

better than money. "Give me liberty, or give me death!" says Patrick Henry. He receives it. Does he give it to his slave? No. To his wife? Still less. What does he have of it then? Only one-half,—the selfish half of possession, not the joyous and generous side of sympathy and participation.

These Jerseyites, it seems, were wiser than any in their day and generation. They saw the anomaly, the contradiction, between a free manhood and an enslaved womanhood. They saw it taking effect at the sacred hearth, beside the tender cradle. And they saw their way out of it. What they received and valued as the greatest of God's gifts, they gave to their women, rational, human creatures like themselves, bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh, only made to exemplify that peaceable and loving side of human nature whose beauty has been always felt, and whose triumph is written among the eternal prophecies which time only fulfills. Honor then, to-day, to those truly brave and generous men, who, with their own hands unbound, were not afraid to unbind the hands of their wives and mothers! Honor, too, to the women who were intelligent enough to appreciate the gift, and wise and brave enough to use it. No scandal accompanied its exercise. There was no talk in that time of the women desiring their household fires, their tender children, to fulfill their duty to the State. In that State, in those women, culminated the success and significance of the American Revolution. Remember the other states did not think so, neither did the men or the women who planned the International Exhibition of to-day think so. But it was so, none the less. And we to-day must light our torches at that very topmost flame of freedom, or they will smoke, instead of burning.

One word more, and only one. The women lost their precious right, not through any wrong committed by them. But party spirit ran high, and foreign elements changed the character of the State, first settled by Puritans and Quakers. The women stood their ground, and voted for John Adams, whose great grandson jeers to-day at their successors in the struggles against injustice. And as the State was still a military organization, and the masculine wills and muscles could carry the day, they did so, and the women were disfranchised. What a state might we have had in New Jersey if it had been otherwise! What a shining model to the other states! But the light went out, and New Jersey, with all the other states, has to-day to foot up its adjourned bill, with the interest account.

But one thing more is true. The women of that day cannot have known the value of what they held for so short a time. But in the years which have followed, years of only partial success, honesty and glory, in so far as concerns the country, men and women both have had time and space to learn its value. And when the women next hold the suffrage in their hand, they will not hold it as a curious toy, as an uncasted jewel, worn on a few holidays, and easily lost. They will grasp it as a weapon of defence for the hearth and the household, as a tool of workmanship for building the credit of their home and of their country. Where sin and shame are rich and fashionable, they will meet them with this sacred weapon of will, and cast out their flaunting robes and banners. When the good gifts which are given to enrich the world, are turned against it to degrade and bribe, they will unmask the meanness and overthrow the sophistry. If rude hands should seek again to wrest the sacred privilege from them, they will cry "liberty or death" in such good earnest that men shall know they mean it, and repeat, that death to the woman is simply death to the race.

GOOD USE OF THE FOURTH OF JULY.

Miss Anthony's society held a public meeting in the church of Dr. Furness on the fourth inst., and read a Woman's Declaration of Rights and Articles of Impeachment against the Government of the United States, as follows:

While the Nation is buoyant with patriotism, and all hearts are attuned to praise, it is with sorrow we come to strike the one discordant note, on this hundredth anniversary of our country's birth. When subjects of Kings, Emperors, and Czars, from the Old World, join in our National Jubilee, shall the women of the Republic refuse to lay their hands with benedictions on the nation's head? Surveying America's Exposition, surpassing in magnificence those of London, Paris, and Vienna, shall we not rejoice at the success of the youngest rival among the nations of the earth? May not our hearts, in unison with all, swell with pride at our great achievements as a people; our free speech, free press, free schools, free church, and the rapid progress we have made in material wealth, trade, commerce, and the inventive arts? And we do rejoice, in the success thus far, of our experiment of self-government. Our faith is firm and unwavering in the broad principles of human rights, proclaimed in 1776, not only as abstract truths, but as the corner stones of a republic. Yet, we cannot forget, even in this glad hour, that while all men of every race, and clime, and condition, have been invested with the full rights of citizenship, under our hospitable flag, all women still suffer the degradation of disfranchisement.

