of life and government, with its multiform improvements and benefits.

To my very numerous, near and dear friends—I have nearly a hundred letters before me, filled with words of friendship, encouragement and sympathy. It would be the greatest pleasure of my life to answer them, and let my soul flow out in return as it fain would do. The former I cannot do, for to remain idle or to yield even to such pleasures in these times would cause an angel's wings to droop.

"We must all be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate,"

that the Sumpter guns that have really opened the war may not result in carnage.

We shall not be separated, however, for through the magnetic card of sympathy we, who have a common cause and a common purpose, will hold sweet converse.

The fiat has gone forth! The reveille is sounding! The world is waking! Soon the armies will be in battle array.

The hosts of light, freedom and progression on the one side, and the minions of ignorance, despotism and eternal night on the other.

L. F. CUMMINGS, R. P. Journal Office, Chicago, Ill.

P. S.—I lectured yesterday morning and evening before the Free Religious Society of this place. The Liberalists and Spiritualists of St. Louis are noble men and women—true as steel—and they deeply sympathize with you.

L. F. C.

CHICAGO, June 1, 1873.

EDITORS WOODHULL AND CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY:

Dear Friends—Long may you be spared to give the public facts which other reformers knew but lacked the moral courage to proclaim. I am not in the publishing business, nor a lecturer, but find plenty of time to admire and some means to help those who will not be muzzled—who utter their own convictions in spite of persecution and leave their work to the deliberate judgment of history.

The WEEKLY can now be found in most of the book stores in Chicago, whereas a few weeks ago it was difficult to procure a copy. The R. P. Journal, with its characteristic smallness, joined the rabble against you at a time when you most needed encouragement; now its local sale is trifling compared with that of the WEEKLY, and likely to become "beautifully less." When Spiritualists as a body see that no subject is too sacred for discussion, while many things are too sacred and important to pass without investigation, they will begin to realize the true objects of the liberal movement—free, honest thought, "untrammelled lives," and social and industrial justice. So far as denominational integrity can be secured or maintained under these principles it is well, but should never be sought at their expense.

Yours truly,

R. P. LEWIS.

WILCOXSON vs. WOODHULL.

FARMINGTON, Mich., April 20, 1873.

About two years ago the *Christian Union* said: "There is a paper, the *Religio-Philosophical What-ye-call-it*, published out in Chicago—there is." (Brother Beecher, suppose we call it the *Beecher Advocate*?) A late number contained a long article by Mrs. Wilcoxson, commending Beecher and Tilton and condemning Mrs. Woodhull. One of the prophets said: "The old heavens and the old earth shall pass away with a great noise." Mrs. Wilcoxson says, in substance, there has been so much noise of late that she remained silent. Why that ill-timed prudence? Noise attends the battle, and confusion the flank movement. Why did she not join Smith and Jones, forbidding the Woodhull to blow the ram's horn around the Jericho walls of our government? Now that the Woodhull is abroad again, may we not inquire if it is not the Wilcoxson's fault? O, that fatal silence! Where was her patriotism that she did not insist that no bail should be granted—not even at a hundred million? Better, far better, that one little woman should perish in prison without a trial, than that the whole world should be turned upside down. And then her lifeless body would have been so handy to bridge our way to freedom! If the morning sun only would go back to midnight, then the star from the east (Emma), and all the lesser lights would shine on our benighted souls, through the *Religio-Philosophical-What-ye-call-it*—that gallant paper that has a whole column for Mother Eve, but not one brave word for Sister Victoria.

GEORGE ROBERTS.

MATTONE, Ill., April 7, 1873.

Dear Weekly—Is not the following extract from a private letter from a New York gentleman of letters worthy a place in your columns?

HELEN NASH.

New York, March 24, 1873.

I was transported, translated, thrilled last night, listening to Jennie Leys in "God-in-the-Constitution." She came to the support of Woodhull with a power and eloquence unsurpassed in the history of logic and eloquence. I presume a report of the lecture will be given in the WOODHULL WEEKLY. I but speak the opinion of some of my intimate acquaintances, men of mark and intellectual power, when I assert that Jennie Leys is the most remarkable woman of these latter days. She makes a point in this century of in-

tellectual progress, and, like Joan of Arc, she leads the van in the starry constellation, now sweeping the zenith of intellectual and moral criticism. She stands forth the most positive battery ever charged for truth's elucidation. Far in advance she upholds the standard of progress with an enthusiasm and eloquence unequalled. I would only wish she could deliver her two lectures—"Modern Paganism" and "God-in-the-Constitution"—in every city in the land. More positive and terrific onsets upon wrong and outrage were never uttered from mortal lips. Remember I have only seen her; I have never spoken to her nor written to her, but speak my impressions from her thrilling magnetism and power. But I need not attempt to give you a description of her. It is enough to say that her efforts on the platform are convincing annihilations of dogmas and creeds, and all the baseless superstitions that have for centuries propped them up and kept a semblance of vitality in them.

A.

J. L. MANSFIELD.

Will you allow me to say to the friends of radical reform, through the WEEKLY, that our brother, J. L. Mansfield, of Sharon Center, O., is about to enter the field as a lecturer? I have been intimately acquainted with our brother during the last five years, and know him as one possessing great force of character, combined with earnestness, sincerity, and a genuine sympathy with the most radical reform. He was put in the Insane Asylum, at Utica, N. Y., five years ago, at the instigation of bigots, on account of mediumship. His influences took such surprising turns that he was removed successively into the various wards and there became an eye-witness to the inhuman treatment to which the inmates are subjected. And now, since the recent schemes to convict the Woodhull fraternity of insanity, and the outrages perpetrated against George Francis Train, our brother is burning to unmask the corruption that permeates our Insane Asylums; and he is capable of doing it. He will therefore take the field on that line. Our brother is a very effective speaker, a man of the age and hour, one who is brave enough to face the exigencies of revolution and who will give no quarter to tyrannous institutions. I most cordially recommend him to the favorable consideration of all reformers.

E. WHIPPLE.

HAVANA, Ill., April 30, 1873.

Mrs. Woodhull—In behalf of a multitude of interested and inquiring minds, I wish to propound to you a few questions, in the hope of eliciting replies that will enlighten these minds upon a few obscure points. I will try to speak briefly and to the point. First, let us say for ourself that we admit the correctness of your theory of social freedom. We fully concur with you that the question of sexuality is the question of all questions, and upon the proper solution of this depends, not only the health, but the perpetuity of the race. Long ago we were convinced of this, but had not the penetration to discern how this solution was to be made a practical one. Now, up to a certain point you have made yourself perfectly clear, I think, to all. But beyond this we are left in doubt. We do not understand you to make any provision for the results of social freedom, and they certainly cannot take care of themselves as society is organized to-day, except at too great a cost to those who accept them. What I mean is this: We believe, nay, we know, that men and women naturally demand, and require for perfect health and development, the sexual embrace. But, suppose a woman experiences this desire, and obeying the call of nature, seeks and finds natural gratification. Well, what is the almost certain consequence? Why, conception, of course. Now just here is the point we are in quest of enlightenment upon. In this case, suppose the women do desire maternity, where or to whom shall she look for support or maintenance for herself and child, in many a probable emergency, when she may be powerless to maintain herself? We think we do see a solution of this difficulty, in some sort of communistic life, but we fear the practical realization of this is afar off. Meantime, what provision is to be made for these results?

But we have another case, hedged round by still greater difficulties. Suppose a woman do desire and need sexual intercourse, but, for reasons which to her are all sufficient, do not desire maternity, what shall she do? Forego the pleasure and the benefit to be derived from the sexual act, and repress these natural desires, or resort to preventatives of some sort (which, it seems to me, must be unnatural), or accept the possible consequences, though unwilling to do so? I cannot see how we are to resist the conclusion, that we are forced to sacrifice enjoyment and benefit or abnegate self, if we accept either alternative; and we must, in this case, accept one or the other. We must either refuse or deny Nature's demands, or resort to preventatives of conception, or else accept the results. Perhaps we are to practice, as some teach, upon the theory that women are to bear children every or every other year, as trees bear fruit. Again, I can imagine how, in communistic life, where the cares and burdens of practical life are more equally distributed, this might be possible, and women have less care than in our present isolated family life, with but two or three children. Still, it appears to me, that if a woman take upon herself the responsibility of maternity every time her nature may call for the realization of the act which leads to that, she cannot pursue vigorously, persistently, nor with the assurance of permanent success, any trade, pursuit, or profession whatever. We might, perhaps, could we bear our babes with as little pain and care as the trees their fruit, or the birds their young; but this is not so. We all know, who have had experience at least, that children require unceasing care and watchfulness, from the hour of conception even until they attain the years of majority. We see everywhere that women strive in every possible way to avoid the frequent responsibility of maternity, even when happily married, and in the possession of abundance. Why? Not because women do not love and wish to be mothers, but because in isolated family life these cares, added to others always accompanying domestic life, completely hedge woman in, not only from many needed and coveted enjoy-

ments, advantages and associations, but make it impossible for her to follow out the wish of any ambition of her being that may call for action outside of home life. If she possess talent, or genius even of a high order, it must all be repressed or crushed out under the burden of home and maternal cares and duties. I know from experience how this is, for my soul constantly cries out against this terrible repression of all its higher ambitions and faculties. It is plain enough to me why women object to large families, at least women who have some overpowering aspirations to pursue a special art, pursuit or profession in life which they do not have in common with men. Not only ambition, but capacity, talent, yea, and genius is feminine as well as masculine, and either sex demands expression.

Now, having submitted these questions and reflections to you, who we believe comprehend this social problem from its first to its final principles, we will close, only adding that to you the public look for guidance out of this wilderness of doubt and dread upon these social issues into the sunlight of certainty and happy assurance.

Thine in the cause of truth,

ELVIRA WHELOCK RUGGLES.

HEAVEN HERE.

Sometimes we say, "there could have been
In all the world no pain like this,"
And mourning for the pleasures gone,
These present miss.

Unlike the saints who strangely teach
In Heaven to look for perfect bliss,
Descend to things of earth, and make
A Heaven of this.

'Tis here my soul shall exercise
Her powers of thought—of love—of care;
We furnish here for deeds of love,
Not upward there.

Judge here the vile, here help the good,
Be this thy faith, thy prayer, thy fast,
Nor wait for Heaven's deferred assize,
Or trumpet blast.

Who looks not back, but presses on,
Disdaining earth for far-off prize,
His manhood tramples under foot
And God defies.

As castles founded deep in earth,
In giddy height securely stand,
So deeds of love shall here create
The promised land.

E'en though the storm in deepening gloom
Pass over thy devoted head,
To him who loves there is no tomb—
No mouldering dead.

GEO. VAUGHAN, of Virginia.

RESOLUTIONS

PASSED BY THE SPEAKERS' CONVENTION RECENTLY HELD AT
DANSVILLE, NEW YORK.

S. N. Walker read the following from the Committee on Resolutions:

WHEREAS, we believe that the signs of the times portend danger to liberty, especially in our own land, therefore,

Resolved, 1st. That it is every man's duty to speak his opinion, and that we will everywhere, on all proper occasions, express our views.

2d. That while, as a body of Spiritualists, we cannot, without injustice to individuals, unqualifiedly approve or condemn any system of ideas derived or claiming derivation from the cardinal doctrine of Spiritualism—the possibility and actuality of spirit communication with earth—yet we do recognize in the malignant persecution, contrary to all law and justice, of Victoria C. Woodhull and George Francis Train, the first overt acts of a Christian conspiracy against freedom of thought and action.

3d. That, accordingly, as the only way to preserve inviolate the rights of American citizenship, secured in legal forms by the founders of our constitution, it is necessary for us to resist to the uttermost the attempt now making to inculcate it with the virus of amendment in the interest of Christianity—a special form of religion not universally accepted by the American people, and also to watch and resist any other attempt making or to be made for the furtherance of any scheme whatever against the unalienable right of all persons to their own opinions and to the freest possible expression thereof in both word and deed, subject only to the condition of non-interference with the equal right of others.

Resolved, That our thanks are due, and are hereby tendered to the good Spiritualists and others of Dansville for providing commodious apartments for holding these meetings, and for the bountiful supply of refreshments furnished, and also to the officers, speakers and musicians, for the intellectual feast provided for our instruction and entertainment.

The report caused a very animated discussion. An amendment to strike out the names of Woodhull and Train was put to vote and lost, and the resolutions were then unanimously adopted.

CIRCULAR.

OFFICE INDEPENDENT TRACT SOCIETY,
CLINTON, Mass., May 26, 1873.

To all Friends of Free Thought, Progress and Reform throughout the World:

Whereas, we are daily receiving letters of inquiry as to the aim and objects of the Independent Tract Society, which letters it is impossible for us to answer through the mails, therefore we avail ourselves of the best medium extant to inform those who have written and all others, that we cannot reply to but few, unless twenty-five cents accompany the request. It ought not to surprise the readers of the

WEEKLY to learn that the Independent Tract Society has been scarcely less hampered in its action than the firm of Woodhull & Claflin.

Its aim is precisely the same, consequently its enemies are equally virulent and implacable. The institution, however, "still lives;" it has passed through the perilous stage of infancy, and seems to be, like the reformer of Nazareth, growing in favor with God and man.

But the conflict is mighty. We have been trying for months to get the time to write and the means to issue an elaborate circular and appeal to the radicals of the world. Time and means have hitherto been insufficient. A score of tracts on subjects of the most vital importance to mankind are delayed from the same cause. In partial explanation we will state that it was found imperatively necessary to start a weekly organ in this locality wherewith to fight the opposition and defend ourselves from the wanton attacks of the local paper. Accordingly we are nearly ready to issue the first number of the *Reflex*, to be issued every Wednesday at \$1 a year in advance.

We sincerely hope and trust our friends who are interested in the continued life of the "Independent" will rally to our support at once by subscriptions. We have not as yet received a single life subscription to the Tract Society. This we record with regret; but we have had a great many annual subscriptions, all of which we intend soon to publish.

Dear friends of progress and free thought, we write in much haste and great tribulation. Will you not aid us in this our work for all humanity? Every cent shall be devoted to this cause, even though we starve ourselves and endure every privation.

The writer of these words, prepared and presented for signatures, the first protest against Victoria Woodhull's imprisonment. That protest was regarded with distrust by an assembly of Spiritualists to whom it was submitted. But, thank God, we finally prevailed, and soon followed a shower of earnest protests against the unprecedented outrage. Subsequently, on the 29th or 30th of December last, the writer drew up the first protest in behalf of that grand man—George Francis Train. So our friends will see what our earnestness and our sacrifices must have been. We have been in this fight for the last thirty years, we are there still, and intend to speak the words needed at this last hour:

While language lasts
Or life remains.

