

THE HUMAN BODY
THE TEMPLE OF GOD;

OR,

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIOLOGY,

BY

VICTORIA CLAFLIN WOODHULL

(MRS. JOHN BIDDULPH MARTIN)

AND

TENNESSEE C. CLAFLIN

(LADY COOK),

Together with other Essays. &c., &c.

ALSO

PRESS NOTICES

OF

EXTEMPORANEOUS LECTURES DELIVERED THROUGHOUT AMERICA AND ENGLAND

FROM

1869 TO 1882.

"PEOPLE IN EARNEST HAVE NO TIME TO WASTE IN PATCHING FIGLEAVES FOR THE
NAKED TRUTH."—*James Russell Lowell.*

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MRS. JOHN BIDDULPH MARTIN,
Formerly VICTORIA CLAFLIN WOODHULL.

that was carried on through much abuse and misrepresentation to a triumphant conclusion.

But I trust that some record of my work other than the ephemeral approbation of the press may yet remain, and that of those who listened to me in the years that are past many may bear witness by a higher aim in life, and a purer standard of morals, that my labour was not in vain.

VICTORIA C. (WOODHULL) MARTIN.

17, HYDE PARK GATE, LONDON, ENGLAND.

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NOTE.—The plates contained in this volume are reproductions of illustrations that appeared in contemporary newspapers.

beast of the field : upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life :

15 And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed ; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.

16 Unto the woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception ; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children ; and thy desire *shall be* to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee.

17 And unto Adam he said, Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree, of which I commanded thee, saying, Thou shalt not eat of it : cursed *is* the ground for thy sake ; in sorrow shalt thou eat *of* it all the days of thy life ;

18 Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee ; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field :

19 In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground ; for out of it wast thou taken : for dust thou *art*, and unto dust shalt thou return.

20 And Adam called his wife's name Eve ; because she was the mother of all living.

21 Unto Adam also, and to his wife, did the LORD God make coats of skins, and clothed them.

22 ¶ And the LORD God said, Behold, the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil : and now, lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever ;

23 Therefore the LORD God sent him forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from whence he was taken.

24 So he drove out the man ; and he placed at the east of the garden of Eden cherubims, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life.

I take up this book and call your attention to it. You perhaps will say, "Oh, that is the old Bible, worn threadbare long ago. We do not wish to be fed with its dry husks. We want living food and drink." Well, that is what I am going to give you.

designs and purposes of the moving power were contained in and exhausted by his creation ; that is, that as a fruit of the creative plan, man was the highest possibility of the universe.

Religious theory, in inquiring into the creation of man, has pursued the method precisely the reverse of this. Having found man on the earth, it assumes that he was a special creation ; that is, that God, having purposed in Himself that He would create man, set Himself about to prepare a place in which he was to live ; the earth, formed according to the account in Genesis, being that place. I say that this is the theory of religionists ; but it is by no means certain that their account of the creation justifies any such conclusion. The biblical account of the creation is an allegorical picture of it, which, in detail, is strikingly in harmony with the real truth. "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth, and the earth was without form, and void." There were light and darkness—day and night. There were the divisions into water and land ; the vegetation, fish, fowl, beast, and man ; and next, the rest from labour. In so few words, who could make a clearer statement of what we know about the creation of the earth than this ?

We must remember that the Bible does not pretend to be a scientific book at all. It deals altogether with the inspirational or spirit side of the universe. St. Paul informs us that the God of the Bible "is a spirit." At least the translators have made him state it thus ; but it is not exactly as he wrote it, although in the end it has the same significance, since if God is a spirit, a spirit is also God. The original Greek of this, which is what Paul meant to say, and did say, and which is the truth, religiously and scientifically also, is *Pneuma Theos*—Pneuma meaning spirit, and Theos God. According to St. Paul, then, spirit is God, and according to science, the life that is in the world is its creative cause ; so both agree in their fundamental propositions, however much the priestcraft of the world may have attempted to twist St. Paul into accordance with their

none can say that I have cited any irrelevant matter or any questionable authority.

The Bible has seldom, if ever—certainly never by professing Christians—been searched with the view to discover any new truth that might not be in harmony with their preconceived ideas as to what the truth ought to be; that is to say, it has never been searched fearlessly of what the truth might prove to be. The seal of mystery that is visible all over the face of the Bible, and that is clearly set forth in words within itself, has never been broken, nor the veil penetrated which hides its real significance from the minds of the people; while the attempts that have been made to interpret this significance have had their origin in a desire to verify some already entertained idea.

To want the truth for the sake of the truth—to want the truth, let it be what it may and lead where it may—has had, so far, no conspicuous following in the world, or at least so few that, practically, it may be said that there has never been any desire for the truth for its own sake. When the truth has appeared to be in antagonism with the cherished conceits of the people, they have shut their eyes and closed their hearts against it, and blocked up all avenues for its approach to them. One of the best evidences that the full truth is soon to dawn upon the world, lies in the fact that there are now a few persons who want the truth for its own sake, and who will follow it wherever it may lead them.

For one I want the truth, the whole truth; and I will proclaim it, no matter if it be opposed to every vestige of organization extant—political, social, religious! No matter if it be revolutionary to every time-honoured institution in existence! Let creeds fall if they will; let churches topple if they must; let anarchy even reign temporarily if it cannot be avoided, but let us for once in the world have the simple, plain truth; and let us welcome it because it is the truth, and not because it may or may not be in accord with popular notions and opinions.

are there. Yes! There were some rivers, and there were some countries in which they were situated, and yet we are coolly informed that the garden is lost, as if it were a matter of only the slightest moment. But will Christians assert, with the expectation that it will be believed, that the location of the four rivers and of the countries in which they were located, are lost with the garden. To say that the garden is lost is virtually to say just that. The four rivers are enumerated specifically, to wit: the Pison, the Gihon, the Hiddekel, and the Euphrates. Are these rivers lost and also the countries Havilah, Ethiopia, and Assyria—all well known geographical terms? If they are not, how does it happen that the garden can be lost? There seems to be something very strange about all this.

And as the allegory continues, when the Lord God had expelled Adam from the garden, we are informed that he "placed at the east of the garden Cherubims [*the Oherubims, the eyes; and the flaming sword, the tongue*], and a flaming sword which turned every way to keep the way of the tree of life." Is it not proper also to inquire after these sentries of the Lord God? What has become of them, and the tree of life that they were set to guard? If they were set "at the east of the garden," and the garden was in Western Asia, why are they not to be found somewhere now? If I were anxious about the consistency of my theology, I should send off a Livingstone at once to hunt up this garden, fearing lest my religion might go to keep company with the garden upon which it is founded. I will venture the opinion that anyone who should start upon that journey, would have a more difficult task than discovering the sources of the Nile, or the North Pole, has proved to be.

But what about that tree of life which was in the midst of the garden? What has become of that? Is that lost also? Is that perished? and if so, are there any more in the world? The Lord God expelled Adam from the garden "lest he should put forth his hand and take of the tree of life, and eat and live

were to go to the City of David to-day, we should find the river in the same condition as the garden itself which it once watered—that its location is lost. So we must also pass the Gihon, and turn to the next, which is Hiddekel. Though both Moses and Daniel said that this river was in Assyria, we can find no geographical mention made of its locality anywhere; therefore we shall be obliged to dismiss this with the others, and have recourse to the last one, which is the Euphrates. We all know where the Euphrates river is located, and if we can reach its banks, and follow up its course, we must, as a matter of necessity, find its source; and in finding it, find also the greater river Pison, from which it divides. Having done this, all the other rivers also will be discovered. There can be no mistaking the place, since it was at that point where the great river divided into four heads. When we arrive at this place, we shall be, at least, near the garden.

But, alas for our hopes! We wander along the banks of the beautiful Euphrates, from its mouth to its source, and find no place where it divides from another river; but, on the contrary, discover a number flowing into its ever-increasing stream. And now we cross to the opposite shore, and again from the Persian Gulf to the mountains of Armenia, seek the desired spot, but still are doomed to disappointment. If this be the river Moses describes, then his description is not true. The Euphrates river does not divide from any other river, but has its own source, as other rivers have their sources. So our last hope from the rivers is gone. We must dismiss the Euphrates as well as the Pison, the Gihon, and the Hiddekel.

Let us not, however, be altogether discouraged by our repeated failures with the rivers. The object in view is too important to be hastily abandoned. We have not yet exhausted our means of discovery. So, with heavy hearts, we will turn our backs upon the rivers, and seek elsewhere, hoping for better success. Since we cannot find the garden through the medium of its

we find? Ethiopia is a vast domain, situated in the very heart of Africa, with mountains on the north, mountains on the east, mountains everywhere. If the second chapter of Genesis is geography, Moses must have meant to have said there were mountains instead of a river compassing the whole land of Ethiopia, or else his Ethiopia was some country other than the one which we have under consideration, and one of which there is nothing known in our day save what Moses tells us.

We will now re-cross the Red Sea into Asia, and go through the land of Assyria, looking for the river Hiddekel, which Moses says is there. Turning again to the maps, we also again fail to find such a river as Hiddekel there set down, and we run through the geographies fruitlessly. As far as our investigations have been pushed, we can find two places only in all the books where this river is mentioned, and these occur in the text, and in Daniel x. 4. This is the river on the banks of which Daniel had the most remarkable vision recorded in the Old Testament; and it rises into the greatest significance by reason of the character of that vision. Where should this river be? Bible geographers endeavour to account for the discrepancies between the Bible and the geographies by saying that it is supposed that this river Hiddekel was the one now known as the Tigris. To be sure the Tigris runs with a swift current as did the Hiddekel; but it is not in the right place, nor does it run in the right direction. The maps show that the river Tigris instead of running "to the east of Assyria," runs southward into the Persian Gulf. Nor do the maps discover any river running to the east of Assyria which may be taken for the river Hiddekel of the Bible. So we shall have to abandon the search for the Garden of Eden. We have exhausted the rivers, and the countries also, in which Moses set it down as being located.

Although we have not discovered the garden, we have found all the countries named by Moses. If the Garden of Eden really consisted of all of these countries, and for some reason, now

their own vulgarity and obscenity to the world in this way. How long will it be before the people will begin to comprehend that Paul spoke the truth when he said, "To the pure all things are pure." He ought to be good authority to most of you, who profess him so loudly. But I must confess that I have yet to find the first professing Christian who believes a single word of that most truthful saying. I fear that the hearts of such Christians are still far away from Jesus. But give heed to the truths to which I shall call your attention, and they will help to bring you all nearer to Him both in lip and in heart.

The despised parts of the body are to become what Jesus was, the Saviour conceived at Nazareth. The despised body, and not the honoured soul, must be the stone cut out of the mountain that shall be the head of the corner, though now rejected by the builders. There can be no undefiled or unpolluted temple of God that is not built upon this corner-stone, perfectly. And until the temple shall be perfect there can be no perfect exercise by the in-dwelling spirit. "The stone which the builders disallowed, the same is made the head of the corner."—1 Peter ii. 7. Christians have been thinking of taking care of the soul by sending it to heaven, while the body has been left to take care of itself and sink to hell, dragging its tenant with it.

"That through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil."—Heb. ii. 14.

"And deliver them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage."—Heb. ii. 15.

"God hath chosen the foolish things of the world, to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen."—1 Cor. i. 27, 28.

"And those members of the body, which we think to be less honourable, upon them we bestow more abundant honour."—1 Cor. xii. 23.

The last two chapters of the Revelation refer to the human body saved, and as being the dwelling place of God. The first two chapters of Genesis refer to the body, cursed by the acts of

right. I do not say that the law has not been useful, nor that it is not useful still. It is better to be restrained by law from doing wrong, than not to be restrained at all; but it is those who need restraint who ought to be ashamed, and not those who have grown beyond the need of law and wish for freedom from its force. In one sense, as Paul said it was, "the law was our schoolmaster;" but those who have graduated from the school, no longer need a master. Shall they, however, be compelled to have one, merely because all others have not yet graduated? Shall everybody be compelled to stay at school till everybody else has left? Think of these questions with but a grain of common sense, and you will see that they who urge the repeal of law are the best entitled to be considered pure at heart, as well as pure in act.

Jesus said, that "Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart." Judged by this standard of purity, who are not adulterers? I will tell you who, and who only. Only those are not who can stand the test of natural virtue; and this test is never to do an act for which, under any circumstances, there is cause to be ashamed. Adam and Eve were not ashamed until they had eaten the forbidden fruit—the fruit of the tree which stood in "the midst of the garden," "whose seed is within itself;" but the moment they had done what they knew to be a wrong, when they had learned of good by knowing evil as its contrast, by reason of having done the evil, then they were ashamed and made covers for themselves. They are sexually pure and virtuous who enter into the most sacred and intimate relations of life just as they would go before their God, and by being drawn to them by the Spirit of God, which is ever present in His temple.

This is to have natural virtue. This is to have natural, in place of artificial purity. People who are pure and virtuous may be brought into intimate relations, and never have a lustful thought come into their souls. Now, this is the kind of virtue,

purity, and morality that I would have established; it is the kind I advocate as the highest condition to which the race can rise. Suppose that the world were in the condition in which I speak, do you not know that it would be a thousand times more pure than it is? But do you say that all this is too far in the future to be of any use now? This plea is often made—that it ought not to be given to the people till they are ready to receive it and live it. I cannot have a more complete endorsement than to have it said that the people are not yet good enough to live the doctrines that I teach. But if they really do imagine this, I can assure them that they do not give the people credit enough for goodness. Bad as they are, they are not half so bad as some would make them out to be. Place men and women on their honour. You are all familiar with this principle, but you never think of applying it to the social relations, while it is really more applicable to them than it is to almost anything else. But, if the people are not good enough to live under the law of individual honour, then it is quite time that some one should have the courage to go before the world and begin to advocate the things that are needed to make them so.

Before leaving this part of my subject, I wish again to impress it upon you that when there is purity in the heart, it cannot be obscene to consider the natural functions of any part of the body, whether male or female. I am aware that this is a terrible truth to tell to the world, but it is a truth that the world needs to be told; one which it must fully realize before the people will give that care and attention to their creative functions which must precede the building up of a perfected humanity. Who shall dare say that the noblest works—nay, this holy temple—the kingdom of God—is obscene? Perish the vulgarity that makes such thoughts possible.

Where should the Garden of Eden be found if not within the human body? Is there any other place or thing in the universe more worthy to be called an "Eden"? Then let who may,

esteeming himself a better judge than myself, condemn this garden as impure. If the gravity and grandeur of this subject were once realized you would never think meanly of, or desecrate your own body, but instead, you would do what Paul commanded (1 Corinthians vi. 20): "Glorify God in your body."

Anyone who will read the second chapter of Genesis, divorced from the idea that it relates to a spot of ground anywhere on the face of the earth, must, it seems to me, come to, or near, the truth. I have shown, conclusively, that it is not a garden in the common acceptance of that term: indeed, that the Garden of Eden, according to Moses, is a physical absurdity, if it be interpreted to mean what it is held to mean by the Christian world.

The Garden of Eden is the human body; the second chapter of Genesis was written by Moses to mean the body; it cannot mean anything else. Furthermore, Moses chose the language used because it describes the functions and uses of the body better than any other that he could choose without using the plain terms. Could there have been a more poetic statement of what really does occur? What more complete idea could there be formed of Paradise than a perfect human body—such as there must have been before there had been corruption and degradation in the relation of the sexes? "*Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy, for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are.*"—(1 Cor. iii. ver. 16, 17.) "*What! Know you not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you? Therefore glorify God in your body.*"—(1 Cor. vi. ver. 19, 20.)

But now let us go on with the application of our former inquiries into this garden: "And a river went out of Eden to water the garden, and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads. The name of the first river is Pison, as we

way of the stomach, intestines, heart, lungs, arteries, and veins, waters the whole land that suffers pain and brings forth. What is there in the world to which this description of the river Pison and the land of Havilah could be applied, save to the body? It cannot be found. I challenge the world to find it. It would be absurd, simply, to say that the district south-east of Sanaa, in Arabia, which is called Havilah, suffers pain in bringing forth. Nevertheless, this is the conventionally accepted land of Havilah.

“And the name of the second river is Gihon: the same is it that compasseth the whole land of Ethiopia.” The first branch that divides from the main river of the body is that which drains the body by way of the intestines. This is the river Gihon, which is the valley of grace. Could there be a more appropriate name than that of “grace” for the process by which the refuse from the river Pison is discharged from the body? or than the valley of grace for the operations that are performed within the abdomen for the elimination from the body of the refuse that is gathered there. Is not this a process of grace?—a process of natural and involuntary purification? If it were not for this purpose of grace we should be lost through the *débris* of which the system is relieved by this bursting forth of the river Gihon from this valley of grace.

And this is the river that compasseth the whole land of Ethiopia—the land of blackness (darkness), and where there is heat (see Psalm cxxxix. 12). That is to say, the intestines occupy the abdominal cavity, which is the land of darkness in Eden. All the movements that are made therein are made in darkness, and therein also is the heat which signifies the warmth that gives and maintains life; that maintains the old and that produces the new; that sustains the temperature of the body, and that gives it the power to reproduce. Physiologically this is absolutely true, just as are all the other descriptions and allegories that are given by Moses of the garden.

“And the name of the third river is Hiddekel, that is it

full scope, so long as children be not produced, save as and when desired. Science is cited as the instrument which enables us to have many domestic comforts—that the aid of science is called where it would be injurious to the mother to have a child—why not under other circumstances? These books are criminal in their ignorance of natural laws.

Menstruation being the hereditary result of the undue excitation of the ovaries, there could be no greater condemnation for those who advocate preventive checks.

Morbid menstruation or excessive excitation of the ovaries induced by sexual excitement is the cause of ovarian and uterine inflammation, of uterine tumours, of ovarian cysts, of ovarian dropsy, of cancer of the cervix uteri, and various other pathological conditions of the generative organs. And this pathological condition is by no means confined to the individual life. It may be handed down from generation to generation for diseased ovaries are found in mere children; cases are on record where ovariectomy has been performed on young girls, one only eight years of age, for ovarian tumour. Cysts are found in the ovaries of new-born children, showing that these pathological conditions are hereditary. And yet these ovaries influence the whole body, often rendering existence one life-long martyrdom. Poor mortals doomed to a living death! Degenerate organs of reproduction produce monsters of every description. The enormous percentage of women who die from these causes can only be realized by reading medical books on diseases of women. Constant irritation of the ovaries reacts upon the nervous centres, producing all kinds of morbid effects, headaches, lassitude, irritability, nervous chills, hysteria, hypochondria, melancholia, epilepsy, paralysis, hyperexcitability, lethargy, catalepsy, somnambulism, strange alienation, and various degrees of insanity. It is not the frequent child-bearing which is so disastrous to the mother, but the constant drain upon her available energy by too frequent sexual excitement and consequent exhaustion.

of the race is the longest. And in those countries where the sexual sentiments have been worked by the custom of early marriages, the hereditary result has been early menstruation, shorter life, and deterioration of the race. The vital principle is developed and determined by the female and is followed by the male. Even the greater developed mental capacity of the male is largely dependent upon the mother who bore him.

In repeated pregnancies the weight of the child and the bulk of its head are increased. Schroeder, in his "Manual of Midwifery," says: "The weight of the child increases with the age and especially with the number of the previous labours of the woman. . . . The heads of male children are larger than those of female, and the most important diameter of the head—and the biparietal—increases quite out of proportion to the number of labours and the age of the mother, so that the broadest skull may be expected in a male foetus of a pluriparæ somewhat advanced in age . . . consequently not to expect very large heads in young primiparæ, whilst in an older woman who has often borne children, a head of a considerable size may be looked for. This proves that the function of gestating is developed in successive pregnancies, that the foetus is better nourished, and has had the advantages of the more fully developed maternal organs. But our civilization would provide means to avoid conception when the mother has had one or two children, so that those children, who would be more developed physically and mentally, should not be born, or if born in spite of preventive checks should have the injurious effects resulting to contend against.

Sir Spencer Wells, in his book on "Ovarian and Uterine Tumours," published in 1882, gives a brief sketch of the history of Ovariectomy, and quotes the following:—

"A paper was laid before a late meeting of the Anthropological Society of Berlin for publication in their Transactions which reports that the aborigines of Australia and

death (all die in Adam) so long, the Christian will ask; and if there is any truth in the Bible as being God's truth, why did He not make it so clear that none could misunderstand it and be lost thereby, the scientist will retort. Now, here is precisely where the reconciliation between religionists and scientists will come. The very thing that the Bible declares to be a gift of God, which is to be revealed when the mystery shall be solved, is the very thing after which all science seeks—the perfect life. The ultimate fact after which both religion and science bend their energies is the self-same thing. The Spirit—God—tells what this is inspirationally in the Bible; men delve for it among the laws of nature scientifically. At the same time that it shall be discovered to the world of what this mystery of God consists: it will be demonstrated by actual life in individuals. Inspiration and evolution mean the self-same thing, spoken from the opposite extremes of the development by which it shall come—the former being the spiritual comprehension of the truth before it is “made flesh and dwells among us,” and evolution being its actualization in experience.

Interpret the arbitrary commands of the Bible by the language of natural law, by which alone God works, and the reconciliation between God and nature, between religion and science, between inspiration and evolution, is completed. Inspiration is the language of men who were permeated with Divine essence, but knew nothing about the law of cause and effect. They attributed the destruction of a city by fire or by an earthquake, in short, every visitation of painful effects upon men, as a direct and arbitrary command of God as punishment for sin; while by the light of science they are only the natural effects of immutable laws, occurring because they must occur, in the evolution of the universe. All the sins and punishments of which man has been made the subject are of the same order. It was impossible that man, being an animal, should be made a son of God, save by the very process through which he has had to pass.

7 Behold I come quickly: blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book.

8 And I John saw these things, and heard *them*. And when I had heard and seen, I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel which shewed me these things.

9 Then saith he unto me, See *thou do it* not: for I am thy fellowservant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this book: worship God.

10 And he saith unto me, Seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book: for the time is at hand.

11 He that is unjust, let him be unjust still: and he which is filthy let him be filthy still: and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still: and he that is holy, let him be holy still.

12 And, behold I come quickly; and my reward is with me to give every man according as his work shall be.

13 I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last.

14 Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates in the city.

15 For without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.

16 I Jesus have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things in the churches. I am the root and the offspring of David, and the bright and morning star.

17 And the Spirit and the bride say, Come. And let him that heareth say, Come. And let him that is athirst come. And whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely.

18 For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book.

19 And if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from the things which are written in this book.

20 He which testifieth these things saith, Surely I come quickly. Amen. Even so, come, Lord Jesus.

21 The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.

India, according to the Vedas, entertained a respect for woman amounting almost to worship.

MAXIMS FROM THE SACRED BOOKS OF INDIA.

"He who despises woman despises his mother."

"Who is cursed by a woman is cursed by God."

"The tears of a woman call down the fire of Heaven on those who make them flow."

"Evil to him who laughs at woman's sufferings: God shall laugh at his prayers."

"It was at the prayer of a woman that the Creator pardoned Man: cursed be he who forgets it."

"Who shall forget the sufferings of his mother at his birth shall be reborn in the body of an owl during three successive transmigrations."

"There is no crime more odious than to persecute woman."

"When women are honoured the Divinities are content; but when they are not honoured all undertakings fail."

"The households cursed by women to whom they have not rendered the homage due them find themselves weighed down with ruin, and destroyed, as if they had been struck by some secret power."

"The infinite and the boundless can alone comprehend the boundless and the infinite, God only can comprehend God."

"As the body is strengthened by muscles, the soul is fortified by virtue."

"The wrongs we inflict upon others follow us like our shadow."

"It is time to appreciate all things at their true value."

Let us repeat that story from Sufi: "There was a man, who for seven years, did every act of charity, and at the end of seven years he mounted the steps to the gate of Heaven and knocked. A voice cried, 'Who is there?' 'Thy servant, O Lord,' and the gate was shut. Seven other years he did every other good work, and again mounted the three steps to Heaven and knocked. The voice cried, 'Who is there?' He answered, 'Thy slave, O God,' and the gates were shut. Seven other years he did every good deed and again mounted the steps to Heaven, and the voice said, 'Who is there?' He replied, 'Thyself, O God,' and the gates wide open flew."

And why?

Because, as the Scripture saith,—"*The good that is done in the earth, Thou, Lord, doest it.*"

**THE ARGUMENT FOR WOMAN'S ELECTORAL
RIGHTS.**

THE
CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

ARTICLE I.

SEC. I.—All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SEC. II.—1. 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.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of the State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and, excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years in such manner as they shall by

3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts, as may, in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question, shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SEC. VI.—1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases, except for treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to or returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time, and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SEC. VII.—1. All bills for raising revenues shall originate in the House of Representatives, but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approves, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it must be sent, together

7. To establish post-offices and post-roads :

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries :

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court; to define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations :

10. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning capture on land and water :

11. To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years :

12. To provide and maintain a navy :

13. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces :

14. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrection and repel invasions :

15. To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia, according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.

16. To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings :—And

17. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SEC. II.—1. THE CITIZENS OF EACH STATE SHALL BE ENTITLED TO ALL PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES OF CITIZENS IN THE SEVERAL STATES.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labour in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law and regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour; but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

SEC. III.—1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislature of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States or of any particular State.

SEC. IV.—THE UNITED STATES SHALL GUARANTEE TO EVERY STATE IN THIS UNION A REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT, AND SHALL PROTECT EACH OF THEM AGAINST INVASION; AND, ON APPLICATION OF THE LEGISLATURE, OR OF THE EXECUTIVE (WHEN THE LEGISLATURE CANNOT BE CONVENED), AGAINST DOMESTIC VIOLENCE.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution; or, on the application of the Legislatures or two-thirds of

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof ; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press ; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner ; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated : and no warrant shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces,

vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

2. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then, from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

3. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.

If any citizen of the United States shall accept, claim, receive or retain any title of nobility or honour, or shall, without the consent of Congress, accept and retain any present, pension, office, or emolument, of any kind whatever, from any emperor, king, prince, or foreign power, such person shall cease to be a citizen of the United States, and shall be incapable of holding any office of trust or profit under them or either of them.

ARTICLE XIV.

1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United

strength, a great undercurrent of unexpressed power, which is only awaiting a fit opportunity to show itself. By the general and decided test I propose, we shall be able to understand the woman question aright, or at least have done much towards presenting the issue involved in proper shape. I claim to possess the strength and courage to be the subject of that test, and look forward confidently to a triumphant issue of the canvass.

The present position of political parties is anomalous. They are not inspired by any great principles of policy or economy; there is no live issue up for discussion.

A great national question is wanted, to prevent a descent into pure sectionalism. That question exists in the issue, whether woman shall remain sunk below the right granted to the negro, or be elevated to all the political rights enjoyed by man. The simple issue whether woman should not have this complete political equality with the negro is the only one to be tried, and none more important is likely to arise before the Presidential election. But besides the question of equality others of great magnitude are necessarily included. The platform that is to succeed in the coming election must enunciate the *general* principles of enlightened justice and economy.

A complete reform in our system of prison discipline having specially in view the welfare of the families of criminals, whose labour should not be lost to them; the re-arrangement of the system and control of internal improvements; the adoption of some better means for caring for the helpless and indigent; the establishment of strictly neutral and reciprocal relations with all foreign Powers who will unite to better the condition of the productive class, and the adoption of such principles as shall recognize this class as the true wealth of the country, and give it a just position beside capital, thus introducing a practical plan for universal government upon the most enlightened basis, for the actual, not the imaginary benefit of mankind.

THE
MEMORIAL OF VICTORIA C. WOODHULL

TO

*The Honourable 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 Article XIV. of the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States :

That since the adoption of Article XV. of the 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 Article XV., 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:"

3 Dall., 382; 6 Wheaton, 405; 9 Id., 868; 3d Circ., Pa., 1832.

And if the restrictions contained in the Constitution as to colour, race, or servitude, were designed to limit the State governments in reference to their own citizens, and were intended to operate also as restrictions on the Federal power, and to prevent interference with the rights of the State and its citizens, how then can the State restrict citizens of the United States in the exercise of rights not mentioned in any restrictive clause in reference to actions on the part of those citizens having reference solely to the necessary functions of the general Government, such as the election of representatives and senators to Congress, whose election the Constitution expressly gives Congress the power to regulate?

S. C., 1847; Fox U. Ohio, 5 Howard, 410.

Your Memorialist complains of the existence of State Laws, and prays Congress, by appropriate legislation, to declare them, as they are, annulled, and to give vitality to the Constitution under its power to make and alter the regulations of the States contravening the same.

It may be urged in opposition that the Courts have power, and should declare upon this subject.

The Supreme Court has the power, and it would be its duty so to declare the law; but the Court will not do so unless such a point shall arise as shall make it necessary to determine a controversy, and hence a case must be presented in which there can be no rational doubt. All this would subject the aggrieved parties to much dilatory, expensive, and needless litigation, which your Memorialist prays your Honourable Body to dispense with by appropriate legislation, as there can be no purpose in special arguments *ad inconvenienti*, enlarging or contracting the import of the language of the Constitution.

Therefore, Believing firmly in the right of citizens to freely approach those in whose hands their destiny is placed, under the Providence of God, your Memorialist has frankly, by

humbly, appealed to you, and prays that the wisdom of Congress may be moved to action in this matter for the benefit and the increased happiness of our beloved country.

Most respectfully submitted,

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

Dated NEW YORK,

January 2nd, 1871.



CONSTITUTIONAL EQUALITY THE LOGICAL RESULT OF THE XIVTH AND XVTH AMENDMENTS, WHICH NOT ONLY DECLARE WHO ARE CITIZENS, BUT ALSO DEFINE THEIR RIGHTS, ONE OF WHICH IS THE RIGHT TO VOTE, WITHOUT REGARD TO SEX, BOTH SEXES BEING INCLUDED IN THE MORE COMPREHENSIVE PROHIBITORY TERMS OF RACE AND COLOUR.

THE STATE LAWS WHICH PROSCRIBED WOMEN AS VOTERS WERE REPEALED BY THE STATES WHEN THEY RATIFIED SAID AMENDMENTS—THERE ARE NO EXISTING OPERATIVE LAWS WHICH PROSCRIBE THE RIGHT OF ANY CITIZEN TO VOTE—THE PERFECTED FRUITS OF THE LATE WAR—THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES IS BOUND TO PROTECT ITS CITIZENS, MALE AND FEMALE, IN THE EXERCISE OF THEIR RIGHT TO VOTE—THE DUTY OF CONGRESS IN THE PREMISES.

THE time has now arrived when it becomes proper to present the final and unanswerable proposition, which cannot by any possibility be controverted, that the several States which, until recently, assumed and exercised the right of defining which of its citizens should exercise the right to vote, have by their own voluntary act not only for ever repealed all such prohibitory laws, but also have for ever barred their re-enactment.

Of this I have been fully aware since the proclamation by the President that the XVth Amendment had become a part of the Organic Law of the country.

To bring the whole matter properly before the public I published an address on the 2nd of April last, in which I announced myself a candidate for the Presidency in 1872, and thus asserted the right of woman to occupy the highest office in the gift of the people.

After that address had had its legitimate effect in arousing the press and the country to the realization that women are a constituent part of the body politic, and to a discussion in a much more general way than had ever been before, I published my second address to the people, announcing that the XVIth

Amendment that citizens of the United States have the right to vote, the next step to determine is, Who are citizens? This is also definitely, though for the first time, determined by Article XIVth of Amendments to the Constitution, as follows:

“ARTICLE XIV.

“1. 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 laws.*”

The next point of inquiry is, How is it that the State laws, which formerly did proscribe women and exclude them from the exercise of suffrage, no longer *do so*? Simply and effectively by this fact, that, by the adoption of the XVth Article of Amendments to the Constitution, the States established, as the “SUPREME LAW of the LAND,” the fact that no person born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, shall be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, of the RIGHT TO VOTE.

Women are citizens of the United States; and the States themselves, by their own voluntary act, have established the fact of their citizenship, and confirmed their right to vote, which, by such action, has become the supreme law of the land, which supersedes, annuls and abrogates all previous State laws inconsistent therewith or contravening the same. The XVth Article of Amendments to the Constitution is as much a part of it as any originally adopted; for Art. VI., ¶ 2, says:

“This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or

Government to see that they are not denied the right to exercise it; and, to secure the necessary action of Congress in the premises, I did, on the 21st day of December, 1870, memorialize Congress as recorded in the *Congregational Globe*, December 22, 1870 (*see* p. 34).

