THE

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

DEVOTED TO THE ENLARGEMENT AND PERFECTION OF HOME.

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WHAT THE PAPER IS AND WHAT IT IS NOT.

THE sub-heading under the title tells in as few words as possible what the AMERICAN SOCIALIST *is;* but to see how the object proposed in that sub-heading permeates vast varieties of discussion and information on Communism, Coöperation and all connected themes, political and religious, the paper itself must be read. To show what the AMERICAN SOCIALIST is *not*, we quote a passage from a letter received from a Shaker of very high standing in his order—in fact, a member of the Ministry, and surely a trustworthy witness for the point he makes. After reading the paper a year, he says: "I see that some are, as I was a year ago, misled by supposing the AMERICAN SOCIALIST to be the organ of the Oneida Community, when it seems no more to be the organ of that body than though such body had no existence. I have perused it with some care the past year, with others, and find it "first best" of its class. Of all the *solidaire* Socialistic organs, it stands without a peer."

A COMMUNISTIC PLAN OF SUBSCRIPTION.

Old subscribers express enthusiastic appreciation of the paper, whenever they say any thing of its character; but it is evident that the hard times are bearing so heavily on the tax-burdened people, that they find it difficult to spare a dollar or two for a paper they really prize. Now and then an able-bodied man writes sending a dollar and apologizing for not sending two to pay for a full year, by saying that he has been laying by that dollar, a few pennies at a time, for several weeks! Others, yet worse off, ask us to give them a month or two more in which to prepare for a similar payment. Such letters touch us in a tender spot, and we shall do what we can, without actually entering on the credit system, to help bridge over present poverty. In a few instances wealthy readers of the SOCIALIST have sent five dollars or more to pay for the new volume, the amount in excess of two dollars being intended as a gift to us. Such cases are rare, but they suggest a method whereby the real spirit of Communism might act so as to relieve poor people and at the same time extend the circulation of our paper, notwithstanding the hard times. Let every person who can spare a dollar besides his regular subscription, and who is interested in our cause, send the dollar to us with the name of some poor person to whom he would like the SOCIALIST sent, *and we will contribute the other dollar in every case and send a full volume.* That is, we will contribute as much, in this way, as all others will send us. If the sender does not know a suitable poor person who would like to receive the paper, we will, when requested, suggest one of the many who apply to us and state his lack of means. This plan is exactly suited to the genius of Communism, which teaches those who have an abundance to help those who lack. There are plenty of men who can spare a dollar for such a cause as this, if they can but be appealed to. The success of any such plan depends on the earnestness with which our readers themselves will advocate and make it known.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Communications for the AMERICAN SOCIALIST are invited from all friends of its purposes. Its editors, however, must be the judges of the fitness of articles sent; and they can not undertake to return manuscripts that do not suit them, unless the writers expressly request it and inclose postage money when the manuscripts are sent.

All correspondence should be addressed to

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TWO KINDS OF COMMUNISM.

From the *Baltimore Standard.*

There is a great deal of absurd talk about Communism by persons who should know better. Political Communism scarcely exists at all in this country. The facilities for individual accumulations of property render all arbitrary projects of agrarian division very unpopular. In Europe, political Communism aims to equalize the conditions of men by giving to townships or communities a good degree of self-government, as we do in this country; by abolishing entail and primogeniture, as we have abolished them in this country; by providing for the support, at public expense, of those who are in distress, as we do in hospitals and almshouses; and, perhaps, in some cases, by placing a heavier rate of taxation on those enormously rich than on the poor; or by providing work for those who are poor and out of employment.

This is the kind of Communism that, when menaced by aristocracy in France, becomes frantic. It is the kind that is dangerous to public robbers and respectable plunderers. It has no force in this country, and almost its only adherents here are immigrants from France or Germany. Not one in ten thousand of our workingmen has any desire to trench on the property rights of others, since each knows that the destruction of the rights of others will destroy his own rights. The clamor against this sort of Communism is alike absurd and mischievous.

Another form of Communism is social coöperation—a sort of joint-stock mode of living and doing business, in which everybody has a sufficiency of food and raiment, but robs no one outside the company nor inside it of a dollar. There are twenty-seven such societies in the United States, and none of their members ever suffer from want. Some of them may have vain or foolish regulations, but, in spite of those, they all do well in a material and moral sense. In none of them is there a dollar spent for police, or lawyers, or judges, or their own poor, or penal institutions. They have peace, morality, and plenty. What right has any one outside such companies to denounce them, where they rob no one and live happy and comfortable?

There are two forms of this Communism. Approximation to one or other of them is found in all banking, shipping, trading and manufacturing companies; in gas and water companies; in postal arrangements by Government; in the telegraph conducted by the Government, as in England; in the control of railroads by Government as in Austria and other countries; and in the Granger organizations in this country. Whether we are opposed to or favor this tendency to Communism, it is a fact that cannot be denied or defeated. The fact that a particular mode seems injudicious is no reason for denouncing that Communism which makes all its members happy and injures no others.

A NATIONAL "ENLARGED HOME."

At the present time, when so many American citizens are urging that the Government should be empowered to do many things in a Communistic way, besides managing our post-offices and custom-houses and fighting the Indians, it may be interesting to note how the Government succeeds in managing her great Homes for Disabled Soldiers. A number of these have been established since the war of the Rebellion was ended, of which that at Dayton, Ohio, is the most important. For a description of this "Central Home" we are indebted to the publications mentioned below. At this Home 4,523 disabled soldiers were cared for during the year 1877. The buildings are 132 in number, and taken together have the appearance of a small city. Many of them are of uniform size and appearance, surmounted with Mansard roofs. There is a hospital, of brick, three stories high, 263 feet long, accommodating, with perfectly ventilated rooms and every convenience, 300 patients. This building alone cost $200,000.

There is a Gothic church* built of stone, 89 feet long, 54 wide, with beautiful windows of stained glass. In the tower is a large clock, with dial visible from all parts of the Home, and a large clear-toned bell, cast from brass cannon, captured from the enemy during the War of the Rebellion. The basement of the Church is fitted up for a Society Hall, and is used each evening by one of the Associations of the Home, among which are the "Grand Army of the Republic," "Sons of Temperance," "Hibernian Society," "German Veteran Society," etc. The upper room is beautifully frescoed and furnished and will comfortably seat nearly 1,000 persons. While there is a regular chaplain, who holds services every Sunday, attendance is entirely voluntary, and the Church is equally open and free to all sects and denominations, whether Catholic or Protestant, and the same rights and privileges are granted to each, whatever their name or belief.

There is a splendid Music Hall, constructed within the last year, designed for lectures, concerts, dramatic representations, minstrel shows, military drills, etc., which will accommodate 2,000 persons. It was erected as a "Memorial Hall," without cost to the Government; the money coming from the disabled veterans themselves, through what is called the "Amusement Fund." Instead of "Sutlers" and "Post-traders," so disgraceful to the Army, the Homes have stores, restaurants, etc., where everything not actually hurtful can be purchased at fair prices, and the profits of which are carefully preserved and the means furnished for the Band (which in fine weather gives concerts every afternoon), dramatic and minstrel troupes, and other amusements, as also for purchase of billiard and bagatelle tables, chess, checkers, dominoes, etc., and books, newspapers, etc., for the Library and Reading-room; and besides all this, to construct this splendid new Music Hall, which is open almost every night for entertainments of some kind, furnished by the men, or by kind ladies and gentlemen from Dayton and the neighboring cities and villages.

There is a Library and Reading-room, containing 4,000 volumes, the leading magazines and reviews and 300 daily and weekly newspapers.

There is a large brick building used exclusively for bathing, not only furnished with hot and cold baths without price, but every man in the institution is required to take one bath each week.

There is a large three-story brick building for amusements.

There are a large number of work-shops for shoemakers, tailors, tinners, saddlers, blacksmiths, broommakers, cigar-makers, plumbers, stocking-knitters, etc., etc. In addition to the labor performed in the work-shops and upon the farms and gardens (which cover 400 acres of fine land in the fertile Miami valley), much is done in construction and repairs, and in the official and domestic service at the Home; it being an imperative order of the Board of Managers that all labor and service in and about the Home shall, in so far as possible, be performed by the disabled soldiers themselves, for which they receive a reasonable compensation, varying from $5 to $25 per month. Accordingly, all the clerks, sergeants, corporals, nurses, watchmen, police, etc., are selected from the inmates. Besides, they engineer, repair and run their own engines, make their own gas, bake their bread, butcher their cattle, do the cooking, washing, and ironing, for all the men, and perform all the other labor and service usual and necessary in such institutions. 1,566 men were so employed last year, and $90,506.74 paid them therefor. These sums seem large, but the same service outside of the Home would command more than twice the money, and much of this money is returned to the Home in shop and farm and garden products, in some cases yielding a handsome profit; and a considerable portion is sent by those who earn it to dependent wives and children, or left with the treasurer and put at interest for the benefit of the soldier, until a sufficient sum is realized to enable him to buy a home or engage in some little outside business, in either case relieving the Home from his further support.

Another excellent feature of the institution is a school where veterans are instructed in useful callings. Here men who have lost their right arm are taught to write with the left hand. Others are taught book-keeping, and others still are prepared for teaching school, so that they can go out in the world again and earn their own living; others are learning to read, some of them

* Sketch of the Central National Home, printed at the Home.

(mostly colored men) having to commence at the alphabet. A large class are being taught telegraphy, with a view of earning a living as telegraph operators; and to facilitate their studies, as well as to connect the Home with the outside world a telegraph line has been erected to the city. There are also classes in music, both instrumental and vocal. A printing-office, with two Gordon presses, and complete in all its parts, is in successful operation, which, besides doing all the printing of the Home, enables one-legged and other disabled men to learn type-setting as a means of future employment. Many one-armed men have learned trades, such as painting, suited to their disability, while others still are taught cigar-making, broom and basket-making, stocking knitting, etc., etc.

There is of course a large steam laundry, at which all the washing of the entire institution is done.

"The Dining Hall*, set for dinner, is a beautiful sight, with its long tables covered with neat cloths, shining ware, and comfortable appointments. Here, too, are flags and pictures, giving the walls a cheerful look. The bill of fare is quite generous, being different for every day in the week. Here is a specimen of that which governs from December till the spring vegetables come in:

SUNDAY.

