

THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

DEVOTED TO THE ENLARGEMENT AND PERFECTION OF HOME.

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NATURAL LAWS.

In discussing the late railroad riots, some of the newspaper and magazine philosophers have used the term "natural laws" in a way which seems to us quite unjustifiable. As used by these writers, "natural laws" are by no means identical with the "laws of nature," on which scientific men rest so confidently. They speak of the "natural laws" of trade, of labor, etc., as though the methods of commerce and the social relations of mankind were as fixed and unalterable as the laws of heat, light or gravitation. They confuse the laws of nature with the present development of human nature. For example, a N. Y. *Tribune* editorial writer says: "It may be that the laborer is endowed with the abstract right to high wages, frequent vacations, and ample daily leisure, but the laws of the universe are not addicted to suspending their operations, and people who fail to take them into account as constant and controlling forces, are liable to come to grief. These new labor movements will only repeat the history of the eight-hour movement, because the designing leaders of them are inciting the workingman to a hopeless revolt against *natural laws*." And a writer in the *International Review*, in an article on the Pennsylvania railroad riots, says: "This has been the work of the Communistic association with respect to railway transportation. Like all conspiracies to defeat *natural laws*, these associations prove mutually destructive and self-destructive."

This term "natural laws" has such an authoritative sound that Socialists ought not to allow it to be clapped over them as an extinguisher, until they have made sure that it fits their case; for, as it is used in the above quotations, it might as readily be applied to those who undertake Coöperation or Communism as to the riotous railroaders. If that usage is allowed, any one who undertakes to improve society by devising new and better ways of managing property, or by trying to reconstruct any social customs and relations which are now evidently defective, would be at once warned that he was tampering with "natural laws," and that he must inevitably "come to grief."

Society is not a fixed and unchangeable thing. It is something which has grown up with the progress of mankind in civilization and culture. It is constantly undergoing modifications. The customs, opinions and laws which rule society change, year by year. And they are not alike in different countries at the present time. Some nations take much better care than others of their poor and feeble citizens. In some societies

there are no poor people, none who suffer want. In the American Communities there is no distinction of classes into rich and poor. One class does not labor excessively to support another class in idleness. This shows that as soon as men and women are willing to put away selfishness and help each other, there are no natural laws to prevent their doing so. There is no natural law enforcing the present unequal distribution of the earth's products. All might share equally and each have an abundance, if every body would agree to such a plan. Because a system of competition based on private ownership of property has elevated one class to great wealth and sunk another class into abject want, it does not follow that there is a natural law compelling this state of things. Those railroad men did not rebel against any natural law when they resisted a reduction of their wages. They rebelled against a movement which was oppressive to them. Of course they chose a foolish and unjustifiable method of resistance, but their employers had no natural law to sustain them. If the owners of the Pennsylvania Railroad had said to their discontented men: "We will take you all into partnership and divide the earnings of the road equally amongst us all from this time forth," they would have trampled on no natural law of trade. They might do that any day, as well as not, if they were all willing.

Selfishness is what causes all this difficulty in society and trade. Those who are strong, cunning, educated, and well-endowed for the competitive struggle use their powers to benefit themselves at the expense of the weak, the ignorant, and those who are less capable of winning. It may, therefore, be proper to ask whether selfishness is a "natural law?" We do not believe it is. The experience of the Communities show that private ownerships may be abandoned in favor of common ownerships and brotherly relations established all round, without doing any violence to human nature. So we counsel people to rebel against the idea that selfishness is a natural law. Rebel against every thing claiming to be a natural law which asserts that the strong must not take care of the weak; that a large class of mankind must always remain poor and diseased and needy; that Communism, with all its guaranties, can not be established as fast as men become honest and willing to work and live together like brethren. We pledge ourselves to help every such rebellion, and we have no fear that we shall encounter any opposing "natural laws."

F. W. S.

AMERICAN COMMUNITIES.*

POINTS OF RESEMBLANCE AND OF CONTRAST.

V.

It is a noteworthy fact that, though the Quakers have not themselves adopted any form of Communism, they have been somewhat intimately connected with several religious bodies which have adopted Communism. Ann Lee, the founder of Shakerism, received her commission while a member of the Quaker Society of Jane and James Wardley; and Elder Evans said six years ago, in his lecture at St. George's Hall, London: "I could say to you that we are Shaking Quakers—that we include all the elements and principles of the Quaker order. Those which the Quakers hold in common with Presbyterians and Swedenborgians—the marrying and giving in marriage—we drop; but that which constitutes them Quakers—the peace principles, the no poverty principle, the plainness of dress and of language and the inflexible adherence to principle, the spiritual, religious life that they are called to live—these are all included in the Shaker order." The Separatists of Zoar were aided by the English Quakers before their emigration to this country, and by the American Quakers afterward. The English Quakers affiliated with the Inspirationists of Germany, who have since formed the Communities of Ebenezer in New York and Amana in Iowa.

NON-MILITANT.

The religious Communities are generally, like the

*The writer of this series would be glad to receive corrections of any of its statements.

Quakers, non-militant. The Inspirationists hired substitutes in our civil war, but regret having done even that. The Shakers, it is well known, condemn all war. So do the Zoarites. The Perfectionists are also opposed to fighting, and took no part in the "late unpleasantness" other than by voluntary offerings for the benefit of the sick and wounded, and contributing their proportion toward hiring substitutes for filling the town quota. The Aurora-Bethel Communists are also non-militant.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT.

Part of the Communities vote in the outside elections, and part do not. Internally some manage their affairs in the democratic way of voting; others leave every thing to the leaders, who are appointed rather than elected; and still others combine the two methods. The Icarian Community is as purely democratic as any society can be that excludes women from voting. The Separatists are also democratic, with this proper limitation that only the second class, or those who have fully consecrated their property to the Society, can take part in the elections or hold office; and all the principal officers including the leaders are elected. The business affairs of the Amana Community are managed by thirteen trustees who are elected annually; the spiritual head holds for life. The government of Aurora-Bethel is autocratic: Dr. Keil, the founder and President, selects his assistants, who under his advice conduct all the temporal affairs. The founder of the Harmony Society governed it, appointing subordinate officers and holding, after the death of Frederick Rapp, his adopted son, the title to all its property. Upon the death of the founder the Society chose seven elders and two trustees to manage all its affairs. These trustees are the recognized heads of the Community, and hold their office for life. The Shaker leaders manage all the concerns of the Society, and hold their positions subject only to their superiors in the order. The Central Ministry at Lebanon is the supreme governing and appointing power of Shakerdom. At Oneida and Wallingford, official appointments are sometimes made by the President subject to the approval of the members, and at other times by the members themselves at their general business meetings. The Respirationists have a patriarchal form of government; Mr. Harris, their founder, being the central, controlling power; but the greatest care is taken to insure harmony in all their affairs.

STATUS OF WOMAN.

At Icaria women can attend business meetings and take part in discussions, but can not vote. At Aurora-Bethel and at Economy they have but little to do with general business matters. At Amana only single women and those unrepresented by men can vote in the annual election of trustees. At Zoar the women vote at elections and might hold office if elected. Among the Shakers and Perfectionists women may hold any position of responsibility for which they are fitted by nature or education. A woman was the founder of Shakerism, and since her death a woman has stood at the head of the order. All its leading offices are filled by men and women. There are in each society, when its offices are filled, two deacons and two deaconesses, two elders and two eldersses, two males and two females in the ministry, and two males and two females in the central bishopric. There is, in short, a complete duplicate organization. Among the Perfectionists each Community has its "Father" and "Mother," and the women have a definite organization for household affairs, and are at liberty to take part in the consideration of all matters brought before the Business Board or general meeting; and also serve as accountants and superintendents of important branches of the general business of the Community.

LONGEVITY.

The Communists are long-lived. The Shakers, being the oldest and largest Community, show the best results in this respect. They have scores of people over eighty, and occasionally one reaching the hundredth year; and still the impression commonly prevails that

the celibate state is not as healthy as marriage. The Harmonists also live to a great age. The Separatists and Perfectionists have lived to be more than four-score and ten; and at Aurora-Bethel and Icaria one also meets with members who have attained great longevity.

MEETINGS.

Some of the Communities make great account of frequently assembling together. The Perfectionists have their daily evening meeting, which has been uninterrupted for many years. The Shakers have besides their Sabbath-day meeting several evening meetings during the week; but the Inspirationists take the lead in this respect, having, besides meetings every evening, meetings also on Wednesday, Saturday and Sunday mornings. The Harmonists have two services on Sunday and also Sunday-school exercises. Some of the Communities make less account of the frequent assembling of the members together.

DEGREES OF COMMUNISM.

These eight Communities contrast very much in respect to the advantages which they severally take of the Community principle. Only four—the Icarians, Harmonists, Shakers and Perfectionists—have a common laundry. Only three—the Icarians, Shakers and Perfectionists—have a unitary kitchen. Only the same three have a common dining-room. Only four—the last three named and Zoar—have a common dairy establishment. Only the Shakers and Perfectionists live in a few large houses instead of many small ones. Only the Perfectionists have entire Communism in all things.

(Concluded).

THE WAY THE ENGLISH BEGAN.

AN OLD OWENITE'S STORY.

II.

My first article ended with the great procession of united Trades-Unionists, seven miles long, that presented a petition to Parliament, which led to the enactment of laws in behalf of Coöperative and mutual benefit societies.

