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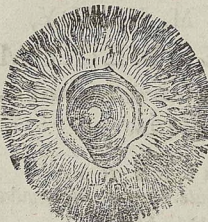
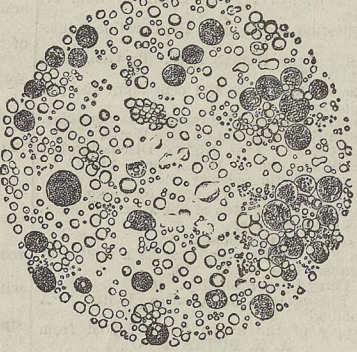
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THE MEMORIAL OF VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

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

That she was born in the State of Ohio, and is above the age of twenty-one years; that she has resided in the State of New York during the past three years; that she is still a resident thereof, and that she is a citizen of the United States, as declared by the XIV. Article of Amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

That since the adoption of the XV. Article of Amendments to the Constitution, neither the State of New York nor any other State, nor any Territory, has passed any law to abridge the right of any citizen of the United States to vote, as established by said article, neither on account of sex or otherwise:

That, nevertheless, the right to vote is denied to women citizens of the United States, by the operation of Election Laws in the several States and Territories, which laws were enacted prior to the adoption of the said XV. Article, and which are inconsistent with the Constitution as amended, and therefore, are void and of no effect; but which, being still enforced by the said States and Territories, render the Constitution inoperative as regards the right of women citizens to vote:

And whereas, Article VI., Section 2, declares "That this Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and all judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution and laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding:"

And whereas, no distinction between citizens is made in the Constitution of the United States on account of sex; but the XV. article of Amendments to it provides that "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

And whereas, Congress has power to make laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution all powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States, and to make or alter all regulations in relation to holding elections for senators or representatives, and especially to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of the said XIV. Article:

And whereas, the continuance of the enforcement of said local election laws, denying and abridging the right of citizens to vote on account of sex, is a grievance to your memorialist and to various other persons, citizens of the United States, being women—

Therefore, your memorialist would most respectfully petition your Honorable Bodies to make such laws as in the wisdom of Congress shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the right vested by the Constitution in the Citizens of the United States to vote, without regard to sex.

And your memorialist will ever pray.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

Dated NEW YORK CITY, December 19, 1870.

1ST CONGRESS, } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. } REPORT
3d Session. } No. 22.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

JANUARY 30, 1871.—Recommitted to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed.

Mr. BINGHAM, from the Committee on the Judiciary, made the following

REPORT.

The Committee on the Judiciary, to whom was referred the Memorial of Victoria C. Woodhull, having considered the same, make the following report:

The Memorialist asks the enactment of a law by Congress which shall secure to citizens of the United States in the several States the right to vote "without regard to sex." Since the adoption of the fourteenth amendment of the Constitution, there is no longer any reason to doubt that all persons, born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside, for that is the express declaration of the amendment.

The clause of the fourteenth amendment, "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States," does not, in the opinion of the committee, refer to privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States other than those privileges and immunities embraced in the original text of the Constitution, Article IV., Section 2. The fourteenth amendment, it is believed, did not add to the privileges or immunities before mentioned, but was deemed necessary for their enforcement, as an express limitation upon the powers of the States. It has been judicially determined that the first eight articles of amendment of the Constitution were not limitations on the power of the States, and it was apprehended that the same might be held of the provision of the second section, fourth article.

To remedy this defect of the Constitution, the express limitations upon the States contained in the first section of the fourteenth amendment, together with the grant of power in Congress to enforce them by legislation, were incorporated in the Constitution. The words "citizens of the United States," and "citizens of the States," as employed in the fourteenth amendment, did not change or modify the relations of citizens of the State and Nation as they existed under the original Constitution.

Attorney General Bates gave the opinion that the Constitution uses the word "citizen," only to express the political quality of the individual in his relation to the Nation; to declare that he is a member of the body politic, and bound to it by the reciprocal obligation of allegiance on the one side and protection on the other. The phrase "a citizen of the United States," without addition or qualification, means neither more nor less than a member of the Nation. (Opinion of Attorney General Bates on citizenship.)

The Supreme Court of the United States has ruled that, according to the express words and clear meaning of the second section, fourth article of the Constitution, no privileges are secured by it except those which belong to citizenship. (Connor et al. vs. Elliott et al., 18 Howard, 593.)

In Corfield vs. Coryell, 4 Washington Circuit Court Reports, 380, the court say:

The inquiry is, what are the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States? We feel no hesitation in confining these expressions to those privileges and immunities which are in

their nature fundamental; which belong of right to the citizens of all free governments; and which have at all times been enjoyed by the citizens of the several States which compose this Union, from the time of their becoming free, independent and sovereign. What these fundamental principles are would, perhaps, be more tedious than difficult to enumerate. They may, however, be all comprehended under the following general heads: Protection by the Government; the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the right to acquire and possess property of every kind, and to pursue and obtain happiness and safety, subject, nevertheless, to such restraints as the Government may justly prescribe for the general good of the whole; the right of a citizen of one State to pass through or to reside in any other State, for the purpose of trade, agriculture, professional pursuits, or otherwise; to claim the benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus*; to institute and maintain actions of any kind in the courts of the State; to take, hold, and dispose of property, either real or personal; and an exemption from higher taxes or impositions than are paid by the other citizens of the State, may be mentioned as some of the particular privileges and immunities of citizens which are clearly embraced by the general description of privileges deemed to be fundamental; to which may be added the elective franchise, as regulated and established by the laws or Constitution of the State in which it is to be exercised. * * * But we cannot accede to the proposition which was insisted on by the counsel, that under this provision of the Constitution, sec. 2, art. 4, the citizens of the several States are permitted to participate in all the rights which belong exclusively to the citizens of any other particular State.

The learned Justice Story declared that the intention of the clause—"the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States"—was to confer on the citizens of each State a general citizenship, and communicated all the privileges and immunities which a citizen of the same State would be entitled to under the same circumstances. (Story on the Constitution, vol. 2, p. 605.)

In the case of the Bank of the United States vs. Primrose, in the Supreme Court of the United States, Mr. Webster said:

That this article in the Constitution (art. 4, sec. 2) does not confer on the citizens of each State political rights in every other State, is admitted. A citizen of Pennsylvania cannot go into Virginia and vote at any election in that State, though when he has acquired a residence in Virginia, and is otherwise qualified and is required by the constitution (of Virginia), he becomes, without formal adoption as a citizen of Virginia, a citizen of that State politically. (Webster's Works, vol. 6, p. 112.)

It must be obvious that Mr. Webster was of opinion that the privileges and immunities of citizens, guaranteed to them in the several States, did not include the privilege of the elective franchise otherwise than as secured by the State Constitution. For, after making the statement above quoted, that a citizen of Pennsylvania cannot go into Virginia and vote, Mr. Webster adds, "but for the purposes of trade, commerce, buying and selling, it is evidently not in the power of any State to impose any hindrance or embarrassment, &c., upon citizens of other States, or to place them, going there, upon a different footing from her own citizens." (Ib.)

The proposition is clear that no citizen of the United States can rightfully vote in any State of this Union who has not the qualifications required by the Constitution of the State in which the right is claimed to be exercised, except as to such conditions in the constitutions of such States as deny the right to vote to citizens resident therein "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

The adoption of the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution imposing these three limitations upon the power of the several States, was by necessary implication, a declaration that the States had the power to regulate by a uniform rule the conditions upon which the elective franchise should be exercised by citizens of the United States resident therein. The limitations specified in the fifteenth amendment exclude the conclusion that a State of this Union, having a government republican in form, may not prescribe conditions upon which alone citizens may vote other than those prohibited. It can hardly be said that a State law which excludes from voting women citizens, minor citizens, and non-resident citizens of the United States, on account of sex, minority or domicile, is a denial of the right to vote on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

It may be further added that the second section of the fourteenth amendment, by the provision that "when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors of President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, or executive and judicial officers of the State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, a citizen of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State," implies that the several States may restrict the elective franchise as to other than male citizens. In disposing of this question effect must be given, if possible, to every provision of the Constitution. Article 1, section 2, of the Constitution provides:

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

This provision has always been construed to vest in the several States the exclusive right to prescribe the qualifications of electors for the most numerous branch of the State legislature, and therefore for members of Congress. And this interpretation is supported by section 4, article 1, of the Constitution, which provides—

That the time, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations except as to the place of choosing Senators.

Now it is submitted, if it had been intended that Congress should prescribe the qualifications of electors, that the grant would have read: "The Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, and also prescribe the qualifications of electors, &c." The power, on the contrary, is limited exclusively to the time, place and manner, and does not extend to the qualification of the electors. This power to prescribe the qualification of electors in the several States has always been exercised, and is, to-day, by the several States of the Union; and we apprehend, until the Constitution shall be changed, will continue to be so exercised, subject only to the express limitations imposed by the Constitution upon the several States, before noticed. We are of opinion, therefore, that it is not competent for the Congress of the United States to establish by law the right to vote without regard to sex in the several States of this Union, without the consent of the people of such States, and against their constitutions and laws; and that such legislation would be, in our judgment, a violation of the Constitution of the United States, and of the rights reserved to the States respectively by the Constitution. Is it not undoubtedly the right of the people of the several States so to reform their constitutions and laws as to secure the equal exercise of the right of suffrage, at all elections held therein under the Constitution of the United States, to all citizens, without regard to sex; and as public opinion creates constitutions and governments in the several States, it is not to be doubted that whenever, in any State, the people are of opinion that such a reform is advisable, it will be made.

If, however, as is claimed in the memorial referred to, the right to vote "is vested by the Constitution in the citizens of the United States without regard to sex," that right can be established in the courts without further legislation.

The suggestion is made that Congress, by a mere declaratory act, shall say that the construction claimed in the memorial is the true construction of the Constitution, or in other words, that by the Constitution of the United States the right to vote is vested in citizens of the United States "without regard to sex," anything in the constitution and laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding. In the opinion of the committee, such declaratory act is not authorized by the Constitution nor within the legislative power of Congress. We therefore recommend the adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, That the prayer of the petitioner be not granted, that the memorial be laid on the table, and that the Committee on the Judiciary be discharged from the further consideration of the subject.

41ST CONGRESS, } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. { REPORT No. V.,
3d Session. } Part 2.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

FEBRUARY 1, 1871.—Ordered to be Printed.

Mr. LOUGHRIDGE, from the Committee on the Judiciary, submitted the following as the

VIEWS OF THE MINORITY.

In the matter of the Memorial of Victoria C. Woodhull, referred by the House to the Committee on the Judiciary, the undersigned, members of the Committee, being unable to agree to the report of the committee, present the following as their views upon the subject of the Memorial:

The memorialist sets forth that she is a native born citizen of the United States, and a resident thereof; that she is of adult age, and has resided in the State of New York for three years past; that by the Constitution of the United States she is guaranteed the right of suffrage; but that she is, by the laws of the State of New York, denied the exercise of that right; and that by the laws of different States and Territories the privilege of voting is denied to all the female citizens of the United States; and petitions for relief by the enactment of some law to enforce the provisions of the Constitution, by which such right is guaranteed.

The question presented is one of exceeding interest and importance, involving as it does the constitutional rights not only of the memorialist but of more than one half of the citizens of the United States—a question of constitutional law in which the civil and natural rights of the citizen are involved. Questions of property or of expediency have nothing to do with it. The question is not "Would it be expedient to extend the right of suffrage to women," but, "Have women citizens that right by the Constitution as it is."

A question of this kind should be met fairly and investigated in that generous and liberal spirit characteristic of the age, and decided upon principles of justice, of right, and of law.

It is claimed by many that to concede to woman the right of suffrage would be an innovation upon the laws of nature, and upon the theory and practice of the world for ages in the past, and especially an innovation upon the common law of England, which was originally the law of this country, and which is the foundation of our legal fabric.

If we were to admit the truth of this, it is yet no argument against the proposition, if the right claimed exists, and is established by the Constitution of the United States. The question is to be decided by the Constitution and the fundamental principles of our Government, and not by the usage and dogmas of the past.

It is a gratifying fact that the world is advancing in political science, and gradually adopting more liberal and rational theories of government.

The establishment of this Government upon the principles of the declaration of Independence was in itself a great innovation upon the theories and practice of the world, and opened a new chapter in the history of the human race, and its progress toward perfect civil and political liberty.

But it is not admitted that the universal usage of the past has been in opposition to the exercise of political power by women. The highest positions of civil power have from time to time been filled by women in all ages of the world, and the question of the right of woman to a voice in government is not a new one by any means, but has been agitated, and the right acknowledged and exercised, in governments far less free and liberal than ours.

In the Roman Republic, during its long and glorious career, women occupied a higher position, as to political rights and privileges, than in any other contemporaneous government. In England unmarried women have, by the laws of that country, always been competent to vote and to hold civil offices, if qualified in other respects; at least such is the weight of authority. In "Callis upon Sewers," an old English work, will be found a discussion of the question as to the right of women to hold office in England.

The learned and distinguished author uses the following language:

And for temporal governments I have observed women to have from time to time been admitted to the highest places; for in ancient Roman histories I find Eudocia and Theodora admitted at several times into the sole government of the empire; and here in England our late famous Queen Elizabeth, whose government was most renowned; and Semiramis governed Syria; and the Queen of the South, which came to visit Solomon, for anything that appears to the contrary, was a sole queen; and to fall a degree lower, we have precedents that King Richard the First and King Henry the Fifth appointed by commissions their mothers to be regents of this realm in their absence in France.

But yet I will descend a step lower; and doth not our law, temporal and spiritual, admit of women to be executrices and administratrixes? And thereby they have the rule or ordering of great estates, and many times they are guardianesses in chivalry, and have hereby also the government of many great heirs in the kingdom and of their own estates.

So by these cases it appeareth that the common law of this kingdom submitted many things to their government; yet the statute of justices of the peace is like to Jethro's counsel to Moses, for there they speak of men to be justices, and thereby seemeth to exclude women; but our statute of sewers is, "Commission of sewers shall be granted by the King to such person and persons as the lords should appoint." So the word persons stands indifferently for either sex. I am of the opinion, for the authorities, reasons and causes aforesaid, that this honorable countess being put into the commission of the sewers, the same is warrantable by the law; and the ordinances and decrees made by her and the other commissions of sewers are not to be impeached for that cause of her sex.

As it is said by a recent writer:

Even a present in England the idea of women holding official station is not so strange as in the United States. The Countess of Pembroke had the office of sheriff of Westmoreland and exercised it in person. At the assizes she sat with the judges on the bench. In a reported case it is stated by counsel and assented to by the court that a woman is capable of serving in almost all the offices of the kingdom.

As to the right of women to vote by the common law of England, the authorities are clear. In the English Law Magazine for 1868-'69, vol. 26, page 120, will be found reported the case of the application of JANE ALLEN, who claimed to be entered upon the list of voters of the Parish of St. Giles, under the reform act of 1867, which act provides as follows: Every man shall, in and after the year 1868, be entitled to be registered as a voter, and when registered to vote for a member or members to serve in Parliament, who is qualified as follows: 1st. Is of full age and not subject to any legal incapacity, &c., &c.

It was decided by the court that the claimant had the right to be registered and to vote; that by the English law, the term man, as used in that statute, included woman. In that case the common law of England upon that question was fully and ably reviewed, and we may be excused for quoting at some length:

And as to what has been said of there being no such adjudged cases, I must say that it is perfectly clear that not perhaps in either of three cases reported by Mr. Shaen, but in those of Catharine vs. Surry, Coates vs. Lyle, and Holt vs. Lyle, three cases of somewhat greater antiquity, the right of women freeholders was allowed by the courts. These three cases were decided by the judges in the reign of James I. (A. D. 1612). Although no printed report of them exists, I find that in the case of Olive vs. Ingraham, they were repeatedly cited by the lord chief justice of the Kings Bench in the course of four great arguments in that case, the case being reargued three times. (7 Mod., 264), and the greatest respect was manifested by the whole court for those precedents. Their importance is all the greater when we consider what the matter was upon which King James' judges sitting in Westminster Hall had to decide. It was not simply the case of a mere occupier, inhabitant, or scot or lot voter. Therefore the question did not turn upon the purport of a special custom, or a charter, or a local act of Parliament, or even of the common right in this or that borough. But it was that very matter and question which has been mooted in the dictum of Lord Coke, the freeholder's franchise in the shire, and upon that the decision in each case expressly was, that a feme sole shall vote if she hath a freehold, and that if she be not a feme sole, but a feme covert having freehold, then her husband during her coverture shall vote in her right. These, then, are so many express decisions which at once displace Lord Coke's unsupported assertion and declare the law so as to constrain my judgment. It is sometimes said, when reference is made to precedents of this kind, that they have never been approved by the bar. But that cannot be said of these. Hakewell, the contemporary of Lord Coke and one of the greatest of all parliamentary lawyers then living—for even Selden and Granville were not greater than Hakewell—left behind him the manuscript to which I have referred, with his comments on those cases.

Sir William Lee, chief justice, in his judgment in the case of Olive vs. Ingraham, expressly says that he had perused them, and that they contained the expression of Hakewell's entire approval of the principles upon which they were decided, and of the results deduced; and we have the statement of Lord Chief Justice Lee, who had carefully examined those cases, that in the case of Holt vs. Lyle, it was determined that a feme sole freeholder may claim a vote for Parliament men; but if married, her husband must vote for her.

In the case of Olive vs. Ingraham, Justice Probyn, says:

The case of Holt vs. Lyle, lately mentioned by our Lord Chief Justice, is a very strong case; "They who pay ought to choose whom they shall pay." And the Lord Chief Justice seemed to have assented to that general proposition, as authority for the correlative proposition, that "women, when

800e, had a right to vote." At all events, there is here the strongest possible evidence that in the reign of James I, the feme sole, being a freeholder of a country, or what is the same thing, of a county, of a city, or town, or borough, where, of custom, freeholders had the right to vote, not only had, but exercised the parliamentary franchise. If married, she could not vote in respect merely of her freehold, not because of the incapacities of coverture, but for this simple reason, that, by the act of marriage, which is an act of law, the title of the feme sole freeholder becomes vested for life in the husband. The qualification to vote was not personal, but real; consequently, her right to vote became suspended as soon and for as long as she was married; I am bound to consider that the question as to what weight is due to the dictum of my Lord Coke is entirely disposed of by those cases from the reign of James I and George II, and that the authority of the latter is unimpeached by any later authority, as the cases of Rex vs. Stubbs, and Regina vs. Aberavon, abundantly show.

In Austey's Notes on the New Reform Act of 1867, the authorities and precedents upon the right of women to vote in England are examined and summed up, and the author concludes:

It is submitted that the weight of authority is very greatly in favor of the female right of suffrage. Indeed, the authority against it is contained in the short and hasty dictum of Lord Coke, referred to above. It was set down by him in his last and least authoritative institute, and it is certain that he has been followed neither by the great lawyers of his time nor by the judiciary. The principles of the law in relation to the suffrage of females will be found in Coates vs. Lyle, Holt vs. Ingraham, and The King vs. Stubbs, cases decided under the strict rules for the construction of statutes.

It cannot be questioned that from time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, unmarried women have been by the laws of England competent voters, subject to the freehold qualification which applied alike to men and women. Married women could not vote because they were not freeholders; by the common law their property upon marriage became vested in the husband.

So that it appears that the admission of woman to participation in the affairs of government would not be so much of an innovation upon the theories and usage of the past as is by some supposed.