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.—41st Congress, 3rd Session.

Report No. 22. January 30th, 1871.—Re-committed 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 XIVth 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 XIVth 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 II. The XIVth Amendment, it is believed,

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, Article IV., section 2, 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. II., p. 635.

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

"That this Article in the Constitution (Article IV., Section 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,

MINORITY REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE.

Report No. V., Part 2.—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

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

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 of 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*

ship, 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 coloured 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. —*Story on Constitution*, II., Sec. 449.

There are numerous instances in the Constitution where a general power is given to Congress, and afterwards 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, colour, 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,

I appeared before the House Judiciary Committee and submitted to them the Constitutional and Legal points upon which I predicated such equality. January 20th, Mr. Bingham, on behalf of the majority of said Committee, submitted his report to the House, in which, while he admitted all my basic propositions, Congress was recommended to take no action. February 1st, Messrs. Loughridge and Butler of said Committee submitted a report in their own behalf, which fully sustained the positions I assumed, and recommended that Congress *should* pass a Declaratory Act, for ever settling the mooted question of suffrage.

Thus it is seen that equally able men differ upon a simple point of Constitutional Law, and it is fair to presume that Congress will also differ *when* these Reports come up for action. That a proposition involving such momentous results as this should receive a one-third vote upon first coming before Congress has raised it to an importance which spreads alarm on all sides among the opposition. So long as it was not made to appear that women were denied Constitutional rights, no opposition was aroused; but now that new light is shed, by which it is seen that such is the case, all the Conservative weapons of bitterness, hatred and malice are marshalled in the hope to extinguish it, before it can enlighten the masses of the people, who are always true to freedom and justice.

Public opinion is against Equality, but it is simply from prejudice, which but requires to be informed to pass away. No greater prejudice exists against equality than there did against the proposition that the world was a globe. This passed away under the influence of better information, so also will present prejudice pass, when better informed upon the question of equality.

I trust you will pardon me the expression when I say that I do not comprehend how there can exist an honest and perfect appreciation of the fundamental propositions upon which the

superstructure of our Government is based, and, at the same time, an honest hostility to the legitimate deductions of them, therefore I appear before you to expound, as best I may, the law involved by these propositions, and to point out the inconsistencies of those who evince hostility to such deductions.

I come before you to declare that my sex are entitled to the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The first two I cannot be deprived of, except for cause, and by due process of law ; but upon the last, a right is usurped to place restrictions so general as to include the whole of my sex, and for which no reasons of public good can be assigned. I ask the right to pursue happiness by having a voice in that Government to which I am accountable. I have not forfeited that right, still I am denied. Was assumed arbitrary authority ever more arbitrarily exercised ? In practice, then, our laws are false to the principles which we profess. I have the right to life, to liberty, unless I forfeit it by an infringement upon others' rights, in which case the State becomes the arbiter and deprives me of them for the public good. I also have the right to pursue happiness, unless I forfeit it in the same way, and am denied it accordingly. It cannot be said, with any justice, that my pursuit of happiness in voting for any man for office would be an infringement of one of his rights as a citizen or as an individual. I hold, then, that in denying me this right without my having forfeited it, that departure is made from the principles of the Constitution, and also from the true principles of government, for I am denied a right born with me, and which is inalienable. Nor can it be objected that women had no part in organizing this government. They were not denied. To-day we seek a voice in government and *are* denied. There are *thousands* of male citizens in the country who seldom or never vote. They are not denied: they pursue happiness by not voting. Could it be assumed, because this body of citizens do not choose to exercise the right to vote, that they could be *permanently* denied the exercise thereof ?

Therefore it is, that instead of growing in republican liberty, we are departing from it. From an unassuming, acquiescent part of society, woman has gradually passed to an individualized human being, and as she has advanced one after another evident right of the common people has been accorded to her. She has now become so *much* individualized as to demand the full and unrestrained exercise of *all* the rights which can be predicated of a people constructing a government based on individual sovereignty. She asks it, and shall Congress deny her?

The formal abolition of slavery created several millions of male negro citizens, who, a portion of the acknowledged citizens assumed to say were *not* entitled to equal rights with themselves. To get over this difficulty, Congress in its wisdom saw fit to propose a XIVth Amendment to the Constitution, which passed into a law by ratification by the States. Section I. of the Amendment declares: "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 and immunities of citizens of the United States. Nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, and property without due process of law, nor deny any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law."

But there is an objection raised to our broad interpretation of this amendment, and that is obtained from the wording of the second section thereof:—"But whenever the right to vote," &c., "is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States," &c., &c., "the basis of representation then 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." *Consistency* is said to be a bright jewel when possessed, but I doubt its possession by those who have the boldness to

We must divorce our minds from the negro and look at the Constitution *as it is*. We must not be biased by surrounding circumstances. It must apply to these conditions and interpret them. It is the basis of equality constructed *by all* and *for all*, and from which all partake of *equal* rights, privileges, and immunities.

Because this amendment was framed to apply to the African race, and to *black* people, and to those who had been slaves, it must not be concluded that it has no *broader* application. Whoever it may include, under logical construction, to them the right to vote shall not be denied. Take the African race and the black colour and the previous slaves out of the way, and what application would this amendment *then* have? This is the way to test these things, the way to arrive at what they mean. *Who* will pretend to say this amendment would mean nothing were there no negroes, and there had been no Southern slaves? *Who* will pretend to say that the amendment would mean nothing in the coming election, provided that there never before had been an election under the Constitution? If you provide a Constitutional amendment, having *one* race specially in view, it must not be forgotten that there are *other* races besides. Thirty-seven States constitute the United States. If you speak of the United States you speak of all the States, for they are all included. If you speak of a *part* of the United States, you must designate *what* part, in order that it may be known what you mean. A race is composed of two sexes. If you speak of a race you include both sexes. If you speak of a *part* of a race, you must designate *which* part in order to make yourselves intelligible.

The same line of reasoning applies to the word colour, although some assume to say that colour in this amendment means black, as white is no colour. But how should any know what specific colour is referred to in this amendment? One might say it was intended to mean a copper colour; another a

mulatto colour, and still another that of a Spaniard or an Italian. How can any one determine absolutely that the word race or colour in this amendment referred to the African race and to black colour? Hence you must see the complete absurdity of interpreting this to mean *any* special race or colour, or *any* number of races and colours less than the whole number.

I have learned that high judicial authority has been invoked upon this question of law, and that this authority has declared that neither the XIVth nor XVth Amendment gave anybody the right to vote. I think I give the exact words. I have not claimed that the XVth Amendment gave *any one* the right to vote. There is no language in either the XIVth or XVth Amendment which confers rights not possessed; but I will state what these amendments *do* say, and if it is not equal to the declaration of the right of all to vote I confess that my perceptions are at fault, for I cannot perceive the difference. They declare positively—not negatively—that “All persons born or naturalized in the United States are citizens of the United States,” and, mark you, of the State wherein they reside. I am a person, one of the sovereign people, a citizen of the United States and of the State of New York. Does the State of New York enforce any law which abridges my privileges or immunities as a citizen? Is it nothing to be denied the right to vote? What privileges and immunities have I differing from those of the subjects of the most *absolute* monarch? They are subject to such laws as he sees fit to impose. Am I subject to any laws other than are imposed upon me? It does not appear possible to me that men are conscious of the tyranny they exercise over women. It may be mildly exercised, but it is, nevertheless, absolute tyranny. I can have what they will give. Could the veriest slave have less? Therefore, Government permits the State of New York, in the face of the XIVth Amendment, to enforce laws which abridge

One more point and I shall dismiss this amendment. It has been insisted, again and again, that the denial may be made on account of sex, and that it was not intended by those who framed this amendment to make such a broad application and such a sweeping enfranchisement as my interpretation embraces. This is not the first time, even in legislation, that people, having a single point in view which they were determined to gain, have overreached themselves; happily, however, this time it was in the cause of liberty, humanity, and equal rights.

All law may not be the deductions of logic, but where law does not apply fact and logic must. Here, however, law and fact do apply, while the deductions are very clear.

This amendment declares that the right to vote shall not be denied on account of race. The class of opposers who still wish to deny women the right to vote, declare this means the *African* race. Let us see how this would read. The right to vote shall not be denied on account of the African race. To *WHOM* shall it not be denied on account of the African race? *This* certainly does not inform us, for it simply declares that it shall not be denied on account of the *African* race. Therefore, if this amendment were even modified by saying the African race, it would still fail to leave any room for denial. But it does *not say African* race, and cannot, therefore, be interpreted to *mean* the African race, when there are so many other races represented in this country. Who would pretend that though the right to vote could not be denied to the African race, it *might* be denied to the Teuton, the Celt, or the Scandinavian? Under any other interpretation of this amendment than the broad one I make, the right to vote *may* be denied to *any* race or *all* other races except the African.

Does Congress desire that an interpretation shall stand upon the Constitution, that, should the time come when the Anglo-Saxons would not be predominant, would permit other races to

unite and deny the right to vote to the Anglo-Saxon race? See the dilemma in which this matter is placed by persisting in denying women the right to vote?

There is but one construction the language of this amendment is susceptible of, and this becomes apparent if the section is properly rendered. It simply means that the right to vote shall not be denied on account of race to ANYBODY. By the interpolation of this word the sense of this amendment is complete and unmistakable. From the simple negative it changes it to an all-powerful command, by which the sovereign people declare that the right to vote shall not be denied by the United States nor by any State to any person of any race.

We are now prepared to dispose of the sex argument. If the right to vote shall not be denied to any person of any race, how shall it be denied to the female part of all races? Even if it could be denied on account of sex, I ask, what warrant men have to presume that it is the *female* sex to whom such denial can be made instead of the *male* sex? Men, you are wrong, and you stand convicted before the world of denying me, a woman, the right to vote, not by any right of law, but simply because you have usurped the power so to do, just as all other tyrants in all ages have, to rule their subjects. The extent of the tyranny in either case being limited only by the power to enforce it.

And this brings us to the "qualification" argument; which before entering upon I must premise by saying, I consider it the most *stupid* of them all. If there is little of sound logic in the other objections, in this there is none at all. It is the purest attempt at *quackery* that was ever palmed off upon a nation.

The only reason that can be offered for which women can be denied the right to vote is that they do not "possess the requisite qualifications for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature." Article I., Section 2, of the Federal Constitution.

Again: "The times, 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." Federal Constitution, Article I., Section 4, paragraph 1.

Upon *these* two words, "qualifications" and "regulations," must be based the whole authority for denying to women the right to vote. It has been said that the right to vote exists, but has been denied. A person being denied the right to vote is disfranchised. Are the terms qualification, regulation, and disfranchisement synonymous? Qualifications are what citizens can acquire, and after having acquired can use them or not. Disfranchisement cannot be overcome. Anything that is made a qualification, which cannot be attained, which is an impossibility, is not a qualification, either within the meaning of the Constitution or of dictionaries. Sex cannot be made a disqualification. To be denied the right to vote on account of sex is the pure essence of disfranchisement; for how can a person, a citizen, being a woman, obtain the qualification of being a man? I regret that I am compelled to impugn your good sense by the argument, but I have had "sex" sounded in my ears until I can scarcely *think* of it with patience or *speak* of it with courtesy. Sex is a quality obtained by nature, and with what degree of regard for common honesty shall men continue to call this a *disqualification* which women must overcome? Was ever a more intolerable thing; It is like saying to the starving, "You may eat; here is a stone." The kingdom of human rights cannot be invaded to furnish qualifications for voters; these qualifications must be of a character equally attainable by all citizens. No more can be required of woman than of man. If men become qualified by residence, property, education, character, age, &c., so, too, must women be able to qualify by the same means.

I do not care what qualifications the States require for electors. What I ask is, that they shall apply equally to all

sex was labouring under the same disabilities from which they were raised. Negroes could not qualify to become voters, Congress assisted them and they are voters; hence I come to Congress to plead for women. The negro found many advocates—men whose souls were large enough to take in all God's family. But with this great effort they closed. Woman must be her own advocate. Few of the male sex—few of those who battled so manfully for the negro—now come forward and lift their voices against this *thrice* greater, this *terrible* wrong.

Slavery will ever be regarded by all our descendants as a foul blotch upon the escutcheon of this country's honour, which ages alone can wash away. Congress know this, but they do not yet know how much *more* foul will this greater wrong be regarded by future ages. It should be the task of the next Congress to remove this damning thing. That Congress which recognized negroes as citizens is already revered for its mighty work. So, too, will that Congress which shall recognize women as citizens of equal rights with the negro be regarded with reverence in proportion to the magnitude of the result of its labours.

I assume then—

1st. That the rights, privileges, and immunities of all citizens are equal.

2nd. That no citizens, as a class, can be denied the right to vote, except they first forfeit it as a class.

3rd. That the qualifications which a State may require of electors must be such as can be acquired by all persons by the same means.

4th. That the State may make regulations but cannot enforce prohibitions.

5th. That anything that may be required which is impossible of one-half of the people or any considerable class, possessing all the other qualifications required for electors, is not a qualification, but disfranchisement.

6th. That a State which disfranchises any part of its citizens

I think I have examined this subject quite thoroughly; to me it appears very plain, but to others it may not. I have no doubt about the common rights of citizens under the original text of the Constitution. There is *no room* for doubt since the addition of the XIVth and XVth Amendments. Whatever doubts there may yet be in the minds of opponents, I now propose to show you that whether equality is Constitutional or not, Congress has *already* given its verdict in favour of my position, whether *intentionally* or *unwittingly* I *know* nor *care* not; it is *sufficient* that it is given, and *that*, too, in the form of *positive* law.

Permit me to return for a moment to Mr. Bingham, who has played so prominent a part, who has wrought so much better than he knew. In his report adverse to my memorial, which asked for an Act to place the right of all citizens to vote above question, he says in the outset: "Since the adoption of the XIVth 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." And in closing: "We are of opinion, therefore, that it is not competent for Congress 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. We therefore recommend that the prayer of the petitioner be not granted."

This report was made to the House of Representatives, January 30, 1871. It is almost impossible to conceive that the author of this report was the same person who drew the XIVth Amendment, and AN ACT to enforce the rights of citizens of the United States to vote in the several States of the Union, and for other purposes, approved May 31, 1870. If Mr. Bingham,

country; and any law of any State in conflict with this provision is hereby declared null and void."

Thus we find Mr. Bingham, in the XIVth Amendment, declaring that *all persons are citizens*; in an Act approved May 31, 1870, making it a penal offence for any officer of election in any State to refuse to permit *all citizens the same and equal* opportunities to perform the prerequisites to become qualified to vote; less than a year afterward informing us that women are *not citizens*, and on January 30, 1871—less than two months thereafter—very decidedly expressing a contrary opinion, and adding that Congress has no power to enforce their rights as citizens in the States, which is a complete stultification of the Act of last May. At present Mr. Bingham does not think women are entitled to vote. What he may think to-morrow or next month it would be quite impossible to predict. Whether we are to account for his inconsistencies by presuming that he has not attained to the knowledge that the States, through their respective legislatures, by the act of adopting and ratifying the XIVth and XVth Amendments, did remove all obstructions to the right of women citizens to vote or by some other disability of mind it is impossible to determine.

What did Congress ask the States to do? To ratify the Amendments. They did ratify them, and thereby enfranchised women as citizens. Mr. Bingham does not yet seem to comprehend what the States were asked to do, nor that they did what was requested of them.

It is clear from the report of the majority of the Judiciary Committee that they take the view that there is "something" in the Constitutions or Laws of the State which is contrary to the language, spirit, intent and purpose of these Amendments, and that this inconsistent something must be removed by the States. I contend that by the adoption of these Amendments the States did legislate upon the subject, and remove all inconsistencies and all obstructions to the right to vote, leaving

them as parts and parcels of the "Supreme Law," before which *all existing legislation contrary to and inconsistent therewith did fall, and was rendered null and void.*

The Constitution can be amended as follows:—"Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to the Constitution, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States." (Article V.) Again it says:—"This Constitution and the Laws of the United States which shall be made under authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land." (Article VI.)

These amendments *were* thus proposed by two-thirds of both Houses, *were* thus *ratified* by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, and were thus formally legislated upon by all the several State Legislatures and *adopted* by them in the due and solemn manner in which they pass all laws. From the moment the official declaration was made that they *were* so adopted by State legislation they became a part of the "supreme law of the land," which they *never* could have become without such legislation.

Are not these amendments in question, as a part of the supreme law, the *very creatures* of the State Legislatures, and as *such* do they not supersede all legislative Acts in *all the States* not in harmony therewith? Nor can the States *recede* from these Acts without similar formal legislation in which three-fourths of all the States must concur. *And what do they establish?* *The status of every native born or naturalized person in the country as a citizen of the United States and of the State, and the right to vote as vested in every such person.* And to go further: The State of New York has declared—Article I. of the Constitution of New York—and every other State holds that: "No member of this State shall be disfranchised or deprived of any of the rights or privileges secured to any citizen thereof,

promised them their support. Can we expect anything better from them than from the Republican party? They are not now making themselves so antagonistic to the true interests of the country as are the Republicans, simply because they have not got the power so to do. But where they have the power, their leaders do not hesitate to make the most use of it to their own aggrandisement.

Therefore, it is my conviction, arrived at after the most serious and careful consideration, that it will be equally suicidal for the Woman Suffragists to attach themselves to either of these parties. They must not—cannot afford to—be a mere negative element in the political strife which is sure to ensue in the next Presidential election. They must assume a positive attitude upon a basis compatible with the principles of freedom, equality and justice which their enfranchisement would so gloriously demonstrate as the true principles of a republican form of government. I do not assume to speak for any one. I know I speak in direct opposition to the wishes of many by whom I am surrounded. Nevertheless, I should fail to do my duty did I conceal what I feel to be the true interests of my sex, and through them, those of humanity; for the interests of humanity will never be understood or appreciated until women are permitted to demonstrate what they are, and how they shall be subserved. I have thus as briefly as possible given what I conceive to be the position which the Woman's Rights Party occupies at this time, their prospective power, importance and duties, and the dangers by which this country is threatened, from which they may save it.

If Congress refuse to listen to and grant what women ask, there is but one course left them to pursue. Women have no Government. Men have organized a Government, and they maintain it to the utter exclusion of women. Women are as much members of the nation as men are, and they have the same human right to govern themselves which men have. Men have

none but an usurped right to the arbitrary control of women. Shall free, intelligent, reasoning, thinking women longer submit to being robbed of their common rights? Men fashioned a Government based on their own *enunciation* of principles: that taxation without representation was tyranny; and that all just government exists by the consent of the governed. Proceeding upon *these* axioms, they formed a Constitution declaring all persons to be citizens, that one of the rights of a citizen is the right to vote, and that no power within the nation shall either make or enforce laws interfering with the citizen's rights. And yet men deny women the first and greatest of all the rights of citizenship—the right to vote.

Under such glaring inconsistencies, such unwarrantable tyranny, such unscrupulous despotism, what is there left women to do but to become the mothers of the future government.

Because I have taken this bold and positive position; because I have advocated radical political action; because I have announced a new party and myself as a candidate for the next Presidency, I am charged with being influenced by an unwarrantable ambition. Though this is scarcely the place for the introduction of a privileged question, I will, however, take this occasion to, once and for all time, state that I have no personal ambition whatever. All that I have done I did because I believed the interests of humanity would be advanced thereby.

Had I been ambitious to become the next President I should have proceeded very differently to accomplish it. I did announce myself as a candidate, and this simple fact has done a great work in compelling people to ask: and why not? This service I have rendered women at the expense of any ambition I might have had, which is apparent if the matter be but candidly considered.

In conclusion, permit me again to recur to the importance of following up the advantages we have already gained, by rapid

and decisive blows for complete victory. Let us do this through the courts wherever possible, and by direct appeals to Congress during the next session. And I again declare it as my candid belief, that if women will do one-half their duty until Congress meets, that they will be compelled to pass such laws as are necessary to enforce the provisions of the XIVth and XVth Articles of Amendments to the Constitution, one of which is equal political rights for all citizens.

A NEW POLITICAL PARTY
AND
A NEW PARTY PLATFORM.

At the Suffrage Convention held in Apollo Hall, May 11th and 12th, 1871, by request of Mrs. LUCRETIA MOTT, the following Platform of Principles of a Just Government was read by VICTORIA C. WOODHULL, and is embodied in this history that it may have a wide circulation and be deeply considered in all its bearings on the future of this country.

SUFFRAGE is a common right of citizenship. Women have the right of suffrage. *Logically* it cannot be escaped. *Syllogistically* it is self-evident, thus:—

First—All persons—men and women—are citizens.

Second—Citizens have the right to vote.

Third—Women have the right to vote.

Though the right to vote be now denied, it must eventually be accorded. Women can be neither Democrats nor Republicans. They must be something more than Democratic or Republican. They must be humanitarian. They must become a positive element in governmental affairs. They have thought little; they must be brought to think more. To suggest food for thought, a new party and a new platform is proposed for the consideration of women and men: the party, the Cosmopolitical—the platform, a series of reforms, to wit:

citizens except to male negroes. Suffrage in all other cases stands just as it did before the amendments, the fact of all persons having been made citizens counting for nothing.

All men, save negroes, voted then. All men, including negroes, vote now. So that the result of all the work and talk about human rights has ended in securing the exercise of the elective franchise to, say, a million negroes; and all this was conducted with specific care that the same right should not be secured to 15,000,000 women. In other words, the men of the United States have declared by these amendments that all men may vote if they choose, but that no woman shall vote under any circumstances whatever. I submit to you if, according to their own showing, this is not what has been accomplished.

But we object to this conclusion, and propose to show that men have proceeded upon an opposite theory quite too long to permit them to shift its application, now that women demand what belongs to them. The Courts have held that all limitations of rights must be made in express terms: we must demand that the same rule shall operate in our case, especially since it has been held to apply in cases arising under this amendment.

Justice McKay laid down the following proposition:—"The rights of the people of a State, white and black, are not granted them by the Constitution thereof; the object and effect of that instrument is not to give but to restrain, duly regulate, and guarantee rights; and all persons recognized by the Constitution as citizens of the State have *equal legal and political rights* except as *otherwise expressly declared*."

Again:—"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 have 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."

the African race were denied the right to vote, and that by this amendment the male portion were raised to the exercise of that right. But we also know that if the Celtic race had also been denied the same right they would have been affected in the same way. Hence it must be held to mean that not only are the States prohibited from denying the right to vote to the African race, but also to all other races—that is, that no person of any race shall be denied the right to vote because he belongs to that specific race.

If none can be denied the right to vote on account of race, can any be denied that right on account of anything that goes to make up race? That is, since the African race cannot be denied the right to vote, can any part of that race be denied? We say, emphatically, NO! The larger always includes the parts of which it is composed, and if the whole is granted a privilege, or the exercise of a right, no part of the whole can be excluded, unless the exclusion of that specific part is expressly provided for; as I have shown, it must be by the decisions quoted, which have never been reversed. If we say the citizens of the United States may vote, it could not be held that the citizens of any of the States could be prevented, unless such States were excluded in definite terms. If the United States could not deny the right to vote to citizens of the United States, they surely could not to the citizens of the State of New York, unless there was a specific provision granting the right to exclude New York. And what applies to citizens in general must apply to all classes of citizens, no part of whom can legally be excluded, except such exclusion is made in express terms, so as to specially declare who are excluded.

But let us look at this provision from another standpoint, that we may judge of it upon some other issue than of voting. Suppose that negroes, instead of having been denied the right to vote, had been denied the right to register vessels or to preempt land, which, equally with his right to vote, are citizen's

and by virtue of being so are citizens of the States wherein they reside.

The first duty of every citizen is allegiance to the United States sovereignty; secondly, when it does not interfere with his first allegiance, allegiance to the sovereignty of the State. And if the State interfere with any of his privileges as a citizen of the greater sovereignty, then he must appeal for relief to that greater sovereignty. State sovereignty then is merged in the sovereignty of the United States. And the people of this larger sovereignty have decreed that neither that sovereignty nor that of any State shall interfere in any way whatever with the rights of citizens of the United States. This is as we read the Constitution, and all the authority there is supports this reading. Those who read it differently invite all the dangers of a return to despotism. It must be all the people governing themselves; or it *may* be one of them governing all the rest; since to begin discrimination is to open the way to discriminate against all, and to permit a government to deny one class of citizens a right that is exercised by another class, is to admit its right to deny all kinds of rights to all classes of citizens; and there is no escaping that conclusion, unless it be by the remarkable logic of Justice Cartter, which we will presently admire.

There are several other points in Senator Carpenter's "New Departure," which, with these examined, are equally felicitous. But I have not time to notice them here. I wait, however, to hear him advocate them from his seat in the Senate, and to hear his brethren of the Republican party say, Amen!

But we hear of opposition from another quarter, and must take some time to look after it. Since this constitutional question has been raised this matter has found its way into the Courts, notwithstanding the oft-repeated wail from Boston that the raising of this question by those "ungodly people" has done irreparable harm to the cause. It has ruined the

But let us see more of this business.

In the opinion of Justice McKay, among other propositions, he lays down the following: and here we must again repeat

“Third. 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.”

Now, you all know that the phrase “all male citizens” in our State Constitutions is what men make use of to prevent women from voting. I ask, in all seriousness, is that an *express exclusion made by positive law* covering the *particular persons* whose rights are in question? It does not even refer to women, and therefore there is no law that covers the particular women whom the men seek to exclude from the exercise of a citizen’s right. But even if this were not so—if there *were* express laws in the States, of what force would they be as against the Constitution of the United States, which declares itself to be the *supreme law* of the land, the constitution and laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding? Now, if the Constitution of the United States give women the right to vote, how can the States take it away or deny its exercise? Some of these wise governors of ours may tell us, but I confess I cannot see how it can be lawfully done.

But let us look still a little further, since the further we look the clearer our case becomes:

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;

To regulate, Webster says, is "to put in order," not to put out of existence. To establish is "to make stable and firm," not to nullify and destroy. Now, that is all we ask. We demand that our elective franchise shall be so "put in order" that we may have the enjoyment of a perfect equality of political privilege with men, and that it shall be made "stable and firm." We want nothing but what the law gives us, and that, too, in terms *so plain* that "the wayfaring man, though a fool, can understand."

But men say there was "no intent" to enfranchise women. There ought not to have been any need of intent, and I do not know how they can say there was any; but since they do, I presume both men and women will be compelled to leave that matter as the Supreme Court of the United States has decided it. Justice Bradley, in delivering the opinion of the Court in the case of *The Live Stock Association v. The Crescent City*, said:—

"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."

Again I say, if words have any definite meaning, or Court decisions any weight, I submit that I have established: first that by the mere fact of being citizens women are possessed of the elective franchise; and secondly, that the elective franchise is one of the privileges of the XIVth Amendment which the States shall not abridge: that the States cannot regulate the suffrage out of existence, as they attempt to do, and have done, in the case of women; and finally, that whether it was, or was not, the intent of the framers of the XIVth Amendment to give

THE REVIEW OF A CENTURY.

THE
REVIEW OF A CENTURY;
OR,
THE FRUIT OF FIVE THOUSAND YEARS.

A LECTURE BY VICTORIA C. WOODHULL,
IN THE
Boston Theatre, Boston, October 22nd, 1876.

A HUNDRED years ago, in an upper room in Philadelphia, five men were gathered—men of noble bearing, of brilliant intellects, of undoubted character. Their faces wore a look of stern determination, as if the theme of their consideration were matters of grave import; were matters destined to be the beginning of the most important era that had ever dawned upon the earth. A century and eighty years before, a single shipload of men, women, and children had landed on this virgin soil at Jamestown in Virginia; and a few years later, another one at Plymouth Rock in Massachusetts. To these, additions had been made until the thirteen States then numbered full three million souls, over whom “the king” had placed obnoxious rulers, and upon whom he had imposed onerous taxation. The tea had been destroyed in Boston harbour, and the people were wrought up to the intensest pitch by their oppressions. They had come from their native lands to

ever sense in which it may be regarded, it is the great country of the world. No other can for a moment enter into comparison with it save in some single sense—while this combines the greatneses of them all. Blessed with such a country—with a land such as God promised to His chosen people—"a land flowing with milk and honey"—how ought the people to have returned their gratitude to Him who gave it? Or rather, how have they done so?

Having already entered upon a second century, there could be a no more appropriate time in which to see what use there has been made of the "ten talents" with which the Great Husbandman has entrusted us; how we have shown our love for Him by that which we have given to our brethren; to see whether from His bounteous gifts to all, a part has stolen the inheritance from others, and when His servants have been sent whether they have been beaten away empty; whether some, having an abundance, have "shut up their bowels of compassion," though seeing their brothers in need; whether they have "fought the good fight," whether "kept the faith," whether "entitled to the crown" that St. Paul bespoke for them that love Him?

WHAT ARE OUR CENTENNIAL FRUITS?—In other words, what is the condition politically, industrially, socially, religiously? Is it such as will make us rejoice in its review? Are our centennial fruits such as He would pronounce good, so that we may rest upon the "seventh day from all our labours"?

In the first place, what have we done politically? It is to government that people largely owe their prosperity or adversity—a good government meaning continuous prosperity; a bad one, continuous adversity, or else alternate seasons of each, in which the latter consume the fruits of the former; in which the people see-saw, up and down, each decade; in which, like the Israelites, the people journey in the wilderness "forty years" in search of the promised land, to which God would bring them

an equality of political and civil privileges. Only certain classes of men possess these rights. These certain classes having possessed themselves of the machinery of the Government, tread upon the constitution and the decisions of the Supreme Court. They have stolen the birthrights of the "many," and say, "help yourselves if you can." The despoiled people are not able to help themselves now, but let these usurpers be warned that the judgments of God are upon this nation, and that He will come to help those who cannot help themselves against such tyranny; come to deliver His people out of the hands of the Egyptians, who have imposed tasks upon them grievous to be borne; come to send them some "Moses," who shall cause "Pharaoh" to let the people go, and who shall bring them down from "Sinai's Mount" a new and better code of laws.

But who are not citizens, who neither possess or enjoy, nor have the right to acquire or enjoy, an equality of privileges, civil and political? There are three classes of these people: Indians, Chinese, and women, and these constitute by a million more than one-half of all the people. The political lords have selected nice company for the women to keep politically, and yet they put on such monstrous airs if they are told that they have no respect for their mothers, wives, and daughters in this respect. Here is a subject for some Raphael, who should have reduced it to canvas and exhibited it at the Centennial, in honour of the mothers and daughters of the land. Upon the one hand there should have been grouped the women of the country, flanked upon the right and left by Indians and Chinese, and the subject named—political slaves; while upon the other the citizens should have been grouped, and labelled political sovereigns.

THE PRINCIPLES OF OUR GOVERNMENT.—The principles under the inspiration of which this government had its birth, are set forth in the Declaration of Independence. They were when realized by the people, when incorporated into the organic law,

the amendments that have since been added, save in Sec. I. Art XIV., which the self-constituted citizens have rendered nugatory.

OUR COPYING OF ENGLAND.—Our Constitution and laws have nothing specifically American about them. They are copies from the English modified in some particulars, which have been the inducement "to gather the spoils while we may." The President is an English king under another name, selected by the "caucus," the worst element in politics, and elected by the people because, under the vicious methods that are in vogue, they have no way to vote save for one of the two at whom ten thousand papers vie with each other in throwing mud during the campaign. Many who have come to know how Presidents are made have abandoned the polls in disgust. The Senate is a badly abridged edition of the House of Lords, while the House of Representatives is the same as the House of Commons. In the law of primogeniture only do our laws differ materially from those of England, this good feature having been borrowed from another source. Nor have we any political literature save the Declaration of Independence which has a distinct national character about it that is purely American, and it is this that we celebrate year after year; it is this, and this only, that calls out the patriotism of the people.