To all inquirers who inclose twenty-five cents, full written particulars will be sent regarding this enterprise, and all who inclose a one-cent stamp shall receive circulars, prospectuses, etc., which will acquaint them with our whole plan. Hoping, for the sake of suffering humanity, that you will generously respond,

I remain, yours forever,

A. BRIGGS DAVIS.

MATRIMONY.

I fear the marriage consummated between the Spiritualists and Liberalists of Worcester, by A. A. Wheelock, will be under the necessity of applying to the courts of Indiana for a divorce, for Mrs. Spiritualism has learned to her sorrow that she cannot affiliate with Mr. Infidelity, and the consequences are a deal of hard pulling to determine which will be master; and Liberalism being a useless appendage (like some other men), the result is apparent, for you know a woman seldom fails to accomplish whatever she undertakes.

J. A. SPAULDING.

LETTER FROM MOSES HULL.

KOKOMO, Ind. June 10, 1873.

Dear Sister and Brother—I feel that I must steal the time to write you just a few lines, to let you know that my heart still beats in harmony with you and your especial work. I am neither dead nor asleep; with my heart and soul I am pulling with you in every department of this movement. I remember hearing the angels say, using Victoria's organs of speech: "We will not let her suffer as much in the future as in the past; we will take her out of this." I only fear that her physical strength will not hold out.

Can I do anything for you, if so command me. My all, not excepting my life, is in the cause. Elvira is with you fully, not only in sentiment but in preaching and practice.

Let me say the number of your WEEKLY, of May 17, I consider the most important document it has been my province to meet. If I had the means I would circulate them like autumn leaves. I will see you about the 4th of July.

Truly your brother,

MOSES HULL.

Mrs. F. A. Logan, after spending two months in this city is again Westward bound, and has recently lectured in Canastota, Syracuse and Rochester, to appreciative audiences, on the various reforms of the day. Her sister, a trance medium who sees and describes the departed, is in company with her, and will make engagements to lecture and hold seances in towns and cities on the line of the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railroad, between Buffalo and Chicago. Address immediately,

MRS. F. A. LOGAN, Buffalo, N. Y.

SEBEWA, June 2, 1873.

Dear Woodhull—Please insert in the columns of the WEEKLY the following:

NOTICE:

The Spiritualists of Sebewa, Ionia County, Mich., will hold a Grove Meeting, near Sebewa Corners, on Saturday and Sunday, June 21 and 22, 1873. Let all Spiritualists and friends of liberal thought consider themselves invited to attend. Preparations will be made by the friends of Sebewa to entertain all strangers from abroad. Come one, come all, and let us have a feast of reason and a flow of soul.

By order of,

P. G. COOK, President.

MRS. ELLEN REEDEN, Secretary.

Friendly papers please copy.

CORNVILLE, Maine, June 10, 1873.

Dear Victoria—Will you confer upon me the favor of announcing in the WEEKLY that I speak in the State of Michigan during the autumn months; and that societies in that State which have a free platform, and desire a radical speaker, can secure my services by addressing me in Cornville, Maine, care of Seward Mitchell.

Truly your friend and follower,

NELLIE L. DAVIS.

THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SPIRITUALISTS.

NEW YORK, June 16, 1873.

A meeting of the Board of Trustees of the American Association of Spiritualists is called to meet at 48 Broad street, New York, on Wednesday, June 25, 1873, at 12 o'clock, noon. As business of importance will come before the meeting, a full Board is specially requested.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL, President.

MASS MEETING.

The Spiritualists will hold a Grove Meeting in Battle Creek, Mich., on Saturday and Sunday, June 28 and 29. Six or more speakers are engaged. The radical questions of the hour will be the themes of agitation. A great multitude is expected. Bring food, money and the good angels with you.

COM.

A NAME FOR ANY SEEKER AFTER TRUE AND USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.

SCIENTIALISM, *n.*—That which produces either science or art; doctrine that any person may justly search for any idea and justly proclaim, after thorough investigation, any idea that he or she believes would be either useful or truthful to a part or to the whole of mankind.

SCIENTIALIST, *n.*—One who believes the doctrine of scientialism.

SCIENTIAL, *a.*—"Producing science;" pertaining to scientialism and scientialist.

STOWE, Vt., May 1, 1873.

ROLIN C. PAUL.

REFORMATORY LECTURERS.

In view of the determination recently manifested by certain would-be authorities in Spiritualism, and from a sincere desire to promote their expressed purposes, to set up a distinction that will produce a free and unmuzzled rostrum; we shall henceforth publish in this list the names and addresses of such speakers, now before the public and hereafter to appear, as will accept no engagement to speak from any committee of arrangement, with any proviso whatever, as to what subject they shall treat, or regarding the manner in which it shall be treated. A reformatory movement, such as Spiritualism really is, cannot afford so soon to adopt the customs of the Church and fall into its dotage. On the contrary, it demands an unflinching advocacy of all subjects upon which the Spirit world inspires their mediums under the absolute freedom of the advocate. To all those speakers who wish to be understood as being something above the muzzled ox which treads out the corn, this column is now open:

C. Fannie Allyn, Stoneham, Mass.
J. I. Arnold, Clyde, O.
Rev. J. O. Barrett, Battle Creek, Mich.
Mrs. L. F. M. Brown, National City, Cal.
Annie Denton Cridge, Wellesley, Mass.
Warren Chase, St. Louis, Mo.
A. Briggs Davis, Clinton, Mass.
Mrs. L. E. Drake, Plainwell, Mich.
Miss Nellie L. Davis, North Billerica, Mass.
Lizzie Doten, Pavilion, 57 Tremont street, Boston, Mass.
R. G. Eccles, Andover, Ohio.
Mrs. Elvira Hull, Vineland, N. J.
Moses Hull, Vineland, N. J.
D. W. Hull, Hobart, Ind.
Charles Holt, Warren, Pa.
E. Annie Hinman, West Winsted, Ct.
Anthony Higgins, Jersey City, N. J.
W. F. Jamieson, 139 Monroe street, Chicago, Ill.
Miss Jennie Leys, 4 Tremont Temple, Boston, Mass.
Cephas B. Lynn, Sturgis, Mich.
Mrs. F. A. Logan, Buffalo, N. Y.
Anna M. Middlebrook, Bridgeport, Ct.
J. H. Randall, Clyde, O.
A. C. Robinson, Lynn, Mass.
Mrs. J. H. Severance, Milwaukee, Wis.
Laura Cuppy Smith, No. 1 Atlantic street, Lynn, Mass.
M. L. Sherman, Adrian, Mich.
John Brown Smith, 812 N. 10th st, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mrs. H. F. Stearns, Corry, Pa.
Dr. H. B. Storer, 107 Hanover street, Boston, Mass.
C. W. Stewart, Janesville, Wis.
J. H. W. Toohey, Providence, R. I.
F. L. H. Willis, Willimantic, Ct.
Lois Waisbrooker, Battle Creek, Mich.
Prof. E. Whipple, Clyde, Ohio.
John B. Wolff, 510 Pearl street, N. Y.
Wm. Rose, M. D., 102 Murison street, Cleveland, O.
Dr. Geo. Newcomes, Jackson, Mich.
Mrs. L. H. Perkins, Kansas City, Mo.
James Foran, M. D., Waverly, N. Y.
Mrs. C. M. Stowe, San Jose, Cal.
Clara A. Field, Newport, Maine.
Hannah T. Stearns, Trance Speaker, Corry, Penn.
H. H. Brown, 387 W. Madison street, Chicago, Ill.

THE ALDERNEY DAIRY, at 113 Nassau street, has become one of the recognized institutions of the city. It is unique and popular, and conducted strictly upon temperance principles. Milk is the specialty, but everything into which it enters as a constituent is furnished in real farm-house style. If you are thirsty you may be sure of getting a drink of pure milk at this establishment; and if you are hungry, you may be equally sure of a nice treat in the delicacies that too often at usual restaurants are spoiled in their preparation. Indeed, this may be considered an imported country farm-house. Everything that grows upon a farm in this country, and everything that is manufactured from what grows upon a farm is here constantly served in the neatest and most pleasing manner. We advise our hungry and thirsty friends to call and examine this institution.

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Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly,

48 Broad Street, New York City.



NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 28, 1873.

PERSONAL.

The readers of the WEEKLY will please excuse the lack of usual editorial matter in this number. I am not yet sufficiently recovered to labor as is my wont, but trust when another paper shall be issued that the WEEKLY will have resumed its accustomed appearance.

To those who have so kindly sent me assurances of love and confidence, and words of comfort and cheer, during my prostration, I return heartfelt thanks, trusting in the future to be able to retain by continuous labor the confidence and esteem my past has won.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

THE OBSCENITY DODGE OUTRAGE.

THE U. S. GOVERNMENT THREATENING THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

It could not have been surprising to any reader of the WEEKLY to learn that the United States, represented by District-Attorney Bliss, Assistant District-Attorney Purdy, having immediate charge, never intended to bring us to trial upon the indictment for obscenity, upon which we were confined in Ludlow-street Jail during the month of November last. In the Cooper Institute speech of January 9, it was frankly announced that it was our belief the intention never was to bring the case to trial, but that the indictment would be held as a threat over our heads indefinitely. This prediction has been verified by the announcement in open Court of the District Attorney, that "we do not intend to try them on that indictment, but we do intend to try the indictment found in January."

THE OBJECT OF THE PROSECUTION.

It will be remembered that on the first arrest it was publicly announced in Court by Assistant District Attorney, General Davies acting for Noah Davis, then District Attorney, now a Judge of the Supreme Court of the County of New York, that the arrest was for the purpose of vindicating the reputation of a revered citizen, it being well worth the while of the United States to make the arrest for that purpose. The fact that a preliminary examination was denied by the immediate finding of an indictment and the issue of a Bench Warrant carried out that theory.

A SECOND ARREST.

After having detained us in jail a whole month by the immense bail demanded, and finding that did not prevent us from release, nor from continuing to publish the WEEKLY, nor from making a speech—"The Naked Truth"—it was found necessary to make another effort to squelch us, and accordingly another arrest was made, planned to prevent the Cooper Institute speech, in which it failed. Under this arrest we had a preliminary examination before Commissioner Davenport, resulting in holding for a second indictment upon the following decision:

"I have carefully examined the various grounds of defense urged on behalf of the prisoners, together with all the authorities cited on both sides, and but for the ruling in a recent English case (Regina agt. Shore), not cited, should have considerable doubt as to the Challis articles being, as is claimed by the prosecution, obscene in law.

"The case of Shore is so nearly parallel, however, to that of these defendants, and the grounds of defense and arguments of counsel so much the same as to compel me to adopt the ruling therein and hold the article in question to be obscene.

"Upon the further question as to the intention of Congress

in the framing and passage of the statute under which these proceedings were instituted, I am quite clear that a case of this character was never contemplated, and under ordinary circumstances I should at once release the accused.

"In view, however, to the importance as well as to the subtlety of the questions involved, the anxiety of the prisoners, all well as the community for definite settlement of the whole matter, I am disposed to and shall hold the prisoners to await the action of the Grand Jury, to the end that a judicial determination by the Circuit Court of the United States may be had, and the rights both of the prisoners and the public be finally ascertained."

ALLEGED CONTEMPT.

It will be observed that Commissioner Davenport failed to find anything in the paper alleged as obscene that came within the meaning of the statute law of the United States—the Challis article even being no exception. No mention was made of the remainder of the paper. Upon the examination, however, Mr. Purdy made a great noise about the enormity of the contempt we had exhibited in daring to send more papers through the mails, when there was an untried indictment pending for a like offense. We held, however, that there was no offense committed, and that the charge was made purposely and solely to cover Mr. Beecher from the necessity of taking any steps to defend himself. We held that there was no statute law of the United States or the State of New York that could prevent us from telling the truth about Mr. Beecher or any other member of the community, being alone responsible to such individual for the truth or falsity of the charges, and not to any law for obscenity. Neither could there be any law to prevent the full and free discussion of the principle of social freedom, since to hold differently would be virtually to say that the discussion of any subject may be prohibited by statute law and the freedom of the Press thereby invaded. But we did not proceed upon this supposition until we had fortified our own opinion by the judgment of some of the best legal opinions to be had in the country, among the rest the following from Gen. B. F. Butler seems to be conclusive upon these points:

OPINION OF GEN. BUTLER.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 19, 1873.

MRS. VICTORIA C. WOODHULL, 48 Broad street, N. Y.:

Dear Madame—I shall not be able to find time from my public duties to take part in the trial of your cause. While I thank you for the offer of retainer, and should regret not being able to afford my services as counsel, where I think a legal wrong is being done, yet I cannot believe that in the only prosecution of which I have any knowledge, or to which I could attend, if I had any time, to wit, the prosecution of yourself and sister for sending obscene literature through the mails in the courts of the United States, there is the slightest need of my services or the services of any counsel.

I feel as certain as I can of any question, upon the construction of the statute, that the action of the United States prosecuting attorneys was based wholly upon a misconception and misconception of that statute upon which the newspapers inform me the prosecution against you is based. That statute was meant to cover, and does cover, sending that class of lithographs, prints, engravings, licentious books and other matters which are published by bad men, for the purpose of corruption of youth, through the United States mail. It is a very proper statute, and well framed, and effects a good object, and the Committee of the Judiciary of the House are considering how far they may extend it. But that it was intended to cover or prevent a description of facts alleged to have happened or acts to have been done by any individual manifestly not for this purpose, however improper or wrong any other purpose might have been in the mind of the sender as regards the person about whom the facts are set forth, the statute never was intended to reach.

Without giving any opinion of the propriety or impropriety, the truth or falsehood of matter set forth, or of the taste or want of it, of publishing it, in my judgment as a lawyer, the publication of which complaint is made against you was made under your responsibility for indictment for publishing a libel upon the persons implicated, subject to such defense or want of it, from the truth or falsehood of the article, as you may set up.

I am led to this opinion because, assuming the facts published by you to be true in exactly the form you state them, when we come to the guilt or innocence of their publication, that must wholly depend upon the motives for their publicity; because the most offensive and most terrible facts, such as are dealt with frequently in court in many classes of cases, are published and distributed through the mails. They are not libelous because they are true, and the motive for publishing them is a justifiable one; and the difficulty in bringing this class of publications under the statute against transmitting obscene literature through the mails, is that the truth or falsity of the fact stated in the objected to writing cannot be tried, nor can the motives of the sender, however justifiable or however proper, be put in evidence as a defense. To test it: suppose on your trial, the indictment should set out the words which you are alleged to have sent, and then District Attorney should send a copy of that indictment through the mail to his assistant, and the words should be held to be obscene writing, then he would have transmitted through the mails the same

obscene writing which you had and would be liable to a like condemnation.