In England the theory was that in property representation, all property should be represented. Here the theory is that of personal representation, which, of course, if carried out fully, includes the representation of all property. In England, as we have seen, the owner of the property, whether male or female was entitled to representation, no distinction being made on account of sex. If the doctrine contended for by the majority of the committee be correct, then this Government is less liberal upon this question than the government of England has been for hundreds of years, for there is in this country a large class of citizens of adult age, and owners in their own right of large amounts of property, and who pay a large proportion of the taxes to support the Government, who are denied any representation whatever, either for themselves or their property—unmarried women, of whom it cannot be said that their interests are represented by their husbands. In their case, neither the English nor the American theory of representation is carried out, and this utter denial of representation is justified upon the ground alone that this class of citizens are women.

Surely we cannot be so much less liberal than our English ancestors! Surely the Constitution of this Republic does not sanction an injustice so indefensible as that!

By the fourteenth amendment of the Constitution of the United States, what constitutes citizenship of the United States, is for the first time declared, and who are included by the term citizen. Upon this question, before that time, there had been much discussion judicial, political and general, and no distinct and definite definition of qualification had been settled.

The people of the United States determined this question by the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution, which declares that—

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

This amendment, after declaring who are citizens of the United States, and thus fixing but one grade of citizenship, which insures to all citizens alike all the privileges, immunities and rights which accrue to that condition, goes on in the same section and prohibits these privileges and immunities from abridgment by the States.

Whatever these "privileges and immunities" are, they attach to the female citizen equally with the male. It is implied by this amendment that they are inherent, that they belong to citizenship as such, for they are not therein specified or enumerated.

The majority of the committee hold that the privileges guaranteed by the fourteenth amendment do not refer to any other than the privileges embraced in section 2, of article 4, of the original text.

The committee certainly did not duly consider this unjustified statement.

Section 2, of article 4, provides for the privileges of "citizens of the States," while the first section of the fourteenth amendment protects the privileges of "citizens of the United States." The terms citizens of the States and citizens of the United States are by no means convertible.

A circuit court of the United States seems to hold a different view of this question from that stated by the committee.

In the case of The Live Stock Association vs. Crescent City (1st Abbott, 396), Justice Bradley, of the Supreme Court of the United States, delivering the opinion, uses the following language in relation to the 1st clause of the 14th amendment:

The new prohibition that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States" is not identical with the clause in the Constitution which declared that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." It embraces much more.

It is possible that those who framed the article were not themselves aware of the far-reaching character of its terms, yet if the amendment does in fact bear a broader meaning, and does extend its protecting shield over those who were never thought of when it was conceived and put in form, and does reach social evils which were never before prohibited by constitutional enactment, it is to be presumed that the American people, in giving it their imprimatur, understood what they were doing and meant to decree what in fact they have decreed.

The "privileges and immunities" secured by the original Constitution were only such as each State gave to its own citizens, but the fourteenth amendment prohibits any State from abridging the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, whether its own citizens or any others. It not merely requires equality of privileges, but it demands that the privileges and immunities of all citizens shall be absolutely unbridged and unimpaired.

In the same opinion, after enumerating some of the "privileges" of the citizens, such as were pertinent to the case on trial, but declining to enumerate all, the court further says:

These privileges cannot be invaded without sapping the very foundation of republican government. A republican government is not merely a government of the people, but it is a free government. It was very ably contended on the part of the defendants that the fourteenth amendment was intended only to secure to all citizens equal capacities before the law. That was at first our view of it. But it does not so read. The language is, "No State shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." What are the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the United States? Are they capacities merely? Are they not also rights?

The court in this seems to intimate very strongly that the amendment was intended to secure the natural rights of citizens, as well as their equal capacities before the law.

In a case in the supreme court of Georgia, in 1869, the question was before the court whether a negro was competent to hold office in the State of Georgia. The case was ably argued on both sides, Mr. Akerman, the present Attorney General of the United States, being of counsel for the petitioner. Although the point was made and argued fully, that the right to vote and hold office were both included in the privileges and immunities of citizens, and were thus guaranteed by the fourteenth amendment, yet that point was not directly passed upon by the court, the court holding that under the laws and constitution of Georgia the negro citizen had the right claimed. In delivering the opinion, Chief Justice Brown said:

It is necessary to the decision of this case to inquire what are the "privileges and immunities" of a citizen, which are guaranteed by the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Whatever they may be, they are protected against all abridgement by legislation. Whether the "privileges and immunities" of the citizen embrace political rights, including the right to hold office, I need not now inquire. If they do, that right is guaranteed alike by the Constitution of the United States and of Georgia, and is beyond the control of the legislature.

In the opinion of Justice McKay, among other propositions, he lays down the following.

2d. The rights of the people of this State, white and black, are not granted to them by the constitution thereof; the object and effect of that instrument is not to give, but to restrain, deny, regulate and guarantee rights, and all persons recognized by that constitution as citizens of the State have equal, legal and political rights, except as otherwise expressly declared.

3d. It is the settled and uniform sense of the word "citizen," when used in reference to the citizens of the separate States of the United States, and to their rights as such citizens, that it describes a person entitled to every right, legal and political, enjoyed by any person in that State, unless there be some express exceptions made by positive law covering the particular persons, whose rights are in question.

In the course of the argument of this case, Mr. Akerman used the following language upon the point, as to whether citizenship carried with it the right to hold office:

"It may be profitable to inquire how the term (citizen) has been understood in Georgia. * * * It will be seen that men whom Georgians have been accustomed to revere believed that citizenship in Georgia carried with it the right to hold office in the absence of positive restrictions."

The majority of the committee having started out with the erroneous hypothesis that the term "privileges of citizens of the United States," as used in the fourteenth amendment, means no more than the term "privileges of citizens," as used in section 2 of article 4, discuss the question thus.

"The right of suffrage was not included in the privileges of citizens as used in section 2, article 4, therefore that right is not included in the privileges of citizens of the United States, as used in the fourteenth amendment."

Their premise being erroneous their whole argument fails. But if they were correct

in their premise, we yet claim that their second position is not sustained by the authorities, and is shown to be fallacious by a consideration of the principles of free government.

We claim that from the very nature of our government, the right of suffrage is a fundamental right of citizenship, not only included in the term "privileges of citizens of the United States," as used in the fourteenth amendment, but also included in the term as used in section 2 of article 4, and in this we claim we are sustained both by the authorities and by reason.

In *Abbott vs. Bayley*, (6 Pick., 92,) the supreme court of Massachusetts says:

"The privileges and immunities" secured to the people of each State, in every other State, can be applied only to the case of a removal from one State into another. By such removal they become citizens of the adopted State without naturalization and have a right to sue and be sued as citizens; and yet this privilege is qualified and not absolute, for they cannot enjoy the right of suffrage or eligibility to office without such term of residence as shall be prescribed by the constitution and laws of the State into which they shall remove.

This case fully recognizes the right of suffrage as one of the "privileges of the citizen," subject to the right of the State to regulate as to the term of residence—the same principle was laid down in *Corfield vs. Correll*.

In the case of *Corfield vs. Correll* in the Supreme Court of the United States, Justice Washington, in delivering the opinion of the court, used the following language.

"The privilege and immunities conceded by the Constitution of the United States to citizens in the several States," are to be confined to those which are in their nature fundamental, and belong of right to the citizens of all free governments. Such are the rights of protection of life and liberty, and to acquire and enjoy property, and to pay no higher impositions than other citizens, and to pass through or reside in the State at pleasure, and to enjoy the elective franchise as regulated and established by the laws or constitution of the State in which it is to be exercised.

And this is cited approvingly by Chancellor Kent. (2 Kent, sec. 72.)

This case is cited by the majority of the committee, as sustaining their view of the law, but we are unable so to understand it. It is for them an exceedingly unfortunate citation.

In that case the court enumerated some of the "privileges of citizens," such as are "in their nature fundamental and belong of right to the citizens of all free governments," (mark the language), and among those rights, place the "right of the elective franchise" in the same category with those great rights of life, liberty and property. And yet the committee cite this case to show that this right is not a fundamental right of the citizen!

But it is added by the court that the right of the elective franchise, "is to be enjoyed as regulated and established by the State in which it is to be exercised."

These words are supposed to qualify the right, or rather take it out of the list of fundamental rights, where the court had just placed it. The court is made to say by this attempt in the same sentence, "the elective franchise is a fundamental right of the citizen, and it is not a fundamental right." It is a "fundamental right," provided the State sees fit to grant the right. It is a "fundamental right of the citizen," but it does not exist, unless the laws of the State give it. A singular species of "fundamental rights!" Is there not a clear distinction between the regulation of a right and its destruction? The State may regulate the right, but it may not destroy it.

What is the meaning of "regulate" and "establish?" Webster says:—Regulate—to put in good order. Establish—to make stable or firm.

This decision then is, that "the elective franchise is a fundamental right of the citizen of all free governments, to be enjoyed by the citizen, under such laws as the State may enact to regulate the right and make it stable or firm." Chancellor Kent in the section referred to, in giving the substance of this opinion, leaves out the word establish, regarding the word regulate as sufficiently giving the meaning of the court.

This case is, in our opinion, a very strong one against the theory of the majority of the committee.

The committee cite the language of Mr. Webster, as counsel in *United States vs. Primrose*.

We indorse every word in that extract. We do not claim that a citizen of Pennsylvania can go into Virginia and vote in Virginia, being a citizen of Pennsylvania. No person has ever contended for such an absurdity. We claim that when the citizen of the United States becomes a citizen of Virginia, that the State of Virginia has neither right nor power to abridge the privileges of such citizen by denying him entirely the right of suffrage, and thus all political rights. The authorities cited by the majority of the committee do not seem to meet the case—certainly do not sustain their theory.

The case of *Cooper vs. The Mayor of Savannah*, (4 Geo., 72) involved the question whether a free negro was a citizen of the United States? The court, in the opinion says:

Free persons of color have never been recognized as citizens of Georgia; they are not entitled to bear arms, vote for members of the legislature, or hold any civil office; they have no political rights, but have personal rights, one of which is personal liberty.

That they could not vote, hold office, &c., was held evidence that they were not regarded as citizens.

In the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of *Scott vs. Sanford*, (19 Howard, p. 476,) Mr. Justice Daniel, in delivering his opinion, used the following language as to the rights and qualities of citizenship:

For who it may be asked is a citizen? What do the character and status of citizens import? Without fear of contradiction, it does not import the condition of being private property, the subject of individual power and ownership. Upon a principle of etymology alone, the term citizen, as derived from *ciuitas*, conveys the idea of connection or identification with the State or government, and a participation in its functions. But beyond this there is not, it is believed, to be found, in the theories of writers on government, or in any actual experiment heretofore tried, an exposition of the term citizen which has not been understood as conferring the actual possession and enjoyment, or the perfect right of acquisition and enjoyment, of an entire equality of privileges, civil and political.

And in the same case Chief Justice Taney said: "The words 'people of the United States' and 'citizens' are synonymous terms, and mean the same thing; they both describe the political body, who, according to our republican institutions, form the sovereignty, and who hold the power, and conduct the Government through their representatives. They are what we familiarly call the sovereign people, and every citizen is one of this people, and a constituent member of this sovereignty." (19 Howard, 404.)

In an important case in the Supreme Court of the United States, Chief Justice Jay, in delivering the opinion of the court, said: "At the Revolution the sovereignty devolved on the people, and they are truly the sovereigns of the country, but they are sovereigns without subjects, (unless the African slaves may be so called,) and have none to govern but themselves. The citizens of America are equal as fellow-citizens, and joint tenants of the sovereignty." (Chisholm vs. Georgia, 2 Dallas, 470.)

In *Conner vs. Elliott*, (18 Howard,) Justice Curtis, in declining to give an enumeration of all the "privileges" of the citizen, said "According to the express words and clear meaning of the clause, no privileges are secured except those that belong to citizenship."

The Supreme Court said, in *Corfield vs. Coryell*, that the elective franchise is such privilege; therefore, according to Justice Curtis, it belongs to citizenship. In a case in the Supreme Court of Kentucky, (1 Littell's Ky. Reports, p. 333,) the court say:

No one can, therefore, in the correct sense of the term be a citizen of a State who is not entitled upon the terms prescribed by the institutions of the State to all the rights and privileges conferred by these institutions upon the highest class of society.

Mr. Wirt, when Attorney General of the United States, in an official opinion to be found on p. 508, 1st volume Opinions of Attorney Generals, came to the conclusion that the negroes were not citizens of the United States, for the reason that they had very few of the "privileges" of citizens, and among the "privileges of citizens" of which they were deprived, that they could not vote at any election.

Webster defines a citizen to be a person, native or naturalized, who has the privilege of voting for public officers, and who is qualified to fill offices in the gift of the people.

Worcester defines the word thus: "An inhabitant of a republic who enjoys the rights of a citizen or freeman, and who has a right to vote for public officers as a citizen of the United States."

Bouvier, in his Law Dictionary, defines the term citizen thus: "One who, under the Constitution and laws of the United States, has a right to vote for Representatives in Congress and other public officers, and who is qualified to fill offices in the gift of the people."

Aristotle defines a "citizen" to be one who is a partner in the legislative and judicial power, and who shares in the honors of the state." (Aristotle de Repub., lib. 3, cap. 5, D.)

The essential properties of Athenian citizenship consisted in the share possessed by every citizen in the legislature, in the election of magistrates and in the courts of justice. (See Smith's Dictionary of Greek Antiquities, p. 289.)

The possession of the *jus suffragii*, at least, if not also of the *jus honorum*, is the principle which governs at this day in defining citizenship in the countries deriving their jurisprudence from the civil law. (Wheaton's International Law, p. 892.)

The Dutch publicist, Thorbecke, says:

What constitutes the distinctive character of our epoch is the development of the right of citizenship. In its most extended, as well as its most restricted sense, it includes a great many properties.

The right of citizenship is the right of voting in the government of the local, provincial or national community of which one is a member. In this last sense the right of citizenship signifies a participation in the right of voting, in the general government, as member of the State.

(Rev. & Fr. Etr., tom. v, p. 383.)

In a recent work of some research, written in opposition to female suffrage, the

author takes the ground that women are not citizens, and urges that as a reason why they can properly be denied the elective franchise, his theory being that if full citizens they would be entitled to the ballot. He uses the following language:

It is a question about which there may be some diversity of opinion what constitutes citizenship or who are citizens. In a loose and improper sense the word citizen is sometimes used to denote any inhabitant of the country, but this is not a correct use of the word. Those, and no others, are properly citizens who were parties to the original compact by which the government was formed, or their successors who are qualified to take part in the affairs of government by their votes in the election of public officers.

Women and children are represented by their domestic directors or heads in whose wills theirs is supposed to be included. They, as well as others not entitled to vote, are not properly citizens, but are members of the State, fully entitled to the protection of its laws. A citizen, then, is a person entitled to vote in the elections. He is one of those in whom the sovereign power of the State resides. (Jones on Suffrage, p. 48.)

But all such fallacious theories as this are swept away by the fourteenth amendment, which abolishes the theory of different grades of citizenship, or different grades of rights and privileges, and declares all persons born in the country or naturalized in it to be citizens, in the broadest and fullest sense of the term, leaving no room for cavil, and guaranteeing to all citizens the rights and privileges of citizens of the republic.

We think we are justified in saying that the weight of authority sustains us in the view we take of this question. But considering the nature of it, it is a question depending much for its solution upon a consideration of the government under which citizenship is claimed. Citizenship in Turkey or Russia is essentially different in its rights and privileges from citizenship in the United States. In the former, citizenship means no more than the right to the protection of his absolute rights, and the "citizen" is a subject; nothing more. Here, in the language of Chief Justice Jay, there are no subjects. All, native-born and naturalized, are citizens of the highest class; here all citizens are sovereigns, each citizen bearing a portion of the supreme sovereignty, and therefore it must necessarily be that the right to a voice in the Government is the right and privilege of a citizen as such, and that which is undefined in the Constitution is undefined because it is self-evident.

Could a State disfranchise and deprive of the right to a vote all citizens who have red hair; or all citizens under six feet in height? All will consent that the States could not make such arbitrary distinctions the ground for denial of political privileges; that it would be a violation of the first article of the fourteenth amendment; that it would be abridging the privileges of citizens. And yet the denial of the elective franchise to citizens on account of sex is equally as arbitrary as the distinction on account of stature, or color of hair, or any other physical distinction.

These privileges of the citizen exist independent of the Constitution. They are not derived from the Constitution or the laws, but are the means of asserting and protecting rights that existed before any civil governments were formed—the right of life, liberty and property. Says Paine, in his Dissertation upon the Principles of Government:

The right of voting for representatives is the primary right, by which other rights are protected. To take away this right is to reduce man to a state of slavery, for slavery consists in being subject to the will of another; and he that has not a vote in the election of representatives is, in this case. The proposal, therefore, to disfranchise any class of men is as criminal as the proposal to take away property.

In a state of nature, before governments were formed, each person possessed the natural right to defend his liberty, his life and his property from the aggressions of his fellow men. When he enters into the free government he does not surrender that right, but agrees to exercise it, not by brute force, but by the ballot, by his individual voice in making the laws that dispose of, control and regulate those rights.

The right to a voice in the government is but the natural right of protection of one's life, liberty and property, by personal strength and brute force, so modified as to be exercised in the form of a vote, through the machinery of a free government.

The right of self-protection, it will not be denied, exists in all equally in a state of nature, and the substitute for it exists equally in all the citizens after a free government is formed, for the free government is by all and for all.

The people "ordained and established" the Constitution. Such is the language of the preamble. "We, the people." Can it be said that the people acquire their privileges from the instrument that they themselves establish? Does the creature extend rights, privileges, and immunities to the creator? No; the people retain all the rights which they have not surrendered; and if the people have not given to the Government the power to deprive them of their elective franchise, they possess it by virtue of citizenship.

The true theory of this Government, and of all free governments, was laid down by our fathers in the Declaration of Independence, and declared to be "self-evident." "All men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving all their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Here is the great truth, the vital principle, upon which our Government is founded, and which demonstrates that the right of a voice in the conduct of the government, and the selection of the rulers, is a right and privilege of all citizens.

Another of the self-evident truths laid down in that instrument is:

That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

How can the people carry out this right without the exercise of the ballot; and is not the ballot then a fundamental right and a privilege of the citizen, not given to him by the Constitution, but inherent, as a necessity, from the very nature of government?

Benjamin Franklin wrote:

That every man of the commonalty, except infants, insane persons, and criminals, is, of common right, and by the laws of God, a freeman, and entitled to the free enjoyment of liberty. That liberty or freedom consists in having an actual share in the appointment of those who frame the laws, and who are to be the guardians of every man's life, property, and peace, for the all of one man is as dear to him as the all of another, and the poor man has an equal right but more need to have representatives in the legislature than the rich one. That they who have no voice nor vote in the electing of representatives do not enjoy liberty, but are absolutely enslaved to those who have votes and to their representatives; for to be enslaved is to have governors whom other men have set over us, and be subject to laws made by the representatives of others, without having had representatives of our own to give consent in our behalf.—Franklin's Works, vol. 2, p. 372.

James Madison said:

Under every view of the subject it seems indispensable that the mass of the citizens should not be without a voice in making the laws which they are to obey, and in choosing the magistrates who are to administer them.—Madison Papers, vol. 3, p. 14.

Taxation without representation is abhorrent to every principle of natural or civil liberty. It was this injustice that drove our fathers into revolution against the mother country.

The very act of taxing exercised over those who are not represented appears to me to be depriving them of one of their most essential rights as freemen, and if continued, seems to be, in effect, an entire disfranchisement of every civil right. For what one civil right is worth a rush after a man's property is subject to be taken from him at pleasure without his consent? If a man is not his own assessor, in person or by deputy, his liberty is gone, or he is entirely at the mercy of others.—Ollis's Rights of the Colonies, p. 53.