So far as the Constitution is concerned, it is Dead Sea fruit. It is an old and musty English sermon to which we have prefixed a new and vital text, the text and sermon having no common ground or meaning. The condition of the people and the country could scarcely have been worse had we had a king and Parliament, instead of President and Congress. A tree, let it be called by whatever name, is known by the fruit it bears. If we are to judge the political tree in this country in this way, shall we not be forced to say that we have gathered thorns from grapes and thistles from figs? In purity in the administration of justice our Government can stand no com-

others previously that lifted a whole people to sublime achievements and into grand and noble character. It was here, also, that patriotism had birth; here that men devoted their lives to their country for the country's sake rather than for private gain or glory. In this respect the character of Grecian generals and statesmen has never been approached in any other nation. It was this character that gave the Greeks as a nation, and to the world as an example, the first code of laws; gave a constitution as a conservatory of the people's rights, and made a Lycurgus possible, the principles of whose Spartan code are only now beginning to be appreciated. It is to this code that we must look as the prime source of political economy, and it has been the inspiration of all the modifications of laws ever made in the interests of the people. In this respect, Lycurgus will be known in future ages as the Spartan law-giver of the world.

LESSONS FROM ROMAN HISTORY.—Roman history is a second edition of Grecian, enlarged in its sphere of operations and in influence over the world. Rome, however, would have never been possible, had Greece not been at first a fact. But Rome was vitiated in the character of her public men, as compared with those of Greece, in about the same ratio that she was greater in other respects. Greece was the admiration of the world, but Rome was its astonishment. All that she was, sunk with her as she went down into the dark ages. The best of what made Greece still lives in the people of the world. Greece was the garden of modern civilization and will remain its inspiration until three elements of character—the religious, the intellectual, and the social—shall join their powers to construct the future government of the world.

Charlemagne was the basis of the first great national character that evolved after the dark ages, and Otho the Great laid the foundation for the present dominance of Bismarck and Von Moltke in Central Europe. Cromwell, more than any other, is the inspiration of English character, modified by its respect

in this country advancing so far as to be divided practically among nearly one-half of the people, and theoretically among the whole. Evolution on this line will go on till every person in the world shall form a part of the government. Then the great human family will be a possibility.

SOCIAL EXPERIMENTS.—But up to the present time, what have the people done industrially? Almost nothing, save to subsist themselves on the rudimental plan! Nothing, save to make a few experiments at coalescing. There are a few illustrations of the first step in progress in this respect, which correspond to the coming together of families politically. But there are no industrial cities, to say nothing about nations. There were Brook Farm, New Harmony, and several other attempts at industrial tribes, and there are Oneida and a dozen lesser attempts still in existence, besides numerous co-operative movements. There are the railroad, the telegraph, insurance companies, banks and other corporations, all evidences that a real departure is about to be made in industrial organization; that is, that the people are preparing to depart from the homogeneous state industrially. The Granger movement in which, to protect themselves against the rapacity of merchants and railroads, they combine to purchase from first hands and realize a saving of from twenty to fifty per cent., is the most positive evidence of the moving of the people generally in this direction. This is an illustration of coalescing for protection. Most of the other illustrations, such as railroads, banks, &c., are in many cases for aggressive purposes. Nevertheless, they are all evidences of progress in the industrial sense; those for aggression in the end compelling others for protection. That there are so many forms of coalescing for aggressive purposes, is conclusive evidence that the time is near when the people will be driven into organizing themselves into industrial communities, cities, and nations, and eventually into one nation for the whole world. The first departure having been made.

means equal good for all. It does not mean the taking away of any comfort or luxury from anybody; but the extension of every comfort and luxury that any have to all—to those who suffer or hunger, from nakedness, for shelter.

OUR NATIONAL DEBT.—If this analysis be applied to the present situation we shall see what is the matter with the industries. When the South rebelled, the North was compelled to resist or else permit the national unity to be destroyed. Let it be borne in mind what stress was put upon the necessity of preserving the oneness of the people politically. To do this an army was required. When volunteers ceased to offer in sufficient numbers to keep the army to its necessary strength, the Government, acting upon the right of a representative of a politically united people, resorted to drafting to determine which of the members of this unity should go into the army and jeopardize their lives for its preservation. This was in perfect harmony with the principles of government upon which this order rests, and was fully endorsed by the people. But what did the Government do to subsist these men, and to provide the munitions of war? Did it proceed the same way that it did to secure the men? Not at all! It borrowed the money from the bankers of New York, Hamburg, and London, and agreed to pay them a rate of interest double that demanded of any other first-class nation, parting with its bonds to them at "60." In other words, it borrowed \$1,800,000,000 at 10 per cent., and gave \$1,200,000,000 in bonds as bonus for making the loan.

Now this was the error that was committed; for, although the people were industrially upon a lower order of development than they were politically, nevertheless, since necessity knows no law save that of its own conditions, the Government should have proceeded as though we were upon the same plane in both respects. When it called for volunteers to raise an army, and the ranks of industry responded liberally, it should at the same time have also called for volunteer assistance from the ranks of

those who have helped to make the wealth with which the store-houses of the country are loaded? African slavery was a blessing compared with the condition of thousands of the poor. Let its evils have been as great as we know that they were, the negroes never suffered for food; the women and children never died of starvation; never suffered from cold or went naked. Oh, that some master mind, some master spirit, might be sent of God to show you the way out of this desolation and the necessity of deliverance. But I fear you will not be wise enough to avoid the penalty for neglecting to keep your industrial institutions on the same plane with your political organization, which is the only possible remedy for the present evils. The people must be made as much one industrially as they are politically. Then there would be harmony and consequent peace and prosperity.

IS CASTE A NECESSITY?—But to this the common objection is raised, that it is impossible to make industrial interests common, on account of the necessary differences in labour: that there must be caste in industry. This was the reply that the king made to the people, who wanted a political republic; of course it will be the reply that the privileged classes will make to those who want an industrial republic. You know how fallacious the objection has been politically. The king deprived of his crown has not been compelled to sleep with the scavenger. It will prove equally as fallacious industrially. The money and railroad kings will not have to live with the men who do the rough work of the industrial public, unless they choose to do so, any more than they do now. The foundation-stones of a house always remain at the bottom, covered up in the dirt; nevertheless, they are even more important to the safety of the house than any upper part. So it will be in the industrial structure when it shall be erected. There will always be Vanderbilts, Stewarts, Fields and Fultons—the agents of the people industrially, as there are now presidents, governors,

Next is the post-office—a still better illustration in an industrial sense. Here the Government conducts the business of the people. If the system were maintained wholly instead of partially from the public treasury, it would be purely communistic. Is there anyone who is prepared to say that the postal system is not an improvement on the transmission of letters by private enterprise? And yet nobody is affrighted at the communistic character of the modern post-office. Suppose that this system were extended to the transportation of everything that is interchanged among the people, have we not a right to assume that the same beneficent results that have followed the development of the public mails would also follow there? We have not only the right to assume, but we have the reason to know, that it would, and that the railroad question and railroad wars would be for ever settled by such an advance towards communism, and an immense stride be made towards the organization of the industries as a whole; and this is what we have done industrially.

THE ELEMENTS OF OUR POPULATION.—It is an instructive lesson to analyze the population of the country, to resolve them into the several classes. First, from the 44,000,000 there are to be taken the classes that count for nothing—the Indians, the Chinese, and the women, for though they are permitted to live in the country, they form no part of the sovereignty. “They are,” as Justice Cartter asserted when endeavouring to prove that women are not entitled to the ballot, “citizens in whom citizenship is dormant.” In round numbers these classes are 23,000,000. Of the remaining 21,000,000, 11,000,000 are adults, who are the sovereignty and who conduct the government. Of these 3,000,000 are farmers; 2,000,000 are manufacturers, miners, and lumbermen; 1,000,000 are unskilled labourers; 1,000,000 are merchants of all kinds, including dispensers of leaf and liquid damnation; 1,000,000 are gentlemen of ease who live by their wits—their sharpness and shrewd-

world in a marriage for a home, for position, or for any reason save love alone; and I would have her who should sell her person to be degraded in marriage, as culpable, as guilty, as impure at heart, as she is held to be who sells it otherwise. I would put every influence of the community against impure relations and selfish purposes, in whatever form they might exist, and encourage honour, purity, virtue, and chastity. I would take away from marriage the idea that it legally conveys the control of the person of the wife to the husband, and I would make her as much its guardian against improper use as she is supposed to be in maidenhood. It should be her own, sacredly, never to be desecrated by an unwelcome touch. I would make enforced commerce as much a crime in marriage as it is now out of it, and unwilling child-bearing a double crime. As the architects of humanity, I would hold mothers responsible for the character and perfection of their works; make them realize that they can make their children what they ought to be, every one of them God's image in equality. I would have them come to know that their bodies are the temples of God, and that within their inner sanctuaries, within "the holy of holies" God performs his most marvellous creations; that it is there that God himself dwells, there that He will make Himself manifest to man, and that every act that He does not inspire is sacrilege, is worship of the Evil One; while every other is an offering of sweet incense to the Heavenly Father. I would have man so honour woman that an impure or improper thought or a self-desire, other than a wish to bless her, could never enter in his heart; would have him hold her to be the holy temple to which God has appointed him to be High Priest as elaborately set forth by St. Paul in Hebrews; as the Garden of Eden into which the Lord God put him, "to dress it and to keep it," forbidding him to eat of the fruit of the tree that stands in the midst of the garden; would have him awake to the consciousness that, by not so regarding her, he is repeating the sin of Adam, and

PRESS NOTICES.



PRESS NOTICES

OR

*Lectures delivered in America and England from
1869-1882.*

1869.

The World, January 28th, 1869. New York City.

THE COMING WOMAN.

"In the *Star* newspaper of the 21st instant, published in Washington, I read an article commendatory in a high degree of Mrs. Woodhull, of this city; uttering the opinion that she was destined to act no inferior part in coming conflicts and reforms in the country. I felt pleased to see this notice in a journal published at the capital of the nation, and while it was able and truthful so far as it went, it did not seem sufficiently full in detail, and I have thought the public would be interested in knowing more of this interesting woman; and having been honoured with several interviews with her, I may be able to give some account which may not prove wholly uninteresting.

"Personally, Mrs. Woodhull has a more than ordinarily fine and commanding figure, above the medium height. Her face, when at rest, does not impress the beholder at the first sight as being exquisitely beautiful, so far as the chiselling of the

THE WALL STREET HIPPODROME.



HOW TO MANAGE A BALKY TEAM.

New York Evening Telegraph, February 18th, 1870.

1870.

New York Herald, January 20th, 1870.

FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

"The general routine of business in Wall Street was somewhat varied to-day by the mingling in its scenes of two fashionably dressed ladies as speculators. Who they were few seemed to know, except that they were from the Hoffman House. Where they obtained their knowledge of stocks was a matter of puzzling conjecture with those whom they met. After investing to the extent of several thousand shares in some of our principal stocks and selling others, and announcing their intention to become regular *habitués* of Wall Street, they departed, the observed of all observers."

New York Herald, January 22nd, 1870.

THE QUEENS OF FINANCE.

"A NEW PHASE OF THE WOMAN'S RIGHTS QUESTION.

"THE LADY STOCK OPERATORS OF WALL STREET—THE FIRM OF WOODHULL, CLAFIN & CO.—VANDEBILT PROTÉGÉS—INTERVIEW OF A 'HERALD' REPORTER WITH THE FUTURE PRINCESSES OF ERIE.

"With the progress of the woman's rights agitation we have noted from time to time various isolated instances in which women have stepped aside from their hitherto recognized sphere and engaged in pursuits and reaped profits which from time immemorial have been considered as the sole vested rights of the other sex. In the *Herald* of January 20th there appeared a very brief notice of a firm of female stockbrokers, who have been

"A *Herald* reporter called on the ladies yesterday at their apartments in the Hoffman House, and was ushered into their parlour No 25. The parlour is a small, comfortable room fronting on the avenue and profusely decorated with oil paintings and statuary, and is furnished with a sofa, chairs, a piano, and the various other articles, useful and ornamental, which go to the make-up of a ladies' drawing-room. This is the present headquarters of Woodhull, Claflin & Co. Casting our eye around we observed a small frame, gracefully finished and glazed, containing the motto, 'Simply to Thy Cross I cling.' It was not ascertained whether the uncertainties and vicissitudes of the profession which the ladies have chosen suggested the idea; but it seemed at the moment that females, about to engage in fierce combat with cautious and calculating speculators, amid the terrific yells of 'bulls' and 'bears,' should have something to cling to, something to keep the nerves easy and the eye clear, when the storm of financial agitation breaks in merciless billows over the devoted head of the operator.

"A desire to see and converse with one of the members of the firm was quickly granted. Miss Tennie C. Claflin entered the room. She introduced herself, and in a business-like manner bade the reporter be seated. Miss Claflin is a young lady. Her features are full, and a continuous smile plays upon her countenance. She is, to all appearance, the photograph of a business woman—keen, shrewd, wholesouled, and apparently a firm foe of the 'girl of the period' creation, whom she describes as a sickly, squeaming nondescript, unworthy to breathe the free air of heaven. She was very plainly dressed, and spoke business in every gesture. In response to inquiries made our reporter received the following information:—

"REPORTER—You are a member of the firm of Woodhull, Claflin & Co., and you are doing business as stockbrokers and bankers?

"Miss C.—Yes. Myself and my sister, Mrs. Woodhull, are

the active members of the firm. We have been interested in stocks in this city some two or three years. We have lately used these apartments as our offices; but within a few weeks we shall have suitable offices for the transaction of our business in Wall Street, or in that vicinity.

“REPORTER—It is a novel sight to see a woman go on the street as a stock operator, and I presume you find it rather awkward?

“Miss C.—Were I to notice what is said by what they call ‘society,’ I could never leave my apartments except in fantastic walking-dress or in ball-room costume. I think a woman is just as capable of making a living as a man; and I have seen men so vain of their personal appearance and so effeminate that I should be sorry to compare my intellect with theirs. I don’t care what society think; I have not time to care. I don’t go to balls or theatres. My mind is in my business, and I attend to that solely.

“REPORTER—But stock speculations are dangerous, and many persons of great experience, and with large capital at their backs, have been swamped, as you are aware, and I presume your experience is rather limited.

“Miss C.—I studied law in my father’s office six years, and I know as much of the world as men who are older. Besides, we have a strong back. We have the counsel of those who have more experience than we have, and we are endorsed by the best backers in the city.

“REPORTER—I have been told that Commodore Vanderbilt is working in the interest of your firm. It is stated that you frequently call at his office in Fourth Street about business. Is this true?

“Miss C.—I know the Commodore, and frequently call to see him on business, but I am not prepared to state anything as to whether he is working with us. I will say that we have the advice and assistance of the shrewdest and most respectable financiers in the city.



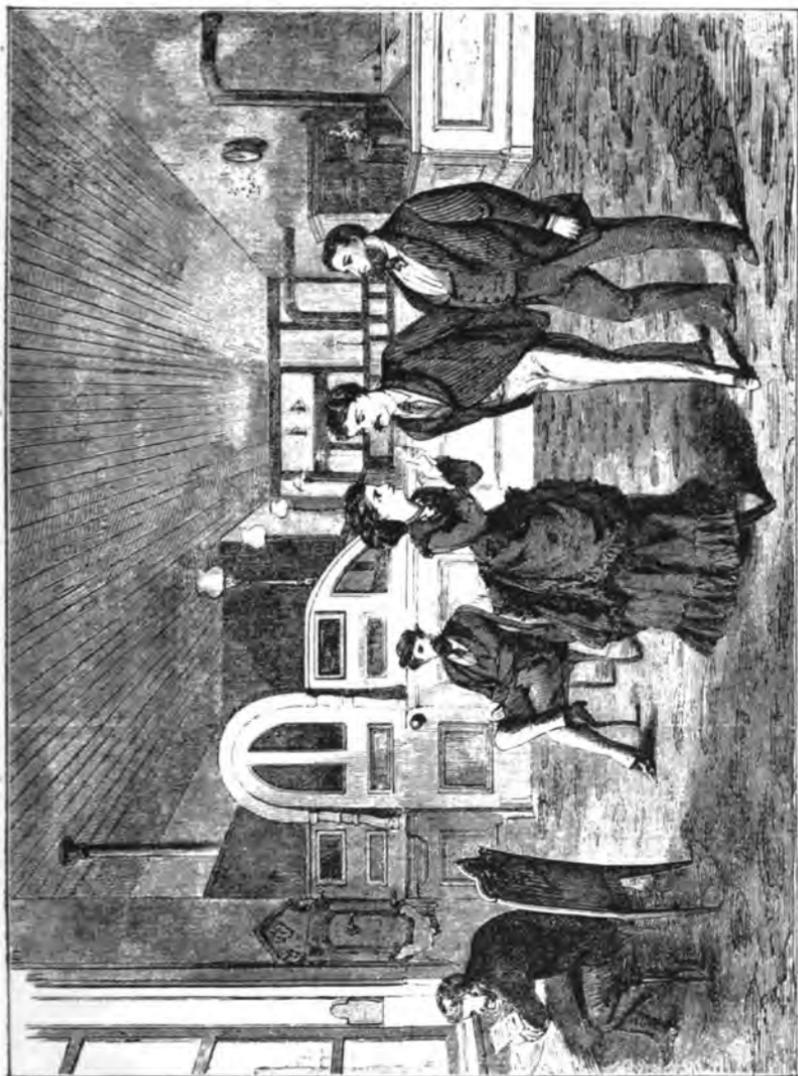
IN THEIR OFFICE ON BROAD STREET, NEW YORK.

"Arrangements have been made so that the telegraph wires will work the whole day through with London, Paris, Vienna and Constantinople, as well as with the grand centres of trade in the South and West at home, and chiefly with St. Louis, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Chicago and Boston. This world-wide accommodation is afforded and given in the ordinary course of trade, not involving the annoyances hitherto incidental to those doing money business in the city. In a word, the requirements of the age have been all considered by these enterprising ladies. Monetary genius, which has proved its value by its success in a thousand fearful moneyed frays, has been duly consulted, and may be regarded as the chief source of inspiration in this matter. Hence, as far as an intelligent eye can take in the situation, nothing seems wanting to supplement the boldness, spirit, grandeur and enterprise of the new idea. There is nothing squeamish about it. It is founded upon pure matter of fact—arithmetic and hard calculation being the component towering elements—and so, those setting this novel establishment afloat believing, as they state, in the simple but comprehensible maxim that God helps those who help themselves, intend to work not by a mere leaden rule, but by the grander natural principles of broad justice and sheer calculation, two things which can, they believe, result in nothing but unerring success, and which they regard as the soul and source of fortune in the undertaking of George Peabody and similar representatives of ideas of old pagan notions of common honesty and of modern ideas of genuine progress, as they naively expressed it.

"Such are the suggestions which have fallen under the observation of the *Herald* reporter in his visit to the banking house of the first 'female stockbrokers' in the world."

Evening Express, February 5th, 1870. New York City.

"At an early hour there was a steady stream of people down Broad Street. Following the crowd, we brought up at 44,



MISS CLAYTON RECEIVING ORDERS FOR STOCK SPECULATIONS.

The World, March 20th, 1870. New York City.

THE CHEQUE FRAUDS.

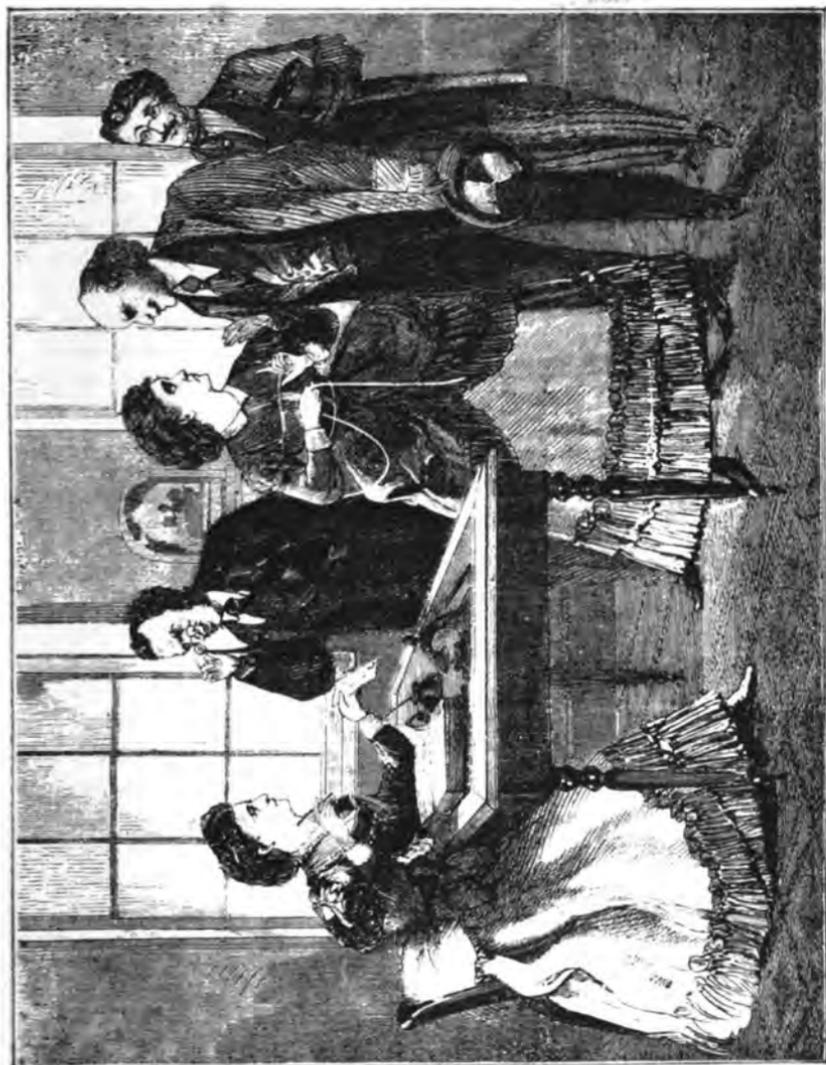
ATTEMPT TO VICTIMIZE THE FEMALE BROKERS—THEY PROVE TOO SMART FOR THE FORGERS—THE GREENWICH BANK TAKEN IN.

"The forgers who have acquired much proficiency of late in altering cheques from small amounts to large sums, and have already victimized several banks and brokers' firms, were yesterday discovered in a new attempt in their peculiar line of business, but too late to prevent their realizing a handsome sum by their shrewd operations.

"On Thursday afternoon a person of gentlemanly and business-like appearance called at the office of the lady bankers, Mesdames Woodhull, Claflin & Co., and stepping up to the cashier's window presented a cheque of Park & Tilford's, the well-known Broadway grocers, for \$4,866.52, remarking at the same time that he was an agent for that firm, and desired to buy some gold for them. He came in entirely alone, and there was nothing either in his manner, appearance, or address that would excite suspicion, while the cheque bore Park & Tilford's signature, was neatly drawn, bore the proper stamp, and called for the amount from the Greenwich Bank.

"Miss Claflin says that the clerk handed the cheque to her for inspection and she took it to her sister, Mrs. Woodhull. Observing that the cheque was not certified, the members of the firm took the wise precaution of sending it by a clerk to the Greenwich Bank for certification, the agent of the grocers waiting in the meantime in the outer office. The boy soon returned with the cheque properly indorsed by the paying-teller, the gold was bought, the commission deducted, and Messrs. Park & Tilford's agent left the office with the specie.

"On Friday afternoon another stranger made his appearance presented a cheque of Park & Tilford's for \$6600 and said that he wanted \$5500 invested in gold and would take a cheque for



THE LADIES TRANSACTING BUSINESS IN THEIR OFFICE IN BROAD STREET.

"Now, however, there is fitting opportunity for the women throughout the land to show their might, independent of any of these petty organizations, by voting for a candidate for the Presidential succession of 1872, and by inducing men to vote, 'just for once,' in favour of a woman-President.

"Mrs. Woodhull, the lady broker of Broad Street, independent of all suffrage tea-parties and Grundy associations, proclaims herself as a candidate for the occupancy-in-chief of the White House, and asks it on the score solely that she has the means, courage, energy, and ability necessary to contest the issue to its close. Now there can certainly be no objection to such a competition as this: it possesses the merits of novelty enterprise, courage, and determination. Women always take the part of each other, and if the women can be allowed to vote, Mrs. Woodhull may rely on rolling up the heaviest majority ever polled in this or any other nation. Her platform, which will be found in another column, is short, sharp, decisive, and has the true ring in it. Now for victory for Victoria in 1872!"

New York Dispatch, April 3rd, 1870. New York City.

THE LADY BROKERS.

"Mesdames Woodhull and Claflin and Co., the lady brokers, of 44, Broad Street, received many calls yesterday from their friends on 'Change, all desirous to offer congratulations on the advent of the ladies in the political arena; Mrs. Woodhull having announced herself, in yesterday's *Herald*, as a candidate for the Presidency in 1872. A majority of their visitors were, undoubtedly, actuated by curiosity; but the ladies have many sincere friends of our wealthiest citizens. Their interviews with Commodore Vanderbilt are of daily occurrence, and ex-Mayor Kingsland is said to uphold them in their new move, while ex-Mayor Opdyke and H. B. Claflin, Esq., have been in consultation with them at their office in Broad Street.

New York Herald, May 18th, 1870. New York City.

THE LADY BROKERS OF WALL STREET.

"While the two hostile divisions of woman's righters are passing all their time in refusing to coalesce with each other and in flooding the country with resolutions and chatter, there are, at least, two advocates of the women movement that endeavour to show by example and precept that their sex, with ordinary fair play and industry, can take care of itself. We refer to the lady brokers who recently created a stir among the bulls and bears of Wall Street, and who have more recently opened the eyes of the slow old fogies who think women not fit for much, by starting an excellent weekly newspaper, under the business-like title of *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, right in the midst of the periodicals of Park Row. The paper itself, of which the first number only has been issued, already gives evidence of talent and aptness in that most difficult of all the art of journalism. It is a neat sixteen-page paper, about the size and shape of the usual literary hebdomadal; but in addition to the stories, essays, and poetry, inseparable from these papers, it launches boldly into politics, finance, outdoor sports and fashions, and even thus early rejoices in a cheering amount of advertisements. The *Weekly*, bearing the motto 'Upward and Onward,' strongly advocates woman's rights, and even nominates and supports a woman for the next Presidency. There can, therefore, be no reasonable doubt of its devotion to the woman cause, and we suggest to the female agitators who waste their breath and their hearers' patience at conventions and mass meetings, that while the press is not so noisy an organ as the tongue, it is heard much further. The example of Woodhull & Claflin is a highly commendable one, as they do more and talk less than any two divisions of female agitators put together."

New York Standard, May 18th, 1870. New York City.

"We acknowledge the receipt of *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, a handsome and readable newspaper, to advocate

suffrage without distinction of sex, and support Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull for President. It regards the Democratic party as 'effete,' and the Republican party as little better, and always lively, readable, and intelligent, largely devoted to Progress and Liberty."

The Day, June 7th, 1870. Philadelphia (Pa.).

A WOMAN'S PAPER.

"Some months ago financial circles had a novel sensation in the advent of two ladies in Wall Street as brokers. It was regarded as a very good joke, and furnished theme of various comments to the press of the county. But the firm turned out to be anything but a joke, and succeeded in establishing the financial equality of the sex in spite of ridicule, in the very heart of the American stockbroking world. The firm of Woodhull & Claflin has taken a step forward, and now comes before the public with a handsome sixteen-page journal, entitled *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, and devoted to the true equality of woman. The editorials are remarkable for the practical wisdom they inculcate; are generally sound in their views, and liberal in range of both thought and subject. It is undoubtedly the ablest journal of its class, and can hardly fail of success. Its editors are sisters, and appear to be working earnestly to advance woman to her proper position in the social and business world. Fifty thousand copies of the *Weekly* are circulated every week. It is but fair to say that its financial page loses nothing by comparison with the best of the New York journals."

Inquirer, June 8th, 1870. Philadelphia (Pa.).

WOMAN'S RIGHTS.

"In these days of political progression the ladies claim that their voices should be heard. Without venturing our opinion on this delicate subject, we must confess that the new weekly of Mesdames Woodhull & Claflin is one possessing more than ordinary merits. It contains many articles which are at once entertaining and instructive."

The World, January 12th, 1871. New York City.

"THE SUFFRAGE."

"ARGUMENT BEFORE THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE. MRS. WOODHULL ON THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT.

"The House Judiciary Committee having set apart this forenoon to hear the argument of Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull, on her paper claiming the elective franchise for women to the Federal Constitution, the room of the committee was crowded. Messrs. Bingham, Butler, Cook, Peters, Loughridge, Kerr, Eldridge, and Kellogg, of the committee, were present, and listened attentively to the arguments presented.

"Mrs. Woodhull's argument.—She contended the constitution of the United States made woman a citizen, with the right to vote, and desired to know by what ethics any free government imposes taxes on woman without giving her a voice upon the subject or participation in the public declaration as to how and by whom these taxes shall be applied for the common public use. Women constituted a majority of the people of this country and were intrusted with the most vital responsibilities of society. They bear, rear, and educate men, train and mould their characters, inspire the noblest impulses in men, and often hold the accumulated fortunes of a man's life for the safety of the family and as guardians of the infants, and yet they are debarred from uttering any opinion by public vote. Women had the right to vote, and it was by usurpation only that they were debarred. In her address she quoted from many legal authorities in support of her argument.

"Mr. A. G. Riddle, an ex-member of Congress from Ohio, spoke next. He thought no man was born to lord it over woman, or no woman born to queen it over man. Every one was born with the rights of citizenship, and should exercise those rights upon arriving at the age of maturity. The constitution of the United States or any other amendments never CONFERRED the elective franchise upon any human being. In that instrument the right was recognized, and the manner of its use provided.

Minors could not use the elective franchise until arriving at the age of maturity, but EVERY ONE WAS BORN WITH THOSE RIGHTS.

"The Woman's National Suffrage Convention met this afternoon in the presence of a large audience, almost crowding Lincoln's Hall. Mrs. Beecher Hooker introduced Mrs. Woodhull, of New York, as a business woman to whom all Wall Street rendered respect. This was announced to be the lady's maiden effort at speech-making, she has made her *début* at reading in public this morning in the committee-room at the Capitol. Mrs. Woodhull evinced timidity. She read her resolutions as presented to Congress."

Commercial Advertiser, January 12th, 1871. New York City.

"The female suffragists appeared before the Judiciary Committee of the House to advocate their claims. The orator and special pleader of the occasion was Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull, who, as Miss Anthony said, that Wall Street came to open the eyes of the committee. Mrs. Woodhull's plea was a strong one. Briefly stated, it is that the Constitution recognizes no sex; a woman is a citizen; it is her right as a citizen to vote; women, no more than men can be proscribed on account of race, colour, or previous condition of servitude. The Committee was captured by the persuasive eloquence of the Wall Street Banker and Editor. But Mrs. Butler, to thwart the force of the blow, suggested that matrimony was a 'condition of servitude.'

"It is announced that the Woodhull Memorial will be reported on Friday, and that a resolution will be introduced, declaring that the Constitution nowhere denies women the right to vote.

"This is the bravest and best movement that women have yet made, and no one can tell what momentous results may depend upon it. The new era dawns where there shall be no distinction of sex."

Republican, January 13th, 1871. Chester (Del.).

"Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull of New York, on Wednesday last, appeared before the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives at Washington, and presented a powerfully

Tribune, January 16th, 1871. New York City.

THE WOODHULL AND CLAFLIN CAMPAIGN IN WASHINGTON.

"After long grief and pain the Anthony-Stanton faction at last found it was possible to hit upon leaders whose beguiling ways and numerous ducats foreshadowed success to the cause. In the fair persons of Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull and Miss Tennie C. Claflin, bankers and brokers, woman suffrage discovered the Paladins best fitted to rescue it from dusty oblivion. Its revival must be dated from the hour when in the pure and noble atmosphere of the Capitol Mrs. Woodhull, attended by Miss Anthony, Mrs. Beecher Hooker, Mrs. Paulina Wright Davis, *et al.* bore the memorial that was to lift them from the station of down-trodden suffering they now occupy. In the assertion that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments give them the rights they want they find all delights and comforts—especially as they, at last, have something new to talk about. To be sure, the committee to whom the memorial was read refused, in the most hard-hearted and *unreasonable* manner, to be convinced, and refused also the motion for a presentment to the House—but *that is of little consequence*. The banking and brokerage business still lives; and General B. T. Butler promises Mrs. Woodhull something shall be done.

"All the past efforts of Miss Anthony and Mrs. H. B. Stanton sink to insignificance beside the ingenious lobbying of the new leader and her daring declaration of political powers under the present provisions of the Constitution. What joy could be greater than that of the organizers of the Convention when lumbering up heavily to Washington upon their venerable hobby the Sixteenth Amendment, they found waiting in the shape of the Fifteenth Amendment a mettlesome spirit, that is to bear them straight to the White House? What slave was there with soul so dead that could resist the temptation of listing under a captain capable of originating so grand an idea, and more than that, capable of subscribing \$10,000 to the cause if she wanted to?