The history of our country the past hundred years, has been a series of assumptions and usurpations of power over Woman, in direct opposition to the principles of just government, acknowledged by the United States at its foundation which are:

- First. The natural rights of each individual.
 - Second. The exact equality of these rights.
 - Third. That these rights, when not delegated by the individual, are retained by the individual.
 - Fourth. That no person can exercise the rights of others without delegated authority.
 - Fifth. That the non-use of these rights does not destroy them.
- And for the violation of these fundamen-

tal principles of our Government, we arraign our rulers on this 4th day of July, 1876,—and these are our Articles of Impeachment.

Bills of Attainder have been passed by the introduction of the word "male" into all the State constitutions denying to Woman the right of Suffrage, and thereby making sex a crime—an exercise of power clearly forbidden, in Article 1st, Sections 9th and 10th of the United States Constitution.

The Writ of Habeas Corpus, the only protection against *lettres de cachet*, and all forms of unjust imprisonment, which the Constitution declares "shall not be suspended, except when in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety demands it," is held inoperative in every State in the Union, in case of a married woman against her husband,—the marital rights of the husband being in all cases primary, and the rights of the wife secondary.

The right of trial by a jury of one's peers was so jealously guarded that states refused to ratify the original Constitution, until it was guaranteed by the 6th Amendment. And yet the women of this nation have never been allowed a jury of their peers—being tried in all cases by men, native and foreign, educated and ignorant, virtuous and vicious. Young girls have been arraigned in our courts for the crime of infanticide; tried, convicted, hung—victims, perchance, of judge, jurors, advocates—while no woman's voice could be heard in their defence. And not only are women denied a jury of their peers, but in some cases, jury trial altogether. During the war, a woman was tried and hung by military law, in defiance of the 5th Amendment which specifically declares: "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 . . . of persons in actual service in time of war." During the last Presidential campaign, a woman, arrested for voting, was denied the protection of a jury, tried, convicted and sentenced to a fine and costs of prosecution, by the absolute power of a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Taxation without representation, the immediate cause of the rebellion of the Colonies against Great Britain, is one of the grievous wrongs the women of this country have suffered during the century. Deploring war, with all the demoralization that follows in its train, we have been taxed to support standing armies, with their waste of life and wealth. Believing in temperance, we have been taxed to support the vice, crime, and pauperism of the liquor traffic. While we suffer its wrongs and abuses infinitely more than man, we have no power to protect our sons against this giant evil. During the temperance crusade, mothers were arrested, fined, imprisoned, for even praying and singing in the streets, while men blockade the sidewalks with impunity, even on Sunday, with their military parades and political processions. Believing in honesty, we are taxed to support a dangerous army of civilians, buying and selling the offices of government and sacrificing the best interests of the people. And, moreover, we are taxed to support the very legislators, and judges, who make laws, and render decisions adverse to Woman. And for refusing to pay such unjust taxation, the houses, lands, bonds, and stock of women, have been seized and sold within the present year, thus proving Lord Coke's assertion, "that the very act of taxing a man's property without his consent, is, in effect, disfranchising him of every civil right."

Unequal codes for men and women,—held by law a perpetual minor, deemed incapable of self-protection, even in the industries of the world, Woman is denied equality of rights. The fact of sex, not the quantity or quality of work, in most cases, decides the pay and position; and because of this injustice thousands of fatherless girls are compelled to choose between a life of shame and starvation.

Laws catering to man's vices have created two codes of morals in which penalties are graded according to the political status of the offender. Under such laws, women are fined and imprisoned if found alone in the streets, or in public places of resort, at certain hours. Under the pretence of regulating public morals, police officers seizing the occupants of disreputable houses, march the women in platoons to prison, while the men, partners in their guilt, go free.

While making a show of virtue in forbidding the importation of Chinese women on the Pacific coast for immoral purposes, our rulers, in many states, and even under the shadow of the National Capitol, are now proposing to legalize the sale of American womanhood for the same vile purposes.

Special legislation for Woman has placed us in a most anomalous position. Women invested with the rights of citizens in one section,—voters, jurors, office-holders,—crossing an imaginary line, are subjects in the next. In some states a married woman may hold property, and transact business in her own name; in others, her earnings belong to her husband. In some states a woman may testify against her husband, sue and be sued in the courts; in others, she has no redress in case of damage to person, property, or character. In case of divorce on account of adultery in the husband, the innocent wife is held to possess no right to children, or property, unless by special decree of the court. But in no State of the Union has the wife the right to her own person, or to any part of the joint earnings of the co-partnership, during the life of her husband. In some states women may enter the law schools and practice in the courts; in others, they are forbidden. In some universities, girls enjoy equal educational advantages with boys, while many of the proudest institutions in the land deny them admittance, though the sons of China, Japan, and Africa are welcomed there.