Nor are these principles original with the people of this country. Long before they were ever uttered on this continent they were declared by Englishmen. Said Lord Summers, a truly great lawyer of England:

Amongst all the rights and privileges appertaining unto us, that of having a share in the legislation, and being governed by such laws as we ourselves shall cause, is the most fundamental and essential, as well as the most advantageous and beneficial.

Said the learned and profound Hooker:

By the natural law whereunto Almighty God hath made all subject, the lawful power of making laws to command whole polities societies of men, belongeth so properly unto the same entire societies, that for any prince or potentate of what kind soever upon earth to exercise the same of himself, (or themselves,) and not either by express commission immediately received from God, or else by authority derived at the first from their consent upon whose persons they impose laws, it is no better than mere tyranny! Agreeable to the same just privileges of natural equity, is that maxim for the English constitution, that "Law to bind all must be assented to by all;" and there can be no legal appearance of assent without some degree of representation.

The great champion of liberty, Granville Sharpe, declared that—

All British subjects, whether in Great Britain, Ireland, or the colonies, are equally free by the laws of nature; they certainly are equally entitled to the same natural rights that are essential for their own preservation, because this privilege of "having a share in the legislation" is not merely a British right, peculiar to this island, but it is also a natural right, which cannot without the most flagrant and stimulating injustice be withdrawn from any part of the British empire by any worldly authority whatsoever.

No tax can be levied without manifest robbery and injustice where this legal and constitutional representation is wanting, because the English law abhors the idea of taking the least property from freemen without their free consent.

It is iniquitous (iniquum est, says the maxim) that freemen should not have the free disposal of their own effects, and whatever is iniquitous can never be made lawful by any authority on earth, not even by the united authority of king, lords, and commons, for that would be contrary to the eternal laws of God, which are supreme.

In an essay upon the "first principles of government," by Priestly, an English writer of great ability, written over a century since, is the following definition of political liberty:

Political liberty I would say, consists in power, which the members of the state reserve to themselves, of arriving at the public offices, or at least of having votes in the nomination of those who fill them.

In countries where every member of the society enjoys an equal power of arriving at the sub-

preme offices, and consequently of directing the strength and sentiments of the whole community, there is a state of the most perfect political liberty.

On the other hand, in countries where a man is excluded from these offices, or from the power of voting for proper persons to fill them, *that man*, whatever be the form of the government, has no share in the government and therefore has no political liberty at all. And since every man retains and can never be deprived of his natural right of relieving himself from all oppression, that is, from everything that has been imposed upon him without his own consent, this must be the only true and proper foundation of all the governments subsisting in the world, and that to which the people who compose them have an inalienable right to bring them back.

It was from these great champions of liberty in England that our forefathers received their inspiration and the principles which they adopted, incorporated into the Declaration of Independence, and made the foundation and framework of our Government. And yet it is claimed that we have a Government which tramples upon these elementary principles of political liberty, in denying to one-half its adult citizens all political liberty, and subjecting them to the tyranny of taxation without representation. It cannot be.

When we desire to construe the Constitution, or to ascertain the powers of the Government and the rights of the citizens, it is legitimate and necessary to recur to those principles and make them the guide in such investigation.

It is an oft-repeated maxim set forth in the bills of rights of many of the State constitutions that "the frequent recurrence to fundamental principles is necessary for the preservation of liberty and good government."

Recurring to those principles, so plain, so natural, so like political axioms, it would seem that to say that one-half the citizens of this republican Government, simply and only on account of their sex, can legally be denied the right to a voice in the Government, the laws of which they are held to obey, and which takes from them their property by taxation, is so flagrantly in opposition to the principles of free government, and the theory of political liberty, that no man could seriously advocate it.

But it is said in opposition to the "citizen's right" of suffrage that at the time of the establishment of the Constitution, women were in all the States denied the right of voting, and that no one claimed at the time that the Constitution of the United States would change their status; that if such a change was intended it would have been explicitly declared in the Constitution or at least carried into practice by those who framed the Constitution, and, therefore, such a construction of it is against what must have been the intention of the framers.

This is a very unsafe rule of construction. As has been said, the Constitution necessarily deals in general principles; these principles are to be carried out to their legitimate conclusion and result by legislation, and we are to judge of the intention of those who established the Constitution by what they say, guided by what they declare on the face of the instrument to be their object.

It is said by Judge Story, in Story on Constitution, "Contemporary construction is properly resorted to to illustrate and confirm the text. * * It can never abrogate the text; it can never fritter away its obvious sense; it can never narrow down its true limitations."

It is a well-settled rule that in the construction of the Constitution, the objects for which it was established, being expressed in the instrument, should have great influence; and when words and phrases are used which are capable of different constructions, that construction should be given which is the most consonant with the declared objects of the instrument.

We go to the preamble to ascertain the objects and purpose of the instrument. Webster defines preamble thus: "The introductory part of a statute, which states the reason and intent of the law."

In the preamble, then, more certainly than in any other way, aside from the language of the instrument, we find the intent.

Judge Story says:

The importance of examining the preamble for the purpose of expounding the language of a statute has been long felt and universally conceded in all juridical discussion. It is an admitted maxim * * that the preamble is a key to open the mind of the makers as to the mischief to be remedied and the objects to be accomplished by the statute. * * It is properly resorted to where doubts or ambiguities arise upon the words of the enacting part, for if they are clear and unambiguous, there seems little room for interpretation, except in cases leading to an obvious absurdity or to a direct overthrow of the intention expressed in the preamble. (Story on the Constitution, sec. 457.)

Try this question by a consideration of the objects for which the Constitution was established, as set forth in the preamble, "to establish justice." Does it establish justice to deprive of all representation or voice in the Government one-half of its adult citizens and compel them to pay taxes to and support a Government in which they have no representation? Is "taxation without representation" justice established?

"To insure domestic tranquillity." Does it insure domestic tranquillity to give all the political power to one class of citizens, and deprive another class of any participation in the government? No. The sure means of tranquillity is to give "equal political rights to all," that all may stand "equal before the law."

"To provide for the common defense." We have seen that the only defense the citizen has against oppression and wrong is by his voice and vote in the selection of the rulers and law makers. Does it, then, "provide for the common defense," to deny to one half the adult citizens of the republic that voice and vote?

"To secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." As has been already said, there can be no political liberty to any citizen deprived of a voice in the government. This is self-evident; it needs no demonstration. Does it, then, "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity," to deprive one half the citizens of adult age of this right and privilege?

Tried by the expressed objects for which the Constitution was established, as declared by the people themselves, this denial to the women citizens of the country of the right and privilege of voting is directly in contravention of these objects, and must, therefore, be contrary to the spirit and letter of the entire instrument.

And according to rule of construction referred to, no "contemporaneous construction," however universal it may be, can be allowed to set aside the expressed objects of the makers, as declared in the instrument. The construction which we claim for the 1st section of the fourteenth amendment is in perfect accord with those expressed objects; and even if there were anything in the original text of the Constitution at variance with the true construction of that section, the amendment must control. Yet we believe that there is nothing in the original text at variance with what we claim to be the true construction of the amendment.

It is claimed by the majority of the committee that the adoption of the fifteenth amendment was by necessary implication a declaration that the States had the power to deny the right of suffrage to citizens for any other reasons than those of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

We deny that the fundamental rights of the American citizen can be taken away by "implication."

There is no such law for the construction of the Constitution of our country. The law is the reverse—that the fundamental rights of citizens are not to be taken away by implication, and a constitutional provision for the protection of one class can certainly not be used to destroy or impair the same rights in another class.

It is too violent a construction of an amendment, which prohibits States from, or the United States from, abridging the right of a citizen to vote, by reason of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, to say that by implication it conceded to the States the power to deny that right for any other reason. On that theory the States could confine the right of suffrage to a small minority, and make the State government aristocratic, overthrowing their republican form.

The fifteenth article of amendment to the Constitution clearly recognizes the right to vote, as one of the rights of a citizen of the United States. This is the language:

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

Here is stated, first, the existence of a right. Second, its nature. Whose right is it? The right of citizens of the United States. What is the right? The right to vote. And this right of citizens of the United States, States are forbidden to abridge. Can there be a more direct recognition of a right? Can that be abridged which does not exist? The denial of the power to abridge the right, recognizes the existence of the right. Is it said that this right exists by virtue of State citizenship, and State laws and Constitutions? Mark the language: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote," not citizens of States. The right is recognized as existing independent of State citizenship.

But it may be said, if the States had no power to abridge the right of suffrage, why the necessity of prohibiting them?

There may not have been a necessity; it may have been done through caution, and because the peculiar condition of the colored citizens at that time rendered it necessary to place their rights beyond doubt or cavil.

It is laid down as a rule of construction by Judge Story that the natural import of a single clause is not to be narrowed so as to exclude implied powers resulting from its character simply because there is another clause which enumerates certain powers which might otherwise be deemed implied powers within its scope, for in such cases we are not to assume that the affirmative specification excludes all other implications. (2d Story on Constitution, sec. 449.)

There are numerous instances in the Constitution where a general power is given to Congress, and afterward a particular power given, which was included in the former; yet the general power is not to be narrowed, because the particular power is given. On

this same principle the fact that by the fifteenth amendment the States are specifically forbidden to deny the right of suffrage on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, does not narrow the general provision in the fourteenth amendment which guarantees the privileges of all the citizens against abridgment by the States on any account.

The rule of interpretation relied upon by the committee in their construction of the fifteenth amendment is, "that the expression of one thing is the exclusion of another," or the specification of particulars is the exclusion of generals.

Of these maxims Judge Story says:

They are susceptible of being applied, and often are ingeniously applied, to the subversion of the text and the objects of the instrument. The truth is, in order to ascertain how far an affirmative or negative provision excludes or implies others, we must look to the nature of the provision, the subject-matter, the objects, and the scope of the instrument; these and these only can properly determine the rule of construction. (2 Story, 443.)

It is claimed by the committee that the second section of the fourteenth amendment implies that the several States may restrict the right of suffrage as to other than male citizens. We may say of this as we have said of the theory of the committee upon the effect of the fifteenth amendment. It is a proposal to take away from the citizens guarantees of fundamental rights, by implication, which have been previously given in absolute terms.

The first section includes all citizens in its guarantees, and includes all the "privileges and immunities" of citizenship and guards them against abridgment, and under no recognized or reasonable rule of construction can it be claimed that by implication from the provisions of the second section the States may not only abridge but entirely destroy one of the highest privileges of the citizen to one half the citizens of the country. What we have said in relation to the committee's construction of the effect of the fifteenth amendment applies equally to this.

The object of the first section of this amendment was to secure all the rights, privileges, and immunities of all the citizens against invasion by the States. The object of the second section was to fix a rule or system of apportionment for Representatives and taxation; and the provision referred to, in relation to the exclusion of males from the right of suffrage, might be regarded as in the nature of a penalty in case of denial of that right to that class. While it, to a certain extent, protected that class of citizens, it left the others where the previous provisions of the constitution placed them. To protect the colored man more fully than was done by that penalty was the object of the fifteenth amendment.

In no event can it be said to be more than the recognition of an existing fact, that only the male citizens were, by the State laws, allowed to vote, and that existing order of things was recognized in the rule of representation, just as the institution of slavery was recognized in the original Constitution, in the article fixing the basis of representation, by the provision that only three-fifths of all the slaves ("other persons") should be counted. There slavery was recognized as an existing fact, and yet the Constitution never sanctioned slavery, but, on the contrary, had it been carried out according to its true construction, slavery could not have existed under it; so that the recognition of facts in the Constitution must not be held to be a sanction of what is so recognized.

The majority of the committee say that this section implies that the States may deny suffrage to others than male citizens. If it implies anything it implies that the States may deny the franchise to all the citizens. It does not provide that they shall not deny the right to male citizens, but only provides that if they do so deny they shall not have representation for them.

So, according to that argument, by the second section of the fourteenth amendment the power of the States is conceded to entirely take away the right of suffrage, even from that privileged class, the male citizens. And thus this rule of "implication" goes too far, and fritters away all the guarantees of the Constitution of the right of suffrage, the highest of the privileges of the citizen; and herein is demonstrated the reason and safety of the rule that fundamental rights are not to be taken away by implication, but only by express provision.

When the advocates of a privileged class of citizens under the Constitution are driven to implication to sustain the theory of taxation without representation, and American citizenship without political liberty, the cause must be weak indeed.

It is claimed by the majority that by section 2, article 1, the Constitution recognizes the power in States to declare who shall and who shall not exercise the elective franchise. That section reads as follows:

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

The first clause of this section declares who shall choose the Representatives—mark the language—"Representatives shall be chosen by the people of the States," not by the male people, not by certain classes of the people, but by the people; so that the construction sought to be given this section, by which it would recognize the power of the State to disfranchise one-half the citizens, as in direct contravention of the first clause of the section, and of its whole spirit, as well as of the objects of the instrument. The States clearly have no power to nullify the express provisions that the election shall be by the people, by any laws limiting the election to a moiety of the people.

It is true the section recognizes the power in the State to regulate the qualifications of the electors; but as we have already said, the power to regulate is a very different thing from the power to destroy.

The two clauses must be taken together, and both considered in connection with the declared purpose and objects of the constitution.

The Constitution is necessarily confined to the statement of general principles. There are regulations necessary to be made as to the qualifications of voters, as to their proper age, their domicile, the length of residence necessary to entitle the citizen to vote in a given State or place. These particulars could not be provided in the Constitution but are necessarily left to the States, and this section is thus construed as to be in harmony with itself, and with the expressed objects of the framers of the Constitution and the principles of free government.

When the majority of the committee can demonstrate that "the people of the States," and one-half the people of the States, are equivalent terms, or that when the Constitution provides that the Representatives shall be elected by the people, its requirements are met by an election in which less than one-half the adult people are allowed to vote, then it will be admitted that this section, to some extent sustains them.

The committee say, that if it had been intended that Congress should prescribe the qualifications of electors, the grant would have given Congress that power specifically. We do not claim that Congress has that power; on the contrary, admit that the States have it; but the section of the Constitution does prescribe who the electors shall be. That is what we claim—nothing more. They shall be "the people;" their qualifications may be regulated by the States; but to the claim of the majority of the committee that they may be "qualified" out of existence, we cannot assent.

We are told that the acquiescence by the people, since the adoption of the Constitution, in the denial of political rights to women citizens, and the general understanding that such denial was in conformity with the Constitution, should be taken to settle the construction of that instrument.

Any force this argument may have it can only apply to the original text, and not to the fourteenth amendment, which is of but recent date.

But, as a general principle, this theory is fallacious. It would stop all political progress; it would put an end to all original thought, and put the people under that tyranny with which the friends of liberty have always had to contend—the tyranny of precedent.

From the beginning, our Government has been right in theory, but wrong in practice. The Constitution, had it been carried out in its true spirit, and its principles enforced, would have stricken the chains from every slave in the republic long since. Yet, for all this, it was but a few years since declared, by the highest judicial tribunal of the republic, that, according to the "general understanding," the black man in this country had no rights the white man was bound to respect. General understanding and acquiescence is a very unsafe rule by which to try questions of constitutional law, and precedents are not infallible guides toward liberty and the rights of man.

Without any law to authorize it, slavery existed in England, and was sustained and perpetuated by popular opinion, universal custom, and the acquiescence of all departments of the government as well as by the subjects of its oppression. A few fearless champions of liberty struggled against the universal sentiment, and contended that, by the laws of England slavery could not exist in the kingdom; and though for years unable to obtain a hearing in any British court, the *Somerset* case was finally tried in the Court of King's Bench in 1771, Lord Mansfield presiding, wherein that great and good man, after a long and patient hearing, declared that no law of England allowed or approved of slavery, and discharged the negro. And it was then judicially declared that no slave could breathe upon the soil of England, although slavery had up to that time existed for centuries, under the then existing laws. The laws were right, but the practice and public opinion were wrong.

It is said by the majority of the committee that "if the right of female citizens to suffrage is vested by the Constitution, that right can be established in the courts."

© We respectfully submit that, with regard to the competency and qualification of electors for members of this House, the courts have no jurisdiction.

This House is the sole judge of the election return and qualification of its own members (article 1, section 5, of Constitution), and it is for the House alone to decide upon a contest, who are, and who are not, competent and qualified to vote. The judicial department cannot thus invade the prerogatives of the political department.

And it is therefore perfectly proper, in our opinion, for the House to pass a declaratory resolution, which would be an index to the action of the House, should the question be brought before it by a contest for a seat.

We, therefore, recommend to the House the adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, by the House of Representatives, That the right of suffrage is one of the inalienable rights of citizens of the United States, subject to regulation by the States, through equal and just laws.

That this right is included in the "privileges of citizens of the United States," which are guaranteed by section 1 of article 14 of amendments to the Constitution of the United States; and that women citizens, who are otherwise qualified by the laws of the State where they reside, are competent voters for Representatives in Congress.

WM. LOUGHRIDGE.
BENJ. F. BUTLER.

H. REP. 22, pt. 2—2.

BY AND BY:

AN HISTORICAL ROMANCE OF THE FUTURE.

BY EDWARD MAITLAND.

BOOK III. CHAPTER XII.—CONTINUED.

The Chief of the Sanhedrim here raised his bent form to its full height, and glancing round on the assembly as if with conscious pride in the supreme importance of the words he was about to utter, said:

"Then, since these invaluable crown-jewels are your very own, as well as means ample enough to have purchased them if they had not been so; and since you are, next to the Prince of Abyssinia and Emperor of Soudan, the sole survivor of a royal race in Israel, I, on behalf of my brethren of the Sanhedrim, and the people of Palestine as represented by a quorum of the Stock Exchange of Jerusalem here assembled, do invite you to solve the difficulty which has long operated to the national disadvantage, and accept the throne of Syria and the adjoining provinces of Persia, Arabia and the Euphrates. You have yourself proved that the Sacred Talisman of Solomon in your own, by a treble or quadruple right. The lawful possessor of that talisman alone is worthy to sit on the throne of David and Solomon, ruling the tribes of Israel."

As he concluded, loud acclaims rent the air, and many a hoary head bowed in thankfulness, and many a lip trembling with emotion uttered the ancient expression of supreme content, "Now can I depart in peace, having seen the salvation of Israel."

The Prince of Soudan, however, was observed to turn very pale, doubtless thinking that the boasted heirloom of his race had now in very deed departed from him forever.

The first attempt of the new-found Prince of Israel to reply to this flattering proposal was lost in the hubbub of voices congratulating each other on the successful issue to a long and difficult search; for, as all the world knows, it needs but a sovereign worthy to sit on the throne of Jerusalem to consolidate a great Eastern empire under Jewish sway.

On essaying a second time to make himself heard, for none heeded his answer, taking for granted its affirmative character, the elder Englishman was observed to say something as if in remonstrance to the prospective monarch of the Orient. When, after this, he obtained a hearing, he said, with becoming modesty, that a proposition of such magnitude was one for deliberating upon, for which a certain time was necessary. Let the meeting be adjourned, and perhaps on the following day he would be prepared to communicate his decision to the authorities.

The Assembly then broke up without any resolution being come to respecting the express object of its meeting, the greater and nearer event having rendered cool deliberation for the present impossible. We hope in our issue of to-morrow evening to communicate to our readers and the world the great news that at length "a king rules in Zion, and hath gathered the peoples under his wings," as saith one of our ancient poets.

CHAPTER XIII.