STORMING THE CAPITOL FOR VOTES.

citizens and of citizenship, no man of common sense can deny, for these facts are plainly stated in the Constitution. Congress has passed more than one bill to enforce the right of citizens to vote, and hence Bingham's claim that Congress cannot enforce this right on behalf of women is absurd.

"The thanks of all the women in the United States, and of the men, too, are due to Mrs. Woodhull for her brave, eloquent, unanswerable argument."

The New York Herald, March 2nd, 1871. New York City.

"Last evening the Cooper Institute was crowded to overflowing with a fashionable audience of ladies and gentlemen, who had come for the first time to hear Victoria C. Woodhull.

"If the Woman's Movement has a Joan of Arc, it is the gentle and yet fiery spirit, Victoria Woodhull. She is one of the most remarkable women of her time. Little understood by the public, she has been denounced by people who cannot appreciate her moral worth. She is a purest gem of the first water. Her sincerity, truthfulness, nobility, and uprightness of character rank her as a pious Catholic would rank Theresa. She is a devotee, a religious enthusiast, a seer of visions. I was astonished at the singular revelation of her character to me, as one of the most upright, truthful, religious, unsullied souls I have ever met with."

The Times, March 2nd, 1871. New York City.

"The house was crowded, and, inasmuch as when the doors were opened a surging multitude was doing its best to get inside, there is little doubt that the hall could have been filled twice over. She was loudly cheered as she left the stage, and received a shower of floral offerings."

The World, March 2nd, 1871. New York City.

"Victoria C. Woodhull delivered her lecture last evening to one of the largest audiences ever seen in Cooper Institute. The door-keeper could scarcely take and separate the tickets. She closed her lecture and walked off amid immense thunders of

applause. She was literally covered with bouquets as she made her exit."

The Daily News, March 2nd, 1871. New York City.

"Mrs. Woodhull has a clear, musical voice, a commanding intellect, and remarkable executive ability, and will undoubtedly play a conspicuous part in the future."

The World, March 2nd, 1871. New York City.

"The large hall of Cooper Institute was literally crowded last evening."

The Tribune, March 2nd, 1871. New York City.

"There was a full attendance of ladies and gentlemen, and the lecture was an undoubted success."

The Democrat, March 2nd, 1871. New York City.

"Before the doors opened, a large crowd gathered on the street, and the result was suggestive of the Piccolomini Opera Matinées, where the women thought nothing of crushed bonnets and torn dresses, provided they obtained front seats."

The Evening Telegram, March 2nd, 1871. New York City.

"There was an audience of magnificent proportions assembled at Cooper Institute last evening, to hear Victoria C. Woodhull. At an early hour the hall began to fill, and by eight o'clock every seat was filled, and as the price of admission was one dollar, the result, financially, must have been very gratifying."

The Evening Post, March 2nd, 1871. New York City.

"Victoria C. Woodhull lectured last evening before a large audience."

The Globe, March 2nd, 1871. New York City.

"Cooper Institute was thronged with men and women, and Mrs. Woodhull delivered her celebrated Constitutional Washington Lecture."

The Post, March 22nd, 1871. Philadelphia (Pa.).

"The Academy of Music was filled last evening, and the continuous applause of the audience, if it did not endorse her sentiments, at least demonstrated how doubly potent is genius

'when wielded by lovely woman.' Her style was trenchant, and the scathing manner in which she handled Congress in general, and Mr. Bingham in particular, gave evidence of the logical force in her composition.

" . . . I am of that portion of the people who are denied the rights of citizens, and who, without voice in the pursuit of justice, am one of that sovereignty to whom this Government owes its existence and to whom it will be held accountable, as it holds all accountable who set themselves against human rights.'

" "On December 19th, 1870, I memorialized Congress, setting forth what I believe to be the truth and right regarding equal suffrage for all citizens. This memorial was referred to the Judiciary Committee of Congress; on January 12th I appeared before the House Judiciary Committee and submitted to them the constitution and legal point upon which I predicated such equality. On January 20th Mr. Bingham on behalf of the majority of said Committee submitted his report to the House, in which, while he admitted all my basic propositions, Congress was recommended to take no action. February 1st, Messrs. Loughbridge and Butler of said Committee submitted a report in their own behalf and recommended that Congress should pass a Declaratory Act, for ever settling the mooted question of suffrage.

" "Thus it is seen that equally able men differ upon a simple point of constitutional law, and it is fair to presume that Congress will also differ when these points come up for action. That a proposition involving such momentous results as this should receive a one-third vote upon first coming before Congress, has raised it to an importance which spreads alarm on all sides among the opposition. So long as it was not made to appear that women were denied constitutional rights, no opposition was aroused, but now that new light is shed, by which it is seen that such is the case, all the conservative weapons of bitterness, hatred, and malice are marshalled in the hope to

extinguish it before it can enlighten the masses of the people, who are always true to freedom and justice. . . .

“Public opinion is against equality, but it is simply from prejudice, which requires but to be informed to pass away. No greater prejudice exists against equality than there did against the proposition that the world was a globe. This passed away under the influence of better information; so also will present prejudice pass when better informed upon questions of equality.

“It cannot be said with justice that my pursuit of happiness in voting for any man for office would be an infringement of one of his rights as a citizen or as an individual. I hold, then, that in denying me this right without my having forfeited it, departure is made from the principles of Constitution, and also from the true principles of Government, for I am denied a right born with me, and which is inalienable. Nor can it be objected that women had no part in organizing this Government. They were not denied. To-day we seek a voice in Government and are denied. There are thousands of male citizens in the country who seldom or never vote. They are not denied; they pursue happiness by not voting. Could it be assumed because this body of citizens do not choose to exercise the right to vote, that they could be permanently denied the exercise thereof? If not, neither should it be assumed to deny women, who wish to vote, the right to do so.

“If there are women who do not desire to have a voice in the laws to which they are accountable and which they must contribute to support, let them speak for themselves, but they should not assume to speak for me or for those whom I represent.

“The condition of the people of this country to-day is this. I and others of my sex find ourselves controlled by a form of Government in the inauguration of which we had no voice, and in whose administration we are denied the right to participate, though we are a large portion of the people of this country. Not long since I was notified by a United States officer that if I did not pay a certain tax the Government had imposed upon

me, my property would be levied upon and sold for that purpose. Is this tyranny, or can men find some other word to take the place of that used by our fathers so freely, and by Congress, not so long ago as to be forgotten, with such powerful effect ?

“ ‘I am subject to tyranny, I am taxed in every conceivable way. For publishing a paper, I must pay—for engaging in the banking and brokerage business, I must pay—of what it is my fortune to acquire each year, I must turn over a certain per cent. I must pay high prices for tea, coffee, and sugar. To all these I must pay. I submit to men’s government, in the administration of which I am denied a voice, and from whose edicts there is no appeal.’

“ Mrs. Woodhull at this point went into an exhaustive logical attack upon the injustice with which our statesmen expounded the Fifteenth Amendment. She said, when I was before Congress, I said to Mr. Bingham, ‘I want to vote because I am a citizen ;’ he replied, ‘You are not a citizen.’ ‘What am I ?’ I asked. ‘You are a woman,’ he said. I told him I knew that before I came to Washington. And it is just such frivolous and illogical arguments that are brought to bear against the woman’s suffrage question. By the very working of that amendment every woman is allowed to vote as well as every man. The question of sex is urged as an objection, but nowhere is the sex specified. Perhaps no men were intended to vote. The qualification argument is the most stupid of all, and needs no comment.

“ ‘Therefore, I would have Congress, in the pursuit of its duty, to enforce the constitution by appropriate legislation, pass a declaratory act plainly setting forth the right of all citizens to vote, and thus render unnecessary the thousands of suits for damages which will otherwise arise. What legislation could be more appropriate than defining the right of one-half the citizens in the country, when they are in question ? This matter has passed beyond the States. They have delegated this power to Congress by these amendments. Could the Legislatures of the States think of legislating upon the question of who are

making their appearance upon the platform about eight o'clock. The lectress was introduced by Mrs. Paulina W. Davis, who said in substance as follows:

“ ‘ The only vital living question of to-day is the enfranchisement of women. It has become so important that it can no longer be ignored or ridiculed. The question has taken a new form as well as a new interest during the last year. Men now acknowledge the right of women to franchise and are in favour of giving it to the mothers of the race. There has been a good champion of this cause, a Joan of Arc, in defence of the rights of women, and that one she now has the honour to introduce in the person of Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull.’ (Applause.)

“ The lectress, who has a very intellectual face, clear cut features, was very plainly dressed in dark blue broadcloth, wearing no ornaments.”

Daily Times, May 9th, 1871. New York City.

“ At the evening session at Apollo Hall, Mrs. Victoria Woodhull read a lengthy manuscript. Her theme was ‘ The Relation of Capital to Labour.’ The production abounded with copious extracts from Government reports, library quotations, and statistical tables. She said: There are three questions of vital importance to the human family. These are equal political rights, social order, and moral responsibility. If the first is guaranteed the others follow.”

Daily Tribune, May 10th, 1871. New York City.

“ The Woman’s Suffrage Bureau met at Washington, during the progress of the great campaign which Mrs. Woodhull and Mrs. Beecher Hooker conducted against Congress. We quote from the official report in the *Chronicle*.

“ Mrs. Senator Stearns, of Minnesota, then rose and said that

she desired to offer a resolution that deeply affected every woman interested in the cause of Woman's Suffrage. She hoped it would be concurred in by the meeting. It was as follows :—

“**BE IT RESOLVED**, That we honour Victoria C. Woodhull for her fine intellectual ability, her courage and independence of character, her liberality and high moral worth, and, since every word, look, and act impresses us with the conviction that she is profoundly in earnest, we feel that for this earnestness and fearlessness we, as women, owe her a debt of gratitude which we can only repay by working with and for her with our whole hearts.”

Tribune, May 12th, 1871. New York City.

“The lady whose intellectual ability and high moral worth we lately indorsed. For ourselves, we toss our hats in the air for Woodhull. She has the courage of her own opinion. She means business. This is a spirit to respect. Would that the rest of those who burden themselves with the enfranchisement of one-half our whole population now lying in chains and slavery but had her sagacious courage.”

Standard, August 12th, 1871. New York City.

CANDIDATE FOR CONGRESS.

“Miss Tennie C. Claffin delivered her speech last evening in Irving Hall, in German. She appeared as a candidate of the German-American Progressive Association for Senatorial honours in the VIIIth Assembly District.”

Sun, August 12th, 1871. New York City.

“The German-American Progressive Association turned out in full number at Irving Hall last night to listen to a political

speech in German by Miss Tennie C. Clafin, of the famous banking firm of Woodhull, Clafin & Co., and independent candidate for Congress in the Eighth District of this city. The hall was well filled with an attentive and appreciative audience, composed largely of the better class of German citizens, with their wives and daughters, with a liberal sprinkling of the American element.

“Miss Clafin appeared, smiling her acknowledgments of the vociferous cheers and deafening applause that greeted her. She was dressed in a dress of black organdie with a small figure in colours, made *en train*, and very plainly trimmed. Her hair, which she wears short, hung loose and bushy about her forehead and temples. She wore no jewellery or ornaments. As soon as the applause had subsided, she proceeded to speak in a clear, strong voice, using the German language, from which we translate her remarks as follows :

“MISS CLAFIN'S SPEECH. ARE WOMEN CITIZENS?—‘The law under which I—and with me all women, in whose behalf I know that you are all interested—claim the rights of a citizen of the State of New York, reads as follows: Article first, section first, of the Fourteenth Amendment: “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.”

“‘I fulfil the necessary conditions. I was born in the United States, and am therefore a native citizen of the same, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof. Why, then, I ask you, should I not be allowed to vote? And if I am allowed to vote, why may I not hold an office? (Applause.)

“IS A WOMAN CAPABLE OF HOLDING OFFICE?—‘Do you believe that a woman, for no other reason than because she is a woman, must necessarily lack the energy to perform the duties of an office? or do you believe that things could go worse in the administration of our national affairs than they now do? Try

the experiment merely of entrusting a woman with the performance of official duties, and if you find that your interests suffer by so doing, the power will still be retained by you to retrieve your mistake.

“ ‘ But do not imagine that you can entirely ignore a movement which does not rest merely on the law, but which also brings into the contest the best and soundest cosmopolitan ideas.’

“ **WILL SHE BE ADMITTED IF ELECTED?**—‘ Neither need you entertain any apprehension that Congress will withhold my seat from me if I receive a majority of the votes. It is a part of my object to make this case a test ; and there is, up to this date, no law which either forbids the people to elect a woman to an office, or which forbids her to accept it.

“ ‘ Corruption and bribery, if not indeed foreign to the nature of women generally, are in any event foreign to my nature. And, without having to resort to means which are prevalent among politicians, who stuff the ballot-box and pay repeaters, I shall step into the arena as a candidate for the office of Representative of the Eighth District in Congress, commending myself entirely and exclusively to your favourable regards.’

“ **A PRESENTATION.**—At the conclusion of the speech, the hall rang again with cheers and applause, in the midst of which Miss Claffin was presented with an elegant basket of flowers, arranged with exquisite taste, the initials ‘ T. C. C.’ being formed in monogram in the centre, with ‘ M. C. 8th Dist.’ around the outside. On receiving this beautiful token, which was understood to be the gift of her Wall Street friends, Miss Claffin retired from the stand.

“ After listening to short speeches by Judge Reymert and Mr. Hugo Eloesser, the audience dispersed.

“ **THE CANDIDATE SERENADED.**—At a later hour in the evening, the German admirers of Miss Claffin favoured her with a serenade at her palatial residence on Murray Hill. A full military band, one of the best in the city, was provided, and

performed some choice selections of operatic airs. Miss Claflin appeared upon the balcony, and very briefly returned her thanks for the honour."

Globe, August 20th, 1871.

"A much later sensation in this class of journalism is the hebdomadal sheet bearing the names of Woodhull & Claflin, which started some fifteen months ago. Its tone, which from the first was startling and aggressive, made even a more unfavourable impression on the public than the establishment of the lady proprietors in their Broad Street office. The names of these two 'bold women' were on every tongue. Any gossip concerning them was eagerly grasped and turned to capital for the newspapers. But the sisters were prepared for all of this. They persisted in the even tenor of their way, with as unswerving will as would have been possible had they ridden the top wave of popularity. They wrote, they spoke, they acted with undaunted perseverance; and while people stood aghast, Woodhull & Claflin were cutting their granite way to future success. Last winter Mrs. Woodhull came before the public in an entirely new character. Not content with disseminating her views through the columns of her paper, she prepared her celebrated memorial and went to Washington to press the cause of woman on the basis of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Although a regularly organized society was then in convention assembled, many members of which repudiated all sympathy with Mrs. Woodhull, she seemed, nevertheless, to take both the ladies and the judiciary by storm, actually accomplishing more by this novel effort than could be claimed for any previous convention, besides winning for herself wide-spread favour.

"Women who had denounced her before, now took her hand in sincere friendship. Mrs. Hooker, Mrs. Davis, and many other well-known reformers, became at once her staunch supporters,

while the sweet and gentle Lucretia Mott sent her greeting, saying, 'Victoria, my heart and home are ever open to thee.'

"Her paper continued daily to increase in circulation. It is now probably the most influential journal of its kind in the country. However it may be regarded elsewhere, in New York it is looked upon as a strong ally and a formidable adversary, and notwithstanding the prejudices that did exist and are still perceptible, it is universally admitted that *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly* is destined to wield a powerful influence in the ultimate enfranchisement of women."—*Cincinnati Chronicle and Times*.

The Herald, September 19th, 1871. Cleveland (Ohio).

"About five thousand people assembled in the Rink to listen to the lecture of Victoria C. Woodhull, on Constitutional Equality.

"Her address occupied in its delivery fully one hour and a quarter; was listened to with unbroken silence, save for occasional outbreaks of applause."

The Cleveland Plaindealer, September 19th, 1871. Cleveland (Ohio).

"A very large audience gathered in the Rink. Her manner is the very reverse of forward. She is unquestionably deeply in earnest and unflinching. She read her lecture, the elocution being faultless. Her voice is clear and musical."

Banner of Light, September 19th, 1871.

"Mrs. Woodhull was greeted with applause as she walked forward on the speaker's stand. In a calm and dignified manner she commenced reading her address. The large audience at once became silent, and gave a most respectful hearing to the earnest speaker.

"Mrs. Woodhull holds her manuscript in one hand, and in tones firm and at times musical, delivers her message to the people. We wish we could portray the scene in the Rink

during Mrs. Woodhull's oration. It was a sight never to be forgotten to see the vast assemblage under the magic spell of the eloquent speaker—not of eloquence technically so-called by the schools, but that eloquence which comes from earnest conviction, wherein the look of the eye, the expression of the face, and the quiver of the voice all go to show that things superficial have been laid aside, and that the domains of earnestness, sincerity, and fidelity have been fully entered upon. Mrs. Woodhull may well feel proud of her effort in Cleveland. She came, she saw, she conquered. Prejudice melts before her genial presence; scandal flees away into oblivion when [in her own impressive way she talks to you—you see the light? yes, the light of honour and truth shining in her eyes, and all who are friendly to those that have been friendless rejoice to know that Mrs. Victoria Woodhull is slowly but surely marching on to peace, harmony and prosperity.”

Daily Times, October 10th, 1871. Brooklyn (N.Y.).

“The Masonic Hall was crowded last evening by a respectable and intelligent audience gathered to hear Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull discuss the claims of women to franchise. . . Mrs. Woodhull spoke for nearly an hour and a half, and was loudly applauded at intervals.”

Sun, October 25th, 1871. Baltimore (Md.).

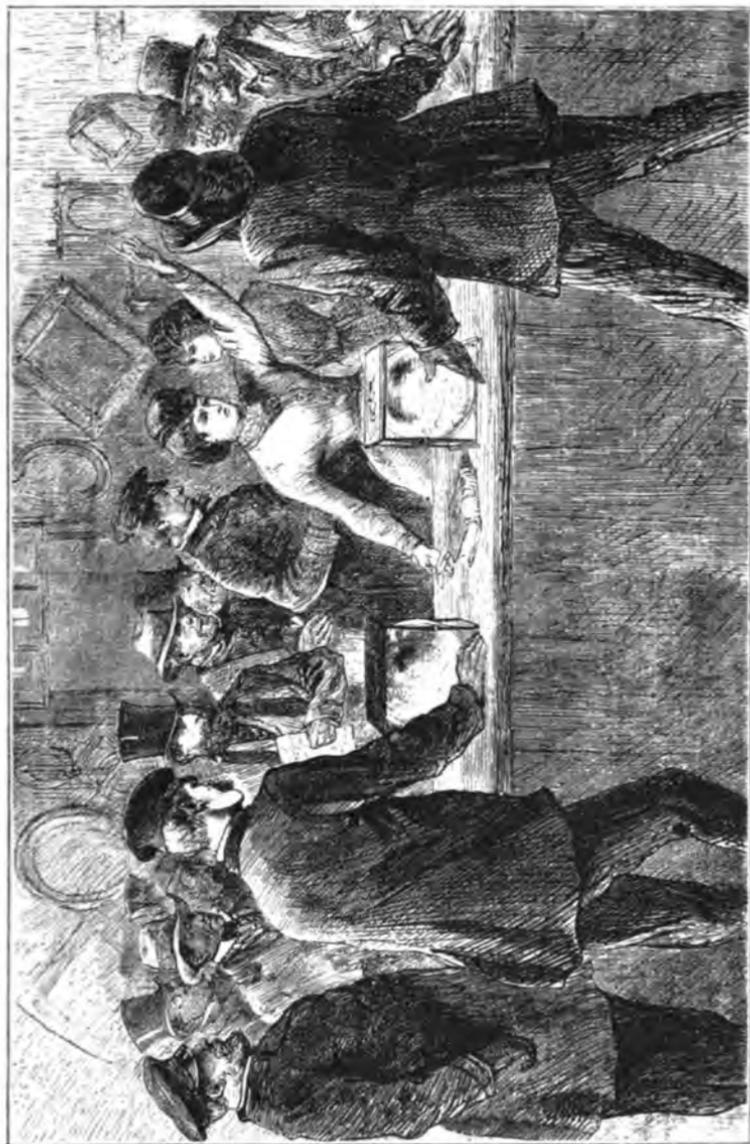
“Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull—candidate of the ‘Equal Rights Party’ for presidency of the United States, upon the great Political Issues—lectured at Masonic Temple.”

Gazette, October 25th, 1871. Baltimore (Md.).

“MRS. VICTORIA C. WOODRULL.—This lady, who has become so prominent an advocate for woman's rights, and who more recently has been extensively advertised as a candidate for the next Presidency of the United States, delivered a lecture last night at Masonic Temple.”



VICTORIA VICTA.—VICTORIA C. WOODHULL AND FENNIE C. CLAPLIN AT THE POLLS IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK ON ELECTION DAY, NOV. 7TH. THEY PRESENT THEIR BALLOTS, BUT ARE DENIED THE EXERCISE OF THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE.



A PROTEST FROM VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

State and Federal Constitutions. One-sided and dogmatic journalism is too common, and I shall hail the day when a free Press shall be inaugurated.

“VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

“No. 44, Broad Street, *Tuesday, November 7th, 1871.*”

The Press, November 10th, 1871. Philadelphia (Pa.).

“A large audience assembled to hear the noted defender of the Rights of Woman—Victoria C. Woodhull.”

The Philadelphia Public Record, November 10th, 1871. Philadelphia (Pa.).

“Horticultural Hall last evening was filled, the audience being mostly ladies who had assembled there to hear Victoria C. Woodhull lecture on ‘The True and the False, Socially.’ Her brilliant oratory, fine impassioned eloquence, sweet-toned voice, dramatic powers, and graceful appearance fairly entranced the audience, the spell being frequently broken by enthusiastic demonstration.”

Daily Times, November 15th, 1871. Hartford (Conn.).

“Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull’s lecture on ‘Woman’s Suffrage’ was delivered to a good audience at the Opera House last evening. It was well written, recapitulating the arguments of the Butler-Loughbridge pamphlet. It was a dignified, courteous speech in which all the arguments in favour of Woman’s Suffrage, under the Sixteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, were brought together.”

Popular Appeal, November 18th, 1871. Detroit (Mich.).

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

“This lady is announced to lecture on her favourite theme of equal rights for Women, at Young Men’s Hall, on Saturday evening, 25th inst. We hope that no person will go to hear her from curiosity, but we do hope that every person who feels a

desire to form correct judgments either of persons or things, who may feel an interest in the person or her theme, will attend, and give her an attentive hearing, and her matter a candid consideration. There is probably no person in the country with reference to whom opinions differ so widely as this same Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull. Many persons and papers have committed the mistake of seeking to put down the cause which she espouses, with ridicule. On the other hand, many others find in these very facts in her history the disciplinary experiences that have evolved in her a soul-purity and spiritual illumination that make her almost an angel of light. Between these wide differences of opinion, there may be a golden mean. Her cause, moreover, is one entitled to a respectful consideration, and it is alike cowardly and unjust to seek to meet it with ridicule."

The Express, November 21st, 1871. Rochester (N.Y.).

THE SUFFRAGE.

"Victoria C. Woodhull lectured in Corinthian Hall before an audience larger than is usual for lectures outside of the regular course, and who came to hear the ablest advocate of Woman Suffrage. She made a strong impression on the audience that she was a woman of remarkable originality and power. It was three times as large as the audience Robert Collyer called out, and larger than Mrs. Livermore had, about the same time."

The Democrat and Chronicle, November 21st, 1871. Rochester (N.Y.).

"Her manner in private conversation is quick and nervous; her style of speaking in public seems very quiet and subdued, but it may be expected at any moment that she may lose control of herself and soar away into eloquence; her voice is soft, clear, and pleasant to listen to, at least in a public hall. There are cadences in it that to an active imagination are suggestive of the same story that is legible in her face. There can be but one opinion as to the ability with which she advocates her principles.

Her public career has been short, and she has shown in it the skill and personal tact of a woman, and a manly courage bordering on audacity. Her brilliant qualities have won her many champions."

The Post, Providence (B.L.).

"Mrs. Woodhull is a speaker who possesses a very pleasing and impassioned delivery, giving to every sentence a just and appropriate emphasis and cadence, and sustaining the ear with a graceful variety of intonation. Her earnestness and eloquence of manner showed a fervid and enthusiastic interest in the subject-matter she was presenting."

The Whig, Troy (N.Y.).

"I know of no other public character with such a triumphant expression of impassioned thought."

Times, November 21st, 1871. New York City.

"One of the largest audiences ever collected together in a public hall in this city, assembled last night at Steinway Hall, on the occasion of a lecture by Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull."

Tribune, November 21st, 1871. New York City.

"The Social Problem never had a bolder advocate than Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull proved herself last night at Steinway Hall. The announcement that she would speak drew together a crowd such as Steinway Hall probably never before contained—a crowd which filled the house completely, seats, aisles, and galleries, for the name of Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull, associated as it is with all that is startling in the sphere of social ideas, was a guarantee that the intellectual food sought for by many among the hundreds who heard her last night would certainly be forthcoming."

The World, November 21st, 1871. New York City.

"An overflowing audience crowded Steinway Hall in every part last evening, some of whom were cordially disappointed at the high moral ground and limited licence which the speaker's definition of Freedom would allow."

The Sun, November 21st, 1871. New York City.

"Steinway Hall was crowded last evening—boxes, floor, and galleries. The speaker was received with applause. She looked unusually well in her blue broadcloth. A tea-rose fastening her collar contrasted with her snowy neck and her light-brown hair now set back in Yankee style from her blushing face."

The Herald, November 21st, 1871. New York City.

"Last evening Mrs. Woodhull lectured to an audience of three thousand people. She had an inspired look. Her eyes burned with suppressed fire. She wore a fresh tea-rose, which enhanced the fairness of her skin, and combatted with the blushes on her cheeks for precedence."

Dispatch, December 2nd, 1871. Pittsburg (Pa.).

"Library Hall was crowded last night to hear Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull, the most prominent woman of our time, discuss the Social Question."

"The dunces at the Capitol, who imagine that because they were elected to the Senate, either through merit or bribery, they necessarily possess the intelligence to combat the doctrines advanced in favour of our political rights, have seen proper to differ from the ablest champion of her sex's rights.

"Every man and woman of the land possessing ordinary intelligence, is satisfied that if a citizen of the United States has a right to vote, all citizens have, unless for some reason they are expressly prevented. Women are citizens of the United States just as much as men.

"By what power and from what authority did man derive the right to vote ?

"From the establishment of a form of government recognizing the citizenship of man. In other words, the men of this government made in, and incorporated into its fundamental law their rights, or rights which, in its formation, they assumed, belonged to them. Did they include women ? We answer, Yes—not by the use of the word woman, but by the use of the word man.

"The rights of man are the rights of woman. They are inseparable in political communities, and in every instance where women are denied the same political privileges that men exercise, it is simply an usurpation by man, and a violation of every principle which enters into and underlies the foundation of this government.

"Women have the right to vote, practise the professions, sue and be sued, and the man or party that sets himself or itself up against this clear and plain right is simply kicking against the pricks of logic and coming events.

"By the amendment to the Constitution our liege rulers undertook to slip in the negroes alone. By these amendments Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull claims that women are enfranchised. Her argument upon these provisions is not only clear and logical but eloquent and unanswerable."

The Sun, February 21st, 1872. New York City.

"Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull read her lecture, 'The Impending Revolution,' in the Academy last evening, to one of the largest assemblages ever seen in that hall. An hour before the opening of the doors people began to congregate in Irving Place, and fifteen minutes before eight o'clock the multitude filled up the streets for three blocks each way. Many were carried utterly off their feet, and so conveyed along with the surge into the vestibule. The doorkeeper could scarcely take and separate the tickets. She closed her lecture and walked off amidst immense thunders of applause. She was literally covered with bouquets as she made her exit."

The World, February 21st, 1872. New York City.

"The crowd which had gathered last evening at the Academy of Music to hear Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull deliver her lecture on 'The Impending Revolution' was immense."

The Star, February 21st, 1872. New York City.

"The Academy of Music presented an unusual scene last evening, it being the occasion of a lecture delivered by the famous Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull on 'The Impending Revolution.' Thousands of people of both sexes gathered around the building in order to obtain admittance.

"At the conclusion of her remarks she was loudly cheered, and bouquets to any quantity were showered on the platform."

(Editorial.)

"Since the days of 'unpleasantness' no such crowd has assembled in and around the Academy of Music as besieged that institution last night to hear Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull. Shortly after six o'clock a group collected in front of the main entrance,

which by seven o'clock had grown into a crushing, swaying multitude. When the doors fell back a sea of humanity poured in with ever-increasing force, until the custodian of the Academy rushed up with terror in his looks and informed the Captain of Police that the building was tottering under its weight. The doors were slammed to as if by magic, and the crowd flowed backward."

The Cincinnati Commercial, May 10th, 1872.

"Somehow or other, Mrs. Woodhull as she stood there, dressed in plain black, with flushed face, gleaming eye, upraised arm, and quivering under the fire of her own rhapsody, reminded me of the great Rachel in some of those tragic or fervid passages in which the dominating powers of her nature and genius were displayed in their highest effect. She seemed at moments like one inspired, and the eloquence which poured from her lips in reckless torrents swept through the souls of the multitude in a way which caused them to burst every now and then with uproarious enthusiasm."

Evening Telegram, July 8th, 1872. Louisville (Ky.).

CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENCY.

"The Hon. Samuel Cassey, ex-member of Congress from the Thirty-second district of Kentucky, arrived in this city yesterday, and declares that Kentucky would give Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull twenty thousand majority over either Grant or Greeley."

Weekly Observer, July 13th, 1872. Belfast (Ohio).

THE COMING WOMAN.

"Among the candidates for the Presidency of the United States, if not the foremost, at least in some respects the most remarkable, is Mrs. Woodhull, of Wall Street, New York,



'CONVENTION IN APOLLO HALL, NEW YORK. VICTORIA C. WOODHULL NOMINATED FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

"The *Herald* reporter, on entering their cell last evening, discovered Mrs. Woodhull and Miss Claflin seated on a cot. Both the sisters expressed their willingness to suffer for what they conceive to be right. Their persecution, they declare, is the seed from which is to spring the perfect flower of a new religion of humanity."

Sunday *Mercury*, November 17th, 1872. New York City.

"Cell No. 11, now well known as the residence of Woodhull and Claflin, was a perfect camp meeting yesterday. On a small table was an appetizing dinner served for Mrs. Woodhull, who had eaten no breakfast. Just as Mrs. Woodhull began her dinner a woman entered and whispered 'your food is being poisoned,' and her appetite fled."

Chronicle, December 1st, 1872. Brooklyn (N.Y.).

"Yesterday morning Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull and Miss Tennie C. Claflin, accompanied by two deputy sheriffs, were driven in a close carriage from the Ludlow Street Jail to the United States Attorney's office to meet their bondsmen, who, on the previous day, executed bonds in \$16,000 each for the release of Mrs. Woodhull and Miss Claflin: they were there awaiting the decision of the District Attorney as to their capability to become sureties. In a short time the bondsmen were informed that they had been accepted.

"While the women-brokers were in the District Attorney's office, a gentleman stepped up to Mrs. Woodhull and told her that it was his duty to tell her that there was a conspiracy against her. He said that it was understood between certain officials and prosecuting parties that Mrs. Woodhull and Miss Claflin should be forced into Jefferson Market Prison, and, while there, the prison would be fired and they left to perish in the flames. He added that the parties referred to were determined to be rid of them at any cost. Mrs. Woodhull and Miss Claflin



THE ARREST

could barely credit the story, but the earnestness of the man, and the promise that, at an early day, he would tell all he knew of the plot, forced them to place credence in his story.

"The women-brokers then entered their coach, and an officer of the Jefferson Market Police Court stepped up to the door, and placing his hand on Miss Clafin's shoulder, said in a loud tone, 'Stop.' A gentleman hastened to the rescue, and pushing the officer aside, said, 'No, you don't. Mrs. Woodhull and Miss Clafin are still United States prisoners, and you cannot arrest them again,' as they have been warned of your infamous plot.