I am so firmly convinced that I am right in this that if I were your counsel I should advise you to make no further defense, but mere matter of law, reserving any defense you may have to be put forward whenever you may be indicted, as if the publication is false, you may well be, for a false and scandalous and malicious libel against the party injured, which is a crime of itself unless the publication is true and from good motives."

BENJ. F. BUTLER.

Further, we claimed then, and still claim, that the paper of November 2d was written, published and circulated through the mails directly in the interests of morality. We hold it to be the duty of all public journals to point out the disreputable conduct of all members of the community coming to their knowledge, and failing to do which they become directly responsible for the continuation of such conduct and for the involvement of future victims. We therefore claimed, and we still claim, that we had a perfect legal right to circulate that paper in the mails, and that in so doing we neither violated nor intended to violate any statute law of the country.

It could not be expected by District Attorney Bliss that we should forego our legal rights simply because he or his predecessor—Noah Davis—had seen fit to arrest us upon a trumped up charge of obscenity to vindicate the reputation of Mr. Beecher, and, therefore, he cannot say that there was any intent on our part to commit contempt of the United States law or Courts. Indeed, no court had then taken cognizance of the case, and contempt even admitting that any of the papers had been mailed was therefore impossible. Or, did he expect by permitting this charge to hang over our heads untried, that thereby we were to be prevented from reprinting the Beecher article? This evidently was the end to be gained, as recent events have clearly demonstrated; but it did not prevent it, as we republished in No. 128 the whole Beecher-Tilton Scandal.

MORE ACTION NECESSARY.

Finding by this action on our part that we still insisted upon exercising our legal rights and to maintain a free press, in spite of all their threats and illegal acts, further action became necessary; and as they could not very well arrest us upon a new charge before disposing of the old ones, they were compelled to make an appearance of trying the indictments. Consequently, we were notified to appear for trial. We did so, but made a motion to quash the indictments, upon the ground of their insufficiency. They charged simply that the whole paper was obscene, and made no specifications as to what particular language was to be held to be so. It was at the argument of this motion that Mr. Purdy discovered that he had only the original November indictment in court, and announced that he did not intend to proceed to trial upon that. This, of course, ended the proceedings for that time, since there was nothing before the Court.

At a subsequent date, however, we were notified to appear for trial, when the motion "to quash" was renewed for the second indictment. Although Judge Blatchford overruled the motion, it seems to us, upon his own after action, it should not have been overruled. When the motion to quash was denied, the following colloquy ensued:

Mr. Jordan (of our counsel).—"May it please your Honor, how are we to know to what we have to make answer? This indictment leaves us entirely in the dark. It sets out no language contained in the paper that is to be relied upon to sustain the charge of obscenity, and we cannot be expected to be able to make a defense unless we know with what we are charged."

Mr. Purdy (Assistant District Attorney).—"We hold that the whole paper is obscene."

Judge Blatchford.—"That cannot be. For instance, the indictment sets forth that a certain paper called WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY is obscene. Now, the title of the paper certainly is not obscene, neither can you say that its date is obscene. You must, therefore, specify what parts of the paper you are going to depend upon to maintain this charge. You must furnish counsel for the defense with a bill of particulars, that they may know the nature of the charge, of which the indictment furnishes no clue, so that they may prepare a defense."

It seems to us that this action on the part of the Court contradicted the overruling of the motion to quash, because it was on account of this very indefiniteness of the indictment, which he so clearly set forth in his remarks to the District Attorney, that the motion was made. A Bill of Particulars is really an amendment to the indictment, and a direct acknowledgment on the part of the Court that the indictment was incomplete, and therefore that it ought to have been quashed.

But we presume the Court assumed a similar position to that of Commissioner Davenport, set forth in the above decision, that "in view of the importance as well as the subtlety of the questions involved, the anxiety of the prisoners (?) as well as the community (?) for definite settlement of the whole matter," I shall hold the indictment good and put the defendants upon their defense, and shall set the case for Monday, June 16, at 11 o'clock.

On account of our appearance in the Oyer and Terminer Court on the charge of libel on Monday, this case necessarily went over, Wednesday, the 18th inst., being named. At this time it seemed that the prosecution was not ready to go on, and the case stands over until next Monday, 23d inst. Can it be possible that the near approach to an actual trial

brings the danger of a failure to convict like "Banquo's ghost," too vividly before them; or what is the matter? We think the Bill of Particulars furnished will let in some light on this otherwise dark subject.

BILL OF PARTICULARS.

United States District Court, Southern District of New York.

THE UNITED STATES

28.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL, et al.

In obedience to a suggestion by his Honor Judge Blatchford, I give you notice that the particular passages which I shall present to the jury in the above cause are as follows, to wit: The article on the second page of the paper entitled WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY, Vol. 5, Whole No. 3, dated Nov. 2, 1872, said article being entitled "Beginning of the Battle."

Also that part of the article entitled "The Beecher and Tilton Scandal Case," found on the tenth page of said paper, first column, beginning with the words "More than two years ago," and ending with the paragraph.

Also that part of said article found on the same page on third column, beginning with the words "I believe that the marriage institution," and extending to the first column of the eleventh page, to the words "I paid no special attention," on said page and column.

Also all that part of said article beginning at the head of the second column of said eleventh page to the words "extract from a letter."

Also all that part on said column beginning with the words "The existence" and ending with the words "his own lips."

Also all that part of the third column of said page, from the top of column to the word "statements."

Also all of same column, beginning with the words "Mr. Tilton" and ending with the word "counsel."

Also all of the twelfth page, first column, beginning with the words "I ridiculed" and ending with "private affairs."

Also all of said column, beginning with "I believe" and ending with "true science."

Also all of the third column on said page, beginning with the words "my position" and extending through the first column of the thirteenth page into the second column of said page to the words "its persecution."

Also all of the third column of the said thirteenth page; also all of the column of the fourteenth page, beginning with the words "This man."

I also reserve the right to read to the jury such other portions of said paper as may be necessary to show the tendency of the matter to create obscene ideas.

Respectfully,

GEORGE BLISS, U. S. Attorney.

MR. BEECHER DRAGGED INTO COURT.

Thus for the first time we are told that a large part of the Beecher article is held to be obscene. The United States at last assume that a newspaper shall not be permitted to criticize in its own method the acts of "revered citizens," whose reputations it is well worth the while of the United States to vindicate. Mr. Purdy did not dare to assume this upon the preliminary examination, but distinctly averred that it was "the trophy of her virginity" that was the obscene thing contained in the WEEKLY. The friends of Mr. Beecher have thus far held that he has nothing to do with this case; but this action of the District Attorney drags him into Court in spite of himself, the parts selected consisting in part of the charges against Mr. Beecher. We could have wished for no better thing than this. This makes way for the public discussion of the whole matter. This step certainly could not have been taken by the consent of Mr. Beecher, and therefore shows that there is another influence at work in some way to compel this matter to further investigation. Possibly the "Covenanters" are not all serene in their silence. Perhaps some one of them may wish to take advantage of this case to divert the public attention in a different direction from that in which it was set by the publication of the covenant between Beecher, Bowen and Tilton.

And this view of the case is sustained by the fact that the District Attorney has obtained another indictment—a third—based upon the *Thunderbolt* number of the WEEKLY, containing the republication of the Beecher article. This fact was only learned to-day (Wednesday). Now, this action can mean but one of two things. It must be war upon Mr. Beecher through the means of which use was first made to vindicate him, or it means that the United States are determined to prevent the advocacy of social freedom, and thus make every number of the WEEKLY indictable. Perhaps the two things may be the real aim of the prosecution; but this will be demonstrated on the trial on Monday next, for which we are fully prepared, and to which we invite the prosecution without further dodging, perfectly willing to accept whatever issue they can make of it, with all their preparations and manipulations of the various methods known to the initiated in the facts behind the scenes.

ARE ALL READERS OF THE WEEKLY OBSCENE?

But how does this business on the part of the United States affect the thousands of readers of the WEEKLY? At least five millions of people have read the Beecher-Tilton Scandal. Are all of them willing to quietly sit under the insinuation that they have dealt in, have bought, read and

circulated obscene literature? Will our regular readers quietly accept the allegation that, every week, they receive an obscene paper into their homes, to be read by their families? Let the United States beware! When we are convicted of obscenity, thousands upon thousands of other citizens are also convicted along with us.

HOW SHALL ALL THIS END?

As we have said before we do not believe the District Attorney ever intends to try this case, and we never shall until the trial is begun in real earnest. Virtually, when we are put upon trial for this charge, every other paper in the United States is also on trial, because it is not obscenity that is really at issue, but the freedom of the press.

In such an issue we can well afford to stand the active champions, well knowing, even if we are convicted and sent to prison, that it will be the beginning of a revolution that shall sweep over this country and cut off all persons and laws that can, by the remotest possibility, be construed into the right to curtail freedom of discussion in the public press, either regarding the acts of public or private citizens, or of any question affecting the rights or interests of the people.

This Court may be foolhardy enough to rule that a paper that exposes the acts of such men as Mr. Beecher is obscene, but we do not believe it. The whole country is looking on to see the issue of this matter; and if it is decided that the United States can interpose its dictum to protect the reputation of any man, even though he be the acknowledged viceroy of Christ, then will a wave of indignation roll over the people and awaken them to a realization that their liberties are lost.

There could be no higher honor than to be convicted in such a cause; and if the United States Courts, Judge Blatchford presiding, is prepared to take this step, we can assure the people that we are ready and willing to abide the results, and thank heaven that we are accounted worthy to suffer in so good a cause—in a cause in which the liberties, rights and inalienable privileges of all citizens are so directly involved. Every great cause must have its martyrs; every abolition of existing slavery its John Brown or its Abraham Lincoln; and if the United States elect that we must stand for the abolition of sexual slavery, we are content.

But it ought to be remembered that bolts and bars will not stop the progress of this revolution; nay, verily, they shall accelerate its movements to double its present speed. Neither can they stop the WEEKLY. Its regular issue is insured beyond the power of courts, indictments and prisons. Hundreds of brave souls stand ready to take up our work, if we are compelled to silence by conviction and imprisonment, where editorial labor is impossible, as is threatened in our case; and where thousands now support it for the brave stand it has maintained, in spite of and in defiance of the so persistently continued charge of obscenity, hundreds of thousands will rush to its standard and support, in protest to such despotic desecration of the rights of free speech and free press by the government of the United States, acting in obedience to the commands of the God-in-the-Constitution Y. M. C. A., through the obscene jackal, Comstock, *alias* Beardsley, *alias* a half-dozen, more or less, other convenient names. We call on the people to be ready, and if such an infernal outrage be committed, to see to it that the WEEKLY lacks not the needed support. We are ready for trial. We know we have violated no law, nor been guilty of writing an obscene article. Convict us, then, if you can.

THE WEEKLY.

The WEEKLY has now passed into its sixth volume and is rapidly approaching the end of its third year. Since May 14, 1870, the date of the appearance of its first number, there have great changes appeared in the several departments of socialistic organization. Politics have taken on altogether a new garb. Women are now beginning to act upon the proposition of possessing all the rights as citizens that any man possesses, and are also beginning to feel that the era of individual dependence is about to dawn upon the sex.

The change in the controversy between the laboring and capitalist classes has also been equally marked. From a question of Trades Unions, equally as despotic against unskilled labor as capital itself, it has risen into a grand problem of Industrial Justice. It is not now what is right and proper between the employer and the employe, but what is equity between all people—a vast stride toward what was termed the era when all-sided justice should be the foundation upon which a reconstructed society shall be based.

But it is in the sexual relations that the most marked changes have occurred. New ideas of these relations have been born in the breasts of almost the whole people. They have arisen from a condition of quiet ignorance regarding themselves, and are earnestly inquiring into the real nature and extent of the rights of individuals as the subject of sex. And especially are women waking up to the fact that enforced sexual intercourse, whether in or out of marriage, is nothing more nor less than a condition of slavery, and there is already an incipient revolution existing which is liable to be developed by any sudden or unexpected emergency.

Now all this has been largely the result of the extended circulation of the WEEKLY and of the principles that have been advocated in its columns. In its early days it had to fight its way wherever it went, and win for itself a place in

the affections of the people. This was a slow process, with almost the whole press of the country inimical to its interests. So fearful has this influence been, that thousands who have never seen the WEEKLY would consider its coming into their hands as the visit of a hydra-headed monster, while thousands of others, who are actually in sympathy with the principles advocated, are prevented from even examining it by the terrible misrepresentations that have been made of it and of us.

To sustain it through this period of persecution required all the means we had and all we could command. So long as we had it to give we asked assistance from no one, but, without money or price, circulated it wherever there were people who would read it. It was only by such action on our part that the revolution it has succeeded in arousing was begun. We have expended our all, and have been deprived of various methods by which we ministered to its needs, by the action of the United States authorities in the attempt to suppress it, and it now rests with its readers whether it shall continue to advocate the grand truths of the new social dispensation; and more especially will it require the active co-operation of all its friends and the friends of freedom as opposed to despotism everywhere, if the United States Court, in the attempt to suppress it, shall send us to prison for obscenity.

We charge you that the WEEKLY must be supported. A little earnest work every week by its friends will carry it forward to be a permanent institution. Surely the friends can afford to labor for it until its first year of persecuted existence shall be completed, and if they do so, it will forever after work for itself sufficiently. Then let your responses to its requirements be met at once. Let new clubs and subscribers roll in and thus testify to the appreciation in which the principles of social freedom are held by those who are so far advanced as to have comprehended their reach, and their application to the future condition of humanity.

IN GETHSEMANE.

Never since Paul launched the demoralizing doctrine of the atonement upon the world, and never since the sweet Nazarene wrestled with fate, in that lone agony of the garden, has mortal been so recklessly misjudged in doctrine and deed, and so utterly deserted by disciples and friends as is to-day Victoria C. Woodhull. Never did grander instrument than she respond to the sweet touch of angel hands; and yet there are evil whisperings in the ears of friends who, forgetting that they have left her to be played upon by demons, are prone to condemn the slightest discord.

"Victoria C. Woodhull dying!"