It was, perhaps, fortunate that beside Bertie and the Prince only one person in the whole assembly caught the remark which Criss had first uttered in reply to the proposition last made to him. The person was the President himself, who, fascinated as it were by the presence of his new-found son, suffered no word or look of Criss' to escape him. Criss' exclamation had been to the effect that he seemed to have lighted upon a congregation of Judases. It was at Bertie's entreaty that he abstained from repeating the remark so as to be heard by all.

As the assembly began to disperse a messenger approached Criss and said that the President earnestly desired his attendance in an adjoining chamber. Criss paused but to hold a few moments' conversation with Bertie and the Prince, and then went to meet his father.

"Child of my Zoe!" exclaimed the latter advancing to embrace him, "the shock of joy on recognizing you just now had well nigh killed me. Even yet am I feeble through its effects. But you still look somewhat coldly on me. Do you doubt that I am your father?"

"I do not doubt it," said Criss, "though it was only during the last hour, and by means of certain relics which I obtained from the Lebanon, that I have been led to recognize you. This portrait was carefully treasured by her. It is evidently the portrait of yourself."

"Living image of her that you are, with just a trace of myself and my own Greek lineament, behold here the companion picture to that—the picture of her, which has never left my breast, even as she has never vanished from my heart."

And he placed in Criss's hands an exquisite likeness of the unfortunate Zoe.

Earnestly and tearfully Criss gazed upon his mother's picture, but he still failed to respond to his father's demonstrations of affection. The latter perceived his coldness and sought to know the cause.

"You are reproaching me in your mind for the neglect of which you consider me to have been guilty in regard to you," he said, "but believe me, I have sought and sought in vain to ascertain what had become of my lost wife and her father. All that I could ascertain was, that shortly after their ascent from Damascus a tremendous hurricane occurred, and they were never seen again. You were not born then, you know, though your birth was expected. As it was, you must have made your appearance too soon. Our marriage was a concealed one. Zoe continue to live with her father, who was truly a man to be dreaded, by me as well as by her, and we were tortured with anxiety to keep her condition a secret from him. Believe me, I do not deserve your reproach on the score of neglect."

"My father," replied Criss, with emotion, "you have failed utterly to divine the nature of the feeling which divides us. I have to thank you, and I do thank and bless you, for having infused into me that admixture of Greek blood which has saved me from having a sordid nature, and enabled me to recognize the supremacy of beauty and goodness over rank and wealth. But how is it that you, who are all Greek, could so far abandon the traditions of your race as to propose to your newly-discovered son a course incompatible with honor?"

"For one side of your mental composition you may possibly be indebted to me," returned his father. "I mean the aesthetic. But there you must stop. The Greeks, no more than the Jews, are to be credited with the other qualities you ascribe to them. If Jacob be their type, Ulysses is ours. Morality was never our forte; but on the contrary, with all our addiction to philosophy and art, we have ever been an insincere and venal people. No, for what you possess of moral sentiment, you must thank your mother, not me; or rather her mother, for there you obtained your Teutonic characteristics."

"I have Teuton blood in me! I am, indeed, glad. The blood of the race to which Shakespeare, Milton, Shelley, Tennyson and Goethe belonged, as well as of the race of Homer, Eschylus and Plato, in addition to that of Moses, Isaiah, Jesus and Paul. What a privilege, but also what a responsibility! I am so glad to be a Teuton! I understand now the secret of my sympathetic yearnings toward the grandest of the world's races, in its combination of the intellectual with the moral—the first race in which conscience was elevated to its proper supremacy."

"Well," resumed his father, "you see you have judged our conduct by some code which finds no recognition here. Neither my proposition that you should appropriate the throne of Soudan, nor that of the chief of the Sanhedrim, that you should retain the Talisman of Solomon to grace the restored crown of Israel, rather than follow a sentimental impulse, shocked the prejudices of any of our people. Following the divine law anciently given to them, the Jews, now as ever, refuse to recognize as right anything that tells against themselves. Whatever makes for them is good, whatever against them evil. This in Jerusalem is the sole standard of morality. I, as a Greek, follow them in this, only, also as a Greek, I prefer things to be pretty rather than ugly."

"Besides, I consider myself entitled to hate those who robbed me of my Zoe. It was through the persecutions your grandfather suffered from the reigning branch in Soudan that he fled and she was lost to me. It was nothing to me that he deserved their enmity. Right or wrong, I suffered by it, and I resented it. But I have been avenged. For it is I who have been chief agent in grinding down their people by taxation, and so bringing about the revolution with all its dread results. It is I who have kept the committee from acceding to all entreaties for a mitigation. If I wished you to supplant that branch it was for personal vengeance. If I now wish you to become sovereign of this country it is as much for the sake of seeing my son the instrument of their punishment as for any other ambition."

"And now that we perfectly understand each other, come to my palace and abide with me. Being my home, it is yours also. We shall have much to tell each other. Together we will pen the acceptance of the offer conveyed to you by the chief of the Sanhedrim—an acceptance which will make me father of a far greater sovereign than any emperor of Central Africa can ever be. For as King of Israel the wealth of the world will be at your command. At your bidding mighty capitalists will loosen or tighten their purse-strings, and the nations that are afar off will follow peace or rush to war. Hail! Christmas, Sovereign of Judea! What a coronation will thine be! When, amid the glories of the noblest edifice of the modern world—noblest in its uses, noblest in its architecture, infinitely in every respect surpassing its famous predecessors on the same site—even the temple reared by him whose sacred Talisman will adorn thy brows. Ah! I forgot. Oh, my son, relinquish this infatuation. Keep—keep the gems, and let them not go to the barbarians of Africa. Solomon himself refused nothing to his father David, not even his dying request, involving, as it did, at least according to your code—the Teuton code—crime and dishonor. Surely you, then, as sitting on the throne of David and Solomon, will not have the presumption to affect to surpass them in virtue, and condemn the morality of that great Semitic race whose blood you share! The cost is, indeed, a slight one to pay for such an heirloom."

"We place a different estimate on the cost of such a deed," replied Criss, speaking with less restraint in his manner than before, for he was beginning to regard his father as partially deranged rather than wilfully dishonest. "But you forget that the objection I raised before the committee was not against being King of Soudan merely, but against being a king at all."

"My son, you will have to forget what you said on that point. The Jews have too long set their hearts on precisely

such a solution of their political difficulties as the discovery of you presents. They will not consent to waive their nation's longings in deference to your fantasies. Being in Jerusalem, you are in their power, and should you persist in your refusal they are quite capable of taking you by force and making you their king. Even flight will serve you little when they are determined, for Mammon is the god of this world, and they are his priests. No nation can or dare harbor you from them. And I warn you that I for one shall not interfere with their action."

"Well," said Criss, in a light and cheerful tone, "we will not talk more about that just now. You can understand that at the heights from which I am accustomed to survey the world its loftiest eminences are apt to seem very low. But I really must leave you now. My friends will be expecting me at the hotel. Farewell for to-night, my father. An eventful day, such as this has been, merits extra repose."

"What! will you not enter and sleep beneath my roof on this the first night of our meeting? It is true I have no family to whom to introduce you. I dwell in this palace," he said, pointing to a magnificent edifice before which they had now arrived, "solitary and sad. No new ties have been mine. It is as if I had waited expressly for you to come to me—you who are the sole heir of my heart and my wealth. At least enter and eat with me, if you cannot all at once reconcile yourself to your new ties."

It was late when Criss returned to his hotel. Going straight to Bertie's room, he roused him from a light sleep, saying:

"Now, dear Bertie, we must be off. Is the Prince prepared, think you?"

"Perfectly, and impatient to start. He is congratulating himself on having a friend and relative in the King of the Jews."

"Ah," said Criss, "we shall have to devise some other means for reducing taxation in Soudan. Now, come softly, and say not a word. Unless I have been misinformed, it is necessary that our departure be made very much like an escape."

"Escape! But will you not accept the—?"

"Accept! Why, my dear Bertie, don't you know I am a Republican?"

"That may be a reason for refusing to have a king over one, but not for refusing to be a king one's self. Besides, in putting back this prince you are setting up a king."

"Oh, yes. I do not dictate to others. If they prefer a monarchy, they are welcome. Here is the Prince's door."

The three descended in silence to the aeromotive-house, and, having deposited an ample payment with the custodian, were soon aloft and far away on their flight across the desert toward the capital of Soudan, the Prince traveling with Bertie in his capacious car, and Criss keeping near them in his own little Ariel.

Ere they lost sight of the lights of the sleeping city Criss cast a look back upon it, and murmured:

"Oh, Jerusalem! mightiest upon earth in thy power for good, by means of the wealth at thy command; feeblest, in thy ignorance of that wealth's high uses! To think that I could stoop to be a king of a people who value money for its own sake, and whose chief men counsel treachery! Was it for this that thy prophet-poets of old heralded thy restoration! Not until thou hast exchanged thy father Jacob as thy type for that nobler exemplar, even the Son whom, while rejected of thee, all other nations revere, wilt thou become in truth a People chosen and blessed."

And when morning came, and the cool stars overhead melted away and vanished in the hot desert blasts, and the travelers rose high in search of fresh airs and favoring currents, Criss again thought of what money might do to redeem the earth, could its possessor but consent to the sacrifice; and how, under its present misuse, it was little better than a curse. And a longing came over him to bury all the wealth of himself and his race in the sands of the Sahara, in the hope that, peradventure, such descent into Hades of the god Mammon might be followed by a resurrection and ascent to better things for the whole human race.

A few days later, and the universal press of the world contained an account of the successful expedition of the Federal aerial fleet to Soudan, and the restoration of the Empire. The rejoicings on the occasion were described as being of a somewhat novel character.

"The young Emperor," they stated, "wishing to impress his subjects with a sense of the advantages of a higher civilization than they have as yet attained, and anxious to lose no time in improving their condition (for it appears that he has developed a hitherto unsuspected tendency to philanthropy), requested the admiral to signalize his accession by an exhibition of the destructive powers of the squadron."

"The admiral, deeming that the expense of such a demonstration would be amply compensated by its moral effects, consented, and was accordingly requested to destroy the poorest and most unhealthy quarter of the Bornouse capital. For this comprehensive measure the Emperor obtained the consent of the inhabitants of the district in question, engaging on his part to rebuild and furnish the doomed quarter in a greatly improved fashion, and to provide for the population during the interval."

"The proffer was accepted, and an evening fixed for the pyrotechnic demonstration, the inhabitants of the doomed district being first comfortably accommodated in various barracks and other public buildings. The admiral then detached a couple of vessels for the service. These, cruising slowly round and round over the town within the assigned limits, at a moderate elevation, dropped at short intervals, during a period of two or three hours, shells containing explosives and combustibles, the native troops being employed to keep the fire from spreading beyond the doomed quarter."

"The inhabitants seem to have been so delighted with the spectacle that there is some reason to fear that its beauty may have tended to counteract the wholesome impression intended to be produced, and that an attack on the white settlers will henceforth be considered a cheap price for such a display of fireworks. A subsequent examination showed that not only was every street and building, no matter what the strength of its construction, utterly destroyed, but the very foundations on which they stood were plowed and dug up by the bursting of the shells after they had buried themselves in the earth."

"It is rumored that the sudden collapse of the revolution and restoration of the Empire have been achieved under British influence, and accompanied by some very extraordinary circumstances. However this may be, we trust that the spirit shown by the young ruler, and the good understanding subsisting between him and his people, will be of the happiest results to the country at large."

"The Federal fleet has since returned home."

[To be continued.]

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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, DEC. 12, 1874.

A NEW AND IMPORTANT PROJECT.

Since the announcement of the sudden and untimely illness of the editor-in-chief of the WEEKLY, and its consequent danger from the failure of her pecuniary contributions to its support, there have been several communications from different parties regarding methods by which the WEEKLY may be put upon a safe basis without being dependent upon her personal exertions. We have long felt the desirability of some such movement being inaugurated, but could not very well suggest it to our friends. We hope, now that the subject has been broached, that everybody who has any suggestions to offer upon the matter may put them in form and send them in. If there should be any such general expression as to give promise of a successful movement, we shall be glad to publish the several propositions at the proper time. We have devoted all that we have and are to this cause; we live only to advance it, and whatever aid our exertions call forth from its friends will be so much given to its promotion. We feel confident that there are enough persons in the country sufficiently interested, and who are able to place the organ of human redemption where no shaft from its enemies will be able to reach it, and thus enable us to devote more of our time to making it a better paper than we have been able to do for the last year.

A THOUSAND DOLLARS.

We need a thousand dollars to bridge over the chasm caused by the untimely illness of Mrs. Woodhull and the consequent compulsory suspension of her lectures, which make it impossible for her to defray the current expenses of the WEEKLY over its receipts.

The following have been received already:

P. G., Vineland, N. J.	\$25 00
C. E. M. Alliance, O.	50 00
S. & M. S., Wilmington, Del.	15 00
L. G., Norristown, Pa.	10 00
S. B., Salem, O.	4 00
M. E. W., Philadelphia.	10 00
J. C. S.	3 00
M. J. K. New York.	2 00
S. J. P., East Saginaw, Mich.	10 00
S. A. M., Wichita, Kan.	2 00
J. Q. H., Winchester, Va.	2 00
"T," New York City.	10 00

That there are souls here and there over the country who, as if it were involuntarily, spring to the rescue when danger threatens the WEEKLY, is a fact, which of itself is sufficient to cause us to buckle on our armor anew for the desperate struggle that is before us, and to not only bid defiance to every obstacle, but to challenge every enemy to immediate battle, with the fullest confidence in the issue of the contest. Who shall be the next to rally to the support of the greatest, grandest and most glorious cause that was ever advanced in the world—a cause that when gained will result in peopling the earth with a race of perfect men and women, physically, mentally and morally?

THE MUDDLE ABOUT MONEY.

No better confirmation of the fact that people are governed by policy rather than principle can be found than is obtained from the various newspaper articles upon money and currency. In the desire to maintain the present very generally accepted theory that gold is the only real money there can be, they ignore the commonest rules of logic, and cast defiance at common sense. Recently, Prof. Bonamy Price, an Englishman, lectured in this city upon this novel subject, and essayed to teach us something about it that we do not know. Most of the city papers, notably excepting the *Graphic*, which now and then shows a spasmodic desire to advocate the interests of the laborer, cry out hallelujah! to this Professor's plea for the rich man. The *Times*, especially, calls it clear, comprehensive and admirable, and it indorses his definition, that "currency is the tool for making exchanges." It will be remembered that this has been the definition given to money for ages—a medium for effecting exchanges; but since it has been so common, recently, to effect exchanges without gold, and with currency, the absurdity of the idea of confining that definition to money, and at the same time holding that gold only could be money, has become too palpable to be continued. It is proven that something else than gold can be used to effect exchanges; but the desire to uphold the fallacy that nothing can be money except gold has compelled the money critics to virtually say that we have no longer any need of money to effect exchanges of merchandise as it can be and is being done with currency equally as well.

"So far as our currency consists of government notes it has many vicious elements in it," says the *Times*. Why call them vicious? The only difference that we can see in utility between a five dollar greenback and a five dollar gold piece is, that the former cannot be used as a basis upon which to issue three or four times its amount in other currency, which can be done with the gold piece. The utter absurdity of the position that gold only is money is palpable when it is remembered that there are now less than one hundred and fifty millions of gold coin in the country. The reason that gold is held to be the only money is, that it is for the benefit of the holders that it should be so, as it will enable them, if they can carry out their schemes, to control the entire currency of the country, since, with the withdrawal of the greenbacks, there would necessarily have to be made an equal issue of some other currency to supply the place, which would have as its basis this small amount of gold. Gold, then, is valuable to its holders because it will, under certain circumstances, enable them to obtain interest upon four, five or more times as much more currency as they have in gold. Bereft of all extraneous and really unmeaning arguments, to this single fact must the sticklers for a gold money finally have to come, and they rely upon it to press their claims.

But says the *Times*: "The notes (greenbacks) are used as money only because of the faith that they will ultimately be paid in money." If this argument is true of greenbacks, it is also equally true of all national currency. Now we would like to ask, what prospect is there that the entire circulating currency—greenbacks and national—will ever be paid in gold? Will one of the "hard money" men have the audacity to pretend there is any? But, really, what difference would it make if none of the currency should ever be redeemed with gold? Suppose it is redeemed with any other material? Isn't a five dollar greenback practically, and to all intents and purposes, redeemed whenever its holder receives its value in beef or flour, or any other valuable thing? And wouldn't a currency that could be thus redeemed at all times afford the people of this country every necessary facility that could be obtained with any other kind of medium for effecting their exchanges? Nothing can be clearer than that it would.

But what is this faith of the government about which so much is said? Is it anything different from the faith in banks or individuals? No bank of issue ever had gold enough in its vaults to redeem its issue of currency. Then what was it that gave its currency circulation? Why, simply in the words of the *Times*, the faith that its receivers had that it would ultimately be paid in money. This faith, as the people have often found to their sorrow, has proved to be in vain. Before the war, when the entire circulation was in bank-note currency, there were notes frequently of as many as fifty worthless or depreciated banks in circulation. Was this one of the "vicious elements" that the *Times* says the greenbacks have? So then, at last, all the value that any circulating currency has with a people, is the faith which they have that it will be redeemed with something, while the other attributes that attach to a proper governmental currency render it infinitely superior as a medium of exchange to any that can be issued by any individual or incorporated company of individuals. The wealth upon which the latter is necessarily based may be transferred to the control of others, where the law could never reach it to apply it to the redemption of the outstanding circulation, but the faith in the government is a faith based upon the entire wealth of the nation, which cannot be transferred beyond the jurisdiction of the law, and is therefore a much sounder basis of faith.

"The notes—greenbacks—have been a very expensive form of loan," continues the *Times*. How expensive, pray? All the other loans made by the government were for interest as well as principal. Now, admitting that green-

backs are a form of loan are they as expensive as bonds are, upon which their value is paid every ten years in interest, and the bonds still outstanding? What sort of statement is this? Would it not have been infinitely better for the people had their entire loan been in the form of greenbacks? Now, we pay interest to the extent of two hundred millions per annum. Suppose there had been no bonds, nothing but greenbacks, would not this interest have been saved to the people? Yet the *Times* says the greenback is an expensive form of loan; so expensive say the money lenders that we are in favor of having them funded in interest-bearing bonds. Of course they want bonds upon which they can draw interest in place of non-interest-bearing greenbacks. But the people who have to labor to pay the interest on the bonded public debt ought to know enough to demand that the whole interest-bearing debt be immediately paid off in non-interest-bearing greenbacks. The bondholders are fearful that the government will ultimately do this; hence their anxiety to have matters fixed now before such an idea becomes generally prevalent and understood.

Again, as to the fictitious notions about fluctuations in value, which a gold money is said to prevent. Nothing is more fallacious than the proposition that there is ever any fluctuations in the real value of any commodity. The fluctuations are not in the commodities, but in the gold. The moment that any contingency arises in a country where gold is the basis of the circulating medium, that moment the gold rises in value, and it requires more gold to purchase the same quantities than it did previous to the contingency.

We are aware that the direct reverse of this is usually believed to be true; but that it is a fallacy may be easily proved by considering that the value of a barrel of flour consists of its capacity to sustain human life. It will feed a certain number of persons a certain number of days. It will do no more or no less than this whether its price be a dollar or a thousand dollars. This is self-evident, and also that the same is true of every other article that is required, as a comfort or a necessity of life. So it is the gold or the money, after all, that is constantly rising and falling in value, and not the commodities that they are used to purchase; while a proper currency based upon these commodities would always remain of a fixed value and could be exchanged for equal quantities at all times.