At that time the English clergy were bitter opponents of Socialism. They did not scruple to apply to its friends such terms of opprobrium as "Infidels" and "Levelers." Rev. Canon Hugh Stowel, of Manchester, and the Bishop of Exeter used all their influence in the House of Lords to induce the Government to put down the Socialists as radicals of the worst stamp. Petitions from various religious denominations to the same effect were presented to the House of Commons. Robert Owen was denounced from pulpit and forum as a dangerous man who promulgated vicious ideas. There was a debate of some days on Socialism and Robert Owen in the House of Lords, in which Mr. Owen was most roughly handled. Lord Brougham finally came to his rescue. He said that he had known Mr. Owen for half a century as a most benevolent man, and went on to enumerate the many acts of his life to elevate the working-classes by superior education and better social conditions; stating, among other things, that he had given £1,000 to Joseph Lancaster and £500 to Mr. Bell to promote a system of national education; that he was the founder of infant schools; that he had spent ten thousand pounds sterling in providing schools for his work people at New Lanark; that the greater part of his life had been devoted to the amelioration the lot of the poor and unfortunate; that as results of his efforts the hours of children employed in factories had been shortened in all England; that Mr. Owen had traveled on his mission of peace and benevolence to foreign lands, and pleaded the cause of humanity before all kinds and orders of men; and that his system, so far as it was a leveling one, leveled upwards in all cases. Then, turning to the bench of Bishops, he inquired, "Who among you has done so much for humanity?"

Nearly every town in England had now a Socialistic organization, whose meetings drew together larger congregations than the most fashionable churches. A law was passed to prevent lectures on Sunday except by ministers. Then the Socialistic lecturers resorted to the questionable expedient of taking out licences as ministers, and so continued their Sunday lectures on Socialism.

Socialism made rapid progress. Our schools and lecture-rooms were soon too small. In 1834 a movement was made for the better accommodation of the people. At Salford, a short distance from one of our Coöperative schools, a large Hall and three smaller rooms were fitted up over a row of cottages—one as a kitchen to prepare refreshments for social tea-parties, one as a library, and one for business consultations. The Hall was an elegant room with stained glass windows; and on brackets along the side walls were large paintings of Robert

Owen's proposed Community buildings. At one end of the Hall was a small gallery for musical practice, with an organ. The Hall was called the "*Social Institution of Salford*;" and it was acknowledged to be the finest lecture-room in the vicinity of Manchester.

After this Hall was opened there was considerable debate between the Socialists and the religious people; but this was really foreign to the object we had in view, which was to promote coöperation as a means of establishing Communities. The means, however, which the Socialists then employed and the churches denounced as tending to immorality—tea-parties, amusements, social parlors—have since been adopted to some extent by the churches themselves.

JOHN W. ASHTON.

Pawtucket, R. I.

SOCIALISM IN ENGLAND.

HISTORICAL REMINISCENCES.

BY E. T. CRAIG.

V.

It may seem somewhat singular that farm laborers should be the first to wage open war against the Corn Laws. At a meeting near Littleport complaints were made about "the lowness of wages and the dearness of flour." Riotous proceedings followed. Rioters also assembled at Ely, and forty men of the Royston Volunteer Cavalry were sent to disperse them. The first who attempted resistance was shot dead by a dragoon, and above seventy taken prisoners, thirty-five capitally convicted, and five hanged as a warning to the discontented.

To show the state of the country, Lord Darlington wrote on the 8th of October, from Raby Castle, to Lord Sidmouth, the Secretary of State, stating that "the distress in Yorkshire was unprecedented; that there was a total stagnation of the little trade they had; that wheat was already more than one guinea a bushel, and no old corn in store; that the potato crops had failed; that the harvest was then only beginning, the corn in many parts being still quite green, and that he feared a total defalcation of all grain that season from the deluge of rain which had fallen for many weeks, and was still falling." The statements in this timely letter were painfully illustrated in the course of a few weeks. No relief was afforded, and probably no one understood or could discover a remedy. The sufferings of the people were great. Many meetings were held. Twelve thousand persons assembled at Merthyr and Tredegar, and were dispersed by the military. Reform of the representation was the remedy sought by politicians, but the Government deemed the remedy worse than the disease. Repression was the only method available to the ministry. William Cobbett had exercised considerable influence in the direction of reform in the House of Commons, but he now took alarm and fled to America. In a short time after this, six acts for repressing public discussion were passed. The Habeas Corpus Act was again suspended. No meetings were allowed. Evil counsels prevailed.

THE PENALTIES OF IGNORANCE.

The people had been left uneducated, and the penalties fell upon all classes. The workingmen of Manchester held a meeting, and decided on marching to London to petition the Government, carrying a blanket on their shoulders to sleep by the way. Instead of exciting compassion, the movement only awakened alarm and terror. The men were pursued by the King's Dragoon Guards, twenty-nine taken prisoners, and several hundreds dispersed. About 180 persisted in their march, and reached Macclesfield. The magistrates became alarmed at the rumors that they were to be seized, the prisoners to be liberated, the soldiers to be surprised, and a number of factories burnt down. In passing the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, Wilberforce supported Castlereagh in the Commons, and Romilly asked if his friend was in the House when a petition was read from an individual who had been seven years in confinement under a former suspension of the Act.

MALTHUSIAN DOCTRINES.

During a temporary quiet, the doctrines of Malthus were discussed, showing that population increased faster than subsistence; so that society must submit to periodic suffering from want, famine, war, disease, and death, although one man may create enough food for ten persons, and with the help of steam-power, clothing enough for a hundred.

These doctrines had considerable influence both in England and Ireland, and prompted the abolition or reduction of small holdings. Competition, it was said, causes poverty, and poverty is horribly prolific, rearing too many laborers to want work and find none. Figures were said to prove all these positions. Poor-rates were held as one source of the mischief. The fact that labor

creates more wealth than it can consume was not taken into consideration. But society has arrived at that stage in which if the worker is not employed, he must be maintained as a pauper, or left to starve amidst plenty of accumulated wealth. The first is folly, the last would be impossible. Poor-rates are the penalty which society pays for its ignorance and perverse indifference to common sense in the distribution of the products of industry.

The essentials to healthy existence comprise:—1, food and air; 2, raiment; and 3, shelter. These may be obtained in abundance by the cultivation of the earth, and by the exercise of skill in arts of construction and manufactures. But no competent hand had arisen or was bold enough to show how the distribution of wealth could consist with proportionate production. Force, fraud, and prescription are almost every-where the chief arbiters of distribution, and have almost terrified reason from inquiring into the mischief that ensues. Hence the continued existence of vicious systems of distribution of wealth, injurious in one form or another to every class of the community, and which will cease to awaken the cry of injustice when a knowledge of the human mind becomes generally understood, and mutual coöperation the rule among the producers of wealth. Time will work wonders in this direction when the laborer will awake like a giant refreshed.

EXCESS OF PRODUCTION CAUSES WANT.

At the commencement of the continental and revolutionary war the products of agriculture and manufacturing industry in this kingdom were raised by about five million of workingmen. At the close of the war, in 1815, the combined productive power of the working population, aided by the increased mechanical and chemical agencies introduced by scientific men, had raised that power, as has been stated, to results equal to two hundred million of men! Yet, through the want of a scientific method of exchange, all classes were suffering from distress. Stagnation of trade arose from the relative excess of production in relation to the absence of demand, or rather from the artificial restraints on the powers of consumption arising from a defective currency. Men were starving for want of food, clothing, and shelter, of which there was abundance, but none were wise enough to suggest a ready practical method of barter or exchange. Plenty and to spare caused want and destitution! This position of humanity will be a recurring condition, and must result either from ignorance, apathy, folly, or insanity—probably the combined action of all these repressing influences.

A nation of industrious producers, supplied by inventive genius with illimitable powers of production, were suffering all the horrors of starvation and misery, arising from lack of trade and employment. Within a century Contentment sat at her cottage door spinning her single thread, and now one machine could spin a thousand with greater ease and facility, and yet want was the lot of labor and toil!

All classes were unanimous in their lamentations and despairing cries for "something to be done." The question to be solved was—how can created wealth be fairly and justly distributed throughout society, advantageously for all classes, without disturbing existing institutions?

As we have seen, the Government received the prayers and petitions of the people, urging them "to do something," or at least stop the wild, piercing shriek of the people, who, in their sorrow and agony, screamed

"What must we do to be saved?"

All that Government could do was to silence discussion, and repress discontent by law and military force.

Manufacturers, on the other hand, had ignored the results arising out of their increased facilities of production, and overstocked the markets, and now they had no demand, and wanted more markets to supply them with their surplus stocks. Wages fell, and consumption was still further reduced by the loss of power to purchase. Enforced idleness impelled ignorant workmen, suffering the pangs of hunger, to add to the evils by destroying machinery. No one saw how any mode of labor could be carried on consistent with security, except that of individual competition; and now competition had developed insecurity of the worst phase, in the destruction of machinery, and the consumption of agricultural produce by agrarian fires on farmsteads. A false system of currency tempted insane speculation, which was followed by the bankruptcy of thousands. Merchants asked for cheap bread, to enable them to compete with the cheap labor of other nations! Manufacturers competed with each other in lowering prices, and the weavers smashed their power looms! The educated classes, the merchants, landlords, laborers,

and the tradesmen sent petitions to Parliament for relief from distress! Men stood amazed, and cried what could be done?