To those who search for a wise purpose behind each providence, may well come the question: Why did that wail o'er the wires have need to be sent? Only a woman at the gates of death; only two weary feet amid the grateful cool of the mystic river; only a heart-crushed wife and mother going to the sure consequences of a righteous life; and yet the mighty impulse of a million prayers combined to stay her steps, and lead her back to the work unfinished. Was it simply the strain of physical toil that so well-nigh snapped the chords of life, or did the mighty angel of life's night step in to shock her sister workers into a sense of their apathy and apostasy?

When the prison loomed before her, and the leprous-livered church was seeking to destroy her, and calumny had plaited its crown of thorns; when disciples denied her, and not a whilom friend stood by, what wonder that the agony of her Gethsemane should have well-nigh cheated the cross? Where then were Lucretia Mott, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Paulina Wright Davis, and the legion of lesser lights who of yore were pleased to crown her queen of the grand reform? Alas, that these noble names should for once be clothed in shame!

Cannot all see that the gamut of human progress is from the earth heavenward? We ascend by force of heavenly aspirations, and the altitude of heights attained is according to soul capacity. We also descend by force of inverse aspiration, since heavenly hope turned earthward is changed to groveling desire. Therefore, cannot all perceive that by the self-same law that angels sweep the strings demons may also play? Who dares to deny the grand capacity of Victoria C. Woodhull? If, at times, from out the slough of her soul's despair vile demons spring to rend the air with discord, shall we forget that when the strings are swept by angel hands, from out of the same grand nature may be evoked a strain so exquisite that even denizens of realms celestial may well be fain to lend a listening air. What matter if a curse should chance to fall from lips that were framed to bless? Does it reflect upon the integrity of the wire if a demon should chance to seize the key? Is it blame-worthy if the same soul that, like a mirror, reflects the countenances of angels should also chance to reflect the demoniac influences of little minds in envy cast upon it? Do not the blasphemous utterances of the cow-boy echo back from the same grand mountain that gathers in its bosom the crash of heaven's artillery.

Alone in the shadow of Sing Sing! Shame on the cowards who have pronounced the word reform! Ten noble mothers, ten worthy wives, ten sweet sisters, aye, ten poor wanderers from social shelter standing bravely by, and to-day might the cup of this foul wrong pass away.

But this is the sifting time. On the shore of the future is

gathered a little band, piloted thither by the hand of this fearless woman. Above her towers the frowning battlements of the marital Ticonderoga. In the gray mist of approaching dawn the leader fails to discern if her followers be nerved by a courage true. O, for the inspiration of grand old Ethan Allen that she might say, "Now let cowards pass to the rear, but he that is with me let him poise his firelock." L. S. CRANDALL.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY'S TRIAL.

Indictment for Voting in Violation of Law—Judge Selden's Plea for the Defense—An Eloquent Championship of Woman's Right to Vote—The Inequalities of the Law.

CANANDAIGUA, June 17, 1873.

The case of the United States against Susan B. Anthony, who was indicted for voting in violation of law in Rochester at the last November general election, was called in the Circuit Court of the United States in this village at 3 P. M. to-day. The defendant personally appeared in Court, accompanied by Mrs. Matilda J. Gage and other ladies, and was represented by her counsel, the Hon. Henry R. Selden and John Van Voorhies, Esq., of Rochester. The Hon. Richard Crowley, District Attorney, represented the United States. A jury was empaneled without difficulty, the government exercising the right of challenging but once, and the defendant three times. The District Attorney made a brief statement of the facts on which he relied for a conviction, and which were charged in the indictment—"That Miss Anthony voted at the last election for the Congressional candidate for the Twenty-fifth District, and for the Congressman at large." It was conceded that the defendant was, on the 5th of November, 1872, a woman.

THE PROOF OF THE CHARGE.

Beverly W. James was then sworn by the government as a witness, and testified that he knew the defendant; that he was an inspector of election in the Eighth Ward, first district of the city of Rochester; that Miss Anthony voted the Congressional, State and Assembly ticket at that poll; that he put the several ballots in the boxes where they respectively belonged; that Miss Anthony was not challenged; that he was one of the Board of Registry; that the defendant appeared before the board and claimed the right to be registered; that objection was made as to her right to vote; that the board decided that she was entitled, and registered her name; that one of the Federal Supervisors of Election was present and advised the inspectors that the defendant was entitled to be registered, and they did it; that Miss Anthony claimed the right to vote under the United States Constitution, and not under the State law. She claimed the right under the Fourteenth Amendment. The name of the defendant appeared on the poll list as No. 22, and it also appeared that she voted the Electoral, State, Congress and Assembly tickets.

THE DEFENSE.

In opening the defense, Judge Selden claimed that the case was of great magnitude and interest, not only to the defendant but to the whole people. When the defendant claimed her right to be registered and to vote she was as much entitled to both of those rights as any man, and when she voted, if she fully believed that she had a right to vote, she committed no crime. The question for the jury was whether she did vote in good faith, believing that she had a right to vote.

Judge Selden then stated that for the second time in his professional life he was compelled to offer himself as a witness in behalf of his client. Being sworn, he testified that before the defendant voted she called on him for advice as to her right to vote; that he took time to examine the question, and did so very carefully, and that he then advised her that she was as much a voter as he or any other man; that he believed then that she had a legal right to vote, and he believed so now and on that advice she voted.

The defendant then offered herself as a witness on her own behalf on the subject of intent and good faith.

The District Attorney objected to her incompetency to testify in her own behalf and the objection was sustained. The defense then rested.

John E. Pound was then sworn by the prosecution. He testified that on the examination before Commissioner Storrs the defendant stated that she should have offered to vote even if she had not had Judge Selden's advice; that she had not a particle of doubt of her right to vote.

There was no further testimony given, and Judge Selden addressed the Court and jury in an exhaustive argument, occupying nearly three hours in its delivery.

JUDGE SELDEN'S ADDRESS.

He enunciated three propositions: first, that the defendant was legally entitled to vote at the election in question; second, if she was not so entitled, but believed that she was so, and voted in good faith in that belief, such working does not constitute a criminal offense under the statute; and third, that she did vote in such belief and in good faith. He said that the two first questions were for the Court, and the last for the jury, unless the Court should consider it so clear that the defendant acted in good faith as to leave no question for the consideration of the jury. Mr. Selden insisted that the only alleged ground of the illegality of the defendant's vote is that she is a woman; that if the same act had been done by her brother under the same circumstances, it would have been not only innocent, but laudable; but being done by his client, because she is a woman, it is said to be a crime.

The crime, therefore, consisted not in the act alone, but in the fact that the person doing it was a woman, and not a man. He believed it was the first time in the history of the world in which a woman had been arraigned in a criminal court merely on account of her sex. The right to take part in the establishment of government is founded in a natural and inalienable right of every citizen. Women have the same interest in the maintenance of good government as men. No greater absurdity, to use no harsher term, could be presented to the human mind than that of rewarding men and punishing women for the same act without giving woman any voice in the question of which shall be rewarded and which punished. He referred to the fact that all political rights and many personal rights are denied to women, and that it is often said that this is no disadvantage to them because they are represented by men, and their rights protected by them. He spoke of instances occurring in his own professional life of the manner in which married women are sometimes protected by this kind of representatives, when by the inequality of the law gross injustice had been done to women.

He referred to the changes that had been made in the law by the Acts of 1848 and 1860 in reference to the rights of married women, and the great change the law had undergone in the last twenty-five years in that respect, and said that there were great ameliorations of the law, but, said he, how have they been produced? Mainly as the result of the exertions of a few heroic women, one of the foremost of whom is her who stands before you as a criminal to-day. For a thousand years the absurdities and crudities he alluded to have been imbedded in the common law and in the statute book, and men have touched them not, and would not have done so until the day of final doom had they not been goaded to it by the persistent efforts of the noble women to whom he alluded. He insisted that the time had come when the civil and political rights of women should be placed upon a perfect equality with men.

WHAT THE PROSECUTION SHOULD SHOW.

To make out the offense charged against the defendant the prosecution should show, affirmatively, not only that the defendant voted conscientiously without having a right to vote, but that she so voted, knowing that she had no right to vote. The word "knowing" related not to the fact of voting, but to the fact of the want of the right to vote. He referred to many authorities on this point. Great emphasis was given to the right of women to vote, as secured by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution; and a learned and exhaustive exposition was given of these two articles as bearing upon the question. The remarks of Judge Selden were extended on the point as to the knowledge of the defendant that she was committing an illegal act, and severely criticised several cases bearing upon that part of his argument. Referring to the case of the People vs. Hamilton, reported in 57 Barb., he characterized it as outrageous, and said that if the judges who pronounced that decision were to be tried for their mistakes of the law by the rule which they laid down in that case, they would be sent to State Prison themselves instead of the honest boy whom they sent there.

The argument of the distinguished lawyer was listened to with profound attention from beginning to end, occupying the attention of the Court until the hour of adjournment. It was an eloquent and sound championship of woman's right to vote.

CONVICTION OF MISS ANTHONY.

VERDICT OF "GUILTY" BY INSTRUCTION OF THE COURT.

CANANDAIGUA, N. Y., June 18, 1873.

Under instructions of the Court, the jury in the case of Susan B. Anthony, indicted for voting in violation of the law, returned a verdict of guilty.

The Court refused to poll the jury.

JUDGE THORNTON'S LATE DECISION.

The late decision of Judge Thornton, in the Supreme Court of Illinois, is pregnant with important results. It was a case of libel, in which the husband, Mr. John Martin, was sued for slanderous words said by his wife about one Janet Robson. The case being decided in favor of Janet Robson, was carried up to the Supreme Court of Illinois, where the decision was reversed. The reluctance with which the decision is given is everywhere manifest. He says: "The structure of the past must fall before the innovations of the present. The legal supremacy of the husband is gone. His sceptre has departed from him. The wife, on the contrary, can have her separate estate; can contract with reference to it; can sue and be sued at law upon the contracts thus made; can sue in her own name for injury to her person and slander of her character, and can enjoy the fruits of her time and labor, free from the control or interference of her husband. The chains of the past have been broken by the progression of the present, and she may now enter upon the stern conflicts of life untrammelled. She no longer clings to and depends upon man; but has the legal right and aspires to battle with him in the contests of the forum; to outvie him in the healing art; to climb with him the steps of fame, and to share with him in every occupation. Her brains, hands and tongue are her own, and she should be responsible for slanders uttered by herself."

This, given with such a bitter tart, seems like the "quail story" of ancient times, where the Jehovah Deity gave them meat in his wrath *ad nauseum*. It is as much as to say, "Ho!

you progressive people of the Nineteenth Century! inasmuch as you want more liberty, we will give it you with all its consequences. If there is anything in it you do not like, it is because you have made it so. I could not decide otherwise, unless I accept the old theory so generally repudiated, that the wife is the property of her husband!" The decision is righteous, the judge evidently supposed it righteous to a fault, and its consequences will extend yet further than was anticipated by its authors. Other questions will grow out of this. If woman has the right to exercise the privilege of citizens, in acting in her own name in a business capacity, what law can rule that her husband shall be her proxy at the polls, voting often against her wishes? Indeed, there has been no reason why she should not have exercised the elective franchise under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments; but now that this decision declares "her brain, hands and tongue are her own," and that "if she is emancipated she should no longer be enslaved," there can be no decision against her exercise of the elective franchise.

Woman's social condition is now entirely different from what it has been in the past; and if she is not elevated to her legitimate place, now that the law decides her status in all respects equal to man's, it will be her own fault.

But the worst is to come. The opinion further states that "the ancient landmarks have disappeared; that the unity of husband and wife has been severed. They are now distinct persons, having separate estates, contracts and debts." A few years ago many of our conservative friends feared that when the negroes were freed that they would all come in the North and marry their daughters. We may now expect to hear a howl from these same individuals that know the result of Judge Thornton's proclamation will emancipate their daughters from the legal control of their sable husbands. This, however satisfactory it may be to them, is not the worst: the very fact that a wife and husband may enter into a partnership and dissolve it at will establishes the right to form matrimonial alliances upon the same basis. Carrying out all the points of this opinion, our marriage laws are only a mere formal ceremony, having no effect whatever. The law ceases to pronounce them one, only as their interests for the time being may be identical. *Sic transit gloria tyrannis.* D. W. HULL.

INSTRUCTIONS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

In writing to us the following rules should be observed:

- 1st. Every letter should be plainly dated—town, county and State.
- 2d. When the letter is to contain a remittance, which, if a check or money order, should be made payable to Victoria C. Woodhull, the necessary explanations should be introduced at the head of the letter; a failure to observe this rule subjects the person in charge of that department to much needless reading to find out what it is all about.
- 3d. After definitely stating all business matters, and especially if it be a renewal or a new subscriber, then should follow any friendly words, which we are always happy to receive from all.
- 4th. We request those who send either articles or personal letters intended for publication to write graphically and tersely. The necessity for this will be apparent when we say that we have already in "our drawer" enough personal communications, full of words of hope, cheer and comfort to fill a dozen papers. Many of them we shall be obliged to pass over.
- 5th. All letters should close with the signature of the writer in full; and it should be plainly written. Many letters that we receive are so badly signed that we are obliged to guess at what the writer's name may be.

PREMIUMS TO CLUBS.

In a short time we intend to present the most magnificent schedule of premiums for new subscribers and clubs that was ever offered, as an introduction to which we now present the following:

For every subscription (from one to four) received we will send the WEEKLY one year and one of the dollar photographs—Woodhull, Claflin or Blood.

For every club of five subscribers—fifteen dollars—five copies of the WEEKLY one year, five photographs and one copy of "Constitutional Equality, a right of woman," by Tennie C. Claflin, price \$2.00.

For every club of ten subscribers—thirty dollars—ten copies of the WEEKLY, ten photographs and one copy each of "The Principles of Government," by Victoria C. Woodhull, price \$3; and "Constitutional Equality" (each book containing steel-plate engraving of the author).

For every club of twenty subscribers—sixty dollars—twenty copies of the WEEKLY one year, forty photographs and two copies each of "The Principles of Government" and "Constitutional Equality."

For every club of thirty or more subscribers, accompanied by three dollars for each subscriber, thirty copies of the WEEKLY one year, ninety photographs and one each of the books—"The Principles of Government" and "Constitutional Equality"—for every ten subscribers; and

For a club of fifty subscribers—one hundred and fifty dollars—fifty copies of the WEEKLY one year, fifty photographs, a set of the books and a Wheeler & Wilson Sewing Machine.

VOICES OF THE PEOPLE.

PETERSFIELD, Hants, (Eng.), April 6, 1873.