Such an idea as the establishment of fixed values upon the necessities and comforts of life is something that the speculators cannot endure to entertain. It would practically abolish their avocations. There would be no opportunities to put up "corners" in anything. There would be an approach to a condition, where the industries of the people would be wholly applied to productive pursuits, or to the distribution of the products of industry. This is a matter that ought to be understood by our national legislators, but we are sorry it is not. Not a dozen Senators and Representatives know anything about political economy. The most able of them all upon this subject, Gen. Butler, has not been returned. His speech of some years ago, upon an irredeemable paper currency, is, however, still having its legitimate effect. It is an unanswerable argument for the superiority of such a currency over a gold basis currency, and will stand a monument of fame to his talent when the name even of those who have berated him will have been lost in obscurity.

But the basic error about finance arises, after all, in something else that is seldom if ever thought of, and yet that something is the key to the ultimate solution of all that relates to the subject. It doesn't matter at all to a people, nor does their prosperity depend any more upon it, whether they have any gold or any other money. These are merely conveniences with which to effect their exchanges. The real thing in which their interests are involved is the amount of the results of their labor. A people with a million dollars each would starve if they were where there were no breadstuffs to be purchased, and in a land which overflows with these they would always live comfortably if there was no such thing as money known. Money is the sheerest humbug and is used by the rich to impoverish the poor and to obtain the necessities of life without labor. It bears just the same relations to the people that power of any other kind does. Those who have it virtually have the control, whether in democratic or monarchical countries.

It is because what we say above about the fluctuations being in money and not in commodities, is true, that the people are hoodwinked in these matters. It doesn't matter to the people what the price of anything is in money or currency, but the matter is whether there is plenty of what they want. If there is a large supply of everything they want in the country, a very little labor will obtain everything that is needed. There is always almost an exact proportion between the amount of the products of labor that there may be in a country and the amount that a day's labor will purchase, let the prices of either be what they may. So prices, the great bugbear of the capitalists, are of little moment with the laborer. The great necessity that he has is the opportunity to labor, his labor being always worth more than is required to support his life and common wants; that is to say, his labor will always yield a greater value than he can legitimately consume.

The solution, then, of starving populations in large cities is to put them to work. They do not need charity. They only want the common opportunities and rights that belong naturally to all men—the right to a use of a sufficient quan-

tity of the elements to guarantee the necessities to maintain life. The reason that all men do not now have this opportunity, is because a portion of the race have monopolized the rights that belong equally to all—a free and equal use of all natural wealth. And money is the means by which they have been and are still deprived of the right. Money of any kind is the curse of the poor man and the power by which he is enslaved by the rich. When this comes to be understood the working classes will make short work of money, bonds, gold and currency, and whatsoever other methods that are invented to place them in servitude.

CAUTION.

All moneys sent by mail to the WEEKLY should be transmitted either in Registered Letters or by Post-office Orders. We cannot be answerable for the receipt of moneys sent through the mail in any other way. Will our friends please note this word of caution, and act upon it, for we believe that we are daily losing remittances sent without the above precautions.

In obtaining Money Orders, please make them payable to Woodhull & Claflin, even though the money is intended for Mrs. Woodhull personally, as she is necessarily absent from the city most of the time, and it occasions us much trouble to obtain her signature to them.

THE MIXTURE AS BEFORE.

Inordinate wealth in the few, and extreme poverty in the many, are inseparable companions. The richest and poorest nation is one and the same. The proud nobles of England spring, like mushrooms on a manure heap, out of a million of paupers. Startling variations of a similar character checker the pages of human history. From the earliest time this appears to have been the case. The Nazarene says, speaking of the actions of mankind previous to the deluge, "They did eat, they drank, they married wives, and were given in marriage, until the day that Noe entered the ark, and the flood came, and destroyed them all."

As it was in days of old, so it has been in modern times. The greatest event of the past century was the French Revolution of 1793. Every writer admits that the condition of the people of that nation previous to it presented shocking contrasts. In the country the soil tillers staggered under burdens too grievous to be borne, while their wasteful landlords rioted in extravagances and luxuries. In the cities the songs of the dissolute, noble revellers were blended with the sad refrains of the overworked and unpaid proletarians. At length, in the famous "tiers etat," the people and their oppressors met face to face, and the workers, for a time, shook themselves free from the domination of kings, nobles and priesthoods.

The condition of the people of the United States now presents somewhat similar discrepancies. The rich appear to be monopolizing the means of the nation. They count their spoils by millions of dollars, when their predecessors were content with thousands. The wealth produced by the millions is rapidly appropriated by the thousands, and exchanged at great loss for the vanities and frivolities of Europe. As our aristocracy thus prefers to have its work done out, of course there is little left to be done at home. Consequently famine hovers over portions of Kansas and Nebraska in the West, while on the Atlantic seaboard the picks of the hard-toiling miners of Pennsylvania are rusting, and the chronic periodical starvation of our populous cities has set in, for the first time, before the frost.

But, notwithstanding that in the city of New York alone, the brethren of St. John's Guild have warned us weeks ago that there are seventy thousand people there wanting food and shelter, the work of revelry goes bravely on. "Marrying and giving in marriage," as in the time preceding the flood, follow each other in swift succession. The daughter of the President leads the hymeneal dance; then comes the still more elaborate wedding of the daughter of the General of the Army, while that of the son of the President continues the entertainments. Alas! it seems a pity that the lively wedding music should be drowned in the miserable discords that are now rising around us on all sides.

These sad reflections have arisen in us from reading two articles, printed in juxtaposition in the New York Herald, of Nov. 25. The one is headed "Mining Troubles," and the other, "The Great Tea Party." We propose to contrast portions of them, in order to exhibit the two phases of society we have been describing. From the former we extract first the following paragraph:

The Lackawanna valley contains too many inhabitants dependent on the mines for their support. It reminds one of a little country, isolated from every other, that is daily and hourly consuming more than it can produce. It is therefore a necessary consequence that some must starve, and that when all rush for the bread that at best will feed only half of them, many must fall to the dust and be trodden mercilessly and revengefully under foot. Were all the mines in the Wyoming and Lackawanna valleys running at "full blast" they could barely employ the men who reside about them; and when the fact is taken into consideration that many of the mines are not worked at all, and that all the others, with a single exception, are running on partial time, some slight conception can be formed of the immense number of men who are idle.

This is a fearful picture of the straits to which the hardest, and we could almost add the worst paid body of men in the nation is reduced. One might ask the question, "Have coals become valueless?" To this there can be but one an-

swer, "No, certainly not." Did the miner receive but one-half the price they are sold at in the cities, he could live, and live well. But he does not obtain even that. Why? Because idlers claim the mines, the soil, and even the running brooks, and the amount of the royalty man demands for the usages of those necessities of existence is only limited by the length of the purse of the purchaser; added to that, all the means of transit, which should be owned by the people collectively, are monopolized, and half a dozen useless distributors stand between the producer and consumer. Under these circumstances, it is no wonder the masses are skinned at both ends of the line.

But now for the contrast. "The Great Tea Party" of Brooklyn, at which 1,500 fashionables were said to be present, was got up for what was called charitable purposes. In these days we dance away the woes of humanity. Our readers will remember the series of balls that was instituted during the war for the purpose of furnishing funds and attendance for our wounded soldiers. The motive was good, but such was not the way a great nation should have answered the appeal for aid of its defenders. We confess we should like to see the heads of departments, and even the extra salary of the President, dependent upon the "hop" culture, and think there would be only practical justice in compelling all our lawyers and legislators to accept for their erratic wanderings the doubtful eleemosynary contributions of the mazy dance; but for the best and worthiest men in the nation, the heroes who gave their blood to preserve it in its integrity, it was quite another matter. A nation that could decline to be taxed for so noble an object ought to be blotted from the world as unworthy of existence.

As with the soldier so with the civilian. The great tea party was, we are told, got up for the benefit of a charity, called "The Brooklyn Maternity," and was held in the Academy of Music. The Herald says:

The Academy was tastefully decorated, and, with its choice flowers, gay flags, chaste statuary, lustrous candelabra and fine paintings, presented a brilliant spectacle. Over the centre was suspended a monstrous eagle, differing from other birds of this genus in that it was golden, and the gorgeous streamers from its beak extended to the thirteen tables (representing the thirteen original States) on which the supper was spread. Under the eagle shone the illumined words, "Brooklyn Maternity." Shortly after seven o'clock the carriages began to arrive and to discharge their rich loads of silk and velvet and satin. Soon after a procession was formed, led by Mr. C. B. Wyman as Washington and Mrs. Henry W. Sage as Martha Washington, and marched to the further end of the auditorium, which had been floored over to a level with the dress circle. There the Father of his Country and his charming lady took up their position in front of the various tables which were assigned to them.

There is variety; now again for the reverse. Take another look at the present condition of the towns of Archibald, Oliphant, Providence, Pittstown, Plymouth and Nanticoke, of the mining districts:

Each of these prior to the panic was a busy, bustling, enterprising town, with fine stores, schools and churches. When we compare the present condition of these localities with former ones the contrast is terrible. Then their citizens were employed, their stores well supplied, their schools well attended and their churches well filled. Now their storekeepers are on the verge of bankruptcy—many of them have already closed their doors—their schools are in a great measure deserted and their churches comparatively empty. Men and women, drunken and lawless, can be seen on every thoroughfare; their eyes are dark and lowering, and their faces wear a brutal, "hangdog" look. By nature they are mercurial, and fond of jest and enjoyment; but now every form of mirth and innocent amusement is denied them, their hands find nothing to do, and they stand ready to indulge in any species of outrage and crime. They are seldom at home, for home to them is only a place where they can consider their idleness and brood over their poverty and woe.

Again we leave these abodes of want, misery and constrained idleness, and turn our weary eyes to witness the vagaries of their happier brother and sister Christians, as they appeared at the Great Tea Party:

The uniforms of the Hartford Phalanx were worn by many of the gentlemen, and blue coats with buff facings, buff breeches, top boots and buff tops and cocked hats with black red-tipped plumes were to be met with everywhere. As to the satellites of George Washington, who were supposed to be in the court dress of 1776, they looked as unlike General Grant's courtiers (Tom Murphy, Boss Shepherd, etc.) as possible. Their sheeny velvet coats with brass buttons, lily-white satin vests trimmed with gold lace, knee breeches, top boots and old fashioned perukes, cocked hats and red plumes would have looked very funny at General Grant's cottage in Long Branch.

The ladies of 1874 evidently do not like the simple costumes of their grandmothers, who had no Worth, for last night they carefully eschewed the short Martha Washington dress, preferring that *a la Pompadour* and *en train*. The light and dark shades prevailed, and, though many of the dresses were exquisite in beauty and elegance, scarcely any of them were Martha Washington costumes, properly speaking. Many of the pretty girls and stately matrons were in simple walking dress, showing that American ladies still maintain their inalienable right to wear just such clothes as they please. Mrs. Sage, the Lady Washington, wore a black velvet dress, with white brocade petticoat, illusion folded neckerchief, point lace sleeve-trimmings, illusion cap, with jaunty velvet brow, pearl earrings and necklace.

Surely there is much food for thought in contemplating these violent extremes, which are the results of our modern system of civilization. Is it too much to say that, to the masses in Great Britain, if not here, barbarism presents aspects which would render their condition more tolerable. There, State and financial oppression, by means of a standing army, is grinding the people by the million into pauperism; here, without such aid, and in our freer air, the overburdened masses may develop into heroes, if successful—criminals, if defeated. We wait the issue, which assuredly, before long, must be tried. In the meantime, we will accept the condemnation of the unthinking part of the people for the crime of discussing a subject which is too generally tabooed by the time-serving presses of our era.

A LESSON IN JUSTICE TAUGHT US.

"Peru is just and gracious to its women. A young lady, desirous of entering the law school at Cuzco, an institution supported by the State, wrote to the government to inquire if her sex was a bar to her admission. The Minister of Justice promptly replied that all Peruvian citizens should enjoy equal rights; that women were considered by the law as on the same footing with men, as far as the privileges to be accorded by the republic were concerned, adding that it was a matter of peculiar pleasure to the administration to improve the opportunity of giving publicity to such a declaration."

We clip the above from the *Commercial Advertiser* of this city. We confess to no little surprise at finding such an unwitting condemnation of its policy toward women in its columns. It has never said a word about doing the women of this country justice, or demanding that they should enjoy equal rights and privileges with men before the law. Still we must be thankful for small favors. It is something that it dares to commend the action of the Minister of Justice in Peru regarding women which it dare not do for the women of our own country. It signifies that it understands what justice to women really is, even if it have not the manhood to advocate it. And equally so of all the other papers that have copied the fact in Peru, is this a condemnation of their position toward woman. The Supreme Court of the United States may well learn a lesson of justice from the Government of Peru, and when next a case is brought before it wherein a woman is a claimant for the same right that is extended to her sister by the South American Government, it will not deny her rights as it did to Myra Bradwell, of Chicago, on her appeal from the decision of the Supreme Court of her State.

THE FAMILY IDEA.

The WEEKLY is a believer in progression, or it would not advocate, as it does, the communal care of children. Like the Nazarene, it condemns the isolated and selfish family arrangement, looking upon it as a relic of savage life. In doing so it does not aim to contract the love element in mankind, but to expand it and extend its beneficent influence. It asks, with the Nazarene and in his own words: "Who is my mother and my brethren?" Accepting his answer to that query freely and cheerfully: "Whosoever doeth the will of my father, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother." It does not, however, bound its affection according to the passage quoted, for the catholicity of its Spiritualism refuses to be so limited; recognizing the fact that all of us are doing the will of Omnipotence, according to our various degrees of ability and development.

The Catholic Church opposes our position *in toto*, and it is our only consistent opponent. In order to conserve the unit of the family, it has exalted marriage to the dignity of a sacrament, placed it entirely in the charge of its priesthood, and regards all other unions and all other copulations outside of its pale as diabolic. In defense of it, it abandoned the richest country in the world, by refusing to divorce Henry the Eighth from Katharine of Arragon. On the contrary, the Protestant sects have gradually surrendered all authority over it, and now from Episcopalianism to Methodism it is admitted to be simply a civil contract, not needing the interference or prayers of their priesthoods in its celebration. We may add to that, as a simple contract, it is more dishonored than all other such business arrangements put together; and furthermore, that, under it, while man is charged with unnatural power, woman frequently finds in it no protection whatever.

We have introduced "ecclesiastical and legal" marriage in this article, because it is the mother of jealousy and the base of the equally selfish family arrangement. Under both the forms above specified it implies ownership, and ownership means slavery. Where men and women are really united they will not sunder if we should take their chains off; but we will not assert but that they may do so if you keep them on. Real love would object to be bound with wreaths of roses, for the name of "Liberty," in the higher spheres, is "Love." He will not be a bondsman, and therefore the wise ancients represented him with wings. It is no wonder that the benevolence of the civilized world is yet contracted by the limit of the family idea, which naturally springs out of the slavish arrangement under which nations at present are populated.

Although, in the matter of free-love, we recognize Catholicism as our only consistent foe, the free-lances hanging on the skirts of Protestantism sometimes strive to annoy us. Like the Cowboys and Skinners of the Revolutionary war, they operate between the armies of Spiritual Freedom and Spiritual Slavery, occasionally raiding against both. We hold the chief of the Free-lances in this country to be Henry Ward Beecher, who has done good service for the army of freedom, but occasionally makes predatory raids against it. As he has no recognized standard under which to fight, for he rejects the authority of the Bible as often as he accepts it, his trumpet seems to give an uncertain sound. In the social wars he may well be compared to the Irishman's flea, "you put your finger on him and he isn't there." The best way to exhibit his vagaries is to cite him against himself, as we propose to do in answer to his attack on the position held by the WEEKLY in regard to our present social system. We quote from the report of the New York

Herald, of his last Thanksgiving sermon, the following paragraph:

The family idea is the grand primitive institution of life; it is the grand universal life. No other institution has awakened anything like its strength. It supports all those who are sprung from the father and mother into a model commonwealth, where, by reason of the smallness of the number, they come within the sphere of parental government that has thus the fundamental idea of laws within a law. Now, I find in this a revelation above all revelation, not of an innumerable company of angels, of archangels, of seraphim, not a dramatic representation of power; but in this family idea God reveals himself, and in his nature his mode of governing the world, and in the condition of the father and the mother his relation thereto. You might destroy the whole Bible, you have yet the whole germane idea of what the Bible says in the family idea. There is only the one place in the whole world in which we know what it is to govern by love. In this you have the most precious thing that was ever given to us. Now, is the family idea losing or gaining? Gaining. There have been some mischievous, licentious people who have put forth a philosophy that has regarded this view of the family as mischievous. All the moral sense of the race, however, is strong to-day for a monogamic family. The family was never so virtuous and so refined as it is to-day. It takes more to be a husband and a father than it did some hundred years ago.

How different this reads from the terrible and somewhat hyperbolic attack made upon it by the great Nazarene in Luke chap. xiv. v. 26: "If any man come to me and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple." The Brooklyn pastor, if he pleases, may look upon this as a diatribe from his God, but, if he needs another, we will quote a reply from himself, and place, in significant contrast to his quoted essay, an extract from another of his sermons, given on Washington's birthday, 1874, also reported by the *N. Y. Herald*:

Kindness in the earlier stages of civilized growth is confined to the family. It is limited by self-interest and expended only on a man's own, where he may profit by it. So it is still, except when the teaching of the Gospel of Christ has expanded the obligation to embrace all humanity. The Christian precept enforces a HIGHER LAW, that of disinterested benevolence. This law requires us to do good to all in the proportion in which they need; to our neighbor, to those around us, to all with whom we come in contact or whom our benefactions may be able to reach.

We, though not Christians, believe that Jesus was right in asserting that man's earthly duty was fulfilled when he conformed to the law: "Love your neighbor as yourself;" and furthermore, that, by analogy, the same law commands him to love his neighbor's child as much as he loves his own. If he does this, what becomes of the family arrangement? As regards the terrible quotation from Luke, the Plymouth Pastor may, if he pleases, hold that to be a divine injunction, but we prefer to look upon it as the hyperbolic expression of an eastern philanthropist, zealous to forward the reformation here advocated in the pages of the WEEKLY. At present, when distinguished foreigners visit us, we are apt to expose to them our prisons and our houses of correction, which are evidences of our disgrace, in order to impress them with the advantages of social order among us; but, in the near future, we trust we shall be able to exhibit to such strangers our communal care over our women and children, and the edifices in which they are lovingly and generously entertained under public supervision, as better proofs of the extent of our refinement and civilization.

It is only pure selfishness and Phariseism that prevents the public from doing its duty by all women and children needing its care and attention. It is not self-interest, for true self-interest would reject it with horror. It is the meanest selfishness, aiming, we trust vainly, like Mrs. Partington, to mop out the advancing waves of the Atlantic Ocean of modern civilization. Analyze the subject, and this is plain to be seen. Pater-familias, as he walks through the crowded streets of our cities, looks upon the thousands of little waifs they contain, jingles the cash in his pockets, and congratulates himself on his own performance of his parental duty. What to him is it that the eyes of this child are leering with early vice, that the cheeks of that one are pinched with want? Are not his own little ones at home innocent and rosy? Is it wrong in the WEEKLY to ask him not to love his own less but to love these more? How much more? As much more as he now loves his own. We assert this demand to be exactly consistent with the teachings of the Nazarene, and in harmony with the theories and doctrines of all Christian churches. The command of the Nazarene, which we have quoted, is based on the soundest economy in this particular. Until the greatest public care is given to the entire protection of our children, modern civilization will continue to prove, as it does now, a miserable failure in our cities; and until public care is extended cheerfully to all women, who, in the periods of gestation and parturition, have no proper private care, we must expect them to produce only monstrosities and abortions.