But the privileges already granted in the several states are by no means secure. The right of suffrage once exercised by women in certain states and territories has been denied by subsequent legislation. A bill is now pending in Congress to disfranchise the women of Utah, thus interfering to deprive United States citizens of the same

rights, which the Supreme Court has declared the National Government powerless to protect anywhere. Laws passed after years of untiring effort, guaranteeing married women certain rights of property, and mothers the custody of their children, have been repealed in states where we supposed all was safe. Thus have our most sacred rights been made the football of legislative caprice, proving that a power which grants as a privilege what by nature is a right, may withhold the same as a penalty, when deeming it necessary for its own perpetuation.

Representation for Woman has had no place in the nation's thought. Since the incorporation of the thirteen original states, twenty-four have been admitted to the Union, not one of which has recognized Woman's right of self-government. On this birthday of our national liberties, July, 4th, 1876, Colorado, like all her elder sisters, comes into the Union, with the invidious word "male" in her Constitution.

Universal manhood suffrage, by establishing an aristocracy of sex, imposes upon the women of the nation a more absolute and cruel despotism than monarchy; in that Woman finds a political master in her father, husband, brother, son. The aristocracies of the Old World are based upon birth, wealth, refinement, education, nobility, brave deeds of chivalry; in this nation on sex alone, exalting brute force above moral power, vice above virtue, ignorance above education, the son above the mother who bore him.

The judiciary of the nation has proved itself but the echo of the party in power, by upholding and enforcing laws that are opposed to the spirit and letter of the Constitution. When the slave power was dominant, the Supreme Court decided that a black man was not a citizen, because he had not the right to vote; and, when the Constitution was so amended as to make all persons citizens, the same high tribunal decided that a woman, though a citizen, had not the right to vote. Such vacillating interpretations of constitutional law unsettle our faith in judicial authority, and undermine the liberties of the people.

These articles of impeachment against our rulers we now submit to the impartial judgment of the whole people.

To all these wrongs and oppressions Woman has not submitted in silence and resignation. From the beginning of the century, when Abigail Adams, the wife of one President and the mother of another, said, "We will not hold ourselves bound to obey laws in which we have no voice or representation," until now, Woman's discontent has been steadily increasing, culminating nearly thirty years ago in a simultaneous movement among the women of the nation, demanding the right of suffrage. In making our just demands, a higher motive than the pride of sex inspires us: we feel that national safety and stability depend on the complete recognition of the broad principles of our government. Woman's degraded, helpless position is the weak point in our institutions to-day; a disturbing force everywhere, severing family ties, filling our asylums with the deaf, the dumb, the blind, our prisons with criminals, our cities with drunkenness and prostitution, our homes with disease and death.

It was the boast of the founders of the republic, that the rights for which they contended, were the rights of human nature. If these rights are ignored in the case of one-half the people, the nation is surely preparing for its own downfall. Governments try themselves. The recognition of a governing and a governed class is incompatible with the first principles of freedom. Woman has not been a heedless spectator of the events of this century, nor a dull listener to the grand arguments for the equal rights of humanity. From the earliest history of our country, Woman has shown equal devotion with man to the cause of freedom, and has stood firmly by his side in its defence. Together, they have made this country what it is. Woman's wealth, thought and labor have cemented the stones of every monument man has reared to liberty.

And now, at the close of a hundred years, as the hour hand of the great clock that marks the centuries points to 1876, we declare our faith in the principles of self-government; our full equality with man in natural rights; that Woman was made first for her own happiness, with the absolute right to herself—to all the opportunities and advantages life affords, for her complete development; and we deny that dogma of the centuries, incorporated in the codes of all nations—that Woman was made for man—her best interests, in all cases, to be sacrificed to his will.

We ask of our rulers, at this hour, no special favors, no special privileges, no special legislation. We ask justice, we ask equality, we ask that all the civil and political rights that belong to citizens of the United States, be guaranteed to us and our daughters forever.

The name of Lucretia Mott headed the list of signers to this worthy Declaration. Addresses were made by Mrs. Stanton, Miss Anthony and others.