"The officer wilted. The women-brokers were then taken back to their old quarters in Ludlow Street Jail. To-morrow they will probably take their departure from that jail and procure bail in the other suits.

"The authorities seem determined to do their utmost, by placing every obstacle in their way, to prevent them from obtaining their freedom."

Herald, December 1st, 1872. New York City.

"Mesdames Woodhull and Clafin were taken again to-day from the County Jail to the Federal Building, preparatory to giving bail. They were accompanied by their counsel. Soon after their arrival they were conducted to the office of Commissioner Shields, where the bail-bonds were prepared. When the case was called,

"The counsel said they were prepared to give unexceptionable bail, but it would be useless for them to do so, as an officer of the Jefferson Market Court was outside in the hall, waiting to re-arrest them. He thought it would be better that his clients remain in the County Jail than to go to a cell in the Jefferson Market Prison. He had heard that the judge had been spirited away for the purpose of preventing the prisoners from being bailed.

"Mesdames Woodhull and Clafin were sent back to the County Jail."

1873.

The Herald, January 6th, 1873 (Editorial). St. Joseph (Mo.).

"The most noted woman of America will lecture in the Opera House this evening. Her subject is 'Reformation or Revolution, which? or, Behind the Political and Social Scenes.' Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull has a national reputation, and whatever may be said of her opinions upon the throbbing issues of the day, we have it from reliable gentlemen who have heard her elsewhere that she is the best lecturer now before the public. The Opera House should be crowded to hear her."

The Herald, January 7th, 1873. St. Joseph (Mo.).

"The lecture was one of the most vigorous, sensible, though radical protests against the shams of the nineteenth century ever listened to by a St. Joseph audience. Not one word was uttered to which every man and woman could not have listened to with propriety and profit."

"Mrs. Woodhull is a success. She is an excellent elocutionist, gesturing mainly with her eyes and head, occasionally stamping out a sentence and punctuating it with a nervous shake of the 'knowledge box'; and she tells more truth in one lecture than people are apt to hear in a lifetime elsewhere."

The Gazette, January 9th, 1873. St. Joseph (Mo.).

"The career of Victoria C. Woodhull is one of the most wonderful of this or any other century. Born, if we mistake not, in Ohio, she sought her way to fame and fortune, and became an earthquake in the religious, social, and financial circles of the metropolis of the nation. Think of her as you may, you cannot deny her power. A correspondent

writes from Kansas City: 'She does not express one gross thought. She is not simply a "sensational," but is an earnest woman—the finest speaker I ever heard. Our best ladies attended her lectures here.'

Times, January 9th, 1873. Seymour (Ind.).

"Mrs. Woodhull and Miss Claflin are out of jail, and have recommenced the publication of *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*. The number of the 28th will well repay perusal. That these women have been shamefully persecuted admits of no doubt. Every unprejudiced mind must admit the heroism with which they began to unmask the immorality practised under the cloak of religion so-called."

Republican, January 9th, 1873. Washington (D.C.).

"The United States Government, through the courts, has just engaged in a business so small, contemptible, and dirty, as to nearly, if not quite, obliterate its proud record of the last ten years, and right here the courts have disgraced the Government. The charge was preposterous, but the United States Commissioner held her and her sister in 8000 dols. bail each! Knowing that she must be acquitted, the United States Grand Jury rushed in and indicted her so as to prolong her imprisonment.

"At the same time her paper was suppressed by main brute force.

"Now, when it is remembered that these outrages were all committed by United States officers in the name of the Government, and in behalf of the person who refused to do anything in his own behalf, we submit that the Government has been disgraced, deeply disgraced, and that it is the duty of the President and Congress to inquire into these high-handed outrages and remove the stain from our proud record."

Evening Post, January 9th, 1873. New York City.

THE NAKED TRUTH!

By WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.

" Beautiful Truth once, in the days of yore,
 Put on the brave array
 Which then the goddesses of Hellas wore,
 And issued to the day,
 Robed in such sort, with graces so divine,
 That man, adoring, built to her a shrine.
 The gods, indignant at the sight,
 Rose in defence of their invaded right.
 Horror and infamy—they cried,
 ' And Profanation ! ' and they came and went,
 Pacing the ambrosial courts from side to side,
 Till a wild tumult filled the firmament.
 Jove, to appease their fury, left the skies,
 And quickly stood before
 The shrine of Truth, determined to chastise
 The sacrilege : he tore
 From her the regal mantle which she wore,
 And stripped the robe away.
 And flung to Falsehood's hand,
 Mantle and robe to serve for her array ;
 And gave to Truth this terrible command,
 ' Be thou for ever naked from this day.'
 And therefore, reader, let not Truth be blamed
 If evermore since then
 She hides in corners humbled and ashamed,
 And rarely seen of men."

" 'Tis the 9th of January, 1873, and the posters on the dead
 walls of the city say Woodhull and the Naked Truth. Beecher
 and education are out to-night. From the palace and the prison
 they come to speak of God's knowledge and truth to man.

The air is cold and biting; the chill of a Ludlow Street Jail shivers its way to the very marrow. Lies, in overcoats and rubbers, eagerly press up the Bowery; at the Junction of Fourth Avenue and the Bowery, greed and gain divide themselves. The sheep and goats pass on in opposite directions; some go to the preacher, some to the teacher. Ushers with bouquets, doubling and smiling, in wait for the preacher; ushers with locust clubs awaiting the teacher. Peter Cooper's monument is reached: humanity bless him. The Hall is lighted and the doors wide open for Woodhull and Claflin and free speech. A weak old man, but brave, saves New York from everlasting infamy and disgrace. Boston, blush and repent, and tell them the next time that they lie who say that the rebels of '76 are the last tyrants of '73. That you do not read revolutions backward and claim the inalienable wrongs of woman.

"An impatient and eager crowd of people surge up to the Institute door; some pass in, others turn back. I wonder at this retrograde move, and mentally exclaim—Is there a moral earthquake at the threshold even of Naked Truth! No; the people are braver and truer than their leaders: 'tis not in fear they turn away. The stratagem of religious persecution is at work; stalwart United States' marshals guard the door, with another arrest for Woodhull and Claflin; the seal of authority is on the writ. Now for the stripes and cross. The stars have fled the bunting of the nation, and sparkle on the breasts of a hundred policemen. Christian moral force exchanges the lion's skin for the fox's, and from the doorways of the Institution grins out upon free conscience, free press and free speech, with an old-time feudal sacerdotal leer. The Golden Rule is a policeman's club to-night, and Yankee Jesuitism whispers with bated breath: the end justifies the means.

"The marshals watch with lynx eyes for the coming of the woman of destiny. The sacrilegious act of exposing the animus of Mrs. Woodhull's persecutors must not, shall not take place,

and so the national police bid the people turn back : saying, 'There will be no lecture to-night; Mrs. Woodhull is to be again arrested and flung into prison.'

"Hundreds turn away. Yet hundreds go in and, in a disappointed mood, sit staring at the vacant platform, patiently watching for something, they know not what. Police to the right of them, police to the left of them. A fearful display of the dignity and strength of the Mosaic law. The ingenious whisper, 'What does it all mean; are they afraid of the people or afraid of the truth?' The display of the people's servants in uniform is ridiculously out of place, a blind to hide the real issue now pending before the people. The great want present is not the reading of the Riot Act or the suspension of the habeas corpus, but Woodhull! Woodhull! Woodhull! and the arched ceiling of the Cooper Institute rings with the significant command of three thousand voices in chorus: Victoria C. Woodhull and the 'Naked Truth.'

"But to that great cry of want which goes up in noisy demonstration from the impatient citizens no response comes back, and thoughtful men and women who read the bitter lessons of history aright grow still more indignant at this abridgment of human rights, and muttered exclamations, such as Shame! Outrage! Persecution! Inquisition! go the rounds of the audience.

"The animus of this cowardly persecution seemed to be thoroughly understood by all.

"The impotent and lame excuse of public morals was played out, though Victoria was absent. Revolution had come; and it required all the manly efforts of the pious and severe-looking poltroons in blue to keep within bounds the rapidly increasing indignation.

"The clock fronting the now noisy throng shows past eight o'clock. Three thousand befooled citizens, the approved of and condemned of Paul, males and females, the enfranchised and

disenfranchised, are madly calling and stamping for Mrs. Woodhull. A United States marshal guards each door ready to arrest her if she dare attempt the trial. No one, not even her most intimate friends, know where she is.

"But see! here comes war in the garb of peace. A queer-looking old lady, tottering with age, and dressed in Quaker-grey, and close veiled, coal-scuttle bonnet of antique pattern, passes up the middle aisle to a front seat. The audience good-naturedly smile at this eccentric-looking female Rip Van Winkle. A few fashionables laugh outright at the absurdity of dressing so far behind the age, as if fossils were only to be found beneath coal-scuttle bonnets and cocked hats. The thought flashes through my mind—what if Naked Truth were muffled beneath Quaker-grey, and that the spirit of Ann Leigh masked the fiery and daring soul of Victoria C. Woodhull? But no, the nerve, the address, the heroism to outwit marshals waiting for her at every door, fifty policemen within, and as many without, from a persecuted and long-suffering woman almost hounded to death, were impossible.

"Twenty minutes past eight, and the shouting and stamping grows fast and furious. All is confusion, indignation and scorn, all but the veiled figure of the old Quaker lady in the front seat; that is calm, motionless, and at peace.

"A female form glides on the stage and essays to speak. We recognize a brave, true-hearted champion of truth. The noise dies out, and a perfect stillness takes its place; the proverbial pin might be heard to drop. She has just commenced to speak to apologize for the absence of Mrs. Woodhull. The motionless Quaker of the muffled face moves. She rises from her seat, and in the irresoluteness of old age, moves to the stairway of the platform, and slowly and deliberately ascending it, walks half way across the stage. A number smile at the serio-comic figure as it disappears behind one of the broad square pillars supporting the roof of the hall.

"In an impressive and eloquent manner she dilates upon this last outrage upon the rights and liberties of the people. To quote her own words: 'The enemies of free speech have another order of arrest for Mrs. Woodhull. She can't appear to-night, lest she be again thrown into an American Bastille. She has intercepted her enemies, however, so far as this: though they may shut out Mrs. Woodhull, they shall not prevent the delivery of the lecture, for she has deputed me to read to you "The Naked Truth; or, the Situation Reviewed." The task, under the circumstances, is as painful to me as it is disappointing to you; but the custodians of the law guard the doors of the Institute, and neither Mrs. Woodhull nor Miss Claflin can, no matter how much they may desire it, appear upon this platform to-night.'

"With the celerity of a flash of lightning the old Quaker lady dashed from behind the pillar. Old-age, coal-scuttle bonnet, and grey dress disappeared like magic. Had a thunderbolt fallen upon the audience, they could not have been any more surprised and astonished. There stood Victoria C. Woodhull, an overwhelming inspirational fire scintillating from her eyes and beaming from her face. The Quaker costume lay coiled at her feet, and, with her breast heaving with long-suppressed nervous emotion, her arms raised aloft in nervous excitement, her hair in graceful confusion, and the head thrown defiantly back like the head of Apollo Belvidere, she looked the personification of Liberty in Arms. Her voice rose in clear and piercing tones, like a song of love, blended with the war-cry of battle, and the pent-up forces of her soul rushed forth in an impetuous and irresistible torrent of burning, glowing words, thought, and voice, being full to repletion with the musical and magnetic energy of the Marseillaise. Her look and voice came unexpected and sudden as the lightning's scathe; 'twas as 'fire to heather set,' igniting with an animated and undefined surprise each and every heart present. It was Otis in the fire of revolution;

Garrison breaking the shackles of the slaves; Phillips in the alarm of labour; a Parker in the throes of religious despotism. The heroism, bravery, and truth of the woman swept with inspired credentials into all hearts; and, half in awe and admiration, the audience listened spell-bound to the great persecuted.

“Then the thunders came, peal after peal, of joyous applause in intense delight. The people saw nothing, knew nothing, wanted nothing then but Mrs. Woodhull, whose invincible courage and rare fidelity to truth had outwitted the enemies of free speech. Electrified into a fever of intense excitement and unbounded admiration, the audience greet each sentence as it falls from her lips with cheers and applause.

“Physical force, with the badge of authority on its breast, relaxed its austere look, dropped its club and gazed in rapt attention at the majesty of moral force in petticoats; the marshal forgot his writ of arrest; the thinker dropped the bigot; but Victoria had the floor, and falsehood, slander, and ignorance fainted to death in the grasp of eternal truth.

“For one hour and a half a tempest of startling truths in all their native loveliness and purity, fresh and dewy from the garden of Heaven, deluged the consciences of all present in the baptism of a higher faith than was ever dreamed of in the philosophy of Christian ethics.

“A great wrong done to this heroic soul stood at last revealed, and the cowardly, masterly inactivity of the public assumed the hideous proportions of moral cowardice and tacit guilt. Public complicity in this outrageous act of persecuting a brave and noble woman was felt to the core, and thrilled the audience with fearful forebodings and alarm at the imminent danger of threatening the life and perpetuity of free government. The right of free speech and a free press was seen to tremble in the balance, and that while cowards and fools laughed and jeered, this woman was battling alone for the liberties of the world.

From the deep draughts of common sense, delivered in that inimitable manner, the entranced listeners learned the dreadful, subtle secret of tyranny and persecution, and in the words of Franklin, 'Mokana stood revealed'—that most men, as well as most sects in religion, think themselves in possession of all truth, and that whenever others differ from them it is, so far, *error*.

"The lecturess made Persecution *versus* Prosecution show cause, and revealed the startling spectacle, in a so-called free country, of a single creed assuming moral censorship over the thought and speech of the American people, and sneaking through a false interpretation of the law into a ridiculous and absurd authority, at once treasonable and unconstitutional, and for the specific object of hushing up from the public ear those very offences in their teachers which they hypocritically condemn in others. Such a spectacle aroused memory from inaction. Again the fires of Smithfield illumined the night, and its ghostly shadow fell across the Cooper Institute. Once more the Christmas Eve log became the martyr's stake, and its burning crimson tongues licked out the life-blood of the champions and martyrs of truth again, as of old. New England gibbets creaked and groaned with the victims of sanctified ignorance. The revolution was a failure. The Constitution a mockery and a snare, and life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness were swallowed up in religious intolerance, political persecution, and mental slavery. All this was seen, and more, and the arch-genius of individual liberty, the imprisoned, robbed, belied Victoria C. Woodhull loomed up before them in majestic proportions of heart and soul as the protecting spirit of American liberty, that, like Minerva from the brain of Jove, sprang from the people armed with truth to do battle for human rights.

"Strong men looked up to the little woman with the far-off look, and received her as a new revelation of womanhood, the prophetess of truth, the Messiah of politics, a weird, spiritual sibil, infused with marvellous power to sway the souls of men

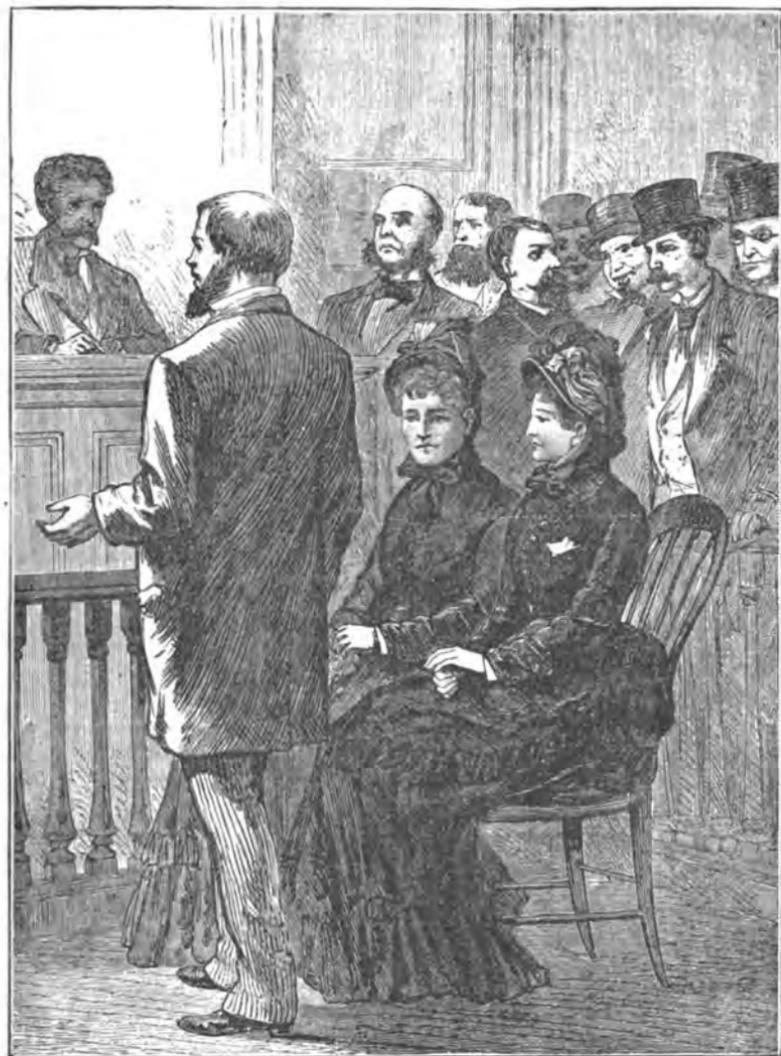
night, we see no reason to join in the pack who would hound her to a prison or a suicide's grave. Let us have free speech on every subject, and there is no doubt that the world will be better for it."

The Herald, February 3rd, 1873 (Editorial). Dubuque (Iowa).

"There is nobody but knows that Victoria C. Woodhull lectured in Dubuque last evening. She is a woman who has been hooted and railed at *ad infinitum*, but has created more stir, more sensation in our city than any man who ever trod the dust of its streets, or any other celebrity who ever trod the boards of the Athenæum. She is a woman of brains, of eloquence, of elegance. She is a woman like herself and nobody else. She is emphatically Victoria C. Woodhull to the core—bold and defiant in her theories on the questions of the day, unrelenting in declaring them, and speaks the nakedest and most unadorned truth we have ever listened to from a public speaker; but in no sense can Mrs. Woodhull be termed an immodest woman, except it be in her bluntness in discussing social topics. Her face, while possessing all the softness and delicacy of expression which naturally belongs to a woman, is also possessed of a breadth and contour indicative of masculine vigour of mind. She has a perfect grace of oratory; every gesture and attitude is refined and eloquently expressive, and she sends forth her silvery-voiced sentences as though she had the power of a hurricane behind her."

The Times, February 3rd, 1873 (Editorial). Dubuque (Iowa).

"The lecture was delivered to a crowded house. The lecturer was given a most respectful hearing, and kept her audience in rapt attention by her brilliant oratory and fine impassioned delivery. If she were aiming for stage effect only, she would be most successful, and could carry her audience



THE ACQUITTAL.

prosecution had no case. This is a righteous decision. The prosecution of Mrs. Woodhull was one of false pretences from the outset. She was most shamefully oppressed in the preliminary legal proceedings, both by demands for *excessive* bail and imprisonment."

Star, October 18th, 1873. New York City.

"Last night, Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull lectured at Cooper Institute. Long before the hour announced for the commencement of the lecture the hall was completely packed, and a large portion of the audience were ladies. The aisles were crowded, and, in fact, every available spot in the hall was occupied.

"Mrs. Woodhull stepped to the front of the platform. The recent harrowing given her by the authorities has had a telling effect on her, and her health has been much impaired. On coming forward she was greeted with rounds of applause."

Herald, October 18th, 1873. New York City.

"At Cooper Institute last evening a crowd of at least 4000 people assembled to hear Mrs. Woodhull lecture (and between 4000 and 5000 on the outside). Before eight o'clock the aisles and entrances were completely filled. After that hour there was room nowhere in the hall for the numbers who came to hear the fair lecturers.

"Mrs. Woodhull and her sister were at the back of the stage. When Mrs. Woodhull advanced to the front she was greeted with tremendous applause."

The World, October 18th, 1873. New York City.

"The large hall of Cooper Institute was last evening filled to overflowing to hear Mrs. Woodhull."

"There were a great many ladies present. Her conversation was very plain, but not in any sense gross. She said, 'To the pure all things are pure.' The most revolting thing in Nature is taken by the chemist, its elements analyzed and its purposes ascertained.

"But to the obscene mind everything is vulgar, because seen through vulgar eyes.

"After the lecture hundreds of men and women crowded round the stage to see and speak to her. One man claimed the attention of the audience to say it was the grandest thing seen during the Christian era. On the whole she was well pleased with her audience, and pleased them in return."

Evening News, November 17th, 1873. Detroit.

"Mrs. Woodhull addressed an immense audience at St. Andrew's Hall last evening. Hundreds were unable to gain admittance. Her speech was received with round after round of enthusiastic applause. Her language in regard to the sexual relations was plain, direct, and forcible, and the ladies in the audience, of which there were a large number, seemed, if outward indications can be taken as a criterion, to indorse her views fully and heartily. Her argument was that the sexual relations were the great basis of society, and by a sickening mock modesty, of which parents and preachers ought to be ashamed, the subject was hidden from the youth of the land, thus working incalculable evils to their minds and bodies."

Saturday Morning Journal, November 22nd, 1873.
Port Huron (Mich.).

"On Monday evening of this week Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull delivered her famous lecture at the Opera House. A large and respectable audience greeted her, among whom we noticed his honour the Mayor.

which could not be offensive to her hearers, although the language used was very plain and to the point. The speaker claimed that it was the province of every man and woman to examine these questions; and to discuss them freely and fairly was no more than their just right, taking no heed of the false modesty of the day, which excluded them from general conversation.

“On the whole, we were favourably impressed with the lecture, although there were some deductions from facts stated that we did not feel like believing true. This, however, is not necessarily the opinion of all the audience, as we make no claim that Mrs. Woodhull or any portion of her hearers are not as well entitled to their opinions as we are to ours.

“There were many fundamental truths presented which we could wish that the people at large were impressed with, and we trust that all who can will attend the lecture to-night.”

Eagle, November 24th, 1873. Grand Rapids (Mich.).

“On Sunday evening Mrs. Woodhull gave a lecture at Luce's Hall on ‘The Social Question.’ On this occasion the hall was literally crowded—seats, aisles, and every inch of standing-room, doorway, and entrance-hall. Hundreds went away, unable to gain admittance. We hardly need repeat that her doctrines on this subject are the most liberal: Free-love in her sense; which, however, does not mean promiscuousness, as many people seem to insist that it should. The present system of legal marriage is the object of her special attack, and she charges upon the legal violations of and outrages against love, committed under cover of legal matrimony, the major portion of the unchasteness, and misery, and pollution existing outside of it. It was in this lecture that she minced no words, but, as she said, aimed to call things by their right names, and to hold up to sight moral ulcers, inside and outside of the marriage

relation. The obscenity she charged was not in the subject, but in the bosoms of those who feared knowledge upon what she regarded as the most vital of all subjects, as affecting the welfare and the very life and health of all people.

“Mrs. Woodhull has a pleasant voice, and ordinarily speaks with deliberation, enunciating clearly and distinctly, and making herself heard by all in a large audience without any appearance of exhaustive or strained effort. She says: ‘Wherever I find a social carbuncle I shall plunge my surgical knife of reform into it up to the hilt.’ As it regards consequences personal to herself, she declares she never takes them into the account; she may be shut up in prison, or even led to the stake, but she will not turn a hair’s breadth to the right or left from the course marked out for her own conscience and the teachings of her guardian spirit. In a recent speech in Chicago, she said: ‘I am charged with seeking notoriety, but who among you would accept my notoriety and pay a tithe of its costs to me? Driven from my former beautiful home, reduced from affluence to want, my business broken up and destroyed, dragged from one jail to another, and in a short time I am again to be arraigned before the courts and stand trial for telling the truth. I have been smeared with the most opprobrious epithets and the vilest names, and stigmatized as a bawd and blackmailer. Now, until you are ready to accept my notoriety, with its conditions—to suffer what I have suffered and am yet to suffer—do not dare to impugn my motives. As to your approval or dissent, your applause or your curses, they have not a feather’s weight with me; I am set apart for a high and sacred duty, and I shall perform it without fear or favour.’”

Daily Democrat, November 25th, 1873. Grand Rapids (Mich.).

“On Sunday evening Luce’s Hall contained the largest audience that ever assembled to hear a lecturer in this city, while hundreds of the people, mostly ladies (for the men

managed to crowd in somewhere) were obliged to go away. In fact there was fully enough went away to fill the hall up again. The speaker did as she had promised to do, call things by their right names, attacking in a fearless manner what she believed to be the abuses of the present social system. In her lecture on Sunday night, Mrs. Woodhull claimed that much of the misery and crime of the day was due to the present state of our marriage laws. She held that the discussion of these questions was eminently proper; that it affected the health and welfare of all, and as such deserved the earnest attention of everyone. Hardly a place we visited yesterday that we did not hear this wonderful woman discussed.

“There is much good resulting from Mrs. Woodhull's lecture; it sets people thinking whether she spoke the truth or not. If she did, then, says the thinker, Have I lived rightly? If she didn't, her words perhaps induced him to go home and treat with greater consideration the family he believed to be his own eternally.”

freedom (and by this she means the personal rights of individuals), maintained equality, nor administered justice to its citizens.

"At this point she took up the social question to a small extent, and spoke of woman's sexual ignorance. She said, in consequence of woman's non-fulfilment of the Greek motto 'Know thyself,' there was to-day not one healthy person living. That false society made it a matter of blush and shame for a mother to inform her children of their natural condition. 'Murder is stamped on more than one woman for this neglect.'

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

Daily Globe, January 16th, 1874. Council Bluffs (Iowa).

"The announcement that Mrs. Victoria Woodhull, the great expounder of social reform, would deliver her celebrated lecture at Dohany Hall last evening, attracted thither as large an audience as the spacious Opera House could accommodate. The audience represented in a greater degree the intelligence, respectability, and 'upper-tendom' of the city than many had been led to anticipate. Jew and Gentile, believer and unbeliever, rich and poor, high and low, white and black, all were there; and the representatives of orthodoxy and heterodoxy, Grantism and anti-monopoly, sat with like complacency under the 'droppings of the sanctuary.'

"Rich in wit, logic, and pathos, strong in argument and pointed in application, her discourse was listened to with the closest and most respectful attention, and not unfrequently applauded. Warming up with her subject, with a flushed face, and in an earnest and caustic manner, she reviewed the present administration and arraigned it for its numerous crimes.

"Hypocrisy, cant, and boastful pretensions, were the subject at which her swiftest and most pointed shafts of ridicule were

hurled. In her hands, irony, satire, and sarcasm are no mean weapons, and right nobly did she employ them in enforcement of what all were constrained to admit to be true.

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

Detroit (Mich.), January 16th, 1874.

“DEAR MRS. WOODHULL,

“The high and holy mission which you are called upon to perform for the elevation and final emancipation of woman from fetters that enwrap and bind her in a bondage worse than slavery itself is worthy of you. And each day the world is made more bright and beautiful by the heaven-born inspiration which flows out upon it from your soul. I was born and reared in the log cabin of old theology, and never knew or comprehended that it was possible for any truth to exist outside of its narrow walks until some six months since I had a quickening of my perception by a new birth into the grand and noble realm of spiritual enlightenment. Since then my soul has lived daily in the fount of eternal truth, which has enabled me to see that you are performing work which you have been called upon to do,

‘By those who love us now, as well
As ere they went above to dwell.’

“Aye, how pure and sweet is the love they manifest for us in bringing the glad tidings of redemption to our sisters who are

chant emphasis, she cuts right and left amidst the miserable shams which society sustains and opinions have sanctioned as just. If there is one popular vice more to be deprecated than another, it is that affected false modesty which shrinks from the utterance of one's thoughts as they exist, plain and unvarnished in the imagination. There is but one name for truth the world over. It is what we are all struggling for, the *ultimatum*, the essence of all our judgments.

"How, then, can we attain it in the smallest degree, when we studiously, persistently deny its value in our speech and intercourse?"

"It is this incubus of modern times, this fear of *speaking* what what we *think*, which Victoria Woodhull combats with all the native strength and originality of her truth-loving spirit.

"It is a significant fact in her favour, when we hear it said on all sides, that men and women are afraid to go and hear her, for it only serves to show the tendency of all to gloss over the evils and corruptions in life, by shunning the open and direct means of extirpating them."

The Journal of Commerce, January 17th, 1874. Kansas City (Mo.).

"As a speaker, Mrs. Woodhull is *extraordinary*. With a melodious voice, expressive face, and graceful form, she combines a power which renders her irresistible."

Freeman, January 18th, 1874. Leavenworth (Kansas).

"Mrs. Woodhull delivered her lecture Sunday evening, January 11th. Her lecture has attracted so much criticism that it has been the general topic. It deals in the main with stubborn facts; the propriety of a lady discussing such topics in public will undoubtedly be questioned by some, but the positions taken by the speaker are sound, and the arguments used seem to be incontrovertible. After seeing and hearing this noted

been indifferent. She probed the politics of the country to the bone, and presented a terrible picture of American degeneracy, alleging the basis thereof to be our social system. She is the most eloquent and powerful female orator we have ever heard, and advances some of the grandest and most humanitarian ideas ever uttered by mortal."

January 19th, 1874. St. Joseph (Mo.).

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

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

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

"I expected to hear her denounce woman's virtue and ridicule her purity, and she did it, and for the first time in life I felt that there is a *pureness for a woman that is perfidy*. The mother who devotes her life to church and prayer-meeting, leaving her sons and daughters to wile away the hours in debauchery and falsehood, rather than take them by the hand and explain the mysteries of the life which they, ignorant alike of moral and physical laws, are converting into a burden to themselves and others, are practising a virtue that is *perfidious*. I expected her to denounce the churches, and she did denounce them. But she *did not* denounce the humble Jesus Christ, who, eighteen hundred years ago, supped with harlots, and was a brother to the

Daily Gate City, January 21st, 1874. Keokuk (Iowa).

"Mrs. Victoria Woodhull delivered her lecture at the Opera House last evening. She is an effective and eloquent speaker. The utterances were different from any that any of us have heard from the platform before, especially from a woman. But swift sentence is simply to debar the just judgment which Mrs. Woodhull asks, and which she has a right to ask. The truth is that much of her lecture was unexceptionable, containing stern, rigorous, forcible facts that American society may well give a hearing to."

Democrat, January 22nd, 1874. Ottumwa (Iowa).

"Mrs. Victoria Woodhull spoke at Lewis' Opera House on Monday evening to an audience respectable in numbers and in character. The audience was composed largely of the thinking portion of the community, which includes women as well as men, and young men as well as old ones. The distinguished speaker had for her discussion the questions which came up naturally to the surface. She displayed wonderful ability, tact, and oratory. In discussing these questions she brings to her assistance some very weighty arguments which are joined together systematically, and when in a bulk they seem rather too ponderous for any of her enemies to assail.

"Her first appearance did not attract sympathy, but invited criticism. She was all sarcasm; and her playful advances bore in them the wonderful resemblance of a lion playing with its prey. This, however, was only the overture to the divine play which she afterwards rendered. As she warmed up on the subject, the hair thrown back over her majestic brow, her eyes sparkled with the inner consciousness of genius, and as her bright graceful form towered, the lips moved with the speed of a racehorse, and the sarcastic Mrs. Woodhull became transformed into the inspired priestess of a *new religion*."

"It was a success. The woman came into the hall the object of slander, the accursed of the ministry, the slandered object of a subsidized press; she came among her audience with scarcely *ten* sympathizers, and at the close of her speech she was the heroine, the idol of her worshippers. Victoria came. Victoria conquered."

Republican, January 22nd, 1874. Galesburg (Ill.).

"It rained on yesterday evening, as probably most of our readers know; in fact it poured. The circumstances, doubtless, prevented a large audience from assembling at the Opera House, to hear the lecture of the famous Mrs. Victoria Woodhull; she lectured nevertheless, and proclaimed her startling sentiments in no less startling language. Much that she said was true enough, and said in unexceptionable phraseology. This was particularly the fact in her advice to mothers, which would have proved a profitable lesson to *every* mother in Galesburg."

State Journal, January 26th, 1874. Springfield (Ill.).

"Though perhaps Mrs. Woodhull's audience at the Opera House was not so large last night as it would have been had she not been prevented by a railroad accident from fulfilling her engagement the previous evening, still there were few empty seats, and the audience was a most respectable one and very attentive.