It was the old pagan fable over again—the social machine was in the rut, and prayers to Jupiter for help were earnest and loud. Landlords could not obtain their rents as usual, farmers were impoverished, while laborers were supported out of the rates! Weavers in Lancashire and Yorkshire were only receiving three-pence a day for twelve hours' labor, while seven millions (according to the statement of O'Connell) were living in Ireland on three halfpence per day! The Malthusian economists attributed all this distress, as before, to a redundant population, forgetting that if one-half the population killed the other half, the evil would remain, unless proportionate production were the rule in manufactures. Misery and disease were held inevitably necessary to kill off the consumers, while manufacturers were praying Government to provide new markets! Excess in production, under individualism and unregulated competition, soon makes the population redundant. Starvation, disease, and death finish the work, and reduce the excess. This is abstracting the honey and killing the bees.

Charity offered temporary relief, while preachers urged resignation and journalists expressed their hopes of reviving trade and better markets ere long—that year, or in the spring of the next. All parties declared that "something must be done."

UNREGULATED INDIVIDUAL COMPETITION.

The wild, wailing cry of poverty and over-production arose simply from unregulated selfishness, developed and intensified by unrestrained competition, promoted by individual appropriation by capitalists of the profits of labor, intensified by a defective system of exchange.

The materials of wealth were, are now, and always will be in existence, for ages to come. Grains of wheat have been preserved for more than 3,000 years; then why should granaries be empty? Food might exist to a boundless extent, if all the resources of nature and the land were utilized and developed. It is admitted by competent agriculturists that the farms of England might double their produce, yet £80,000,000 sterling were paid yearly for imported food. Houses for shelter can be multiplied to any extent required—not merely the wretched dwellings that are now erected in the crowded thoroughfares of unhealthy towns, which generate disease and shorten life—but healthy habitations, fit for human respiration and prolonged existence. The materials for clothing, in cotton, wool, etc., are abundant, and manufactures can be multiplied. Cattle and corn can be increased to a vast extent for subsistence, and fruit trees might flourish where thorn bushes are planted. The surplus produce could be exchanged for foreign articles of demand. All these necessary articles are attainable to an indefinite extent by the application of capital, skill and labor. There is nothing in nature really essential to the happiness of man which is not placed at his disposal in great superabundance.

Why, then, in the name of common sense, should any human being, willing and able to work, be in want of these things? Simply because men have not yet investigated the conditions which the nature of the case demands.

It is true we have political economists and sectional investigators, who show that demand governs supply, and others who tell us it is a wise dispensation of Providence that we are afflicted with the embarrassments of poverty and the resulting distress and crime.

(To be Continued).

THE IMPROVED HOMESTEAD.

BY TERRÆFILIIUS.

II.

THE best relief for the country's economic maladies is that thousands should leave the towns and become agriculturists. But this they are unable to do. Then the Government must help them to do it. The Government has the land, and none have so good right to it as the landless. This principle has already been recognized (not so fully as it ought to be) in the Homestead Law. We need a new Homestead, adapted to the wants and abilities of the class who can not take the benefit of the existing Homestead Law. The "Garden Homestead" is the cheapest and most feasible method of permanently relieving able-bodied poverty—an absurdity by the way, that never need to be seen in this new country.

I do not presume here to arrange the details of the new Homestead; this is the business of legislators, studying the main drift of the popular will. I only wish to show its feasibility and assist the self-evident proposition that that government is really best and strongest

that cherishes its people and puts them in the way of self support, instead of fighting and subduing the weak at the behest of the strong.

I will give, merely as suggestion, my idea of what the new Homestead should and can be:

The Government, that is (or ought to be), the people, has plenty of land. If it has not, let it resume a few million acres of its illegal and iniquitous land grants. Let it at once make reservation of its best lands sufficient to absorb all the pauperism of the next century. Let the Government beat its swords into ploughshares; the ploughshare pays better and makes just as good a weapon in time of real need. Let it cause a million or two acres of prairie to be broken; it would be better business for its teams, teamsters and soldiers, than they have ever yet been engaged in—or it may be hired done, for three dollars an acre, (perhaps less). It takes a year for the sod to rot. During that year there should be constructed, shipped to the spot and set up, one on each five acres, small cabins such as would cost about fifty dollars each. (Thousands of worthy people live in such cabins now; adding on to them soon as they become able.) In this cabin a family of three to six can shelter, and on this five acres of improved land they can get a living. Of course, this would necessitate an entirely different system of farming from that commonly practiced at the West. The occupant of the Garden Homestead would keep no horse; he would perhaps hire a little team-work done, but for the most part he would farm with spade and go-cart; and would or *might* very easily raise more off his five acres than many a slathering Yahoo has left of the products of his quarter-section, after feeding his horses and paying his taxes. He could keep a cow (on the soiling system); a pig or two, some fowls. In a short time he could have abundance of fruit. The question of fuel would be the hardest to solve; the lands chosen for this purpose must be close to coal-beds or timber, or railroad facilities, and timber should be set growing at once.

Any needy three or more people associated family-wise should have untaxed occupancy of a five-acre Improved Homestead as long as they chose to stay on it and work it, and should be furnished transportation thereto if necessary. The Government should own railroad rolling stock and run it at cost tolls over all roads. In that way transportation could be reduced to its lowest terms.

The occupants should have the privilege of buying the Homestead at any time at the cost (with interest) of the improvements.

With a cabin on every five acres the isolation and dreariness which scares so many from farm life would be entirely obviated. The regions thus occupied would naturally arrange themselves into Communes or municipalities of some sort.

And there would be excellent, indeed irresistible, opportunity for associative benefits in the matter of schools, machinery, exchange and distribution of all kinds.

Now I put it to the enlightened selfishness of tax-payers: Is not the easiest way of dealing with the poor to put them where they can create their own subsistence? Is it not your true policy to say to your agency, the Government: "Build no more iron-clads, nor custom-houses; recruit no more soldiers; manufacture no more tools for murder; fool away no more money on ornamental diplomacy, till a five-acre homestead is prepared for all needy families who will accept them."

As long as there is plenty of unoccupied, fertile soil, there is no necessity whatever that any who are willing and able to work, and willing to live simply, should starve.

Law and order command our respect, but only when founded on justice and humanity; and justice and humanity are to be determined in America, not by the desires and policy of aristocratic, absorptive people, but by the instincts of common, productive people.

As for the repressive "shoot-'em-down" policy, it is correct enough when applied to people who are not willing to dig their living out of the ground in genuine Adamic fashion; but applied to the majority, who are without doubt very willing to do so if they can but have a chance, it is a very unprofitable policy indeed. The loss which the country sustained, in all ways, by the late insurrection of maddened, starving laborers and would-be laborers, would have fitted up five-acre homesteads for most of the desperately poor in the United States—enough at least to relieve, for some time, the pressure on the labor market.

Half a million five-acre homesteads would cost, say forty million dollars; reckon half as much more for transportation and other expenses, and for sixty million dollars we have half a million families—say two million persons—permanently provided for. Suppose that to

do this we had to increase the National Debt by sixty million—would not the increase compare favorably with the rest? National debts represent almost invariably the cost of hatred and slaughter, but here would be the cost of love. Is not it almost time to try if governments can not make peace as well as war; feed and promote the welfare of people as well as tax and shoot them? If the State is to the laborer simply one of the hostile conditions of existence like cold, drouth, sterility, miasm, etc.,—why let us have it so understood.

Is it possible for the people to redeem the name and fact of government from its anti-popular traditions, and make it truly the organ of the great people—not of a few traders, capitalists, politicians and soldiers merely? And if the American people can not capture and control the American Government, is it likely that they can create and control *any* effective organization of national extent?

The present Homestead Law helps principally those who are in considerable degree able to help themselves. It seems to be now a necessity (as a choice of evils or disagreeables) to help into the way of self-support a more needy class than those who now take the benefit of the Homestead Law. The capitalistic, manufacturing and trading interests have in the main accumulated their wealth from profits on labor; it seems to me that now when they have, in effect, discharged a large part of their laborers, they ought to force upon them no sterner alternative than either to dig their living out of the soil or starve.

THE MENNONITE SETTLEMENT AND THEIR GOVERNMENT.

THE Mennonite reservation, east of the Red River and about twenty-five miles southeast of Winnipeg, is now as well populated as any district of the province of Manitoba, and the most recent immigration has been directed to a reservation of seventeen townships adjoining the frontier and extending west of Red River to Pembina Mountain. The settlement on the reservation first mentioned called Rat River consists of 650 families, and on the second reservation, called Dufferin, 450 families have been settled. In addition, 33 families have been settled near Scratching River, and the recent arrival of 35 families will go to Dufferin.

Estimating five to a family, the Mennonite settlements of Manitoba contain a population of 5,865, which will doubtless be increased steadily, but by no means with the volume of the past three years. The Mennonites who still remain in southern Russia, though inclined to emigrate in consequence of the termination of the stipulation exempting them from military services, are not prepared to sacrifice their possessions. When they can sell without disadvantage they emigrate. The exodus is therefore likely to be gradual, especially as the Russian government, while insisting on the right of conscription, assent readily to special assignments of service in deference to the Mennonite conscience—such as transportation, forestry and hospital service—very much as the Quakers of the United States during the late civil war were subjected to military service, but relieved from bearing arms.

The emigrating class of Lutheran Quakers, known as Mennonites, are neither the rich nor the poor, but are an intermediate body, who are, however, by no means destitute. Mr. Hespeler estimates that the sum brought into the province by the Mennonite immigration is \$500,000, and the recently arrived thirty-five families have not less than \$10,000.

There are Mennonite settlements in the Western States, but the land system there enforced does not admit of special reservations, and Manitoba has thus been enabled to present greater inducements for this class of settlers. Here the community can organize itself fully according to its traditions, including the rural village life of the *dorf*—or *dorp*, as we believe the word is Anglicised—a custom which has great merit socially and industrially, and will warrant some fulness of detail.

