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Vol. VII.—No. 10.—Whole No. 166.

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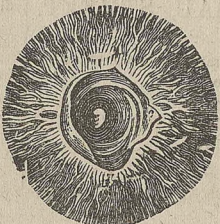
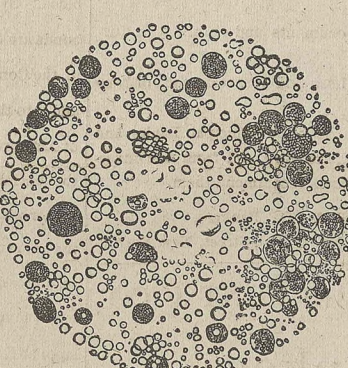
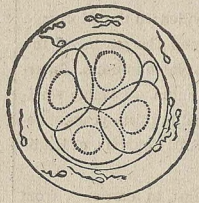
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4. Behold the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is kept back by fraud, crieth, and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord.

Gen. Ep. James, v. 1.

A QUESTION FOR ULTRAMONTANE CATHOLICS.

The following extract is from the "Religious Topics" of the N. Y. Herald, January 25:

"The Freeman's Journal defends the Irish-American population of this city against the charge of being Communists, and transfers the odium of this ism to the public schools. The antidote to Communism is to make education more Christian."

As St. Peter instituted "Communism," would it not be a better plan for the "College of Cardinals" to place the fourth and fifth chapters of the Acts of the Apostles in the Index Expurgatorius?—ED. WEEKLY.

PROSPECTUS.

To the People of the United States—The undersigned, believing the time has come for the establishment of an International organ whose principles are as deep as justice and broad as the human race, put forth this prospectus for our paper:

The political economists, and especially the financial economists, of the past, have failed to give the world a solution of the just utilization of the forces in Nature; and, therefore, through that false political economy our industries throughout the country are paralyzed, and 5,000,000 of men, women and children who were wealth-producers are to-day out of employ, with pauperism, crime and starvation staring them in the face.

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The substitution of simple and just laws for the present unjust class system of our feudal ancestors.

To advance material science, develop the resources of the country, and protect the useful classes against the avarice of capitalists or the derangements of trade, the various branches of useful industry should be established by government on equitable principles of time and compensation, and thereby furnish employment to those who might otherwise be idle and suffer the pangs of poverty or be tempted to crime.

With this solution, based upon equal rights and distributive justice to all, we utilize the various governments of the country, in the hands of the people, so that there can never be a suspension of the useful industries to the injury of the working classes; because, where the individual enterprise stops, the whole people, through the instrument of government, steps in and keeps the march of useful developments and progress in active motion, thus "promoting the general welfare and insuring domestic tranquility."

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Its Doctrine—The golden rule.

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W. A. A. CARSEY, Manager and Publisher.

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Come forth from the hill,
Come forth from the workshop,
The mine, and the mill;
From pleasure or slumber,
From study or play,
Come forth in your myriads
And aid us to-day.
There's a word to be spoken,
A deed to be done,
A truth to be uttered,
A cause to be won.
Come forth in your myriads!
Come forth every one!

Come youths, in your vigor;
Come men, in your prime;
Come age, with experience
Fresh gathered from time;
Come workers! You're welcome!
Come thinkers! You must!
Come, thick as the clouds
Of the midsummer dust—
Or the waves of the sea,
Gleaming bright in the sun;
There's a truth to be told,
And a cause to be won.
Come forth in your myriads!
Come forth every one!

CHARLES MACKAY.

SOCIALISTIC.

SPIRITUALISM vs. FREE LUST.

LYMAN C. HOWE TO PROFESSOR E. WHIPPLE.

My dear Brother—Your questions and criticisms have been duly considered.* It is easier to ask than to answer. One column may contain more questions than can be clearly answered in ten columns. Hence, if I seem to overlook any, you will realize that the most important have the first claim. Some of your questions need no answer. I said nothing against "Freedom as a principle." The action of the Chicago Convention virtually commits all who hold their peace, not only to social freedom, as expounded by Mrs. Woodhull, but to her social ethics as well. After her election at Troy, she issued a message to the Spiritualists of America represented by the national organizations, in which she assumed that her election was a virtual indorsement of her theories. She urged that her social and political theories were known to the Convention that made her their President, and they were therefore bound by their own act to help enforce them. She recapitulated some of her strong (or weak!) positions, among which were an avowed determination to carry her claims and conquer, even to the precipitation of a bloody revolution! This position has never, to my knowledge, been recalled. She has continued to urge her extreme views, not of freedom merely, but of sexual morals (or immorals!), which are male quite as prominent in her writings and speeches, as the "abstract question of freedom." Now she is re-elected for a third term without a protest from her supporters against her claim of commitment as proclaimed in her first message. Besides, every resolution indorsed by the Convention favors her claims as far as they go, while every resolution tending to limit or compromise the most extreme sentiments was promptly rejected. Mr. Cotton's resolution was not against freedom nor proscription, but simply sought to commit the convention to the monogamic ideal without enforcing it upon any one. It is constantly urged that monogamy is highest and best. This is the palladium of Mrs. Woodhull's defenders. Then why reject Bro. Cotton's most liberal and high-toned resolution? Was it because it expressed commiseration for the condition of promiscuity? Surely it was not because he expressed charity and withheld censure! Briefly, then, "I refuse to yield tacit assent" to Mrs. Woodhull's social theories. A few of the special points will appear anon. You compare religious freedom with sexual freedom, and ask me to define their difference. What is freedom? What do you know of a principle till it is applied? And when applied, does it not confirm the structure or nature of things to which it is applied? Life and love may be principles, but what do we know of them till they are expressed in persons or things? Life-principles expressed in a tree or a snake appear very different from the life of man. All the difference I can see between religious freedom and social freedom, is in the different relations they involve. Religion relates us to our God or Gods: it generally implies worship. Sexuality relates us to each other. Religious freedom simply leaves our direct dealings with God for Him to regulate. If we worship acceptably, well; if not, He is our proper judge; if we refuse Him praise, he is able to do without it or bring us to time in His own way; if we trespass upon His rights he is able to defend himself. Though we exhaust our passions upon the citadel of his purity He is unharmed. So long as our worship does not infringe human rights the State may not interfere. The whole question of difference turns upon the different bearings which religious devotion and sexual intercourse have upon the rights and relations of society. Is any illustration necessary? If religious worship impose offspring upon the kingdom of heaven, He who governs there or they who share the burden of their support have a right to object or regulate the conditions under which they will accept the charge; but if religion impose the same responsibility upon earthly society, that concerns us, and the State may regulate the conditions if it can,

*See WEEKLY Oct. 18. Prof. E. Whipple to Lyman C. Howe.

and religious freedom is not infringed. All the State claims to do in our present civilization is to protect human rights and enforce loyalty to relations voluntarily assumed. It assumes monogamy essential to purity and peace, and if it is the highest and best, why not? The State limits the exercise of religious worship; not to protect God, but to secure the rights of society. You may worship a crocodile, a snake, the sea or the sun, or you may worship a virgin, and none to molest or make afraid. But if your faith requires you to sacrifice a virgin to the God of fire or the flames of sexual passion, it touches human rights and is rightfully subject to restraint. If religion requires mothers to throw their babes to crocodiles, or men to poison their neighbors' wives, would you say let them? Men may love or lust and there is no law to prevent; but when the expression of that lust violates human rights, either individually or collectively, or involves relations that endanger public morals, we are all concerned and have a right to a voice in the matter. You ask, "What conditions must be fulfilled to constitute one an advocate of freedom?" Answer. A recognition of order versus anarchy. Order requires the obedience of impulse and physical desires to moral judgment interpreted through wholesome laws, limitations, restraints.

Passion abounds in anarchy. Free passion enslaves the man. The free man holds sexual impulse subordinate, makes it a servant of purity, an obedient child of love. An advocate of freedom must urge these conditions; must insist on the rule of the spiritual and the subjection of the animal to the laws and limitations of higher reason. 2. "In what respect does Mrs. Woodhull fail to embody these conditions?" Answer: In that she urges no moral government over sexual passion—the most enslaving of all impulses—but declares that restraint is dangerous, induces insanity, and when "human fiends" are found whose passion slavery murders the "consenting party," she offers as a remedy not restraint, but a larger field and freer expression of the demon!

Again: "Does the statement that one has the natural right to exercise sexuality—that sexuality in itself is good—carry the implication that Mrs. W. is a fanatical devotee of passion slavery?" If so, would not the advice to use any faculty or follow any other attraction make a fanatical devotee and slave to such faculty?" Who questions the "natural right to exercise sexuality?" or who has implied that it is not "in itself good?" Why evade the square issue? Passion left free develops anarchy. There is no impulse that may not enslave if not regulated by reason. Mrs. W. urges the superiority of sexual feelings because they are the creative. And she advocates the most unlimited gratification. She agrees that it may produce "brutality in man and beastliness in woman." Is that "good?" Sexuality regulated by reason, subordinated to moral instinct, is as pure as any other impulse. But you seem to doubt that she teaches obedience to impulse in defiance of moral restraint. Would that I could share your doubt. Her own words must be the witness. What are they? 1. Her definition of freedom is but another name for license. It is the door to anarchy. Hear her: "What is freedom? The right of each individual, to make such use of his or her powers as he or she may elect. Anything less is restriction; and restriction by any person or aggregate of persons, is despotism."—Silver Lake Speech.

Now these words are positive, unequivocal. To talk of restraint in the face of this definition is to talk despotism. If I elect to use my powers to seduce your daughter and, then murder her to escape the responsibility incurred by my act, that is my right under this new order of freedom. And if you know of my act and anticipate my attempt to kill, and interfere to save your child by restricting the exercise of my powers in the way I elect, then you are a despot! Though Mrs. Woodhull publish whole volumes upon the necessity of restraint, she but adds confusion and contradiction, while this bold, unmistakable definition stands as her idea of freedom.

Again, "Social freedom means freedom in the social relations as well for the demon as for the angel. I repeat, the sexual passion is the voice of God in the soul. The demon supposed to be possessed of the most ungovernable sexual passion has the divine right to its exercise according to his or her own inclination or demand."—Weekly, May 4, 1872.

If, then, the "demon" has the "divine right" to debauch him or herself and drag innocence and purity into the maelstrom of their "ungovernable sexual passions," we have no right to demur or seek to save the victims of this "divine right!" This definition of "social freedom" encourages the rule of the "most ungovernable sexual passion," enslaving or dethroning reason, prostituting love, and "advocates obedience to impulse" in defiance of reason, law or "moral restraint." "Immense sexual power, unaccompanied by correspondingly developed intellectual and moral capacities, produces brutality in man and beastliness in woman."—Weekly, May 31. Does the "voice of God in the soul" produce "brutality and beastliness?" If "restriction is despotism," and "social freedom means freedom for the demon as for the angel," and such have the "divine right" to act "according to inclination or demand," what is there to hope from the enthusiastic labors of Mrs. Woodhull but the subordination of reason and moral sense to brutality and beastliness!

In the reply to Thomas W. Organ, Vol. VI., No. 9, page 8 of the WEEKLY, Mrs. W. says: "For our own part we can see no choice between the despotism of law and the despotism of morals. Nor what either amounts to unless methods for its enforcement are also proposed. We declare that there is no right in any person or persons to enforce a standard of sexuality nor any more to enforce one of morality. If law and morals amount to nothing without being enforced, and no person or persons has any right to enforce them, of what value their existence?"

Does not that look like ignoring moral restraint? In the same paper she says: "The man or woman who best exemplifies the capacities and instincts with which they are endowed, whether that endowment is low down in the scale of evolution or high in the ascent, is the truly moral person." Let us apply this version of true morality. Some are an

dowed with strong "capacities and instincts" for theft, others for strong drink, others for murder, others for sexual debauchery; and as most people desire to be counted "truly moral" they have here the incentive offered to "exemplify their capacities and instincts" by following their degrading proclivities! You must change the language of this quotation to escape this conclusion.

Those having "immense sexual capacities" will "best exemplify their endowments" by "brutality and beastliness," and these, we are told, "are the truly moral persons!" Are you "with her" in this estimate of moral worth? In her Steinway Hall speech she says: "Nature proclaims in broadest terms, and all her subjects re-echo the same grand truth, that sexual unions which result in reproduction are marriage." Reproduction may result from rape, and often does follow unloving embraces in legal marriage bed, which Mrs. W. calls prostitution. Are rape and prostitution marriage? Oh, my dear brother, to what a depth of depravity must our moral and conjugal instincts fall to thus degrade our conceptions of love and the divine significance of marriage! In the case of a Methodist minister whose passions murdered his "consenting" wife, Mrs. W. offers no remedy but gratification. She would distribute his brutality among members of his church or with "prostitutes for hire." She would extend the sphere of this "sexual animal," and encourage a freer activity for his animalism. As he was a clergyman, it was important that he "exemplify his capacities and instincts," that he be "truly moral." At the rate of "six to ten times a day," offspring would naturally follow at the rate of 500 to 2,000 a year, which, by the law of inheritance, might be expected to exemplify their father's brutality. Does this look like encouraging moral restraint? She sees the great wrong done the broken-hearted wife, but what is her remedy for such inhuman debauchery? Is it Spiritual discipline? Is it moral government or restraint? No. It is gratification. It is very cheap and easily applied. One would suppose that a teacher endowed with high and healthy morals, with a genuine love of humanity and trustworthy principles of social freedom and pure reform, would have suggested hospital treatment and the application of influences that should awaken his higher nature and subdue this morbid animalism, and emancipate the man. I do not mean to imply that Mrs. Woodhull is immoral, but the blight of bad doctrines seems to hide the higher truth.

She consults the appetite of her patients, and takes good care that nothing unpalatable be administered. She would distribute his "brutality," not restrain. She would establish sexual equilibrium by encouraging free, promiscuous indulgence. Now, if this "human fiend" had such enormous "sexual capacities"—and exercise increases power, which Mrs. W. claims is the law, applied to sexuality as to the muscles of the arm, and that power is already in such bad proportion as to constitute him a "mere sexual animal"—how long must this process of sexual culture continue to transform this animal into a well-balanced and purified man? Again, she assumes that "government has no right to enact laws to limit the pursuit of happiness, in whatever direction or in whatever capacity." Then what can government do to protect such victims as this clergyman's wife so long as his "capacities" and the "direction of his pursuit of happiness" require the tender sacrifice? In the case of a maniac soothed and sobered by the caresses of his "sweetheart," Mrs. Woodhull intimates that sexual intercourse was the remedy employed, and advises this treatment as a general panacea for insanity! But since all are not thus favored, she suggests that, "for all patients who haven't sweethearts, some should be found for them!"

Now, what woman could be enamored of a maniac? And if these new-found "sweethearts" did not love their patients, would she subject them to their embraces? But suppose women could be found who could love a maniac at sight, would you allow the sexual embrace and subject these sweethearts to the natural consequences? Would you tolerate "sexual freedom" in such a case, knowing that the fruits might be the reproduction of maniacs? Do not think I mean to insult you by such questions. But you say, "If you rightly understand Mrs. Woodhull, you are with her in her doctrines of social freedom." These are her doctrines, as publicly avowed. You may urge that these are "side issues," and have nothing to do with the "abstract question of freedom." But it is not "abstract questions" we are discussing. We are discussing Mrs. Woodhull's social theories, of which "freedom as a principle" is but a small part. You assume that I confound "social freedom" with "sexual promiscuity." No; but I study Mrs. Woodhull's social freedom in the light of her own interpretations. Her social freedom and social ethics run together and are inseparable. You have no more reverence for pure freedom than I. I claimed in my note to the *Banner* that Mrs. Woodhull was not an advocate of freedom. Of course I did not deny that she employed the word and claimed to advocate it, but I was looking at the practical application of her doctrines; and they revealed the worst type of slavery.

Now, let me ask, do you indorse Mrs. Woodhull's social theories as set forth in the *verbatim* questions I have here given? If not, then you are not "with her in her doctrines of social freedom." You may modify them and interpret them in the light of some of her better sayings and your own superior moral sense, and assume that it is settled; but until Mrs. W. recalls and cancels the unqualified expressions herein quoted, all attempts to explain and reconcile will but exhibit the self-contradictions and demonstrate her inconsistencies. What I have quoted are strong points, to be sure, and you may assume that they do not faithfully represent her, since she has occasionally intimated that certain kinds of restraint are proper, etc. But these bold, strong texts are the centre of power that carry her theories to the world. And when she gives an unqualified definition of freedom to the world, that is supposed to represent her true meaning. And when she has pronounced all restriction despotism, if she talks of restraints and limitations, it strikes those who are familiar with her definitions as a slip of the tongue. For who of her admirers would flatter her by call-

ing her a despot? Your clear and trained intellect, your high moral endowment, your sweet spiritual sympathies and your manly virtues cannot consistently subscribe to these extremes. And I am constrained to believe that Mrs. Woodhull, in her deeper self and clearer moods, would shrink from their horrid bearings. She is not my "central point of attack" only as she stands in the shade of her theories.

For the brave words she has spoken in defense of abused women and helpless children, for her scathing rebukes of popular vice, her startling portrayal of the havoc of secret crime, and the bravery with which she defends her convictions, I honor and bless her. I have no partisan feeling to serve. She may be an appointed instrument for a special work in the great transition. In any conflict between freedom and despotism you may be assured I shall be arrayed on the side of freedom, but I hope never to be arrayed against order and the regulations of justice. Give us a freedom that is loyal to love and exalting to the spiritual nature of man, that will purify and bless the sacred altar of home, preserve the rights of the weak as against the capacities and instincts of those truly moral persons who exemplify their capacities in brutality and beastliness, and that shall recognize the rights of wives, husbands and mothers, as well as of the fickle and ardent lovers, whose passion often crucifies love and veils the face of reason. Love, to me, is divine; home the altar of my hopes, and purity of purpose the key to the Kingdom of Heaven. Mutual responsibilities and duties acknowledged and cheerfully performed; self-restraint and mutual sacrifice for the good of each other have infinitely more saving grace than the self-regulating principle of freedom interpreted as anarchy, and denying these equal and reciprocal bonds in marriage. It seems to me that my statement in the *Banner* is sustained affirmatively by the quotations I have made, and negatively, by the absence of any evidence against it. Where has Mrs. Woodhull ever urged the duty or clearly indicated the necessity of holding the passions subject to moral restraint? To find a "consenting party" is, so far as I am able to learn, her only moral limit.

Your suggestion, if I do not like the company kept there" (in the *WEEKLY*) must be ironical. What did you know of me to call for that insinuation? Do you count me a pharisee! I have seen many expressions in the *WEEKLY* that to my ears sounded vulgar, and thoughts that profaned the purest temple of love. From these I feel repelled. But I do not think the men and women who fall into line and fight for their faith are widely different from the rest of the world. If monogamy is the highest marital law, we would naturally expect the best minds to gravitate to that side of the question. And in proportion as they feel the sacredness and purity of that relation would they be shocked and repulsed at the recognition or even toleration of promiscuity. But I do not believe the average of practical purity is very largely in favor of either side; but a pure ideal will do something to exalt the standard of practice. It is plain that earnest persons may offer their lives in defense of a theory or assumed truth that is a mere superstition. But their motives are as pure as though the dogma were a truth. But their effect upon their lives and society in which they live will be according to the real virtue their faith embodies.

You ask if you can consistently advocate freedom for others, while you have no occasion to use it yourself. Have I said anything to impeach your consistency? If you hold monogamy sacred, the highest and best, to which all are to attain as fast as their better nature develops, and then urge no necessity for promiscuous natures to conquer their lower proclivities and live for the higher, it seems to me that you fail in your duty to your weaker fellows.

Yes, these are times "fraught with terrible meaning." When prostitution is honored and exalted, chastity pronounced crime, virtue ridiculed and rape exalted to the dignity of marriage, and when all who object are pronounced vile, and warned to fall into line or be damned, we may well look to the brooding heavens and read in the lurid shadow the crimson prophecies of "terrible meaning."

In conclusion, let me assure you that toleration is my creed, free discussion and pure love my hope, charity and fraternity my gospel, radical thought and "naked truth" my religion, and consistency my aim. I am open to conviction, and ready to follow where reason, intuition and moral purity lead. I claim no superiority, accept no despotic dictation. I have boundless trust in the Divine and hopeful love for the human. If my position is not sustained, the reading public must be my judge. May the dawn of impartial reason break into radiant bloom and kindle the sacred morning of peace and promise in our loyal affections and show us the perfect way.