Dear Mrs. Woodhull—Your good papers come very regularly. 'Tis idle in me to point to any particular remark therein; 'tis also good and full of truth, so that I treasure up the whole of it in my memory.

The allusion to children is quite true, and the same circumstance, dire and dreadful as it is, may be applied to all ages of both sexes and in every clime and color; and masturbation, self abuse, onanism, or the sin of Onan, and sodomy, the same as practiced in Sodom and Gomorrah, and all the cities of the plain, is done to this very day; and in our convict establishments, army and navy, all these things are done, and bestiality also, and it will ever be.

'Tis the Bible is the cause of much harm. There 'tis said you must not look, you must not touch, you must not speak, as every idle word is judged; that it is better to pluck out the right eye, and better to cut off the right hand, and much stuff similar; that consequently the two sexes are to be seen apart in day light, and women are passed by and shunned as though they were mad dogs, but at darkness of the night, fellows, the males, slink about seeking what innocents they can devour. Oh! terrible state of things, and nothing but the advocacy of your clever doctrine will alter it.

The wedding-ring or shackle upon the woman's finger, and husband fellows go free. On every husband I would put a ring through his nose. Again the band around the woman's leg, I mean the petticoats, and men go free to run here and there and everywhere. I say give fellows the muff, the silly veil and foolish parasol, and to woman I would give the tarry trousers and shining hat, and sailor's jacket, and make men of them, and have them in the councils of nations. Nothing will ever make us free, but that would make us free indeed.

I am but little seen in Petersfield, being inland, although I have my letters directed there for me, as I travel every week throughout the year in two or three different counties weekly, so that I never continue long in one stay. But should you come to England, I could see you in London if I had sufficient timely notice thereof, as I pass through London, and often stop there for a day; then I am again like the waves of the ocean or wafted as on the wings of the wind, by that powerful traveler the steam horse on the iron rail; but I should be pleased to pass a few hours with you at any time. I see no chance of woman deliverance nor yet of man improvement. 'Tis no use to shirk our doom; women must suffer, and men must work. But God is the great original of all this sorrow, as he says he knew what is, what was, and what is to come, and can you call that mercy? Oh! what a nickname. Yours truly, R. VINNETT.

P. S.—Let me know if you visit England.

Mesdames Woodhull and Claplin—A few days since I for the first time saw a copy of your WEEKLY, and handled it (by reason of previous representations in regard to the character of the paper) very cautiously, expecting to find its columns filled with matter most objectionable and disgusting, if not immoral. I was indeed surprised on reading some of the articles to find that they taught more of purity, physical and moral reform than I have heard uttered from pulpits or lecture-rooms during the past thirty years; and I saw nothing to object to in the paper so far as was made to appear to my understanding.

But there is one point on which I greatly desire to be informed.

You hold that every woman should claim and hold complete ownership of her body; that she has the right to decide who shall be the father of her offspring.

Now, supposing a woman is wedded to a man between whom and herself there exists no conjugal affinity, but who in the purity of her nature desires to assume maternal relations, may she, in your opinion, rightfully and virtuously co-operate with any other man than her wedded husband to effect that purpose? I am told that you do hold to this freedom and privilege in cases like the one here stated.

This is the point I ask you to state plainly in answer in your next issue, or soon after, and that you forward to me the copy of the paper in which your answer shall be made.

Yours in all that is pure, ANTONA BARNABY.

Dear Mrs. Woodhull—Having the good fortune to reside in the Ninth Ward of the city of Detroit, where Mr. Peter Hill was Alderman, I applied to him soon after the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted to be registered as a legal voter, claiming that by it my sex were enfranchised throughout the United States. Mr. Hill being a staunch Liberal, at once recognized the justice of my request and complied with it. Since then I have voted at every election held in the city. Accounts of my doings were reported in several newspapers and freely commented upon, but so far have in no respect that I am aware of been injurious to me. My success encourages me to advise all women who feel the consciousness of being free and entitled to the right of choosing their rulers, should, whenever they have officers like Mr. Hill, try the experiment of becoming enfranchised.

About a month since, during a trip to our Eastern cities, I visited Woodhull, Claplin & Co.'s office in New York. I was anxious to see at her home the able and energetic woman who was so earnestly advocating our cause, and who had been the first to obtain the action of Congress upon it, especially after her sixth incarceration in a government bastille. Presuming that the public know but little personally of your situation, and of course have a curiosity upon the subject, I will say that I found the office, 48 Broad st., New York, a live business place. Mrs. Woodhull and her husband were receiving numerous visitors, up to their eyes in the myriad books and papers of a combined newspaper and exchange office. I was glad to find them in good health and spirits, and earnest as possible in the cause for which they were being persecuted.

The social question is probably of greater magnitude and

complexity than any other of human interest. From their earliest existence, mankind have been studying the great problem of how to live. Viewing the world at large, little else than external and internal discords can be seen. Monogamy, polygamy and every possible variety of social conditions are being pretty thoroughly tried, with the general results of being popular to those who adopt them, and horrible to those who reject them. Looking internally, it is doubtful if any condition could be worse or more unhappy. Where peace and love ought to be supreme, so little of it exists in the home circle generally, that it seems like a burlesque to use any such terms. Every person is familiar with the discords almost universally prevailing, so that it is unnecessary for me to state them. It would seem as if any theories ought to be an improvement—it certainly would be difficult to make matters worse. For one, I regard the hue and cry against any change in our system as evidence of the ignorance of those who dread it. I should be glad to see any plan tried that promised improvement, and hence am very willing to see agitation of the subject. But feeling more interest in the suffrage than in the social question, I would prefer that the WEEKLY should remain the able and powerful advocate of woman's rights, and continue to do effective service in behalf of her sex.

Having lately changed my social state from that of widow to wife, I now propose to see whether my rights continue the same. I would state that my present husband has long been known as an earnest advocate of our cause.

NANNETTE B. GARDNER SMITH.

DETROIT, Mich., March 30, 1873.

A SHOE THAT FITS MANY EDITORS.

We give place to the following because it has a general application to a large number of papers besides the Utica Herald:

JOHN BROWN'S TRACT, May 27, 1873.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE UTICA HERALD:

You have herein my protest against the false evidence you have borne against certain radical reforms and reformers. My attention was first called to your prudish course in commenting on the Judge Carter decision. The comments were an absurd mixture of blunders and libel, evidently written by some one who failed to comprehend the decision itself, and was ignorant of the law and principles involved.

In the same line you attempt to ridicule and prejudice the case of Susan B. Anthony, prosecuted for voting.

She bravely vindicates her right to a voice in making the law that controls her person and levies a tax upon her property. A natural and constitutional right, so held by the ablest lawyers in the country. For all this you have my contempt. Not for opposition to radical theories, but for vain attempts to ridicule one whom I regard as an intellectual giant as compared to the best of your scribblers.

Then, when Woodhull was in prison, your paper represented for weeks that she was unable to get bail, when you knew that she was daily refusing proffered bail. You have left your readers to think that she is yet in jail. You have withheld from them even the slightest reference of anything tangible to the greatest scandal of the century, as if it was your duty to protect corruption and rottenness in church and society. You have sent your dogs after Henry Ward Beecher's accusers. You have corruptly attempted to shield the gentle church in the person of its pope. But why is it so? She disturbs that priestly influence and money monopoly that you (of the salary steal) live by and try to bolster up.

You slur Edward H. G. Clark for summing up the scandalum magnatum and publishing the Thunderbolt.

When insult is offered to law and decency in the case of Train, and when the other journals of the country are resenting the insult, you conceal the point from your readers and turn up your pug nose at Train. You have continually misrepresented and concealed the facts in his case during his long imprisonment. You have sought by obscure headings and statements to mislead your readers, a trick quite common with you. One would think that you employed an expert to mix and confuse matter when you would conceal the truth. To-day you leave your readers to think that the habeas corpus is denied by Judge Fancher, and by this same mean trick.

You are lending your servile sheet to crucify the prophets of this generation. Their crime is that they have told the truth, and you are one of the Pharisees who stand ready to scourge them.

This world is controlled by an undercurrent that you fail to perceive with your short sight, but you will feel its mighty force. So if you will keep up this dark seance, beware the air is full of revolution and you are marked for the coming crisis. Don't think that superstition can scare the people to keep up the church and priesthood, and still enforce peace in this half-free, half-feudal country. Don't think that the press can be subsidized to sustain corruption and plunder of the peoples' earnings without provoking revolution.

Your indignant critic, JOHN BROWN THE SECOND.

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., May 18, 1873.

Mrs. Woodhull—Acknowledging yourself to be our standard-bearer of social freedom in the advance guard of progress in America, it was with pride, pleasure and renewed confidence in your sincerity, genuine courage and nobleness of soul that I read your reply to Emma Hardinge's attack upon yourself and the advocates of Free Love generally in your issue of April 5 (a hitherto missing number just received), in which, notwithstanding the recent persecutions and misrepresentations heaped upon you from other sources, you still maintained your reputation for charity toward those who differ from you, and thereby retain our unabated confidence that you war only for principle's sake.

You never uttered a truer saying than that "a true friend is one who calls attention to faults rather than one who praises virtues only."

I had long since learned to expect more charity from lib-

erals—Spiritualists in particular—than from priest-ridden sectarians, and have found that the more narrow-minded, bigoted and superstitious a people are, the more uncharitable are such toward those who differ from them in opinions.

Emma, are you retrograding? If even so, still, mindful of the good you have accomplished, we will endeavor to be consistent by extending to you that charity you denied to our leader and your sister co-worker in reform, so far in advance of you; and hereafter—

Should you feel inclined to censure
Faults you may in others view,
Ask your own heart, ere you venture,
If that has not failings too.
Let not friendly vows be broken,
Rather strive a friend to gain;
Many a word in anger spoken,
Finds its passage home again.

Do not, then, in idle pleasure,
Trifle with a sister's fame;
Guard it as a valued treasure,
Sacred as your own good name.
Do not form opinions blindly,
Hastiness to trouble tends;
Those of whom we've thought unkindly,
Oft become our warmest friends.

It illy becomes you to attack American ladies, born and educated in a country comparatively free, and accuse them of "animalism" simply because they advocate principles of social freedom and reform far in advance of your comprehension, principles which, like the Golden Rule, are perfect in themselves, and can be made practicable when you and other opponents will be honest, and advance to that stage of progression that you can truly live up to them. And would you hereafter regain your lost ground, advance the interests of the cause in which you are engaged, and build up your own reputation, never attempt it by disparaging or misrepresenting that of Victoria C. Woodhull, in whose defense thousands of liberty-loving freemen will every rally.

Therefore, be charitable, and lest ye be not harshly judged

Judge not. The workings of her brain
And of her heart thou canst not see.
What looks to thy dim eye a stain,
In God's pure light may only be
A scar, brought from some well-worn field,
Where thou wouldst only faint and yield.

Yours for freedom and charity,

SPIRIT OF '76.

QUINCY POINT, Mass., June 12, 1873.

Dear Friend—Although I never saw your face or heard your voice, yet I call you friend—the friend, the benefactor of all the great sisterhood, the mouthpiece of thousands who are sending up the great cry for emancipation from the oppression and tyranny of "custom's iron chain."

God speed you in your noble work. A writer has designated the emancipation of the negro slaves "the grandest flower that ever bloomed." I believe that the "bud of promise" which you are holding before the world, whose petals are unfolding one by one, slowly but surely, shall eventually develop into a flower tenfold more noble, grand and glorious than any this earth has ever yet beheld—a flower upon which millions yet unborn shall gaze, and bless you for the rearing. Go on, brave, noble worker in the cause thou hast espoused. Falter not, fail not, though thy burden be heavy, and thy path hedged with thorns. Let this one thought comfort and strengthen thee, "after the cross cometh the crown."

Yours for truth,

ANNA LEAVITT.

To the Editor of the—Please permit me to say a word or two in your columns on the infallibility of the Bible. The chronology of the Bible says that Cain killed his brother Abel the same year that God made their father Adam out of the dust of the ground. Now, if God inspired Moses to write that, why did He not inspire him to write the truth, instead of a falsehood? Perhaps some member of the Y. M. C. A. may have an answer, as our priests and teachers utterly ignore a thousand just such questions and still keep telling you that the Bible is God's revelation to man. It looks to me like the work of fallible man, instead of an infallible God; and the sooner its infallibility is repudiated the better for humanity. We then shall be free to punish murderers in some other way than strangling them.

F. R. LADD.

SAN FRANCISCO, May 10, 1873.

Victoria C. Woodhull—My attention has been called to your paper within a few weeks, and my feelings now may be likened unto the blind man that was suddenly restored his lost sense—I am dazzled and confused. My opinions of you and collaborators have changed for the better. I believe that you are not so black as you have been painted, although your words have somewhat upset my notions of society. I am forced to admire your grit, wonder at your ability, and cannot doubt your sincerity. Go on in your good work, ever seeking the goal of truth; let sycophants and hypocrites stand from under. Your Beecher expose was to me like a flood of light, and I have hardly got over the effects of it yet. The press published the meagre dispatches from time to time, but it is only now that the public are beginning to realize that an outrage has been perpetrated, a parallel of which we may find in the annals of the Dark Ages.

I remain, a seeker after truth,

PAT. J. HEALY.

WOODHULL AND CLAPLIN'S WEEKLY:

You may count me among the number of those who are willing to contribute to the fund which is intended to free your press from the fangs of the American inquisition.

I admire its heroic defense of "Liberty of Speech and the Press," and, without expressing either favor or dissent on other subjects discussed in its columns, I am ready to say with ancient Pyrrho, "Let them be further investigated."

About a century ago the Rev. Martin Madan, of London, under a British monarchy, was tolerated in writing and

publishing a work called "Thelyphthora," in which your social doctrines are proven from the Christian or Bible standpoint. William Blake, William Godwin, Mary Wollstonecraft and Shelly were not imprisoned for avowing and advocating the same doctrines from a rational or humanitarian standpoint; and yet, judging from recent events in a government of the people, founded on the principles of individual liberty, with a Constitution forbidding the enactment of laws "abridging the freedom of speech or of the press," Protestant Christians are combining and conspiring to strike down these sacred rights. They have subsidized the American Congress and procured the enactment of a loose and latitudinarian law, punishing with fine and imprisonment the transmission of obscene or vulgar literature through the mails.

Under this law they are arresting and dragging publishers of Infidel newspapers before Christian judges and United States Commissioners, who resort to the rulings of the despotic Courts of the English Star Chamber to establish the position that anything which reflects on religion, morality or virtue is obscene and vulgar.