A group of families—usually sixteen in number—take their homesteads separately, but proceed to throw them together, selecting the most desirable situation for a village or dorf, through which a street two chains wide is laid, and the plat divided into half-acre lots, with assignments for church, school or other public use. A tract most suitable for tillage is then selected in a block, which is inclosed, and within which each head of a family cultivates that portion of his allotment—for there is no communism—that he finds convenient. A hay meadow, held also in severalty, is chosen, and the remainder of the consolidated homesteads is used as a range for cattle and other animals, which are invariably attended by a herdsman, who is paid by the dorf. The village lots and other subdivisions are distributed by lot.

The houses—only found in the dorf—are comfortable, heated by central brick ovens, warming three or four rooms. The same roof usually extends over separate lodgings for cattle, although in this respect there is a growing tendency to have different tenements. Each family has a yoke of oxen, two cows and indefinite poultry. The pig is not wanting;

and there are five hundred sheep and a hundred and fifty horses on the Rat River Reservation.

The municipal government is a simple democracy. The heads of families annually select a mayor or reeve, who is the chief executive officer, constantly conferring with his constituents. Over the whole community is a president or elder, selected for five years, and who, associated with the mayors of the dorfs, form a court for the final adjustment of all disputes and the enactment of all necessary ordinances. The president may act in all matters relating to a separate village in concurrence with the mayor thereof.

The church organization is quite distinct from the civil administration. The people elect a clergyman in each dorf, and a bishop to preside over the whole community for periods of five years. They receive no stipends. The teachers of the schools, one held in each village, are chosen by the people, but are made a moderate compensation. Marriages are free; no allotment is made as formerly among the Moravians, and they are usually contracted early, the pair often remaining with the most prosperous of the parents for a year or two.

An admirable system of mutual insurance against fire prevails under a board of directors elected by the whole community. The insured are not restricted in amount, but contribute *pro rata* in case of any loss.

The mayor of a dorf, with two assistants, constitute an orphan court for the distribution of estates and the custody of the funds of orphans, for which the property of every villager is liable, deducting from the said orphan fund whatever contributions for the relief of the few destitute orphans may be found necessary.—*Winnipeg (British Possessions) Standard.*

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1877.

THE "Bradlaugh-Besant Trial" is likely to be a long serial at the rate we are printing it; and it is not wanted by some of our subscribers. We are therefore trying to make an arrangement with a man who is publishing it in pamphlet form to furnish it to those who do want it. We shall probably report the arrangement fully in our next. Meanwhile we omit the Trial in this number, so making room for more strictly Socialist matter that is waiting.

TO CODDLE OR NOT TO CODDLE, THAT'S THE QUESTION.

In the good old days when most of us were brought up in strict "orthodox" fashion, the management of our bump of benevolence was quite a simple affair. We kept ever fresh and sweet in our minds a few apt quotations of Scripture (such as, "He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth unto the Lord; and that which he hath given will he pay him again;"; "Cast thy bread upon the waters: for thou shalt find it after many days;"; and so on), and according to our ability assisted the needy that fell under our notice. To be sure there was often a wonderful lack of method in our efforts. Sometimes we found that we had helped and encouraged the vicious. Again we found that the more we helped some folks, the more we had to. But these and other drawbacks did not greatly trouble us. The free exercise of our faculty of benevolence brought with it a delightful sense of self-satisfaction that we didn't care to disturb by inquiring too closely as to whether we had given wisely or not.

The last quarter of a century has changed this state of things somewhat. The times are continually ripe with new ideas. Extravagantly radical as some of these same ideas may appear to us, we find we can't altogether shut our ears to them. The consequence is that, what with strikes, "tramps," famines, and grave discussions of labor and population questions, the conscientious citizen of to-day evidently feels called upon to consider his duty to the poor in a new light. That benevolence, with all its charming but hurtful inconsequence, which gave simply because some one asked or was needy, is not so common now. True, wonderful and beautiful public charities have been established within the last score of years: still, if one observes the average citizen of to-day, one will find in him a peculiar bias of mind as to this matter of helping the poor. This bias, as I see it, arises from a morbid fear of overdoing benevolence. Folks are nowadays dreadfully afraid that if they help the poor, they will coddle them out of all self-reliance into habitual dependence and imbecility. A shrewd friend of mine has designated this feeling as the "*coddlingphobia*." The newspapers are continually giving expression to thoughts born of *coddlingphobia*. You travel and you hear folks in the cars talk *coddling-*

phobia. Even the ministers preach *coddlingphobia*. I see, too, that the philosophers of the age acknowledge its existence in spirit if not by name, for they assert in learned treatises that this fear is to-day one of the greatest of obstacles to the helping of the poor by the rich and well-to-do.

Now I don't know as I can give an accurate diagnosis of this mania, or prescribe a sure remedy for it, but I am going to try with regard to one phase of it, at least. My interest in the cause of Socialism has led me to specially note the influence of these *coddlingphobists*. I have found that their favorite argument, that if you help the poor much you will coddle them out of all self-reliance, is made a powerful weapon in their hands against Communism and other Socialistic reforms. They say, "Give people free living, and they will be shiftless and lazy." This settles the matter in the minds of many, who immediately pronounce Communism, as well as all projects for taking care of the poor, as impracticable, "Utopian," and so proceed to partake with a fresh possessive relish of the comforts found under their own "vine and fig-tree."

Do not be silenced by such talk. I am not. Whenever I hear any one holding forth in the above fashion, I straightway button-hole him, and apply the *argument ad hominem*, thus:

"Sir, this coddling, this giving to people what they want for nothing, which you are so shy of, is just what you and your neighbors are carrying on to the last extreme in your families. [Behold him open his eyes!] Why, the parents of ordinary society not only coddle their children as long as they can, but lay up as big a store as they can of money and other material provisions for them, which is to coddle them after they [the parents] are gone. Is not this a form of coddling far more excessive than that proposed by any such 'labor-reformer' as Louis Blanc, or any of the Communists? And does it not in a vast number of cases enervate, if not totally ruin the children? How can you excuse, much less commend your course and the course of your neighbors in this respect, while you and they cherish your *coddlingphobia* toward the poor and toward Communism?"

To this volley of questions, the button-holed one makes answer to the effect, that "the mere giving of material aid without education and good moral and spiritual surroundings is mischievous; but this is not what the common family does. What might be the bad effects of their 'coddling' (if you will call it so), is counteracted by the instructions and example of wise parents."

To this fine "*quid*" to my "*pro*" I quickly make answer:

"Your argument would be conclusive if all parents were thus wise and thoughtful; but unfortunately they are not. However, I will not press this point, seeing in your remarks you have defeated your own objections against what you would style Communal-coddling: for a Community is, by its nature (far more than the average private family is), a school for inculcating moral and spiritual wisdom, and hence has superior advantages for counteracting the ill effects of coddling."

Any one whose interlocutor will thus turn his own guns against him will, I think, be a wiser man.

To the *coddlingphobists* of the world at large, I would say further with regard to this matter of helping the poor, that one neglect is no excuse for another, as they would make it when they neglect to give material aid, *because*, forsooth, having also neglected to give moral and spiritual aid or instruction with it, in the past, their material aid has often resulted badly. There is a way to make gratuitous benefits non-mischievous in the case of the poor, as you claim to have made them in the case of the common family.

Let the conscientious citizen of to-day consider this, while seeking to know his duty towards the poor. Above all, I would bid him never to let his *coddlingphobia* rage against Communism.

A COMMUNITY CODDLING.

A STORY ABOUT FATHER RAPP.

THE Harmony Society, now worth untold millions, had its days of poverty and sorrow. The Rev. Aaron Williams tells us that "so long as they had to buy all their provisions and supplies their fare was coarse and scant, and they knew sometimes what it was to feel the gnawings of hunger." Added to their other tribulations were the evil reports that they were at variance among themselves; that they could not pay for their land; and that their society was likely to be soon broken up. Their credit was reduced to the lowest point; and when Father Rapp, on one occasion, went to Pittsburg for supplies, he was refused articles on his

"promise to pay" at the houses which had before trusted him. His heart was weighed down with sorrow; he wandered off, it is said, to the river's bank, and sat down to weep and pray. A merchant of the city found him there, thus engaged, and inquired into his necessities. Being informed, he offered Father Rapp two four-horse wagon-loads of provisions, telling him also to borrow no trouble about the payment. But the thrifty Communists were blessed immediately with bountiful crops, and soon paid the debt. But the story does not end here. Years rolled by. The Harmonists prospered in all their enterprises; and when a great financial hurricane swept over the land they stood erect while many houses toppled over. In the midst of the storm they learned by some means that the merchant who had so generously befriended them in their day of trouble was now himself unable to meet his obligations and threatened with financial ruin. Father Rapp welcomed the opportunity it offered. Filling his saddlebags with solid coin, he rode to Pittsburg, found his old benefactor, poured out his money before him, and told him he could have as much more if it were needed; and so the merchant was saved!

HARD TIMES AND HARD FACES.

Binghamton, Sept. 5, 1877.

EDITOR AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—It is quite generally supposed that we have turned the "dead point" and are now on our way to slow prosperous reaction. I should not judge so if I were to go by that best universal, the human face. But probably we must allow for inertia; effects last after their cause has ceased to be apparent. The last few years have made hopelessness a habit of too many countenances; we can not expect a general grin to overspread the community all at once. Practice makes perfect in happiness as well as in the other branches.