WAVERLY, N. Y., November 17, 1873.

REPLY TO LYMAN C. HOWE.

[The above communication was forwarded for publication several weeks ago, and Mrs. Woodhull being absent in the far West the local editor hesitated to publish it on account of its length. It has been submitted to me for comments should I choose to make any.]

Two circumstances prevent my reviewing brother Howe's criticism at length just at this time. First, because a multitude of labors I cannot waive, together with sickness in my family, taxes all the energy I have to spare; second, I cannot presume upon the over-crowded columns of the *WEEKLY* with a discussion which might assume a quite indefinite length. While I venture to suggest that Brother Howe has failed to make out his case upon the points raised in my previous communication, I shall for the time being confine myself to what chiefly interests society in general and reformers in particular, namely, the assumption that the State is invested with the right to compel its citizens to live moral lives.

Brother Howe has read history to little purpose if he supposes that the State has generally restricted the religious liberty of the subject purely in the interest of Jehovah. The State has, with rare exceptions, assumed that an unbeliever is an unsafe citizen; that without the recognition of future rewards and punishments a man has no motive to respect the rights of others. And many of our free States of America to-day reject by their constitutional provisions

the evidence of an atheist in a court of justice, not because God needs protection, but because, not holding the belief which the party of "law and order" think essential to constitute a safe member of the community, his evidence is suppressed to protect society against perjury. Brother Howe has utterly failed to show that the question of social freedom is different in kind from that of religious freedom, and all this talk about the terrible anarchy which would flow from social freedom is not only irrelevant but it is the old argument over again which kings and priests have always used to coerce the people into the old ways of living!

Now, Mrs. Woodhull's central idea of freedom, that upon which she has uniformly insisted, is the same as that held by Stuart Mill during the last fifteen years, namely, that all acts which are self-regarding, acts which concern only the individual, not only should be exempt from any interference by the State, but it is the duty of the State to protect the individual in the exercise of his freedom against the encroachments of the community. But the conservators of public morals deny that any acts are purely self-regarding. They assert that a bad belief communicates like the small-pox, and hence must be restrained. As we are incapable of an act which does not directly or remotely react upon society, so society must have the supervision of our conduct with a view to its own protection. If our living is bad, for example, our children will inherit scrofula, and hence, in the interest of children the State should preside over our table, prescribe our diet, and regulate all our domestic concerns. And so there is no tyranny of interference with the individual which may not be sanctioned upon this principle. I utterly ignore the idea of paternal functions vested in the State. I ignore the State's assumed right to compel the individuals loyalty to the monogamic or any other ideal. Its business is to let the individual alone in what alone concerns the individual, and to see to it that he lets others alone in matters of their own concern. We need not trouble ourselves about the moral law; that will assert itself without the aid of State machinery. Those who persuade themselves that society will go to the bad without the paternal care of government, distrust human nature.

"The only freedom which deserves the name," says Stuart Mill, "is that of pursuing our own good in our own way, so long as we do not attempt to deprive others of theirs or impede their efforts to obtain it. Each is the proper guardian of his own health, whether bodily or mental and spiritual. Mankind are greater gainers by suffering each other to live as seems good to themselves, than by compelling each to live as seems good to the rest."

Mrs. Woodhull says, in her Steinway Hall speech, that "when one person encroaches upon another person's rights he or she ceases to be a free man or woman, and becomes a despot. To all such persons we assert that it is freedom and not despotism which we advocate and demand; and we will as rigorously demand that individuals be restricted to their freedom as any person dare to demand; and as rigorously demand that people who are predisposed to be tyrants instead of free men or women, shall by the government be so restrained as to make the exercise of their proclivities impossible. * * * And the most perfect exercise of such rights is only attained when every individual is not only fully protected in his rights, but also strictly restrained to the exercise of them within his own sphere, and positively prevented from proceeding beyond its limits so as to encroach upon the sphere of another, unless that other first agree thereto."

Mrs. W. has said as much in other places, and I believe in all she has ever published the above limitations have been kept strictly in view, and the attempt to construe her language as opposed to all individual and governmental restraint by keeping these limitations out of sight, looks as though the chief anxiety was to make out a case and convict the alleged criminal.

Bro. Howe tells us that a principle can be tested only by application to the things with which we propose to deal, and in the same connection expresses deep solicitude for the welfare of helpless infancy, just as though under the old order of things children were born right and always properly cared for. I will ask how has the State, from which our brother expects so much, dealt with this problem? Does it not license prostitution without making the men who support it responsible for the children they propagate in those dens of infamy? Does not the State license and permit the half-idiot, the thieves, the liars and the vagabonds to become legal husbands and propagate their kind? And does it not virtually compel thousands of dependent, helpless women to embraces which they loathe and to a maternity which they abhor? This talk about Mrs. Woodhull's elevating rape to the dignity of marriage and justifying prostitution, while the party of "law and order" legalizes both, evinces a tendency to look only on "one side of the shield," and were it most any other person than brother Howe who writes in this style, I should think it deserved the appellation of cant. Those who have a vision of a better day for humanity; those who have more faith in man than they have in the worn-out tools of civilization, have the welfare of children quite as much in view as have those who are anxious to preserve the old social machinery.

Again, Brother H. says that passion left free develops anarchy. Well, there was plenty of both before Mrs. Woodhull came upon the stage, notwithstanding the guardian care of the State. The expression of "free passion" in children is all but universal. The child receives no wise instruction regarding that wonderful power for good or evil which is soon to become potent in its organization, and so falls a victim to ruinous practices. The Oneida Community has dealt with this question intelligently, for they count sexuality among the divine attributes; and they assure us there is no secret vice among their healthy, well-born children. And strange as it may seem to our brother, Mrs. Woodhull herself has grappled with this question with her characteristic earnestness, striking the ax of reform at the root of this tree of sexual vice. And, again, in legal marriage passion is "free," at least on the masculine side; and our dear

paternal State makes no provision for its restraint. When our brother remembers that nearly all the vicious men have women tied to them legally, and that the State gives their passions "full swing" in relations where they may freely propagate, it would seem that he would forget Mrs. Woodhull entirely in his serious concern for the welfare of "un-born generations." Men who have money restrict passion by making a monopoly of it. Mrs. Woodhull proposes to break down this monopoly by limiting each individual to his own sphere, or to that of "consenting parties."

The language quoted from the WEEKLY of May 4 is, I submit, consistent with the limitation expressed in the Steinway Hall speech. All that is implied there is, that all faculties and powers are good, and that they are entitled to exercise within their sphere. The so-called demon is a possible angel, and the State transcends its sphere when it attempts to compel him to order his private life as it may think best.

I must say that the use Brother Howe makes of his quotation from Mrs. W., to the effect that the truly moral man is one who best exemplifies his capacities and instincts, is a complete travesty of what the language expresses. Had I seen such an application in the *Tribune* or *Herald* it would not have surprised me; but to see it from a gentleman whom I believe aims to be most just on all occasions, argues the incompetence of our language or the extreme bias of prejudice. Here we have physiological and pathological problems utterly confounded. By "instinct" and "capacity" Mrs. W. plainly has reference to faculties and organs of the body, and not to conditions of disease. Nor has she reference to those conditions and manifestations where the sphere of others is invaded, for she has distinctly stated that all such conditions and invasions should be *restrained by the State*, as in cases of theft, murder and rape. Does Brother Howe really accept the implication of his own words? Does he admit the Calvinistic doctrine that human nature is endowed with instincts for theft, murder and rape? If he does, I suppose he must be excused for the construction he has put upon Mrs. W.'s words.

But Bro. Howe's toleration nearly breaks down when he considers Mrs. W.'s panacea for certain species of insanity. I would remind him, however, that in this he is with the mob in their narrow views of progress, while Mrs. W. is with the most enlightened who have made the pathology of the mind a life-study. Some of the leading physicians of New York and Boston, together with Dr. Maudsley, of England—men who have long had charge of the insane—committed themselves to a similar view before Mrs. Woodhull was known to the public. Nor do I see that such a method of treatment, conducted under the direction of a competent physician, and administered with reference to the welfare of the unfortunate, need be attended with any such calamitous effects as Bro. H. so sorrowfully depicts, or as worse classes perpetrate every day in irresponsible legal marriage. No doubt the rigidly virtuous will throw up their hands and elevate their noses if they chance to read these words, but I shall take my consolation in the reflection that the physiologists have a more exalted view of human nature than have the Mrs. Grundys.

From Bro. Howe's recent solicitude for the welfare of poor unborn children we may expect he will soon petition the government to look after the insane, the halt, the blind, the criminals, who are in legal marriage, and respectfully ask that they see to it and prevent them from further propagation. It is undeniable that this unfortunate class are mainly recruited from the legally married, whom the State has thus far permitted to exercise passion without restraint. It exhibits a bad grace to croak about the terrible consequences that would flow out of social freedom, while we are confronted with the utter failure of those institutions we are besought to retain.

I have no idea that much constructive work in social reform will be accomplished during the present generation. We are not now fighting for either monogamy or variety, but for freedom. Our labor for the present is negative. We must first secure freedom as a condition of growth, stop the meddlesome interference of government in matters that do not concern it, protect all social experiments that are undertaken in good faith, cease to require conformity to any body's croquet or social ideal, and accept the whole social problem as an open question which only the enlightened future may be able to finally settle and reconcile with nature. The race is yet young and embraces a thousand latent germs which need the vitalizing air and warm sunlight of freedom before they can become evolved into life and power. This human nature will not consent to remain in Chinese shoes and dogmatic ruts; it must carve new grooves and spring forward to a grander destiny.

Personally, I esteem Brother Howe as a man of more than ordinary heart and brain, as one with tender and refined sentiment, endowed with noble and generous impulses—the last man who would oppress either man or woman, or who would try to compel others to his way of thinking or mode of life. Yet I cannot do otherwise than construe his recent attitude as essentially conservative, and his estimate of Mrs. Woodhull and the social movement with which she is identified, very unjust; though I would not have it understood that I think he has any intention of being unjust. He seems to me timid and distrustful of anything which parts company with the old spirit and methods. The terrible earnestness of a Luther, or Garrison, or Woodhull—whose truth-telling arrays an empire in hostile strife—frightens our brother. He turns with disgust from the pointed speech, the scathing rebuke, the abrupt demeanour. The nice ways must be observed, the proprieties must be consulted, the methods must be in keeping with our traditional usages. If these are spoiled, the whole work is vitiated beyond repair. But the future historian will penetrate beneath these incidents in Mrs. Woodhull's career, and assign her a place among the world's great reformers which her contemporaries are too short-sighted to acknowledge.

Finally, those who talk so long and loud about Mrs. Woodhull's advocacy of promiscuity should be oft reminded that

the present agitation does not aim to secure the acceptance of any particular social scheme. The more intelligent agitators understand it is too early in the day to frame resolutions declaring either monogamy or variety to be a law of nature; they wisely leave such questions for future adjustment. And it might be further suggested that the people of rigid virtue, who look down with such pity and contempt upon those who have abundant sexuality, might often with propriety turn their eyes in the opposite direction to get a glimpse of the real contrast between such people's condition and their own. We should remember that our notions of virtue and morality are relative, not absolute. While my own idea of the relation of the sexes is that of monogamy, yet if that mode of life cannot survive a free and open conflict with rival schemes, independent of the paternal care of the State, then I should conclude that the social order capable of supplanting it is best adapted to meet the social requirements of the race. I anticipate a condition of society when human nature will be trusted and spontaneity will take the place of negative virtue and rigid moral codes; a condition in which man will take no thought of set rules and dogmatic standards. As the lilies bloom and the corn grows, so will humanity evolve the latent germs of character and express the possibilities of instinct and faculty. In the meantime we must protect the individual sphere from the meddlesome interference of society, and restrain the individual when he invades the sphere of another.

E. WHIPPLE.

896 MAIN ST., CAMBRIDGE, MASS.,
Jan. 16, 1874.

MADGE MILLER.

Madge Miller, on a summer day,
Walked, as usual, her pleasant way.

Her dress was tidy, her apron white;
Her face was sweet as the morning light.

She was a country village maid,
Learning a country milliner's trade.

Her hands were soft, her dress was clean,
And little she knew what care might mean.

She said, "I'll work at my pretty trade,
And live a happy and free old maid."

"Lovers may come and lovers may go,
I'll have none of them, no, no, no!"

But a suitor came, with a tall silk hat;
He told her a story worth two of that.

The same old story by lovers told
Since first the earth out of chaos rolled.

(Let us kindly hope, who are old and wise,
He did not know he was telling lies.)

"Marry me, darling, and you shall be
The happiest woman on land or sea!"

"No longer then will you have to go
To your daily labor through heat or snow."

"It shall be my pleasure, my law, my life,
To make you a blest and happy wife."

"Marry me, and you shall never know
A sorrow or hardship, a care or woe!"

She heard the story of promised bliss—
She waited, wavered, and answered, "Yes."

Bright and big was the honeymoon,
And clouded by worldly care too soon;

For housework led her its weary round—
Her feet were tethered, her hands were bound.

And children came with their small demands,
Fettering closer her burdened hands.

In her husband's house she came to be
A servant in all but salary.

All her days, whether foul or fair,
Were endless circles of work and care;

And half her nights—as up and down
She walked the floor in her dressing-gown,

Hushing an ailing infant's screams,
Lest it should break its father's dreams;

And wash the dishes and rub the knives—
The lofty mission of dutiful wives;—

Or coaxed and doctored a sobbing child
By the pangs of ear-ache driven wild—

Were seasons of wakeful, nervous dread.
So if at last o'er her aching head

The angel of slumber chanced to stoop,
He brought her visions of mumps or croup;

And she rose unrested, and went once more
Through the dull routine of the day before.

Week by week did she drudge and toil,
And stew and pickle, and roast and boil,

And scrub and iron, and sweep and cook,
Her only reading, a recipe book;

And bathe the children and brush their locks,
Button their aprons and pin their frocks,

And patch old garments, and darn and mend—
Oh, weary worry that has no end!

She lost her airy and sportive ways,
The pretty charm of her girlish days—

For how can a playful fancy rove
When once tied up to a cooking stove?

Her face was old ere she reached her prime—
Faded and careworn before its time.

Sometimes would her well-kept husband look
Up from the page of his paper or book,

And note how the bloom had left her face,
And a pallid thinness won its place—

How gray had mixed with her locks of brown,
And her forehead gained a growing frown,

And say, "She is ugly, I declare;
"I wonder I ever thought her fair!"

Season by season, year by year,
Did she follow the round of "woman's sphere"—

Not vexing her husband's days or nights
By any mention of woman's rights,

Till she died at last—too severely tried—
Her life's one selfish deed—she died,

Proud and happy and quite content
With the slavish way her days were spent!

Feeling, of course, that her life was lost
Nobly in saving a servant's cost!

Ah! of all the sad thoughts of women or men,
The saddest is this: "It needn't have been!"

—Portland Transcript.

HERBERT SPENCER ON SOCIAL REFORM.

DISCUSSIONS IN SCIENCE—PAGE 128.

"That form of society toward which we are progressing, I hold to be one in which government will be reduced to the smallest amount possible, and freedom increased to the greatest amount possible—one in which human nature will have become so molded by social discipline into fitness for the social state that it will need little external restraint, but will be self-restrained—one in which the citizen will tolerate no interference with his freedom save that which maintains the equal freedom of others; one in which the spontaneous co-operation which has developed our industrial system, and is now developing it with increasing rapidity, will produce agencies for the discharge of nearly all social functions, and will leave to the primary governmental agency nothing beyond the function of maintaining those conditions to free action, which make such spontaneous co-operation possible; one in which individual life will thus be pushed to the greatest extent consistent with social life, and in which social life will have no other end than to maintain the completest sphere for individual life."

ILLUSTRATIONS OF UNIVERSAL PROGRESS.—PAGE 96-98.

"When at length the controversy comes round, as controversies often do, to the point whence it started, and the 'party of order' repeat their charge against the rebel that he is sacrificing the feelings of others to the gratification of his own willfulness, he replies once for all that they cheat themselves by misstatements. He accuses them of being so despotic that, not content with being masters over their own ways and habits, they would be masters over his also, and grumble because he will not let them. He merely asks the same freedom which they exercise; they, however, propose to regulate his course as well as their own; to cut and clip his mode of life into agreement with their approved pattern; and then charge him with willfulness and selfishness because he does not quietly submit. He warns them that he shall resist, nevertheless; and that he shall do so, not only for the assertion of his own independence, but for their good. He tells them that they are slaves, and know it not; that they are shackled, and kiss their chains; that they have lived all their days in prison and complain at the walls being broken down. He says he must persevere, however, with a view to his own release, and in spite of their present expostulations, he prophesies that when they have recovered from the fright which the prospect of freedom produces, they will thank him for aiding in their emancipation."

"Unamiable as seems this find-fault mood, offensive as is this defiant attitude, we must beware of overlooking the truths enunciated, in dislike of the advocacy. It is an unfortunate hindrance to all innovation, that in virtue of their very function, the innovators stand in a position of antagonism; and the disagreeable manners and sayings and doings which this antagonism generates are commonly associated with the doctrines promulgated. Quite forgetting that whether the thing attacked be good or bad, the combative spirit is necessarily repulsive; and quite forgetting that the toleration of abuses seems amiable merely from its passivity, the mass of men contract a bias against advanced views, and in favor of stationary ones, from intercourse with their respective adherents. 'Conservatism,' as Emerson says, 'is *debonnaire* and social; reform is individual and imperious.' And this remains true, however vicious the system conserved, however righteous the reform to be effected. Nay, the indignation of the purists is usually extreme in proportion as the evils to be got rid of are great."

ESSAYS, PAGE 50.

"Though we have less self-confidence than our ancestors, who did not hesitate to organize in law their judgments on all subjects whatever, we have yet far too much. Though we have ceased to assume the infallibility of our theological beliefs, and so ceased to enact them, we have not ceased to enact other beliefs of an equally doubtful kind. Though we no longer presume to coerce men for their spiritual good, we still think ourselves called upon to coerce them for their material good, not seeing that the one is as useless and as unwarrantable as the other. Innumerable failures seem, so far, powerless to teach this."

ESSAYS: MORAL, POLITICAL AND AESTHETIC—PAGE 163.

"Shakespeare's simile for adversity—

Which like the toad, ugly and venomous,
Wears yet a precious jewel in his head,

might fitly be used also as a simile for a disagreeable truth. Repulsive as is its aspect, the hard fact which dissipates a cherished illusion is presently found to contain the germ of a more salutary belief. The experience of every one fur-

nishes instances in which an opinion long-shrunk from as seemingly at variance with all that is good, but finally accepted as irresistible, turns out to be fraught with benefits. It is thus with self-knowledge; much as we dislike to admit our defects, we find it better to know and guard against than to ignore them. It is thus with changes of creeds. Alarming as looks the reasoning by which superstitions are overthrown, the convictions to which it lead prove to be healthier ones than those they superseded. And it is thus with political enlightenment: Men eventually find cause to thank those who pull to pieces their political air castles hateful as their antagonism once seemed. Moreover, not only is it always better to believe truth than error, but the repugnant looking facts are ever found to be parts of something far more perfect and beautiful than the ideal which they dispelled; the actuality always transcends the dream.

ONE OF THE CROWD.

[An incident related by Crapsey in his "Nether Side of New York:"]

A house was seized. (I spare the earlier scenes
Of all the wickedness that sentence means.)
And forth into the unaccustomed air
Were led the tainted ones that harbored there:
Poor women, lost and joyless; viler men,
Profane at being caught within the den;
A group that angels might bemoan to see,
But well deserving of the devil's glee.

The station-house was reached—the men let go—
The women held to answer for their woe.
Among the rest a girl of beauty rare—
A spotted lily that was once most fair,
With eyes that not of sin but sorrow told,
And delicate features scarcely yet grown bold.

A touch of feeling the rough sergeant knew,
That smote him with strange pity through and through.
The usual questions then—till, sharp and clear,
"Your occupation?" smote her shuddering ear.
"My occupation? Write it with a curse:
I am what men have made me—nothing worse!
I have a mind for once the tale to tell
Of what has brought me to this living hell;—
Not that my woe will ever cause a tear,
But I would have it out where most can hear.