In conclusion, it may well be asserted that our family system is incompatible with a sound communal system. Henry Ward Beecher does well to call the latter the Higher Law, and we have taken the liberty to print his words in capitals. It is not the first time our people's attention has been called to that unwritten instrument. Previously, in the matter of human slavery, the late Wm. H. Seward sought to direct public attention to it. Our people refused to heed him in 1851, and a decade later its enforcement cost us billions of dollars, a mountain of limbs and tons of human blood. Let us be wiser this time. It is well in us to love our own children, but if we purchase that pleasure by the neglect of our duties to all other children in the community, it is very, very dearly bought. Having so lately gained experience by suffering, let us not parody in the cases of our neglected little ones, Judge Taney's de-

cision, which cost our people so much, by saying: "Children have no rights which must be respected," but rather let us admit cheerfully our communal duties toward them, and, by so doing, complete the noble edifice whose foundation has already been laid in our glorious Public School System.

WOMAN'S LEGAL STATUS.

We publish this week the memorial of Victoria C. Woodhull to Congress, petitioning for her political rights; and the reports of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives upon the same. We do this at this time for the purpose of recalling the attention of our readers to the legal aspect of the question of woman's right to the suffrage. We ask for special attention to the difference in the two reports—the weak and vacillating character of the majority, and the stern, logical and unanswerable legal deductions of the minority. It is everywhere admitted, by both his friends and enemies, that Gen. Butler is the best judge of constitutional law in the country; and to find his name subscribed to the Minority Report, favoring the claim of woman, is at least good presumptive evidence that the claim is a just one. We ask the most careful reading of both these reports, so that all our readers may fully understand the argument for and the legal aspect of the cause upon the success of which perhaps even the CONTINUATION OF THE REPUBLIC DEPENDS.

SUFFRAGE AND THE CRUSADERS.

It will be remembered that we told our readers while the crusaders were raging over the country, that the crusade was inaugurated by the enemies of woman suffrage to defeat it. It was known that the question was coming before the peoples of several States, and that the prospect was fair for its success, and some ingenious device had to be found to call the attention of the men to the real meaning of suffrage for women. So the crusade against dealing in liquor was hit upon as that which was more likely than anything else to set the men against voting the suffrage for women. It may not be that a large majority of men are liquor men; but it cannot be denied that a large majority of them are opposed to some form of prohibitory laws, because they are believed, and justly so, to be opposed to the spirit, if not to the letter, of the Constitution. We have seen several people from Michigan, who are capable of judging, and they agree that if there had been no temperance women making themselves ridiculous by visiting and praying where they had no business to interfere, there would have now been suffrage for women in Michigan; and more still, had suffrage been established in Michigan, it could have then been constitutionally claimed by the women of every other State, under the article of the Constitution which provides that citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States. So, had women acquired the ballot in Michigan, every other State could have been compelled to withdraw their disfranchisement. Hence there was an absolute necessity that suffrage should be defeated, and the wise heads saw that it could be dealt a death-blow by getting women to make side shows of themselves, singing and praying against liquor; and it has been eminently successful. The women of Michigan first, and through them those all over the country, may charge the defeat of suffrage upon the loud-mouthed crusading women, whose efforts never amounted to the salvation of a single person from drink, but which made hundreds drink who would never have thought of doing so had they gone about temperance reform in a reasonable and common-sense way. Remember that the crusade project originated in Oberlin in the heads of the exceeding pious, God-professing Professors of the College.

MORS JANUÆ VITÆ.

Death, the gate of life! This noble motto was once liberally used by Christians. It has been written over the entrance of many a churchyard in Europe. In the centuries commencing the present era, when Christianity was the foremost spiritual advance of mankind, its followers were conspicuous for the cheerfulness with which they looked upon death. The inscriptions found in many of the catacombs of Rome prove this. They breathe of hope and joy, and exhibit a singular contrast to the gloomy epitaphs of their Pagan oppressors. Gradually, however, their glory has departed, and now their ancient position is occupied by the Spiritualists, as the following testimony, for which we are indebted to the *Spiritual Scientist*, proves:

The funeral of Mrs. Naylor, the late wife of Mr. B. S. Naylor, conductor of the Lyceum services and chief exponent in Stawell for years past of the doctrines of spiritualism, took place on Monday afternoon. It was well attended, and was highly noticeable from the total absence of all the outward signs of grief usually manifested on such occasions.

The hearse, as well as the horses and their driver, was decked with festoons of evergreens and flowers in place of plumes, while on the coffin itself lay two large bouquets. Each of those forming the procession was presented with a small bunch of flowers to be worn in the buttonhole of the coat; and the appearance of the whole was sufficiently singular to attract much attention.

A pretty large crowd assembled in the cemetery, those anxious to testify to their respect for the deceased lady being supplemented, doubtless, by others who were curious to know what description of ceremony would be used. There was little to denote a departure from the ordinary usages, except a total absence of anything like mourning or regret.

The deceased lady was spoken of, in an address by Mr. Walter, as merely having changed her place of existence, and to be still capable of watching over and protecting her friends; and this, with some reflections on the event, a hymn expres-

sive of the soul's desire for a better world, and a short prayer of adoration, completed the ceremony. At an appropriate point the coffin was lowered into the grave, still bearing the large bouquets, while all present threw those they had worn down upon it.

This is as it should be. It is fitting that the banner of the Spiritualists should be planted on the mound of the grave. Although to the Protestant we are indebted for liberty of conscience and the right of private judgment, we have also been debased and degraded by his rigid austerity and his gloomy fanaticism. While we press the former to its legitimate conclusion, absolute spiritual freedom, let us take care to avoid the latter. Our places of meeting ought to be and will be places of joy, harmony and beauty, fitted with everything that can delight the senses (as the Catholic Churches are now), and consequently expand the minds. In Catholic countries there is poetry even in a beggar's appeal for charity—he does not solicit aid because he is starving, but for the love of the Virgin or St. Lazarus, feeling that, if you be of his faith, you cannot reject his appeal, on the higher ground he has taken. Spiritualists have no saints, but they will do well to reflect that, in such a case, their own developments are deeply interested in the answers they make to such appeals; and to remember that if their charity be not superior to that of their creed-bound neighbors, the poor will be apt to ask, "What service are your 'manifestations and materializations' to us and to the world?"

But there is no place in which the Spiritualist can show, and should show, the truth of the advanced knowledge he has acquired so well as at the bedside of the sick, or around the couch of death. To him, in all cases, such must be posts of triumph. He has no anathemas, no place of torture for the most brutal, the most depraved human being that ever existed. He denies that such retrograde after death, as is the belief of all credal religionists. His motto is progress, and he does not admit that mortals always choose the starting point for themselves in another sphere. They will there occupy positions for which they have qualified themselves on earth; but all, from the least to the best developed, will there enter on a field of progression. Under these circumstances, what is Death to the Spiritualist that he should be feared? What is the Grave that it should be looked upon with horror? No—others may believe that at a distant day their friends may arise, but the Spiritualist knows, sometimes by the evidence of all his senses, that they are with him now, and therefore he will not, can not, unduly lament that they have been released from the cages of clay in which they have so long been imprisoned. But, although we respect not the empty shell of the soul, we rejoice in the loving respect that follows it to the grave and covers it with flowers, as in the case of Mrs. Naylor. But we feel we cannot add to the description of the funeral in the above extract; it is simply beautiful, and in keeping with the life of the Spiritualist.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Inquirer, Norfolk, Va.—The Constitution confers power on the States to make gold and silver a tender in payment for debts. Congress has consequently the same power in the District of Columbia, but when it exercises the power to make paper a legal tender, and extends its ruling over the States, it commits a couple of usurpations not warranted by that instrument.

S. W. R., Toronto, Canada.—Though divines manufactured the Episcopal prayer-book, the houses of Parliament commanded it to be read in churches. Episcopalianism is therefore a lay religion, in spite of the apostolic succession claimed by it. Latterly, in 1851, the House of Lords, a lay court reversed the judgment of the church courts and overruled the bench of Anglican bishops on a doctrinal point, in the case of Gorham versus the Bishop of Exeter. True, the bishops kept their seats, and relinquished the doctrine, exhibiting their humility in singular contrast with their consistency.

Mechanic, New York.—How dare you complain of the diminution of weight in a ton of coal, and of measure in the New Jersey peach basket? Are you not aware that it is ordained that "Congress shall fix the standard of weights and measures?" Go to Washington, and look at the costly and admirable contrivances there exhibited for carrying out that law; and then go home and burn your coal and eat your peaches, at least those on top of the basket, in quiet; and thank the government for its kind care and protection of the interests of the millions in this republic in that matter.

Communist, Jamaica, L. I.—The isolated family arrangement must go, is going, out of date in all of our larger centres. Woman is crucified under it, as Albert Brisbane justly says, in advocating his township system. "There is no help for her, with the kitchen hell round her neck."

Dr. Syntax, Yonkers, N. Y.—Until the State is willing to stand fully and entirely "in loco parentis" over all its children, and is prepared to do the same in a manner creditable to civilization, the law lately passed, compelling their attendance at the schools, can only be regarded as tyrannical and despotic.

Economist, Stamford, Conn.—It was Dr. Malthus who said too many are invited to the feast of life, and it had become necessary that some should go without. Joseph Arch, the leader of the wretchedly paid agricultural laborers of England, may well inquire, "Which! Those who put the feast on the table, or those who come for their meals with hereditary tickets for soup?"

Thalia, Frankfort, Ky.—Byron's famous description of the rainbow may be found in the second canto of "Don Juan." It is as follows:

"It rose, at length, a heavenly chameleon,
The airy child of vapor and the sun;
Brought forth in purple, cradled in vermillion,
Baptized in molten gold and swathed in dun."

Wat Tyler, Prescott, Va.—The English police system, from which ours has been copied, was modeled by Sir R. Peel, and dates back about half a century. The army of policemen was there introduced, mainly for the purpose of over-awing the working classes, and preventing popular exhibitions of their opinions on national questions. They are a body of men set apart from and trained to consider themselves as from (but not of) the people, whose motto, both in London and New York, appears to be, "the public have no rights which we are bound to respect."

M. S. T., Little Rock, Ark.—The revolutionary cry in Europe is Bread! bread! The cry now in New York is Work! work! This is right. To ask for bread is a degradation, but when willing men demand work and cannot obtain it, the degradation lies with those who refuse it.

W. W., Springfield.—We have your order, but cannot make out the State. You will probably see this notification—please instruct us "what State" in answer.

International, Plainfield, N. J.—We do not know how many votes Mr. Swinton, the Workingmen's candidate, received for Mayor of this city. The *Graphic* first stated that the police declined to count them—then that he received 67. His partisans assure us that they can account for over 1,800, and believe that the number greatly exceeded that figure.

Paine, Methuen, N. J.—Until men can measure motives, they can only approximate justice in affixing penalties to crime. Advanced Spiritualists believe that at least half the crimes, and consequently half the miseries, of humanity, are attributable to pre-natal conditions. Under such circumstances, the commission of crime is frequently unavoidable. To reform society the best way is to reform the conditions by which men are surrounded. The poet Byron is correct in saying:

"Men are the sport of circumstances; when
Those circumstances seem the sport of men."

Notwithstanding this, we hold it to be man's duty to control circumstances to the best of his ability.

ERRATUM.—The article in our issue of Nov. 28, page 5, entitled, "The Work not Finished," should have been credited to A. D. Wheeler instead of S. D. Wheeler.

ASTROLOGY.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—B. Shraff, says: "I had for some time past contemplated sending you a few lines on Astrology, in order to call the attention of thousands of readers of the *Banner* to it, as it is well worth the careful consideration of all thinking minds. Having investigated it myself for some time, I know whereof I speak. Prof. Lister, of No. 329 Sixth ave., New York, has made out my horoscope, and also those of a number of my friends, to our highest satisfaction. I think I could not write anything more to the point than by quoting from a letter of a friend, which runs as follows: 'No language which I am capable of using can express the unbounded satisfaction I have received from a horoscope made out by Professor Lister seventeen years ago; not an incident of my life has escaped him; I merely inclosed to him my place of birth, date, and hour of the day and sex, with his fee—five dollars. His prompt reply delineated every joy and sorrow of my past life exactly as I knew it to have been; at the same time pointed out the events of each coming year until death. He also suggested the best latitude to locate, and gave me advice by which I could have the fullest benefit of the accident of life. I have often marked out a different course but have been invariably compelled to realize exactly what he has predicted; therefore not a single proof is lacking to establish in my mind the certainty of astral influence over this life upon earth. I have not had the pleasure of meeting Professor Lister, but hope his *knarretta* will spare his life until I can clasp his hand and verbally express to him my enthusiasm for the science he has espoused and so ably demonstrates.'

"Neither myself nor any of my friends are acquainted with Prof. L., nor has ever any correspondence passed between us and him except merely giving him our birth, etc., etc. Therefore what I write here for myself, friends, I do only in justice to him for the earnest, life-long study he has devoted to this occult science."—*Banner of Light*.

"LET US PRAY."

WICHITA, Kansas, Nov. 20, 1874.

With the WEEKLY of this week comes the statement that the brave little woman, that is fighting over again the great battle of human freedom, is again stricken down in the midst of her arduous and heroic labors; and coupled with it is an appeal to the friends of liberty for aid to sustain it in its hour of trial; and through it the cause it so ably and eloquently represents.

It is earnestly to be hoped that this appeal, so just in its demands and so vital to the wide circle of reform movements, whose defense and advocacy—I had almost said whose existence alike depend upon its prosperity—will not pass unheeded, but will result in some substantial and permanent aid to this noble paper—the organ *par excellence* of the poor, the friendless, the outcast, the oppressed of every age, sex, condition and country upon earth.

Let every lover of liberty, every son and daughter of toil that reads this paper, come forward at once to the rescue. Lift up the fallen and prostrate form of the loved one who has so often suffered in the defense of their holiest rights and liberties, and who now lies stricken down in the same righteous cause. Bear her forward again into the forefront

of the mighty conflict. Only—now that her arms are weary of the fight—let them, like those of Moses of old, be held up by loving hands, while she "Smites the foes of Zion and of God."

The WEEKLY is a keen and mighty "two-edged sword" in the hands of the angels (and is she not one of them) for smiting down the foes of human kind—ignorance and error and bigotry and superstition, and the thousand lies and falsehoods that oppress and oppress the life of man. The cant, hypocrisy, snivel, and the religious and industrial shoddy of the times, stand impaled upon the sharp lance of its divine truthfulness, while the whole race of respectable shams, the venerable simulacra, the great hideous Juggernauts, and the everlasting mumbo-jumbo of this age of unbeliefs and unrealities, pause aghast at the spectacle of this heroic little woman, who, with spade in hand, and with the angel world singing all around her, in the face of a world in arms against her, is digging down through the deep quicksands of passion, interest and pride, in search of the "everlasting foundations," whereon to rebuild and reconstruct human life.

From all the indications, we are about to enter upon one of those great conflicts that attend human progress—to decide finally and forever the meaning of the terms liberty, equality, fraternity—whether they are something substantial and real, or are only figures of speech, delusions and lies; whether man is brother to the prosperity, sunshine and fair weather of his fellow-men alone, or to the misfortunes, the clouds and storms of life as well; whether he shall be fraternal also to the deep and manifold woes and griefs, the keen anguish and mortal despair that rack his frame.

Shall we rally round the little heroine who has been so grandly sounding the tocsin of the new battle for the rights of man and woman, or shall we skulk to the rear in the hour of necessity and danger?

The old Latins had a proverb, "*Laborare est orare.*" Work is prayer. That is it. It is just what is needed now—the prayer of work. Let every reader of the WEEKLY make it a part of his or her religion to remit to the WEEKLY one dollar as a New Year's Gift. (Those that are able, let their gift be as much larger as their means are more ample and their hearts more generous.) This will place the WEEKLY on its feet again, and give the daring little woman who works for it a chance to rest without injury to the cause. There is no one who cannot practice some little self-denial or economy, or perform some small service that will secure to them the proper amount. And let it be sent forward without delay. The Bible says: "The prayer of the righteous man availeth much." No doubt of it, for he very likely prayed with his hands as well as his heart—prayed the prayer of effort, of work, as well as faith. Let the same prayer "avail much" now in the present emergency of the WEEKLY and of the cause of truth. Let us all pray. S. A. MERRELL, M. D.

NOTE FROM PARKER PILLSBURY.

CONCORD, N. H., Nov., 1874.

EDITORS WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY:

My subscription, though herewith inclosed, is not due yet; but almost everything except that is now especially due, and is with this acknowledged: Sympathy for the suffering editor, and earnest, fervent, I trust effectual, prayer for her speedy recovery and return to her post of honor and usefulness. I say of honor and usefulness, enviable, admirable, however now regarded by a blind and bewildered race, that seems destined never to know its saviors till it has crucified them.

That fearful *hydro thorax*, written down as nearly incurable in most medical works, I know it well. It attacked me while abroad, nearly twenty years ago, with all its terrors. Three eminent physicians, all members of the London Royal College, were at my bedside every morning for a fortnight, and two of them every morning and evening for four weeks. With consummate skill they brought me through, my humble life-work not being quite done. For just the same reason, a thousand-fold magnified, I hold it certain the peerless editor of the WEEKLY will yet be given back to her mission and her now fast multiplying friends. PARKER PILLSBURY.

BEECHER AND TILTON.

Mr. Beecher's counsel and Mr. Tilton's counsel have informed Judge Neilson that they will be ready for trial on the 8th of December in the case of Tilton against Beecher. Judge Neilson, on receiving this notice, immediately ordered a special panel of one thousand persons.

There will be those who will think that Judge Neilson has ordered an exceedingly large panel, but there will also be found a man here and there who will think that if anything like ordinary usage is to hold in the choice of those "twelve men good and true," who may be sufficiently idiotic and uninformed and unprejudiced to sit upon this case, then he had better have ordered a panel of the entire city of Brooklyn.—*N. Y. Telegram*.

[Philadelphia Ledger—Death Column.]

Put away the well worn cradle,
Marked by Jimmie's little thumbs;
Put it in the garret corner
Till another angel comes.

[From the Daily Herald, Norristown, Pa.]

MRS. WOODHULL ON SOCIAL ETHICS.

SHE REPLIES TO A HERALD CORRESPONDENT—THE REAL MEANING OF HER VIEWS OF FREE LOVE.

To the Editor of the Herald—It is a constant source of wonder to me how it is that people who pretend to have a moderate degree of common sense can so misunderstand the real meaning of my views of free love as stated in my lectures as the various criticisms that appear would seem to indicate that they do.

In an article in your issue of the 9th inst., which I should take to be editorial if it were not for one word in the last paragraph, the writer "agrees with the views of your correspondent, who, speaking for the interests of her sex and of the rising generation, advises all to shun Mrs. Woodhull and her lectures."

To me such language sounds like that which was wont to be used against the abolitionists. The negroes were advised by those who pretended to be speaking in their interests avoid the Abolition orators. The language, from the article referred to, assumes that it is for the interests of women to live with men whom they despise or hate, and to submit themselves as wives to their husbands whenever there are demands made upon them; which in marriage I am fully convinced are repugnant in fully one-half of all the commerce that obtains. I ask for the abolition of marriage so that women may be emancipated from this condition, so revolting to every conception of purity and virtue. For a virtue and a purity that is legal merely and only, is not virtue or purity at all in any sense that is elevating or ennobling. What I mean by sexual purity and virtue is to never permit the body to be contaminated by an undesired and consequently unnatural approach. The woman who yields herself unwillingly to her husband is just as impure in reality as is the prostitute who sells herself for money, since the wife does it for a home or because the law has said she must, and not because her nature commends it.