I never get tired of studying faces; my verdancy in that respect is inexhaustible. I have been admonished in various ways to mind my own business, and cease speculating on the nature and destiny of people in general. But it's no use talking; I seem to have no business but to pry into the enigma of human motives and fortunes.

These pleasant days, when every body is out doors, it is interesting to stroll and stare. There is also much profit to be extracted from the fluttering pages of the street mysteries; especially where one knows something of the people he sees, and is thereby able to understand the connection between their fluctuations in fortune and feeling and their physiognomic development.

Some of the hardest, most forbidding, misanthropic and unhappy faces I see, are those of rich men who are growing old and beginning to mistrust, I fancy, the fallacy of great personal possessions. These are the men who are called successful; yet I can't help thinking many of them are pretty bad failures. A man whose life has been such that at fifty he impresses you very much as the north side of an iceberg might, can not be called wholly successful. That insolent, incredulous, antipathetic, bull-dog stare betrays real misfortune.

Almost as depressing as these are the looks of the many who are out of work or working for bare starvation rates. It is easy to see that many of them feel crushed, humiliated and vindictive. It is but little faith that they have left in human kindness. Pitiless force and legitimized fraud seem to them to rule the world; honesty is a fool and justice a myth.

Much more pleasant to look upon, as a general rule, than either of these two sorts of faces, are those of middle-class people who are neither degraded by want nor puffed up by superabundance. But even these for the most part indicate beings languishing in intellectual and moral anæmia. It is, alas! too true that most of us—especially after reaching the "middle-aged, disagreeable stage," are neither angelic nor god-like to look at. We have been poor builders, and the unsightliness of our work can not be denied nor concealed. Setting aside sex-attractions, how few faces do we see that it is truly a pleasure to behold; how few that enrich the fancy instead of affronting it, how few that increase our faith and lend our idealism a flavor of probability. Perhaps I need different spectacles, or something; but now in all candor when you go through the streets of a smart commercial town, do you see many faces that impress you by their kindness, their nobility? Do you feel at home? Do you feel religious? Do you feel as though we were all undoubtedly loving children of a loving Father? Or do you feel as though you were running the gauntlet of innumerable indifferent or contemptuous or murderous glances? Do you not *know* pretty surely that if you are badly "down" in any way

—crippled, poverty-stricken, weak-minded, ultra homely, diseased—you will be noticed, if at all, only to be scorned, insulted, cheated and in a general way remanded to the cold, dark outside of the world? The fact is, commercialism is a petty and debasing warfare; it marks indelibly the faces of its participants; it shows scant mercy to its defeated and disabled. The human temple can not be built in its rightful majesty till in some way we get out of this nasty squabble for exclusive possession of material wealth.

I think we must confess that the face of the average American townsman is rather discouragingly dashed with cynicism and incredulity. There is no very dazzling radiance of noble enthusiasm. Whether this is pie or climate or hard times—or whether again it is my spectacles—is more than I can say.

But (some will say), people of sense and breeding don't habitually advertise their innermost sentiments on the street, *via* facial leakage. In other words, they don't look their best on the street. Do you mean that people generally try to look their worst in public? Will you take that horn of the dilemma?

The fact that so many do try to make of their faces a mask, when they go in public, speaks volumes.

I think it undeniable that all men (and most certainly all women) try (as far as they look at all), to look their best in public. And this fact of what they consider their best gives great insight into their character. Even the mask reveals its wearer's desire to be hidden,—and is a rather transparent mask after all. Most men, when they meet the world, strive to look as imposing, weighty and formidable as possible. This discloses the unwelcome fact that most men believe at heart in ruling through fear; they will bully all who can't bully them. Pshaw! even beasts in a cage can do that; can't we do a little better? We fear to show enthusiasm or emotion of any elevated sort, lest we be considered "green;" we are afraid to be too modest and gentle in manner lest we be thought cowardly. "Go to; mend thy face."

G. E. TUFTS.

WORK-SEEKERS.

EDITOR AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—Some months ago a man called at our place, in pursuit of employment—an occurrence not unusual. But this one was quite different from the common run of such applicants, and I listened with interest to what he had to say. He was in the prime of life and in excellent health; had good strong lungs, heart, stomach, and muscles; was temperate, didn't use tobacco even, and drank only water. Furthermore his mind was well stored, clear, and logical. Indeed he had "views" with regard to the great questions of the day—well-defined too, and the ability to present them to good advantage—the extent especially of his information concerning the creeds and religious history of mankind was something notable. But then he could read and speak German, English, French and Hebrew, and had a fair acquaintance with their respective literatures. He was also ready and fluent of speech, and had a talent for description.

The man was honest withal. I became convinced of that—being curious and watchful for evidence, for, you know, learning and honesty don't always fraternize in the same nature—a matter of great regret—and he was slow to believe that other people were different from himself in this regard. In fact a sharper, taking advantage of his credulous tendency, had managed to appropriate his little property. This was the way he had become poor. He was the master of a trade, which, however, could flourish only in times of plenty and luxury. Still, this was not his only reliance; he was a sort of tailor in addition. Could do good work, he said, in cutting and making coarse garments. Though a native of Prussia, he had been in this country so long—fourteen years—that his manners and speech had become quite like an American's. There seemed to be no good reason, certainly, why such a person should, for long, have nothing whatever to do. Well, this man had come from New York, where he had left his family, walking all the way, a distance of three hundred miles, and soliciting work all the way, in all the towns and villages, in all the highways and by-ways through which he wended, but entirely without avail!

Once, indeed, he got a job—almost—he said. He told how it was, and the picture he gave was true to life. At an old-time farm house, back somewhere from the Hudson, was the place. There was a well in the door-yard with post and sweep and bucket dangling above the curb, and two or three clumps of lilac bushes, and an old picket fence that ran around the house, and a pair of bars and a roadway at the right of the little gate that swung over the foot-path. He had an eye that

noted all the details. A hale old man, with a florid face, and long white hair—an English-American—met him at the door.

"Yes I want help," he said, "walk in: now what can ye do?"

"Most any thing," was the reply.

"That's the kind of help I want, and ye look as though ye might. Take a cheer. Well, I've three wage men, and I want some 'un to keep 'em at work. Think ye can do it?"

"I'd like to try."

"It's more'n I can do. I tell ye that to begin with. I want a man to find work for 'em, and kee—p 'em at it. He'll have to be deft and nimble, and know at sight when a darg* is fairly done. Farm bred?"

"Well—no—not exactly," he was obliged to say.

"That's bad. Can't make a farmer out'n a man unless he's born and bred to it."

"I think I could easily learn farm work. I'm handy with tools of any kind."

"I'm afeard," said the old man as he slowly scanned him, "I am afeard, when all's said, ye won't do. Sorry! but—Have a mug o' cider?"

"Thank you—I'll take a drink from the well."

So they parted with just a glimpse of a haven to the tired traveler; for in no other place did he hear the welcome words, Help wanted. But there was work enough doing, any one could see—an infinity of jobs needing to be done. For one thing, doubtless, there were even within the range and time of his fruitless roving hundreds of thousands of coarse garments in process of making, upon which he could have done a certain proportion of good service. And then to think that his is only a single case out of myriads of similar ones. What an enormous waste of human forces is here indicated!—this I own is what most disturbs me—forces exceedingly precious, because as yet there is a great insufficiency of such forces on this planet to replenish it, that is, to *fully develop its resources*. Therefore what a wrong it is to squander them. Only coöperation can prevent this waste; I agree with you there, fully—cooperation based on the good sense of mankind—cooperation in small ways, in large ways, in all ways, productive and distributive, physical and spiritual, the wide world over, is the only effectual remedy.

This man staid with us over night, and I tried to help him. We were digging a cellar at the time, and I told him what the wages were, thinking perhaps he would like to work a few days; but though entirely without money, it seemed to him hardly worth his while to dig cellar, for only a dollar a day. I am afraid he was too proud for such work. However, he thanked me when he went away.

The experience came to my mind, while talking with him, that we had with Mr. P. another man who applied to us for work some time ago. He had not only lost his little all by misplaced confidence, but was also loaded with debt. Not especially noted as a student or reader of books, he was thoroughly informed, we afterwards learned, in the line of his calling, and one could see, he was in earnest, profoundly in earnest. Work he must have. Wages? I will work a week, said he, for my board; after that you may pay me what you like. There was no putting him off. He worked his week, and was then gladly hired at good wages. Pay was also given him for his first week's service. Three years have passed since his trial week. He is still laboring for us, and slowly but surely lifting the load of his indebtedness. Of course he is a different man from the other. But the point of difference, that upon which success turns, whether in associated or isolated life, as I look at it, is earnestness, and that is a quality one can acquire. Will-power I know, is usually appreciated because it enables one who has it to control other people; but its normal and primary function is the control of one's self. The greatest benefit, no doubt, of the discipline of life, is the training of the will, and education falls far short of its proper performance if it does n't give one the power to turn one's nervous force into any part of the physical or mental domain that needs suppressing or stimulating, and *doing* what is required. The education of our Prussian friend was faulty after all; it failed to give him this kind of freedom of the will.

C. J. B.

*A day's work.

RUSKIN'S THREE RULES FOR WORKERS.

1. To do your own work well, whether it be for life or death.
2. To help other people at theirs, when you can, and seek to avenge no injury.
3. To be sure you can obey good laws before you seek to alter bad ones.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[THE following letter was evidently not intended for publication, but we print it to show the sensible spirit the writer has about having his article improved where it needs it. We commend his example to all who lack experience and are anxious to appear in print:

Ed. Am. So.]