"Two years ago no thought of wrong had I,
And life was pleasant as the days went by.
My home was in a country town, and there
Was none more happy, and no girl more fair;
And I was wooed with many an eager vow—
Great God, the contrast!—Look upon me now!

"Among the men that sought to gain my hand
Was one my father favored for his land;
Rich, handsome, pleasing, he was all complete
To bring the world in fawning to his feet.
He still walks, unshamed, with level tread,
And I—what bitter shame is on my head!

"I learned to love him well, with utter trust,
And he, relentless, ground my soul to dust.
I loved him over-much, and so I fell;
My crime was love—its punishment was hell!
When I was ruined, deaf to every prayer,
He broke his vows, and left me to despair.

"There came a time that withered my fair fame,
And showed to every curious eye my shame.
No hope was left me then in all the earth;
My father sternly bade me leave his hearth;
I had no mother; he was like all men—
Curse the old man that had no pity then!

"Thrust from my home, in all that town was none
To save or shelter me. Not one! Not one!
Heart-broken, sick, and crazy with my woe.
What man for crime has ever suffered so?
Not one in all that town but scorned me then—
Damnation take such women and such men!

"My baby died, of course, for what was I
That any joy deserved, except to die?
My little baby—oh! that tiny face!
But better so than live to know disgrace.
There must be heaven somewhere; who can doubt
That precious baby-soul has found it out?

"Well, murderers go unhung, and thieves unwhipt,
But all pursue the woman who has slipped.
Death on the hideous gallows would have been
A boon, to save me from this life of sin.
All felons hope for pardons and reprieves;
But we are worse than murderers and thieves.

"Far from the home that knew my infant steps,
My only friends on earth are demireps.
You call that wretched house disorderly;
That house is all the home that's known to me.
I am the wreck that men delight to make—
Strike me to death, Great God, for mercy's sake!"

That night the sergeant hastened home apace,
With moistened eyes his loved ones to embrace.

PELEG ARKWRIGHT.

A BACKWARD GLANCE.

Galileo said, "the world moves." But the following resolutions and speech, taken from a paper published in 1858, prove that, in spite of all the efforts of social science reformers, it does not move very fast.

From the Boston *Liberator* of 1858, page 160, we make the following extracts:

"Resolutions passed at a Yearly Meeting of the Friends of Human Progress, held at North Collins, Erie Co., N. Y., on the 5th September, 1858.

"RESOLUTIONS.

"8. That the only true and natural marriage consists in an exclusive conjugal love between one man and one woman; and those who live together as husband and wife without this love, and merely because they are licensed so to live by the Church and State, are living an unnatural and prostituted life, from which duty to themselves, to their posterity

and to the God of purity and justice, requires that they should at once and forever cease.

"9. That the empire of woman as a mother over the character and destiny of her offspring is supreme in power and eternal in duration; therefore, in our efforts to promote the happiness of the race in wisdom and goodness, and to people the earth with a noble type of manhood and womanhood, our main dependence must not be on man as a father, a teacher, a priest and a ruler, nor on the school, the Church or the State, but on woman as a mother.

"10. That the most sacred and important right of woman is the right to decide for herself when and under what circumstances she shall assume the responsibilities and be subjected to the cares and sufferings of maternity; and that man is most unmanly and commits a great wrong against woman, posterity and humanity, whenever, under sanction of marriage, he imposes those cares and sufferings upon her against her wish.

"11. That the facts and phenomena of Spiritualism are many and well proven, etc.

"12. That the facts of Spiritualism and the philosophy developed therewith are of great practical use to mankind as an aid to broader and clearer views of the unity of all reforms."

[From the Same Paper.]

SPEECH OF MRS. JULIA BRANCH AT THE PHILANTHROPIC CONVENTION HELD AT UTICA, N. Y., SEPTEMBER, 1859.

Among the speakers at the Philanthropic Convention, recently held at Utica, N. Y., was Mrs. Julia Branch, of New York City, whose speech at the Rutland (Vt.) Convention on marriage, has subjected her to so much opprobrium on the part of journals disposed to place the worst possible construction upon her motives and language. Here is what she said at Utica:

Mrs. Julia Branch, of New York, said she did not come to make a speech, but as it was expected of her, she had prepared some facts. Strong prejudices had arisen against her as the promulgator of horrible things. But she did not fear public opinion. The man or woman who fears to advocate his or her principles is a coward, and does not know the meaning of Freedom. A man or woman is not fit to work thoroughly in our present condition of society until they have lost their reputation. The layers of the Cable buffeted the ocean waves; so this Convention was fighting with the mountain waves of popular prejudice to lay a cable for humanity's benefit.

We are here to speak of evil and its cause. But evil is so glossed over by respectable society, it requires an age of experience to detect the subtilty which conceals its deformity. She had spoken against the marriage institution at Rutland as the cause of the slavery and degradation of woman, and she had nothing to take back, but rather to add to that institution two of the worst evils the world has to contend with as their originator and promulgator.

She alluded to prostitution and infanticide. Nearly all have been educated with notions of false modesty, and for a female to have knowledge of such subjects is to stamp her with doubt as to her own morals. But she had an interest in all humanity, not excepting the woman who had strayed from virtue. Dr. Sawyer, of Blackwell's Island, says he found in the City of New York between three and four hundred houses of noted ill-fame, and with between seven and eight thousand inmates, and sixty thousand daily visitors, and expenses of between seven and eight millions of dollars a year. Of private prostitution he could make no estimate; but Acton, an English writer, estimates one woman in England and Wales in every fourteen to be of that class; but after an average of four years they marry with all grades of society.

Five-sixths of the visitors to all such places are married men. The Mayor of Providence has declared such places to be necessary evils, and the Mayor of New Bedford declares that without them our wives and daughters would be liable to be insulted in every street. By whom? Who are they but husbands, fathers, brothers? Whose father, whose brother? Is it yours or mine? It is some of God's humanity—but who?

And the eight thousand women—what tender-hearted mother supposed that the little baby-girl she presented to the admiring gaze of her friends should be tramping the dark streets, bedecked in crimson robes and tinsel glare of paste jewelry? The cause—where does it lie? In our present marriage institution, which forces men and women to live together until death, without either mental, moral or physical adaptation. Society should abolish all ties of uncongeniality as an outrage upon its morals, as a preventive of the accumulated evils in the shape of half-formed, undeveloped and perverted children. This could not make society any worse. Child after child is being born daily, hourly, to fill our streets with paupers and our prisons with criminals. And do you ask, who would take care of the children? Do you suppose parental feelings would be destroyed by the act of separation? If they are based on so unsound a foundation as the laws of society, it is time they were utterly destroyed, and something new established. The law allows the rights of marriage to the most depraved and unhealthy, with the knowledge that their children would be equally depraved and unhealthy, if not worse than their parents. An unhealthy beast is killed as not capable of reproducing a perfect specimen of its species.

But, said the speaker, it would give a license to immorality if the marriage institution were abolished, says one. "Would you have any more liberty?" "I can regulate myself; the law was not made to check me." "Who was it made for?" "Why, men of no principle." "Well, who are men of no principle?" "Oh, it is Mr. So-and-so, who neglects his wife; he would give all the world to have the privilege of loving somebody else, or get rid of her in some way." "How old is his last child?" "Two or three months." Does not the heart sicken at the depraved picture, and even at every system of palliation which would cloak over such evils?

The other evil, that of infanticide, Mrs. Branch traced to the same cause. She cited the report of Dr. Wynne, stating that the premature births in New York in 1850 were one to

twelve. The ratio of still-births in various parts of the country was also cited. In New York the crime of infanticide had increased 415 per cent. since 1808. Mrs. B. said she traced the cause of this to the marriage institution. Both in and out of marriage there is no hesitancy to destroy the life of a child before birth; out of marriage, for the fear of losing respectability; in marriage, because the troubles of maternity are confining, irksome and arduous. You are not aware to what extent this murder system is carried. Yet when compared to children that fill our prisons, we are almost willing to consider this murder a blessing. Do you wonder the next child born of that mother is hung for committing murder?

It is in you, mothers, that the only hope of the regeneration of the world lies. Mothers, think of it! Every son that you bring into existence, that is not conceived from the purest love, is imbued with all the elements that go to fill prisons and pauper-houses; every daughter is imbued with those qualities that fit them to enter houses of prostitution. What a weight of responsibility rests upon you. How necessary it is for you to have your absolute right to say when, where and how you shall bear children! How necessary it is that all arts and sciences, all trades, everything that is now in the hands of men, should be open for your benefit, in order to produce better children! I reject *in toto* the idea that it is bliss to remain in ignorance. Woman should know everything that man is capable of knowing, and there must be perfect freedom for the advancement of either the individual or nations. Every chain that is put about you retards your growth, and you should snap it asunder, no matter whether it is placed there by Church or State, husband or friend, wife or child. Slavery is an evil, and the cause is ignorance. Get out of bondage by acquiring knowledge, and plant your foot on the rock of freedom. In the year 1852, in England and Wales, there were 55,000 illegitimate children born. The marriage institution has not certainly prevented children from being born under any circumstance; and now, in order to stay the frightful crime of infanticide, and that woman now looked upon as degraded who has departed from the so-called virtuous paths may have a chance of becoming respectable, I offer the following resolution, hoping, too, that it will be the means somewhat of making the next generation of children better and purer:

"Resolved, That as the crime of infanticide has increased and is increasing yearly under the existing false forms of marriage, all children born under any circumstances within any State, shall be declared by that State legitimate."

A PARABLE.

To her who is called Victoria the Spirit sendeth Greeting:

On the evening of the eleventh day of the month that is called January, the spirit of the Lord came upon me and did cause my pen to become as that of a ready writer, while my hand guided it to trace the words of the following parable.

Then I said in my heart, "This parable shall grace the columns of the paper called *Our Age*." But the spirit said, "No; thou must not be too partial to thine own child; send it to the child of Victoria, falsely called *Weekly*, as it is very strong," and so I was obedient to the heavenly vision. Perhaps, beloved, thou mayest, in thy wisdom, be able to interpret the parable. If so, thou wilt do well. L. W.

ADVOCATING, DISCUSSING, ETC.—A PARABLE FROM LOIS WAISBROOKER.

Once upon a time there went forth an edict from the ruling power of a certain country, declaring that only white people were good people, and that those of other shades must become white or they could never live in the good man's heaven.

Straightway, every man and woman in that country began to look upon every other man and woman to see who was the whitest, and those who were particularly fair in their complexions were counted by others, and looked upon themselves, as very good. No matter what their lives were, if their skins were only white.

Now, there were some people who were naturally black—were born so, as were their parents before them, and wash as much as they pleased they could not change the color of their skins; and what to do they did not know; behave as well as they could, their color was against them, and they were everywhere condemned.

In their desperation, some of them finally came to lead very bad lives; not because they wished to do so, or that they were naturally worse than others, but because they felt that it was of no use to try to be anybody or do anything praiseworthy, as they only received condemnation, no matter how good they were.

Finally, one more skillful than the others invented a tight-fitting garment just the color of the white skin that was taken as evidence of goodness, and these black people commenced wearing said garment. It was also put on to their children when they were quite young, and being elastic in its nature, the older the child grew the tighter it fitted, till finally the wearer would come to think that it was his natural color.

In time only those more honest by nature, or those who had been subject to some trying ordeal, which tore their false robe from them—only these two classes remained black; the former because too honest to deceive, and the latter because they were not allowed to put on another garment of white after it had been proven that the first one was false (for remember, no one acknowledged that they wore a black skin under the white one), so these two classes were condemned together, and there was no hope for them.

Finally there arose one, who boldly declared that goodness did not consist in the color of the skin any more than it did in the appetite for different kinds of food; that one whose skin was black had just as good a right to be black as the one who was white had to be white. Then there arose a great storm of words about this matter; the advocates of being white anyhow claiming that white was the natural color of good people, and if people desired they could all be good and of course all be white.

Others said let us have the testimony of Nature; and suc

continued to bring forward evidence that some were naturally black and could not help it, and said such were just as good for all of that, if they did not try to make white people black, and only chose those who were willing to associate with them as their companions.

But the advocates of the exclusive white theory said, "No; people must have a law to make them white if they will not be white without, for people are naturally white, and they should have a law to make them so or they will all turn black."

When those who were searching for the truth in this matter continued to investigate, the white party accused them of advocating blackness.

"No," replied the truth-seeker; "we are not advocating anything, we are only trying to find whether some people are naturally black, or whether the color of their skin is the result of crime. We are discussing the problem for the purpose of finding the facts of the case. It will be of no more use for us to advocate blackness than it would whiteness, if both are natural; and if only one is a natural color, the other being assumed or the result of wickedness, we shall be able to find it out, and which, if you will only free the people from unnatural restraint."

But still the cry went forth that these truth-seekers were advocating blackness, wanted to make everybody black; and some of those who were naturally black, but whose white, close-fitting garments were in danger of bursting open—they having partly outgrown them—made the loudest outcry and were fiercest in their accusations.

THE NEW CATHOLIC CHURCH.

SCIENTIFIC SERMON BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS, DELIVERED AT DE GARMO HALL, CORNER OF FIFTH AVENUE AND FOURTEENTH STREET.

Reported by Ghrardini.

Jan. 25, 1874.

Your reporter has heretofore confined her report to the sermon as the centre of interest. Those at a distance who have not opportunity personally to attend the New Catholic Church may be interested to know that all religious forms are set aside. We have no invocation, no prayer either long or short. "Our pastor" does not spend fifteen minutes informing the Lord of the miserable condition into which his creatures have fallen, or in imploring a general shower of blessings upon us and our children and the far-away heathen. Neither does he waste time beseeching him to look after the spiritual condition of a remote town in the West, the inhabitants of which being unfortunately "under the influence of avowed infidels, are temperate and industrious," but "having no care for their souls," need his especial looking after. The Fulton street brethren have laid their case before Him the past week; they are provided for; booked for time and eternity. How about the voluntary inebriates and involuntary idlers of our own city? But, believing the central Y to be so strong a pivot that all things will revolve in harmony around it, MR. ANDREWS, after the deft fingers of MASTER BENEDICT have caused the grand piano to discourse sweet music, reads a short selection of poetry and proceeds at once with his sermon.

At its close we again have music. Then, I am sorry to confess, but necessity compels the passing around of the—no, not the hat, but two peculiar oval baskets made of red willow. These baskets are strongly suggestive of green fields, singing birds, piny odors and gipsy encampments. Your reporter cannot fully understand them, but has no doubt they are analogues—typical of something—have an echo in every domain. This matter of the significance of these baskets is shadowy and dim as yet; but so soon as the light of Universology shall make it clear, your reporter will hasten to lay the solution of the question before your readers, even to its most faintly repeated echo. Do not be misled into calling that a mixed metaphor, but remember the special scientist tells us that it is light which clears the air and gives it power to transmit sound. These baskets properly circulated, music again follows, then the opportunity is given for questions, which opportunity is generally improved, and frequently elicits matter of intense interest both from the questioner and questioned. All questions being disposed of, music is again heard, and the audience is then dismissed; but they are in no hurry to leave. The opportunity is taken for friendly greetings and introductions, and this social feature is one of the greatest attractions at De Garma Hall. But you have now been kept quite too long from the report of the sermon. Allow me, gentle public, to present Mr. ANDREWS.

Permit me, he said, to call attention to an article from the "London correspondence of the Cincinnati Commercial" in relation to "the passion for Sunday lectures on science which now prevails in that city." The two lectures particularly mentioned in the article were given by an American, Mr. John Fiske, author of "Myths and Myth-Makers," and in 1870 lecturer at Harvard University. The lectures were given in a church. The audience contained some of the most eminent literary and scientific men in England. The first lecture was preceded by hymns selected from the poetry of Emerson and Longfellow, and Scripture lessons were read from St. Paul and Mohammed. That from Paul was the chapter in which he speaks of the whole creation as groaning and travelling in labor until now, waiting for the liberation of the sons of God. The reading from Mohammed was the discourse where he paid a tribute to Reason, and exclaimed, "The ink of the Scholar is more sacred than the blood of the Martyr." On the occasion of the second lecture, Mr. Fiske was preceded by an anthem, the words of which were taken from Shakespeare:

"To thine own self be true,
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man."

Then a hymn was sung, the words being written by the President of the Royal Philological Society. The readings were a Hebrew psalm and a hymn to the earth, composed in India some 1,500 years ago. In these lectures the Darwinian theory was brought before the audience in a comprehensive and popular form. This is particularly interesting to us as show-

ing how widespread this passion for scientific instruction is becoming and is destined to become.

In review of our last discourse, I would again call attention to the distribution, on our chart, of the vowels on the one side and the consonants on the other. The vowels are represented by circles and are themselves typical of all that is boundless—without limit—infinite. An (ow) used as a summary of the vowel sounds, becomes the proper type of Philosophy in its highest sense—Metaphysics—of all which pertains to the Infinite. On the other side of our chart we have the consonants represented by the radii of the circle, and indicating limitation. Between the two we have an intermediate space, at the apex of which, and which is also the angle of our chart, according with the centre of a circle, we have Y representing the sound of the squeezed i (ee), which presents a radiating centrality, and holds the position which has been assigned to Divinity. It is in the broadest sense the pivotal centre, the primary centrality, the *Ipse-hood*, the *Ego-ism*, the God within, that we hear so much of, as well as the God without; the Infine, ever-present God who exists, certainly as an idea, whether really and personally or not. Again, taking the K and V as a summary of the consonants, we have, with an (ow), the summary of the vowels, and i o as signifying world, kingdom or domain, we have kauv-is to signify the Finite World. The Y, W and H-sounds occupy the intermediate space between the vowels and consonants, and serve to harmonize the two. They hold in some sort the position the priest was supposed to occupy, as joining those whose union is God-ordained. The W and H have Y for their base; Y in its significance of God-head or pivotality denotes Chieftainship, authority. Whether we say God Almighty, King, General, Captain, Pope, Priest, Bishop, or "Boss," one idea underlies them all—*Ipse-hood*, *Egoism*, *Radiating Centrality*. It is a criticism of the Positivist, that *herein* lies the whole idea of God; that it is nothing else than the *objectification* of man's subjectivity. This is a question for Positivist and Theologians to fight out. My business is, at present, to prepare the best weapons for the combat.

The consonants cannot be used without the vowels. The finite cannot express itself without the Infinite. The first stage of man's mental evolution, following Comte's order, is then Yoio. As the child wills, determines and does, so he comes to conceive of some power outside, beyond himself, as doing the same. This gives the Gods of the infantile stage, and, finally, the One-God idea. Next comes the metaphysical stage, wherein we personify mere principles. The third and last stage is science, or precise objective knowledge—Positivism, Echosophy. These three stages are, in simple terms, Theology, Metaphysics and Science proper. The idea of the personality of God is held in theology, the Scientists most generally repudiate it. It tends to *deify* either the Universe, Pantheism, or Humanity, which last is the idea of the Positivist religion—"the Religion of Humanity." It is not my purpose now to criticize Comte, the founder of Positivism, but at some subsequent time I will return and show, not the erroneousness so much as the inadequacy of his system. It is a peculiarity of Comte and his school, that having emanated from the Theologic and Metaphysic stages, and passed into the Scientific stage, they regard the two first as worn out or *effete*. We shall find them to possess a *static* as well as a *motile* power. All these three aspects of mind are eternal, inexpugnable, subject only to modifications, each in its own kind, through higher development.

There is also in Comte's system a failing to classify the Metaphysical Sciences, and this is important as illustrating what I mean by the double-aspected-ness of the whole domain of knowledge.

Positivists make a great mistake in ignoring the metaphysical half of it, because of its abstract consideration of Thing or Being; with as much propriety they might ignore chemistry, because chemists make much talk about the ultimate atom. Ontology permeates all the special science. Palontology is the science of *old things* or of *fossils*, and in this world we have Ontology cropping out in one of the Special and Positive Sciences. When, however, Ontology concerns itself directly with the question of Being, the Positivists set it aside and suppose they have done with it forever. Not so, however. Ontology concerns itself with thing or things as such, and Relatology with the *relations* of or between things, with their conditions. This though a purely metaphysical basis of distinction, makes the I-ski (Ontology) and Eski (Relatology) as important a distribution of science as Bau-ski (the science of the Dead World) and Vau-ski (the science of the Living World). The immense importance of Relatology—the Science of Relations or Conditions—is finely illustrated, or stated rather, in the following extract which I make from an article on Plato and Owen, by HENRY TRAVIS, published in the *National Reformer*, Mr. BRADLAUGH'S paper, of the date of December 7, 1873:

"The new knowledge, or science, which Owen discovered, may be called, as he sometimes called it, 'the Science of Conditions.' It is 'the knowledge of the conditions upon which evil and good in the formation of character and in human affairs generally are dependent.'"