We had innocently believed that we had outgrown the age of active Christian persecution, but we are obliged to acknowledge our error; for, as in the palmy days of Puritanism in the American colonies, when Charles II. interdicted the hanging of Quakers for opposing the dogmas of an orthodox faith, the Church resorted to accusations of witchcraft to rid themselves of troublesome skeptics. So now, under the pretense of vulgar and obscene literature, Christians of our day are persecuting and imprisoning those who dissent from and satirize their unnatural and evil dogmas.

One of the periodical fever fits of Christian frenzy seems to be raging in our midst, and government officials fly with alacrity to do their fanatical bidding.

The American press, hitherto the great bulwark of the liberty of the citizen, is pandering to these disgusting acts of forcible Christian propagandism.

What wonder, then, that these should produce a counter-irritation, and the air be filled with the presages of "Coming Dictators," riot and revolution.

My hope is that the sober second thought of the American people will come in time to save the liberties of the only government on earth that has proclaimed "that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and that neither Christian fanatics nor Pagan dictators shall be able to plunge the nation into anarchy and civil war.

To this end I give the right hand of fellowship to any journalist whose columns are open to the most unrestricted and free utterances of thought on any of the great problems of life, liberty and humanity.

E. P. BASSETT.

Toledo, June 1, 1873.

SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

[From the Brooklyn Press.]

A SECOND APOLOGY FOR BEECHER.

The honored pastor of Plymouth is still without any other defender than this journal. The whole press seems to have been stunned into silence by the enormity of the charges against him; and not knowing what to say in explanation or palliation, they have adopted the cowardly course of letting his libellers monopolize every avenue to the public ear, and possess themselves in peace of the assistance of the public conscience.

This were scurvy treatment of any minister of Christ; but in the case of Mr. Beecher it is despicably ungrateful. A man of the press himself, even in his vestments, they should rush to his side, and remain at his side while the slightest hope remained of re-establishing his reputation: and even if the worst came, and what is allegation became proved fact, they should chivalrously recount his many claims on public gratitude, and interpose the heartiest possible pleas of palliation in behalf of a rather aged, over-wrought, and perhaps unstrung mind. Instead of doing anything so noble and manly, they add the injury of their silence to the malice of his accusers, and convey the impression to the public that there is nothing to be said in his behalf. Conduct like this deserves only one sort of comment. It is as unworthy of the press as it is ruinous to the preacher.

We indicated last week how Mr. Beecher, naturally and innocently, felt himself compelled to intimate associations with the gentler souls of his congregation for the praiseworthy purpose of preaching with more efficiency to them. We omitted to show that this course was taken in the interest of Christian progress, as well as to assure the reverend gentleman the fund of current sentiment necessary to a teacher who would excel his brethren.

Subtract the work done by good women from the aggregate of Christian effort, and how much will remain? Let them reclaim their share in our churches, from the cellars to the steeples; let them withdraw the products of their pious disinterestedness from our parochial houses; let them require return of all their investments of time and money, and administrative talent from our charitable and reformatory edifices and institutions, and the residuum will be found to consist of brokers' advertisements and the conscience-money percentages of repentant or hypocritical merchants. Indeed, were it not for the persistent unselfishness in the cause of the Gospel of these Marys, Marthas and Veronicas, we should have very little evangelical work done, and the motives controlling the doing of that little almost universally impugned and derided. The pastor knows this melancholy truth; and he must either submit to see Christ served with suspicious devotion or attach to the working out of every devotional or philanthropic effort in the Master's cause, the tender, truthful and devoted hearts of Christian maidens, wives and mothers.

But great as is the work of woman in the Christian Dispensation, their example is really the present main-stay of Christian progress. Does any one suppose three churches could exist in Brooklyn if our sisters, wives and mothers confined the exhibition of their piety to their own homes? We are not, indeed, so bad as the French, but women greatly exceed men in attendance at religious services. If they were to absent themselves during two Sundays what would be the Christian showing on the third? We indicate a known and increasing weakness of the stronger sex: is the thoughtful pastor to overlook this tendency and not adopt measures to restrict its injury and prevent its spreading?

Now, what better means can the mind of man devise than that adopted by Mr. Beecher? The female heart is peculiarly adapted to feel and express emotional religion. Mr. Beecher accustomed himself to study all its chords, and to educe its finest symphonies. Could he have succeeded so well as he is known to have succeeded, if he had practiced the habits of a hermit, and suffered the interest of his female membership to flag by confining his intercourse with them to his open congregation? The question answers itself. There never should have been reason for its asking.

The true Apostle, however, thinks of more than present results. He forecasts and anticipates. Congregations die. The Species lives. The second generation must be secured to Christ; and the second generation can only be secured through the mothers. The mothers must, therefore, be conciliated and retained, if Christian life is to have either family consecutiveness or congregational character. Herein, again, Mr. Beecher appears at his best. By so much as he excelled other pastors in attention to his female supporters, by so much do the fruits of his teaching exceed theirs in number, and probability of permanent beneficence.

[From the Dubuque Telegraph.]

PLYMOUTH CHURCH TRINITY.

The tripartite treaty to which Henry Ward Beecher, Theodore Tilton and Henry C. Bowen are parties, is one of the curious events of the day, and if there was nothing else to prove the truth of Mrs. Victoria Woodhull's charges and the allegations against other parties, this treaty would do it. For what was the use of a treaty if there was not some misunderstanding to treat about; why stipulate to keep silent about each other if there was nothing to talk about; and if it was not something scandalous to keep silent about, why stipulate with each other that it should not be mentioned? But it is needless to argue the matter further. We don't need any farther proof than this treaty stipulation that all three of those parties are no better nor near as good as they should be. This treaty, although made before Mrs. Woodhull's charges against Henry Ward Beecher were made public, is a complete vindication of her course, and a corroboration of her allegation.

[From the Ottumwa Democrat.]

The war against Henry Ward Beecher on the charge of his improper conduct with women continues, to the great injury of his paper, the *Christian Union*, the circulation of which has fallen off wonderfully within the last few weeks. His friends urge him to denounce the statements as false, and in all probability he will do so before many days, although he is himself opposed to such a course. Theo. Tilton and Bowen, editors of the *Independent*, are solely responsible for the slanders, and as Bowen sits in Beecher's congregation, the feeling against him runs high.

[From the Commerce (Mo.) Dispatch.]

The newspapers which were so ready to call Mrs. Woodhull very foul names are beginning to think that if Mr. Beecher is lied upon, it is not her lie, and that two of the leading members of Plymouth Church are guilty of a foul slander, or their pastor is both a hypocrite and scoundrel. We would, for the sake of society and mankind, like to believe that Henry Ward Beecher is innocent, were it not for the scoundrelly efforts to strangle the rights and freedom of a defenseless woman. Let Mr. Beecher's crimes be what they may, he can be guilty of no greater one than standing back and seeing his Jesuitical flunkies gagging and bucking a free press and free speech.

[From the Buffalo Morning Express, June 9, 1873.]

THE WOODHULL PROSTRATE.

The news, published in our telegraphic columns, that the notorious Victoria Woodhull has been stricken down by heart disease, and that her life, as the physicians say, "hangs by a thread," will attract far more attention at the present time than would usually be aroused by her character, her position or her intellect. The great scandal which she published, though she did not originate, regarding the foremost preacher of America, is just reaching its climax, and it will be a strange coincidence if the accuser shall sink into her grave just as the civilized world shall be pronouncing judgment against the accused.

Moreover, it is extremely probable that her present condition has been brought about, and that her death, should it soon occur, will have been hastened by the numerous imprisonments to which she has been subjected during the past winter—imprisonments which were utterly unnecessary to further the ends of justice. Her offense was either a most atrocious libel or it was nothing. It would have been perfectly proper for Mr. Beecher or his friends to have her indicted for that crime, so that the truth or falsehood of her accusations could have been proven; and if they were false, five years in state prison would not have been too much for so cruel a libel on an innocent man and woman. But, instead of that, Mr. Beecher's friends, using Anthony Comstock as their tool, commenced a prosecution for obscenity, evidently hoping to prevent investigation as to the truth or falsity of her accusations, though no unprejudiced person could read them without seeing that, though if false, they were horrible libels, yet they were not obscene in the ordinary meaning of the English language. She was not brought to trial, but as

fast as she was bailed out on one charge she was thrown into jail on another of the same kind, being thus kept in a prison cell a considerable part of the winter. It looked very much like an attempt to prevent an investigation, by sheer brute force. If such was the design, it has not resulted in silencing the accuser until enough truth has been let out to make further investigation imperative.

Whatever the intention, the accusations were treated by Mr. Comstock and his backers in entirely the wrong way. We are very ready to admit that Mrs. Woodhull is a bad woman. We are also very ready to admit that the late M. T. Walworth was a bad man. But we are not ready to admit that a bad man ought to be murdered by his son, or a bad woman hounded to death for telling the truth.

Bad as she may be, her present sickness and probable death are largely attributable to the illegal acts of Mr. Beecher's friends, with the acquiescence of himself and Mr. Tilton, Mr. Frank Moulton and several others. What has been called "brave silence" is in reality the most cowardly and disgraceful silence, and every day it continues adds strength to the evidence of guilt.

[From the Grand Rapids Daily Eagle, May 31.]

THE THREE MASTIFFS.

There once lived in adjoining kennels three mastiffs of noble breed. Not that they were titled mastiffs by hereditary right, but they were noble in the respect that they were agreed in noble purposes, the chief of which, being learned in dogology, and the good and evil of canine nature, was the purpose to become teachers of their fellows and to train up and elevate dog society to mutual love and friendship, and respect for each other's rights and possessions. There had been in the dog community of which these mastiffs became prominent philosophers and teachers, in the olden time, much tyranny exercised by the stronger over the weaker; and the time had been, too, when there was but the law of strength of jaw and fleetness of foot, combined with winsomeness of looks and bearing and gentleness of bark, to determine the sway of the gentlemen mastiffs over those of the weaker sex. It was might and artifice combined. But these three mastiffs who by much observation and study had grown wiser than the rougher and poorer curs, sought out the better way and strove nobly likewise to educate and elevate their fellows to their own high standard. They even aspired to bring about an era of good fellowship when all dogs should know and love each other from the least to the greatest, and to usher in a dog millennium. Their names were Bosc and Mose and Rose respectively, and they were much admired by the females of their race. And they prospered and grew popular and were everywhere praised—scarcely a whine or a yelp was raised against them in all the large moral dog reform association which they had formed and led to distinction in the land; but wherever they went they were greeted with joyous barking and wagging of tails, and other demonstrations of pleasure. And Tray and Blanche and Sweetheart, and all other ladies of the kennels vied with each other in leading Mose and Rose and Bosc by the side of sparkling waters and giving them to taste of the most delicious morsels from the shambles. But by-and-by Mose became little jealous of Rose, and Rose became suspicious of Bosc, and Bosc eyed Mose askance, and soon each of the three friendly mastiffs was stealthily watching the others. One of them espied the other coming out of the rear gate of a neighboring sheepfold; and soon he in turn was caught in private dalliance with the lambs of another flock, and at length they had all caught each other wool-gathering and knew more of each other's little peccadilloes than they cared to tell, lest scandal might breed mischief in the moral dog reform society. But the jealousy grew stronger, and Mose barked out his innuendoes about Bosc—he could raise a great breeze if he would—but he was no scandal monger—nevertheless, it might be his duty, to preserve dog purity, yet to expose the misdoings of Bosc. And Rose began to think the code of laws of that community might have been a little too strict, that a little more charity might prevail. The fact was Rose had himself discovered where were some sweet bones, like those which Bosc was suspected of picking. Then a coolness grew between Rose and Mose; but the while they began to whisper to each other how they might disgrace Bosc. Presently there was a soup party among the females of that society, and gossip having been started, the scandal was much better known to them than to their male companions who were wont to meet them to pass the evenings in mutual counsel for the common good. From gossip it became scandal, and the mastiffs began to put on airs; however, the whole story, as it had grown by what it fed upon, was freely told by the impetuous Blanche. Then there was quaking among the watchdogs, and much shrewd silence with the three leaders—the mastiffs, who affected dignified contempt; they were so above the common curs that they disdained the light snapping and barking. But slyly they put their heads together and met for council. They said to each other: "This will never do. We have ourselves furnished the stones with which our accusers are beginning to pelt us. We know too much of one another's sly stealings to let this thing go on, or to be the enemies of each other. Let us make common cause and common vindication, and quench this scandal by a triple effort." And so they joined in an agreement of amity, and a triple alliance, offensive and defensive. And they issued a manifesto of mutual admiration. Each solemnly declared that he knew no ill of the others, and that they and each of them were just as good dogs as he; that there was no more propensity in their hearts than his to go into stray pastures. And so there was a little lull of the tempest in the families of the three mastiffs, and the scribes of the Moral Dog Reform Society made haste to send abroad the certificate of character which Mose and Bosc and Rose had signed for each other. And thus they closed the windows of their glass houses, and put the loose stones thereof out of sight in the walls of the foundation. And the moral of this ancient story was not told.

[From the Grand Rapids Daily Times, June 1, 1873.]

BEECHER.

Let him be brought to the fore. The proof is piling up against him every day. The character of Woodhull has nothing to do with the facts convicting him. She is what she is, but she presents her evidence in such a shape that there must be a plain denial of it, or Henry Ward Beecher must be branded. The United States Commissioner, Osborne, may interpose, the United States District Attorney, Davis, may interpose, a subsidized press may keep silent, and the Brooklyn church may continue its devotion to the man whose wordy sentimentalisms entrance it, Bowen and Tilton may write retractions on parchments as thick as the seven-fold shield of bull's-hide which Ajax wore at the siege of Troy, but all these acts, and failures to act, cannot cover "the indelible brand of infamy which recorded evidence stamps on the forehead of the wearer."

The witnesses are Woodhull, Tilton and wife, Henry C. Bowen, Frank Moulton, Cady Stanton, Paulina Wright Davis, and Susan B. Anthony. Their testimony is confirmed by the letters of Tilton and Bowen, the action of the courts, and the silence of Beecher. If the man be not guilty, let him speak in disproof. His position is not of such proud pre-eminence that he can remain silent touching the charges made against him, supported by men and women entitled to credit, and with no conceivable motive for defamation.

The interests of society and Christianity imperatively demand a sharp and severe inquest into this matter, and the religious press and evangelical denominations have, by their severe letting alone of the alleged wickedness, shown a disposition to shield which must necessarily militate against good morals. Beecher's florid style of generalization has found many imitators among preachers who suppose that Emersonian euphony is religion, and it is high time that the iconoclast should put his hand in vengeance on this thing of clay, and cast it from its altar. Incapable of logic, and going "out after the inane," he has been a diligent seeker after public applause as any man we have had in the country.