Clinton, Pa., Sept. 18, 1877.

EDITOR AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—If you can make any thing of the following article it is in your hands to use as seems best. If you use it, any little alterations or cutting out of words or substituting more appropriate words, etc., etc., to make it more presentable, will not only not offend, but be very acceptable; for I have full confidence in your good sense and ability to do the right thing with any article I may send you. Being wholly inexperienced in writing, and knowing nothing about grammar, it is difficult for me to get my thoughts into respectable shape. But it sometimes seems to me that I have some good ideas, and that I ought to practice writing and put some thoughts before the world from time to time which are crowding on my mind. If you can not make any use of this article you may return it to me. I inclose stamp for the purpose.

Respectfully, B. V. E.

GOVERNMENT AND THE RAILROAD.

EDITOR AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—

With your permission I would like to offer a few thoughts through your columns on the Railroad question. The trouble does not seem to me to be settled so that it will stay settled. A lesson which people everywhere are rapidly learning these days is this: that in union there is strength, in combination there is power; and it will be found that railroad men are learning it as well as others. A grand railroader's organization is thought of, and I believe has already commenced organizing, and it is not improbable that in course of time the order may be given throughout the organization which will some fine morning bring the wheels of business and travel suddenly to a dead standstill, from Maine to California. Few, indeed, are the inventions which will compare with railroads in their benefits to the human race, and for them we wish a grand and lasting success. To help so far as possible to a peaceful solution of present difficulties, and to assist in pointing the way to real success and greatest use to the people, is the object of this article. For years private railroad companies have given decided dissatisfaction to the people, in various ways, but especially by raising money to induce and control legislation in their own favor. This money they gather from the public. Then there are other leaks or side speculations which evidently have existed long enough. Controlling legislation draws off one fortune; the railroad companies want to pocket another; the express companies absorb another; and, as I understand it, the Pullman-Palace Company another. Such things as these, with mismanagement, high salaries of officers, etc., are what give us the complained of high fares and freights, and at the same time scarcity of money with which to pay the working railroaders living wages. There is too great a difference between a salary of \$25,000 a year for the President of a Company who can order his \$15.00 breakfast, and the humble pay of the worker who must order a 10 cent dinner. Think of a man working for 90 cents per day, paying rent and supporting a family these times! Again, weak Companies, or poor paying roads are often behind several months in paying employes, and sometimes fail and never pay. Now to my mind the true remedy for all these troubles is to be found in the combining together, under one management, of all railroads and all business done through railroads. Then the heavy paying roads can help those less prosperous; the strong thus bearing the burdens of the weak. How to effect this consolidation is what we want to consider. Loud are the calls to-day for the Government to take charge of the Road; and this it appears to me is the really practical plan. Let the Government take charge of all railroads in the United States and all express business, Pullman-Palace business, etc. Let them have no side shows, but run them under one management as the Postal Service is run. We do not want the government to confiscate the roads, but let a Commission be appointed to make a reasonable valuation of the property, and let the Government take it at that valuation, to be paid for by yearly installments with reasonable interest. Then let such fares and freights be adopted as will pay the interest and at the same time provide a sinking-fund which shall cancel the principal in, say, 15 to 25 years. Unreasonable salaries and all side-shows being done away it is not probable that rates would have to be as

high as now to accomplish this work; and once accomplished, we would find ourselves riding for one cent per mile—with proportionate freight rates. This would create double the present travel. The roads would then be practically owned by the people and run for the benefit of the people; rates being regulated just so as to keep all needed roads in good trim. If our mail service was wholly in the hands of private companies, one company having charge of all mail matter between Pittsburg and Philadelphia, another between Philadelphia and New York, and so on, each company would claim a share of profits on all matter passing through, and instead of, as now, sending a postal card for a penny, and a letter for three cents, from Maine to California, we would be paying five times that amount. As our mail arrangements are simplified and cheapened, even so would railroading be simplified and grandly improved by being operated by the government. Do we hear of strikes in the postal service? Why not? Because it is not the object of the government to grind out a fortune for itself, but to run the concern for the good of all. Postal clerks and employes all get good living wages and are satisfied. So might it be in a proper system of railroading. The people are calling for such a change. The times demand it. Let the subject be agitated and discussed every-where. If the Government will make such a move it will do wisely; but if some such step is not taken then we may look ere long for a strike compared with which the recent one will seem a small affair, and the Government will be compelled to take charge of the roads. Once done, a great step will have been taken toward Communization of railroading. And the next step will be absolute Communization in the good time coming, when trains will be run without money and without price, by men inspired for the work, who are lovers of God and lovers of humanity, and run the trains through their love of doing good and making others happy. Speed the time.

B. V. E.

PAUSANIAS, THE SPARTAN.

PAUSANIAS, THE SPARTAN, AN UNFINISHED HISTORICAL ROMANCE. BY THE LATE LORD BULWER LYTTON.

It is said that an accomplished paleontologist will reproduce the entire skeleton of an extinct animal, if he can find a single bone; and so it is the privilege of the novelist, from the scattered hints found here and there among the classic writers, to reconstruct the civilization of a past age, and bring it before his readers with all the multifarious detail of every-day life. To an author of real genius, this work is almost intuitive; it is a kind of celestial instinct by which he grasps the salient features of an extinct society, and brings them into such a broad relief, as almost to make them seem to have been matters of personal observation.

Lord Lytton had the genuine scholar's love for antiquity, and this fragment paints Spartan manners with conscientious care. It is not difficult to understand, as we turn the pages of the book, why a small body of men, inhabiting a few square miles of sterile territory, should have been able to dominate all Greece, and make their name for all time a synonym for elevated heroism. The secret of this power lay in the complete subordination of the individual to the State; and when, through the enervating influence of surrounding peoples, this source of power became relaxed, and the principle no longer strictly enforced, Sparta sank into the condition of a petty province, from which she never emerged.

Spartan civilization was a phenomenon in the earlier ages, sustaining much the same position in regard to the surrounding world that Communism does in our day. Indeed, there was much of a rude species of Communism among the political and domestic customs of Sparta; harsh and in some respects repulsive to our modern sensibilities it is true, but not destitute of a high moral grandeur which raised men to the level of heroic self-sacrifice, and made them ready at all times to offer their lives and those of their children for the service of the commonwealth.

At the time the scene of the story is laid, Pausanias was Sparta's brightest son. Victor at Plataea, regent of the State, commander-in-chief of the combined Grecian army and navy, at Byzantium, the eyes of all Greece were fixed upon him, some with admiration, and some with jealousy. Yielding to the seductive influence of love and ambition, he is tempted by the offers of the Persian King, and his Spartan simplicity and integrity are giving way. The suspicions of his enemies are aroused, and an emissary is sent to Sparta to demand his recall. Being informed of this, Pausanias dispatches Lysander, the son of Agesilaus, his bosom friend, but an uncompromising

Spartan, to defend his cause before the Ephors. The young man arrives at his mountain home, fresh from the luxuries of the Byzantine capital, and is ushered into the presence of the Ephors, of whom his father is one:

"Lysander entered, and, pausing at a little distance from the Council-board, inclined his head submissively to the Ephors: save a rapid interchange of glances, no separate greeting took place between son and father.

"Thou art welcome," said Pericles, "Thou hast done thy duty since thou hast left the city. Virgins will praise thee as the brave man; age, more sober, is contented to say thou hast upheld the Spartan name. And thy father without shame may take thy hand."

"A warm flush spread over the young man's face. He stepped forward with a quick step, his eyes beaming with joy. Calm and stately, his father rose, clasped the extended hand, then, releasing his own, placed it an instant on his son's bended head, and reseated himself in silence."

Lysander was loyal to his friend, but he was also loyal to his country.

"Lysander," said Pericles, after a short pause, "we know thy affection to the Regent, thy chosen friend; but we know also thy affection for thy native Sparta: where the two may come into conflict, it is, and it must be, thy country which will claim the preference. We charge thee, by virtue of our high power and authority, to speak the truth on the questions we shall address to thee, without fear or favor."

"Lysander bowed his head. 'I am in presence of Sparta my mother, and Agesilaus my father. They know that I was not reared to lie to either.'"

Lysander leaves the council, and on his way home meets Alithea, the mother of Pausanias, who asks him for news of her son.

"I left him well," he replies, "and"—

"Does a Spartan mother first ask of the bodily health of an absent man child? By the tomb of Orestes and near the Temple of Fear, a king's widow asks a Spartan soldier what he says of a Spartan Chief."

"All Hellas," replied Lysander, recovering his spirit, "might answer thee best, Alithea. For all Hellas proclaimed that the bravest man at Plataea was thy son, my Chief."

"And when did my son, thy chief, learn to boast of bravery? They tell me he inscribed the offerings to the Gods with his name as the Victor of Plataea—the battle won, not by one man, but assembled Greece. The inscription that dishonors him by its vainglory will be erased. To be brave is naught. Barbarians may be brave. But to dedicate bravery to his native land becomes a Spartan. He who is every thing against a foe should count himself as nothing in the service of his country."

"Lysander remained silent under the gaze of those fixed and imperious eyes.