He also called it "the science of surroundings" and "the science of the overwhelming influence of external circumstances over human nature." But as it is in part the knowledge of the effects of internal conditions, and especially of ideas upon man, and not the knowledge of the effects of external conditions only, the best name for it is, perhaps, "the science of conditions."

The basis of this science is a general truth; and the beginning of it is to know the effects which have been produced in man and in social affairs generally by ignorance of this truth and by the denial of it, and by ignorance of this science, and to know the effects which will be produced by the knowledge of this truth and of this science. The general truth is,

"That the formation of man's character, opinions and determinations, is dependent upon conditions, in the individual, and in the external circumstances, the persons and things, by whom and which he is influenced, and upon his

personal agency—but his personal agency in the forming of them is at all times dependent upon internal and external conditions."

If man were not thus dependent upon influences there could not be any science of conditions. And as it is imagined in the erroneous part of the common idea of free will, that man's agency in the forming of his determination is independent of conditions, the science could never have been discovered, or even have been supposed to be possible, by men who believed in this common idea. But to believe in the general truth, that man is to a great extent dependent upon conditions, is comparatively of little utility while men do not know what conditions produce evil and what will produce good in the formation of character.

Religionists, reaching back for 1,800 years, have labored to develop the individual heart and soul—the thing (man)—regardless of its (or his) conditions; and now the positivists have taken the opposite ground. With them, change conditions, and all will be well. Now, the one theory is just as much true and just—as much false as the other; and each is but a half truth, and only in the harmonious union of the two is the whole truth realized. Thus Fourier's scheme had not one word even in relation to the direct improvement of the individual. It was a grand machine for grinding out an improved humanity from an improved mill of conditions. And just here it failed. A one-sided or lop-sided scientific classification or theory of life is alike defective, and can no more co-ordinate mankind than a lop-sided gait can appear graceful. Now, lest some of you may think to catch me tripping, I wish to explain still more fully the nature of i (ee). I (ee) signifies not only *thing* but *point*, and in a sense even *line* also. Fix the eye or thought upon a point before us, and as we look or think that point drawn out through space, or even through time, by merely *continuing to be*, becomes a line, though so long as we regard it only endwise, point toward us, it presents to us a point merely; but the line is there and cannot be eliminated; so I may at times speak of i (ee) with equal accuracy both as a point and a line, as each can be a centre. So, also, it signifies atom, unit and individual. The other vowel sounds are of similar importance, or accumulate masses as it were of meaning. Indeed, there are no words to define their fullness of meaning. They must be used rather to define the ideas which will spring into growth and group themselves around each of them from our study and consideration of them. This *homogeny* of the centre, thing, unit, atom, individual, and so on, opens to us a system of unification of related ideas which is entirely new and takes us into every domain. The change of thought it involves is as if one who in going up and down our city had confined himself to an acquaintance-ship with the avenues only, and should afterward be called on to investigate the streets which cut the avenues at right angles. This would introduce him to a new set of considerations and *avenues*, and give to him an enlarged and more accurate, and in a word, an integral idea of its true topography.

The drill upon the vowel sounds which I am compelled to inflict upon you is no part of Alwato proper, but belongs rather to Phonography, and had you been trained in that by my friend Prof. MUNSON, whom I see in the audience, or by Mr. MASQUERIER, who, for twenty years past, has been assiduously laboring for its introduction into the educational institutions of our country, we should not have this trouble. It is really a deficiency in your education. But when we turn to the meanings of the sounds, we turn to Alwato (Alwato) proper, and consider it in a Universological light. As i (ee) signifies *centre, thing*, etc., e (a) signifies *relation, the betweenness* of things. A (a as in mare) signifies *flatness, surface, degree*; a (ah) substance, solidity, reality, wealth, goodness; u (uh) time, stream, or current; o (aw) space, expanse; o (oh) presentation, view; u (oo) movement, perspective, inclination, or the tendency to move, etc.

At this point the orator burst into a torrent of exposition, inference and application, which rendered any detailed report hopeless. The appreciation and applause of the audience proved, however, that he had completely retained their intelligent attention and commanded their convictions throughout.

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"The diseases of society can, no more than corporeal maladies, be prevented or cured without being spoken about in plain language."—JOHN STUART MILL.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEB. 7, 1874.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS.

Hereafter all communications for the paper, whether business or otherwise, should be addressed to WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY, box 3,791 New York City. Postal orders should also be made payable to Woodhull & Claflin.

OUR DOWN TOWN OFFICE.

For the convenience of publication and of our friends in the business part of the city, we have established an office at No. 111 Nassau street, Room 9.

RENEW! RENEW!!

Clubs that expire in the coming two or three months should begin to move in the matter of renewals. Those who interested themselves a year ago in getting them up, and who thus rendered us so valuable a service, will put us and all friends of human progress under additional obligations by again interesting themselves about the renewals, and in adding new names to the lists of last year. So far the WEEKLY has suffered less from the panic than almost any other paper of which we have any knowledge. Some secular weeklies have fallen off one-half in the last six months; but the WEEKLY holds its own, has even gained in regular subscriptions since the panic set in. Now, if our club agents will but be active in returning renewals, we shall begin the year under the most favorable circumstances.

LECTURE ENGAGEMENTS.

Victoria C. Woodhull has engaged to deliver lectures in the cities named below. We would request our readers in the vicinity of these places to apprise their friends of this opportunity of hearing her:

Quincy, Ill.,	Jan.	30.
Davenport, Iowa,	"	31.
Dubuque, "	Feb.	2.
Janesville, Wis.,	"	4.
Madison, "	"	5.
La Crosse, "	"	7.
Winona, Minn.,	"	9.
Red Wing, "	"	10.
St. Paul, "	"	11.

There may be some variation from the above as regards dates; but friends will be able to learn this from the local papers, in which they will be duly announced.

Tennie C. Claflin accompanies Mrs. Woodhull, and will make appointments to lecture at places contiguous to the route given above.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE PRESS.

Although we have always entertained enlarged views as to the influence of the Public Press upon the character and condition of the people, we were never so deeply impressed with its almost terrible power for good or ill as we have been since beginning our campaign in the West. It is no longer to be questioned that the press molds public opinion; and when we consider this proposition in its length and breadth we have reason to rejoice that nearly all the people have papers in their midst of opposite opinions, since where there is but a single local paper, or but one of any weight or influence, that one rules as with a rod of iron. It is utterly despotic, and the public yield a more implicit obedience to its mandates than do the subjects of an imperial sovereign to his mandates.

In the great West there is, as a rule, less Grundyism and less religious despotism than in the East. People are not creed-bound, priest-ridden, nor do they hang by the eyelids on the outskirts of respectability as much as the people do further East; but they stand in mortal fear of the Press. It has but to open its lips and the servants cry amen! And this is the ruling power.

We have studied this despotism most thoroughly during the last three months. First in Michigan and afterward in Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa and Illinois, and everywhere we find the same thing. Where there is a bigoted, intolerant, sectarian editor presiding over the paper of widest influence, these are the characteristics among the people. Such deem any new idea about religion as blasphemy and any social truths as obscene, and believe it to be the sphere of the law to suppress the former and abate the latter. But wherever we have found a large-hearted, liberal-minded editor in charge of the popular paper, then we have found liberal ideas instilled in the minds of the people. This has been specially true of places where papers had the courage to speak, when the infamous attempt was made upon the freedom of the Press by the minions of the Y. M. C. A. in attempting to suppress the WEEKLY because it had dared to speak what it happened very well to know about individuals high in public esteem, and very religious withal. Prominent among such papers may be named the St. Joseph (Mo.) Herald, the Lincoln (Neb.) Journal, and the Council Bluffs (Ia.) Nonpareil. In all these places the leading men and women are thoroughly infused with the spirit of liberalism upon all subjects, and have no fear of Mother Grundy or of the priests.

But when a city is cursed with a single newspaper, and that of the religio-conservative stripe, there the people are so narrow-minded in thought, so hide-bound in idea, so bigoted in their pharisaical goodness, purity and piety, and so intolerant of everything and everybody that does not belong to "us," that freedom in its broad sense has never had birth. No better illustration can be had of such a place and such a people than is Burlington, Iowa, whose God is the Hawk Eye and whose Prophet is its editor, one of the regular old line Puritanical stock, who would profess to believe that the world was flat if it was found so set down in the Bible. The mere mention of the social question to such a person is sufficient to set the church bells ringing to congregate the people to warn them of the horrible doctrine of freedom either in religion or socialism.

It may be inferred from some conditions that exist that it is originally the people themselves who demand such papers, and that they rise and flourish on account of this demand; but if this were so, there would be some places in which the people and the paper would be found at variance. Instead of this, however, the reverse is universally true. A paper is introduced into a community, and gradually the people come to think as the editor writes, especially when its readers are virtually shut out from foreign papers and their influence, obtaining all their ideas of the world at large through the colored stream that flows from the local press.

The dispatches of the associated press, however, so far as they go, are antagonistic to this rule of the local press, while the growing circulation among the more intelligent part of the people all over the country, of the scientific and literary journals, tends largely to broaden the minds and understandings of the public, and thus to defeat the power and the despotism of editors who are nothing but bigots, and who stand battling every new and reformatory idea, to the detriment of general progress, which has always been made by striding over their pigmy obstacles, and in spite of their intolerant opposition.

There is another good that results from these local despots which in time will overthrow their rule. In every community, even in such places as Burlington, there are more or less people whom the abuse and misrepresentation of new ideas make more earnest in their advocacy and defense. These are roused by the injustice by which the opposition seek to crush out progress, and eventually their influence undermines the power that hitherto had rule, and it dies out from the efforts it made to hinder the advance of a higher civilization.

PHOTOGRAPHS—PRICES REDUCED.

We have been able to make arrangements by which we can now offer our photographs—Victoria C. Woodhull's, Tennie C. Claflin's and Col. J. H. Blood's—at fifty cents each, or three for a dollar. Thanking the many friends who heretofore aided us in our lawsuits by purchasing at the former high rates, we trust that others who desired the pho-

tographs but who did not feel able to procure them, may avail themselves of the present opportunity, and thus assist us to maintain the cause in which we have enlisted in another season scarcely less perilous than was that through which the former assistance carried us. Send for the Photo's for yourselves and friends.

"LET THE GALLED JADE WINCE."

One of the most favorable symptoms, as well as prophetic omens, of the rising importance of the issues of Industrial Justice is to be found in the necessity to which leading political journals are reduced of endeavoring to stay the tide of investigation that is setting in, which threatens speedily to expose the pretensions of the wealth-holders. Heretofore these journals have ignored, as beneath their attention, all the demands and movements of laboring classes, thinking thereby that they would never obtain a hold upon the minds of the masses.

They have at length wakened to the fallacy of this course, and are just now beginning to travel the opposite course. From seeming indifference they have changed to professed contempt, hoping to frown down that which their indifference only fostered instead of killed; while from the feeling that lies illy concealed behind it all, it is evident that it is alarm rather than either indifference or contempt that is and has been their inspiration.

Prominent among this class of journals, as well as one of its ablest representatives, is the Chicago Times. In its issue of the 20th instant, it has no less than four leading editorials directed against the labor agitation as now progressing in that city. It must indeed be an alarming condition that calls for three columns of editorial attack upon a single question. A Presidential message seldom calls for as much, and we congratulate the "Communists" of Chicago, as the Times calls them, for having let loose a volley of truths that could call forth such attention from such a paper.

We are rather at a loss to determine whether it is real or affected ignorance that exhibits itself in these Times editorials; but surely the persons who have any comprehension of the principles of political economy will laugh at the stupid misapprehensions of the issues as presented therein. We are inclined to the opinion, however, that it is affected ignorance, since to believe that the writers are so ignorant of the very basis of justice would be to place them below the "ignorant rabble" whom they profess to hold in such contempt. Surely, however, in all these three editorials, there is not a single valid objection raised, nor a single correct interpretation of the real demands of the laborers.

For instance, it holds in "The logical outcome of protectionism," that co-operation is such logical outcome. Really, this is too ridiculous. The Socialist will read this with doubts either of his own or the writer's sanity. If there are any two propositions which are more pointedly in opposition than any others, they are those of the theories of protective tariffs and that of industrial co-operation. The former are specially to build up competition, while the latter, put in practice, would inevitably destroy it altogether. The ultimate outcome of all the varied movements for justice to industry, and of the principles upon which they are based, is a complete industrial organization, which will combine the several industries in harmonious co-operation, instead of individual competition, which will give to the farmer an honest equivalent for his labor, not in the value of one day's labor for two, but an equitable exchange of commodities at a price based upon "cost" and not upon "demand and supply."

Perhaps, however, the Times writers judge of this movement by the isolated attempts at co-operation that have been made. Then, while they are representative of the general principles involved, they are by no means to be taken as illustrative of the results that will obtain when the rule becomes general, instead of exceptional as it is now. Nor will the objection hold when it does become general, "that it does not bring producer and consumer closer together." An organized industry will locate production so that each department will be operating where most can be produced at least expense, cost of transportation where it is to be consumed, of course, included. Protection does the reverse of this, it is maintained specially to make it possible to produce articles and commodities, where the least is possible and at the greatest expense; and this is the universal result, let it affect whatever commodity. If this country could produce a given amount of cotton cloth at a less cost than it can be done in England, what need would there be for protection on cottons? None whatever, as the blindest must see.

It must be remembered, nevertheless, that the Times is an ardent advocate of free-trade; but it utterly ignores what must be its attendant reform in order that to prevent the utter paralysis, first, of mechanical industry; and through this, secondly, of agricultural production. Free trade between countries in which the rates of interest differ so widely as between Europe and this country must necessarily result disastrously to that one which carries the higher rate. Make money free from interest in this country, abolish the damning and ever unsatisfied maw of interest, and the need for a protective tariff would disappear at the same time. None of the money that is paid as interest benefits either the producer or the consumer, but a third class, which never contributes a farthing to the aggregated wealth of the world; but on the contrary, not only lives from the labor of others, but also taxes those who do labor all their profits for the privilege of upholding it in luxurious indolence.

Its second editorial is a strangely directed attempt to prevent the proposed union between "The Granges," of the agricultural districts with the skilled, mechanical labor of the East. These two classes whose interests are identical have for years been kept apart by just such newspaper influence as is exhibited in this *Times* editorial. It endeavors to show that the communistic idea is to take from the Western farmers, the land they have purchased. But the real effect of the reformer's propositions, will be to secure the use of their lands to them past all peradventure. It is the attempted ownership of land that keeps the Western farmers poor. They first purchase their farms by making a moderate cash payment, while the interest upon the balance consumes from year to year all the farmers can make from their crops. Now, will not the farmers see at once that if a decree should go out abolishing ownership in land, but securing its use to its present occupants in such a manner that it could never be taken from them, that their condition would be vastly improved? How many thousands of farmers are there in the West now who would cry for joy to be relieved of the mortgages and deferred payments upon their farms, and to have their use secured to them, so that neither the sheriff nor the trustee could sell them out? The natural disposition of the land would lead to just this much-to-be-desired consummation, and in so far release the hold which capitalists have now got upon the throat of the Western farmers. Nobody asks the farmer "to surrender his land," but the reformers ask that the government shall secure every one of them so that there can no case arise which shall force him to give up his homestead. It is homestead exemption in reality that communism asks—an exemption that shall make it impossible for the homestead ever to be encumbered by mortgage or deed of trust, or to be literally eaten up by interest. This, and this only, is what the communistic ideas of land mean; and it is such ideas that we have always endeavored to inculcate in the WEEKLY.

The inconsistent attack upon the land question is followed by the suggestion that the land and labor reformers ought to be locked up, in an article entitled, "Lock Him Up." Now, this is the re-echo of the capitalists, who see their interest fading away, and of the land oligarchs, who see their thousands of acres equitably divided among the people. What if these agitators are foreign born? Are they any the less citizens of the United States? The *Times*, instead of attacking them, ought to have attacked the naturalization laws. And if they are foreigners, the more is the shame that the laborers of this country ought to feel that they have been blinded to the demands of justice by such influence as is shed upon them by these articles in the *Times*, and required that these people should come to arouse them to a sense of their rights as human beings. Perhaps "the capital of this country owes them nothing;" but we can inform the capitalists that the capital of this country owes its very existence to the class of people who are now being aroused to a realization of their industrial servitude. Capital belongs to the labor of the country that has produced it; and the *Times* knows and fears this fact, and knowing, also, that there is no method by which it can be shown to the contrary by argument, it demands that those who press this truth shall be "locked up as vagrants." Such arguments may stand for a time, but they failed in the war for the abolition of negro slavery; so will they also fail in the coming war for the abolition of wages slavery.

Having thus paid its respects to these questions and persons, the *Times*, in its fourth editorial, attempts the refutation of the principles upon which all these reforms are based; but its arguments in this instance are fallacious as its statements in the previous instances had been ridiculous: The proposition that "All mankind are born with a natural, inherent right to an equitable proportion of the natural wealth—the land, the air and the water," is by the *Times* reduced to the senseless assertion that "The world owes me a living." What are the prime necessities of life? Clearly, the air to breathe, the water to drink and the fruits of the land to eat. It by no means follows because each individual is of right entitled to these that he is also entitled to consume what others compel the land to yield. It means simply, that each person is naturally possessed of the right to the use of as much land as shall produce sufficient to supply his or her bodily demands for food. They are the philosophers of the *Times* school who practically advocate just what they condemn in the Communist. They uphold a system of industry that does compel one class of people who are the producers of the country to give to another class who do not produce anything at all the food and other necessities to maintain their lives. Then does the weapon with which the monopolists are endeavoring to cut their opponent's throats enter their own hearts to destroy them.

Here is a specimen of the logic of the *Times*. A proposition to which the land question is corollary is that, as people are born dependent upon the free use of oxygen, hence they are entitled to breathe the air. But the *Times*, either ignorantly or presumptuously, and in either case most ridiculously, argues thus: "But in this case is it the duty of society to furnish individuals with the breath of life? We reply, by no means. But we will also reply that the just demand is that society shall not bottle up the air and deal it out to individuals for a price. It is neither the duty or the right of society to furnish people with air, but it has no right to deprive them of its use. It must let the air be free to be used by each individual as he has need.

But having decided that it is not a duty of society to fur-

nish air to the people, the *Times* goes on to argue that by the same logic it has no right or duty to perform about the land. The veriest dolt in the country ought to be lashed if he could not detect the absurdity of such reasoning. The demand of the reformers is that society shall take its restricting hands off of the land, and leave it free to the use of the people as it does the air. They ask that the land monopolists shall be compelled to give up the ownership of that which deprives the people of their natural right and inheritance. They do not ask that society shall furnish land to the people. The God of Nature who created both the land and man has already done that, and now it remains that those who have aborted the designs and plans of this God be divested of their power to do so longer, and that that which of right belongs to the people be remanded to their possession. It would be just as proper and right for a class of people to monopolize the air or the water, and thus prevent another class from breathing and drinking, as it is for a class to monopolize the land and sell it for profit; and by no sort of argumentation can the philosophers of the *Times* school escape the logic of their own arguments when applied to the vital issue—the land. Nobody pretends to have the right to monopolize the air; but some do pretend to have the right, and society upholds them in it, to monopolize the land. Reformers of the class whom the *Times* berates demand that this wrong shall be no longer upheld by society. They demand equal rights, equal opportunities and equal compensations for all people; that every one who has the capacity to labor shall at least produce as much as will meet his consumption; that if the person be able but unwilling to do this he shall be compelled or left to starve; and that those only who are incapacitated by birth, disease or accident shall be subsisted at the public expense. These, and nothing more, are the demands of reformers; these, and nothing less, will satisfy or stop their demands.

MRS. WOODHULL'S SPEECHES.

THE ELIXIR OF LIFE; OR, WHY DO WE DIE?—The extraordinary demand for this pamphlet has already consumed two large editions; but another is now ready, and all demands for it will be promptly supplied. Single copies, twenty-five cents, or six for a dollar.