Breakfast—Boiled ham, potatoes, brown bread, butter, coffee.
Dinner—Roast mutton, potatoes, tomatoes, pie, bread, butter, coffee.
Supper—Bread and butter, gingerbread, fruit, tea, beets.

MONDAY.

Breakfast—Corned beef, potatoes, bread, butter, coffee.
Dinner—Macaroni soup, boiled beef, potatoes, bread, crackers.
Supper—Mush and syrup, warm biscuit, butter, cheese, tea.

TUESDAY.

Breakfast—Irish stew, potatoes, bread, butter, coffee.
Dinner—Pork loins, kraut or turnips, pickles, bread, butter, coffee.
Supper—Bread, butter, cake, fruit, tea.

WEDNESDAY.

Breakfast—Beef, stewed onions, potatoes, bread, butter, coffee.
Dinner—Mutton pot-pie, tomatoes, brown and white bread, coffee.
Supper—Cold beef, beets, bread, butter, tea.

"The steward has some liberty to vary this, but not to reduce the general average.

"Just back of the dining-room is the grand kitchen. Five enormous coffee-caldrons, containing eighty gallons each, hold just enough for each meal; and four soup-kettles, with a capacity of one hundred gallons each, supply the soup for one dinner. These are run by steam supplied from the laundry some rods away. The pot-pie for Wednesday requires twenty-one sheep, seven barrels of potatoes, a hundred pounds of flour and six dozen eggs—no pot-pie to spare either. Fifteen barrels of 'heads' supply cabbage for one dinner. The ordinary dinner without soup or pot-pie requires seven hundred pounds of meat. The last poultry dinner, a treat, required just one ton of dressed fowls. On Easter morning the veterans ate three thousand eggs and thirty large hams. The bulk of hash is incredible. *Such an amount of cooking done by a few men, and so cheap, raises the question if there is not a better day coming, when several families shall club together and do their own cooking in the same manner, at about one-fifth the cost and trouble each family now has.*"

The Home provides liberally, not only the necessaries of life, but many comforts and luxuries not usual in public institutions; and yet, although the men are better and more generously provided, the average cost per man is actually less than at any other of the public institutions of the United States, being only $131.95 per annum.

There are also rustic arbors, grottos, springs, flower gardens, fountains, conservatories, lakes, beautiful groves, a deer park, etc., etc., to gladden the eye, and make the Home attractive to its thousands of inmates.

This is one of the Homes which the Government has made for its disabled veterans; there is another near Augusta in Maine; another near Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and still another near Fortress Monroe in Virginia. A description of them makes one almost wish he had lost an arm or leg in his country's service that he might seek admission to one of them for life. But why should not those who have only known the ways of peace have Homes as large and beautiful as are enjoyed by those who have shed blood?

A CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

The Omaha, Neb., *Bee* gives the following particulars concerning an installment land purchase:

"The employés of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad have formed an association for the purpose of buying 50,000 acres of Nebraska land from the Burlington and Missouri River Land Company. The objects in view are: First, the obtaining of good, secure investments for savings; second, the securing of lands at the present very low prices; third, to obtain by combination wholesale prices on the lands. The association has made a proposition to the Land Department to buy 50,000 acres of land in different counties south of the Platte river, Nebraska, with an average appraised credit price of $4 per acre, the same to be turned over to the association at the rate of $1.80 per acre, payable in monthly installments extending over two years. Under this plan any Chicago, Burlington employé can buy, say, eighty acres of land appraised at $4 per acre, credit price, for $1.80 per acre, total $144, which would probably be paid in monthly installments of $6 per month, extending over two years, without interest. Thus a man can get a farm for the small payment of $1.50 per week for two years."

* History of the National Home, written by a veteran of the Home, published at Dayton, Ohio.

THE SCOTCH COMMUNITY AT ORBISTON.

III.

From Sargant's "Robert Owen and his Philosophy."

In the early autumn of 1827 a heavy calamity fell upon the society, in the death of Abram Combe. Illness had for sometime prevented him from continuing his superintendence; and during his absence there had been adopted the unhappy resolution of attempting a Community of property; but had he recovered his health, that mistake might have been corrected. Combe had not given up his tannery at Edinburgh, but had taken two partners to assume the active management; and he had removed with his family to Orbiston. The labor, anxiety, and vexations, of this large experimental establishment are supposed to have been too much for his constitution. * * * * *

Combe was an earnest philanthropist, ready to sacrifice his business, his time and his person to the carrying out a project, destined as he hoped to regenerate humanity, but requiring at first the fostering care and the unsparing exertions of those who had commenced it. In Edinburgh he learned for the first time something of the structure and use of his lungs; and then he stood aghast at his own folly. I cannot wonder at his wish, that of the five years he had devoted to the study of Latin one month had been applied to instruction in anatomy. However, after giving his lungs perfect rest for a fortnight, he returned to Orbiston in comparative health; and he continued to improve till August, when continued exposure to a draught of wind brought on violent inflammation of the lungs, which left him in a weakly condition from which he never rallied. He looked death in the face with a stoical firmness, and though tried by pain and weakness, revolved his past life, and dictated his own epitaph to his son of thirteen in the following words:—

His conduct in life met
The approbation of his own mind at the
Hour of death.

He said that the last five or six years, during which he had been actively engaged in promoting the welfare of his kind, had been a period of delight; whereas his earlier life, in which he had thought of himself alone, had been dreary and barren; and he added that were his life offered to him over again, he would gladly accept those felicitous five or six years and decline the rest. He died on the 27th of August, 1827, in the confirmed belief of the superiority of Owen's new system over the old system that actually prevailed, and in an unshaken expectation of the success of Socialism. I do not believe that if Combe had lived he could have saved his darling Community; but his death was the death-blow of Orbiston.

The origin of a nation is commonly hidden from us by thick clouds of myth and tradition; the conclusion of an unsuccessful project is generally equally inpenetrable. But in this case, through the kindness of Mr. Pare,* I am able to satisfy the curiosity of the lovers of a *dénoûement*. During Abram Combe's long illness, his brother William had acted as his substitute. Abram died at the end of August, 1827. Within a month of this calamity, there appeared in the *Glasgow Chronicle* a letter complaining of the management at Orbiston; to which William Combe replied, that the best answer to the invective was the success of the project. But he must have either deceived himself, or wilfully put too good a face on a sinking concern; possibly in the hope to resuscitate it by his boldness; for within a month of the date of his letter he gave the whole of the population notice to quit, allowing them only a few weeks to make their arrangements. In November accordingly, the date fixed by the notice and only three months after Abram Combe's death, most of the coöperators left Orbiston and returned to the world without.

It will be remembered that by Abram Combe's arrangement, the land, buildings and plant were the property of a company, which let the whole to the co operators as tenants, and it seems, as tenants at will. The working Community, therefore, was liable to be turned out at any time; and the sudden displacement was a result that was always contingent. I cannot believe that the benevolent and theoretical persons who constituted the company of proprietors would have acted in this harsh manner; but something has been said about a mortgage for 16,000*l.* which hung on the estate: and probably it was the mortgagees who, failing the payment of interest, seized on the security. This may explain William Combe's apparent inconsistency; because he may have overlooked this danger.

In the year 1828, the tenants having mostly departed, the standing crops were sold, the furniture and plant were put up to auction, and in the end the buildings, being utterly useless, were razed to the ground. This result was a strange comment on Abram Combe's assertion, that so far as the proprietors were concerned, failure was all but impossible. He said that joint-stock companies sometimes received no income for many years, or even altogether lost their capital; but that as to Orbiston, it was impossible to conceive any circumstances under which fertile land, commodious dwelling-houses, convenient workshops or manufacturies, and the best machinery, could become of little or no value. Three years later, and though the land remained, the houses and factories were so valueless that they were pulled to pieces.

Mr. Pare has expressed, no doubt, the sense of the coöperative world, in saying that the experiment was "as wrongly begun and ill-conducted as it was abruptly ended."

* One of Mr. Owen's literary executors.

ELEVATING THE WORKING CLASS.

From the Grange Bulletin.

On the 30th of March, 1878, at a meeting held in the interest of working people at Newport, England, a paper with the above title was read by Mr. Hurn, which was so well received that a resolution was adopted advising its being placed in the hands of every workingman. The substance of the paper was as follows:

It is the duty of every one to do what he can to benefit our fellow workingmen. The question may be asked, Who do you mean by the workingmen? This term is much misunderstood, for there are very few who do not work in some way or other; but the persons now referred to are those who have to work at menial labor for their daily bread, who if their health fail so that they are unable to work, their money is stopped. These may be divided into three classes, namely: 1st, those who are provident, sober and industrious, and who under any circumstances will get on. 2d, those who don't care so they just make both ends meet, who never think of providing for sickness, loss of work or old age. 3d, those who find it impossible, try as they will, to save ever so little of their wages.

Among the first of the agencies for elevating workingmen were the "friendly" societies, meaning those which, by their rules, render aid and assistance to members in case of sickness or other misfortune.