His fall is not a surprise, because his vain and emotional character precluded the supposition that he was founded on the rank of principle. The exposure of his guilt has produced, among the feeble-minded, a shock which will go far to unsettle religious belief, and make question of faith and creeds of which he was an acknowledged expositor, and which he was supposed to exemplify in his life. It is absolutely a fearful reflection that in the list of Killoch's we have to record a Beecher.

[From the Graphic, June 17.]

THE BEECHER-BOWEN BUSINESS.

HOW PLYMOUTH CHURCH PROPOSES TO TREAT THE SCANDAL.—INTERVIEW WITH THE PRINCIPAL.

What Plymouth Church is going to do about a matter that has set all the rest of the world to talking may, perhaps, be inferred from the following replies, which were received in answer to inquiries by a *Daily Graphic* reporter at the prayer-meeting last evening:

"Mr. A. A. Low, is there, or is there not likely to be any movement in Mr. Beecher's church touching the late reputed scandal—as, for instance, a movement for the expulsion or reprimand of Henry C. Bowen?"

"Why, sir, I am as ignorant as a child about this matter; but I think not."

"Mr. Henry C. Bowen, is there any movement on foot looking toward the consideration of the recent scandal in which your name was mentioned, with those of Mr. Beecher and Mr. Tilton, by Plymouth Church as an organization?"

"There is no movement in this matter of any kind, I think; and I should probably know it if there was."

Mr. Tilton was asked a similar question.

"I know nothing about any such movement. Many people think that I am a member of Plymouth Church. I am not, yet I should probably be apprised of it if there was such a movement—and still (hesitating) I might not."

James Freeland, President of the Board of Trustees, was greatly surprised at the suggestion.

"The church," he said, "has never dreamed of such a thing as the expulsion of Mr. Bowen."

Deacon Fanning had had a talk with Mr. Bowen, and had asked him what he was going to do about it.

"Nothing," said Mr. Bowen; "I ignore the matter."

Mr. Fanning himself thought that was about the attitude of the church. It ignored the whole subject.

The Rev. S. B. Halliday, whom Mr. Beecher calls his helper, said:

"The church has never taken action on the subject, and probably never will."

[From the Pottsville Standard.]

MRS. VICTORIA WOODHULL—HER SUDDEN ILLNESS.

The news comes that Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull was stricken down suddenly on the night of June 6, with the heart disease. So sudden was the attack that she dropped heavily to the floor in an unconscious state. The physicians who were called in pronounced her case as hopeless, as they thought her dead. Evidences of life, however, returned, and she is now in a fair way to recover.

Mrs. Woodhull is a woman who has gained notoriety upon both hemispheres, and although denounced by many, owing to her bold and fearless manner in asserting the principles she believes right, is not so bad a woman as she is pictured. She is impulsive, talks and writes upon the spur of the moment, expressing only her own convictions, and although it has involved her in many difficulties, she still continued to practice them with the same spirit and energy up to the time of her sudden illness.

In conversation Mrs. Woodhull is a quick and nervous talker, expressing her views concisely in a most forcible manner, and at the same time so happily that she is really fascinating. In intellect she is really a phenomena, possessing

a vigor of mind seldom seen in females, and exceptional in men. In debate she is fluent and brilliant, and as an authoress has gained considerable reputation. In business she was shrewd, energetic, and possessed a tact that made her popular among merchants and business men.

Engaged in a business—the brokerage—that requires the utmost vital mental qualities, she distinguished herself by her thorough knowledge of all money matters, and her evenness with the oldest and most experienced brokers in all their tricks.

Her life has been a very eventful one, and owing to the terrible strain upon her mental and physical forces, she being of a rather delicate constitution, it is supposed she has seriously impaired her health. Her recent trouble, too, in the Beecher Scandal, with the excitement attendant upon the approaching trial, have caused her great anxiety, and have culminated in her illness.

Mrs. Woodhull is a woman of slight stature, a medium blonde of classical features, and has a prepossessing, intelligent face. She and her sister live in elegant style at their mansion on East Thirty-fourth street, and their acquaintances are intelligent and of good repute.

In case of her sister's death Miss Tennie Claflin proposes disconnecting herself with the brokerage business and leading a retired life with her father and mother.

[From the Express, Albany, N. Y.]

THE WOODHULL.

Although the news came two days ago that Victoria C. Woodhull was dying, we have yet to announce her death, and it seems probable that she may again return to the fray and fight anew her immoral battles before the hand of death lays her low. There was a question in New York whether her serious illness was not assumed, and although she lay in a darkened room, was shielded vigilantly from annoyance by her friends, and all over the house was the hush of serious sickness, yet many were skeptical of the truth of the melancholy surroundings, and one unmanly and inquisitive stranger, whose conduct does not seem worthy of the character he professed for himself, succeeded in forcing his way almost into the room of the invalid, on the representation that he wished to satisfy himself, by his own sight and touch, that she was really ill.

The announcement that this remarkable woman has been stricken down, and that, according to her physicians, her life "hangs by a thread," attracts attention at the present time, caused, perhaps, by being the means of making public a huge scandal, in which the names of two or three very prominent, and, it was supposed, God-fearing people, were unpleasantly mixed. It would be a misfortune, we think, if, when the charge against the great preacher is reaching a point that it must be admitted to have some foundation in fact, or proven to be utterly false, that the accuser should sink into her grave. We have no defense to offer for Victoria C. Woodhull's outrages upon society. We believe her to be a bold, bad woman, but we would remember that the charges she makes have never been denied, and while her offense has been a horrid libel, or her assertion a shocking truth, she has suffered much while endeavoring to prove her case. It is certain that her present physical prostration has been brought about by her numerous and unnecessary imprisonments; for the woman has been hounded and abused in a manner that humanity revolts at. She was not brought to trial as she should have been, but as fast as she was bailed out on one charge she was thrown back into jail on another, thus being kept in the noisome cells of the Tombs the greater part of the winter. To us it looks as though strong efforts were being made to prevent an investigation.

Lately the scandal has been brought to the surface from another quarter, and enough has been made public to give much credence to the bold assertions of Woodhull, so that an investigation became imperative, and is, we think, about to take place. If this woman die, and her death is probable, it will have been indirectly caused by Henry Ward Beecher, Anthony Comstock, Tilton, Moulton and others, who have preserved a discreet silence, sufficiently long to bring their accuser to the tomb. No matter how bad and impure this woman had been, she can tell the truth, and the public may yet have reason to believe her horrible story, if they do not do so already.

She is as much entitled to justice as is America's great preacher, but she has not had it so far, that is evident.

[From the Port Huron (Mich.) Times, June 2.]

The publication of the "compact" made between Henry Ward Beecher, Henry C. Bowen and Theodore Tilton, puts a new phase on the scandal respecting Mr. Beecher. This "compact" was made because Mr. Bowen and Mr. Tilton had said things derogatory to Mr. Beecher's character, and is made public because, as its custodian says, Mr. Bowen has since denied that he ever retracted the assertions he had made affecting Mr. Beecher. Although the matter is still far from clear, it may be said that whereas Mr. Beecher's character for truthfulness and honor has never before been assailed, Mr. Bowen's reputation for trickery and malice is decidedly bad; and as between the two it would seem that no one could hesitate for a moment to put their faith in Mr. Beecher. Still, this "compact" only adds to the evidence that the charges affecting Mr. Beecher's character did not originate with Victoria Woodhull, and did originate, or were repeated, by prominent members of his church. In that case, if they are false, it is clearly the duty of Mr. Beecher or his church to punish the slanderers, so far as church discipline can go; for not only has Mr. Bowen uttered the slanders originally, but after having made a solemn compact to bury them forever, he has repeated them, according to the evidence of the man in whose custody the "compact" was placed. Under these circumstances we do not see how Mr. Beecher and his church can longer remain passive. If the charges against him are false, Mr. Bowen is a scoundrel who should not be tolerated in his church for a moment; and if they are true, Mr. Beecher's character is still worse, and he should be put out without further delay

than that necessary for a full and fair trial. The matter is one that concerns not Plymouth Church alone, but every other Christian church in the country, and the people at large, before whom Mr. Beecher has stood for years as an eloquent, outspoken, incorruptible advocate of good morals, pure religion, and the truth.

Since the above was written we observe in dispatches from New York that Mr. Beecher and his friends have determined to take definite action on the whole matter; and that at a meeting of the deacons of Plymouth Church, Friday evening, it was resolved to proceed at once with an investigation.

[From the Fond du Lac (Wis.) Journal.]

The Woodhull has at length compelled Beecher to take notice of her charges against him. And it is cleverly done on his part too. A mutual friend of the Beecher-Tilton-Bowen trio publishes a covenant—into the possession of which he has come in some mysterious way—in which Bowen retracts all the charges he ever made against the Rev. Henry and the latter sublimely forgives him, while the gushing Tilton ecstatically rejoices over the reconciliation thereby effected. This looks to us, as it doubtless will to the general public, like a very thin attempt of these parties to cover up the scandal which the Woodhull-Claflin tribe are so industriously airing. Meanwhile the current of sentiment is beginning to set against the talented preacher who meets such direct and infamous charges in such a pitifully childish way. We await further developments in the case.

OBSCENE LITERATURE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SYRACUSE DAILY COURIER:

If Victoria C. Woodhull is guilty of obscenity in publishing what she believes to be the truth about an eminent Brooklyn clergyman, and what remains to this day undisputed by those who are supposed to know, is there safety for any one outside of the Young Men's Christian Association, who dares to speak the truth?

Even this man Comstock is liable to prosecution if another person could be found in the land who is mean enough to move in the dirty work. The *Telegram* says:

"Cannot this fellow Comstock, the man who wanted to be made special postal agent, and censor of newspaper advertisements, be indicted for trading in obscene publications and indecent articles of every kind? We have heard of queer trades and extraordinary attempts to procure special legislation, but this fellow's occupation, and his recent effort in Washington to get Congress to provide him with a fat office, out-Herods anything we have ever heard or read of. Comstock spends the best years of his life in collecting a museum of filthy paraphernalia of indecency, and getting together a library of lewd books, prints, etc., etc. We used to think that this man Comstock reveled in his filthy trade for its own sake, as a member of the Young Men's Christian Association, but, it appears, we were woefully mistaken. There was a method in this earnest accumulation of filth. Mr. Comstock wants to be a censor of the press."

Although this individual has been temporarily defeated in his grand scheme, he will, undoubtedly, be successful in the end. Recent events have proved most conclusively to those who are posted upon those atrocities, that there is a powerful and unscrupulous association behind Mr. Comstock, if not in collusion with him, to muzzle the press for the purpose of protecting a few individuals in high rank, who stand to-day convicted in the minds of the people of crimes more obscene than have as yet appeared in public print.

FIAT JUSTITIA.

MISCELLANEOUS.

(Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1873, by Ellen Barling, in the office of Librarian of Congress at Washington.)

WHAT EVERY MAN, FEMALE AND MALE, AND PARTICULARLY EVERY LABORER, OUGHT TO KNOW.

CHAPTER II.

WHAT EDUCATION IS, AND HEREIN OF THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN EDUCATION AND TRAINING.

Education is experience—*experientia docet*—experience teaches. The education of an individual man or beast is the individual experience of that man or beast; the beast can hear, smell, see, taste, feel, no more. His education is his experience, *his reason* of these senses. But the animal man has another sense that distinguishes him as man. His understanding and his education *as man* is his experience, *his reason* of his understanding. Understanding is government; it has no other office; it is for the government of man as is reason for the government of the beast. The beast uses and depends on his reason for his government and *is independent as to beasts*. If man would use and depend on his understanding, he too would be independent, but he willfully abdicates his understanding and accepts for his government the teachings, THE TRAINING of others.

Train.—Artifice, stratagem of enticement, a series of acts, process, method of procedure.

To Train.—To draw along, to entice, to invite to exercise, to form to any practice BY EXERCISE, TO HABITUATE.

Educate (e, out of, and *duco*, to draw, Latin).—To educate is to draw out, to cultivate, to develop.

Education.—Cultivation, development.

Man obtains the government of man and beast by training—distinguish training from education, for they are opposites. Training is the government of an individual by another, the dependence of an individual for direction in government on another, and government is force or fear of force, and so training is the government of another by force or fear of force—SLAVERY.

Education is the government of an individual by himself—the dependence of an individual for government on himself—that is, self-dependence, self-government—that is, independence LIBERTY.

As to man, training is the surrender of understanding as individual will—the government of the beast; for man in such case waives, puts aside understanding, and so is without understanding; and AN ANIMAL WITHOUT UNDERSTANDING IS A MERE BEAST.

But education is the enforcement of understanding as the supremacy, THE LAW, of individual will—the government of manhood. The parent educates his young to depend on themselves—that is, he cultivates and develops the senses of the young from immaturity to maturity, from dependence to independence. The education of the beast is his dependence on, his use, his experience of his senses, and the education of man is that of the beast, with the addition of man's dependence on, his use, his experience of, his understanding. Educated man has depended on, has used, has experienced his understanding. He has taken the responsibility, has acted, has taken the consequences—had the experience, PROVEN THE TRUTH, THE PRINCIPLE for his government; but trained man has waived his understanding, AND THE EXPERIENCE OF IT, THE TRUTH, THE PRINCIPLE, and for the experience, THE TRUTH, THE PRINCIPLE; has the precept—THAT IS, THE WILL OF THE TEACHER.

Training is mere usage, custom, habit—a matter of the beastly senses only—THE GOVERNMENT OF THE BEAST; and as man trains the beast, so he trains man to depend on him for government. The beast is trained to submit to government by force; but man is trained to submit to government by lies. As man has been trained, so he trains, or permits to be trained, his children. So he waives in the child understanding, and so he receives on faith his religion and his government, and so a religion and a government endure with a people. So man becomes a trained animal merely, and so he makes of understanding a mere vehicle to carry a teacher to train him, to govern him; and so the teacher, the trainer of man, becomes his governor, and so government becomes a matter of training merely. The training of man to waive understanding in matters of government, and for government to depend on his governor—his trainer; so government becomes a matter without understanding on the part of man, the subject of it, and on the part of man the governor—a matter of perversion of understanding; for understanding is principle, and calls for the enforcement of principle as government; but this governor uses understanding to waive principle, and so understanding defeats understanding; and so understanding is perverted, and so government becomes perversion, and endures by the defeat of understanding. And here understand perversion, for we are writing the history of perversion.