Beside this, we also have on hand Mrs. Woodhull's latest speech, "Reformation or Revolution, Which? or, Behind the Political and Social Scenes," which has created a most profound sensation wherever it has been delivered: price, the same as above. We have also a supply of "The Principles of Social Freedom," the original Steinway Hall speech, the introduction to the present social agitation, and the "Scarecrows of Sexual Slavery." Three of any, or any three, of these speeches will be sent, postage paid, for fifty cents. Send for them for yourselves and friends, and circulate them among the opposition, and especially procure their reading by all ministers and doctors in your region.

LABOR VERSUS MONEY.

The root out of which springs the larger part of the vices which are so rapidly extending throughout this community, unquestionably is "the oppression of the laborer." The best authorities admit that, since the War of the Rebellion, while the cost of living has trebled, the wages of workers have not even doubled, so that those who had little enough previously have at least one-third less now. This is the case with man's labor. As regards woman's, in our cities, its wrongs are past computation. Nor will these rascalies ever be amended until the stout arms of the great family of the producers—agricultural and mechanical—compel justice from the soulless traffickers and financiers who oppress, and, not unfrequently, absolutely rob them.

As human beings are now compelled to herd together in the majority of our cities, in order to procure the means for their subsistence, it is not their fault, but compulsory on them to generate diseases and crimes. The conditions under which they generally exist are so fearful that surgeons, magistrates and clergymen can easily calculate upon the ghastly consequences of such a state of existence. If the authorities of our cities did their most important duty, which, according to the Declaration of Independence, is the protection of life, they would soon alter this sad state of affairs. But they dare not. They are the agents of property, not the agents of man; and the cries of suffering humanity have long appealed to them in vain.

The natural consequences of this close packing of mankind are now upon us. We have sown the wind, and we are commencing to reap the whirlwind. Crime is advancing upon us with infernal rapidity. Social disorders are rampant in almost every family. Mammon bullies us from the bench of justice, cajoles us in our halls of legislature, and not unfrequently grins at us out of the pulpit. The daily press, with few honorable exceptions, instead of instructing us has become our betrayer, the advertiser of all abominations and the debaucher of the morals of the community. The theatre follows suit. Instead of holding the mirror up to nature—"showing virtue her own features; vice her own image, and the very age and body of the time its form and pressure"—it has become a place of assignation, where ribaldry often passes current for wit, and where Shakespeare is crowded off the boards by troops of half naked women.

But the most fearful sign of the times is the robbery of

the toiler of the due returns of his labor. In almost exact proportion to the arduous nature of the work done, is the diminution of the amount it secures to its performer. The minimum of pay is given for the maximum of labor. Added to this injustice, the rights of producers are rendered legally subservient to those of traffickers, and those of traffickers in their turn sacrificed to the demands of financiers, stock gamblers and idlers. In many factories the very name of man is ignored, and the wholesome titles of brother, neighbor, workman, are forgotten. Human beings, in such places, are often considered as parts, inferior parts, of the machine, and only recognized as hands, operatives, etc. In some they are degraded even lower, and, in lieu of a name, are branded like bales of goods, with a trade mark or number instead. But the condition of women toilers is frequently worse than this. Socially, politically and legally unprotected, they are often the sure spoil of villains. Generally defrauded out of equal pay for equal labor with man, low as that return is, the wretched pittance they are able to obtain would often justify them in envying the higher rewards in food, clothing and shelter obtained by the beasts they pass as they plod their way to the miserable dens in which they labor. Fearful as this picture is, there is a lower deep yet, which, alas! too many of them are forced by want to fathom; when, driven by poverty and hunger to crime, they turn on society in their despair, and are trampled by sinners greater than themselves into the dust of the earth.

If this be the state of too many of the mechanical toilers, what is that of the larger bodies, the tilers of the soil, who are the prime source of all wealth? Is not the grave question of the alienation of the people's land, the common property of the community, looming up before us in gigantic proportions from the West and South? The natural fortress of the hardy toiler is becoming closed against him in both these instances. Those who have succeeded in establishing themselves in the West are being, in many cases, worked out of their claims, while the finest sections of agricultural and mineral lands are being kicked about like a football in the markets of New York, Philadelphia and Boston, and not unfrequently in Paris, Frankfurt and London. But the Sampson of the West is already rousing from his sleep, and the parchment bonds of monopolists will soon be scattered to the winds. In the South the negro, who has for two centuries cultivated the soil, appears before Congress and demands justice at its hands. He yet stands erect, but he cannot stand erect long if he has no land to stand on, so he puts in his modest claim for it. It is—two centuries of unrequited toil upon it. But, in the meantime, both in Great Britain and the United States, the Grangers are rising in vast numbers with singular unanimity, and in the great West have already commenced to right the wrongs of the soil-tillers.

It will be well for us, amid the din and tumult of the great labor war now convulsing the civilized parts of the earth, if our legislators do their duty and curb the powers of the oppressors. It will be well for us, as a people, if we hearken to the cry now clearly ringing through the air, demanding, as of yore, "Where is thy toiling brother?" It will not do for us to reply with Cain, "Am I my brother's keeper?" We are republicans, and by the very construction of our government itself we acknowledge our duties in his case. In Great Britain, a nation top-heavy with legal and executive powers, oppression is generating brutality and barbarism, but in our freer country it generates crime. One turn of the screw upon labor and crime starts up instantaneously, as is now evidently the case daily. It is well for us that we shall sooner reach the end of our tether, and are better able to institute reforms in our industrial system. When the conflict occurs in Great Britain between money and labor, and it is even now rapidly approaching, the consequences will be dreadful, for there will be little quarter given on either side.

There is no greater crime that a nation can permit than that of defrauding its laborers. The Catholic Church wisely classes it as one of the four deadliest sins—which, to use its language, "are crying to God for vengeance." Are we not, as a nation, guilty of this crime? What is our condition even now? Do not our criminal records of the past year teem with human miseries and human cruelties? With murders of parents by children, of children by parents? of husbands by wives and wives by husbands? Are we not flooded with social crimes similar to those which, if the Bible be true, preceded the destruction of the tribe of Benjamin and the cities of the plain? Have not feticide and abortion taken their places publicly in our daily papers in the list of the fine arts, and are there not existing in our cities thousands of mothers who have murdered and are murdering their offspring? These being facts, and alas! there is no reason to doubt their correctness, surely it must appear that the cry of the toiler against the stern and intense money pressure (which is the prime cause of such horrors, and which here as well as in Europe is defrauding the laborer of his hire), is not appealing to justice in vain for retribution.

DRESS REFORM.

Last week a Dress Reform Convention was held at Vineland, New Jersey. Many reformers who attended it abjured the present style of attire, which all confess to be particularly barbarous and unhealthy. It is not, however, original, for the projecting posterior decoration of modern fashion is

known and used by some of the African tribes. It is probably slightly sensual; but what of that, the ladies patronize it. Such reformers as Olivia Freelove Shepherd and Mary E. Tillotson, who wear the Bloomer for health and locomotion, who are financially independent of man, and mean to remain so, abjure it. The medical faculty, we believe, also condemns it. It is probable that many well-developed women only tolerate it. But the lazars, whose name is legion, must have it. Is it too cynical to infer that they prefer art to nature, by thus relying upon manufactured charms? We dare not say so. But the Vineland reformers are not the only dress reformers in the community, as the following extract testifies:

"LECTURES TO LADIES.—A series of lectures is being given to women, under the direction of a committee of ladies of the Sorosis, upon the 'Hygienic and Moral Influence of Dress.' This is a practical way of treating the subject of women's rights. Many women, otherwise intelligent and well educated, are compelled by the conventional rules of society to adopt Fashion's arbitrary dictum, to the sacrifice of personal health and comfort. We trust these lectures will be attended by many well-thinking and sensible women, and that much profit to themselves, as well as to man and woman kind generally, may result therefrom."—*N. Y. Herald*, Jan. 23.

Some may infer that dress reform must now advance, as Sorosis has taken it in hand; but many old reformers believe that Sorosis will deal with fashion far more tenderly than Psyche ever fondled Cupid.

Since writing the above the lecture of Mrs. Dr. Studley before the Sorosis has been reported in the *New York Herald*. It may be that the Psyche and Cupid observation was unjust, inasmuch as that lady advocated "the Bloomer costume in preference to the tightly-drawn dresses of the present fashionable lady." Alas! that we must add that the fair lecturer wore a rich brown silk dress, made *en panner*, when she said so. Of course our indomitable Vineland friends will insist, in such case, that example would have been far better than precept. Nevertheless, they ought to be thankful for the spoken words, which certainly were diamonds, although they were not set in gold.

LAWBREAKING LAWMAKERS.

The Constitution of the United States declares that "Congress shall make no law abridging the right of the people peaceably to assemble."—Amendments, Art. 1.

Extract from the *Herald* of the 23d Jan.:

The Communists will probably learn a useful lesson in the conviction yesterday of one of the Tompkins square rioters and his sentence to three months in the penitentiary. A few more such examples will probably convince our foreign friends that America, while a land of liberty, is not a safe place for the mischievous advocates of Communism.

United States citizens who happen to be Communists also, or whether they be or not, will learn no such thing. Many will learn that their constitutional duty is to resist oppression. All will learn that the above quoted article in the Constitution of the United States, in the city of New York, is void and of none effect; and deplore the fact that, in these days, State laws, and even municipal ordinances, are thus permitted to overthrow the "Rights of the people."

HANDS OFF THE NAZARENE.

At Plymouth Church on Sunday morning, January 25, Henry Ward Beecher is reported in the *N. Y. World* to have commented on the text, "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth; I am not come to send peace but a sword. For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law."—Matt. x.; 34-35 verses.

Mr. Beecher said:

"To those that think that the teachings of our Saviour are very simple and very literal, such passages as these must be very difficult. There never was a teacher that needed to be construed more than our Master. That universally quoted and universally disregarded Sermon on the Mount is an indelible example. It is supposed to be the simplest of all possible sermons, and yet a literal construction of it would set the world right in the face of God's providence; would destroy the very things for which the gospel is revealed, and would bring society to a summary end. For it, in literal terms, forbids foresight, prudence, the laying up of property, enchains the charity that we inculcate everywhere, and would very speedily demoralize men, and make unvirtue instead of virtue. Now we all know that the coming of the Lord was predicted by the angel's song of 'Peace on earth, good will toward men,' and that this is the ultimate design we full well believe, though from the lips of our Master we have this sentence: 'Think not I came for any such purpose; think not I came to send peace;' but in the most unequivocal manner whatever, without explanation, with perfect carelessness, it says, 'I am come, not to send peace, but a sword.' There it stands; anybody that wants to misunderstand it can; and then it would seem as if it went further and undervalued the most precious of all institutions, that of the household—as if it set religious experience higher than those more precious experiences, the natural love between parents and children—for it goes on to say, 'he that loveth his father and mother more than me is not worthy of me.' And in another place, that there may be no mistaking, follows: 'He that leaveth not father and mother and taketh not up his cross and followeth not me is not worthy,' and in the most positive and violent language he declares, 'I am come to set man at variance against his father, and daughter against her mother, and daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law.' Well, that is a precious dispensation."

The WEEKLY objects to the criticisms on the sayings of the Great Nazarene contained in the above extract. To us they appear to be more than criticisms, and to justly merit the title of absolute contradictions. Until now the Christian world has had full confidence in the Sermon on the Mount, but Henry Ward Beecher tells us that a "literal construction of it would destroy the very things for which the gospel is revealed," etc. Believing this statement to be false, the WEEKLY proposes to defend the doctrines of the Great Nazarene as they are written, and as it understands them.

Few there are who comprehend the full grandeur of the teachings of the great Apostle of the Poor. There are many, who like Henry Ward Beecher, can only see in them the destruction of the individual or family idea, as in the text quoted, and cannot perceive the force of the collective idea, which needed its removal before society could be properly developed. A dime held close to the eye will hide the noon day sun, so the family not unfrequently "cabins, cribs and confines" the affections that properly belong to all humanity. This is why the Great Reformer sought to annihilate the family idea in his followers. It was not to destroy their relationship with their kind, but to extend it. "For whosoever doeth the will of my father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother."—Matt. xii. 50.

If it be true, as Henry Ward Beecher asserts, that a literal construction of the sermon on the mount "would set the world right in the face of God's providence, would destroy the very things for which the gospel was revealed, and would bring society to a summary end," it is a pity it was ever spoken. But our answer to such statement is "not proven." Leaving "God's providence" out of the question, of which we know nothing, we hold it to be the gospel, and though it would destroy modern society, it holds in itself the elements for its broader and nobler reconstruction. True, it forbids the laying up of treasure, but then it was not spoken to a rich congregation but to the poor of Judea, and the reason given for such command was, "for where your treasure is there will your heart be also." In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred is that not the truth, and was the reformer wrong who refused to sacrifice his fellow-men for gold?

If Christ came not to bring peace but a sword, there was peace under the sword; and, in spite of a million "Te Deums" since, the only military command he ever gave was to Peter "to put up his sword;" and that command was coupled with a curse on all who drew it. Every true reformer knows that spiritually he is a sword; if he be not, he is no reformer. Society loves not to be reformed, and it has a handy way of letting those who seek to improve it know its ideas upon the matter. In the commencement of the war of the Rebellion, when the people were beginning to perceive the enormity of the crime of slavery, an eminent abolitionist said: "He feared that he was not speaking the truth, as the stale egg payments were not near so regular as they had been previously."

No man or woman can be a real, earnest and sincere reformer, who is not called to the work, and who has not received the baptism of fire. To such all natural ties are secondary to the great business of their lives; and that is the reason why, generally, their foes are those of their own household. It is not the prudent, careful, money getting man of which you can make a reformer, or even a true Christian. You may make a Churchman of him, but that is as far as you can go. Ministers who preside over such Churches (calling themselves Christians) must modify the doctrines of the great Nazarene if they wish to retain their positions. They cannot hope to be well-fed and petted unless they wear the collar of mammon. This is the only apology that can be given for such wholesale condemnations of the doctrines of Christ as appear in the above extract from Henry Ward Beecher's last Sunday sermon.

COMMON LABORERS.

On Wednesday, Jan. 21, the item quoted below appeared in the *New York Herald*. A couple of words have been extracted from it for the purpose of forming a heading for the following article. Readers of the WEEKLY need not be told that our duty lies with the down-trodden of both sexes. To examine the causes of human oppression, and to remove the same, is the prime business of the WEEKLY. To this end it seeks to annihilate all tyrannies of sex or race that yet degrade our laws, and to stand before the community as the unflinching advocate of all reforms which tend to overthrow the miserable British classifications which exist among the citizens of our Union:

WORKINGMEN ORGANIZING.

"Throughout the present week workingmen's meetings will be held in the different wards and districts under the Provisional Committee, which is to take the place of the Committee of Safety. The object is a thorough organization not only of mechanics and the various trade organizations, but also of COMMON LABORERS who are out of employment. At present the general body of trades-union men are without leaders, and there are no less than four distinct bodies representing workingmen—the Workingmen's Union, the Workingmen's Central Council, the Workingmen's Independent Association, and those organizations formerly represented by the Committee of Safety. Much jealousy exists among the members of the various societies, each claiming the leading place. As yet no united action has been taken in regard to the present condition of the unemployed workingmen. The French, German, Irish and English organizations recently formed under the direction of the Provisional Committee now number over 20,000, and as soon as the necessary arrangements can be completed, it is intended to hold a mass-meeting at Cooper Institute or at Tompkins square, after parading through the streets of the city, with or without the permission of the Police Commissioners, and there make an appeal for work and food. It was intended to hold a mass indignation meeting on Thursday next, but it has been abandoned. From the statistics sent in by the various wards, it would appear that there are about 10,000 Germans, 4,000 French, 15,000 English, and a floating population of 5,000 now out of work, without including the workingmen who are not members of a trade organization. A large number of men as winter approaches annually appeal to Assemblymen in the different districts for work, and it is said that the applications have increased at least 20 per cent. over those of other years. It is also computed that there are at least 40,000 workingwomen and girls in this city, one-half at least still out of employment. It is intended that one general organization shall be in existence during the coming summer, and meetings were yesterday held in Spring, Varick

and Bleeker streets, and at Landmann's, Fifty-ninth and Sixtieth streets, for the purpose of enrolling members with a view to this end."

"Common" laborers! The WEEKLY objects to the epithet "common" when applied to any body of men in this or any country. When the works done by our laborers during the past half century are considered, which have almost annihilated time and space and changed the geography of North America, the use of the word "common" in reference to them is as incorrect as it is objectionable. In these days some skill is required in the performance of the rudest kind of labor, and the services to the community of the man who carries the hod are as necessary and as valuable as those of the mason who lays the bricks or the architect who designs the building. Nature herself fixes the value of skill by demanding more toil of those who do not possess it; but there is no just reason why man should add to the burden thus imposed upon ignorance by awarding the minimum of pay to the maximum of toil. Until workers admit and ordain one price for their services, whether they be agriculturists, miners, mechanics or artisans, they cannot effectually unite, and such union is the necessary preliminary to a successful revolution against the non-producers—their present oppressors.

Whoever carefully examines the state of the labor market will find that now human beings are generally rewarded in an inverse ratio to the arduous nature of the duties they are called upon to perform. Financiers and land-holders (not land-tillers) usually obtain the largest return out of the yearly labor crop; after them come the distributors, and last and least rewarded of all are the producers. There may be occasional exceptions to this ruling, but the WEEKLY deals with masses, not with individuals, in this instance. As general propositions the foregoing statements are correct. As laborers are now, under a false politico-economical system, compelled to toil, it is not too much to say that strict justice would invert the order in which producers are now rewarded. Soil-tillers, miners and other hard toilers would certainly be right in setting their extra toil against the extra skill of their brethren, and in demanding equality of pay with skilled artisans and mechanics. "One price" as well as one time for all human labor, and that set by the united will of the masses who perform it, would solidly cement and render effective the army of the toilers, and teach financiers and distributors that producers had something to do in fixing the value of their labors, political economists and the unerring laws of demand and supply to the contrary notwithstanding.

As in the social question, the battle for the emancipation of woman rests on the elevation of the most despised members of her sex, so in the labor war, the Malakoff of the strength of the position of the enemy is the oppression of the masses of the hardest and least paid manual laborers. At an absolute gain to themselves, their more skilled brethren, the artisans and mechanics, can capture this position whenever they please to unite with their more wronged brethren, on the basis of "equal pay for an equal time of labor." Until the former choose to accept these terms and act upon them, all producers will continue to be robbed of three-fifths of the full returns of their toils, as they are now. When workers overthrow the tyranny that exists in their own ranks, they will soon overturn that of their idle and non-producing oppressors. Would that the great armies of producers—the agriculturists, the miners, the artisans and the mechanics—would act upon these suggestions, and then we should hear no more of "common laborers."

THE AMERICAN INQUISITION.

The Y. M. C. A., having succeeded in perverting the U. S. mail from its legitimate duties into an instrument of private malice and political espionage, is trying its hand at other game. It is now aiming to oppress, wholesale, the whole German element of the population of New York. Of all the peoples among us, the Germans are the most sociable and the most happy. They seem to know how to enjoy life, and their merry-makings are almost always free from excess or crime. But that is of no consequence to the grand Inquisitors of the Y. M. C. A. Our German friends do not attend church on Sunday evenings, and consequently must be made to bow down to the "brazen image" of puritanical piety the Y. M. C. A. have set up.

Consequently the Grand Inquisitors of the Y. M. C. A. who run the public mail and take charge of the morals of the community, have raked out the following utterly unconstitutional edict, passed by the knaves and noodles of the New York State Legislature in April, 1860:

"It shall not be lawful to exhibit on the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday, to the public in any building, garden or grounds, concert room or other room or place, within the city and county of New York, any interlude, tragedy, opera, play, farce, negro minstrelsy, negro or other dancing, or any other interlude of the stage, or any part or parts therein, or any equestrian-circus or dramatic performance of jugglers, acrobats or rope dancing."