By some means, Miss Anthony and Mrs. Joslyn Gage, obtained access to the platform where the great National celebration of the Fourth was being made and presented to Vice-President Terry, the above Declaration and Articles of Impeachment. He received it in silence and the ladies withdrew. So quietly was the whole thing done, that very few even of those on the platform saw or heard anything about it, and the reports of the proceedings the next day made no mention of it. But the fact received wide and favorable notice by the press. The "Bills of Impeachment," and the "Declaration of Rights," are able set forth, and can not fail to hasten the end of the bondage of women. L. S.

We rejoice to learn from the meeting held this week that there is hope the Old South will be preserved. Let each and all help forward the good work.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The Bible is still read in 14,500 of the 17,000 public schools of Pennsylvania.

Some ladies on Fifth avenue have tamed the sparrows to such a degree that during the hot weather the birds fly into the hallways and drink and wash in the aquariums.

The Princess Donna Isabella, who is running the Brazilian government during Don Pedro's absence, has created Christian Thomsen, a Brazilian merchant long resident in New York City, a baron.

Sheriff Clark has very properly suppressed Piper's full confession. If there is anybody in this community who wants to read that record of sickening horrors he must be almost as depraved as Piper himself was.

Prof. Huxley, the eminent scientist, has accepted an invitation to be present at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, which convenes at Buffalo, New York, August 23. He is now in London, and will take an early steamer for America.

The universal peace union met at Philadelphia, last Tuesday, and, during the day, sent a telegram to President Grant, expressing the "hope that the spirit of justice, humanity and fairness, and not revenge shall be manifested in the treatment of the Indians of the Black Hills."

Excursions to the country for poor children who would otherwise never get a breath of fresh air or a sight of green fields, are among the most useful and pleasant of all our charities. Thirteen hundred children are taken out at a time, and two excursions have already been made.

"The growing evil of extravagance and display at funerals" is the theme of a public card signed by nine Jewish ministers of New York. They advise that expensive furnishings and flowers be given up, and that their people return "to the simplicity by which Jewish funerals were formerly characterized."

Julian Hawthorne, in a letter to the *Tribune*, places both Mr. G. P. Lothrop and Messrs. Osgood & Co., in a rather painful position. He shows that Mr. Lothrop's "Study of Hawthorne" is, in all but title, and biography; when it was the particular request of the great novelist that no biography of him should be written; and this, if binding on nobody else, should have been binding on his son-in-law and on his publisher. He also shows that the materials for his biography were obtained by the dishonorable use of family papers, temporarily in Mr. Lothrop's custody, but not his property.

So far this season there is a marked improvement in the ladies' dresses in comparison with all former summers. Instead of uniformity in dressing for dinner, silks and fine fabric predominating, and differing only in cost of material and make, as has been the case heretofore, it is now noticeable that a large number of really elegant and well-dressed ladies are apparelled in linen and cotton plain suitings, or printed linen or cotton goods of economical cost, but very appropriate appearance. Whole families of known wealth and social position set this laudable example, and I deem it of much importance as one of the signs of the times, as an indicator on the dial-plate of progress in the right direction.—*Long Branch Letter.*

Ex-Professor Salisbury, formerly of Yale College, has written a letter to Wendell Phillips, in which he offers a subscription of \$100 for the rescue of the church. Mr. Salisbury pointedly recalls the fact that his third great-grandfather, Chief-Justice Sewall, of Massachusetts, in a building that stood on the site of the present historic edifice, made a confession of error for having condemned persons accused of witchcraft. Mr. Phillips, in a letter of acknowledgment, says: "It looks now as if we should succeed in saving the old cradle. If some of our leading men would have taken hold it might have been done a year ago, and with no trouble. But they are cold; the people are all aflame, and only need one or two of our foremost men to carry the thing by storm."