The next are trade-unions. It was thought that trade-unions would do for the working-class what everything else had failed to accomplish. The trade-unions have been the means of great good for the working class. They have taught them discipline, and in many instances have made them thoughtful. There is no doubt that many workingmen are getting more money now than ever they would have had if it were not for their unions. But when we admit all this—and there is no doubt much more might be said of the good trade-unions have done for their members—yet the good they are able to do is limited. They can never permanently benefit the working class. It was thought some years ago, when wages rose fast, that the unions would be able to keep them up. It was then stated that wages would never come down to what they were before. But with the increased wages working people were not so well off as their earnings seemed to indicate, for with the rise of wages nearly all necessary comforts rose in even greater proportion; and now that wages have gone down lower than it was supposed they would ever go again, we find that the prices of goods necessary for the maintenance of a family have not come down in proportion. The consequence is that the working-class are worse off than they were before the rise. Workmen are beginning to realize that if the manufacturer has to pay more money to get his work done, he will charge more for the article he is producing. We know now that it is the buyer, and not the manufacturer, who has to suffer from the rise in workmen's wages. Even if we admit that the workmen's wages may rise without a corresponding rise in the articles produced, so that the profits of the employer are reduced, you may depend upon it, it will not last long. The employer will watch his opportunity, and when trade is slack, that is, when the workman wants it most, the rise which for a time he was forced to give will be taken away, and besides—it is often done—he will try to lower the workman's wages below what it really should be. Then follows a strike with all its attending evils, during which the workman

is sure to lose more than ever he gained. A strike means that an employer will try to starve the workman, and the workman try to inflict such a loss on the employer as will make him give in. Thus we see those who should work harmoniously together arrayed in hostile camps. No matter who wins, or who has to give in first, both must lose; the workman in wages, the employer by having his capital lying idle. This must always be the case under the present system; the workman always thinking that he is not paid enough for his work, and the employer that he pays too much. The consequence is that when trade is brisk the workman wants more wages; when trade is slack the employer has to lower wages. To prevent strikes, which all admit to be a great evil, boards of arbitration and conciliation were tried. It was thought that all disputes would be settled by them, and in many instances they have been successful. But it is only necessary to mention the late great strike of the cotton-mill operatives, and the present strike of the masons (which has already cost their union $150,000 to support the men in idleness), to prove boards of arbitration will never do away with strikes while the present relations exist between labor and capital. The workman abides by the award when it is in favor, but when otherwise, he in some instances refuses to be bound by the result, and we read of employers who, after an award has been given, have tried to get the workmen to accept lower wages than was agreed upon, under the plea that they would be able to undersell other employers.

It may be regarded as conclusive that arbitration can only be resorted to when there is some margin of profit left, but at best it is a clumsy expedient, which utterly fails unless the conditions are favorable. Workingmen are beginning to realize that trade-unions cannot do for them what it was thought they would. They are learning the real causes of low wages consequent upon a decrease of profits to the manufacturers; among these, the principal one is undoubtedly the system of passing goods through the hands of many middlemen on their way from the producer to the consumer. It has developed itself to enormous proportions. There are too many of them. The system is an enormous waste. They add to cost without making the goods any better. The number should be reduced to the minimum, if not done away with altogether. The aim of the employer and workmen should be to bring manufacturers and consumers together, and thus save the enormous tribute which is paid to support a superfluous medium of transfer. The profits of the producer and manufacturer would then be enhanced, and as a consequence the wages of the workman would be increased.

We believe that the system of coöperation will do this, and do for the working class what nothing else can. Men at once feel the good effects of coöperation. Not only is it a present good, but by it men may do for themselves what under any other system they would be unable to accomplish, namely, become their own employers. This, and nothing less, is the aim of all true coöperators. We say the good effects of coöperation are felt at once. There is no man, be he ever so poor, but may join and share the blessings coöperation places within the reach of all. He will at once add his savings to his wages besides getting better goods for his money. To those workingmen who are earning just enough to keep themselves and family—who out of their earnings find it impossible even to pay sick-club money, much less put some by for a rainy day—to all such persons we would say, "Join a coöperative society."

Those are always the most difficult persons to deal with. They look upon themselves as helpless to do anything more than work while health and strength last, and then, when health fails they know not what is to become of them. To help these and the class below them without taking from them their independence, which is regarded as a birthright is a question statesmen and philanthropists have been trying to answer for many years.

Mr. Cross, Secretary of State for the Home Department, Great Britain, in a speech delivered at Glasgow, said:

"One of the great difficulties that a statesman has to contend with is this, that he sees not only so much wealth around him, but so much of everything that is degrading in all our great cities, that it is enough almost to make his heart fail when he begins to attempt to do something to alleviate that vice and poverty. There surely can be nothing more true than the statement that you can never hope to produce habits of self-control among the great masses of the poorer working classes of our people, unless you first induce them to have feelings of self-respect. We believe that coöperation will teach them self-respect, for they will find themselves slowly but surely saving money, and nothing will give a man a higher opinion of himself than the knowledge that he has money in the stores to his credit. Don't believe for one moment that any scheme, however good it may be for the raising and uplifting of workingmen, can be carried out suddenly. It must be done slowly, it must be done by degrees, and the man must do it for himself."

We know he is right. There are those who find fault with coöperation that it is too slow. But we say if slow it is sure. And while to the poor, and otherwise helpless, it is good news; to those who are provident and able to put some money by for a rainy day, the system of coöperation offers advantages of the most favorable kind. For while they themselves will be deriving benefit they will also be helping those who otherwise lack the power of bettering their condition. Coöperation offers a most favorable opportunity to the thoughtful and thrifty of practicing a wise economy and cultivating honest and provident habits. By it, the already thoughtful may increase their intelligence and business abilities, which will be of use to them as they go through life. It is an incentive to industry, sobriety and thrift. The more widely, therefore, it is known and brought within the reach of all the more will its good effects be felt. There is an old saying that "selfishness is the best form of philanthrophy," for if every one was to care for himself there would be no one uncared for. This would do very well if we were all blessed alike, but we know that God, in his providence, has not so blessed us. Some there are who have to struggle with poverty from their earliest infancy; to them it means anything but justice. But under the system of coöperation, the selfishness of each is used for the good of all. Under this system the more one tries to help himself the more good he does for his fellow creature.

Mr. J. W. A. Right says that

"Coöperation is the great means by which the toiling masses may raise themselves as a class out of the miseries into which they are plunged by the abuse of competition. It is the great means by which the richer class may make their wealth produce more comfort to themselves, while they remove the causes of pauperism and wretchedness. To the poor it is the self-help which is the only true help. To the rich it is the uniter of interests, the healer of discords, the preventer of strikes, the safety-valve against explosion. To all, it is justice, wisdom, economy, and morality; justice by dividing profits equitably; wisdom by showing how justice can be secured; economy, by preventing the waste of competition; morality, by discountenancing the frauds of trade."

But we say that under the system of coöperation, men may become their own employers. To do this two things at least are necessary, namely: money and business ability. We all know that nothing can be done without money, and we are among those who think that while there are men who will risk capital in building factories and filling them with machinery they should, as a right, get a good return for such capital. We shall never be among those who seem to delight in abusing the capitalist. Workingmen will be acting wiser when, instead of quarreling with capital, they will try to acquire some for themselves, and use it for the same end as the employer does. Coöperation makes it possible for all to do this, and that without denying themselves any necessary thing. By simply leaving their dividend at the stores without putting any of their earnings there, they will soon have a sum of money that will surprise them. But while nothing can be done without money, yet before workingmen can manage with efficiency productive establishments they must have some amount of business qualifications, and distributive coöperation offers a most favorable opportunity of developing such abilities. And as in distribution, coöperation has been the means of saving a large sum of money, by being able to distribute cheaper than the ordinary shopkeepers, so we believe in a coöperative works, where it would be to the advantage of every one to do his best, to put the best workmanship in the articles he is making, and to do it in the least possible time, a large sum of money may be saved anually. Now, it is to the advantage of the workman to make a job last as long as he can unless it is piece work, and then it is to his advantage to scamper over his work. Both these evils coöperation would do away with. This seems to be the only way of reconciling capital and labor, making both work together for the good of all. A few such works as these, we believe would effectually do away with strikes. We believe that coöperation is founded on right principles; on the principle of the strong helping the weak; on the principle of each man for his brother, and God for all. Coöperation makes it possible to bring into operation the Divine principle of "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you do ye even so unto them." Here then is a system where the Christian, the philanthropist, all whose aim it is to leave the world better than they found it, may meet together to help their less favored brethren; and such a task is one of the noblest duties worthy and good men can possibly engage in.

RUSKIN ON THE COMING CRISIS.

From Fors Clavigera.

"Was the leisure of the Greeks not owing to the hard work of the helots and slaves they had?" asked my old friend Thomas Dixon.

Yes, truly, good laborer; nor the Greeks' leisure only, but also—if we call it leisure—that of the rich and powerful of this world, since this world began. And more and more I perceive, as my old age opens to me the deeper secrets of human life, that the true story and strength of that world are the story and strength of these helots and slaves: and only its fiction and feebleness in the idleness of those who feed on them:—which fiction and feebleness, with all their cruelty and sensuality, filling the cup of fornication of the kings of the earth now to the lip, must be, in no long time now, poured out upon the earth; and the cause of the poor judged by the King who shall reign in righteousness. For all these petty struggles of the past, of which you write to me, are but the scudding clouds and first wailing winds, of the storm which must be as the sheet-lightning—from one part of heaven to the other,—"So also shall the coming of the Son of Man be."

Only the first scudding clouds, I say,—these hitherto seditious; for as yet they have only been of the ambitious or the ignorant; and only against tyrannous men: so that they ended, if successful, in mere ruinous license; and if they failed, were trampled out in blood: but *now*, the ranks are gathering, on the one side, of men rightly informed, and meaning to seek redress by lawful and honorable means only; and on the other, of men capable of compassion, and open to reason, but with personal interest at stake so vast, and with all the gear and mechanism of their acts so involved in the web of past iniquity, that the best of them are helpless and the wisest blind.

No debate on such terms, and on such scales, has yet divided the nations; nor can any wisdom foresee the sorrow, or the glory, of its decision. One thing only we know, that in this contest, assuredly, the victory cannot be by violence; that every conquest under the Prince of War retards the standards of the Prince of Peace; and that every good servant must abide his Master's coming in the patience, not in the refusal of his daily labor.

CONVERSION TO UNSELFISHNESS.

To the Editors of the American Socialist:—With many thanks for your kind insertion and notice of my remarks on the means by which the change of character necessary for the realization of a well-ordered and happy state of society is to be effected (Am. Soc. June 13), I write again to beg to be allowed to say a few more words on this vital subject. We are quite "at one" in the belief that "something stronger than reading or intellectual instruction of any kind will be required to prepare the world for Communism," and that "spiritual" conditions are wanted. This is the point I am so desirous to explain. I see in general that the advocates of Socialism appeal exclusively to material considerations, and that they seem to imagine that a change of outward conditions is all that is wanted.* They overlook the necessity for a spiritual or moral or religious change in man himself; or if they do not overlook this necessity they imagine that the spiritual or inward change will be produced by the required changes of outward conditions, or "for and not by" the individual, or by some forms of education in which there is no recognition of the necessary means. And consequently their views and writings upon the subject are comparatively of little value. They evidently have no knowledge of this part of it.