No! whoever sees the interests of women in being held in this most damning of all conceivable slavery, sees her moral and spiritual destruction. The interests of the sex are something wholly different from this. They consist in the ownership and control of her body at all times; an ownership and control never to be sold, bartered or even given away, but only to be exchanged blessing for blessing, where the divinest love points out the way. In the interests of women to be compelled to bear unwilling children! God forbid such sacrilege, as all the interests of humanity present and future forbid it. "Better that they should endure their hard lot" than that there should be substituted for marriage some better method of caring for them as mothers and for their children or progeny! Again I say, God forbid!

"Sanctity of the marriage contract." What sanctity is there about a marriage contract if it be not supported by love? All the sanctity there can be about any contract is the ability to fulfill it. Now, how can people fulfill a marriage contract when the very fact upon which it was made departs? To live together without love, whether in or out of marriage, is simply prostitution. The divinity and all the divinity there is in marriage is in the love out of which it grows; when this is gone there can be no marriage that is divine left; and every sensible, right-thinking person knows this to be so, and recognizes it in his or her soul if not with the lips.

"The interests of children" that present marriage continue! Who can say this conscientiously, when it is well known that fully one-half of all children born are undesired by their mothers, and that it is from these children that the criminal, insane, idiotic and vicious classes are recruited. From the very moment that wives come to know that they are *enclinte* they begin to wish to get rid of the prospective incumbrance, and they resort to all sorts of means to accomplish it. The capacity to kill—to murder—is thus imprinted upon the plastic brain of thousands of children, and it is these children who are hung for murder; for in this way alone can the capacity be acquired to perform such a deed. And so on down through the whole list of crimes and unfortunate things to which the race is subject. Then tell me that it is for the interests of the rising generation that unwilling pregnancy shall continue to be forced upon women by marriage! I say it is the curse of the race.

It is woman's right to reign queen in the domain of sex, and her duty to guard her maternal functions with the most zealous care against all unnatural use. Let human beings look to the animal kingdom and learn where the sovereignty in sex belongs. Everywhere the female rules supreme. No forcing unwilling and unnatural offspring upon them. They choose and from their choice there is no appeal. Why, if female brutes were subjected to the sexual slavery from which women suffer, the animal species would soon become extinct; because constant undesired commerce would destroy the capacity to reproduce, as it is rapidly destroying it in women. Twelve thousand childless families in New York city alone! A whole volume, unwritten, upon the extent of abortions and foetal murder, that should suffuse the face of womanhood with shame.

It is the merest assumption to say that civilization is a result of the marriage institution; and even if it were true it would be no less an assumption to say that it ought always to continue. I recognize that marriage is one of the necessities of social evolution, and that it has had a part to play in that drama; but it is no less certain that it will be replaced by something better, or else there is no evolution, only continuance. I am even willing to admit, that so long as women prefer to rely upon their sex to obtain them a support, that marriage is a sort of guarantee. But I know that to a woman who has risen into the idea of an individualized womanhood, living or consorting with a man for any other reason than a desire arising from a pure and holy love, is revolting. This may be a degraded view of womanhood, but to me it is the highest that can be taken. It looks to a future for woman, when she shall be provided with all the necessities, comforts and luxuries of life without paying for them by her sexual favors. It looks to a time when it will be a disgrace for a woman to marry or consort with a man for a home or for money; to a time when there shall be no children born except such as are desired before conception, and which are born under the fullest inspiration of a divine motherhood.

Finally, I wish to call attention to the commentary which women accept from men, upon their purity, when they say that if women were left free to do as they choose sexually, that they would become promiscuous, consorting first with this and then with that man, without any love attachments at all. Women, is this true? Is this all the honor, all the virtue, all the purity you possess? If not, why don't you hurl the foul insinuation in the teeth of those who make it, instead of joining with them to berate Mrs. Woodhull, who declares precisely to the contrary? With this thought for women,

I am, respectfully,

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL,

On Tuesday evening, Nov. 17, Mr. Andrews delivered the second lecture of his course; subject, "Linguistic, Comparative Philology, and the place which Language holds in the general scheme of the Sciences; Language a type of the Universe; Irregularities of the English Language."

On this occasion a very appreciative audience assembled, including a number of students from Harvard University, and prominent literary men, who were apparently attracted by Mr. Andrews' well known linguistic acquirements. The lecturer felt that he was understood and appreciated, and so his thought flowed into eloquent expression. His profound analysis of the true basis of speech, his plausible reasons for the expectation of the world's realizing a common and universal language, together with his black-board illustrations of the 'seats' of sound in the vocal organs, challenged the closest attention of the whole auditory, and especially that portion which were acquainted with phonetic and linguistic subjects.

Four lectures of the course remain to be delivered, which will occur on Monday and Tuesday evenings of the 23d, 24th, 30th and Dec. 1st. The subjects will be:

Nov. 23—"Preliminary Exposition of Universology."

Nov. 24—"Preliminary Exposition of Alwato, the New Scientific Universal Language."

Nov. 30—"Preliminary Exposition of the Pantarchy; the New Universal Institute of Humanity; Universal Government, Church Social Polity, etc., founded on Science."

Dec. 1—"Preliminary Exposition of the New Catholic Church, or the Religion of the Future; the two Infallibilities, and the Millennium, founded on Science."

But these public lectures constitute but a small part of the work contemplated by Mr. Andrews' presence among us, only a part of which I deem it best to call attention to for the present. We have instituted parlor meetings, to which we invite those whom we know to be vitally interested in a constructive work of industrial and social reform. And there are a large number of intelligent people in and about Boston who are inspired with a genuine interest in these meetings. Several persons who have achieved great literary reputations have favored us with their presence. Mr. Andrews takes a leading part in these parlor entertainments. From long experience in imparting his stores of thought to the intelligent few in select circles, he has become a master of this method of teaching. He wastes no words; is explicit, lucid and sympathetic withal. He puts you at ease, and one can approach him with the confidence with which a child goes to its parent. Of the personal traits and life-work of this greatly misunderstood reformer I shall have more to communicate on another occasion.

Mr. Andrews was one among the hundreds of invited guests at the annual reception of Mrs. Hardy, which came off last Thursday evening. He was included among those who were called out for a speech. Finally, after the evening was far spent and the guests had partaken of refreshments, Mr. Andrews was again appealed to for an expression of his views upon the question of social freedom, the rights of children, etc. He replied that he had no desire to intrude unwelcome topics upon such an occasion; but the importunity to hear him became so general that he yielded in a speech of upward of an hour. The closest attention was given to the close. He insisted that the question of social freedom had the same logical basis as that of political or of religious freedom. At the same time he surprised many present with his view of the high moral obligations which freedom imposes upon the members of the community. Freedom from legal interference with what alone concerns the individual was one thing; but what constitutes the proper use of freedom was quite another thing.

Universology, as a unitary and universal science, recognizes a soul of truth in all the great institutions of the past, and the legitimacy of the successive steps which have been taken in social evolutions. But it also proposes a new use of old and new materials for the complete reorganization of society in harmony with the principles embraced in this new universal science. It is proposed to establish centres of the new organization in the leading cities of this country. A nucleus was begun in New York several years ago, now in successful operation. Another is just being established in Boston. Such features of the new organization as properly belong to the public will be communicated in due time.

I shall have more to say of Mr. Andrews and his connection with this work on another occasion.

Mr. Andrews puts a high value upon the work which Mrs. Woodhull and the WEEKLY have done and are doing to secure the practical recognition of freedom in the social sphere. I never heard him express aught but generous appreciation both of the woman and her mission; but he believes that the battle for social freedom has been fought to a successful issue, and that Mrs. Woodhull has now an equally important mission as a co-worker in the building of the new. More anon.

E. WHIPPLE.

COR. WINDSOR AND WESTMINSTER STS.,
BOSTON, Nov. 23, 1874.

A CHINESE MISSION.

"At a numerous and influential meeting of the Chinese residents in Melbourne, it was resolved, in view of the deplorable paganism which prevails, to establish a mission in Melbourne, Victoria, to bring its benighted inhabitants to a knowledge of Confucius and of the pure morality which he taught. Careful inquiries and prolonged observations have convinced the promoters of this movement that the population of this colony is sunk in the grossest idolatry, and that they worship medals of gold and silver, stamped with the portrait of the reigning monarch. Certain temples, called banks, are erected as the shrines of these pocket deities; and so abject is the condition of thousands of idolaters, that they not only adore gods of gold and silver, but they also worship those human beings who possess the largest collection of them. Desirous of reciprocating the zealous efforts of British missionaries in China, the Chinese residents in Melbourne purpose sending English-speaking and highly-educated Mandarins into the Metropolis and country towns of Australia

with a view of weaning their inhabitants, if possible, from the degrading worship of that god who bears the name of Mammon. Our sacred book tells us, 'Contentment furnishes constant joy; much covetousness constant grief. To the contented even poverty is joy; to the discontented even wealth is a vexation.' Now, we perceive that among the idolaters and pagans calling themselves Christians there is much covetousness and no contentment; therefore we desire, as fellow-beings created by the same Divine Power, to bring our Victorian and Australian brethren to a knowledge of the truth, as it is in Confucius, and convert them from the error of their ways."

[The above, we are informed, is copied from the *Queensland Advertiser*, of Australia, but we are indebted for it to the *Shaker and Shakeress*, of New York.]

PUT THAT AND THAT TOGETHER.

The extracts below are both from the *New York World* of November 22d:

"Woman suffrage suffered a disastrous defeat in Michigan. The strong-minded women set their hearts upon a triumph for their cause in that State, and there is reason to believe from the exultant tone of their newspaper organs that they were sanguine of success. Led by the indomitable Mrs. Cady Stanton, they stumped the State with vigor and carried their appeal to every household. The returns of the vote on the woman suffrage amendment to the Constitution foot up: For suffrage, 36,000; against suffrage, 126,000. The strong-minded are in a minority, therefore, of 90,000. It is evident that among the many things that the recent elections smashed, female voting was one, and that it will have to be laid away with the third term, sumptuary legislation, Ben Butler, and other dead things."

"The employment of women as telegraph operators is having a good effect. Low jests and vulgarity along the lines have grown less frequent, and an intimation that there is a female operator on a circuit puts a quietus on the most virulent blasphemers."

Now let our readers and the public generally read, mark, learn and inwardly digest the latter statement, and instruct us why the presence of woman in our halls of legislation would not prove equally beneficial?

SEXUAL SCIENCE ETHICALLY CONSIDERED.

Sexuality being the basis of all life, we must here begin to build up all systems which are to be of any lasting service to humanity in its career of unfoldment. Everything that tends to the advancement of mankind has a sexual foundation; without it, it is like a house built upon the sand at the mercy of the watery element. In all the affairs of life, if we will but investigate, we can readily discover the current that carries forward the revolving wheel of progression.

All life is sexed, for underlying it is the divine principle, the very essence of sexual quality. This sexual principle pervades every atom in nature, and is the *summum-bonum* of all that is. Sexual science in all its phases has been well-nigh universally discarded by the people; for they have not comprehended the grand underlying and creative principle which characterizes sex. They have been taught by the church and pseudo-moralists to view all sexual topics as sensual and degrading, thus giving an unchaste bias to their minds; whereas, were sexual ethics more thoroughly understood and freely conversed upon, with a reverential knowledge of its exalted and divine nature, it would be something no longer to be kept in the domain of silence, in the varied circles of society; for clothed in purity—a scientific knowledge—it would send a thrill of joy through the human soul divine.

The vital and most important of all subjects—the sexual relations of mankind—is carefully excluded, if not from the domain of thought, at least from the arena of general conversation, and this studied exclusion, guided by ecclesiastical piety, stamps the general mind with the impression that there is some immorality or vulgarity naturally inherent in one of the most exalted relations, in which God, in his infinite wisdom, has placed us. We cannot conceive, with our limited knowledge, of a more exalted and divinely-ruled relation in the universe than that of the sexual, save one, and that is the life-sustaining relation between the author of our being and all life, and ourselves.

Can a spiritually-developed soul—one conscious of the power, goodness and wisdom of the eternal creative energy, comprehending in a large degree the operation of divine laws in nature—we say, can such a soul, well rounded out in the unfolding harmonies of nature, be conscious of any feeling of shame or self-debasement in the contemplation and free interchange of thought with others, upon this most vital question affecting the weal or woe of humanity? And the answer comes reverberating back from Heaven's highest spheres, "No, never! the depths of hell are not stirred by such instrumentalities; the relation assumes just such a complexion as the mind of man clothes it with."

Sexual ethics, born of a progressive enlightenment, is a new study of mankind, and requires time for the educated biased mind to become familiar with it, so that it can see within it the developing germs of progress. There is nothing that glorifies the divinity in man so much as a correct knowledge of the sexual relations in their widest scope, both physically and spiritually considered, and a wise determination, based upon that knowledge, to use in moderation by natural methods the procreative function, and not abuse it by excessive, unintelligent and hurtful exercise. Humanity cries, from the most interior depths of its being, for reformation in the existing status of our misguided, because ignorant, sexual relations. Purity based upon knowledge—the cornerstone of all advancement—demands a higher state of sexual activity, in accordance with natural law, to meet the growing requirements of the people; therefore, in harmony with this demand, the community must be educated in a new system of ethics, recognizing the sexual relations as the basis of all living reform.

The people are, as a mass, almost entirely ignorant of their

mental or spiritual natures, and consequently with the physical functions corresponding with the interior demands of their natures; and as ignorance is inimical to progress, so must man first learn of the laws which govern his being, before he can with an intelligent mind guide and control his desires, passions and emotions, and thus evolve his highest good out of his previous ignorant and bigoted conditions. Schools should be instituted all over the land, with the main object of instructing the people in the grand, but as yet mysterious science of life, and especially as applicable to the domain of sexuality. This is the primitive and fundamental source of all useful knowledge, out of which all secondary or formative knowledge would arise to bless rather than to curse humanity, as is now apparently the case. Humanity is to-day suffering inconceivable misery from a want of a knowledge of the proper relation of the sexes for the propagation of the species, and a more beautiful and symmetrical unfoldment of their interior spiritual powers. Are there no Saviors to dispel the darkness and install the light? Yes, numbers there are, if they will but enter the field of social martyrdom and perform the work that is awaiting them; there is no lack for opportunities. All that is required is a fearless, earnest and truthful spirit to direct them and urge them in its accomplishment.

All influences which tend to disturb, or are intended to thwart the grand creative design of human development, are but agencies, which stimulate the appetite of man for more spiritual light, and the desire for increased strength to overcome all obstacles in the way of advancement. Therefore, fellow-laborers and co-workers in the cause of humanity, let us not be discouraged in our noble work by the intrigues, sophistries and persecutions of the enemies of sexual freedom and enlightened lives: they but add zest to our pioneer and comprehensive work. Let us endeavor to float unharmed above their scorn and contumely, and show them by our acts that right has nothing to fear from the falsities of undeveloped conditions, but will eventually triumph over the machinations of the ignorant and prejudiced hordes of humanity.

The truths of sexuality—those underlying and unvarying principles of all reformatory action—must be scientifically explained and fully elucidated by the simple, yet beautiful, processes in nature, to the unfolding minds of all honest, earnest, and truth-seeking souls, before there can be that decided advancement in human life, that we so much desire. Mankind must be taught that there is a science which, when comprehended in its fullness, unlocks the door to all other sciences—and this is the knowledge of a grand universal and persistent effort in nature to equalize the positive and negative forces in her domain, which law constitutes the science of life or the evolving and health-contributing motions of the sexual forces. All life is but this progressive tendency to sexual equilibrium, and the nearer we approach to this divine consummation the more exalted will be our thoughts and actions in life.

The truth of sexual subordination, as evidenced in the law of adaptability—or the fundamental principle of sexual impartation and receptivity—is unrevealed and unknown to the great majority of Earth's children to-day, although Nature, in her evolutionary strides, stamps it in indelible characters upon all her works. A few advanced minds may comprehend—in varied degrees—the force and universality of this vital law, for Nature in her beautiful processes and irresistible unfoldments reveals it to highly intuitive and truth-loving minds. Mystery dissolves at the approaching dawn of intuition and of reason's highest power. All Nature displays the beautiful action of the positive or male forces over those of the negative realm of being; it is both attractive and diffusive in its character—attractive to the negative principle on its own plane of development, and diffusive to the positive elements on a lower plane of unfoldment. This is a law in Nature and binds and combines, atom with atom, throughout the universe in one living, loving embrace.

The adaptability of forms, as witnessed in Nature, constitutes and reveals the very essence of sex-qualities as existing in the interior or spiritual domain of causation. These forms in endless variety, indicate an infinite expression of the dual principle in Nature, and prove the cosmical character of sex in the manifestation of spirit through matter. All physical forms are but ultimations of spiritual entities, and correspond in degree with the sexual unfoldment of the divine powers, only existing as the refinement of matter is adapted to their manifestation. The superior human development, as manifested in the form of man, is continually exalting the growing tendencies of the life-principle in matter, until sexuality, even in a more complex form than that of the human, will be the result of the evolutionary processes of Nature. Shall the economy of God in its ultimate expression find its manifestation in the human form? our intuitions declare to the contrary, and we feel that higher forms are in embryo in Nature's womb awaiting fitting times for their birth. Between the poles of life's ever varying phases, we behold every degree of derivative virtue; that is, the power and strength of the sex-principle is manifested in varying degrees, from the blending of the crude sexual forces in inorganic matter, up to that of the complex spiritual forces inherent in the human soul.

Sexual purity is determined by the degree of freedom in sexual action, and when there is any embarrassment or obstacle in the exercise of such freedom, we find in corresponding degree, inharmonious, disease and sexual deterioration or unchastity. The only method to secure an exalted and pure sexual relation is through the godlike power, which freedom confers upon all who are unfolded and receptive to her just decrees. Freedom is a high and exalted spiritual condition, and any one who is undeveloped in his or her nature cannot enjoy the pure sweets of a holy freedom, whether in the sexual or any other relation in life.

Nature in her expression of divine thought, draws no line of cleanness or uncleanness, of purity or unchastity in her methods of externalizing the secrets of her domain—which are the spiritual forces of the universe. The act of sexual intercourse—however vitiated it may be under present social

conditions—is, when sanctified by pure and holy motives, arising from an enlarged degree of sexual knowledge, as grateful to the consciousness of God and his disciplined hosts on earth as are any of the other processes of life which build up and maintain the integrity of the human constitution. There can be nothing degrading in this spontaneous impulse of our natures when unenforced; for it is one of God's methods, in his divine creative wisdom, of bringing about a condition of harmony or a sexual equilibrium. Can we, as the result of such an act, impute to the evolving spirit of the universe anything of a mean, unchaste or degrading character in his grand designs of development? No, ignorance and self-debasement alone could do this.

All along Nature's lines of developing agencies, sexuality is the grand underlying and vital principle of her formative processes; without it all would be in a chaotic or unorganized condition. The more complex the form in nature is, the more active and exalted do we find this organizing power vibrating through life, with a continuous *conatus* to equalize, as we have said before, the sexual forces. These forces are the ultimate analysis of all life, proving the duality of God and the dual functions of Nature.

DAVID S. CADWALLADER.

PHILADELPHIA, Aug, 1874.

TAKING THE VEIL.

The veil was taken. And her calm, pale face
Smiled sadly on me as she said good-by;
No quiver on the lip my gaze could trace,
No tear-drop glistened in her young, bright eye.

'Twas the black veil. And yet I could not see
Upon that radiant face one sign of sorrow;
She parted; just as oft she'd said to me,
"I'll meet you at the same place, dear, to-morrow."

But now the veil was taken. And she said,
With just her olden thrill of girlish laughter,
"I can't come out to-morrow; but instead
I'll meet you here, dear Charlie, the day after."