It really looks as if the recent defeat of the Woman Suffrage bill might turn out a Woman's success, after all. Mr. John Bright having made a great point against the bill by indignantly denying that men were unwilling to do justice to women, or to relieve them of burdens, has had his attention called by Lord Coleridge and others to the present condition of the law by which a husband may, by his will, deprive his widow of the guardianship of her own children, without giving any reason, and transfer them to a stranger, to the exclusion of women from medical education, etc. The result is that the venerable statesman is resolved to try to make his denial good, and has already set his name to a bill by which all restrictions against the attainment of medical degrees by women shall be removed.—*M. D. Conway.*

Justice Bixby, of New York City, recently had a very singular case before him. In conversation with a *Herald* reporter he said "The law however honest in its intention and beneficent in its bearings, still fails to

grasp and cover peculiar phases of social life. A few days ago a woman named Theresa Dennis was brought before me. She had two children with her. They were absolutely destitute and starving. I committed them to the care of the Commissioners of Charities and Correction. I find that these children in accordance with the statutes as they now exist, are returned to my hands because they are over the age of three years and under the age of fourteen years. The law as now constituted, affords no shelter for such children, and they almost invariably embrace a career of degradation and crime."

The religious connections of the candidates for President and Vice-Presidents, are thus sketched by one of our exchanges: "Governor Hayes was raised a Presbyterian by his maternal uncle, and, though not a member, is now a regular attendant upon the services of the Methodist Episcopal Church. His wife is a communicant of that church. Gov. Tilden is a Presbyterian in sentiment, and, as we were lately informed, is a member of the Madison Square Church, New York City. He is a bachelor. Mr. Wheeler is a member of the Congregational Church, in Malone, N. Y., the place of his birth and residence, and his wife was also a member. Her recent death has been announced. Gov. Hendricks was raised a Presbyterian, is the son of a Presbyterian elder, and in early life was taught the catechism, sometimes reciting it to the senior editor of this paper. His wife being an Episcopalian, he is now a worshipper in that church."

Miss Lizzie M. Clapp, the operator in the telegraph office at Readville, last Tuesday afternoon, sat in company with a sister, a cousin and the station agent, Mr. E. P. Davis. The battery was disconnected when the storm came up, but Miss Clapp sat very near the wire without thinking of danger. Suddenly the occupants of the station were startled by a blinding flash, accompanied by an explosion in the room which is described as surpassing that of a cannon. Mr. Davis and two of the ladies sprang to their feet, but were horrified to find the body of Miss Clapp apparently lifeless. An investigation showed that the lightning had followed the wire to the point of disconnection, and, leaving it, had chipped a piece from the wooden bench upon which the machine rested, entering Miss Clapp's neck just back of the left ear. The body was somewhat discolored, a small black spot being left at the point where the lightning entered the neck. A gold chain about Miss Clapp's neck was broken to pieces. Miss Clapp was eighteen years of age, daughter of Mr. A. C. Clapp, a former music teacher in Hyde Park.

Mrs. Mary Norton who gave the site of the Old South, has caused no end of trouble to those who have endeavored to trace her history, from the fact that according to custom she surrendered her maiden name on her marriage. But at last her name and place have been found by the venerable Joseph Ballard, of this city, who has recently presented to the New England Historic Genealogical Society a manuscript prepared for him by Colonel Joseph L. Chester, of London, England, whose annotated transcript of the registers of Westminster Abbey, just published, has received high praise from the London journals. The manuscript is entitled "Result of Investigations concerning the Ancestry of Mary Ferneley, afterwards the wife of the Rev. John Norton, who emigrated to New England in 1635." The paper shows extensive research, and, besides tracing her ancestry for several generations, it gives a mass of genealogical information concerning her collateral relatives. She was the third daughter and fourth child of John Ferneley, of West Creting, in the County of Suffolk, England, by his wife Temperance, daughter of Sir Miles Corbet, and was born the 2d and baptized at West Creting the 21st of October, 1602. The place and date of her marriage are unknown. Previous to Colonel Chester's researches, genealogists had been baffled in all their attempts to ascertain the maiden surname of Mrs. Norton.

BUSINESS NOTICES.

Tonic.

Every one, at times, feels the necessity of some restorative of the vital powers, depressed by mental or bodily exhaustion. In such conditions, let every one, instead of flying to the alcoholic or medicinal stimulants, which must be followed by depression equal to their excitement, reinvigorate his degraded system by the natural tonic elements of the PERUVIAN SYRUP. Sold by all druggists. 4w23

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Probate Confession and the Unjust Laws which Govern Women, by Mrs. J. W. Stow. A book of two hundred and fifty pages (12 mo) printed on tinted paper, and handsomely bound in cloth with a lithographic frontispiece of the author. Price two dollars. Sold by subscription only. Send post-office draft to Mrs. Stow, 1018 Stockton Street, San Francisco.