"She is decidedly attractive in appearance, and in the delivery of her lecture was natural, perfectly self-possessed, and at times especially earnest. The opening part of her lecture was devoted to a discussion of the subject of political reform. She arraigned much of the hypocrisy of the day in terms severe and scathing, and her protest against latter-day shams, though terrific, was generally endorsed by her hearers. Discussing the social

daughters to marry for love and not for money or homes. She closed with appeals to her hearers to make their boys and girls pure to start with, so that their lives may be pure.

"Her lecture was delivered with an earnestness that gave it eloquence, and held the audience in closest attention."

Democrat, February 2nd, 1874. Davenport (Iowa).

"The basic foundation-stones of republican government are free speech and a free press; and we hold that it ill becomes the latter to make use of the privilege in attempting to suppress the former. Discussion of every topic, ventilation of the boldest and broadest views always do good. Truth is immortal and falsehood ephemeral, and if there be truth in her utterances, abuse will not kill their vital power; if they be wrong, let them be calmly and dispassionately met, discussed, and controverted. Much that she says is startling, some perhaps revolting, to half-educated men and women, but in the whole of her lecture on Sunday evening we failed to see blasphemy, obscenity, or lewdness, with which the press so frequently charge her. As Byron said in his apology for 'Cain,' it is impossible to make Lucifer talk like a respectable dissenting minister, and it is equally as impossible to 'prick the carbuncle of social evils' without saying something which may shock the fastidious.

"The lecture on Sunday evening was attended by a large respectable, and enthusiastic audience. Many ladies were present and we did not see anyone leave the hall, though her utterances on the social question were free and pointed; but we could not recognize any of that promiscuity, or abandonment, with which she is so liberally credited, and we feel certain that the most refined lady in the audience felt that there was more to admire than condemn in her references to the education of youth, the sanctity of conjugal union, and the brighter prospects

broadest and most democratic position, and predicts a near future when there will be the same public discussion of these subjects, without even a blush mantling the cheek of the most circumspect listener, as is now held secretly.

"Such is in brief the subject of her much-talked-of lecture, as all she names exist right under the very shadow of the sanctuary, in the daily path of the pastor and in the daily practice of the physician, and in many family circles."

Herald, February 3rd, 1874. Dubuque (Iowa).

"There is nobody but knows that Mrs. Victoria Woodhull lectured here last evening. She is a woman who has been hooted and railed at *ad infinitum*, but has created more stir, more sensation in our city than any other celebrity who ever trod the boards of the Athenæum. She is a woman of brains, of eloquence, of elegance. She is a woman like herself and nobody else. She is emphatically Mrs. Woodhull to the core—bold, defiant in her theories on the questions of the day, unrelenting in declaring them, and speaks the nakedest and most unadorned truth we have ever listened to from any speaker—but in no sense can Mrs. Woodhull be termed an immodest woman except it be in her bluntness in discussing social topics. She is rather a handsome woman than otherwise. Her face, while possessing all the softness and delicacy of expression which naturally belongs to a woman, is also possessed of a breadth and force of contour indicative of masculine vigour of *mind*. We shall not presume to give anything like a text of her lecture. The rapidity of her enunciation precludes the chance of the reporter taking them with exactness; and even if he did obtain a full text, it has none of the brilliant fire of inspiration which enchains the listener at the time of delivery. She has a perfect grace of oratory; every gesture and attitude

She said, 'Every wife should say to her husband, "Wherever you go I will go, for if it is not a fit place for a woman to come to, it is not a fit place for a man." Wherever you find the noblest women you find the purest men. A pretty compliment you pay your wife when you tell her she is too weak in moral power, that she cannot stand what you can without damaging her moral nature! The great demand of the age is for better men and women. But here comes a woman, ready to tell you out of the fulness of a mother's heart how to bring into this world better men and women, and you start back with horror! I do not urge that women be brought down to the level of impure men—I do urge that men be brought up to the level of pure women. I demand the same anathemas for the male prostitute as for the female prostitute. I want death and destruction to every house of prostitution in this country! There are considerably more than one million prostitutes. Those women come from somewhere. Every fifteen years one million virgin girls grow up into prostitutes. These are your daughters, mothers of America. A great deal has been said about the prevention and cure of prostitution; but little or nothing has been done toward accomplishing it. I will tell you how to accomplish it: send your daughters out into the world as peers of your sons; teach them that it is honourable for women to earn their living—and then give them a chance to do so.' Proceeding to describe what marriage *should* be, she claimed that to bear a child is the most sacred and honourable mission on earth. The pregnant woman is a co-worker with God in giving to the world an immortal being. Whoever makes so noble a deed a theme of vulgarity only proclaims the foulness of his own base nature. Mothers themselves are ashamed when they ought to be the proudest. They try to murder their children before birth, and then wonder why those children, when grown to be men, turn out murderers. Preachers turn

this week. We say the best-abused woman, for the reason that her persecutions have chiefly been for the utterances that were truths. Yet because she struck boldly into their faces the rules of society established by Madam Grundy, she must be crucified for uttering them. All admit that she speaks truth, and yet it is such unwelcome truth that they do not wish to hear it.

“ ‘Desperate diseases require desperate remedies,’ and it is expected that the doctor's probe and lance will at times make the flesh shrink and quiver, and the patient sometimes scream in agony, and yet it is necessary that they be used in order to save the patient's life.

“ Mrs. Woodhull is using the knife and the scalpel on the diseases that have made society but little better than ‘rotten to the core,’ and with a bold, unflinching hand, holds up the hypocritical cant of the day to the public gaze in all its hideous deformity. When people are willing to denounce error, even though advocated by the clergy, and accept truth even should Mrs. Woodhull preach it, the world will be better off than at present.”

Pioneer, February 12th, 1874. St. Paul (Minn.).

“ The well-known Mrs. Victoria Woodhull lectured here last evening, at the Opera House, to an audience that crowded the building from the footlights to the upper tier. The lecture was listened to with marked attention, and several parts of it were applauded with a good deal of earnestness. It was throughout bold, defiant, and all of it was delivered with glibness and confidence. It was not without its bitterness, especially when she was dealing with the shams of society, which she handled with a freedom that was never before indulged in by any speaker in this city.

"Mrs. Woodhull is of medium height, light complexion, with blue eyes. Her face indicates great vigour of thought, she has a broad high forehead, from which she occasionally pushes back her heavy brown hair. As a speaker she irresistibly attracts attention, both on account of the matter and the manner, and one listens continually wondering what will come next."

Pioneer, February 13th, 1874. St. Paul (Minn.).

"The second lecture at the Opera House by Mrs. Woodhull was attended by another large audience, that filled the house both upstairs and down. It was listened to with the closest attention, and several portions of it were applauded with a good deal of vehemence. The lecture was a terrible invective throughout against what she considered to be shams of society. The following is a very brief synopsis, *and a very brief one too*. Mrs. Woodhull is full of the subject and speaks with great rapidity and vehemence, and it is difficult at all times to catch with accuracy what she says.

"At the beginning of her lecture Mrs. Woodhull spent some time in expatiating on the peculiar and lackadaisical humours of fashionable society on the subject of social reform, and said: When I first started out I had no idea of the magnitude of the fight I was enlisting in. I was mute with surprise at the blind folly of society women, and their wanton caprice, indolence, and carelessness on a subject of most vital importance to their happiness. I propose to throw off the mask and discuss this subject openly and sincerely to a good purpose, when I find that the homes of a proportion of our richest and most influential, as well as the homes of the commoners, are full of misery.

"Pass your Social Evils' Bill. Let us have an examination; but let us know about the men as well.

“What an idea this is of your women going round and praying at saloons to the keepers. If the mothers would make no more drunkards there would be no more trouble. When I was at Clinton Junction on my way here, I was stopped by a man who said he wanted to speak to me, and hoped I would not be offended. He exposed his breast to me, which was marked with a bottle. He said, ‘When my mother was carrying me she went into a saloon and was seized with an unconquerable desire to drink.’ She brought forth a drunkard. Let the mothers agree to breed no more drunkards and there will be no use for saloons. It is the women who make these drunkards.

“The day must come when the study of the laws and relations of the sexes be made a pure and holy thing if we would have better men and women. If a man stocking a farm should act with so little foresight and discretion as men and women do in making children, he would be called a fool.

“If a woman respects herself others will respect her. If any man speaks disrespectfully of any women it only shows the conditions of his home and surroundings. These questions cannot be dealt with without saying hard things. I complain that mothers do not explain to their children these matters. If they would have their children act right and be right, mothers should explain to them all about their bodies, and not allow them to be abused by secluded indulgence.

“In New York they have a foundling hospital. What does that fact suggest to you? Why it suggests just this. If a young lady becomes pregnant, she can go to this hospital, leave her child, and then go back to society again as respectable as ever. What a commentary on civilization and your religion.

“In the olden times we are told how they caught a young woman in the act of adultery. Now, what did they do with

that young woman? Well, they took her to Jesus. He told her to go, and sin no more. This is what they did with the woman. *But what did they do with the man?* They did not bring him around. But if the stoning had commenced and he had been there, she had no doubt this man would have been the first to throw stones. She concluded by saying that when women of the country are pure enough to speak on these matters freely, you will find that this debauchery will cease, and women will be purer and better. If mothers want healthy children they must see to it that the children are started right."

Leader, February 17th, 1874. Eau Claire (Wis.).

"Mrs. Victoria Woodhull appeared before the intelligent portion of this city on February 13th. As usual, she was filled with the spirit of inspiration, while her countenance beamed with radiance of love for her suffering kind. For two hours she held the crowded hall in rapt suspense as her electric flashes lit up their mentalities as by a magic wand. That she spoke as with a tongue of fire all could not help but realize who listened to her soul-thrilling utterances as they fell like pointed arrows from heaven's quiver into the thrilled hearts of that awe-stricken assembly; for many who had gathered there to blush and curse, ere she had fairly commenced, were prepared to go forth to love and bless. But vain would it be to undertake a portrayal of her perfections in oratory and eloquence, for that also would require the perfection of the perfect.

"Wherever she moves she causes vibrations of love and purity to arise upon the sea of life that pass through and around the spiritual universe, leaving this holy and benign influence upon all the souls therein contained. Hence, it is in

this sense that she has been chosen by the gods as one of, if not the saviour of, this nineteenth century, of which after generations will sing, and to which they will look as the birthday of a world's emancipation from bondage. Therefore, her future as her past is to be glorious. She is destined to shine in the horizon of progress until reform is needed no more."

Monroe Co. Republican, February 20th, 1874. Sparta (Wis.).

"On Sunday evening last we listened to Mrs. Victoria Woodhull at the Opera House, La Crosse, upon the social question. Having heard and read so much of this distinguished woman, we improved the opportunity to hear her speak. Her audience, as on the preceding evening, was a large and intelligent one. Mrs. Woodhull appeared upon the stage promptly at eight o'clock, not the coarse and unprepossessing woman we had expected to see, *but emphatically the reverse*. Instead of what we expected came a small, well-formed, and modest appearing woman, with brown hair, fair complexion, and blue eyes, possessing an earnest and thoughtful look, but with little or none of the indications of eloquence and power she soon exhibited. She opened her subject with a quiet announcement, and then proceeded to a terrible arraignment of the crimes of men in high places, and launched with the force of a Hercules hot thunderbolts at the hypocrisies of priests, Churches, and law-makers.

"That she is telling truths is not to be denied, but that she is telling it far in advance of the readiness of the people to receive them and to act upon it is painfully evident to a majority of her audience. When warmed up with the

harrowing recital of the wrongs of women, she seems to speak in the very glow of inspiration, and impresses her hearers with the unquestioned conviction that she can borrow at pleasure the thunderbolts of the gods and hurl them with unerring precision into the very citadel of our time-honoured and most sacred tradition. We most unhesitatingly applaud her courage, her eloquence, and her zeal."

Daily Herald, May 13th, 1874. Salt Lake City.

"**Mrs. WOODHULL'S LECTURE.**—The theatre was crammed last evening, the audience embracing the most cultivated, learned and refined members of the best society, of both sexes, and from among the professions. The career of this lady is one of the most remarkable of this or any other age. Mrs. Woodhull on her appearance was greeted with a round of applause, which was repeated frequently during her lecture. At first she appeared modest, though not timid, reading from manuscript a severe censure on the government, the dishonest course of its officials, and the politics of the nation, sparing neither political party. But finally becoming warmed up in her subject, she cast aside her manuscript, and throwing her whole soul into what she was saying, poured into the ears of her spell-bound audience such a torrent of more than womanly eloquence as few ever heard from the tongue of either man or woman.

"Mrs. Woodhull has such an unenviable newspaper notoriety that her every expression is watched to see if it cannot be tortured into a bad meaning; but those who went there last evening expecting to hear words unwomanly fall from her lips were disappointed. Her lecture was characterized throughout with an earnestness of purpose highly commendable."

well as public corruption ; but who expected to hear the facts from a woman ? ' A certain class will honestly curse Mrs. Woodhull, because they do not understand or recognize the truths she tells nor comprehend the woman ; another class hate her for letting the light into the dens where they hide themselves ; still another class sing hosanna and hail her as one sent from heaven."

Common Sense, June 4th, 1874. San Francisco (Cal.).

"Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull, the apostle of social reform, spoke in Platt's Hall last evening. Her opening discourse it was not our privilege to hear ; but judging from the report of many sensible and truthful men and women who were there, it was replete with facts. She is an earnest, outspoken woman, and does not weaken her ideas by the use of unmeaning language. She calls things by their right names ; and consequently gives offence to those who do not like to hear themselves characterized truthfully. One of the purest women in this city, an old Quaker lady, well-known to most of our readers here, could see nothing evil in what Mrs. Woodhull said, while men whose vileness is patent, ' blushed to the tops of their bald pates.'"

"*Second Lecture.*—On Tuesday evening the editor of this paper, with his wife and two daughters, went to hear Mrs. Woodhull. Never having met her, and judging of her only by newspaper reports, we certainly were not prejudiced in her favour. She said some bitter things against marriage as it is, *but not one word against that true union of souls which alone constitutes marriage.* She advocated free love ; but in a sense so high and language so pure that the very personification of chastity could not *justly* find fault with it ; and then she spoke of promiscuity ; but she called it death, and warned her listeners from it as from the road to hell. There was not one word in her lecture from beginning to end that the most innocent

growth of our social restrictions under existing institutions of marriage, &c. The sexual philosophy of love and marriage is a great, grave, and mighty subject; one on which depends human weal or woe. 'If you seriously talk the matter over before your marriage, you will never repent it afterward; for marriage is the most sacred relation that human beings can enter into; one that not only the purest love but the best motives and highest intelligences should mutually comprehend before accepting it.' "

Mercury, June 11th, 1874. San José (Cal.).

"A report of Mrs. Woodhull's second and last lecture, in this city appears in another column. Some who went to her lectures expecting to find food for ridicule, remained to become deeply interested, and came away enthusiastic."

Common Sense, June 20th, 1874. San Francisco (Cal.).

MRS. VICTORIA C. WOODHULL IN SAN JOSÉ.

"This noted lady appeared before a San José audience, giving two lectures, 'Reformation or Revolution, Which?' and 'Woman—the Wife and Mother.' Her audiences were composed of the best and most intelligent of our citizens, who listened with profound and respectful attention, frequently applauding her most radical utterances.

"*Mrs. Woodhull, unlike all reformers who have preceded her, descends from the world of effect, and grapples with the cause. No pen can truthfully report her. The eloquence that she sometimes pours forth from her impassioned soul as she paints in vivid flashes the wrongs of her sex, startles her audience like the lurid lightning's glare across the gathering darkness of a coming storm. Again she seems to stand in awful majesty, hurling in vindictive torrents forged thunderbolts at the system that binds, fetters, and tortures both soul and mind. In*

Daily Union, September 28th, 1874. New Haven (Conn.).

"The announcement that Mrs. Woodhull would deliver an address at Loomis Temple last evening on 'What is True and What is False Socially,' drew out, as might have been expected, a large audience bent upon listening to this noted woman. The hall was densely packed, and by eight o'clock standing-room was hardly attainable."

Bonny, October 1st, 1874. Portland (Me.).

"This famous lady addressed an audience of over a thousand people, in which the best intelligence of the place was represented, in the City Hall.

"Her friends here were pleased to see the close attention paid to her remarks, which occupied an hour and a half of rapid, graceful, and earnest delivery, compelling everyone to accord her the praise of being a most eloquent speaker as well as a refined and cultured lady. She handled her subject in a fearless manner, denouncing the false in most scathing terms, and portraying the true in the holiest and most beautiful language. She gave everyone something to think of, and we venture to assert that hundreds left the hall better men and women for having listened to this much-slandered but irrepressible woman, whose advice every mother will do well to reflect upon and put into practice.

"Prejudice against her died an easy death in her winning presence, and we prophesy that in the future Mrs. Woodhull will be a welcome and popular speaker whenever she chooses to return to Portland."

Argus, October 2nd, 1874. Portland (Me.).

"Last evening City Hall contained an audience numbering more than one thousand, including many ladies, to listen to the lecture of Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull. Among the listeners were many of our prominent citizens."

Daily Eagle, October 21st, 1874. Reading (Pa.).

"Mrs. Woodhull, who is one of the most gifted and daring women in America, will lecture at Mishler's Academy of Music, this evening. This lady is the advanced guard of that coming glorious army of women who will overthrow sin, shame, and sorrow, and in their place plant virtue, innocence, and love—always keeping in view the proud mission of woman, which is to elevate, ennoble, and improve. This lady has been persecuted and abused, hounded down by unrighteous laws; but, like the Persian fable of the rain-drop, the better she is known the better is she to fill that place in the diadem, which is the brightest and most dazzling page in Persian history. Everyone should be present to-night."

American Weekly Tribune, October 25th, 1874. Reading (Pa.).

"Mrs. Victoria Woodhull lectured at the Academy of Music, Wednesday and Thursday evenings. While she is a plain speaker on plain subjects, she tells more truth in her way than any other lecturer, without regard to sex, we have ever been permitted to hear. While the masses may turn upon her course and self with disdain openly, they are secretly planning in their hearts how they may follow her. A mind crammed with intellect, as is hers, cannot fail to make a lasting impression, and every day the principles poured from her lips are gaining more foothold. Condemn her who pleases, she is advocating a cause which cannot be resisted, and which one day will not only be respected and become popular, but be advocated from every pulpit in the land, and cherished by all who can read aright its principles."

Times and Dispatch, October 22nd, 1874. Reading (Pa.).

"Mrs. Woodhull, applying the scalpel of her oratory to the pustular tumours of the social system with an unrelenting

brought about by the observance of the laws of sexual relations, which she has so long advocated, and of which she is perhaps the most clearly defined exponent at the present day. She once more gave her views on the social and sexual problem in her characteristically fearless and candid manner, discussing the delicate topic, not as though she relished the task or admired the expression which the theme demanded, but as though she felt it her *duty* to speak as she did. No one can deny that a very large per cent. of all she said last evening was *truth*—startling, appalling, terrible truth.”

Daily Herald, January 29th, 1875 (Editorial). St. Joseph (Mo.).

“**MRS. VICTORIA WOODHULL'S LECTURE.**—If Mrs. Woodhull did not lodge a few telling shots into the rickety hulk of foggism last night, then we do not know what sharpshooting is. The lecture was a fierce onslaught upon the lamentable ignorance which prevails in every household upon the laws of life and the governing principles of our most vital functions. She told the truth, and every man and woman present knew and felt that her words were true. When she declaimed against the prudery and false modesty which control the wives and mothers of to-day, her dramatic action and vehement impassioned oratory roused the audience to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. The modest and sanctimonious portion of the community lifts its hands in holy horror at the mere thought of a woman appearing before an audience in behalf of her sex; but these very self-same Pharisees feel in their hearts that there is need of exactly the social reformation which she demands.”

Daily Herald, January 29th, 1875. St. Joseph (Mo.).

“A large, intelligent, and enthusiastic audience assembled in the Opera House last night to listen to the most remarkable woman of the age—one who has caused more commotion,

her rhetorical talents are unquestioned, and she certainly does not permit anyone in her audience to doze. Her remedy for crime and her method of abolishing it may be comprehended in the word 'Stirpiculture,' the improvement of the human race by the application of the 'doctrine of natural selection' to the human family. She repudiated the notion that free-love, as *she advocated it*, meant *promiscuity*, and maintained that the inevitable result would be to prevent promiscuity, which was the curse of society now.

"All this was illustrated and enforced by eloquence and earnestness, and many apt and telling hits. Her discourse contained many unpalatable but not the less forcible truths."

Daily Times, February 14th, 1875. Grand Rapids (Mich.).

"Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull gave a splendid lecture before a large audience at the Opera House last evening. The subject was 'The Destiny of the Republic,' and was handled with rare eloquence."

Democrat, February 14th, 1875. Grand Rapids (Mich.).

"Last evening, at the Opera House, Mrs. Victoria Woodhull gave her famous lecture, 'The Destiny of the Republic.' The audience was as large as has greeted any lecturer this season. Mrs. Woodhull's manner is graceful, and her enunciation is clear and distinct. Her lecture abounded in striking effects."

Sentinel, February 19th, 1875. Ionia (Mich.).

"Union Hall was filled on Wednesday evening to hear and see Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull. 'The Destiny of the Republic' is the title under which Mrs. Woodhull attacks the institution of marriage, and this she does in such a manner that the audience listens to an undisputed groundwork of facts

Genesee Gazette, February 27th, 1875. Flint (Mich.).

"MRS. VICTORIA WOODHULL AT FENTON HALL.—Monday evening this famous lady lectured to a large audience of ladies and gentlemen on the 'Destiny of the Republic.' The disagreeable state of the weather, no doubt, prevented many from attending; nevertheless, the widespread fame of the speaker was sufficient to draw almost a crowded house. The lecture lasted two hours, and was listened to attentively, interrupted at times only by applause from her listeners. She is a rapid and eloquent speaker, is downright earnest in all she says, and says it in the plainest and most comprehensive manner. Her sentiments, of course, have their supporters and opposers; but it matters little to her what anyone thinks or says about her. She speaks her views fearlessly, believing that she is doing that which will eventually lead to the elevation of her sex in all duties of life which they are called to fill."

New York Times, July, 1875. New York City.

"Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton says:—'Victoria Woodhull's acquaintance would be refining to any man. In her character and person there is never anything but refinement in word or movement. She has a beautiful face—the ideal of spirituality. Victoria Woodhull has done a work for Women that none of us could have done. She has faced and dared men to call her the names that make women shudder. She has risked and realized the sort of ignominy that would have paralyzed any of us who have longer been called strong-minded. Leaping into the brambles that were too high for us to see over them, she broke a path into their close and thorny interstices, with a steadfast faith that glorious principle would triumph at last over conspicuous ignominy, although her life might be sacrificed; and when, with a meteor's dash, she sank into a dismal swamp, we

could not lift her out of the mire nor buoy her through the deadly waters. She will be as famous as she has been infamous, made so by benighted or cowardly men and women. In the annals of emancipation the name of Victoria Woodhull will have its own high place as a deliverer.'"

Argus, August 21st, 1875. Albany (N.Y.).

"Mrs. Woodhull lectured at Martin's Opera House, last evening, upon the Bible mysteries. She based her reasonings upon some texts of Scripture, which she read from the prophecies of Daniel, the Revelation of St. John, and the history of Creation. She assumed that the Garden of Eden was intended to mean the human body, and that the temple of God was the same thing."

Sunday Trojan, August 22nd, 1875. Troy (N.Y.).

"Mrs. Woodhull lectured at the Opera House last evening. She read the introductory portion of her lecture from manuscript, it being a succinct review of the principal points in the world's history, social and political, down to the time. Upon concluding the perusal of her manuscript she rolled it up, and addressed the audience for about an hour, wielding the Damascus blade of her eloquence with such force and fervour as to involuntarily command rounds of applause. It is certain that Mrs. Woodhull utters truths and advanced ideas worthy of consideration. She considered the American people the culmination of the development of nations, and paid a high tribute to their superiority over other races. The fearless and earnest manner in which she discussed the sexual question enchaind the closest attention. Mrs. Woodhull presented a strong argument to prove that the triumph of her doctrines would do away with prostitution and crime, empty our jails and penitentiaries, and introduce a mil-

lennial era, insuring a lofty plane of moral, mental, and physical development. She believed that the process of evolution would eventually produce a perfect woman, possessing every virtue and worthy attribute of her sex, from whose progeny would spring a perfect race.

"In an impassioned outburst of eloquence, she charged the responsibility for the evils of intemperance and prostitution upon the mothers of our race, saying it was their duty to instruct their children in matters appertaining to their bodies, and not leave it for others to do."

Morning Whig, August 23rd, 1875. Troy (N.Y.).

"Mrs. Woodhull spoke at Griswold Opera House, on Saturday evening. The house was filled by an intelligent audience. Mrs. Woodhull's presence and graceful bearing instantly impressed the audience, and when the rich sweet tones of her voice were added, there was the most perfect quiet. She read a finely written synopsis of the proceedings of the human race out of the East to mingle in this western land. After reading for a short time she proceeded extempore. She next showed that in this country a new process has been set up, where all races, kindreds and tongues are being merged into one common race which will contain the different characteristics and qualities, physical, mental, and moral, of all the races. Such a race she concludes must be the perfect race, and that will establish a perfect social organization which will gradually spread over the earth, and take in all its people, and that they will ultimately become one people, having one government, one common interest and purposes.

"From this point she came back to her well-known theory that a perfect race can consist only of perfectly formed men and women, and declared that millennial period can never come until none but such people are born. Here is the vital point of

all for which she contends. She showed that the human race can be improved by scientific propagation, and said that humanity ought to be the most important and worthy subject for investigation and improvement.

"She next showed that the misery, vice, and crime, with which the world is cursed, exists because the propagation of the race is carried on without any regard to the results to be obtained; that the criminal and vicious classes were made so by their mothers during gestation, or by inherited characteristics from their parents. The capacity to commit a crime must exist in the individual before it can be called into action, and this capacity is an endowment for which the person possessing it is not responsible. The criminal classes recruited constantly from the children born of mothers who did not want them—in other words, from unwilling or undesired children. To rid the world of all these classes it only requires to place women in such position that they will never bear children except when they want them, and this is her whole right. She went on to say that what is required to produce none but good children cannot be instituted so long as women do not have the absolute control of their persons—their maternal functions. Every impression and thought, and especially every strong desire of the mother, has its effect upon her unborn child. Mothers do not realize this, however, and her opposers do not intend that she shall get their ear to awaken them to their terrible responsibilities in this regard."

Sunday Evening—Second Lecture.

"Last evening's lecture was an exposition of Mrs. Woodhull's understanding of revealed religion. She spoke from the texts: Daniel xii. 8 and 9, and Revelation x. 7.

"The Bible, Mrs. Woodhull thinks, is a book which is sealed to ordinary mortals. The curse that is put upon woman is:

average in intelligence. The lecture was a bold and fearless discussion of social problems, which are daily receiving more attention from thinking people of both sexes and all conditions in life, and the agitation and discussion of which are unquestionably steps in the path to a higher civilization. 'The veil of false shame is dropping away from before the eyes of the people, and they are learning in the school of bitter experiences that the social relation and the perpetuation of the race must receive pure, honest, and thoughtful attention, instead of having their discussion tabooed as inconsistent with modesty and morality.' Mrs. Woodhull tells an immense amount of plain truth, and truth that sadly needs telling, and her manner and words carry conviction of her deep earnestness and sincerity. There is no denying that our social system is seriously imperfect, and it is only by *free and fearless discussion that we can hope to find true solution of the problem*, and eventually attain to the highest perfection as a race mentally, morally, and physically, of which humanity is capable.

"The lecture was able, and the speaker eloquent, holding her audience perfectly to the close. Doubtless a great many ladies and lords of the creation desired to hear Mrs. Woodhull, but stayed away fearing it might not be 'proper' to go. It will be pleasant for these to know that an audience more than ordinarily intelligent and respectable applauded her to the echo when she told just why they stayed away, and said with perfect truth the pure in heart never think of fearing to be put to the blush by an honest discussion of questions which should command the respectful thought of all. We failed to note a word in her lecture which was in any sense unfit for a lady's ears, and we frankly say we think Mrs. Woodhull is doing a great good to her race in breaking the seals and opening the way which at last leads out of darkness and ignorance which cloud society, stunt the race physically and mentally, and clog the wheels of universal progress under the laws of God."

with only occasional references to it. She became more and more impressed as she proceeded, and her trenchant hits and sarcasms, uttered with fine elocution, elicited frequent applause. Mrs. Woodhull is one of the most eloquent and forcible speakers who have appeared on the American platform; and she is the boldest of them all. More than this, she succeeds in impressing most of her hearers with the idea that she is honest and convinced of the theories which she so ably advocates. She is one of the most magnetic of speakers, and her manner is most graceful and *apropos* to the words spoken."

Morning Herald, September 9th, 1875. Utica (N.Y.).

"The audience in the Opera House last evening, to hear Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull's lecture, were composed of an equal number of ladies and gentlemen, and some of our most respectable citizens. The opening of the lecture was delivered from notes, as it included numerous statistics. The peroration was very fine, and there is no doubt that Mrs. Woodhull is the best lady lecturer that has appeared at the Opera House. The lecture contained many points worthy of serious consideration, and nothing that could give offence to the most fastidious. She certainly made a good impression upon her audience, and gave many of her auditors new views in relation to the position that she occupies upon the social question."

Democrat, September 13th, 1875. Binghamton (N.Y.).

"At the Academy of Music, last night, Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull spoke to a good house. The relation of the sexes is a subject that cannot be easily discussed with full freedom without offending the notions of the *ultra*-fastidious. Mrs. Woodhull, however, managed with easy grace to impress her audience with her views of the prime importance of the responsibilities of

Sentinel, September 14th, 1875. Rome (N.Y.).

“Mrs. Woodhull lectured here last Tuesday evening. All who heard her were pleasantly disappointed, and should she return here, as she promises to do, she will have a much larger audience. She is a forceful, eloquent speaker, and handles many questions, not so much discussed as they should be, with boldness hardly expected of a woman. At the same time she uses no indelicate words, no improper phrases. In all her lecture from the first to the last, while there was much food for thought, there was not one word to offend the most fastidious or to grieve the most sensitive. It is one of woman’s rights to denounce what she believes to be wrong, and this right Mrs. Woodhull exercises in public without sacrificing her dignity. Indeed, we incline to the opinion that mankind would be happier if women delivered more public lectures and fewer curtain ones.”

Daily Derrick, September 18th, 1875. Oil City (Pa.).

“Mrs. Woodhull made her first appearance in this city at the Opera House last evening, and lectured on ‘The Principles of Finance, or Behind the Political Scenes.’ She interested the audience greatly, and held them, from the beginning to the end, close observers of her words. She declared our system of government a failure, and that from its system grew its corruption. When she touched the social question she told plain truths.”

Daily, September 20th, 1875. Parker City (Pa.).

“‘The lecture to night’ was in everybody’s mouth, and as the time approached interest increased, and before opening the discourse a large audience had assembled, made up of a large portion of the best members Millerstown society affords. Ministers of the Gospel were there, and people of all ranks. It was acknowledged by everyone that no other speaker could,

“What was the object each went out to see? Everyone can answer for himself. *What they saw was a woman pure and simple, who came before them evidently inspired with a keen sense of the wrongs of humanity, and determined to devote every gift of mind, soul, and body with which her Creator had endowed her, to their redress. She seems to have put aside all thought of present honour, content to receive whatever obloquy or shame the world may see fit to bestow, repelling only when by doing so she may help on the cause she has so deeply at heart.* Yet we doubt not every word of sympathy and appreciation sinks deeply, and is sincerely treasured in this self-sacrificing soul who labours on, content to do her work and wait for a time, or eternity if need be, to prove her truth, and thus bring her reward.

“Strange as it may appear, that portion of her address which was devoted to the social relation or the relative position of the sexes, and the evils to society as a whole which grow out of the false relation now existing, commanded the sympathy and approval of the audience to a much greater extent than did her views upon finance and its kindred topics. Yet this was the great rock of offence which shipwrecked Mrs. Woodhull's reputation, and caused society to gather up its skirts lest the hem of its garments should be drabbled in the verge of the furthestmost wave her going down had started. The old philosophical idea that a wave once started was never fully spent till its motion reached around the world seems to be true in the world of thought or morals. Do what we will we cannot escape these moral waves. If we gather up our garments they wash over our exposed feet, and there is no rock so high for us to stand upon but their momentum gathers force to reach it.