I desire to point out that this is a fatal mistake; and to point out the matter-of-fact means by which the required change in man will be effected—the means by which it was originally effected in Mr. Owen, more than fifty years before (in 1853 in the 83rd year of his age) he became a believer in spirits—and the means by which it has been effected in those whom I have known who have similarly experienced it, to some extent, and in whom it could not have been produced by the fourth class of means, because these are dependent upon a form of belief which they had not and could not acquire. We want the change to be effected in men of all theological creeds—in Jews, Mahomedans, and Hindoos, and "Infidels," and non-Spiritists, as well as in Christians of all sects and in Spiritists.

It is in the first place a change from not knowing to knowing certain matter-of-fact truths in reference to the formation of character. And as the knowledge of these truths can only be acquired by the careful observation of the facts in which they are to be seen—facts which may be called the words of God, spoken or revealed to all men in the works of Nature—and as the spiritual change can only be effected in the adults of the present mistrained generation by applying the knowledge thus obtained in the regulation of their social feelings and conduct, by much personal spiritual discipline, it is not a change which can be effected by mere reading or intellectual instruction, or by sudden inspiration. It must be worked out by the individuals for themselves.

They must "work out their own salvation" from the defective intellectual and spiritual character of the old system, to the elevated character in both respects which is required. But to enable them to do so they must be assisted by external and internal means. The internal means will be the new ideas or knowledge obtained by the observation of facts. Books or verbal instruction will be the external means to guide them in this observation of

* See, for instance, the statement in the Am. So. of June 13, that "the Socialistic Labor Party sees in the false relations of labor and capital the *cause*" of our Social evils; in which nothing is said of the intellectual and spiritual cause of these false relations, and therefore of all the other effects enumerated.

the facts; but they can never be substitutes for it. Even the change from the old to the new surroundings will not produce the required change without the personal agency of the individual in acquiring the new knowledge and in applying it.

In acquiring the new knowledge he will experience the intellectual change from not knowing to knowing what he must know—namely, in the first place, to knowing the general matter-of-fact truth that "the formation of man's character is dependent upon conditions," and to knowing the application of this truth in the regulation of our social feelings and conduct. Having obtained this knowledge he must apply it; and by applying it he will acquire the enlightened spirit of Socialism, the spirit of intelligent good-will towards every one, by which he will be caused to love, or wish well to, not only his friends and those who in his estimation are "good," but also his enemies, and even the worst of mankind. And thus the selfish, evil spirit of the old world will be driven out of him—"Satan will be put down under his feet," and the matter-of-fact Religion of Socialism will be obtained—the spirit of reverence for humanity, and for goodness, and for the Deity, "from whom all blessings flow"—whatever may be their ideas or belief respecting this incomprehensible Power. For those who cannot conceive of this Power as a person must still believe in the existence of a first cause, the source of all that is effected in nature; and, to be consistent, must cease to imagine that man can be a first or independent cause of changes in himself—a belief in which the first commandment, that we shall acknowledge but one first cause, is set at nought. And this religion, men of every theological creed may acquire; and it will enable all who acquire it to unite in kindness of feelings to do to others in all things as they would have others to do to them. I must not intrude upon your space with detailed explanations; but will beg to refer the reader to my little "Manual of Social Science."

HENRY TRAVIS.

REMARK BY THE EDITOR OF THE AM. SOC.

Mr. Travis still seems to ignore what we regard as the most important means of changing character, but we do not care to keep up a controversy with him.

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

THURSDAY, JULY 11, 1878.

THE *National*—a new daily paper published at Philadelphia in the interests of the Socialistic Labor Party—says: "All the Communities that are now in the United States were established and are successful because of their religion. The godless people never did and never can establish a Community." And again: "The American Communities have a membership that are faithful, deeply religious, constantly industrious; are skilled workers, are successful farmers; are clean, neat, methodic; in some instances they read a wide range of literature. They are strictly *non-political*. They are not cut-throats, nor arsonists, nor robbers, nor mountebanks. They are reputable, orderly, quiet, inoffensive citizens, trying to work out redemption of body and soul from their own peculiar faith."

"WHY DON'T PEOPLE STAY TOGETHER?"

This is the question which F. W. Robbins of Cedar Vale addresses to Alcander Longley, and which the latter answers in the last number of the *Communist* as follows:

"If a man cares more for Communism than he does for anything else, then he will very likely stick to it. But on the other hand, if he cares more for himself than he does for Communism, then he will be very likely to desert the cause upon the appearance of the most trivial trouble. I do hope the time will sometime come when enough men and women will be found with but a thimbleful of faith and devotion, or perhaps I should say with a sufficient appreciation of the truth and importance of the principles of Communism, to enable them to 'stay together and work out the result.' Sufficient faith and perseverance is all that is lacking to overcome all the obstacles to success. And a sufficient appreciation of the great benefits and advantages of Community life is all that is needed to inspire the required faith and perseverance.

"Of course, there are many things to be considered in reference to enabling people to 'stay together.' But there is no more reason why persons should not succeed in Communism than in ordinary business partnerships, if the same precautions are adopted. I have now come to think that persons and principles are of equal importance. An agreement on principles is no assurance of an agreement of persons; but persons who can agree with each other may succeed in realizing their principles. So it is of equal importance to ascertain whether the persons are congenial and compatible with each other, as to ascertain whether they agree in their opinions.

"The separations in Communities occur from the same causes as the separations in other societies, partnerships or families—because either of a difference of opinion on principles or of an incompatibility of persons. Therefore, let Communities be careful to agree both in person and principle, and then have good leaders and obey them, and success and permanency will then displace the failures that otherwise must surely follow."

Friend Longley states an important truth when he says: "It is of equal importance to ascertain whether the persons [who propose to enter into Communism with one another] are congenial and compatible with each other, as to ascertain whether they agree in their opinions." Experience has fully demonstrated that there is no certainty that the members of a Community will stick together because they have certain principles in common. That may be sufficient in less close organizations; but even a celibate Community is like marriage in that it brings members into relations of familiar, every-day intercourse; and unless there is "congeniality and compatibility" sufficient to make that intercourse a source of pleasure and happiness, aversion, alienation or divorce is pretty sure to follow. And, as in marriage, the "congeniality and compatibility" must be permanent. It is not enough that the members are "congenial and compatible" on the start; they must have some well-grounded assurance that their relations will grow more and more satisfactory in these respects, that it will be easier and easier for them to "stay together," and more and more difficult for them to sever their communal bond as the years roll on, or they cannot wisely venture life and property in a Communistic enterprise. In marriage these questions have to be solved for two, in a Community for the entire membership; and as a Community, in order to keep its numbers intact, must add to its membership from time to time, it follows that securing permanent "congeniality and compatibility" in a Community involves not only the establishment of harmonic relations among the original members, but their extension to all subsequent members.

We are free to confess that in our opinion the culture of schools, the refinements of art, the attractions of unitary homes, principles however perfect, regulations however just, are all inadequate to this great work, and that there is required in addition, a power which can produce radical changes of character—soften hearts—break wills—give new purposes—eradicate selfishness—change the whole current of life—bind men in indissoluble bonds. With this power working in a Community there will be no trouble about "the people staying together"—you cannot drive them assunder. Without it, they had better content themselves with some form of associative life requiring less unity for success, like coöperation or joint-stockism.

NEW RELIGION.

St. Louis, Mo., July 3, 1878.

EDITOR AMERICAN SOCIALIST:

My Dear Sir—No; we shall not have a new religion, but we shall have what is infinitely better. I greatly admire Count Cavour as a statesman, but his ignorance of the New Testament was equal to that of your English correspondent. His perspicacious intellect saw the impossibility of reviving Catholicism and the impossibility of man's living without religion, and therefore a new religion must come forth. But what new religion possible to man could ever again bring forth such men as Elijah or Isaiah? Where in all the world can you find religion and poetry combined in purest sublimity equal to this: "Who art thou to be afraid of a man that shall die, and the son of man that shall be as grass, and forgettest the Lord thy Maker, which stretcheth forth the Heavens as a curtain, and layeth the foundations of the earth? The Lord of Hosts is his name." Nothing in Homer or Shakspeare equal to that. And in the cant of the day he had the courage of his opinions, for he was put to a cruel death. But we have greater still. "He shall swallow up Death in victory." This was an actual, literal prophecy, and was actually and literally fulfilled, according to the Apostle Paul, and will be actually and literally fulfilled by the man who believes on him.

"If any man have not the spirit of Christ he is none of his." It would be well for all men to take note of that, for it was spoken by authority. No, we have no need of a new religion. What manner of religion could bring forth a man equal to him who brought immortality to light, *not* by preaching the heathen doctrine of the soul's natural immortality, but by abolishing death? He is all that the heart can desire or the imagination conceive. No, we shall not have a new religion; it would be quite superfluous; but we shall have something infinitely better—A NEW MAN.

In this glorious hope, and in no other,

I am truly yours, J. E. GOODSON.

REMARKS BY THE EDITOR.

Mr. Goodson's enthusiastic loyalty to the Bible is admirable in a sentimental sense. But, curiously, it betrays him at the first dash of his pen into a jumble of an old religion with a new one. Christianity and Judaism are distinct religions. True, they are closely related to each other. Christianity is in some sense the child of Judaism, and derived much of its nature and early education from Judaism. But they are nevertheless two distinct religions; and their present representatives in the world are as truly aliens to each other as Christians and Mahometans. When Mr. Goodson, therefore, cites Elijah and Isaiah as specimens of the religion which he adheres to and reckons to be permanent, he apparently forgets that these venerable men were the product of Judaism, which the new religion of Christ left behind.

But he will say that Christianity, the new religion of 1800 years ago, carried along with it all that was valuable in the old religion out of which it came. Very good; but let us have clear ideas of the principle thus confessed. If a new religion could come out of an old one 1800 years ago, carrying along with it all that was valuable in the old religion out of which it came, may it not be possible that this operation is about to be repeated in these times, when that once-new religion has manifestly become old, both in years and in decay?