"Youth," said Alithea, after a short pause, "if thou returnest to Byzantium, say this from Alithea to thy chief: From thy childhood, Pausanias, has thy mother feared for thee; and at the Temple of Fear did she sacrifice when she heard that thou wert victorious at Plataea; for in thy heart are the seeds of arrogance and pride; and victory to thine arms may end in ruin to thy name. And ever since that day does Alithea haunt the precincts of that temple. Come back and be Spartan, as thine ancestors were before thee, and Alithea will rejoice, and think the gods have heard her. But if thou seest within thyself one cause why thy mother should sacrifice to Fear, lest her son should break the laws of Sparta, or sully his Spartan name, humble thyself and mourn that thou didst not perish at Plataea. By a temple and from the tomb I send a warning. Say this. I have done; join thy friend."

Lysander approaches his home, surrounded by his former comrades and playfellows:

"The group that attended Lysander continued to swell as he mounted the acclivity on which his parental home was placed. The houses of the Spartan proprietors were at that day not closely packed together as in the dense population of commercial towns. More like the villas of a suburb, they lay a little apart, on the unequal surface of the rugged ground, perfectly plain and unadorned, covering a large space with ample court-yards, closed in, in front of the narrow streets. And still was in force the primitive law which ordained that door-ways should be shaped only by the saw, and the ceilings by the ax; but in contrast to the rudeness of the private houses, at every opening in the street were seen the Doric pillars or graceful stairs of a temple; and high over all dominated the Tower-hill or Acropolis, with the antique fane of Pallas Chalciæus.

"And so, loud and joyous, the procession bore the young warrior to the threshold of his home. * * * 'Oh! this is joy, joy!' said Lysander, with sweet tears in his eyes, as he sat in the women's apartment, his mother by his side, and the little ones around him. 'Where, save in Sparta, does a man love his home?'

"And this exclamation, which might have astonished an Ionian—seeing how much the Spartan civilians merged the individual in the State—was yet true, where the Spartan was wholly Spartan, where by habit and association, he had

learned to love the severities of the existence that surrounded him, and where the routine of duties which took him from his home, whether for exercises or the public tables, made yet more precious the hours of rest and intimate intercourse with his family. For the gay pleasures and lewd resorts of other Greek cities were not known to the Spartan. Not for him were the cook-shops and baths and revels of Ionian idlers. When the State ceased to claim him, he had nothing but his home.

"As Lysander thus exclaimed, the door of the room had opened noiselessly, and Agesilaus stood unperceived at the entrance, and overheard his son. His face brightened singularly at Lysander's words. He came forward and opened his arms.

"Embrace me now, my boy! my brave boy! Embrace me now! The Ephors are not here."

"Lysander turned, sprung up, and was in his father's arms.

"So thou art not changed, Byzantium has not spoiled thee. Thy name is uttered with praise unmixed with fear. All Persia's gold, all the great king's satrapies, could not Medize my Lysander. Ah," continued the father, turning to his wife, "who could have predicted the happiness of this hour? Poor child! he was born sickly. Hera had already given us more sons than we could provide for, ere our lands were increased by the death of thy childless relatives. Wife, wife! when the family council ordained him to be exposed on Taygetus, when thou didst hide thyself lest thy tears should be seen, and my voice trembled as I said, 'Be the laws obeyed, who could have guessed that the gods would yet preserve him to be the pride of our house? Blessed be Zeus the Savior, and Hercules the warrior.'"

In spite of the generous efforts of Lysander in his behalf, Pausanias was recalled to Sparta, and here the tale ends. All know the fatal termination of the high career, begun so auspiciously and cut short so prematurely; and with this we have no further concern, save to note the moral, that the ruin of Pausanias began when he allowed personal ambition to mingle with his aspirations, and to weaken his fidelity to his country.

But the pictures of Spartan life, from which we have gleaned the foregoing fragments, linger in our memory, and confirm our conviction that the sacrifice by a man or woman of individual gratification to public necessity does neither diminish domestic happiness, nor personal usefulness, but rather the contrary. And although our modern habits of personal independence are opposed to the idea that happiness may be increased by a close and compact form of society, which must necessarily exercise a certain amount of constraint over the individual, the example of Sparta shows that after a generation or two have been born and educated under such a social system, it may command the undivided loyalty of its subjects. And if a State like Sparta with all its practical deficiencies in what constitutes a true life was able to breed a race of men so undauntedly faithful to itself, what might we not expect of an organization which, while availing itself of all the advantages of modern civilization, should require each and all of its members to hold their private interests subject to the public wants? That an atmosphere of such exalted patriotism would breed an organic loyalty exceeding that of the Spartans is not only possible, but probable; that a State or association organized in this way would be powerful beyond all its contemporaries is beyond a doubt. For the secret of strength is unity, and the secret of unity is the subordination of the wants of the individual to those of the organization of which he is a part.

A SCHOOL HISTORY.

History of the United States, Prepared Especially for Schools, on a New and Comprehensive Plan, embracing the features of Lyman's Historical Chart. By Prof. John Clark Ridpath, Author of a Popular History of the United States. Published by JONES BROTHERS & Co., Philadelphia, Cincinnati and Chicago.

THE art of instructing children and youths in the various branches of learning which go to make up a sound education is one which deserves, and is receiving, more attention each year. New methods and appliances are constantly devised, and all classes of school books are being vastly improved. Old, wordy, confusing manuals are giving place to clear, well-arranged volumes which make study a pleasure, even to growing boys. Ridpath's History of the United States is one of these improvements. It is profusely illustrated, has valuable chronological charts, progressive maps showing the divisions of our country in its various stages of development, topographical diagrams, etc. The arrangement of the matter is admirable, and the style in which it is written is clear and entertaining. It brings its narrative of events down to the present hour, as we may say, including an account of the late Sioux War, with Custer's defeat, a description of the Centennial Exhibition, the particulars of the Presidential contest which placed Mr. Hayes in the White House, and even an account of the great rail-

road strike in Pennsylvania and other States last summer. Yet every thing seems to be done faithfully and well. An Appendix gives the Constitution of the United States, with the Amendments. In type, paper and binding the book is unexceptionable, and the price is low. We can heartily commend it to teachers and school commissioners.

MR. GLADSTONE ON CO-OPERATION.

In an address delivered to the members of the Leigh and Tyldesley Liberal Clubs, who paid a visit to Hawarden on Saturday last, Mr. Gladstone made the following remarks on Coöperation:

There has not been a better thing done in this country, in my opinion, than the establishment of coöperation, such as the successful coöperation of which Lancashire deserves the principal credit. (Hear, hear.) The only objection to the coöperation of working men is the difficulty that it is not always easy for them to get good, sufficient, and trustworthy instruments for giving it effect; but wherever that can be done, I commend it without limit. I can not say what I think of the value of it. (Hear, hear.) I hope it will extend to other things which it has scarcely yet touched. (Hear, hear.) I hope it will extend to all the amusements and recreations of the workingman. This is what fosters a strong sentiment of self-respect among workingmen. It fosters a strong sentiment of independence, and yet the sentiment of independence appears to me to be entirely free from all tendency to doing injustice towards anybody else, or of thinking injustice to anybody. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, for all things, for all your pursuits, all your supplies, the more you can successfully proceed by coöperation the better; more especially, in my opinion, for all that concerns the hours of your relaxation. (Hear, hear.) Workingmen, for want of this coöperation, and from acting individually with respect to their hours of relaxation, are very apt to come under the influence of other people, and of other people who are not always worthy to exercise that influence over them. If they wish to defend themselves upon that subject, depend upon it there is no better defense for them than forming combinations among themselves for supplying themselves with a reasonable indulgence of their wants.—*Coöperative News.*

PARAMOUNT INTERESTS.

From Morgan's *Ancient Society.*

Since the advent of civilization, the outgrowth of property has been so immense, its forms so diversified, its uses so expanding, and its management so intelligent in the interests of its owners, that it has become on the part of the people, an unmanageable power. The human mind stands bewildered in the presence of its own creation. The time will come, nevertheless, when human intelligence will rise to a mastery of our property, and define the relations of the state to the property it protects, as well as the obligations and the rights of its owners. The interests of society are paramount to individual interests, and the two must be brought into just and harmonious relations. A mere property career is not the final destiny of mankind, if progress is to be the law of the future, as it has been of the past. The time which has passed away since civilization began is but a fragment of the past duration of man's existence; and but a fragment of the ages yet to come. The dissolution of society bids fair to become the termination of a career of which property is the end and aim; because such a career contains the elements of self-destruction. Democracy in government, brotherhood in society, equality in rights and privileges, and universal education, foreshadow the next higher plane of society to which experience, intelligence and knowledge are steadily tending. It will be a revival, in a higher form, of the liberty, equality and fraternity of the ancient gentes.

COMMON PROPERTY.

ELDER RUNYAN IN "THE SHAKER."

The first Christian that ever lived, died and went to heaven from earth, who taught all men how they might gain salvation and heaven by the merits of their own working, or their death and hell by their own demerits, was Jesus. He, the Father chose, prepared and anointed, a leading example in all holy conversation and godliness, but gave him no private property real or personal—"not even where to lay his head."

Jesus and his immediate disciples formed the first Christian Association that ever blessed the earth, and they held their property in common, regardless of any previous property conditions. They ceased to walk as men, and associated with angels and angelic conditions; then followed the grand outpouring of the spirit at Pentecost, when was realized by many the divine baptism, from which property distinctions were lost forever from among God's people.

The laws by which two next-door neighbors might live most happily—the one not being the better for his neighbor's poverty, but the worse, and the better for his neighbor's prosperity—are those also by which it is convenient and wise for two parishes, two provinces, or two kingdoms to live side by side.—*Ruskin.*

RECEIVED.

THE NEW SCHOOL MA'AM. One of Loring's Tales of the day. Paper, pp. 140. Published by Loring, corner of Bromfield and Washington streets, Boston, Mass.

A MANUAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE. By Henry Travis, M. D. Paper, pp. 40. Published by George Potter, 14 Fetter Lane, E. C., London, England.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By John Clark Ridpath, A. M. Cloth, pp. 375. Published by Jones Brothers & Co., Cincinnati, Ohio.

DEAR OLD HOMESTEAD. Song. By Miss Anna C. Hiltz. Price, 40 cents. Published by F. W. Helmick, 50 West 4th-st. Cincinnati, Ohio.

ITEMS OF NEWS.

HOME.

Gold was less than 103 last week.
The campaign in Ohio is very torpid.
Tweed tells a straight sounding story.
Have you made peace with your coal-dealer?
Rapid transit got a new start in the Court of Appeals.
Mrs. Caroline M. Street has given Yale College \$250,000.
"Go South, young man!" That is the way Mr. Hayes quotes Horace Greeley.

Tweed says he paid \$600,000 to get the New York city charter made to suit him.

The Kentuckians are so delighted with the President they just yell when he speaks to them.

Set up that stove before rheumatism begins stitching on your shoulder-caps with a crooked darning-needle.

Wm. M. Tweed says in that childlike way of his, "The ballots made no result; the counters made the result."

Under the management of Wade Hampton the Southerners are at work electing Hayes as their President of the United States.

Bancroft, the historian, is a well-preserved old scholar, and is confident that he shall be able to complete his great history.

Mr. Key had to explain to the people of Knoxville what he meant by calling them "erring brothers." He was not joking he said.

The Massachusetts Republicans have indorsed Civil-Service Reform in a resolution that is truly strong and refreshing.

Collector Arthur says he suggested all your Custom-House improvements a long time ago, but there would n't any body attend to him.

It is a good time to drop newspapers and read six or seven books written by a man who thinks with a brain as tough as a wood-chopper's muscle.

Carl Shurtz is not going to pay his government clerks for going home to vote. They must pay for their time or have it taken out of their salaries.

The house in which Hawthorne was born and began his literary work, on Herbert-st., Salem, has been turned into a noisy tenement for the aliens.

When a white laundress wants \$2.50 a day for washing and ironing, and a Chinese laundry will do the work for \$1.00, what are you going to do about it? Hoodlum!

The University of Pennsylvania—one of the oldest colleges outside of New England—has concluded to offer instruction in certain subjects to young women as well as to young men.

Why can not the Mormons give us some exquisite stories of polygamous life like that of Ruth and Boaz? It would help their cause wonderfully. "The affair of Ann Eliza Brigham,"—Tut! tut! say no more!

Two United States war vessels lowered their top-gallant masts lately and passed under the Brooklyn bridge as neat as a pin. One of them lowered her masts in 45 seconds, the other in 1 minute and 30 seconds.

John W. Young, D. H. Wells and George Q. Cannon, together with John Taylor, the President of the apostolic body of regents, constitute an executive committee for the management of the secular affairs of the Mormon church.

The employes of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy railroad have formed a homestead association for buying 50,000 acres of land in Nebraska. They expect to furnish each man with eighty acres at a total cost to him of \$144.

Gen. McClellan has been put up by the Democrats of New Jersey as the candidate for Governor. The old enthusiasm for McClellan did it. After he is forgiven for his defeats, he will be remembered as a good writer and as an organizer of armies.

There have been 1,500 buildings put up in New York city the past year. Of those 200 are first-class residences; 300 second-class; and 500 tenement houses. If you only have the sixpence you can do a great deal of building now, every thing is so cheap.

The *Graphic* prints twenty-nine scientific and Christian remedies for the prevention of matrimonial quarrels and divorces. "Don't get married at all," would have been a much more sweeping remedy than all the other twenty-nine, but then it would have not been such delightful reading.

"Fifteen-Cent Dinners for Families of Six." This is the title of a little hand-book which the Superintendent of the New York Cooking School has issued for free distribution among the workingmen, of the county. The right kind of Socialism would do away with the necessity for such literature. We should have "one hundred and Fifty-Cent Dinners for Families of Five," say.

In regard to the state of the country the President said in his speech at Cincinnati: "We do not claim for any Administration the advantages that come to the country from good crops, but it seems to me we may ask some approval from our fellow citizens, if we have placed a large part of our country in a condition to give their full attention to the raising of crops."

You see that Ann Eliza was not so very foolish when she married an undivided right in Brigham Young. If she had staid round about him somewhere, she would have had a share—a sixtieth, say—in that \$2,000,000. As it was, the connection has been worth more than a hop-yard or a stone quarry to her. She is still at work in Hartford making books on Brigham and his folks.

Elihu Burritt does not believe that with a return of pros-

perity the tramps will go back to orderly ways. They have-differentiated and got in love with their new life and environments. He has no remedy except the public work-house. It has been tried in England and works well, he says. We do nothing about the matter because we believe the evil will cure itself by and by.

Confucius says: "In the highest path are four things which I have not attained—to serve my father as I would have my son serve me; my prince as I would require my minister to serve me; my elder brother as I would wish my younger brother to serve me; and to act towards a friend as I would have him act towards me." And that man lived an awful long while ago, and had his eyes set in corner-ways.

"I want to go home," says the negro of South Carolina. Mr. B. F. Porter, the President of the Liberian Exodus Association in Charlestown, S. C., says there are 60,000 persons in that State who have signified a desire to be carried to Liberia. This feeling extends to North Carolina, where there is a similar association, and also to Alabama. At Selma there are a thousand persons who are willing to pay all they have to get away.

Thurlow Weed, who has the name of being one of the greatest party managers this country ever produced, has just retired from active politics. His letter of resignation has these words: "Capital, under the protection of just laws, watchful, diligent and far-seeing, will take care of itself. Labor, confiding and patient, relying more upon muscle than upon mind, requires guardianship and sympathy." And still there are irreverent Democrats who try to see a resemblance between T. Weed and Tweed.

Wendell Phillips, in his zeal for the mere workingman, has said that "The physical force, the voting majority, and a large share of the intellectual ability, are in the possession of the employes." This has been proved to be an error. According to the census there are in the United States 9,486,734 persons between the ages of 16 and 60 engaged in all gainful occupations. The number of persons identified with capital as farmers and their sons, as merchants, traders, and manufacturers is over 4,600,000, or nearly half of all those engaged in the paying occupations. If we add to this number all the teachers, clerks, agents and commercial travelers, who, though belonging to the wage-receiving class, can never be identified with the mere workingmen, we find that the numerical majority of our voting and fighting population is decidedly on the side of capital as opposed to labor alone. This showing, according to the *New York Tribune*, is made out without attempting to diminish the numbers of the labor-party by subtracting from the consideration all those workingmen who have cash put away in savings banks and in one place and another. There is no chance for a scare, Mr. Phillips.

FOREIGN.

Servia thinks she won't.
Pees iz good enuf for evry da ware.
The Russian soldiers read the Bible with great avidity.
There is no use in being big and mighty if you don't have the best gun.

The death of Thiers made the British anxious for the future of Europe.

The Czarevitch's army is mostly concentrated between Terstenick and Biela.

The Porte is trying to have us believe that it has sent 30,000 men to help Osman Pasha.

M. Thiers loved pets. They kept his heart green, when he was working at dry budgets and dispatches.

The first division of the Imperial Russian Guard is pouring into Bulgaria. The second is coming right along.

The Republicans of France are managing their papers with a great deal of business skill, and greatly increasing their circulation.

We shall have to do something to keep England from going to China by the way of St. Petersburg. Russia begins to weaken.

Suleiman Pasha has begun fighting against Shipka Pass. He took Fort St. Nicholas, an important redoubt of the Russians, but could n't hold it.

Gen. Todleben, the inventor of sand-bag fortifications, is going to plan some winter camps for the Russians in Bulgaria. Wonder if he has consulted the Turks about staying there.

MacMahon has given notice that he will nominate his own candidates for the French Assembly, and that the people had better vote for them. "And if you don't vote for them we shall be mad! we shall be real angry!"

Two-thirds of the railway systems of Belgium are operated by the Government. Up to 1852 the roads had been worked at a loss of \$6,000,000; at the end of 1865 this deficit had been turned into a profit of over \$6,000,000.

The number of trees in the public places of Paris is set down at 104,900. The annual cost of keeping in order the trees, shrubbery and seats upon the boulevards, and in the public squares and gardens, is nearly \$400,000.

The old story of dividing Turkey between Austria, Russia and Germany has been revived. England to have Egypt and the Suez canal and Crete, to keep her quiet. This sounds strange. We had begun to think of dividing Russia.

The presents carried to the Pope by the pilgrims amounted to £675,000. Of this sum one-fourth will be reserved for the expenses of the Holy Chair; another fourth will be divided among the faithful employes of the Vatican; and another will be devoted to the restoration of ecclesiastical monuments, and the like, while the remaining fourth will go to hospitals and asylums.

There is little to say about the campaign in Bulgaria after saying that the Russians are still bombarding Plevna. Their grand attack was not well sustained, and consequently of the three redoubts which they captured they only retained but one—the Grivica redoubt—which, at the latest accounts they have been able to hold against repeated attacks, from the Turks. Mehemet Ali Pasha has gained some slight advantage over a small outpost of Russians on the Banica Lom, but has done nothing to seriously threaten the security of the Russians who have their center near Biela, or to interrupt the operations at Plevna. In this lull of active operations the diplomatists and gossips talk of mediation and listen to stories of outrage in Roumelia.

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