And so the veil was taken. All in vain
I'd tried upon her bonnet-top to cock it;
So drew it off to kiss; ran for the train,
And took the veil—Jane's veil—home in my pocket.

Two hair pins to her chignon fastened it,
Which very quickly I had disconnected;
On these incontinent I chanced to sit—
Then how I took the veil I recollected.

—Tinsley's Magazine.

DAVIS' DEVILS.

BY W. F. JAMIESON.

The Hon. A. G. W. Carter has something to say, in his interesting way, in a late number of the *Banner of Light*, about A. J. Davis' diakka. Spiritualism is getting to be so respectable that it is orthodoxed. A troop of devils are engaged for religious services. Our Christian Spiritualists swallow the Bible, Jesus and the "good Lord;" but they forget the devils.

Judge Carter says:

"We must not judge or condemn these diakka; they occupy an important place in the economy of the spirit world, and the earth, and their relations. They are great and useful *iconoclasts* [the Judge italicizes this word] if not *instructors* and *constructors*; they are *revolutionists* if not *reformers* in religion, society, government and politics; and the old must be brushed away to give room for the new. They have their uses in the best sense that Emanuel Swedenborg, in his works, gives to that term."

If the diakka are such a useful order, then such iconoclasts as Bro. Colby and myself need have no objection to being classed with them. I had supposed the diakka to be a bad lot; but as they are revolutionists, like Thomas Paine and other heroes of American Independence, we can depend upon it, if the Judge is not mistaken, that they have been, like Paine, shamefully traduced. Hurrah for the diakka.

I had labored under the impression that Davis' diakka (he has a patent on them) were the Spiritualists' devils. The Judge himself, in one part of his communication, seems to entertain this idea, for he says: "Before purity and sincerity they will vanish like the mist." Eureka! Well, what? Why, this is the profoundest discovery of the age. All that is now necessary for any conservative Spiritualist, who has any misgiving of his or her purity and sincerity, is to ascertain whether the diakka can approach and intrude. If the diakka embrace you you are not pure. "Am I pure?" tremulously inquired a young unmarried female of forty-five summers, at a circle. There came in response three well-defined knocks, signifying "Yes." "Great God!" exclaimed the young woman, "what a test!"

Mr. Swedenborg came to the Judge to post him about this question of diakka—purity. He gave the Judge a recipe:

"To avoid such control, first know you are pure and sincere, and no spirit below your plane will dare to intrude himself or herself upon you."

That is how it is done. As one's judgment of one's self is apt to be warped, and the estimate which friends and enemies place upon us is either partial or prejudicial, the only remaining method to settle the momentous question is to ask the spirits. That will settle it. "Are there any diakka hovering about me by day, or gently meandering around my slumbering form in the stilly watches of the night?" If the solemn answer comes back, "Nary a diakka," you are safe, my friend. Thenceforward you can proudly tread your pathway of purity with the unmistakable air of conscious innocence—no matter what you do. Your fellow men and women will look upon you as perfected, signed, sealed, sanctified—labeled for the seventh sphere, where the diakka cease from troubling and the wicked are at rest.

We must all be guarded and not speak lightly of so grave a subject, for the diakka are plentiful this year. Judge Carter says: "There is one thing clear, that these diakka or fantastic or mixed spirits, are very numerous and abundant, and take any and every opportunity to obtrude themselves." He describes them as "mischievous," "Putting this and

that together," some people draw an inference without any reverence in it, that the diakka are the souls of American news-boys! The description given of the diakka fits them exactly. This age does abound in wonderful discoveries.

The enterprise of our Spiritualist brethren is commendable. They do not propose to allow orthodoxy a monopoly of the Devil business. Bro. Davis will probably next get a revelation that there is a charcoal hell over there. It would be an excellent adjunct to Sister Hardinge's liturgy.

So it goes. The grafting of the myths and fables of religion upon Spiritualism mar and never beautify its philosophy.

I would rather be an iconoclastic devil, demolishing the idols of superstition, than a god manufacturing them.

BUSINESS EDITORIALS.

MRS. MURR, Clairvoyant, Business and Healing Medium, cures all diseases by the laying-on of hands. Also, magnetic, positive and negative pills guaranteed to cure any disease. Seances fifty cents. Mrs. Murr, 423 Nineteenth street, Phila.

E. M. Flagg, dentist, 79 West Eleventh street, New York city. Specialty, artificial dentures.

DR. L. K. COONLEY has removed from Vineland to Newark N. J. Office and residence No. 53 Academy street, where he will treat the sick daily and receive applications to lecture Sundays in New Jersey, New York or elsewhere in the vicinity.

THE Universal Association of Spiritualists, Primary Council No. 1 of Illinois, meets every Sunday at 3:30 P. M., at Parlor 16, 181 Clark st. corner of Monroe, Chicago. Free conference and free seats.

ERNEST J. WITHEFORD, Cor. Sec.

Dr. Slade, the eminent Test Medium, may be found at his office, No. 25 East Twenty-first street near Broadway

CHAS. H. FOSTER, the renowned Test Medium, can be found at No. 14 West Twenty-fourth street, New York City.

FRIENDS in Chicago can find a pleasant home, with board at a fair price, at 49 Walnut street.

Send Austin Kent one dollar for his book and pamphlets on Free Love and Marriage. He has been sixteen years physically helpless, confined to his bed and chair, is poor and needs the money. You may be even more benefited by reading one of the boldest, deepest, strongest, clearest and most logical writers. You are hardly well posted on this subject till you have read Mr. Kent. You who are able add another dollar or more as charity. His address, AUSTIN KENT, Stockholm, St. Lawrence Co., N. Y., Box 44.

R. W. HUME, Associate Editor of WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY, is prepared to deliver lectures on Radical Spiritualism, and on all the reforms of which it is the base. For further particulars, list of lectures, etc., address box 3,791 New York City.

THE MICHIGAN STATE ASSOCIATION OF SPIRITUALISTS will hold their Ninth Annual Convention in Stuart's Hall at Battle Creek, Michigan, commencing on the second Friday in December, 1874, at 2 o'clock P. M., and continue its sessions until Sunday evening, December 13. The platform will be free for the discussion of all questions tending to instruct and improve the mind and elevate humanity. Good speakers are expected to be in attendance, and a cordial invitation is extended to all speakers and mediums. Let there be a grand rally of the Spiritualists from all parts of the State and also of adjoining States. The Spiritualist Society of Battle Creek will make an effort to entertain (free) as large a number as possible. Arrangements will be made with the hotels of the city for reduced rates for those who prefer their accommodations. Come one, come all, and let us reason together.

E. C. MANCHESTER, President.

BATTLE CREEK, Nov. 2, 1874.

Spiritual papers please copy.

DR. R. P. FELLOWS, the great healer, announces to the afflicted who have heretofore been unable to avail themselves of his remarkable healing power, that he is now within their reach, and that they can be treated just as effectually at their homes as at his office by means of his Magnetized Powder, which he thoroughly magnetizes, and when taken commences upon its healing mission with marvelous effect. Invalids who have been looked upon as tottering on the brink of the grave have been restored to perfect health by one or two boxes of this potent remedy. \$1 per box.

Address; Vineland, N. J.

C. W. STEWART may be addressed, till further notice, at McHenry, Illinois.

CAPT. H. H. BROWN AND FANNIE M. BOWEN-BROWN, who have been successfully lecturing and holding seances in Iowa for the last six months, have arranged their plans in the same State as follows: Along the line of the C. & N. W. R. R. and its connections during November; over the S. C. & P. R. R., and its northern and eastern connections, in the first part of December, and the latter part of December and January along the C. & R. I. R. R. Parties desiring their services can address them at Mo. Valley, Iowa. After Jan. will go East if desired.

PARKER PILLSBURY, of Concord, N. H., is at present fulfilling an engagement with the liberal societies of Toledo, Ohio, and Battle Creek, Michigan. Two Sundays in a month at each, with headquarters at the former place.

T. S. A. POPE, Inspirational Speaker, is on his way East from Chicago. Societies desiring his services will please address him, care of Dr. E. Woodruff, 44 Canal street, Grand Rapids, Mich.

PROF. LISTER, the astrologist, can be consulted at his rooms No. 329, Sixth avenue. Address by letter, P. O. Box 4829.

MRS. NELLIE DAVIS will lecture in Cleveland, Ohio, during December. Societies, East or West, desiring her services, can address her at 235 Washington St., Salem, Mass.

E. J. WITHEFORD, trance and physical medium. Public seances Thursdays and Sundays at 8 P. M., at 409 W. Madison street, Chicago, Ill.

[CIRCULAR.]

BUREAU OF CORRESPONDENCE OF THE PANTARCHY.

The increasing number of letters of inquiry, addressed to MR. ANDREWS personally, and to others known to be associated with him, in respect to the nature, purposes, progress and prospects of the Pantarchy, suggest the propriety of organizing a branch or bureau of its operations for the express purpose of answering such and similar inquiries, as well as for the relief of the parties so addressed, whose time has, heretofore, been gratuitously given to the writing of replies.

There are two other kinds of letters sent in a steady current for many years to the same quarter. The first are letters of inquiry touching social difficulties, and asking for advice or consolation, in the thousand trying conditions in which married and unmarried persons, men and women, find themselves involved. The others are letters asking specific information, on matters of reform, spiritualism, unitary life, the new language, and the like; and even on a variety of topics, concerning science, business, and miscellaneous subjects.

To serve this great want; to organize and economize labor; and to extend this method of giving information into a systematized institution for the use of the whole community this Bureau formed. The aggregate of small fees, will, it is hoped, furnish a means of support to one or several of the wisest and best of the men or women most versed in the social reform, and in universological science, and prove of great use to many an aching heart and to many an inquiring mind. THE BUREAU OF CORRESPONDENCE will undertake to answer ANY QUESTION (admitting of an answer) upon ANY SUBJECT, and in case its efforts are appreciated will take the necessary steps to enlarge its connections and means of information to that end. In the meantime, if the question is of a kind which the Bureau is unable to answer, the fee will be returned.

The fees charged are as follows: For a reply on postal card to a single inquiry, 10 cents; for a letter of advice, information (more at large), or sympathy and consolation, 25 cents. In the latter case, the letter of inquiry must contain a stamp, for the answer. No increase of charge on account of the difficulty of obtaining the information, except in special instances, which will be arranged by correspondence. Newspapers inserting this circular, can avail themselves of the aid of the Bureau without charge.

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

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It advocates, as parts of the new government—

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5. A new financial system, in which the government will be the source, custodian and transmitter of money, and in which usury will have no place.
6. A new sexual system, in which mutual consent, entirely free from money or any inducement other than love, shall be the governing law, individuals being left to make their own regulations; and in which society, when the individual shall fail, shall be responsible for the proper rearing of children.
7. A new educational system, in which all children born shall have the same advantages of physical, industrial, mental and moral culture, and thus be equally prepared at maturity to enter upon active, responsible and useful lives.

All of which will constitute the various parts of a new social order, in which all the human rights of the individual will be associated to form the harmonious organization of the peoples into the grand human family, of which every person in the world will be a member.

Criticism and objections specially invited.

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COL. J. H. BLOOD, Managing Editor.

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314 EAST NINTH ST., NEW YORK

Testimonials.

Inflammation of the Kidneys, Stomach and Bowels Cured.

NEW YORK, July 20, 1870.

For several years I have been suffering from an acute disease (inflammation of the kidneys and upper part of the stomach and bowels), for which I had been treated by several of the most eminent and successful physicians in the vicinity of New York, but without success. My disease seemed to have assumed a chronic form, and I had almost despaired of ever being cured. Hearing of their success in the treatment of all chronic diseases, I determined to try their skill, and I am now thankful that I did, as after the very first operation I commenced to improve, and now, after a few weeks, I am well, or nearly so.

Hoping that this may induce others who need their services to test their skill, I cheerfully give this testimony in their favor, and hope that they may be the means of restoring hundreds of those suffering as I did to health and strength.

Spring Valley, N. Y.

JOHN A. VANZANT.

Bright's Disease of the Kidneys Cured.

NEW YORK CITY, Nov. 3, 1869.

Eight years ago I was taken with bleeding from the kidneys, which has continued at intervals ever since. All the best physicians did me no good, and finally gave me up as an incurable case of Bright's Disease of the Kidneys. My friends had all lost hope, and I had also given up, as

I had become so weak that I could scarcely walk a block. A friend advised me to go to the Magnetic Healing Institute, and see what could be done for me there. I went, and after being examined was told I could be cured only by the strictest Magnetic treatment. The first operation affected me strangely, sending piercing pains through my back and kidneys; but I began to improve at once, and now, after one month's treatment, I have returned to my employment and can walk several miles without fatigue. I can be seen at 101 Clinton avenue, Brooklyn, or at 23 South street, New York.

T. P. RICHARDSON.

Inflammation of the Face and Eyes Cured.

NEW YORK CITY, June 21, 1869.

I had been afflicted for several years by a serious inflammation of the face, involving the eyes, which were so bad that at times I could not see at all. One eye I thought entirely destroyed. I tried various remedies and the most eminent physicians, but could not even get relief, for the most excruciating pain accompanied it. As a last resort I applied at the Magnetic Healing Institute. They explained my disease and said it could be removed. Though thoroughly skeptical, I placed myself under treatment, and, strange as it may seem, am now, after six weeks' treatment, entirely cured; the eye I thought destroyed, is also restored. I consider my case demonstrates that the mode of treating diseases practiced at the Institute is superior to all others, as I had tried them all without benefit.

JOHN FOX,

No. 3 Clinton avenue, near Fletcher street, Brooklyn.

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THROUGH TICKETS to all important towns, and general information may be obtained at the Company 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.
By 23d Street, N. Y.	8.30 A. M.	10.45 A. M.	Lv 23d Street, N. Y.	6.45 P. M.
" Chambers street.	8.40 "	10.45 "	" Chambers street.	7.00 "
" Jersey City.	9.15 "	11.15 "	" Jersey City.	7.20 "
" Asquehanna.	3.40 P. M.	8.12 P. M.	" Asquehanna.	2.43 A. M.
" Binghampton.	4.40 "	9.20 "	" Binghampton.	3.35 "
" Elmira.	6.30 "	12.16 A. M.	" Elmira.	5.35 "
" Hornellsville.	8.30 "	1.50 "	" Hornellsville.	7.40 "
" Buffalo.	12.05 A. M.	8.10 "	" Buffalo.	11.45 "
Ar Suspension Bridge.	1.10 A. M.	1.35 P. M.	Lv Suspension Bridge.	12.27 P. M.
Ar St. Catharines.	1.35 "	2.00 "	Lv St. Catharines.	1.35 "
" Hamilton.	2.45 "	2.55 "	" Hamilton.	2.00 "
" Harrisburg.	3.55 "	3.53 "	" Harrisburg.	2.55 "
" London.	5.35 A. M.	5.55 "	" London.	3.53 "
" Chatham.	7.55 "	8.12 "	" Chatham.	5.55 "
" Detroit.	9.40 "	10.00 "	" Detroit.	8.12 "
Lv Detroit.	9.40 "	10.10 "	" Detroit.	10.00 "
Ar Wayne.	10.21 "	10.10 "	Lv Detroit.	10.10 "
" Ypsilanti.	10.45 "	11.25 P. M.	Ar Wayne.	8.55 "
" Ann Arbor.	11.00 "	11.43 "	" Ypsilanti.	9.27 "
" Jackson.	12.15 P. M.	1.00 A. M.	" Ann Arbor.	9.50 "
" Marshall.	1.15 "	1.00 A. M.	" Jackson.	1.00 A. M.
" Battle Creek.	2.03 "	AIR LINE.	" Marshall.	1.30 p. m.
" Kalamazoo.	2.55 "	AIR LINE.	" Battle Creek.	1.35 "
" Niles.	4.32 P. M.	4.40 A. M.	" Kalamazoo.	1.50 "
" New Buffalo.	5.25 "	5.45 "	" Niles.	2.35 "
" Michigan City.	5.45 "	5.45 "	" New Buffalo.	4.40 A. M.
" Calumet.	7.18 "	7.47 "	" Michigan City.	5.00 "
" Chicago.	8.00 "	8.00 "	" Calumet.	6.02 "
Ar Milwaukee.	11.50 A. M.	11.50 A. M.	" Chicago.	6.25 "
Ar Prairie du Chein.	8.55 P. M.	8.55 P. M.	" Chicago.	8.00 "
Ar La Crosse.	11.50 P. M.	7.05 A. M.	" Chicago.	8.45 "
Ar St. Paul.	6.15 P. M.	6.15 P. M.	Ar Milwaukee.	11.50 A. M.
Ar St. Louis.	8.15 A. M.	8.15 P. M.	Ar Prairie du Chein.	8.55 p. m.
Ar Sedalia.	5.40 P. M.	5.40 P. M.	Ar La Crosse.	7.05 A. M.
" Denison.	8.00 "	8.00 "	Ar St. Paul.	7.00 A. M.
" Galveston.	10.45 "	10.45 "	Ar St. Louis.	8.15 P. M.
Ar Bismarck.	11.00 P. M.	11.00 P. M.	Ar Sedalia.	6.50 A. M.
" Columbus.	5.00 A. M.	5.00 A. M.	" Denison.	8.00 "
" Little Rock.	7.30 P. M.	7.30 P. M.	" Galveston.	10.00 "
Ar Burlington.	8.50 A. M.	8.50 A. M.	Ar Bismarck.	12.01 P. M.
" Omaha.	11.00 P. M.	11.00 P. M.	" Columbus.	6.30 "
" Cheyenne.	11.00 P. M.	11.00 P. M.	" Little Rock.	7.00 P. M.
" Ogden.	11.00 P. M.	11.00 P. M.	Ar Burlington.	7.00 P. M.
" San Francisco.	11.00 P. M.	11.00 P. M.	" Omaha.	7.45 A. M.
Ar Galesburg.	6.40 A. M.	6.40 A. M.	" Cheyenne.	12.50 P. M.
" Quincy.	11.15 "	11.15 "	" Ogden.	5.30 "
" St. Joseph.	10.00 "	10.00 "	" San Francisco.	8.30 "
" Kansas City.	10.40 P. M.	10.40 P. M.	Ar Galesburg.	4.45 P. M.
" Atchison.	11.00 "	11.00 "	" Quincy.	9.45 "
" Leavenworth.	12.10 "	12.10 "	" St. Joseph.	8.10 A. M.
" Denver.	7.00 A. M.	7.00 A. M.	" Kansas City.	9.25 "
			" Atchison.	11.17 "
			" Leavenworth.	12.40 noon.
			" Denver.	1.00 "

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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.

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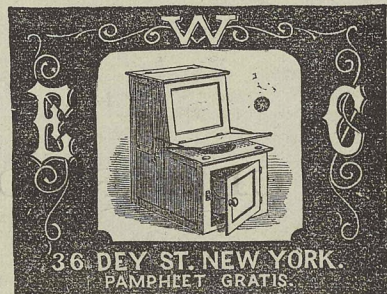
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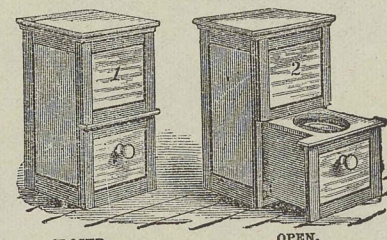
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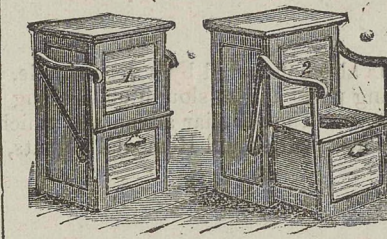


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