That is just what we mean when we say that a new religion is coming. We have no idea that the good things of Christianity and of Judaism are to be left behind and wasted. It is the misery of the materialists that they have to renounce all parentage and inheritance in the old religions. But that was not the way of Christ, and will not be the way of those who carry forward his work in the coming evolution.

We ask Mr. Goodson—Is there not as much need of a new religion in Christendom to-day as there was in Palestine 1800 years ago?

ASPECTS IN SPIRITUALISM.

Two things characterize Spiritualism at this time. One is a sifting process, a weeding out of falsehood and the exposure of frauds. The days of over-credulity are passing away, dishonest mediums are watched with sharper eyes, and all attempts to supplement real mediumistic powers by trickery, when the invisibles fail to respond, or bad conditions exist, are sure to be found out. Spiritualists themselves are becoming wide-awake to the importance of this purifying process, and are diligently working to clear the movement of the bad stuff that has been fastening upon it. The other characteristic of the time is the advance which Spiritualism is quietly making in society. There is less public excitement about it and more private interest in it than ever before. It is winning the attention of cultured people. A great many are studying it, investigating in the privacy of their own families or among select friends. They say little or nothing to their neighbors about what they are doing, and their discoveries or the results they reach are not bruited abroad. In this way we judge that Spiritualism is making greater progress than at any previous time.

One of the things which has been pretty effectually learned among Spiritualists during the past thirty years is the fact that death does not make angels. Persons on changing worlds do not necessarily change their characters. The spiritual world has its rascals, frauds, tramps, parasites and liars, as well as this world. The work of civilization and purification is needed there as much as here. Positive, and in many instances dire, experience has shown that not every spirit that comes rapping, or touching, or mesmerizing, or manifesting itself in any of the possible ways, is worthy to be received. The old New Testament injunction, "Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they be of God," has been proved to be the first and highest law of spirit communication.

On the other hand, an impression is gaining ground among Spiritualists, and is reïnforced by announcements from the other world, that the two worlds are steadily advancing toward each other, and the conditions of intercourse are being rapidly perfected. A great spiritualizing process is recognized as going on among the people of this world which is lifting mankind as a whole into better conditions of influx and mediumship, and preparing the way for manifestations of spirit life and power of a far higher order than have yet been seen. Ancient spirits, who claim to have lived on earth in the old days of Primitive Christianity, say, through mediums whom they intrance, that the time is near at hand when Christ will again manifest himself objectively to the living men and women of this world, as he did to his disciples after his resurrection; and that, with those who lived and worked with and for him in Apostolic days, he will come into open communication

with those who love and believe in him—demonstrating his existence, power and love to them, teaching them personally, and leading them into victory over death. Hitherto, for eighteen hundred years, these spirits say, the conditions of the race in this world have been such that Christ could only manifest himself to men here interiorly, by his spirit and life in their hearts; but the days come when in addition to this he will give them open manifestation of his personal presence. Their eyes will be opened, and they will see him and talk with him and receive his instructions. The conditions which are to make these manifestations possible are now being formed, and they will be perfected as mankind advance into a life of perfect love and Communism. The significance and purpose of the two great present and prospective developments, Spiritualism and Socialism, center in this final manifestation of Christ and his resurrection Kingdom. T. L. P.

PROBLEM IN POLITICAL ECONOMY.

From the N. Y. Graphic.

Mr. Thurlow Weed, in a conversation with a *Tribune* reporter, hits the nail upon the head in regard to the statesmanship demanded by the times in this way:

The world cannot go backward. It must move forward, and society must adjust itself to the new order of things. Something must be discovered by political economists or Government that will provide employment for these unemployed multitudes. These questions have not had the attention of statesmen or economists to a sufficient extent. Men are still busy extending and developing mechanical means and labor-saving expedients.

That is just the point. Machinery has, as Mr. Weed says, been a great blessing in many ways, but it has been a curse in many others. We have put our Frankenstein at work, and he is able to do so much work that millions of men have become "tramps" and "bummers" and paupers. The problem of the hour is how to employ the unemployed masses. Because one man with a machine can make shoes or hats enough to supply 200 men's wants is no reason why 150 persons should go hatless and shoeless and 100 persons remain idle three-quarters of their time. Because improvements in agricultural implements make it possible for five men to do the work of 100 in raising wheat and other products is no reason why a score of men should be permitted to starve and the rest be out of employment half their time. "Supply and demand" will not solve this problem. There is no hope from political economy or the political economists. The world has obtained from them all they have to give.

We have now been for three-quarters of a century developing our resources, and as we have gone on in the development of wealth the condition of the mass of mankind, instead of improving, has gone on retrograding. The time has come when, instead of looking for further development in the immediate future, our governors must endeavor to so regulate our wealth, to so use our resources of all kinds, that the mass of mankind may be benefited instead of being cursed. We will make a great mistake if we imagine that the present popular discontent is causeless—that the labor agitation in California and in Pennsylvania is the outbreak of lawless passion and nothing more. It is much more than this, though lawlessness has doubtless some part in the matter. The fact is, as any one can see by looking around him, the great increase of wealth which this era of invention has brought to us has been of very little benefit to the working classes. Many of them are almost unclothed in the midst of the appliances necessary to clothe three-quarters of the human race, and many are hungry in the presence of a harvest to feed and to spare a population four times as numerous as our own. Soothing words about "its being all right in the future" are wasted on hungry men. The ball is to-day. The question of the hour is how to regulate the distribution of our wealth so that our very richness shall not be a curse to the great masses of the people who will always be compelled to support themselves and their families by manual labor. How to provide the laborer with steady employment is a problem to task our statesmanship to the utmost, and it is a problem whose solution must be attempted in the near future.

"Because one man with a machine can make shoes or hats enough to supply 200 men's wants is no reason why 150 persons should go hatless and shoeless and 100 persons remain idle three-quarters of their time." Exactly so; but that is just what is occurring all over the civilized world; and as "men are still busy extending and developing mechanical means and labor-saving expedients," things are likely to grow worse. Thurlow Weed says "something must be discovered by political economists or Government that will provide employment for these unemployed multitudes, and the *Graphic* indorses this opinion. But can more than temporary relief come in this way? With the present number of workers, aided by machinery, there is an over-production in most departments. Would you have the Government set the unemployed at work on public improvements, and so increase the burden of taxes already so enormous? And do you suppose the fifty or hundred men who have been deprived by a new invention of high wages at a favorite employment will be content to dig canals and make railroad enbankments at low wages? No; this great problem cannot be fully solved by such measures. *Machinery must become a blessing in all ways and a curse in none.* Every new invention must improve the conditions of the workingmen as well as fatten the pockets of the capitalist. If with the aid of the myriad inventions of modern times ten hours produces a surplus, then all should be kept employed for eight hours or six hours, and their chances of earning a comfortable living not jeopardized by these changes. This involves Communism and the abolishment of competitive strife. What other solution is possible?—Ed. Am. Soc.

SOCIALISTIC NOTES.

In Italy work is very scarce and wages very low.

The Oneida Community gave two concerts to visitors on the 4th of July. Their performers are all members of the society.

In England the labor market is quite depressed in several important branches, and strikes against reductions of wages are common.

"In one tenement building in New York city," says the *Independent*, "there live 49 families, or 245 persons, and of the 49 tenants only two are engaged at steady work."

"England," says the *Anglo-American Times*, "is more and more being fed by America. Butter, cheese, hams, bacon, lard, preserved meats (for which there are now large works in Chicago), brawn, and the varieties which their ingenuity finds the means to supply. Cattle are being imported in ship-loads, and the butcher's meat comes across in monthly increasing quantities."

The famine in the northern provinces of China is proving to be the most terrible ever recorded. The worst famine is in Shan-se, about two hundred miles inland from Tientsin. When all possible food-supplies were exhausted those who died of starvation were eaten by their famishing friends. There being no relief, the strong began to kill and eat the weak, and all became victims of a general craze for food. Parents killed and ate their children and children their parents. All became mere animals, struggling to survive. At the latest reports this was the state of things. The Chinese authorities themselves assert that over 5,000,000 of people have died of starvation or of the violence of those who killed them for food. In the face of such an appalling statement as this it is difficult to conceive how people can go on asserting that the population question has no importance—that there is and always will be food enough for everybody, let them breed as fast as they may.

Cassell, Petter & Galpin, large publishers of London, England, have undertaken a praiseworthy scheme for the benefit of their employés. They offer to set apart, each year, a certain proportion of the profits of their whole business, which shall constitute a Relief Fund for the benefit of those who grow old or become disabled in their service; or, in case of the death of an employé, it will furnish a certain annual sum to his family, the amount varying according to the length of his service, and the greater or less profits of the business. If the business continues as good as it has been for the past few years the payments from this Relief Fund will range from $125 to $500 per annum, according to the position and time of service of the person benefited. This is a coöperative feature which in reality gives each workman an interest in the business. Why can it not be generally adopted as a first and easy step toward the unity of interests which alone will make an end of the strife between labor and capital?

In reply to the recent labor circulars of the Department of State, General Badeau, the Consul-General at London, sends a report in which he states that during the past five years wages have increased gradually about 10 per cent., while the cost of living has increased about 25 per cent. Clothing is about 30 per cent. higher, while fuel has not risen in price. Agricultural laborers get from $2 to $3 per week, including beer; building laborers and gardeners from $4.40 to $5.10 per week; bricklayers, carpenters, masons and engineers, from $6.80 to $11 per week, and cabinet-makers, printers and jewelers, from $8 to $12.50 per week, although the best marble masons and jewelers receive $14.75. Bootmakers and tailors get from $4.86 to $7.65 per week; and bakers from $4.65 to $7.26, with partial board. Women servants are paid from $70 to $240 per annum. Railway porters and laborers on public works get from 4.65 to $12 per week. Rents have risen 30 per cent., and are, for artisans in London, from $1.20 to $2.40 per week for one or two rooms. Labor and trade are greatly depressed, no change for the better being yet apparent. The prevalent strikes are unmistakable indications of a want of commercial prosperity; and the markets for staple commodities are very dull, and greatly unsettled by war rumors.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Ouchamps, France, June 19, 1878.