This wretched edict, hurried through at the commencement of the war of the rebellion, the Y. M. C. A. have called upon the public authorities of the city of New York to enforce, and, we are informed at this writing, it will be enforced this day (Sunday, Jan. 18). The *New York Herald* asserts in a leading article that the above edict is in conflict with the Constitution of the State of New York. The WEEKLY adds that it is in conflict with the Constitution of the United States. That instrument declares—

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

If the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday, "be not an establishment of religion," what is it? Such specification of a particular day we claim to be unconstitutional, and call upon the Attorney General of the United States to protect the religious liberty of the people of the State of New York by bringing the above-questioned statute before the Supreme Court of the United States for its adjudication and condemnation.

It is well for us to remember that our religious liberty was not a governmental gift, but a necessity growing out of the circumstances under which the Colonies fought in the war of the Revolution. The labors of Thomas Paine, Thos. Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin were as important and as necessary to success in that struggle as those of Samuel Adams, Charles Carroll and George Washington. It is a right that ought not to be surrendered. To us it is a most momentous question as to whether we are citizens of a free Republic or subjects of the Y. M. C. A.; under the American Inquisition or the Constitution of the United States.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL IN THE WEST.

[From the State Journal, Lincoln, Neb.]

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

Notwithstanding the severity of the weather there was a good audience at the Opera House last evening, to hear the famous Victoria C. Woodhull lecture upon "Reformation or Revolution, Which? or, Behind the Political Scenes." As the lecture has been severely commented upon by the press in various parts of the country, it was noticed that many gentlemen attended without their wives, thinking that they could bear to hear without danger what it would shock and demoralize the ladies to listen to. The extreme cold weather, however, kept many ladies away, but there was withal a fair number of them present.

While we cannot indorse the sentiments of the fair lecturer, we are free to confess that she is, indeed, the peer of any female lecturer on the rostrum, with more power and magnetism even than Anna Dickinson. She is a medium-sized woman, well developed, with a sparkling eye, prominent nose (one of Napoleon's energy indicators), a rather large mouth, pale, clear complexion, fluent speech and more of that *navete*, which made Olive Logan's silly sentences popular, even than that lady possessed. She was dressed plainly, wears her hair short and don't expose any great amount of jewelry.

The first portion of her speech was read from printed copy, but when she took up the social question she spoke entirely extempore. That there was no person in the hall who believed her entire is more than possible; that some of her utterances were plain, though startling truths, is more than probable, and that she interested everybody is certain. We give a few of the leading points of the lecture.

She said it might appear presumptuous, and to some ridiculous, for a woman to appear to discuss our vexed problem. The men have had the reins so long that they think they have the right. She had failed to find in the speeches of men, however, anything to justify this. In olden times, when men of high and low standing were more equal, and when men were elected to office for their fitness, our country was entitled to be called a republic. In those days we had no Credit Mobilier enterprises, and the danger hid in the womb of time was unprovided for. They thought they had provided for every emergency, but we found they had not.

On every hand the murmurings of impatience are breaking out, and there is an undoubted intent for a revolution. Yet those who have the nation in charge lie quietly at rest, and are quietly waiting for another "job."

Thus, when we look around us, we may well ask, is there any hope of a Republic? She cited Franklin and Story, as proof that these distinguished men doubted the continuance of the Republic.

The inference to be drawn from this is that the Constitution is not a Republic. Constitutions should express the popular will of the people before they take effect. There are times when revolutions not only become necessary but obligatory, and the question is, are we not on the verge of a bloody revolution?

She made a strong point on the metropolitan sheets, suggesting that workmen should be given soup, when they wanted work. She was not advocating revolution but equity, and came West because the poor of the East depended on the West.

She was satisfied, after a century of trial, our government was a failure. She denied the right of men to legislate for her. She had no voice in making the laws, and, according to the Constitution, was therefore not answerable to them.

She ridiculed the idea of going before the people like the other lady lecturers, asking for sixteenth amendments, etc. She attacked the heavy land-owners, railroads, stock-brokers, and handled them without gloves.

She then took up the social question, which she styled *errors of omission*, having special reference to the dependent classes, the women, children, maimed, insane and idiotic.

The present false social system makes every woman dependent, and she called upon legislatures to see that women were supported, while they remained in that condition. Carry the theory out to its logical results. How many women, if they were not dependent, would be found in the haunts of vice and brothels of our cities?

There is a false society. You erect and maintain a system, one of the legitimate fruits of which is crime, and then you punish the criminal.

There is one hope still, which is that men and women will meet in solemn conclave and discuss the purity of the social question. If it was rightly understood, the prisons would not be filled. I have asked mothers with bad children if they wanted those children, and they would answer, "No, Mrs. Woodhull; I tried to murder them unborn." There is no blushing. The man and woman who stands pure before

the people need not blush. Murder is stamped on more than one woman for neglecting to inform their children of their natural condition.

[From the Lincoln Leader, Nebraska.]

At Mrs. Woodhull's lecture last evening there was a larger audience than we had any reason to expect. The proportion of ladies was small, though not so small as had been predicted.

The greater portion of the lecture was in relation to general politics, and this portion was read from the printed page. The latter part was a plea for the right and duty of the people to drop all mock modesty and look the social question fairly and squarely in the face, discussing it at proper times and in proper spirit. We are satisfied that Mrs. Woodhull made friends among the respectable people of Lincoln by her course last evening, and that she would be accorded a larger audience on another visit.

[From the News, Lincoln, Neb.]

The local sensation of the week has been a lecture by Victoria Woodhull, in Hawke's Hall last Monday evening.

Her audience was the largest drawn by any lecturer in the city except George Francis Train, and its very substantial character was a matter of note. A few were of the rabble class, who went from mere prurient curiosity, expecting to hear a woman say something obscene, but were convincingly disappointed; a much greater number went honestly to see and hear and judge for themselves this ablest, most maligned and persecuted woman of the century; and some went out of a profound belief in her mission and ministry—of this latter class some were from the country, some even having come seventeen or eighteen miles purposely to hear her.

The meeting was opened by the recital of a fine, Christlike poem (one of Whittier's, we believe), by Mrs. Woodhull's daughter, a very plain and sensible appearing girl of about fourteen years. A copy of WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY was presented to every one present. In closing her lecture, Mrs. Woodhull offered some of her pamphlets for sale at 25 cents a copy; and the way that crowd rushed for them was amazing to see. She sold 127 of them in about ten minutes. We have not seen it, but are told that it is "strong meat for men of understanding."

[From the Omaha (Neb.) Republican, Jan. 15.]

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

AN ELOQUENT ADDRESS—CURIOSITY SATISFIED.

The Academy of Music was filled last evening with all classes of our citizens to hear Victoria. Although the majority were men, there were many women present.

Mrs. Woodhull is rather slight in stature; is 34 years of age, although from the stage she looks younger. She wears her hair short; it is of a dark brown color. Her eyes are very piercing, and she has a very intellectual look. She is extremely radical in everything.

Her lecture last evening, entitled "Reformation or Revolution, Which?" was full of enthusiasm and eloquence, and delivered in a very confident and spirited manner. She was very bitter against the present federal system, and often received loud encores, from which we concluded that her sentiments were indorsed, *i. e.*, those particular ones.

At eight o'clock her daughter appeared upon the stage and recited a poem, after which Mrs. Woodhull came upon the stage.

She says: "I am not advocating revolution; I am demanding what belongs of right to the people. I am asking for reformation; but if it be denied I fall back upon the right of revolution, which no freemen will deny, and I will use every effort I have at my command to produce it."

In speaking of the causes of dissatisfaction, she stated that negro slavery was not so great a cause of dissatisfaction then as are the more subtle slaveries now; that the latter should be abolished the same as was the former. The corruptions, frauds and failures of the last two years are a sweeping condemnation of the system under which they have flourished.

She charged upon the government that it was not republican in form, and that it was a failure because it has neither secured freedom (and by this she means the personal rights of individuals), maintained equality nor administered justice to its citizens.

She spoke of monetary matters in the severest terms, condemning the government for the present situation.

She stated that middle-men had no right in a free country; they were speculators upon the products of others. She was strongly in favor of the grange movement, saying: "Already the West, which is taxed two bushels of wheat to transport one bushel to New York, is up in arms against the oppression, and is moving public opinion in the direction of the remedy, while the 'granges'—the first political organization to which women were ever admitted as equals—are organizing for reformation, or revolution, if it come."

The three methods by which the questions at issue between capital and labor, and which industrial justice is now prevented, are, to wit: The monopoly of land, the monopoly of wealth, and interest for the use of the mere representative of wealth—money. Abolish these and inaugurate a system of free land by the payment of taxes; of free money, based upon the public faith, and, as a method of transition, or of equalization of the accumulated wealth, of progressive taxation.

She was opposed to the God-in-the Constitution movement, thinking that it means no less than the establishment of a formal national religion.

At this point she took up the social question to a small extent, and spoke of woman's sexual ignorance. She said in consequence of woman's non-fulfillment of the Greek motto, "Know Thy Self," there was to-day not one healthy person living. That false society made it a matter of blush and shame for a mother to inform her children of their

natural condition. "Murder is stamped on more than one woman for this neglect—for it is a murder most criminal."

She demanded that the male prostitute be punished equally with females, asking, "Who supports your houses of prostitution? It is not the young men—it is your dissatisfied husbands."

On closing her lecture, she announced that she had the lecture on the social question printed in pamphlet form, and she wished every one to take one home and fully peruse and decide for themselves whether she be right or no.

[From the Daily Globe, Council Bluffs, Iowa, January 16.]

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

HER LECTURE AT DOHANY HALL LAST NIGHT—"REFORMATION OR REVOLUTION—WHICH?"

The announcement that Victoria C. Woodhull, the great expounder of social reform, would deliver her celebrated lecture on "Reformation or Revolution—Which?" at Dohany Hall last evening, attracted thither as large an audience as the spacious Opera House could accommodate. The audience represented in a greater degree the intelligence, respectability and "upper-tendom" of the city than many had been led to anticipate. Jew and Gentile, believer and unbeliever, rich and poor, high and low, white and black—all were there; and the representatives of orthodoxy and heterodoxy, Grantism and Anti-Monopoly, sat with like complacency under the "droppings of the sanctuary." The number of ladies present, exclusive of the members of the "Young Men's Christian Assassination Association," was about one hundred.

Before the appearance of her mother on the stage, Miss Zulu Woodhull recited the stirring poem entitled "The Present Crisis," and was rewarded with a generous manifestation of public approbation.

Mrs. Woodhull, at its close, came on to the stage. Her countenance, which is of a rather intellectual cast, wore a saddened and subdued look, which contrasted sharply with her clear-cut features.

Rich in wit, logic and pathos; strong in argument and pointed in application, her discourse was listened to with the closest and most respectful attention, and not unfrequently applauded. Warming up with her subject, with a flushed face and in an earnest and caustic manner, she reviewed the present administration and arraigned it for its numerous crimes. She asserted, among other things, that money had been used to influence the elections in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, in 1872, and that if Jesus Christ himself had been running against Useless S. Grant, he would have been beaten. Her handling of the mock religions of the day was done without gloves. Hypocrisy, cant and boastful pretensions were the subjects at which her swiftest and most pointed shafts of ridicule were hurled. In her hands, irony, satire and sarcasm are no mean weapons, and right nobly did she employ them in the enforcement of what all were constrained to admit to be the truth.

Earnestness of purpose and intensity of feeling characterized her lecture throughout, from the slowly-pronounced preliminary remarks with which she began, to the rapidly-uttered and stirring sentences which marked its close. Her positions, though not always of such a character as to meet with universal approbation, were in the main well taken, and generally so tenable as to gain the tacit assent of those maintaining more conservative views. Nothing that she said was of such a nature as to cause the blush of shame to mantle the cheek of the veriest prude.

[From the Council Bluffs, Iowa, Nonpareil.]

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

We were not much surprised at the result. The time for an active development of the "sand" supposed to be lying around in various circles and generally through the city, having arrived, some considerable curiosity was exhibited in the direction of those who early began to assemble. The glances over the Hall, as the lecture-goers reached the landing were amazingly spry, but generally satisfactory. Long before the opening poem, very finely rendered by Miss Zulu Woodhull, entitled "The Present Crisis," was recited, the Hall was closely filled, and a very fair assumption of unconcern was observable, and in the main, was quite flattering. About one hundred ladies were present, and the audience represented, in a liberal degree, the intellect, social worth and respectability of the city. First came Miss Zulu Woodhull, daughter of Mrs. W., whom we judge to be about thirteen years of age. The young lady performed her part well and was applauded. Mrs. Woodhull, intellectual, with clear-cut features, and clearer-cutting method, then appeared and was well received.

Her remarks upon the present administration were remarkably vindictive, giving the Democrats an opportunity—heartily enjoyed—to lift up their heads and whistle; but when she said that no good could be accomplished by a political change, "for a change of party would be merely a change of thieves," the jollity ceased and our political friends went to cover.

The manner in which she went for the prevailing or spurious religion, as she termed it, of the day, was positively stunning, and throughout the lecture orthodoxy was handled with husking gloves.

Her remarks insisting that there should be a better knowledge between mothers and offspring were very terrible. She said there were 250,000 prostitutes in the land, supported by two and a half millions of men; chiefly husbands and fathers. She closed with a telling appeal for aid from earnest men and women to enable her to go on in her chosen work, and at the close a large number of her speeches were sold. As a lecturer, leaving her Woodhullism out of sight, Mrs. W. is eminently successful. She told more facts at which none should blush, and none can deny, than we ever heard in so short a space of time. We believe it was the almost unanimous verdict of the audience last night, that Woodhull lectures are profitable to the hearer, racy, able and pretty thoroughly seasoned with truth.

MISCELLANEOUS.

JAPANESE JOTTINGS.

There is food for reflection in the following curious governmental proclamation which has very lately been received from Japan:

Order for the guidance of Japanese emigrants in the Celestial Empire.

The Japanese *Herald* publishes the following:

The government has published the following rules to be observed by the Japanese residing in China:

1. No persons except military and naval officers to carry offensive weapons of arms.
2. Must not cause any obstruction or annoyance by fast and furious riding or driving.
3. Must not cause any obstruction through intoxication.
4. Must not break or destroy any flowers, shrubs or trees in any garden or street.
5. Must not throw any earth, dirt, stones or rubbish into any river, ditch, path or road.
6. Must not commit a nuisance on a public road.
7. Must not appear indecently exposed in the streets.
8. Must not tattoo the body.
9. No exhibitions of wrestling between men and women or serpent charming will be permitted.
10. No women to cut their hair short.
11. No person to appear in the streets without a hat or cap.
12. Men or women to put on clean clothes when they go out, and not to cover the head or face with a handkerchief, etc.
13. No woman may prostitute herself.

—N. Y. Herald.

LETTER

ON THE SIXTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION IN LINCOLN HALL, WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY 15 & 16.

BY W. F. JAMIESON.

But few delegates attended this Convention, of which Miss Susan B. Anthony is president. Fourteen ladies and one gentleman occupied the platform. There was an audience, however, of between six and seven hundred, mostly ladies. First session began in the morning about half-past eleven. The object of the Convention, as stated by Miss Anthony, was to secure the action of Congress so that women would have their rights on an equality with colored citizens. The principal speakers present were Miss Anthony, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Mrs. Matilda Joselyn Gage, Miss Lillie Devereaux Blake, Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood, Mrs. Sarah J. Spencer, Frances E. Burr, Mrs. L. Dundore, Mrs. Nettie C. Tator and Miss Phebe Cozzens.

Communications were read from Ernestine L. Rose, of England; T. W. Higginson, E. G. Lapham, Vice-President Wilson, Benj. F. Butler, and several others.

The speaking was, with few exceptions, of the highest order. There were a sufficient number of comical incidents which might have been seized by the Bohemians if they had been intent on burlesquing—had it been, for instance, a Spiritualist convention. The Washington press treated the meeting as the Republican party promised to treat the suffrage movement—with "respectful consideration," although the *Chronicle* verged on mild sarcasm.

At the opening of the Convention, Miss Anthony inquired if any one felt moved, as the Quakers say, to engage in vocal prayer. No spirit came, and we were saved that much pure nonsense.

The President remarked that prayer was the desire of the heart, expressed or unexpressed. If Congress would act upon that hint, there would be a saving of several hundred dollars per annum to the tax-payers for the useless praying performance of the Chaplain of the Senate and Chaplain of the House. Unexpressed prayer is the most economical and the most sensible. If people must have prayer, let it be the unexpressed, when people who do not believe in it are compelled to pay for it.

On the first evening there were but few present. The admission fee—only 50 cents, women and children half price—may have produced this result. Sufficient money was raised by collection next day to pay the hall rent—\$100 a day, and all subsequent sessions were free. The attendance was large; the last evening the hall was filled to overflowing. Lincoln Hall will seat 1,500 people, so I am informed. I judged not more than 1,000.

As to the arguments, and the hundred other good things said with an earnestness which carried conviction, space will not permit an enumeration.

Miss Cozzens's speech the last evening abounded in rich thought, delivered in a skillful manner. As the young woman-lawyer of St. Louis, she reflects honor upon the legal profession. Mrs. Stanton declared it is time for protest and rebellion. In answering the objection, "Women won't fight," she said that women's duties were supposed by men to be to save pennies and scrape lint. Battles are being fought every day by women single-handed and alone. Like the Indian, her fighting is a kind of deadly skirmishing. She related several cases of women disguised as men enlisting in the army, and who fought nobly; that when detection of their sex followed, they were sent home in disgrace and never paid. She averred that this nation needs strong-minded women to lift men out of corruption. There is need of a great vital principle in party. Politicians have something more to do than to perpetuate party power. The prestige of the Republican party is gone. After the enfranchisement of the colored men, the women's turn ought to have come next. The question of woman suffrage will be the battle-cry of the Liberal party, for Gen. Cochrane says it is considering it. The signs of the times show that in 1876 that party will prevail. The threshold of a new era has been crossed; every issue of African slavery is dead, and henceforth labor reform is the watchword. The laborers of the land have nothing to lose in a revolution but their chains. They are waking from their lethargy, and the day is not far distant when internationalism cannot be put down by the cry of "Communists." With

labor reform and farmers' grange movements the women are combining, and are awake to all the great questions of social science.

Mrs. Blake declared that the "respectful consideration" which the women have received from the Republican party is such as the eagle shows to its prey and the politician to the non-voter.

Mrs. Spencer said: Not being fashionable ladies but workingwomen, we haven't time to read whether Mrs. General this or Mrs. Admiral that wore gros-grain velvet or brocade at her last reception; but we do take care to inform ourselves as thoroughly as possible in regard to the vital needs and present welfare of the women of this generation.

To enable those unacquainted with Washington to appreciate the humor of this allusion, I clip from the *Washington Evening Star* the following, under the head "Society:"

"Mrs. and Miss Fish were assisted by Mrs. Bancroft Davis in entertaining all who called. Mrs. and Miss Richardson had the valuable services of Miss Oldfield. Mrs. Delano's daughter, Mrs. Ames, was assisted by Mrs. J. Hubley Ashton and another lady. Mrs. Belknap was the personification of elegance in a train of blue silk, with overdress and waist of muslin and rare Valenciennes lace. The beautiful Madame de Potistad assisted Mrs. Belknap, while not far off stood three beautiful girls, in elegant silk reception dresses. These were Miss Susie Lee, Miss Sally Frelinghuysen and Miss Ella Ray."

Aw!

It will be glorious when women will have something to do besides dressing themselves like wax dolls. To that end I hail every movement which promises to broaden the sphere of woman. "Hail! happy day."

There were several allusions to what the Bible says on the subject of woman, as if it matters what it says. It is of no account any way in settling any question. Mrs. Spencer said:

"There are some excellent people who think the Bible forbids women to vote all the way through, just because it does not say anything about it from beginning to end. True, it does not give any authority for it. Neither does it give any authority for using sewing-machines or clothes-wringers, or telegraph wires, or railroad cars. The zealous people who diligently search the Scriptures, not for spiritual growth, but to find the narrowest promises for women and the broadest for men, assume that all that is not commended to women is strictly forbidden."

Miss Dundore thought if those persons who believe the Bible is against woman's suffrage would read far enough they would find the Scriptures in her favor. There is where the lady is in error. If the book is read through it is unmistakably against woman as it is against the slave. What of that? The slave was set free in spite of the Bible. Woman will vote in spite of it. Miss Cozzens showed her lawyer-like skill in quoting the Old Testament to prove that it recognized woman as ruler, judge, juror, on an equality with man. She did not go far enough to damage her case; for she would have found the New Testament against the assumption of woman's equality with man. Were I an opponent of woman suffrage, nothing would please me better than an appeal to the Bible as a finality. There are several instances of women spoken of in the Old Testament as "model women," that Miss Cozzens probably did not have time nor inclination to notice. They would be no comfort to the suffrage movement.