“It is no use for us to shut our eyes and say there is no wrong to be redressed. If we had no better proof of the existence of wrong, the very fact that Church, State, and Press have all cried out ‘Down with this woman, her sentiments menace our peace!’ would be sufficient to prove to the thinking mind that

until half-past nine o'clock. About half of her lecture was read from manuscript, and the rest was the outpouring of the earnest, sincere heart of a mother. Her perorations were really fine, the eloquence of mind and soul completely devoted to the work before her, and in which she seems to be honestly and earnestly engaged."

(Editorial.)

"Mrs. Woodhull commenced her lecture by giving the oft-repeated quotation, 'Westward the star of empire takes its way.' She traced the onward march of this star, which carried civilization with it, from the extreme Orient to the extreme Occident—from its birthplace in India and China, millions of years before time, according to the Christian reckoning, westward through its many advances, till it made its last and gigantic stride across the heaving and rolling breast of the Atlantic to find resting-place in America. In all these ages past what people have died out—blotted out of existence by degeneration—unwritten histories of the Oriental ruins or mound-builders of this continent do not tell us.

"Then she launched boldly forth upon the tide of extemporaneous eloquence, hurling fierce invectives at the false modesty that will not let society discuss the basic questions of sociality. She said that the true virtue is intelligent discussion of these questions, and want of virtue is what is suppressing it. Mrs. Woodhull had been abused, hooted from one end of the land to another, because she thought that woman, as woman, should own her own body—(applause)—that she ought to say when she will become a mother, and when she will not. 'I do not believe in low ideas. Those who have low ideas are those who have not virtue enough to talk upon this subject without blushing, when there is no cause for blushes except their own want of virtue. Talk of Free Love—there is no other love but free

tion. The littlenesses, the narrow, contracted views and general shortsightedness of her own sex she denounced with a bitterness which in its line could not be surpassed. She is undoubtedly on a worthy mission."

Argus, October 2nd, 1875. Racine (Wis.).

"Mrs. Woodhull lectured on Saturday evening at Belle City Hall to a respectable audience. Not one in the house had heard her before. The more timid portion had their misgivings as to whether the lecture would be proper to hear, but we noticed that from that class, many of whom are mothers as refined and conscientious as Racine can boast, were the first to express their approbation and applause in no unmistakable manner. 'Mrs. Woodhull seemed at moments like one possessed, and the eloquence which poured from her lips in reckless torrents swept through the souls of the multitude in a way which caused them to burst, every now and then, into uproarious enthusiasm.'

"Mrs. Woodhull will probably return here within a few weeks or months, and we predict that Belle City will not be large enough to hold her audience."

Lumberman, October 9th, 1875. Oconto (Wis.).

"This lady, now of American and European fame, lectured in the Music Hall on the evenings of Saturday and Sunday last. Her audiences on both evenings were good, composed of a number of ladies, notwithstanding an under-current of ignorant influence that was brought to bear to prevent such an attendance. In treating her subject she made a fierce attack on the unpardonable ignorance which now prevails in relation to the laws of life.

"In her peroration she, in affecting and eloquent terms, referred to the persecution she had already endured, both from

present were ladies, and among their number were many who rank high in society and who are not noted as riders of hobbies.

"Among the gentlemen were ex-Governors, railway superintendents, and eminent divines. If they came and took their seats hesitatingly, fearing that they were to be seen in bad company, they were soon at their ease, for in every direction could be seen others of equal rank. Throughout the whole lecture the closest attention was paid to the speaker. The applause was frequent. Mrs. Woodhull's style of speaking is earnest, and such as to impress her auditors that she is convinced of the truth of all that she says."

Morning Courier, October 16th, 1875. Chicago (Ill.).

BRAVE MRS. WOODHULL.

"Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull's address at McCormick's Hall last evening was listened to by an immense concourse of people. No seat was left unoccupied, and many persons were standing. The lecture can only be likened to a mountain torrent long pent up, which at last bursts its bounds and carries a fearful pressure upon everything in its course. Mrs. Woodhull, in the two hours of continued discourse, attacked in turn the Church, the Government, and the individual,—the first for its hypocrisy and pretensions, the second for its tyranny and usurpations, and the last for his follies and weaknesses."

The Chicago Tribune, October 16th, 1875. Chicago (Ill.).

"McCormick Hall was crowded to repletion last evening to hear Mrs. Woodhull lecture. The audience was largely composed of women. The lady appeared on the rostrum about a quarter-past eight o'clock, dressed in a plain black dress, white collar and cuffs, a bunch of roses on her breast being all the effort at ornamentation."

heard her the other evening ; and Aurora hasn't a house large enough to accommodate the audience which will assemble to hear her the next time she speaks in that city."

Star, October 22nd, 1875. Logansport (Ind.).

"Mrs. Woodhull lectured at the Opera House last evening. The audience was, in point of intelligence, as flattering an one as ever greeted a lecturer in this city. The speaker was listened to with rapt attention, and now and then as she forced home some unpleasant truths, was encouraged by bursts of applause. Her tones are clear and penetrating, but her utterances are so rapid that little room is afforded for the graces of elocution. She does not employ the aid of gestures until she warms up with the earnestness of her thoughts, then she exhibits true oratorical ability and dramatic skill. Her style is always animated, rather giving the impression that she has so much to say that she must speak quickly and economize her time.

"She handled her subject, the social problem, without gloves, presenting the shams, superficialities, and inconsistencies of the present order of things in their true colours, tearing aside the veil placed over them through false modesty."

Herald, October 23rd, 1875. Aurora (Ill.).

"The auditorium of the Opera House was well filled on Monday evening by an audience of respectable and substantial citizens assembled to hear Mrs. Woodhull lecture. The speaker fully sustained her claim to be one of the most eloquent orators of the day. Her deportment on the stage is modest and ladylike, her language chaste, and her voice musical in the extreme. The discourse was full of passages that were delivered with a telling earnestness, and rewarded with hearty applause. Mrs. Woodhull told a great many truths, but her remedy for the evils she depicted was the spread of intelligence. Mrs. Woodhull may effect much good by rousing attention to the importance of the subject mentioned."

The Evening Leader, November 15th, 1875. Pittsburg (Pa.).

"Those who went to hear Victoria Woodhull deliver a salacious lecture last night were disappointed; not only disappointed, but roundly rebuked. They only heard a woman of very marked ability, perhaps the most eloquent of all the women lecturers in the country, discourse on a very delicate subject with marvellous tact, and with not the remotest approach to impurity of word or thought, and tell the people plain truths which were good for them to hear from some source."

Daily Gazette, November 15th, 1875. Steubenville (Ohio).

"The rain on Saturday evening prevented a large audience from gathering at the Hall, yet if Steubenville had been sifted for the express purpose of accomplishing such a result, it would not have been possible to present a more select or intellectual audience than assembled on that evening to hear Mrs. Woodhull."

Evening Standard, November 17th, 1875. Wheeling (W. Va.).

"The first appearance of the celebrated Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull in this city last night was the occasion for a large turn-out.

"Mrs. Woodhull opened her subject by referring to the westward march of the empire, beginning with the political greatness of the Egyptian people under Sesostrius, succeeded successively by that of Persia and Media under Xerxes, and Romans under Cæsar. She then brought out the truth—the stern, undeniable truth—concerning the fathers, mothers, sons, and daughters of the land; attributing crime, disease, and misfortune in many forms to the want of purity of character among the people. She said 'that society did not have the candour or purity to consider or rebel against social evils, that

the vicious and criminal classes. No child conceived in love and born in hope was ever yet a criminal. Mothers may make their children what they wish; but they make them, without wishing, what they are. Mothers should remember this: no person ever does an act with the capacity for which he or she was not endowed from birth."

Daily Register, November 17th, 1875. Wheeling (W. Va.).

"For the first time a Wheeling audience had an opportunity last night to hear this wonderful woman lecturer. She is in all respects most wonderful, as she is also the best known woman in America. Mrs. Woodhull impresses one that she is honest in her convictions, and that she is intensely—nay, recklessly—wedded to, and eagerly and passionately advocates, her cause. Her soul seems to catch fire at the inspiration of her own words, and all the energies of her nature seemed roused up by, to her, the vast importance of the theme. She is capable of varying her subject to the circumstances with a remarkable originality."

Times, November 18th, 1875. Canton (Ohio).

"Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull lectured at the Opera House on Wednesday evening. Her audience was an appreciative one, composed extensively of ladies who went to hear the 'truth,' and they heard it. Mrs. Woodhull is an excellent speaker, and presents her argument in such an earnest manner that the most ignorant can fully understand her meaning. She comes down to solid facts, and endeavours to impress upon her audience the necessity of raising children to lead pure and virtuous lives. Mrs. Woodhull has been vilified and abused by both press and public: if we understand her correctly it was because she told truths, that all know are truths, but do not like to hear them. We trust that Mrs. Woodhull will again visit us, and if she does, we can safely assure her a jammed, crowded house."

woman, that no man or woman can listen to her lecture without being made nobler and purer.

"We hope that Mrs. Woodhull may return at no distant day and repeat her lecture, when we earnestly hope that every mother in Meadville will hear her."

New York Mercury. From Corry (Pa.) Correspondent, under the date of November 30th, 1875.

"Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull lectured on the 29th inst. to a good house, comprising many ladies, and some of the most intelligent citizens. The night was very stormy and the weather intensely cold, so that Mrs. Woodhull may regard the occasion which could draw out so large an audience on so inclement an evening as an especial ovation. She was repeatedly applauded during the lecture, and at its close."

Independent, December 1st, 1875. Massillon (Ohio).

"Mrs. Woodhull's lecture at the Opera House last Wednesday was attended by an intelligent audience, who were entertained for an hour and a half with one of the most interesting discourses ever delivered in Massillon. Mrs. Woodhull has an excellent voice and her delivery is attractive and pleasing, and the thoroughly attentive manner in which the audience listened to her speaks volumes in praise of her ability as a speaker. We unhesitatingly state that we would like to hear the lecture repeated."

Observer, December 2nd, 1875. Erie (Pa.).

"Mrs. Victoria Woodhull treated her views upon the social question in the Music Hall last evening. She spoke for an hour and a half, and drew applause from her hearers. Mrs. Woodhull is one of the best female speakers in the country.

"Mrs. Woodhull's idea seems to be that all unions between the sexes should be based on love. She denounced women who

to the looks than any of the harlot's career.' What a commentary is this on the so-called sacred institution of marriage from the pen of the acknowledged leader of the scientific and philosophic world. 'But, yet, I am denounced,' she said, 'because I am doing everything in my power to bring about a better state of things for this class of women.'

"But she is willing to wait for her justification. Indeed, she said it had already begun to come. Where three years ago there was never a word upon these subjects printed in the papers, scarcely an important paper or magazine can now be found in which it is not discussed in some form. Moreover, some of the oldest and the most popular papers and magazines are now advocating substantially the same thing that she advocates, the only difference being that they have not the moral courage yet to show how the desired results are to be obtained, while this is a task from which she never shrinks.

"Such was the general tenor of Mrs. Woodhull's lecture last night. She is an extraordinary woman, and there is a peculiar fascination in her intense emotional nature, her utter and reckless devotion to an idea, her eager and passionate advocacy of her cause. She at once showed a perfect familiarity with what she was talking about. Her manner was easy, her gestures graceful, her voice strong, her articulation perfect, and the expression of her face when she got warmed up to her subject grew spiritual. Nobody who sees her can doubt that she is not only in earnest but honest in all she says: indeed, her purpose seems to be based on a deep-seated religious enthusiasm. *If she should appear here again, as we hope she may, no hall would be too large for her.*"

Democrat and Chronicle, December 6th, 1875. Rochester (N.Y.).

"Corinthian Hall was filled last Saturday evening with a large attentive audience to hear Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull. Shortly

But now a change has come over the spirit of the world's dreams. Men and women of high intellectual attainments, social standing, and great wealth, grasp her by the hand glad to do her honour, happy to possess her friendship. When the news of her coming was flashed over the wires yesterday afternoon, a motley congregation of people gathered about the entrance of the Tift House, eager to catch a glimpse of the woman who fought single-handed against, conquered, and transformed the world. Unlike in years gone by, they looked and wondered. There was no gritting of teeth, no clenching of fists, no shrinking aside and gathering up of garments lest sin should pass by contact, but instead, a true welcome! the enthusiasm of which was marked in the glistening eye and ruddy cheek. The woman against whom every hand was raised had merged in the queen, whom none were ashamed to reverence. In the history of this great world, among the names of the great, the glorious and good, there is not to be found one brighter than that which belongs to this very remarkable woman whose career has been one of the most wonderful that ever attended the life of any individual, and this, if there be no other reason, seems to be corroborative of her claims. The opposition that she has met and overcome, the persecutions that she has survived, and the calumnies outlived, all point to a wonderful character and prophesy a wonderful career. Had not some more than human power been present with her she would long since have sunk beneath the powers that have sought to crush her. The greatest wonder now among her opponents is that she is alive, while her friends begin to have almost equal faith with herself in her mission as set forth by her, from the fact that she exists, that she has survived what would have crushed any other person. At one time she had not only the whole power of the Church and the government arrayed against her and determined on her destruction, but their immense power was reinforced by the weight of the entire press of the country.

gullible and unsuspecting public. Sharp practices destitute of real talent, and shrewd management in which honour found no place, were at a premium there. All such flourished, and to the external view everything in the country was at the very height of its prosperity. Little did these soulless speculators know that the woman's real purpose in coming into Wall Street was to burst this gigantic bubble.

"But they were not long kept in suspense; for no sooner had she fairly established her banking-house and gotten that business well under way, then she began the publication of a weekly newspaper with the avowed intention of making public the rascalities that she had ferreted out, and before the year was spent she had exposed and demolished every fraudulent scheme that was then on foot among them. The denizens of that locality were thunderstricken. Everything against which her pen was levelled fell. Its blows were mightier than the sword. Down they went, one after another in rapid succession—Tweed rings, fraudulent railroad schemes, and the banking-houses both in this country and in Europe which were palming them off upon the people; life insurance companies reduced from forty for the whole country to nineteen; fire insurance companies crumbled; Swepson & Co.'s Great Southern Bond scheme fraud; Mexican claim swindles, all, all tumbled beneath the vigorous blows that this woman dealt them with the rapidity and precision of a gladiator, all of which may be still found standing on the pages of *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly* in any of the public libraries.

"WOMAN SUFFRAGE.—Having set the ship of reform in financial things afloat, and gotten her well into the current, she next gave her attention to political and industrial reform. She seized the movement for Woman Suffrage within her powerful grasp, and raised it by a single effort from the quagmire of expediency, where it had languished for twenty years, into a question of Constitutional law, and obtained the approval of

1876.

The Gazette, January, 1876. Washington (D.C.).

“Not the least remarkable of the revolutions wrought in the sentiments, feelings, and conduct of the people of this country, and in the tone of the public press, is that which has taken place in respect to Mrs. Victoria Woodhull, and the peculiar theories of which she is the especial and distinguished exponent.

“A few years since this lady was the object at which the poisoned arrows of slander, contumely, and scorn from a thousand quivers were directed. Every vile and disgraceful epithet within the vocabulary of our language was hurled at her devoted head. All that the ingenuity and malignity of the most unscrupulous could devise was done, not only to blacken and make infamous her private character, and drive her from the public rostrum, but to make her the one social outcast in whose behalf neither justice should be invoked nor respectful consideration be awarded.

“With a few honourable exceptions the entire press of the country lent itself to the ignoble work of abusing and maligning this lady, attributing to her sentiments she never expressed or avowed, theories she was never in affiliation with, and charging her with utterances which were a foul libel on every feeling of her heart. Trampling under foot every generous and manly feeling, losing sight of her claims upon them as a woman and mother to courteous and respectful treatment, the press everywhere, in its zeal to pander to a morbidly diseased public sentiment, left nothing undone to heap odium on her personal character, and make infamous her public teachings. Nor was this all. The power and authority of the Federal Government must needs be invoked to aid in the nefarious work of crushing this weak and defenceless woman, whose only offence was that

on the bill-boards and in the shop windows, were agreeably surprised to find her a very handsome woman, with pleasing, and not stagey manners, which immediately won the favour of the audience."

Register, January 4th, 1876. Newark (N.J.).

"Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull lectured at the Opera House last evening, and was welcomed by a large, certainly respectable and highly intelligent audience composed of ladies and gentlemen, who paid deep attention to her argument. Mrs. Woodhull is one of the most eloquent we have ever heard."

Herald, January 4th, 1876. Elizabeth (N.J.).

"The damp, rainy, and in every way disagreeable weather accompanying the fog, which enshrouded the fair city of Elizabeth, and its scarcely less fair suburbs, on Friday evening, was not reassuring to the hundreds who had anticipated a rare treat at the lecture to be given at Library Hall by Mrs. Woodhull, and a premonition of probable wet feet and possible colds in the head deterred many from attending. But no considerations of hygiene are supposed to afford any excuse for the non-attendance of the lecturer, and accordingly Mrs. Woodhull, having travelled in defiance of the weather authorities, appeared promptly at the hour of eight; where her eyes met those of an audience composed of people of high intellectual culture and refinement, and of the best possible standing in society. The audience consisted largely of ladies.

"Launching at once into her lecture she was soon found to be a brilliant and eloquent speaker, with a real genuine earnestness rare among lecturers. It is quite evident, however much others may differ with her, that Mrs. Woodhull believes what she says, and is in earnest in her efforts to bring about results which she conceives to be for the world's good. She is certainly

grow weary under its weight and sigh for rest, but my duty to my *sex* spurs me on. Therefore I want your sympathy, your sustaining love to go on with me and bless me; and when I leave you for other fields of labour and stand upon other rostrums, fearing that I may not be able to do my duty, I want to feel the yearnings of your hearts following me with prayers that my efforts may be blessed. I want the blessing of these fathers, the affection of these sons, the benediction of these mothers, and the prayers of these daughters to follow me everywhere, to give me strength to endure the labour, courage to speak the truth, and a continued faith that right will finally triumph.' "

Evening Argus, January 6th, 1876. Jersey City (N.J.).

"Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull delivered her long-expected lecture at Kepler Hall last night before an intelligent audience, among whom could be discerned a number of prominent officials and citizens with their wives. About eight o'clock Mrs. Woodhull appeared. She looked like an earnest, sincere woman, and evidently believed in the somewhat startling views she set forth. Mrs. Woodhull's favourite views on the marriage relation and the duties of parents to their children were listened to with marked attention throughout, and the frequent hits she made brought loud applause.

"Mrs. Woodhull began by reading from the Bible, and then launched into what she called the theory of social evolution by which human races are to be harmoniously blended and man and woman made perfect. Mrs. Woodhull said she meant to go on advocating these reforms until they should bear fruit."

Times, January 8th, 1876. Jersey City (N.J.).

"Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull was at Kepler Hall on Wednesday evening, and was listened to by an intelligent, appreciative audience. At the conclusion of the lecture it was amusing to listen to the remarks of the retiring throng: 'Splendid.'

Ford's Opera House last night to a large audience. Mrs. Woodhull's appearance on the stage was greeted with applause."

The Telegram, January 11th, 1876. Washington (D.C.).

"Ford's Opera House was packed full last evening with an appreciative audience, the preponderance of which were intelligent and refined ladies, to hear the celebrated lecturer, Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull, discourse plainly upon the startling and ugly facts of which our social fabric is composed. The lecturer received an ovation worthy of the cause she has espoused, and for which she has been so *bitterly* persecuted. She was repeatedly applauded by the vast audience and brought before the curtain upon the termination of her lecture."

Daily Critic, January 11th, 1876. Washington (D.C.).

"Last evening Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull lectured at Ford's Opera House to a large and appreciative audience, and were she to repeat her lecture one week hence Ford's Opera House would not furnish seats for those who would then desire to gain admission.

"The lecture was listened to with rapt attention, and it was the desire of nearly everyone present that he or she should have the privilege at an early day of again sitting under the pleasant voice of Mrs. Woodhull to hear some of her wholesome truths.

Mirror, January 18th, 1876. Carlisle (Pa.).

"A good audience assembled in Rheem's Hall last night to hear Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull discuss the 'Theory of Life, Socially.' Promptly at eight o'clock Mrs. Woodhull stepped upon the stage and opened her lecture by reciting from the sacred writ the passage upon which her theory is based, and at once entered upon the consideration of her subject with a spirit and earnestness which won the closest attention of her audience.

possesses a richly modulated voice, which is exceedingly pleasing to the listener. There were many home truths spoken last evening by this lady in such an impressive manner as to touch the hearts of her audience, and the close attention with which her discourse of an hour and a quarter was received showed that it was highly appreciated by all present."

The Democrat, January 22nd, 1876. Johnstown (Pa.).

"Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull delivered her lecture on the True and False, Socially,' in the Opera House on Friday evening last. There was a great crowd out to hear her—high-toned, appreciative listeners. Mrs. Woodhull, in personal appearance, is far handsomer than any other lady we have ever heard on the rostrum—graceful and feminine in all her movements and positions. There is nothing masculine about her voice and gestures, but everything denotes the sweet-voiced, cultivated lady. She spoke about one hour and a quarter, and the very close attention given her by the audience was an evidence that she was interesting and entertaining. The lecture surpassed the expectations of the public, and was a rare treat, being one of the most elegantly delivered lectures ever heard in our town."

News, January 26th, 1876. Ashtabula (Ohio).

"Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull's lecture at Smith's Opera House last Monday evening was, in many respects, a remarkable one. The hall was well filled with a good representation of the best classes of citizens. Perhaps one-half of those present were ladies. Mrs. Woodhull came before her audience very plainly dressed, advanced to the centre of the stage, and there stood, with neither desk nor manuscript before her, holding in her hand only a pocket-Bible, from which she read several texts. The entire audience listened throughout with the most perfect

was composed of our most intelligent, refined people. Everywhere Mrs. Woodhull is greeted with the same audiences of respectable, honest-thinking people. It may be idle curiosity that brings them out to listen to her; but no matter what the attraction is, they go to hear the only woman in America who dares to attack the social evil sin in the plain way that she does. Mrs. Woodhull may justly be proud of her Kokomo audience, for it was such an one as rarely congregates to hear a lecture. There was a large number of most respectable ladies, old and young. She spoke about an hour and a half, and closed with an earnest appeal to the people of Kokomo to give their sympathy and moral support in the crusade which she is waging for the elevation of the race and of her sex. The lecture was frequently interrupted by applause, which was especially hearty at the close."

The Globe-Democrat, February 2nd, 1876. St. Louis (Mo.).

"If, among the large audience of ladies and gentlemen who were present at Armory Hall last evening to hear Victoria C. Woodhull lecture, any went with the expectation of hearing anything advanced by that lady that was either immodest or licentious, they must have left the hall disappointed in that respect, but much better informed on some matters than they were before they entered it.

"Mrs. Woodhull appeared on the platform attired in a very plain, dark-coloured dress, and spoke with great animation for about two hours. Her utterance is very rapid, but distinct; her language forcible, and her gestures appropriate and effective. Everything she does, both in utterance and action, seems to be spontaneous. She never hesitates for a word, and her strong, vigorous thoughts are clothed in the most appropriate language. Unlike most fluent speakers, she deals but little in imagery, and her efforts have no attempt at rhetorical embellishments; and yet she is an orator of great ability. In the treatment of

sentative of her sex who is boldly breasting public opinion for the promulgation of a great social reformation. She has made many friends in Kokomo, and removed a false prejudice that had long been entertained against her. All who heard her pronounce her lecture a grand, masterly effort."

Daily American, February 5th, 1876. Nashville (Tenn.).

"As had been anticipated, the Opera House was packed last night with an audience eager to hear Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull lecture on 'The Human Body the Temple of God.' Dress circle and parquette were jammed, and the galleries were better filled than was ever before witnessed in that Thespian temple. The audience was composed of the more intelligent and cultivated citizens of the community, the ladies present being the wives and daughters of business and professional men. After the lecture Mrs. Woodhull received several letters, couched in the most complimentary terms, and specially asking that she might deliver another lecture, but she finds it necessary to leave for New Orleans to-day."

Evening Mail, February 5th, 1876. Nashville (Tenn.).

"The lecture of Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull at the Opera House last night, on 'The Human Body the Temple of God,' attracted a respectable and appreciative audience. The best of order prevailed during the evening, and the audience seemed to be deeply interested."

Avalanche, February 8th, 1876. Memphis (Tenn.).

"Many gentlemen and ladies who heard Mrs. Woodhull's lecture at Memphis Theatre, on Sunday night, were so well pleased that a petition was circulated yesterday, requesting her to repeat the lecture, and a number of signatures had been obtained before it was discovered that Mrs. Woodhull had left for Nashville on the early train."

The Appeal, February 8th, 1876. Memphis (Tenn.).

"On Sunday night one of the largest and most thoroughly representative audiences ever gathered in the theatre assembled to hear Victoria C. Woodhull. By eight o'clock every seat was occupied. The bench and the bar, the press and the medical profession, as well as the mercantile, the mechanical, and the labouring classes, were fully and ably represented, and the faces of all present indicated, especially after the fair lectress made her appearance, a very tension of interest. Mrs. Woodhull entered upon the work before her without introduction or preliminary--indeed, almost abruptly. This, however, was pardonable in view of the visible effect her appearance worked, and when it is remembered that she had hardly opened her mouth ere her mastery, so to speak, was confessed. At first her words came slowly, deliberately--indeed, nervously; but once fairly launched upon her theme, the flow of ideas and words was steady and rapid, both occasionally merging into periods as startling, as eloquent, and beautiful as any ever delivered by the best orators of our language. At times she reached the loftiest flight of forensic effort, and roused her audience from the repose of a death-like stillness to most enthusiastic applause. Every point she made was caught by the audience, and was greeted as it deserved. Five or six times this applause was delivered with unusual fervour, and with an enthusiasm that surprised even those most favourably inclined towards the lecturer, who so nobly contended for her sex; and at the close, when, after what seemed vain efforts on her part to take her leave, she finally bade adieu, the most deafening and prolonged shouts recalled her again and again to receive the warm and generous plaudits of those who had listened with pleasure and profit to one of the most logical and able lectures ever delivered in Memphis upon any subject--if not the ablest. She answered every call, until at last, breaking through all form and ceremony, hundreds, both old and young, stepped upon the stage and

appearance was the signal for a unanimous burst of applause. After a few words of an introductory character, she gave out the text of the discourse.

“Text from 1 Corinthians iii. 16-17 :

“‘ Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you ?

“‘ If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy ; for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are.’

“In her lecture she first treated of the ethnical constitution of Americans, and the result to ensue from the merging of many nationalities into one. She then proceeded to elaborate upon those themes of social interest developed in her interview with the Picayune reporter last Wednesday, first stating her opinion of the world, and its practices at the present day, then treating of the duties of parents towards their children, the conditions on which marriage should be contracted, wherein she would exact an equal amount of purity from both the contracting parties.

“Her speech was very rapid, but distinct, and every word was well rounded and articulated. Her gestures were few and easy, and her face would betimes light up with that fiery energy which sparkled in her eyes. The interruptions were few, for the audience paid rapt attention throughout, and only at times would they break out into applause, which, when they did, was unanimous and ‘long drawn out.’

“At 9.30 Mrs. Woodhull retired from the platform laden with offerings of flowers, and amid a general expression of enthusiasm.”

Republican, February 21st, 1876. New Orleans (La.).

“This lady has succeeded in attracting a good deal of interest in the minds of all classes of thinking citizens. Aside from the novelty of seeing a woman on the rostrum, or appearing before a New Orleans public as the champion of an idea or the witness of great truths, there is a sort of magnetic charm in the per-

would purify the races of the earth. She claims that mankind should never become enchained by ignorance and vice, and that daughters should be reared to protect themselves against marriage contracts with men not as pure as themselves. Her discourse was elegant and pure, and she held her audience so enchained that the ending of it was met with universal regret. She will lecture again to-night, by special request, her proposed theme being 'Woman's Curse,' and we express the belief that there was not a husband or son who listened to her through her discourse last night who is not anxious to have the wife or mother to hear her."

The Statesman, March 10th, 1876. Austin (Texas).

"Mrs. Woodhull's second lecture at the Opera House last night was more largely attended than the first; fully one-half were ladies of the *élite* of Austin. In the most thrilling, glowing sentences she depicted the thralldom of woman, owing, as she claims, to the sense of false modesty which prevails; and exhorted the women, as mothers, to emancipate themselves, to rise to a true sense of their dignity, and to endeavour to rear a 'race of gods and goddesses.' She hails with joy the approaching millennium of free discussion, through the medium of the press, of truths which have heretofore remained as a sealed book. The auditors were held spellbound by her simple, unaffected eloquence, and bursts of applause were frequent, demonstrating the fact that her words carried conviction to the hearts of the hearers."

The Statesman, March 11th, 1876. Austin (Texas).

"Mrs. Woodhull was called back to Giddings by a committee of gentlemen and ladies who, being so well pleased with the first lecture, tendered her an ovation which should cause her to feel proud of the conquest won. She leaves the Lone Star State for her home in New York City, laden with laurels nobly battled for and cheerfully given. Mrs. W. is accompanied on her southern tour by her beautiful and talented sister and mother, the appearance of the latter of whom is that of a courtly lady."

The Herald, March 16th, 1876. Dallas (Texas).

"There was a large number in attendance at the theatre last night. Mrs. Woodhull came before them, held her listeners enthralled by her powers of oratory, by her beauty, by her finished address, by the statements of undeniable truths that struck conviction to the heart of every intelligent person within the sound of her voice. What she said may have grated harshly on the ears of some; but it was because the knife of facts and figures cut away the diseased cancer of ignorance or wilful blindness that has been eating into our hearts, and as yet no physician has been found skilful or daring enough to probe the fester to the bottom. We wish that every mother in our city could have heard her last night, listened to her as with a mother's love, a mother's experience, and the deep feeling that must be felt by every true mother, plead in piteous tones for the more perfect enlightenment of the rising generations. Her heart was in her voice, and deep down into the sanctum of every breast sank the barbed arrow of self-condemnation as they listened to her words, and felt that she too plainly exposed the injury and neglect our children sustain from those who love them best through a false delicacy. Many gentlemen were there who are thankful that they embraced the opportunity to hear, and who emphatically stated that if she would remain another night, they would be only too glad to have their wives, mothers and sisters attend. There were men there, too, who went out of a prurient curiosity, expecting to hear that which would pander to their depraved tastes; but we will venture to assert that those same men left the hall feeling that they had received a just and merited rebuke, and who will hereafter speak of the lady who addressed them last night in far different terms than what they did previously. Mrs. Woodhull has done a great work here. She has dropped good seed that will fall on fertile ground and bring forth the perfect fruit. And wherever she goes, and in whatever city she

visits, she will receive no more hearty welcome than in Dallas, should she ever return here."

The Waller County Courier, March 16th, 1876. Hempstead (Texas).

"The lady whose name heads this article lectured last Sunday evening to one of the largest and most respectable audiences ever assembled in the city of Hempstead to hear a lecture on any subject."

The Stylus, Monthly Magazine, April, 1876. Austin (Texas).

"On the 8th and 9th ultimo our State capital was thrown out of the usual and monotonous groove of apathy and lassitude by entertaining as its guest the famous and renowned Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull. Upon two consecutive nights she lectured in the Opera House before large and respectful audiences of ladies and gentlemen. The subjects of discourses were 'The True and False, Socially,' and 'Woman's Curse.'

"No uneasiness or embarrassment was visible in her features when she first appeared before her audience, and the same coolness and self-possession was maintained throughout the evening. Without any introduction whatever, she began to speak, and not many minutes had passed before the telling truths of her discourse were greeted with long and continued applause. Every eye in the audience seemed riveted upon her, and every ear seemed to be chained to the very rock of attention.

"Judging from her lectures, we have no hesitancy in saying that she is mistress of one of the finest and most powerful intellects with which in modern years nature has endowed woman-kind; and again the beautiful and poetical ideas that were contained in almost every sentence, portrayed that she was also gifted with rare and brilliant fancy. Her diction is classical, limpid, and musical—arising at times to such a degree of eloquence and pathos, that it borders on the very edge of sublimity. But the greatest and most laudable virtue of her

lecture is that she speaks truth—truth that finds an echo and a sanction in every generous and unprejudiced heart.