Editors of American Socialist:—The Editors of the Socialist, whose great energy and devotion in behalf of humanity elicit our admiration, seem inclined to cast some reproach upon the Socialists of France for their lethargy and their slight efforts to practically realize their ideas. But one should not forget that an idea should be thoroughly understood before it is carried out; otherwise it will be in continual danger of failure. We have in France had skilled theorists who lacked capital, and we now have devoted Socialists who have not the patience required to free themselves from their preconceived ideas.

America and the United States have not been more favored; for after all your labors there remain of the numerous Socialistic experiments only the Communities which have been organized under Christianity.

Of this kind of Communities France has seen the last disappear, and there no longer remain any but those in which the sexes are separated, which are also Christian. What progress can one expect of such Communities—founded as they are on an incomplete religion, which develops but one of the faculties of humanity, friendship, while it paralyzes all other faculties of the soul, mind and body?

At the Familistère the liberty of capital has been established, without which liberty of labor and liberty of the mind cannot exist.

Liberty of labor is obtained by the organization in groups and series which capital has instituted, and which enables capital to direct its forces instantaneously to any essential point in order to aid groups of labor and improvement.

These are the first elements which give life and strength to a Phalanx or a Community. It is not astonishing that so many Socialistic Societies that have not given the necessary attention to these elements have made shipwreck, while others maintain a feeble existence.

Accept the sentiments of esteem and high consideration of one of your readers. G.

PRIMITIVE SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

II.

Primitive Property. From the French of Emile de Laveleye. London, 1878.

Probably the Communal system of the Russian Empire shows more positive traces of the earlier habits of aggregate ownership than is found elsewhere. The idea of combined interest seems for some reason or other to be more strongly fixed in the Slavic race than in the nations which surround it, either on the east or the west. "In all Russia," says M. Laveleye, "that is to say, in the immense territory which extends to beyond the Dnieper and contains a population of from thirty to thirty-five millions, the land, which does not belong to the Crown or to the lords, is the collective, undivided property of the Commune. The law of February 19, 1861, defines collective property in the following terms: 'Enjoyment in common is the mode of enjoyment regulated by custom, by virtue of which the soil is divided or allotted from time to time among the peasants, either by head, by *tiaglo*,* or otherwise, joint responsibility being imposed upon all for the fulfillment of the obligations attached to the occupancy.'" Here we have a system of modified Communism acknowledged by law, and regulating the habits of a people whose numbers are nearly as large as those of our own nation. The details are interesting, and the reader will note the reverential meaning attached to the Russian *Mir*, as if it were an institution of something more than earthly origin, and deserving of the deepest respect:

"The Commune is the constitutional atom of the Russian nation. It forms a civil person, a juridical corporation, endowed with a vitality very powerful and active, even very despotic. It alone is proprietor of the soil, of which individual members have but the usufruct or temporary enjoyment. It is jointly responsible to the lord for his rent, and to the state for taxes and recruits, in proportion to its population. * * * * * * * * *

"The aggregation of inhabitants of a village, possessing

* The Russian unit of labor.

in common the land attached to it, is called a *Mir*. This word, which appears to belong to all Slavonic dialects, and is found in Tzectic and Silesian documents of the thirteenth century, answers to the idea rendered in the names *Commune*, *Gemeinde*, *communitas;* but in its primitive sense it denotes something venerable and holy, for it also signifies the universe, like the Greek word *kosmos*. The Baron de Haxthausen quotes a great number of Russian proverbs, showing the profound respect which the *Mir* inspired in the people: 'God alone is judge of the *Mir;*—All that the *Mir* has decided ought to be done;—A breath of the *Mir* shivers the rock;—The *Mir* is the bulwark of the country.' It is, in fact, the primordial institution of the nation—'the original phenomenon' of the genius of the Slav nations, as the 'old Russians' say.

"Each male inhabitant of full age is entitled to an equal share of the land of which the *Mir* is proprietor. In primitive times, there was no partition of the soil. The land was cultivated in common, and the produce divided among all, in proportion to the number of laborers in each family. At the present time, in the midst of the forest districts, among the Roskolniks, some Communes, bearing the name of *skit*, are found, where this system is still in force. It is also said to be met with in certain isolated districts of Bosnia; but the fact is disputed. At a later period, a partition of the soil was effected every year, or every three years, after each triennial rotation; and in some parts this ancient custom is still maintained. The period of partition varies at the present day in the different districts. In certain localities partition takes place every six years; in others, every twelve or fifteen years: every nine years is the most usual period."

The dwelling-house, with the garden attached to it, are not subject to partition, but form a private and hereditary property. This is the only exception to the rule that the land belongs to the Commune, and not to the individual. Partition is made as follows:

"All the arable land of the Commune is divided into three concentric zones, which extend around the village; and these three zones are again divided into three fields according to the triennial arrangement of crops. More regard is paid to proximity than to fertility, as this varies very little in the same district in Russia. The zones nearest the village are alone manured, every three, six, or nine years, in the sandy region; while in the region of the black soil the use of manure is unknown. Each zone is divided into narrow strips from 5 to 10 mètres broad, and from 200 to 800 mètres long. Several parcels are combined, care being taken that there should be at least one in each zone and in each division of the rotation. Portions are thus formed, which are distributed by lot among the coöperators.

"All the inhabitants, including women and children, assist at the drawing of lots, on which depends the determination of the parcel of ground, which each has to cultivate until the next period of partition. The drawing gives rise to but few complaints, because the shares, being composed of several small parcels, the value of which compensate one another, are for the most part equal. If any one can show he is injured, he receives an additional portion, taken from the land remaining unappropriated.

"As the various parcels assigned to each household were intermixed, it followed that all had to be cultivated at the same time and devoted to the same crop. This is what the Germans call *Flurzwang*, or compulsory cultivation. One-third part of the arable land is sown with winter grain, wheat or rye; one-third with oats; and the remaining third lies fallow. Each family tills the ground, sows and reaps separately and on its own account; but there is nothing to mark the boundary of the parcels. The whole section occupied by one of the divisions of the triennial rotation seems only to form a single field. The several agricultural operations must be performed at the same time by all; because, there being no roads or ways of approach, no none can get to his parcel of ground without passing over that of his neighbors. The assembly of inhabitants of the Commune determines the time of sowing and harvest, just as we see them do in the south, in Switzerland, in Italy, and in France itself for the time of vintage. It is another of the cases in which individual initiative is fettered by the authority of the *mir*."

Several late writers on Russian affairs have represented the *Mir* in a state of decline, and that the emancipation act of 1861 was its death-blow. So far from this being the case, according to M. Laveleye, the emancipation of the serfs, together with the laws which accompanied it, rather tend to perpetuate the *Mir* than otherwise, by recognizing it as a fundamental part of the system of national government and regulating it accordingly. Nor are the people wanting in attachment to it, according to our author:

"It is asserted that, if the decision could be taken by a mere majority, the Communities would soon have ceased to exist. Observed facts do not confirm these predictions. The peasants do not so readily abandon ancient customs; and it is only by gradual and insensible changes, that old institutions are modified under the influence of new ideas and new requirements. Here is a curious example, which shows how strongly the Russian peasants are attached to the agrarian organization of the *Mir*. Some years ago, on a property in the district of Peterhof, the proprietor wanted, in the interests of the serfs, to introduce the agrarian system of western countries. He divided the land into independent holdings, on which he built at his own expense separate houses for each family. Scarcely was the abolition of serfage decreed, when the peasants hastened to re-establish the primitive Community, and to rebuild their houses on the old spot, in spite of the very considerable amount of labor which this entailed. There were public rejoicings to celebrate the return to the old customs of the *Mir*. One peasant alone refused to give up his separate holding: he was dishonored and declared a traitor by the whole village. In the eyes of the Russian peasant, every attempt to withdraw from the bonds of the Community is a desertion, a theft, a crime for which there can be no pardon.

"What is a still more curious fact is, that the German colonies established in Russia have spontaneously adopted the periodic partition of the land. In the village of Paniskoï, near the Volga, peopled by colonists from Westphalia, M. de Haxthausen states that the Commune effects a new partition of the soil every three, six, or nine years, according to the increase in the number of inhabitants. The other German colonies in the government of Saratoff have also demanded and obtained permission to adopt the same system."

(To be Continued.)

CEREBRUM ABDOMINALE.

XVI.

We have said that Community life is the best school of the heart. One reason is that Community life is only rendered comfortable by a high cultivation of the heart. Condense society into this form without civilizing the passions and you make a hell. There is an old saying that no house is big enough for two families, and it is true as holy writ with the amount of heart-culture commonly to be found. The heart is selfish in its rude state. Selfishness is the first native growth of the heart, as weeds occupy the unbroken soil. But the relations of life start a process of cultivation, and this process goes on in proportion to the social compaction, till we come to the conditions of close Communism, the tendency of which are to extirpate the weeds of selfishness altogether, and introduce exotics, if you please to call them so, heavenly exotics, peace, love, gentleness, meekness and such like things, which the heart is adapted to bear, and which secure at the same time social harmony and individual happiness.

The best standard of heart-culture we can find is Paul's description of *charity* in 1 Corinthians 13, and the pressure of Community life is always toward this standard. Its main pressure is on the heart, not on the intellect or outward conduct. Though we have all knowledge and understand all mysteries and speak all languages, it profiteth us nothing in Community without charity. Religious ardor and the faith of miracles profit us nothing in Community without charity. "Charity suffereth long and is kind; charity envieth not, vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not its own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity but rejoiceth in the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things." It is the necessity of these graces of the heart which is ever pressing in Community life, and the members are wretched till they get them. It is only those in fact who think more of heart improvement than anything else that should ever attempt such a life. The discipline of the circumstances matches this ambition and no other.

Seeketh not her own! Envieth not! Is not easily provoked! Thinketh no evil! Imagine the exercise of heart which these words import applied to a family organization of two or three hundred; in which there are offices of trust and honor, choice of occupations, choice of rooms, advantages of numerous kinds, to be distributed for the greatest good of the whole without reference to individual interest; in which there are all variety of opinions, judgments, tastes, habits and sensibilities, hereditary and acquired, crossing each other at every turn; in which the children of forty different families are put together for one training; in which the passions and emotions are under a constant excitement and strain like that which the brain is kept under by college routine. Nobody can imagine the situation adequately who has not been in it; but rely upon it, it is a drill of the heart more severe and painful than any college drill, or drill of cadet or athlete, or drill of any candidate for extraordinary excellence whatever. Of course the rasp and grind abate as the heart becomes educated; and those who hold out long enough, find themselves at last in the most natural, most delightful circumstances possible. Community life is both the prize of an educated heart and the school in which to educate the heart.