Mrs. Stanton, in No. 5 of her Civil Rights Bill for women, hit the nail on the head: "All religious sects shall be compelled to bring their creeds and biblical interpretations into line with the divine idea of the absolute equality of women with the colored men of the nation." That is, if the Bible is for woman slavery, correct it so as to read woman freedom. The question may arise in such a case, Of what use is the Bible? The question is irreverent; it comes from the devil, and ought to be dismissed!

One feature which was prominent in the speeches and resolutions consisted in the use of the phrase, "equality of women with colored men. There is quiet sarcasm in that.

Benj. F. Butler is the champion of the woman cause on the floor of the House. Mr. Sargent, in the Senate, heartily espouses the cause of woman.

These men deserve to be rewarded by them when they come into power, which is only a question of time. But the Congressmen refused to favor the ladies with their distinguished presence on the platform during one of the sessions of the Convention.

Miss Anthony, in her speech, said she had been writing invitations to members of Congress for five days until her arm ached, and yet none of them have come to the Convention; they are afraid. There was one exception, Hon. Alonzo J. Ransier (colored), member of Congress from South Carolina. He occupied the platform the last evening, and made a short speech in favor of woman's equality with negroes.

Miss Anthony captured Vice-President Wilson. She saw him in the audience (the second day), and earnestly appealed to him to say a word in behalf of the cause. She knew his heart was with them, and she hoped, if he would not come on the platform, he would rise in his seat and give them a word of encouragement.

The Vice-President arose from his seat in the center of the hall and said: "I wish simply to say that I am under imperative orders to make no speeches on any subject. I will add, however, that twenty years ago I came to the conclusion that my wife, my mother and my sisters were as much entitled to the right of suffrage as myself, and I have not changed my mind since." [Loud applause.]

Miss Anthony said: "Let me say that Vice-President Wilson is the first Vice-President we have ever had who was in favor of woman suffrage. Let me also predict that our next President will be in favor of woman suffrage." [Laughter and applause.]

The lack of gallantry in the Congressional gentlemen refusing Miss Anthony's invitations was equalled by the rebuff, which Mrs. Belva Lockwood, of Washington, received from Charles Sumner. She had appealed to him to become

the defender of women, as he had the colored man, and give them the benefits of the Civil Rights Bill. It was a small favor she asked of him, the insertion of one little word of three letters—s-e-x—in his bill. To this, she said, he sent her a "paltry answer."

Gen. Butler promised the women to present the memorial of the women suffragists of the District of Columbia, and to prepare a bill in accordance therewith to submit to Congress, and that on Tuesday next they would have a hearing before the Committee on the Judiciary, and have an opportunity to speak in behalf of the cause.

I submit, in conclusion, the Resolutions and Civil Rights Bill adopted by the Convention, as taken from the *National Republican* of this city:

Mrs. Stanton, from the Business Committee, reported the following:

Resolved, That we demand that Congress shall take the necessary steps to amend the National Constitution, that in all constitutions and by-laws, State and National, the terms persons, citizens, people, residents, inhabitants, voters, electors, taxpayers, shall hereafter be interpreted as to include both sexes.

THE RESOLUTIONS.

WHEREAS, The women of the Republic are to-day in the same political standing that their fathers were, as British subjects, one hundred years ago; therefore, in the language of their bill of rights.

Resolved, That the women of this country are entitled to all the rights and privileges of the men of the country.

Resolved, It is inseparably essential to the freedom of a people, and the undoubted right of all women, that no taxes be imposed on them but by their consent, given in person or by their representatives.

Resolved, That the only representatives of women are persons chosen by themselves, and that no taxes ever have, or can be, constitutionally imposed upon them, but by legislatures composed of persons so chosen.

Resolved, That it is with indignation and shame that we note the fact that, while Congress consumes the people's time and money in unending discussions of a civil rights bill for men of color, not a plea has been introduced for women, whose political, civil, religious and social rights are denied in every State of the Union.

Resolved, As taxpayers, this Convention forbids the appropriation of any of the people's money for beneficences to which women are not admitted on equal terms.

Resolved, That as the right of suffrage was vested in the women of Utah by years of legalized usage, as its exercise affords the surest guarantee of the peaceful extinction of polygamy, we denounce the proposition now pending in Congress to disfranchise the women of Utah as an assault on vested rights, a trick in the interest of a ring, an entering wedge to the disfranchisement of all voters.

Resolved, That the bill of Senator Frelinghuysen, which is designed to rob the women of the territories of jury trial, and the bill of Senator Logan, to restore the action of common law in the territories, are insults to the women of the Union and a disgrace to the Forty-third Congress.

Resolved, That we recognize in the great industrial organization known as the Patrons of Husbandry, a movement of vital significance, socially, economically and politically also, if only by force of example and association, and that this significance is singularly illustrated by the fact that it has given a wider recognition to women as an integral and essential quality of an attempt at industrial reorganization than any other movement having allied on similar purposes which history records. We give it hearty welcome, and feel assured that the logic of its principles and purposes will lead the Grangers to the fullest acceptance of the equal place that must come to women in all such movements.

Mrs. Stanton then presented the following as a bill of rights:

Resolved, That in national convention assembled, the women of the several States demand of Congress a civil rights bill for their protection:

1. That shall secure to them equally with colored men all the advantages and opportunities of life.

2. That shall open to them Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Princeton, and all the higher institutions of learning with equal rights with colored men, to become both students and professors.

3. That shall compel the medical profession to admit women into all their colleges and societies, to practice in the hospitals, and in every way recognize them as equals precisely as they do men of color.

4. That shall open to them the law schools, with the right for married and unmarried women to practice in all our courts on the same terms with colored men; to sit upon juries, to sue and be sued, and to testify in our courts as do colored men; to be tried by a jury of their peers; and to be made eligible to all the honors and emoluments of the bar and bench.

5. To be admitted to all theological seminaries on equal terms with colored men; to be recognized in all religious organizations as bishops, elders, priests, deacons; to officiate at the altar and preach in the pulpits of all churches, orthodox or heterodox; and that all religious sects shall be compelled to bring their creeds and biblical interpretations into line with the divine idea of the absolute equality of women with the colored men of the nation.

6. That women, equally with colored men, shall be protected in all their uprisings and down-sittings and in all their outgoings and incomings; that they be admitted to theatres and hotels alone; that they may walk the streets by night or day; ramble in the forests, or beside the lakes and rivers, as do colored men, without fear or molestation or insult from any white man whatsoever; and that women, the same as colored men, shall have equal place and pay in the world of work; be admitted into whatever trade or occupation they desire as apprentices, journeymen, masters; and if any white man refuse to work beside a woman as an equal, he shall suffer fine and imprisonment, precisely as if he refused to work beside a colored man.

A CRUEL QUESTION.

It is recorded that Susan B. Anthony met the President on Pennsylvania avenue the other day, and that he asked what he could do for her, which Susan thought decidedly cool after she had "stumped" the country to secure his election, voted for him and been imprisoned for it, and was now at large without his moving a finger to help her. We think Susan deserved it, for swallowing the bait so adroitly thrown to her and others in the famous "Worcester platform." She has tested the worth of the "respectful consideration" of the Republican party there represented, and at this late day General Grant adds insult to injury, by inquiring "What he can do for her?" We hope she is satisfied. —*Daily Union, Detroit, Mich.*

EDITORS OF WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY:

We find in your paper of Dec. 27 a letter addressed to the *Baltimore American*, written by an inmate of a house of ill-fame. Our sympathy was greatly moved by the appeal of this poor outcast, as should be that of every sisterly heart.

She states briefly her unhappy condition, and asks why something is not done against vice? Yes, and more of us ask why, in the name of God and humanity, is not something done to suppress it?

Oh, ye people that are free to think and act! How can you turn a deaf, unsympathizing ear to the imploring cries of society's wronged prisoners? I say society's prisoners, for such they certainly are. If they are free, why do they not flee from this wretched life and seek a better one? Why do they beg to be released? If they are not wronged, why do they implore justice? Society has ensnared them, surrounded them by circumstances that led or forced them to evils that they hardly realized as such, caused them to transgress one after another of its own laws, until they had gone entirely beyond its strict limits of virtue, when they must be arrested by that same law that helped them on to perdition. So to protect this sacred society they must be imprisoned, chained to the rock where social vultures perpetually prey upon their bodies, while day after day and night after night their sin-sick souls pant for the relief that is denied them. These vile birds of torture come and go at will. No law binds them to the spot which their better natures disdain, and from which their souls are sick to be free; while their victims are shut up away from all moral, refining influences, compelled to live by the evil for which they are so cursed. Even God's free, refreshing air and sunlight are almost forbidden luxuries.

Only that spark of undying, heavenly fire which burns in every woman's breast is left to keep warm the soul that feign would be chilled by the world's coldness. She speaks of seeking a kinder clime, but will she find it this side of Heaven? Not under the present system of society. She "hopes that there is forgiveness in the hearts of her parents if yet living, and that she may be pardoned by God." These hopes she may not cherish in vain, for God and mother are always our friends. Mother being a woman, can feel for a womanly heart; and God being justice, can never turn her away. Call to mind, if you please, the difference in the treatment of men and women. A man may be guilty of every form of evil, and if not caught in his acts, he is all right; and even if he is detected in the basest conduct, and confronted by the woman who claims his affection, if he confess his guilt and ask her pardon, she, Christian-like, will forgive him all—yea, more than all! She will help him to lead a better life, and guard against the evils of this world. And not only here does she watch and pray for him, but even beyond the grave her soul would intercede for him in heaven. In the estimation of the world his wrongs are comparatively nothing—he is a man!

Let a woman take one misstep, no matter what the circumstances are—let her transgress in the least, and what man would forgive and accept her the same? Is there one? She might throw herself at his feet and pray for forgiveness, while his stern look and harsh words would turn her scalding tears to ice. What will the world do? Why, banish her; put her where her influence may not contaminate society.

Now, we ask, is this just? Is it even humane? Is there any person or body of persons that have the right to prohibit the "life, liberty and pursuit of happiness" of others in this manner?

We answer no; it is an outrage upon nature, God's own law. Then why do we permit such insolence? Women, dear women, we entreat you to wake up and exercise that true spirit that has been sleeping, as it were, for centuries in silence.

Long enough have we trusted to men for justice and liberty. Long enough have we appealed to hearts that prove to be stone.

The time has come for us to demand it if we would have freedom. "Let us fight for ourselves," and prove to lookers-on that only one-half of the world's power has ever yet been exercised; and when women wage war, nothing but true justice can ever appease their wrath.

JULIA W. LEAVITT.

ANN ARBOR, Jan. 8, 1874.

Ladies—Allow me in behalf of myself and several other students, who denounce the disgraceful and outrageous conduct of the students and citizens of Ann Arbor on December 15, to express our sympathy for Mrs. Woodhull and our indignation at the barbarities of these high-toned ruffians. It is true that there were students present that conducted themselves with the utmost propriety and intelligence, and yet it is to my sorrow that I must acknowledge that the majority of the students acted with the rudeness of savages. The orderly students were in the minority that evening, and could exert no influence in suppressing the disturbance, and, disgusted, they left the scene. It is for the justification of these students that I mention this fact, and it is our wish that you exonerate those that had nothing to do with the disgraceful affair. Again allow me, in behalf of these stu-

dents, to express our heartfelt sympathy for Mrs. Woodhull and our indignation at the barbarians.

Yours respectfully,

LAW STUDENT.

[We cheerfully give our friend's disclaimer of any connection with the rioters referred to, withholding his name that the "barbarians" may not "haze" him in retaliation. —ED.]

A WOMAN WHO RULED.

Mrs. Westmorland, in a letter to the *Atlanta Constitution*, says: "Through Dr. Deems I learned that the celebrated Mrs. Eaton, who did the honors of the White House during General Jackson's administration, still lived—was in this city, and was one of his congregation. Naturally I felt an interest in and some curiosity to see a person who had played so conspicuous a part in the affairs of the nation at one time, and learning that she was fond of company and would consider it no intrusion, I called. In doing so I was more forcibly reminded than ever before of what slaves we are to the caprices of fortune—what victims to the vicissitudes of life, over which we have no control. Here was a woman who once held the destinies of a nation in her hand. To win her approval augured success—to arouse her anger meant defeat. Health, luxury, flattery, honors—everything this world could give was laid at her feet. Now an old, feeble and jaded woman, deserted by friends, forgotten by the world, she ekes out a bare existence in a retired boarding-house which overlooks Washington square. Although in her seventy-sixth year, she still bears the traces of having been a beautiful woman, and though miserably dressed, she received us with the grace and elegance of a queen. We found her very accessible; the conversation naturally turned upon events of the past, and we were surprised to find every incident connected with her eventful life as fresh in her memory as if they had only just occurred. Her story varies somewhat from the facts laid down in history, and perhaps—who knows—she may be right and the historian wrong. Such things have happened (?), for of all people who profess to be entirely unprejudiced, we think the generality of historians are more prejudiced than any other class of writers. She spoke of Mrs. Randolph and the Dutchess de Fensendeck as her only children, and, in the midst of many changes and heavy losses, she said she considered herself blessed in being surrounded by her grandchildren, who are very devoted to her, and console and comfort her in her old age. Mrs. Randolph has been dead many years, and it is this family of children she has reared, and who now care for her, the youngest son making it his duty and pleasure to provide for his grandmother, whom he seems to love with a devotion bordering on romance. She mentioned, in conversation, that her son-in-law, the Duke, had two titles, the other one being the Duke de Sampayo, and that their only child, a daughter, was married to one of the Rothschilds, the son of the elder Croesus. She said her daughter had become thoroughly foreignized, and hated America so that she would not allow her husband to accept a position in this country which was offered him two years ago. I asked her if she 'ever visited Washington now?' She said, 'No; my recollections of Washington are so painful that I do not like to go there any more'—then added: 'I very foolishly married a third time, although this marriage lost all of my property; and it is not pleasant to go back and see other people enjoying what rightfully belongs to me. He married me for my money, and it took him ten years and seven months to get it into his possession. Then when he got it all he left me, taking some woman whom he fancied, and left the country. I was in complete ignorance of his movements until a letter reached me which he had written from the steamer, saying he returned to me my honored name, and left the country because he was not worthy to be associated with me and my family, confessed himself a villain and an adventurer, and assured me he would never trouble me again.' The name of this magnificent scoundrel was Antonio Buchignani, and Mrs. Eaton says a very handsome and elegant man—a man who had served as librarian at Washington, although he was an Italian adventurer of whom nothing was known. Of course she at once resumed the name which had been so generously restored to her, and for the distinguished honor of playing the short role of Madame Buchignani she paid the princely sum of nineteen houses and six square blocks of real estate in Washington City. A few more years and the sands of life will cease to flow for this woman, whose career is without a parallel."

ANY PORT IN A STORM.

The gravest mischief that man has ever done to himself is the formation of an opinion, the adoption of an idea, or the acceptance of a theory on anything appertaining to his own personal condition or that of others, when not in conscious self-possession and realizing the uninterrupted harmonies of his own personal being. The whole atmosphere is alive about us, and all impressions that mislead us come from a meddling source, never from ourselves. The very fact of feeling out of sorts indicates the presence of a something quite too near us that is unlike us, and that, in the fitness of things, has no business with us. For while we are interfered with or disturbed within ourselves, every conception that strikes us as consistent or proper, seen from our then standpoint, will be more or less a copy of the very impressions that we feel so unwelcome to us, like a ship in stress of weather making for the nearest port, without regard to where it would go, but apparently bound to what must be done. From such conditions have sprung all the wretched theories and follies that curse the race to-day, or that have ever blighted human hopes and made this good world a bedlam.

Until the soul is in musical harmony with itself it is unsafe in adopting any line of action or drawing any conclusion, even respecting itself (except that it is really out of fix), and much less of another. The ever-to-be damned odiousness of meddling with another comes from this source. It has been the prime quality in the character of all the God this world has ever recognized, and from all evidence that can be drawn from human actions, adopted as a pattern.

For every one knows this who knows anything, that in a personally disturbed condition he feels more of an itching to find fault, pass judgment and to worry others than would at other times be agreeable to him. That this disturbance comes from a foreign source is just as evident as it is that it is distasteful to us. When people talk about an inharmonious organization, they do not seem to know what an organization is. I do not care how many phrenological bumps indicate the unbalance of a human soul. It is no evidence that this unbalance is the legitimate outgrowth of a constitutional and organic being; for whatever the organization, it need only to repeat itself to be harmonious; and hence it involves the contradiction that the organic soul is in disagreement with itself. Besides, organization is the fitness in parts that goes to make up the perfection of a whole, and stamps the claim for personal inharmony arising from an improper organization as a mistake. That people should show a marked difference of cranium and facial expression with the character demonstrated in uses, is more to be attributed to these uses than to anything else, and that upon the principle that the child that is always carried never develops those muscles in limbs that it would do by using them, and that the arm of the blacksmith is proportionately stronger by daily wielding the sledge, it being not the peculiar capacity of this arm above other arms, but in the uses to which it is put. The variety developing that which we call character, as expressed in the world, is attributable more to unseen surroundings and the artificial moldings formed by our forced habits in the way of pursuing life than to any peculiarity in an organization, that marks the individual as good or bad when measured by any rule. For whatever the organization, it could only be characteristic of itself, and by no necessity inharmonious. Hence the idea of an inharmonious organization is only a play upon words, and only forced upon the human mind to justify the frauds that are practiced upon man from the unseen.

To illustrate the point further as to the molding of the man so far as life with him here is concerned, we may look into the cramped and unnatural conditions under which he is cheated and forced to pursue life. To make this point still more clear to the mind, I will relate a particular I once read in a paper, and glean from it the inference it naturally suggests. It is some years since I read it, therefore I shall not pretend to be scrupulously exact in narrating it, still I claim to preserve the substance of the little narrative:

A little, dirty, ragged boy, born, cradled and fed in the slums of a foul city lane, wandered into one of its wider and more inviting streets. He amused himself with new sights until hunger began to pinch him. Bewildered with what he had seen and heard, the way to his home was a question with him. In this mood of doubt and sadness, he stopped before a very pretty residence, and, while looking up at the windows, a little girl of some three or four summers caught sight of him, and besought her mother to call in the little boy. The mother naturally opposed so strange a fancy in the child; her opposition, however, was unavailing. A servant was sent to bring him into the kitchen—the expression of neglect, dirt and rags. When washed and fed he must be conducted into the parlor, and there be treated to further little dainties that a child loves. He looked into the sweet face of the little girl, whose interest in himself had lost nothing, and, while a large tear trembled in his eye, he timidly asked the mother if he might kiss the child, who seemed so dear to him. The mother hesitated, when Birdie responded, "Yes, mamma." And waiting wistfully for her mother's nod, she passed her hands behind her, and with a graceful ease that older ones never know, she walked directly toward the ragged little boy, while pursing her modest, pouting lips for him to kiss, and said to him in her fondest tones, "Is oo nice?"

This one incident told the little boy more of himself than he could have learned in a lifetime in the home and with the surroundings where he was born. He felt this to be a home, and begged to be allowed to live there, where he had seen the first bright rays of life and had felt its warm sunshine. The angel of his awakened heart pleaded his suit and gained it, so far as these new-found friends were concerned; and the other arrangements were easily made and the change effected. Birdie, until then an only child, early died. He made a man for whom his new-found parents never had occasion to blush.

Those conditions where hope lives and smiles, unfolded a life in a safe direction, while roughness and coarse manners would have ruined it. The bumps that get the worst of cultivation would have produced a rank growth, and have indicated a different character; and organization would have been damned for the result, while Science would have been deified for making the discovery.

AUBURN, N. Y., January 10, 1874.

E. WHEELER.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL—WHAT A WOMAN THINKS OF HER.

ST. JOSEPH, Mo., Jan. 19, 1874.

Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly—Mrs. Woodhull took St. Joseph by storm. The *St. Joseph Daily Herald*, one of the most liberal and live papers in the United States, has no words too strong to use in her behalf. I send you an extract from the pen of a lady correspondent of that journal, showing the effect of truth on prejudice.