“But, in conclusion, without averring that we accept and endorse her doctrines, we will suggest the idea, that if every divine in the land would preach with her fervour and feeling, and throw aside all ‘Mock Modesty,’ while occupying the sacred pulpit, that not many years would elapse before the world would be rejoicing in the twilight haze of the sinless era of the great millenium.”

Argus, April 7th, 1876. Brooklyn (N.Y.).

“Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull stepped upon the stage of the Academy of Music last evening, with a morocco bound copy of the Bible in her hand, and read in the presence of fully twelve hundred people these words:

“‘Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the spirit of God dwelleth in you?’

“‘If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy; for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are.’

“Mrs. Woodhull was frequently applauded.”

New York Daily Sun, Friday, April 14th, 1876.

WOODHULL AND BEECHER.

VICTORIA CLAIMS THAT SHE IS BEING PERSECUTED—THE GREAT SCANDAL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN,—Sir, With surprise I have read your statement of the Beecher-Woodhull persecution, and the hot blood of indignation was roused in me to find the same spirit that prompted that persecution continued by the *Sun* in its reference to, and insinuations about me. To judge of “Woodhull” by your article it could be imagined that she might be, and probably is, something below which there is nothing. I had thought that the day for this sort of stuff was past. But let me glean the subtle stabs, the dark hints and blind insinuations from the article, of which no hold can be obtained to show what they mean, but which, nevertheless, are envenomed barbs well

The press of the West and South, where I have been lecturing during the greater part of the season, upon hearing the statement of my theories, and the defence of my course, acknowledged that, following the lead of the New York press, they had done me a great wrong, and they did what they could to repair the injury. Instead of misrepresenting my opinions, and sending reporters to my lectures instructed, as were some at a recent lecture of mine in this city, "to make no report unless there should be a row," they gave honest representations of what I said. When the New York press shall do this tardy justice to a woman upon whom it has made it possible for the world to lay heavy hands, the bugaboo about "her opinions and deeds" will be exploded. This will come at last, though it may, perhaps, be delayed until I am passed away. But I have a fair daughter just budding into womanhood, to whom I wish to leave an untarnished name. It is for her sake, much more than for my own, that I pray for life and strength to pursue the lies with which my reputation has been blackened into every town and hamlet of the country where they have penetrated, and wisdom sufficient to catch and crush the foul things, so that their venom shall not embitter her future.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

New York City,
April 10th, 1876.

Press, April 17th, 1876. Providence (R.I.).

"Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull appeared at the Opera House last evening, and delivered her lecture on 'The Human Body the Temple of God,' before a very large audience.

"The curtain rose at 8 o'clock. Mrs. Woodhull soon entered by the rear entrance, walking to the footlights, looking intently at an open Bible, which she carried in her hand. After standing for a moment she read two passages from second Corinthians as a sort of text. At first she was slow in her delivery, but soon she warmed with her subject.

before the death of Mrs. Davis, it having been reported by malicious people that Mrs. Davis ignored Mrs. Woodhull.]

New York Herald, May 6th, 1876. New York City.

"**MRS. VICTORIA C. WOODHULL'S LECTURE.**—The large hall of the Cooper Institute was filled last evening with a very respectable audience, assembled to hear Mrs. Woodhull.

"Mrs. Woodhull read several verses from the third chapter of Genesis, containing God's promise to woman that her seed should crush the head of the serpent. She said that redemption from the ills that affect humanity must come from woman, and that in order that they may fit themselves for their mission they should study the marital question in all its details and responsibilities. She denounced the practice of rearing girls for the matrimonial market, and insisted on woman's right to claim from her husband the same purity he expected from her. The mother should be the teacher of her family and the confessor of her child; and, in order to do this properly, should imitate the purity of the Virgin Mary. Here Mrs. Woodhull turned to a small statue of the Virgin, which was placed on a pedestal in the centre of the stage, and with much force called on all present, both male and female, to cherish and cultivate purity, and there would be no use for penitentiaries and prisons, no necessity for hanging men for murder, for murder would soon cease to exist; and thus intelligent mothers knowing their duties would bring forth virtuous children, and by that means cause vice to vanish from the world, and crush the head of the serpent. Mrs. Woodhull was frequently and loudly applauded."

New York Sun, May 6th, 1876. New York City.

"Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull had a large audience in the Cooper Institute Hall last evening."

Register, May 20th, 1876. Newark (N.J.).

"Last evening Mrs. Woodhull lectured at Library Hall on a topic that is nearest to her heart. Mrs. Woodhull appeared in a dress of black cashmere, trimmed with silk, and no ornaments

preached the doctrine that men should be bound by the same rules of morality in their lives as women. Everybody now accepts that doctrine as sound, and for advocating this truth their reward was scoffs and persecution. A woman of ordinary nerve would have shrunk from the ordeal and sunk away from view under this outrageous treatment. But Victoria and Tennie have proved that their nerves are made of steel, and can give blows as well as receive them. They believed they had a right to speculate in the stock market. They did so, and opened a banking house, where they did a large and successful business. This was the first and only bank ever conducted by women. Having proved their ability in the Stock Exchange, they next started a newspaper, which was ably managed, and the pungency of their articles created many sensations throughout the country. Mrs. Woodhull believing in the right of her sex to vote and hold office, ran for the Presidency of the United States in 1872, and was well supported. It is stated that the ladies are now perfecting another novel and striking enterprize, of which the country will be made aware before long. To enable them to recuperate and work the matter up, the publication of their *Weekly* is temporarily suspended, and a trip to the Old World was advised by their physician.

“It is needless to state that wealthy women of their boldness and originality are not labouring and preaching merely for money. They have a higher and purer motive, the teaching and the elevation of the sex, and in their labours to that end have expended fortunes. They feel impelled to pursue their career while they breathe, rather than lead a life of ease and quiet, as they could well afford to do. There is something that excites one's admiration in the heroic manner they conduct the warfare. They go on their way as a dart from a bow. Their sayings are misrepresented. They regard this not. They labour on steadily regardless of the opinion of thoughtless and malicious enemies. The experience of Mrs. Woodhull has been the most remarkable of any on the American or European Continents. Subjected to

worked thirty years for woman suffrage, now I am made to feel that woman suffrage is but the vestibule of woman's emancipation. Victoria Woodhull had done a work for women that none of us could have done.' And Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker, sister of the Rev. H. Ward Beecher, said: 'Mrs. Woodhull has, with her prostrate body, bridged a chasm over which womanhood shall walk to freedom.'

The Item, July 7th, 1876. Philadelphia.

A MODERN JOAN OF ARC.

MRS. VICTORIA WOODHULL'S WONDERFUL WORK FOR REFORM.

**EVENTFUL LIFE OF A REMARKABLE WOMAN—UNDAUNTED BY
SNEERS OR DUNGEONS—AN ILLUSTRATION OF PLUCK AND
PERSEVERANCE.**

"All movements in each of the departments of an organized human society have special inspiration; have some special person around whom cluster the various facts to which they owe their advancement, and from whom, more than any other, proceed the steps by which they advance. Nor does the fact that others than this special one come into a movement to add to its momentum, perhaps to introduce new departures, affect the truth of this statement.

"But this fact, which is common to all movements among people, is especially marked in the Woman's Movement in this country, for among the galaxy of great and good and noble women, to each of whom it owes something, there stands one name prominent as having given to it both impulse and character. It is altogether improbable that Luther was the one who first conceived the idea of opposition to Papal rule over the conscience; nor was Garrison the first to raise his voice against the existence of slavery. Before Luther hundreds of hearts had rebelled against the power of Rome, and before Garrison thousands had felt the wrongs of those who toiled in slavery beneath the burning heat of 'The Sunny South'; nevertheless it was Luther who raised that opposition into an organized

tional law, where it will remain until it shall occupy her place in legislative halls, side by side with her brother, Man.

"Nor did Mrs. Woodhull's strategy begin and end with the simple introduction of her memorial into Congress. Upon the morning of its introduction, each Congressman found upon his desk a neatly printed copy of the memorial, together with a statement of the principal reasons for the claim, which reasons will stand for ever as the most concise as well as complete argument that can be offered for it. As was foreseen by Mrs. Woodhull, these brief documents were copied into the press all over the country on account of their novelty and originality, and thus by a movement, which for brilliancy of conception and successful carrying out will compare favourably with any ever made in any quarter for any purpose, the proposition, that Woman, under the Constitution, is entitled to the ballot, in a day became a national question, having a country-wide reputation, and with it the name of Victoria C. Woodhull rose at once into the ascendant in the Woman movement, in which position time and history will make it only the more prominent.

"But she did not let the movement sleep in the committee-room. She plied the members of the Judiciary Committee, and found several of them whom she compelled to acknowledge that her claim was right, and that it could not be successfully combated for any length of time; while General Butler of Massachusetts, and Judge Loughridge, of Iowa, felt the question to be of sufficient importance to demand a thorough consideration, and they prepared an elaborate and exhaustive report upon it, which will stand for all time a monument to their comprehensive judgment of constitutional law, as well as to the non-partisan character of their statesmanship. It is not too much to say that their argument was unanswerable, that it never was answered, and that it can never be answered. Not only did General Butler thus cast his powerful influence upon this new

it was virtually conceded to be the law, although it may require some further time to have it so recognized by the government and to have the law take practical effect. It is, however, an open question whether, if Mrs. Woodhull's plans could have all been carried out, women would not have now been enjoying their right to vote. But jealousies and divisions sprang up among the advocates, which for a time defeated her. She conceived the idea of organizing a great party, of consolidating into one movement all the factions of reform movements in the country, and of thus gaining the balance of power and of forcing one of the great political parties into adopting her measures. She even went so far as to draft a new Constitution which was an embodiment of her political, industrial, and social views. But the leaders of the various movements which she sought to bring together, saw in her a rival of their ambitions, and, rather than succeed with her, they chose at least present failure by themselves.

"This, however, did not deter Mrs. Woodhull from carrying forward her propaganda after her own methods. She left the movements, in which she had been interested, to struggle by themselves as best they might, and for their principles to take deeper root in the minds of the people, while she stumped the country from Maine to California, and from Minnesota to Texas, thrusting into public attention the principles that lie back of all reform movements, and commanding the respect of all by her earnestness of purpose, her brilliant oratory, and her comprehensive intellect.

"Without controversy, her campaign of last season, beginning August 18th, at Albany, N.Y., and ending in Texas, was the most brilliant ever accorded to any orator, and has marked a revolution in the minds of the people regarding her real social views. With one accord the press has been unanimous in her behalf, and she now stands before the country, not as the avowed advocate of social degradation, as she had been supposed to be,

'I know hundreds of women,' said the speaker, 'who are in sympathy, in strong sympathy with the views I advance, who cannot render practical assistance because they would forfeit the respect of society and their kindred. But what do I suffer in this respect while fighting the terrible fight? Oh, God! how few there are who have a just conception of what agony I have endured. People who are afraid of losing their respectability usually have none to lose. The woman who cannot listen to a discussion of the great question of proper generation, ought not to be allowed to become a mother.' Resuming the discussion of the subject of the human body as the temple of God, she said: 'This great truth, for which I am pleading and giving up my life, must be settled before any further advancement can be made. As long as the mothers of America read the statement in the daily papers unblushingly that one thousand criminals had descended from one Margaret, surely I have nothing to fear in the discussion of this question, save the ignorance that makes such a statement possible. Our mothers will not teach their children what they should, above all others, acquire perfect knowledge of. Women are responsible for almost all the misery and evil that accurse the country to-day.' The speaker then described the many and peculiar influences to which the woman subjects the child during the period of gestation. Why close your halls to Mrs. Woodhull, and oppose her errand to strip the veil which hides from the people the engulfing dangers that surround them? 'I have only to wait; the future will redress the wrongs that have been done me. In my soul I have no ill-feeling for anyone who has ever uttered a harsh or vulgar word about me. During the four years you have persecuted me I have taken my children and walked the streets of New York seeking for admittance here, admittance there, with my little girl's arms about my neck. I have suffered as no mother ever suffered

residents of the city. Mrs. Woodhull's appearance was the signal for prolonged applause. The greater part of Mrs. Woodhull's lecture was taken up in showing that crime and misery result from the improper and vicious education of the young. Her utterances were greeted with applause, and at the close of her speech she was brought before the curtain three times."

The Item, November 7th, 1876. Philadelphia (Pa.).

"Alas! for a great woman born before her time! Noble, pure, eloquent, and independent, Victoria C. Woodhull has, with all the ardour and all the sacrificing devotedness of a noble woman's heart, given her life and her grand grasping mind to the espousal of her sex's cause, and, through that cause, the cause of all humanity.

"Ill-understood, prejudice has hurled its avalanches at her, at times nearly crushing her; and ingratitude is her only recompense for her noble and devoted work.

"Her flaming words find receptive ears; her grand principles of goodness, love, and piety command journalistic protection. *The Item* considers it one of the loftiest duties of its mission to announce to the public the true character of this much-defamed, good woman.

"Last evening was the occasion of her Star Lecture to a Philadelphia audience, at the Concert Hall. The house was crowded. The audience was composed chiefly of ladies.

"At a little after eight the curtain rose. In a moment Mrs. Woodhull appeared. A woman, beautiful, majestic, magnetic, with a face brimming over with emotive eloquence, and an eye full of keen intelligence. She came upon the stage Bible in hand, and with a self-possessed action.

"Mrs. Woodhull began by portraying, in words that burned with fire and struck home into every heart, the utter baseness, selfishness, and corruption that permeated society.

"In one sense society had uplifted its head to a peak of

sprinkling of the theatrical profession ; it was generally such a crowd as one sees in the better-class place of amusement. Of elegant carriage, and with a fine intellectual face, she was *en rapport* with the audience at once. Taking up a Bible, she began in a well-modulated voice. She spoke in a strong, earnest manner, commending the purity of life, and deprecating the evils of modern society. She condemned the two great parties of the country for corruption, venality, and profligacy, and foretold a bloody revolution in this continent unless a thorough reconstruction of the present system took place. Storms of applause greeted even the most radical expressions. After speaking for an hour and twenty minutes, Mrs. Woodhull concluded. She was brought three times before the curtain by the long-continued applause. At the conclusion, a number of ladies and gentlemen remained to pay their respects to the lady, and to congratulate her on the evident success of her lecture."

viction on her part, and of chaste and noble inspiration. For the practice of the *roué*, and the false sentiment which excused notorious unchastity on the one side while making purity a first condition on the other, she expressed her utmost abhorrence; she believed the influence of mothers, properly and intelligently exerted, to be equal to the complete physical and moral regeneration of the world; and the fulfilment of the natural conditions within their reach would result in a race of gods, in place of monsters and mental and moral pigmies which make up so large a proportion of mankind. There was nothing in her discourse inconsistent with a pure philosophy, or which might not be heard with advantage by those who, through false shame, continue in ignorance, and are prevented from investigating the truth of nature. At the close she was greeted with prolonged applause."

The Mail, June 22nd, 1877. Toronto (Canada).

"Victoria Claffin Woodhull; a lady whose career has been as singular as any heroine's in a romance; whose ability is of a rare and whose character of the rarest type; whose personal sufferings are of themselves a whole drama of pathos; whose position as a representative of her sex in the greatest reform of modern times, renders her an object of peculiar interest to her fellow-citizens.

"The malice of enemies, together with her bold opinion on social questions, have combined to give her reputation a stain. But no slander ever fell on any human soul with greater injustice. A more unsullied woman does not walk the earth. She carries in her very face the fair legend of a character kept pure by a sacred fire within, whose chief ambition is finally to present herself at the supreme tribunal 'spotless, and without wrinkle, or blemish, or any such thing.'

"The lady from her birth up has been the common property of the American public. She has defied slander and bitter persecution in the cause of humanity. To understand this

the memorable document now known in history as 'The Memorial of Victoria C. Woodhull'—a petition addressed to Congress, claiming under the 14th and 15th amendment the right of women, as of other, citizens of the United States, 'to vote in the States wherein they reside'—asking, moreover, that the State of New York, of which she was a citizen, should be restrained by Federal authority from preventing the exercise of this constitutional right, is enrolled in history as the second declaration of Independence, and the lady herself from whose brain the strange document had sprung, like Minerva from the head of Jove, took the novel demand to Washington, where, after a few days of laughing from the shallow-minded, and of neglect from the indifferent, it suddenly burst upon the Federal Capital like a storm, and then spanned it like a rainbow. She went before the Judiciary Committee, and delivered an argument in support of her claim to the franchise under the new amendments, which some who heard it pronounced as one of the ablest efforts which they have ever heard on any subject. She caught the listening ears of Senator Carpenter, General Butler, Judge Woodward, George W. Julien, General Ashley, Judge Loughridge, and other able statesmen in Congress, and harnessed these gentlemen as steeds to her chariot. Such was the force of her appeal that the whole city rushed together to hear it, like the Athenians to the market-place when Demosthenes stood in his own and not a borrowed clay. A great audience, one of the finest ever gathered in the capital, assembled to hear her defend her thesis in the first public speech of her life.

"Assisted by staunch and able women, whom she swiftly persuaded into accepting this construction of the Constitution, she succeeded, after her petition was denied by a majority of the Judiciary Committee, in a minority report in its favour, signed jointly by General Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, and Judge Loughridge. To have obtained this report from

articles have, of course, been written unwittingly, or the writers have relied upon their imaginations for their facts. I saw a paragraph in a Hartford newspaper the other day, among a half-column of alleged humorous items, setting forth that the public would no doubt be grieved to learn that Miss Clafin's health was precarious. The fact is that during much of her stay in England and since her return to America she has been so ill that her life was despaired of by those near and dear to her. Fun has been poked at her mother because she is old and wrinkled. That is true, she has endured much sorrow. The sufferings of her daughters have been her sufferings. Mrs. Woodhull's aged father, her son, whose mental faculties were impaired from his birth, and whose condition is a helpless one, and one of her sisters remained in England.

"One of the correspondents in writing of the arrival of Mrs. Woodhull and Miss Clafin, says that they were 'outré in costume, with the slap-dash air of the strong-minded.' Nothing could be more unfair and untrue than this description of them. They came neatly and becomingly attired, and were as modest and unpretentious in their demeanour as any lady. They had suffered much in sickness and in sorrow, their health was impaired, and their hearts were heavy. They were not poor in purse, were not adventurers, and did not come here to add to their fortunes. When the abuse that was once so familiar to their ears, and which had nearly driven them to the madhouse or to the grave, was heard again by them they felt that they should demand a hearing, and attempt to silence their defamers. But they reckoned without their health, and their physicians and friends urged them not to undertake just now the great task which they began to plan, and to return across the ocean, and wait until such time as they may recover their health. In a few days they will again be in their English home. They ask no favours, but simply demand that when anything shall be

country at the Mechanics' Hall last night. There was a very large attendance. Mrs. Woodhull appealed in the most impassioned and fearless language to her audience to awaken the responsibilities of life, and especially of maternity. She contended that the child too often gathers from ignorant and vicious companions knowledge which ought to be imparted by a loving, intelligent mother, and urged fathers and mothers to lose not a moment in making themselves 'acquainted with' their children. Mrs. Woodhull's address lasted for about two hours, and she manifestly made a deep impression on her audience, both by the vigour of her language, the courage of her illustrations, the earnestness of her manner, and, above all, the force and freshness of her eloquence. Mrs. Woodhull is unquestionably a great orator; and it is not difficult to understand how she has gained so remarkable a hold upon the people of her own country."

The Nottingham Journal, September 5th, 1877.

"Mrs. Victoria Clafin Woodhull, the American lecturer, made her first appearance in England last night. The hall was filled with a large, intelligent, respectable, and attentive audience. The lecture was given with great animation and oratorical effect, being frequently applauded."

The Liverpool Post, September 28th, 1877.

"Last evening Mrs. Victoria Clafin Woodhull lectured in the Concert Hall, which was filled by an audience of high standing in life, with eloquence. The lady concluded amidst prolonged applause."

The Liverpool Mercury, September 28th, 1877.

"Mrs. Victoria Woodhull, the famous American female orator, appeared last evening before a Liverpool audience, and delivered an address upon 'The Human Body the Temple of God.' There was a large attendance. Stepping on the stage and gracefully acknowledging the plaudits with which she was received, she took for her 'text' some verses from the Epistle to the Corin-

knowing but little of your former life—but little of your gallant struggles in America for the grandest of all causes—the cause which has for its object a great moral revolution. I came away from the Free Trade Hall that night with new and nobler ideas, and I hope new and nobler objects in view.

“To say that your delivery and eloquence were splendid, your powers of intonation and endurance marvellous, and your words convincing, or to say that had you gone on the stage you would have been the greatest actress in the world, would be but to reiterate truths which have been showered on you already; but I will say this, that if every mother were a Mrs. Woodbull, we might pull down nine-tenths of our prisons. Would that I could help you in your glorious work.

“I write to you to let you know that there was one, and, if I mistake not, many more in that room that night who heartily admired and humbly revered you and your grand moral courage. I also write to you to beg the great favour of your autograph, which if I get I shall always prize, and to ask you if you would be so kind as to let me know, in some spare moment, where to obtain your books, journals, &c., and if your Monday’s lecture will be published. I trust it will. I have no right to ask you to do this—but the right of a mighty admiration of your character—if that be a right at all.

“Go on, Madam, in your noble cause, and rest assured, that although it may be in the dim future, perhaps twenty, perhaps fifty, perhaps one hundred years hence, your name will be revered and worshipped all over the Christian world as no other woman’s name has been. Go on, Madam, as you have begun, for although the rain of slander may descend, the floods of obloquy come, and the winds of misconception arise, still your cause, either on this side the Atlantic or in America, will never die, for it is founded upon a rock, and that rock is—Christ. May you conquer here as you have

lame, the halt, the blind, the deformed, the idiot, and we need homes for these, and prisons for those born with sense, but impregnated with the parents' sins. God help and God enlighten those who so desecrate God's Holy Temple.

“Mrs. Woodhull would have none enter upon the holiest of all relations—marriage—save in a devout spirit; the divorces would cease, suffering would pass away, beauty, health, and enjoyment would be everywhere, and sad sights of suffering humanity would no longer meet our view.”

MISCELLANEA.

told him, 'They are the two ladies you have been talking about, and every word that you have just said is a falsehood. My wife, son and myself dined with Mrs. Woodhull last night and spent the evening with her. Now, if you will go with me and repeat the same story to those ladies I will give you \$1000.' But when he was confronted with his lies he fled from the place.

"On Mrs. Woodhull and her sister's first lecture tour through the South Atlanta (Ga.), when they arrived at an hotel they were told that two women had just been there representing themselves to be Victoria C. Woodhull and Tennie C. Clafin, and that they had conducted themselves in such a manner that the landlord had been obliged to put them out.

"There was a case of two Woodhull sisters (I doubt if their real name was Woodhull) for inveigling an old gentleman out of a large amount of money; they escaped to England. At that time Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull was married and settled in London and knew nothing about it until she was asked if it was true that she had run away with this man's money from America. It might also be stated here that Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull and Miss Tennessee Clafin could not have been the 'Woodhull sisters' for their maiden name was 'the Clafin sisters.'

"When she was crossing in the 'Gallia' a judge's wife turned to her and said, 'Do you know that Victoria Woodhull and her sister are on board?' 'Indeed?' 'Yes,' she went on, 'I know them; they are dressed in men's clothes.' The judge's wife said this not knowing that she was talking to Victoria C. Woodhull herself. It was afterwards published in a great many American papers that Mrs. Woodhull and sister arrived per steamer 'Gallia' dressed in men's clothes."

Even in London the impersonators have carried on their schemes.

"A friend of Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull told her that a certain

time past has been so cruelly denied to her, and history will furnish no finer example of nobility and self-sacrifice in woman than the name of Victoria Woodhull.

It may be asked, Why did not Mrs. Woodhull take this mode of vindication at an earlier period, seeing that she had the power of clearing herself at once of all the calumny which had been heaped upon her? The answer is, that she arrived in this country (Aug., 1877) in an almost dying condition, that she has remained in London (England) ever since, and it is only quite recently that she has sufficiently recovered to undertake any exciting work.

The following article appeared January 29th, 1881, and was republished by a great many American papers:—

Our motive for publishing the annexed article is urgent, inasmuch as we have been bitterly reproached by our English friends for not having denounced our vilifiers, and proceeded against them criminally, previous to our coming to England. That we have done so, the following article is sufficient evidence. This article, we think it well to add, was reproduced in many leading daily journals of the United States. Having preferred the restoration of our good name, we were sufficiently satisfied, not caring for money damages, or wishing to display what might be construed as vindictive feeling by having recourse to legal process. We feel it our duty to assert, that when once the editors of the various papers found they were in the wrong, and that our explanations were satisfactory, they afforded such amends as lay in their power.—V. C. W.

Editorial of the CINCINNATI DAILY ENQUIRER.

CINCINNATI (OHIO), July 27, 1876.—We have a startling card this morning from that very remarkable woman, Victoria

HOW SCANDALS ARE SPREAD.

MRS. CLARA B. WARNER. Stated by herself to have belonged in a good position in Elizabeth, New Jersey—but now poor and ashamed to live in her own country from her husband having been a ruined man through Mrs. J. B. Martin and her sister Lady Cook at the time they lived in 23rd Street, New York—where he went first from curiosity to see them, then to his ruin and her sorrow. He became in every sense a ruined man and she could not bear her children to know their father's disgrace. She cried, and showed an extract from an American paper, not very severe to the best of my memory, but which she kept against them, and said she had mislaid another, a longer and a stronger article. She Mrs. Warner was a ruined woman, and a disgraced wife—through Victoria C. Woodhull and Tennie C. Clafin.

This statement was made at 27, Norfolk Street, Strand, in the spring of 1889, before Mrs. —, and I think Mrs. — was present.

The above is but a small part of the net woven to hurt innocent women by false and garbled statement got up from wicked minds to use false statements and to weave them into tales to hurt two who have never raised a finger to injure those who reviled them the bitterest. Thank God the clouds are clearing and the day has come when all their enemies will be crushed, for I have known them twenty years and never saw two *such* noble self-sacrificing women; and my experience in the world, with professional, literary, and press people, has shown me how vile can be the harm done by want of thought as well as by intention in *one* weak moment. I even hurt them, but God forgive me. I was tempted by a cruel, designing, wicked man who showed the soft paw to deal a deadly blow and to make me the instrument. I mean Mr. — who sent for me to do his dirty *dictated* work. I little knew what

seen Tennie Claffin sitting on the carpet, "in a kind of seance." He had spent his money and her's (Mrs. Warner's) on the two sisters.

Mrs. Woodhull had attacked Henry Ward Beecher, whom Mrs. Warner believed to be innocent. Beecher had not seduced Mrs. Tilton, but Mrs. Woodhull had ruined Tilton, and in fact half the men in New York City and Brooklyn.

It was in 1876-1879 that this intimacy of Mr. Warner's arose, it might have begun in 1874.

Believed that Mrs. Woodhull was now married and in London; could not remember her husband's name, but pitied him and his family. Could not understand how he could have been induced to marry Mrs. Woodhull, supposed it was her great power to infatuate.

Thought that such a woman as Mrs. Woodhull was hardly fit to live. Victoria asked her what she should think of a woman who made such charges without just cause against another woman? Mrs. Warner thought that hanging would be too good for her.

Victoria then said, "I am Victoria Woodhull Martin. Every word you have uttered is a lie; I have never known Mr. Warner even by name, and he has never been in my house. You have traded in London on this infamous story to elicit sympathy and to get money. It is through just such wretches as you that my name has been blackened in London and America." I then read to her Miss Schönberg's statement. The rest of the interview was a series of prevarications on the part of Mrs. Warner, she attempting to deny or alter all her previous statements.

She now said that she had not called on Victoria Woodhull in New York, or proved the truth of Mr. Warner's statements, because she did not know her address; that the "closeting" was with Miss Claffin; that in all that she had said she was only repeating what her husband had told her; &c. I asked her if her husband had told her that he was spending his

the fittest strongest tool to strike a death blow. Such lies and inventions were not confined to London but spread like wild-fire all over the United States, and then when both these women were quietly settled in their English homes, the scorpions of jealousy and envy could not exist save by demon plots.

I would do all to undo the wicked lies designed by vile men to use me as their fittest tool to strike a death blow. Would I could undo my actions, if deep sorrow and heartfelt regret can plead I claim pardon on that score at their hands. My blows were hard and to the point—and meant to kill, but thank God they failed in the deep wicked designs of the men who hatched that plot, and had been at it for years striking in the dark at every opportunity that presented itself. No chance was lost to strike Victoria C. Woodhull and Tennie C. Claffin at every occasion where their names were mentioned, whether in drawing rooms, dining rooms, clubs, or balls, or hotels, or even business places—always lies hatched against them by wicked tongues.

M. M. SCHÖNBERG.

January 22nd, 1890.

WHAT WAS HER CRIME?

NEVER since the lowly Nazarene wrestled with his fate in that lone agony of the garden has mortal been so recklessly misjudged in doctrine or in deed, and so utterly deserted as is Victoria C. Woodhull; but never did grander instrument than she respond to the sweet touch of angel hands. At last, however, driven by wilful and persistent misrepresentation and brutal persecution, her outraged woman's heart bursts forth with its overburdened agony for its miseries, and not less for those of an unthinking world. She came to it with the love of a mother, the pity of an angel in her heart for its condition, her prescient soul filled with

to which she has been subject ; the prices of the keys of gold with which she has had to open the doors of halls in each of the large cities, spending in many instances, no matter how much they were, double her receipts ; obliged to keep up a large expense so that her invalid boy might have a home in her absence ; compelled to take her daughter on her trips because no one could have her at any price save under an assumed name (her sisters' families even could not receive her, for her presence, as well as that of her mother, caused their ejection from their homes, and destroyed their means of living)—none of these things are considered in such conclusion. No tongue can tell the extremities to which this hunted woman has been driven by ignorance and prejudice ; nor the costs to them who have dared to countenance or shelter her. Daily and nightly on bended knees, with streaming eyes and breaking heart, she asks, how long, oh Lord, how long shall this continue ? The only wonder is that she has been able to stand at all. Besides, she has been compelled to flood the country in advance on her routes, with the favourable notices of the press (which she never fails to win), to break down the prejudice and prepare the way to be heard. Thousands of dollars have been used in this way, and if they had not been, she could never have kept herself before the country, nor carried on the work. In all this, no pen can picture the distress to which she has been reduced. The stones in the streets over which she has travelled in her agony, would have cried out against her persecutors could they have spoken of what was passing over them.

Now, WHAT WAS HER CRIME ?—What the offence for which all these maledictions have been showered upon her ? Intelligent parentage has been the central fact of all her discussion, accompanied only with the demand for such conditions for woman as will permit her, as God's own architect, to become a perfect artist in the masterwork of creating His images ; that woman shall require the same chastity of man that he requires of her ;

crushed by the persecutions that have, at last, made her homeless, penniless, with none of the necessaries, to say nothing of the comforts of life; ground almost to death beneath the iron heel under which she has been trampled so relentlessly; bowed in sorrow to see the world ignoring the balm she has to offer it, and by permitting her to be crushed, crushing the great truth which she was sent to discover to it, but still as earnest, eager, devoted to that truth, as if the world had strewn her path with roses rather than with thorns. The great mystery of which she speaks has been made known to her, and under the right conditions she can demonstrate it to the world. Under these circumstances I make this appeal to the public for the assistance that she needs to enable her to gestate this truth till its full time is come. She cannot give up without this one more effort to bear to the world the greatest, grandest, most stupendous fact of all the ages—the fact which is to be the culmination of creation—its last struggle to attain perfection for the race; the fulfilment of the prophecy of St. Paul, who said: "The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death." The Bible declares this fact o'er and o'er again; the Christian world believes it. "The time of the end," as declared by Daniel and re-affirmed by St. John, which is the salvation spoken of by Christ when He said "*He that believeth on Me shall never die,*" is near. General indications show it, and special revelations prove it.

It is right, nay, it is a duty, to frankly state her situation and seek the necessary aid to carry on this work, especially since she is unable to secure it, as she had hoped to herself, by lecturing. Her sensitive organization, strung up to the intensest pitch by the tremendous import of her work, cannot encounter the influences of public audiences. Their conditions appeal so to her sympathies that she cannot restrain them, and they push her on irresistibly to exertions beyond her strength, and she retires from the rostrum with every nerve unstrung to fall into the arms of friends who struggle for hours to keep the breath