Selfishness is a *feeling*. Love is a feeling. Envy and pride are feelings. Humility is a feeling. The feelings are treated as natural, but they can be trained as well as the mental faculties. On this subject we find a paragraph in an old Home-Talk of J. H. N. which we appropriate:

THE EDUCATED HEART.

Feeling is the *thought* of the heart. Thought, as an act of the mind, is the affirmation of some proposition; we think something to be true: so when we say feeling is the thought of the heart, we mean that it is an act of the central life affirming something to be true. We think with the heart as really as with the brain, that is, we feel things to be true, as well as think or see them to be true; and by narrowly scrutinizing the feelings, we shall see that they resolve themselves into thoughts, opinions, declarations of truth, on all subjects. Now we know that the thoughts of the understanding are very often false; and we, in our minds, affirm things that are true or false according to the state of knowledge or ignorance we are in. A very uncultivated, dark mind thinks falsehood almost exclusively; then, in proportion as the understanding becomes cultivated, the thoughts become correct; and as it becomes thoroughly enlightened by the Spirit of truth its thoughts become exclusively true. But the mere fact that we think a proposition true is no evidence that it is true. It depends entirely on the spiritual position of our minds and the point in the scale of intelligence which we have reached, whether what we think is true or not; and all this may be said of the thoughts of the heart, that is, of the feelings. As the thoughts of the understanding may be conformed or not to the reality of things, so the thoughts of the heart may be conformed or not to the reality, and the mere fact that we feel a thing to be true is no evidence that it is true. We are bound to assume in the case of the heart, as in the case of the understanding, that an uncultivated, dark heart thinks falsehoods almost exclusively, i. e., its feelings are not conformed to the reality of things: that the harmony of feelings with the reality increases as we ascend in the scale of cultivation, and when we are in harmony with the pure Spirit of life then our feelings are altogether true, and not till then. R.

ONWARD FOREVER.

We are by nature progressive beings, made to move on from one stage of development to another. In certain periods of our experience this is very manifest. The child, for instance, is at first without independent subsistence and lives by virtue of its connection with its mother; but it soon passes from that stage to another, in which it has the power of sustaining itself independently of its mother. Again, the child at one period of its life requires to be led by the hand, and surrounded with all manner of protection and care; but it moves on until it reaches a period where it is self-protecting.

This progressive experience of the child may be taken as an illustration of what is a fundamental principle of human life. It indicates the fact that we live under a law of change, of advance from one thing to another. Let us look at this law and seek to understand it, and give it the scope which is demanded in all directions. There is no such thing as effectually resisting it. Submit to it we must, whether we will or not. We are constantly changing. We are different beings to-day from what we were yesterday. The child, however much he might wish to stop at some stage of his development and remain a child, cannot do it, but must go on—must change from a child to an adult person.

Now, it may be a question whether most of the trouble that arises in our experience does not proceed from an aversion to this law, this principle of progress, whether (perhaps ignorantly and unconsciously) we are not attempting from time to time to strive against the great law of progress.

The principle of progress embraces our relations to the other world as well as to this; there is a continual progress from this world, the visible, to the invisible, from the outward to the spiritual; and the tendency to resist this change may have made it expedient that disease, old age and death should have place as agencies for carrying people onward whether they will or not. Such seems to be the ground in reason for these things. On the other hand, if people can become sufficiently disciplined in their moral and spiritual natures to enter into this law of change, accept it heartily, and accommodate themselves to it, then the necessity of the operation of such agencies as old age and death will cease. There must be, either by death or translation or some other means, a process going forward of transition toward the spiritual world; and the only other means discoverable is a hearty acquiescence in the law of change, such as will ensure our progress thitherward in a voluntary way.

There is sometimes a disposition in us to claim that a certain form of experience which is delightful to us shall be perpetual—that we shall be allowed to arrest ourselves there and cease progress. This of course brings us into difficulty at once, for such is not the plan of the universe. Its plan is to enlarge us, and continually bring us into new circumstances and give us new

experiences. It is no part of its plan to allow us to get into a settled, stationary condition in regard to any form of our experience. "Onward" is the word to us.

On the other hand, the true believer will find on examination, and with due consideration will rejoice to find, that there is a power controlling him that will not let him remain stationary, if he would; that he is floating like a mariner on the waves, with powers above, beneath, and around him, which are impelling him onward. Such is the case; and the fact that we are at sea is a continual exhortation to us to trust in the great Pilot. We may rest assured that the resurrection influences which are at work among us are overcoming the tranquillity of stagnation, and making us contented with

"A life on the ocean wave,
A home on the rolling deep;"

that is, a state which implies change from day to day, and hour to hour, at the mercy of superior powers.

G. W. N.

An International Literary Congress is one of the attendant events of the Paris Exposition. At its meeting on the 7th of June, there was a brilliant assemblage of men and women of letters from all parts of the world. Victor Hugo delivered an address which is said to have been "impressive, inspiring, grand." Edward King, correspondent of the New York *Evening Post*, writes: "M. Hugo closed his address with eloquent appeals for universal peace and for amnesty. His dream of disarmament or federation is always with him. The spectacle of this sublime old man, pleading with noble and touching accents for charity, for love, for peace, was memorable: 'Gentlemen, we are here among philosophers,' he said, 'let us profit by the occasion to do as we like, and tell a few truths. Here is one, and a terrible one it is: Humankind is afflicted with the disease of hate. Hate is the mother of war; the mother is hideous; the daughter is frightful. Let us give them blow for blow, hate for hate. Let us make war upon war. Do you know how much there is in that phrase of Christ's, 'Love one another?' It means universal disarmament. It is the healing of the nations. It is the true redemption. Love one another. One disarms his enemy better by offering the hand than by shaking the fist. This counsel of Jesus is an order from God; it is good; we accept it; we stand by Christ. The writer is with the apostle; he who thinks is with him who loves.'"

The Mormons think the earth is soon to be destroyed by fire.

Union, Iowa, has three police, one of whom is a woman.

The *National* says Col. James H. Blood, husband of Victoria Woodhull, is keeping a restaurant on Coney Island Beach.

Lillie Devereux Blake writes cunning fables satirizing the politicians. She calls the Senators "Gray Old Rats," and the judges of the Supreme Court "Nine Old Owls who sat all day on a Bench."

There is a woman in San Jose, Cal., who goes to the polls every year and offers her vote. This being refused, she makes a regular annual protest, and thus urges on the cause of woman suffrage.

Mr. E. H. Heywood will be obliged to serve out his sentence of two years' imprisonment and pay the fine of $100, for publishing some books which Anthony Comstock did not like. Benj. R. Tucker, editor of the late "Radical Review," will conduct Mr. Heywood's monthly paper, *The Word*, during his incarceration.

One of the points urged by the new political party, the "Nationals," is that the present system of national banks must be suppressed, and the Government made the only bank of issue. The theory is that money based on the existence of the nation must always be more reliable than that based on the fluctuating amount of gold and silver held in the country.

There are certain expert women in the employ of the U. S. Treasury Department at Washington who are periodically sent to New York to count the postage stamps and sheets of stamp paper held by the great bank-note companies. When they arrive all the regular employés and managers are excluded until the count is completed. These ladies are now styled "American Countesses."

AN IMPORTANT JEWISH CONVENTION.

Delegates from American Hebrew congregations of the principal cities in the United States were to meet in annual convention at Concordia Hall, Milwaukee, on the 9th inst. About one hundred and fifty delegates were to be present, and as they are representatives of the religious and educated classes of the Jewish people of the country, it is expected that the gathering will be one of more than usual importance. A special object of the convention will be to harmonize and unite the various interests of the Israelites of the different sections of the country. The convention will also discuss the feasibility of securing lands in the West and South, to be colonized by Jews who are not possessed of sufficient means to establish their own homes and business. The principal aim of the session will be to consolidate all the reformed congregations of the country, to the important end that a number of colleges, under the auspices of the council, may be established. Another object is to secure uniformity of service among Reformed congregations. The session will continue until Friday. On Wednesday evening a banquet to the guests will be given at the Plankinton House, and on Thursday a summer-night's festival. During the progress of the convention there will also be held here the seventeenth annual meeting of the Rabbinical Literary Association, at which about forty rabbis, from various sections of the country are expected to be present.—*World.*

ONE THING AND ANOTHER.

The Americans in Paris had a little Fourth of July.

The Berlin Congress has declared the Danube free to all nations.

Minister Edwards Pierrepont was more acceptable to the English than he was to the press of his own country during his absence abroad. The University of Oxford has just conferred upon him its highest honorary degree, that of D. C. L.

Keep your feelings in a cool place and don't let them get sour and slab.

Blessings on the man who first showed a fellow how to give up a thing handsomely.

The New York gamin and his fire-crackers were pretty well suppressed on the Fourth.

"Come to my arms and bring your money." That is what Ole Virginny is saying to the Yankees.

Spain has borrowed $4,000,000 in Paris and given a mortgage on the Customs' Revenue of Cuba.

Larkin G. Mead, the sculptor, has been set to work on his artillery group for the Washington Monument.

It is thought that we shall have to have some female lawyers to get even with those cranky female witnesses.

That is a sublime conceit of the Republicans that they alone can govern this country and make corn grow.

Hath not a Greek organs and dimensions? and must he be sent away in contempt and not have a bit of Turkey?

Why can't a man wish for a little comfort in this weather, without being reminded of his duty to the corn crop?

Bismarck doesn't waste any sentiment on Jew or Greek. He seems to be the Bosphorus, though, and likes dogs.

Cropsey, the landscape painter, is engaged in decorating the cars and stations of the elevated railway in New York.

Muley Hassan, the Sultan of Morocco, is dead. He was an absolute sovereign, uncontrolled by any law, civil or religious.

The carver has taken off his cuffs and got to work on Turkey. Oh! 'tis real appetizing to see the bits go here and go there.