Respectfully,

C. I.

"Curiosity to see the woman whose name has been heralded throughout America and Europe led me to the Opera House Friday evening. I went expecting to be shocked; I went full of sympathy for my sex, that were almost becoming infamous through this notorious agent.

"I expected her to strike boldly at our sanctum sanctorum—the fireside influence; and she did strike. She disclosed to her breathless audience the ashes and vermin concealed by the artful ignorance of the mothers and the pleasure-loving sires.

"I expected to hear her denounce woman's virtue and ridicule her purity, and she did it; and for the first time in

life I felt that there is a pureness for woman that is perfidy. The mother who devotes her life to church and prayer-meetings, leaving her sons and daughters to while away the hours in debauchery and falsehood, rather than take them by the hand and explain the mysteries of the life which they, ignorant alike of moral and physical laws, are converting into a burden to themselves and others, are practicing a virtue that is *perfidious*. I expected her to denounce the churches, and she *did* denounce them. But she did not denounce the humble Jesus Christ, who, eighteen hundred years ago, supped with harlots, and was a brother to the greasy fisherman. She denounced the gilded representatives of to-day, who are drinking, blindfold, their own life-blood. She cried out, not against the Jesus who said to the harlot 'go and sin no more,' but bitterly she denounced the Christ Jesus of to-day who cries from our gilded pulpits and religious journals, 'Away with this woman for she has fallen.' Fallen from where, and by whom? When a boarding-school is turned into a harem, she cries out, not against the arts of the seducer, but against the infamous modesty of the mother who could send a daughter into the world to fall a victim to her own ignorance. She cried out against the pastors because they were political leaders of an impolitic people, not because they were co-laborers with Christ.

"I went expecting to hear hisses, and I heard them; but they were hurled at the head of a government that sits cloaked with chaste garments, from the foot of which strides a cloven hoof. I went expecting to be mortified, to be made indignant; I left mortified to shame and indignant to disgust with a press so false and politic that but here and there can be found an editor who will write what he knows to be true.

"It is not ours to-day to spot her with the indignation of our ignorance, while we may safely follow many of her teachings.

"I listened with anxiety for the utterance of a sentence that should brand her as the unchaste woman the billious press has pronounced her—but I listened in vain.

"E. T. W."

BUSINESS EDITORIALS.

SOCIAL REFORMERS' NOTICE.

All persons, young or old, bond or free, interested in the Social Reform movement, either directly or indirectly, are solicited to send their names and post-office addresses to the undersigned immediately. Don't neglect for one second after reading this. Call the attention of all your friends to this notice.

An "underground railroad enterprise on hand, aiding all enslaved women out of bondage by an "air-line" route, where neither lawyers or judges are conductors. All about it if you will send us your name.

WILLIAM WARRINGTON,
Painesville, Ohio, U. R. R. Agent.

Editors Weekly—As this is a benevolent and charitable movement on the part of a few earnest philanthropists to aid women in the effort to obtain freedom and liberty in despite of courts of law or public sentiment, please give it a place in your columns. The leading spirits are old workers the cause, and the work will go on.

WM. WARRINGTON.

EXPLANATORY OF THE NEW CATHOLIC CHURCH.

[See Advertisement on page 15.]

Integralism is the name of the New Philosophy, coupled with Universology, which covers the whole ground of Nature, Science and Art. Art is the effort, through labor, to realize our ideals. Religion is the result of the reflex action of our highest ideals on our conduct, by stimulating the earnestness of our efforts to realize or to attain to them; exciting, especially the *unifying sentiment*, or the *sentiment of the unity of mankind*. It is, in other words, the Worship of the Most High, meaning thereby, not necessarily a personal God, an ideal Heaven in another world, or any special definite form of conception; but simply that which is *The Highest*, whatsoever it be, to which each individual mind has attained as an ideal. The woman who casts her infant into the river or the fire, or the devouring jaws of an idol; the scientist who labors, from the love of truth, to discover new truth; or the atheist who devotes his life to blasting what he believes to be the deleterious delusions of the Christian or any other faith, is as *truly religious* in his devotion to what he conceives to be the truth as the most devoted Christian. The truth of opinion is another matter, and belongs to the region of inquiry and instruction—to Science rather than Religion. It is a perversion of the meaning of religion to make it consist of dogmas, which must, of necessity, undergo change from age to age, with the mere increase of Intelligence. It is the first object of the New Catholic Church to educate, distinctly and definitely fix this fundamental conception of Religion, as the common elementary ground of Unity for all Sects and Special Religions, in the Higher Religious Life, and in the Higher Organization of the Religious Development of the Future; in harmony with Nature, Science and Art. The edifice to be raised on such a foundation will be rightly entitled to be called THE GRAND RECONCILIATION—"The final restitution of all things."

It is the mistake of the Church, at this day, to continue to teach Dogma as if it were assured Knowledge; and the mistake of Science to attack Dogma as if it were essentially erroneous. Dogma, held as hypothesis, reinforced merely by faith, but held subject to revision and improvement with advancing Knowledge, is perfectly legitimate, even from the Scientific point of view; and, so soon as it ceases to pretend to be anything more, will be accepted and cultured by Science. Faith is not Knowledge, and should not be claimed as such. The very word "*I believe*," confesses that "*I do not know*."

The scripture phrase "Now we see through a glass, darkly, but then face to face," is as applicable to the unfolding future higher knowledge of this world as to the other life believed in by Christians.

The recognition of the consecration and devotion of the whole being to the worship of The Most High, or of whatsoever highest ideal, as the essential basis of religion, is, at the same time, the basis of a true and universal religious fellowship; now for the first time propounded and scientifically defined. Upon this ground, and upon no other, the Universal Religious Reconciliation of mankind becomes possible—the co-operative unity of all, in a higher and broader sense than that in which the Christian world is now beginning to aspire after Unity; as, by the discovery of Universology, a similar reconciliation of all Intellectual Conceptions is effected; and as, by Pantarchism, the practical Orchestration of all Human Affairs will be accomplished. The measuring reed, the cubic structure of the New Jerusalem, and the governing force of the Mystic or Sacred numbers, as revealed to the interior vision of St. John, are realized in the exactifications of Universal Science. The New Catholic Church is, therefore, THE CHURCH OF THE GRAND INTEGRAL AND FINAL RECONCILIATION.

To belong to the New Catholic Church involves little or nothing of ceremony, and does not necessarily demand separation from any other religious or secular body; any more than to be a citizen of the United States precludes citizenship of the individual States of the Union. It is socially and religiously as The United States are politically, and as the Pantarchy will be, for all Nationalities, *e pluribus unum*. Within its pale, the other religions and sects of the world are regarded as lower and higher classes in conducting the religious education of mankind. "The Constitution of the New Catholic Church" will be furnished to applicants.

The Old Religious Strongholds will not be subdued by simply denouncing them, in the spirit of a Negative Infidelity. They will be easily, and even gladly and gratefully, overcome and absorbed or annexed, by being transcended in their own sphere.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SPIRITUALISTS. 12m, pp. 266.

THE ELIXIR OF LIFE; OR, WHY DO WE DIE? 8vo, pp. 24. An ORATION delivered before the above-named CONVENTION, at GROW'S OPERA HOUSE, CHICAGO, by VICTORIA C. WOODHULL, September 18, 1873.

The above "Report of the Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Convention of the American Association of Spiritualists," is an accurate and impartial account of what was said and done at the above convention. The speeches are presented to the public word for word as they came to us from the hands of the able reporter employed by the convention. The orations of the members, on both sides, discussing the question of "Free Love," or rather "Personal Sovereignty," are worthy of the serious attention not only of all Spiritualists but of the community at large.

In proof that we have not overstated the merits of the work, we respectfully submit the generous testimony of Judge Edmund S. Holbrook, who so ably defended the position of the conservative Spiritualists at the above convention:

"I have seen the report you have published of the doings and sayings of the Chicago Convention, and I take pleasure in saying that, in the publication of such a report, so full, so accurate and impartial as it is, you have done a work worthy of high commendation. Some could not be at this convention, either for want of time or means; but now, such of them as may choose to read, can almost imagine that they were there; and though they may not attain whatever there may be in personal presence, in the eye, and the ear, and in soul-communion, yet whatever of principle has been evolved they may well discover and understand; and also, as I hope, they may profit thereby."

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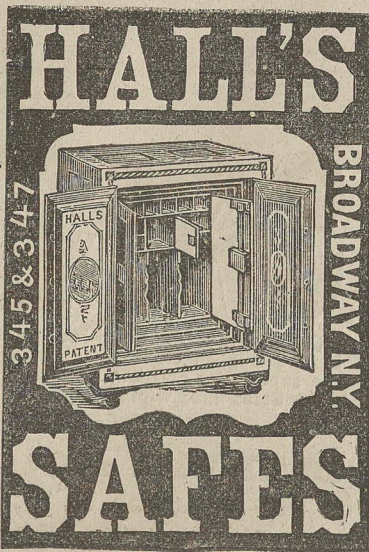
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PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD.— UNITED RAILROADS OF NEW JERSEY DIVISION, foot of Desbrosses street and foot of Courtlandt street.

Change of hour. Commencing Sunday, Oct. 27, 1872.
For West Philadelphia, 8 and 9:30 a. m., 12:30, 4, 5, 6, 8:30 p. m., 12 Night.

For Philadelphia via Camden, 7 a. m., 2 p. m.

THROUGH TRAINS.

9:00 a. m., Great Southern Morning Express, for Baltimore and Washington; for the West, via West Philadelphia, Baltimore, and for the South, via Baltimore, and via Washington, with Drawing Room Car attached.

9:30 a. m., Western Express for West Philadelphia, Pittsburg and the West, with Pullman's Palace Cars, through from New York to Pittsburg, Fort Wayne and Chicago, Columbus, Cincinnati and Louisville, and with Parlor Cars from New York to Pittsburg.

1:00 p. m. Express for Baltimore and Washington, and for the West, via Baltimore, with Drawing Room Car attached.

*5:00 p. m., Daily Western Express, for Pittsburg and the West, with Pullman's Palace Cars, through from New York to Pittsburg, Indianapolis, Louisville and St. Louis, to Columbus, Cincinnati and Chicago.

*7:00 p. m., Daily Western Express, for Pittsburg and the West, with Pullman's Palace Cars, for Pittsburg, Cincinnati and Indianapolis.

*8:30 p. m., Daily Western Express, for West Philadelphia, Pittsburg and the West, with Pullman's Palace Cars, through without change, to Pittsburg, Crestline, Port Wayne and Chicago.

9:00 p. m., Daily Great Southern Evening Express for Baltimore and Washington, with Reclining Chair Cars, and with Pullman Palace Cars through from New York to Washington.

Tickets for sale at Ticket Offices, foot of Desbrosses and Courtlandt streets, and in Depot, Jersey City; and at New York Transfer Co.'s offices (Dodd's Express), No. 944 Broadway, New York, and No. 1 Court street, Brooklyn. Passengers, by leaving suitable notices at these offices, can have their baggage called for at residence or hotel, and carried through to destination.

Tickets for seats in reclining chair cars and compartment cars for sale at the Desbrosses street office.

A. J. CASSATT, F. W. JACKSON,
Gen'l Manager. Gen'l Supt.
* Daily.

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THROUGH TICKETS to all important towns, and general information may be obtained at the Companies office, 349 Broadway (corner of Leonard street), New York.

Condensed Time Table.

WESTWARD FROM NEW YORK,

Via Erie & Mich. Central & Great Western R. R's

STATIONS.	Express.	Express Mail.	STATIONS.	Express.	Express Mail.
Lv 23d Street, N. Y.	8.30 A. M.	10.45 A. M.	Lv 23d Street, N. Y.	6.45 P. M.	8.00 P. M.
" Chambers street.	8.40 "	10.45 "	" Chambers street.	7.00 "	8.15 "
" Jersey City.	9.15 "	11.15 "	" Jersey City.	7.20 "	8.35 "
" Susquehanna.	3.40 P. M.	8.12 P. M.	" Susquehanna.	2.43 A. M.	3.58 "
" Binghamton.	4.40 "	9.20 "	" Binghamton.	3.35 "	4.50 "
" Elmira.	6.30 "	12.16 A. M.	" Elmira.	5.35 "	6.50 "
" Hornellsville.	8.30 "	1.50 "	" Hornellsville.	7.40 "	9.00 "
" Buffalo.	12.05 A. M.	8.10 "	" Buffalo.	11.45 "	1.00 "
Ar Suspension Bridge.	1.00 "	10.00 "	Ar Suspension Bridge.	12.27 P. M.	1.42 "
Lv Suspension Bridge.	1.10 A. M.	1.35 P. M.	Lv Suspension Bridge.	1.35 "	2.00 "
Ar St. Catharines.	1.35 "	2.00 "	Ar St. Catharines.	2.00 "	2.55 "
" Hamilton.	2.45 "	3.55 "	" Hamilton.	2.55 "	4.00 "
" Harrisburg.	3.55 "	5.05 "	" Harrisburg.	3.55 "	5.05 "
" London.	5.35 A. M.	5.55 "	" London.	5.55 "	6.10 "
" Chatham.	7.55 "	8.12 "	" Chatham.	8.12 "	8.27 "
" Detroit.	9.40 "	10.00 "	" Detroit.	10.00 "	10.15 "
Lv Detroit.	9.40 "	10.10 "	Lv Detroit.	10.10 "	10.25 "
Ar Wayne.	10.21 "	11.25 P. M.	Ar Wayne.	11.25 "	11.40 "
" Ypsilanti.	10.45 "	11.25 P. M.	" Ypsilanti.	11.25 "	11.40 "
" Ann Arbor.	11.00 "	11.43 "	" Ann Arbor.	11.43 "	12.00 "
" Jackson.	12.15 P. M.	1.00 A. M.	" Jackson.	1.00 A. M.	1.15 "
" Marshall.	1.15 "	1.43 "	" Marshall.	1.43 "	2.00 "
" Battle Creek.	2.03 "	2.55 "	" Battle Creek.	2.55 "	3.10 "
" Kalamazoo.	2.55 "	3.40 A. M.	" Kalamazoo.	3.40 A. M.	3.55 "
" Niles.	3.25 P. M.	4.40 A. M.	" Niles.	4.40 A. M.	5.00 "
" New Buffalo.	5.25 "	5.45 "	" New Buffalo.	5.45 "	6.00 "
" Michigan City.	5.45 "	6.05 "	" Michigan City.	6.05 "	6.20 "
" Calumet.	7.18 "	7.47 "	" Calumet.	7.47 "	8.00 "
" Chicago.	8.00 "	8.00 "	" Chicago.	8.00 "	8.45 "
Ar Milwaukee.	5.30 A. M.	1.50 A. M.	Ar Milwaukee.	1.50 A. M.	2.05 A. M.
Ar Prairie du Chein.	8.55 P. M.	9.05 P. M.	Ar Prairie du Chein.	9.05 P. M.	9.20 P. M.
Ar La Crosse.	1.50 P. M.	7.05 A. M.	Ar La Crosse.	7.05 A. M.	7.20 A. M.
Ar St. Paul.	6.15 P. M.	6.25 P. M.	Ar St. Paul.	6.25 P. M.	6.40 P. M.
Ar St. Louis.	8.15 A. M.	8.25 A. M.	Ar St. Louis.	8.25 A. M.	8.40 A. M.
Ar Sedalia.	5.40 P. M.	5.50 P. M.	Ar Sedalia.	5.50 P. M.	6.00 P. M.
" Denison.	8.00 "	8.10 "	" Denison.	8.10 "	8.20 "
" Galveston.	10.45 "	10.55 "	" Galveston.	10.55 "	11.05 "
Ar Bismarck.	11.00 P. M.	11.10 P. M.	Ar Bismarck.	11.10 P. M.	11.20 P. M.
" Columbus.	5.00 A. M.	5.10 A. M.	" Columbus.	5.10 A. M.	5.20 A. M.
" Little Rock.	7.30 P. M.	7.40 P. M.	" Little Rock.	7.40 P. M.	7.50 P. M.
Ar Burlington.	8.50 A. M.	9.00 A. M.	Ar Burlington.	9.00 A. M.	9.10 A. M.
" Omaha.	11.00 P. M.	11.10 P. M.	" Omaha.	11.10 P. M.	11.20 P. M.
" Cheyenne.	11.00 P. M.	11.10 P. M.	" Cheyenne.	11.10 P. M.	11.20 P. M.
" Ogden.	11.00 P. M.	11.10 P. M.	" Ogden.	11.10 P. M.	11.20 P. M.
" San Francisco.	11.00 P. M.	11.10 P. M.	" San Francisco.	11.10 P. M.	11.20 P. M.
Ar Galesburg.	6.40 A. M.	6.50 A. M.	Ar Galesburg.	6.50 A. M.	7.00 A. M.
" Quincy.	11.15 "	11.25 "	" Quincy.	11.25 "	11.35 "
" St. Joseph.	10.00 "	10.10 "	" St. Joseph.	10.10 "	10.20 "
" Kansas City.	10.40 P. M.	10.50 P. M.	" Kansas City.	10.50 P. M.	11.00 P. M.
" Atchison.	11.00 "	11.10 "	" Atchison.	11.10 "	11.20 "
" Leavenworth.	12.10 "	12.20 "	" Leavenworth.	12.20 "	12.30 "
" Denver.	7.00 A. M.	7.10 A. M.	" Denver.	7.10 A. M.	7.20 A. M.

Through Sleeping Car Arrangements

9.15 A. M.—Day Express from Jersey City (daily except Sunday), with Pullman's Drawing-Room Cars, and connecting at Suspension Bridge with Pullman's Palace Sleeping Cars, arriving at Chicago 8.00 p. m. the following day in time to take the morning trains from there.

7.20 P. M.—Night Express from Jersey City (daily), with Pullman's Palace Sleeping Cars, runs through to Chicago without change, arriving there at 8.00 a. m., giving passengers ample time for breakfast and take the morning trains to all points West, Northwest and Southwest.

CONNECTIONS OF ERIE RAILWAY WITH MAIN LINES AND BRANCHES OF

Michigan Central & Great Western Railways.

At St. Catharines, with Welland Railway, for Port Colborne.

At Hamilton, with branch for Toronto and intermediate stations; also with branch to Port Dover.

At Harrisburg, with branch for Galt, Guelph, Southampton and intermediate stations.

At Paris, with G. W. R. branch for Brantford and with Goderich branch Grand Trunk Railway.

At London, with branch for Petrolia and Sarnia. Also with Port Stanley Branch for Port Stanley, and daily line of steamers from there to Cleveland.

At Detroit, with Detroit & Milwaukee Railway for Port Huron, Branch Grand Trunk Railway. Also Detroit, Lansing & Lake Michigan R. R. to Howard and intermediate stations. Also Detroit & Bay City R. R. Branch Lake S. & M. S. R. R. to Toledo.

At Wayne, with Flint & Pere M. R. R. to Plymouth, Holy, etc.

At Ypsilanti, with Detroit, Hillsdale & Eel River R. Rs, for Manchester, Hillsdale, Banker's, Waterloo Columbia City, N. Manchester, Denver and Indianapolis.

At Jackson, with Grand River Valley Branch, for Eaton Rapids, Charlotte, Grand Rapids, Nunda, Pentwater, and all intermediate stations. Also, with Air Line for Homer, Nottawa, Three Rivers and Cassopolis. Also with Jack, Lansing & Saginaw Branch, for Lansing, Owosso, Saginaw, Wenona, Standish, Crawford Wayne, and Port Wayne, Muncie & Cin. R. R. to Cincinnati.

At Battle Creek, with Peninsular R. R.

At Kalamazoo, with South Haven Branch, to G. Junction, South Haven, etc. Also with G. Rapids & Ind. R. R. for Clam Lake and intermediate stations. Also with Branch of L. S. & M. S. R. R.

At Lawton, with Paw Paw R. R. for Paw Paw.

At Niles, with South Bend Branch.

At New Buffalo, with Chicago & Mich. Lake S. R. R. for St. Joseph, Holland, Muskegon, Pentwater and all intermediate stations.

At Michigan City, with Indianapolis, Peru & Chicago R. R. Also with Louisville, New Albany & Chicago R. R.

At Lake, with Joliet Branch to Joliet.

At Chicago, with all railroads diverging.

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