To pervert—to distort from the true end or purpose—to corrupt—to turn from the right. Pervert is opposed to convert which is to turn from the wrong to the right.

"Instead of good they work ill, and pervert justice to extreme injustice."—Spencer.

"If thou seest the oppression of the poor and violent perverting of justice in a province, marvel not."—ECCL.

Principle is the precept of understanding—the experience, the knowledge, the education of mankind; and waive principle and you waive experience, knowledge, education, and so come to first principles—that is to no principle, that is to the individual, the beast, bestiality. So waive principle, and mankind comes to a standstill, and manhood, that is understanding, is held in embryo an undeveloped capability merely, and the beast is the power, and permit government, and straight it becomes a machinery in the power of the beast for his gratification—a machinery for the cultivation and development of bestiality, a monster, and of this monster comes all the bestiality of man; for this monster being the government, the power, the force, bestiality is the government, the power, the force, and so being the government, the power, the force, compels toleration for itself, and by dispensation; license and pardon tolerates bestiality, and so bestiality, compelling toleration for itself as government, and as government, peddling toleration as license and pardon to subjects, becomes not crime by toleration; for what is tolerated is not crime, but what is prohibited; as the same monster made truth a crime by prohibiting it; as in libel and slander, until lately, the truth was not permitted to be given in evidence in defense, for the legal maxim was, the greater the truth the greater the libel. Understanding rejects this monster for government, but man is not governed by understanding in matters of government, but has waived understanding and so become the mere beast, the creature of usage, custom, habit; and as this creature of usage, custom, habit, has got used to the endurance of a government without understanding it, why as he endures it as a matter of course because he has endured it; for endurance is usage, custom, habit, and the beast is the creature of usage, custom, habit.

The whole trouble with man is, that he don't use his understanding, and so, as a beast, he takes government for what his governors give it to him—a necessity as it is—whereas, if he would only use his understanding he would readily perceive that government is not at all a necessity as it is, but that it is simply a conglomeration of lies.

And this monster government is the contrivance of male man, he originated it and he composes its governor and subject. Woman is recognized only as the beast is recognized, as the laborer—man has himself and family, the persons and substance of all, the rights of all involved in this contrivance, and he sees it incessantly encroaching as a tide on these rights, appropriating them as its right, its property, and he protests, and fights, and bleeds, and dies in defense of these rights as he seems to believe, but all in vain; for he is but the trained beast fighting in the harness of his trainers—his governors, and he is helpless because of his nature for NATURALLY he wants the necessary qualification for the business of government, and so he cannot qualify himself for it. For government should be but the care, preservation and protection of the family; the home, the nest and the care, preservation and protection of the family; the rearing of the young is not the business of the male, THE FATHER, THE ROOSTER; it is the business of the female, THE MOTHER, THE HEN; and she has the necessary natural

taste and qualifications for it. Man can aid, he can advise, and work, and fight, but he is not capable for the general charge, this requires woman and woman alone is capable for it. The state is but the collection of families, the relative charge of families, and woman who is capable for the family is consequently capable for the relative charge—THE STATE, and man who is incapable for the one, is NECESSARILY INCAPABLE FOR THE OTHER.

Woman is the subject of her affections, and her affections, especially as the wife and mother, prompt her to care for, preserve and protect the family, and in this charge is involved the care, preservation and protection of the persons, and substance of the persons composing the family—that is, in this charge are involved the rights of the persons composing the family, and the rights of the persons are the rights of the people; for the people are but the individual, the person, and rights are but principles and come of understanding, the understanding of the people; and of this understanding comes government, the suggestion of understanding, for the enforcement of understanding—THAT IS, THESE RIGHTS, THESE PRINCIPLES. So government is the suggestion of principle for the enforcement of principle. Now, as principle is the will, that is, the understanding of the people, what need of government to enforce the will of the people on themselves, because the people is the individual, THE BEAST, THE DESPOTISM, who cannot govern himself by principle, but who is governed by individual will. And the beast knows and feels and regrets all this, and so he yearns and craves government—that is, the enforcement of principle—for his protection, against himself and against his fellows, who deprecate on him. So government is for the enforcement of principle as a protection against individual will; and so the absolute enforcement of principle is the absolute inalienable right of each individual under government.

So, waive principle and you waive government, and more, for government is force—the force of the people for the enforcement of their will, PRINCIPLE; and waive principle and continue government, and straightway government becomes perversion, for it turns the people against themselves; it uses the force of the people to subject themselves to individual will, when government was instituted to save the people from subjection to individual will.

And principle is but the understanding of man as to what the well-being of man demands, and woman, naturally, instinctively, has the well-being of man at heart, so principle is nature, is instinct with woman. And the well-being of man depends on the enforcement of the rights of the person, and these rights have their root in the care, preservation and protection of the family. But principle is but understanding knowledge and governs no force, and woman is excluded from government and so has no force, and so principle and women have no enforcement, NO GOVERNMENT.

And male man is the government. He has all the force, and principle is not nature or instinct with him, but, on the contrary, is opposed to his nature, his instinct; for his nature, his instinct is selfishness, sensuality and scheming, and in the gratification of this selfishness he naturally and instinctively uses force, for he, as all male animals, is the creature of force, and he respects force and force alone; and as principle and woman have no force he respects not them, for respect is fear—THE FEAR OF FORCE. And government is the charge of families, the custody of persons and substance of families, and waive principle, and government puts the person and substance of families at the disposition of the individual will of this creature of force, and government is a necessity only because of the necessity of the restraint of this same creature of force. Woman needs no government, no force to restrain her. Force is repugnant to woman. She is never the wrongdoer except as man has unsexed and so demoralized her, and so trained her to do as he her governor and trainer did. And this governor and trainer wants the nature, the instinct that prompts the care, preservation and protection of the family; and witness history and observation that government never has been the care, preservation and protection of the family, but always something quite other than this—the opposite of this; for government always has been the destruction of the family—the devotion of families in person and substance to the gratification of the individual sensuality of governors, or to the use of the promotion of the schemes of governors; and witness history and observation that what is known as government is but a batch of the schemes of male man, monopolies, tariffs, corporations and the like, schemes not at all for the care, preservation and protection of the family, but schemes involving the forced use of the family, and so wrong and outrage, oppression and war and slaughter.

Woman would limit government to the care, preservation and protection of the family; THAT IS, TO THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE RIGHTS OF THE PERSON; AND THIS LIMITATION IS THE GREAT REFORM NEEDED.

Let man no longer use government as a machinery to compel to his use the helpless people as his slaves; let man no longer use government as a net to filch to his use the labor of the helpless people. Let man no longer as a liar and a hypocrite protest that his schemes, tariffs, corporations and the like are for the benefit of the people, but let him vindicate his manhood, and TELL THE TRUTH, AND CARRY ON HIS SCHEMES on his own RESPONSIBILITY.

The whole end of government is to hold the individual responsible for his acts, and IT IS THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THIS RESPONSIBILITY THAT HOLDS THE INDIVIDUAL IN CHECK. THIS IS THE WHOLE MORAL FORCE OF GOVERNMENT.

But man uses government to avoid this responsibility, for government hitherto has been but a machinery for the carrying on the business, the schemes of male-man on the responsibility of the people. Governors, so use the people directly as governors, by taxes, tariffs, &c., AND INDIRECTLY AS CORPORATIONS. For corporations are but governments in little, the progeny of government, and depending on government for existence, and so the tools and servants of government, and so the deadly enemies of the people. The power of

corporations as governments to use the people makes them, as governments, the masters of the people, and so makes the people THE INDIVIDUAL MAN, the serf, the slave of corporations, AND SO A SECOND-RATE POWER. Witness how corporations govern the government of the American people, and how the people, THE INDIVIDUAL MAN, IS DWARFED INTO INSIGNIFICANCE.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

AN ENGLISHMAN ON MR. BEECHER.

At the door of the church we encountered a deacon. Having expressed our desire, as an English traveler about quitting America, to hear the eminent preacher, we were politely ushered into a pew, from which, owing to the number of people in the adjacent aisle, it was impossible to get extricated until the conclusion of the service. Ere many minutes the place became choked, so to speak. Then the organ pealed forth. During the voluntary a tall, gaunt gentleman, in black morning costume, and black cravat to boot, walked hurriedly upon the platform, there being no pulpit. If his manner was ungainly, his appearance was impressive. When a hymn had been sung, Mr. Beecher "engaged" in prayer. It had the merit of being extemporary and common-place—very. Nothing could have been so cold or uninspiring. It was well suited to the conventicle, being, so far as we could judge, destitute of thought and sentiment. Then ensued Scriptural readings. Another hymn followed, during the singing of which the whole congregation remained comfortably ensconced in their cushioned seats. In due course came the sermon—and such a sermon! We were not ignorant that the preacher failed in his attempt to interest a large gathering in Exeter Hall during his visit to this country, and that the *Thunderer* did not notice his performance favorably. Still we listened to his preaching without the slightest taint of prejudice, as we would listen to Mr. Spurgeon were we for the first time in his Tabernacle. We were brimful of expectation. But alas! for our disappointment, although suffering from no fit of indigestion. Dare we say it? The preaching was quite on a par with the prayer. Both in subject matter and in arrangement it was beneath mediocrity; in delivery, shocking. We were struck by the coarseness of one sentence of the discourse, viz.: "Some say lawyers can't go to heaven. It's a lie! Some say merchants and traders can't go to heaven. It's a lie! Some say lawyers can't go to heaven. It's a lie! It's a lie! It's a lie!" stamping heavily with his right foot the while—raising a tremendous dust, in order to render his rapid oratory the more taking. And this is the apt apostle of the Brooklynites, cogitated we, whose name is not only "known in all the churches," but the "sittings" in whose synagogue are periodically submitted to vulgar auction, for some of which "fancy" prices are offered by persons desirous of becoming followers of—Ward Beecher! Popular preachers in more places than New York, or the city adjacent, take a good deal of verbal veneering. But sometimes the mahogany or rosewood coating falls off, when the inferior stuff upon which it is glued shows in all its deformity. Is it invidious to observe that a like tendency is evinced in this country to regard the shadow more than the substance, and for Christian people to run after sham and sensation more eagerly than after divine truth or Christian doctrine?—*London Illustrated Review*.

DIVORCED.

"Custody of the child given to the father."

My darling, my darling, the midnight is here
To stifle and tempt me with longing and fear:
I hear through the darkness thy sweet little voice,
Like birds in their nests that in slumber rejoice.

My darling! my darling! a long night has come;
I am straying alone in the ashes of home:
Its echoes of love and their answers of peace—
All voices that blessed me in solitude cease.

I gave them my love as our Father gives air;
I gave them my life without stint or compare:
They used me and left me to die by the way;
My darling! my love! thou wert kinder than they.

From thee in thy blossom, the sweetness of dawn,
The perfume and faith of thy life are not gone;
Thou lovest for love's sake, not duty nor gain;
Life hath not defiled thee, nor sorrow, nor pain.

Ah! would that together, in some quiet grave,
Or deep in the ocean's long-sorrowing wave,
Thy tiny arms round me, thy head on my breast,
We two lay forever in passionless rest.

In the night and the daytime I long for thy face;
I dream that thou liest at rest in thy place;
I waken and call thee with piteous prayer,
My darling! my darling! why art thou not there!

O God! when Thou judgest the false and the true—
When the madness and passion of living are through,
I ask of Thee only to give me above
This baby, who only hath answered my love!

—*Scribner for December*.

SEEM WHAT YOU ARE.

BY H. W. BEECHER.

If God made you half a fool, it is better that you should seem to be half a fool than that you should make believe that you are wise. All sorts of animals are willing to seem what they are. An ass is always willing to be thought an ass, and he honors God in it. An owl is always willing to be thought an owl, and he fulfills the function given to him, even if he does look wiser than he is. And a man should be willing to be just what God made him. Not that he should not desire to increase, to augment his talents; not that he should not put his money out at interest; but a man who is ignorant had better admit himself to be ignorant. A man who is not a genius had better not think himself to be a genius. A man who is poor had better think he is poor. A man who is unskilled had better admit that he is unskilled. Whatever you are, while you strive for greater excellence, stand on that which is true and right, and do not make yourself out to be more than you are. Do not attempt to put on guises and pretenses in the vain hope of winning praise. (?)

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FLOWERS AND RUSTIC WORK.

Flowers are one of the few things in life that bring us unalloyed pleasure. They are the most innocent tribute of courtesy or affection, as acceptable in the day of feasting as in the house of mourning. Florists are thus in a sense public benefactors. Hodgson, at No. 403 Fifth Avenue, from among the palaces takes us away to the sights and odors of the country with his rustic work, his gnarled boughs, and curiously crooked seats, his fragrant flowers and beautifully assorted bouquets.

Of all the ornaments now devised for beautifying gentlemen's grounds, there are none that can surpass rustic work, either in grandeur, beauty, utility or durability. It may be introduced almost anywhere if the surroundings are in the least rural; in many cases it can be placed where nothing else could be, oftentimes converting an eyesore into a place of great beauty, and yet ornamental and useful. As it is, there are few that have either the taste or good judgment for the judicious arrangement of the materials out of which the best rustic is made. To make or design rustic objects, the maker or designer must exercise good judgment as to the best place for his object—whether it is a house, bridge, vase, basket or any of the many objects that may be formed of rustic work—for if the object is in a bad position, be the object ever so good, it loses half the effect, or even becomes an eyesore. There must be something rural in the locality, something in tone with the object. Perfect taste is required for the form of any object, although in anything rustic the form will be much modified; yet there must be an original design to give meaning and grace to the object. In all cases, unless working with straight material, nature must be followed as nearly as possible, avoiding right angles or anything that looks formal; every piece should look as if joined by nature. This not only gives beauty but stability to the work. To all this must be combined the skill of the builder, to give strength, finish and neatness to the whole work. Many people think that as a matter of course carpenters can build rustic, but there are few if any that can give the natural rusticity so necessary to it. It is a trade by itself, and requires men with a natural taste and inventive genius. Some men work at it for years and cannot do it creditably.

There is nothing that may not be made in rustic work, from a dwelling-house to a cage, a bridge to a card basket. Many of the vases are filled with plants and look very handsome, with ivy half hiding the woodwork, and fine flowering plants capping the whole and making it a thing complete in itself. There are also many fine baskets filled. Certainly nothing could be more ornamental or better in a window than one of these. But these things, to be appreciated, must be seen; for large constructions we would advise any one to visit the grounds of Mr. Hoey, at Long Branch, or Peter B. King, Esq., on the Palisades overlooking the Hudson, or General Ward's estate.

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