Another Washburne is coming forward in politics—General William D., of Minnesota, who expects to be elected to Congress this fall.

The Shah of Persia is in Europe again, studying our Occidental civilization with a view to taking some more of it back to his country.

Secretary Sherman *may* possibly resume specie payment before Congress assembles again. He still has power to buy gold for that purpose.

The New York dog-pound is doing a small business. Only 1,636 dogs were received the first two weeks against 4,378 for same time last year.

A first-rate king is a good deal more like a business man than he is like a philosopher winking in his study and trying to know the unknowable.

Now it is the Pan-Anglican Synod holding its sessions at Lambeth Palace, London. The question is how to get all the 'Piscopalians together.

The records at Castle Garden show that 5,683,000 immigrants have arrived in New York since 1847. They didn't all come from Blarney Castle, County of Cork, neither.

The Department of Agriculture has engaged Professor Collyer to make a chemical analysis of some of our 1,200 different grasses, to ascertain which are good for fodder.

Ten Broeck, the Kentucky racer, ran his four miles at Louisville in eight minutes nineteen seconds and left his Molly behind after the third mile. Stakes $10,000 a side.

The Interior Department now has a Bureau of Railroad Accounts, the duty of which it is to exercise a very stringent supervision of the land-grant railroads, mostly west of the Mississippi.

Agitator Kearney, of California, is trying to establish a workingmen's organ with a capital of 20,000 shares of $5 each. That would be a journal representing capital and worth advertising in.

Harvard College has just completed a Memorial Hall at a cost of $360,000. Of her 4,040 alumni living during the progress of the work, only 809 could do themselves the honor of contributing.

The American oarsmen are pulling well in England. The Columbia College crew has won the Visitors' Challenge Cup at Henley-on-Thames, best two in three, against the Hertford College Crew of Oxford.

What could we do with all our old men if they lived to be a thousand years old? They would have such a mountainous bundle of stories to tell. No allusion to Thurlow Weed and his political reminiscences.

It is not generally believed that the Jew is a "sharp" and that the Greek is a "sharper." This latter gentleman is said to be making investments in Cyprus in view of that Island falling into the hands of England.

There is no use in talking about the famine in China. It is appalling. It is confined to the greater part of the Province of Shansi, parts of Southwestern Chihli, Western Shantung, and the northern districts of Honan, comprising an area estimated at from 70,000 to 100,000 square miles. Millions have already perished.

The Roumanians are madder at the proposed emancipation of the Jews than they are at the retrocession of Bessarabia. The Hebrews in that country are reported to be real Shylocks, and they grind their debtors well.

If Queen Victoria and her children don't "keep Sunday" when they go up to Scotland the ultra loyal Scots get mad and Pict at her. If she drank a considerable of their whiskey I suppose there would be nothing said against that.

There is no doubt but that Europe is the center of cash and conservatism. Our Consul at Belgium urgently recommends that American manufacturers combine and establish agencies for the purpose of educating Europeans up to the use of American products and machinery.

The Elevated Railway is a great triumph—a great triumph! and yet the folks on Sixth Avenue are most dead with noise and fright lest they shall be burned up. One hundred and forty-eight physicians have said so in a paper to the Grand Jury, and Mr. Edison has been engaged to stop the clatter of cars.

Vera Sassulitch, who was spirited away after her acquittal for attempting to kill Trepoff, the Russian Perfect of Police, has made her appearance in Geneva, where she is blazing like a brand from the fire of revolution. The authorities look upon her as a very saucy witch, and have ordered her to move on.

Great Literary Congress in Paris lately. Victor Hugo present—sat through three hours of after-dinner speeches—delivered himself of an invective against the enemies of civilization. Said he, "They are the enemies of books, the enemies of free thought, the enemies of emancipation, of inquiry, of deliverance: they who look upon dogma as an eternal master, and upon the human race as an eternal minor."

Life after all comes down to the work of settling a few practical questions. One must have a roof over his head, a loaf on the shelf, and some occupation for the emotions. After that comes taste and vanity and a passion to understand the growth and mechanism of the universe; then one has to make sure that the top of all things don't cave in and smash him, and that its bottom won't drop out and let him go down, down, down.

President Hayes attended the Wyoming celebration at Wilkesbarre and made a speech. After talking a few minutes a rude hearer interrupted him with, "You've talked now longer than Grant ever did," which impudence was greeted with laughter; but Mr Hayes evoked cheers when he immediately retorted, "But think how much more Grant *did* than he ever said." The President isn't a man to be upset by a sudden dash, it seems.

What is Greece that he should ask for anything? That is the way the Congress sneers at the little red-capped fellow, and then proceeds to rectify his frontier. The northern boundary of Greece will be at the Salambria, on the Ægean Sea, thence to the mouth of the Kalamos River, opposite Corfu; thus adding to that kingdom half of Thessaly and a considerable part of Epirus, but not quite enough to make it coïncide with classical Greece.

Thurlow Weed discerns the problem of to-day as clearly as any of the young Socialists. He says, "Society must adjust itself to the new order of things. Something must be discovered by the political economists or Government that will provide employment for these unemployed multitudes. These questions have not had the attention of statesmen and economists to a sufficient extent. Men are still busy extending and developing mechanical means and labor-saving expedients."

The Investigating Committee have been listening to the testimony of one E. L. Webber, brother of the Webber whose name figures with that of Anderson in connection with the election returns from the Feliciana Parishes of Louisiana. His testimony was just what the Democrats needed. He had seen the original Sherman letter—in fact, it was he that destroyed it. And for all that you would as soon lean up against a moonbeam as to rest your belief on his testimony. That is what the Republicans say.

It is reported that Count Schouvaloff wants to have the great powers agree to keep our breech-loaders and cartridges out of Asia—and especially out of China. If the Chinese should get our guns they might wipe out our water-colored

civilization as you would a fresco, and then you orthodox fellows would have to kneel in joss-houses, and you philosophers would have to study Confucius whether or not, and you all would have to eat your victuals with a chop-stick and stop your bragging about your progress.

Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria; Bessarabia to Russia—a little bite to keep down the appetite; Roumania free, with the Dobrudscha to stop her bawling; Montenegro and Servia also free, with a slight enlargement of their respective borders; Bulgaria with a Prince of her own; Roumelia to have a Christian Governor—a pious man, we suppose, who keeps Sunday and hates a Turk; Russia to have Batoum, perhaps; England to have Cyprus, perhaps; and Greece Epirus, perhaps. Let's cut up Asia next, teach every child to spell phonetically, and then adjust the eyes of all the Mongolians.

Eph. Holland, the man who conducted the fraudulent voting in Cincinnati in 1876, can afford to be gossippy now. Says he, "You think those hired repeaters were 'roughs' without collars or clean shirts. There is where you are mistaken. They looked like gentlemen, like yourself or myself, neatly dressed and gentlemanly in appearance. At a Republican ward poll they would say: 'Give me a Republican ticket, please,' and then substitute a Democratic ticket for it. You may bet your life a nice gentlemanly-looking fellow asking for a Republican ticket at a Republican poll would not be challenged."

The fame of Walt Whitman waxes a little as he grows older. That is something for a man who has the publishers against him and has to vend his own books. He has been up to New York lately, and this is a record he makes: "To-day, I should say—defiant of cynics and pessimists, and with a full knowledge of all their exceptions—an appreciative and perceptive study of the current Humanity of New York gives the directest proofs yet of modern civilization, Democracy, and of the solution of that paradox, the eligibility of the free and fully-developed Individual with the paramount aggregate. In old age, lame and sick, pondering for years on many a doubt and danger for this Republic of ours—fully aware of all that can be said on the other side—I find in this visit to New York, and the daily contact and rapport with its myriad people, all phases, all degrees, and on the scale of the ocean and the tides—the best and the most effective medicine my soul has yet partaken."

Professor Brewer, writing for the *New Englander* on tramps, has this remark on the Jews: "There is one race, or rather let us say one *tribe*, which we should not forget in this connection. It is more nearly a 'thoroughbred' tribe than any other in our civilization. It is also the oldest and has undergone this legal weeding in one country and another for more than thirty centuries. We mean the Jews. Their religion has never made begging honorable, and yet their sick and unfortunate are humanely cared for by themselves. The criminal instinct has also been largely bred out by this weeding, and the begging instinct by education. For the results compare to-day the relative number of Jews and Roman Catholics in the penal and public charitable institutions of this country. A Jewish criminal is rare indeed, and a Jewish pauper an enormity. And this, too, in spite of the wrongs the Jews have suffered from their Christian oppressors ever since our race emerged from barbarism. Every element of unwholesome environment has been thrust around them, and yet witness the physical and intellectual status of the race to-day."

A Parisian correspondent of the *Graphic* says: "The world is losing variety in style of manufacture. For instance, the jewelry of England, France, Spain, Austria, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, Russia and all the rest, is very much alike. Shift the whole lot, case for case, and few would know the difference. A New York jewelry house has models after the Japanese style. Private factories in Paris are turning out Oriental beads, charms and amulets by the ton. So quick as one people invent a new thing all the rest copy it. Every European nation here parades its own sewing-machines, and has long forgotten that America invented them. There is very little difference in railway cars and locomotives, in cloths, in lace, in silk goods, in calicoes, in iron ware, in confectioneries, in all sorts of rum, except in giving it different names; in electric telegraphs, in hats, caps and shoes, in furs and in soap. They're all monotonously alike. Can't tell them apart. Studied the Russian Annex exhibit for four hours the other day, and when through found I had been half the time in that of Austria. Only original people here the Chinese. They pack their 4,000 year old fork-stick and spike-tail-plows and mortar and pestle grain-mills along with them, and are as proud of them as the Yankee with the last new brass-tipped mower and reaper. They still stick to dried toads and bugs for medicine, and are not ashamed to show them, either. They absolutely cut loose from progress, and would no more tolerate a sewing-machine than they would an Independent Buddhist church. They are the only conservative people left in the world, who will wear gowns and refuse to be coat-tailed and pantalooned. The Japs fell at the first assault, and out-Paris Paris in bifurcated and claw-tailed dandyism. I reverence the Chinaman. He will not take his cue from us and become a copyist. Ruskin should emigrate China-ward."