

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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THE TIME OF DAY.

Sir, will you tell me what time it is? and you, madam, will you be so good as to look at the clock? Not that we want the hour by the ticker in your pocket or on your mantelpiece, but we want the time on the great horologe of eternity. People sometimes fail to keep up with events; they lose the time of day. The great pendulum of Providence swings to and fro with quiet motion, marking off the steps of progress, and we perhaps get to sleep, and wake up thinking there has been no change; when in fact a half-day is gone, and the sun we thought on the horizon has risen up to mid-heaven.

At the commencement of the War of the Rebellion the South was fifty years out of the true time-reckoning. China and Japan at this moment are mistaking a cloudy morning for the twilight of evening. A whiff of wind at any time will show them their miscalculation. It is very necessary that we should have a good time-piece and often consult it.

In respect to the coming of Communism, or, in religious language, the millennium and Kingdom of Heaven, the world is in danger of falling behind the true reading of the time. If people suppose that there must be several thousand years of preparation still for these events, or that there must be a revelation of a new gospel, or a translation to another world, they are certainly mistaken. According to our perception the work is done; the preparations are made; Christ has fought and won the day; the world is his, the devil is defeated, the night is past; and it only needs the blowing away of a thin cloud-curtain by a breeze of God-given faith asserting these facts, to show the noon-day sun marching up the heights of heaven and illuminating with the glory of holiness and love a regenerated earth. So we read the time of day. Is it not right?

THE CHURCHES AND SOCIALISM.

There is now a movement in some of the New York Churches which is full of promise for Socialism. It is a movement to establish a club for workingmen in connection with, or under the supervision of, the church organizations. We judge that it is not a sectarian movement, for meetings in behalf of it have been held in Calvary Baptist Church, the Reformed Christian Church, the Church of which Dr. John Cotton Smith is pastor, and in St. George's Episcopal Church; and at the last meeting Rev. W. J. Tucker, D. D., pastor of the Madison Square Presbyterian Church, was one of the principal speakers. To show the scope of the proposed work we will quote from the New York Herald's report of

DR. TUCKER'S ADDRESS.

"It is pleasant for me, he began, to be able, in addressing you for the first time this evening, to speak to you of a movement which carries with it not only the calm sanction of my judgment, but my warmest personal interest as well. It may have been mentally objected to this proposed plan by some of you, that the present state of church affairs is such as to require the employment of all its resources in the work of supporting its existing charities. I answer that by saying that the movement about to begin is not a charitable one, and I am not addressing you to-night in behalf of any charity. If it should become a charity it would fail. It must support itself, or fail because it is not a necessity. I will try to explain the matter clearly to you. In the first place, it is designed to reach a class of men in the community which the Church does not reach, and which it cannot reach in any other way. If you go to the homes, such as they are, of the laboring classes, you will be struck at once by the absence of the men. There are a few or a great many women and a great many more children. The men are not absent at church, but in saloons and the lowest places of amusement. They are not necessarily vicious, but they need some relaxation from the toils of the day, and go where it is most easily and cheaply to be found, that is to the bar-room. You wonder why he does not find the needed rest and recreation in the home circle. Follow him to the tenement house in which he lives and your wonder will cease, or its nature will be wholly changed. You will then wonder how any one can sleep in such a den without expecting him to seek social enjoyment there. The man does not go home, and will not go home now, and the question is, Where will he go? We propose to provide a suitable place for him.

A coffee room, a smoking and lounging room and an upper room for mental and moral instruction. And this is not to be given, but sold to him. The main object is to secure strengthening and beneficent organization. There is to be a membership—a club. The individual is to be active in the formation of the body. Each man is to exert an influence in making it what it ought to be, and in this way each man is to influence every other. The key-note of all this is not charity. It is to elevate and not to pauperize men; to make real men of them, and not beggars. They are to be saved from the temptations which surround them on every hand in the city. A challenge will be thrown out to every bar-room and saloon, and the coffee room will be made more attractive than any other place of resort within the reach of the poor. If a passion for liquor has grown upon a man everything under the sun will be done to uproot or quench it.

WOMEN AND THE HOME LIFE.

"Then it will have something to do with the women. The church is doing very little to help suffering and struggling women in this city. It can do nothing without helping the home. We have no desire to take the man from his home; our desire is to prepare him for it by bettering his mental and physical condition. As it is he don't go home. He goes anywhere else, and when he climbs up the dark stairs to his squalid room his condition is such as to render him an almost unwelcome intruder. When Christ came into the world He showed men a side of God's heart which they had never seen before, and now we know what God's mercy and love really are. What Christ taught was the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men. What this club and what the Church wishes to do is to unite men by a closer band than that which holds them together at the present day, or rather to show them more clearly how close the union really is. It is not desired to change the relative position of men, to make the rich poor and the poor rich, but to teach them the nature of their mutual relation and the duties which it involves. The Church is to be the means of drawing all men closer together, and such a club as I have spoken of is one of its chiefest instruments in the work."

Rev. Mr. Marshall also made an address, from which we will quote briefly. He said:

"In most of the tenements of New York the home life, which should be the great safeguard of the nation, is robbed of its sacred character or utterly destroyed by the influence with which it is surrounded. In the city of New York there are 86,000 buildings, 22,000 of which are tenement houses, and in this small portion of the whole number of houses 850,000 men, women and children are crowded together. In 32,000 first-class buildings there are only 150,000 occupants; an average of five to a building. That is, three-fourths of the population of New York is crowded into one-quarter of its houses. The effects of this overcrowding upon the health and social life of the people are something terrible. What do you think of thirty-two families, or ninety persons, in one house? What do you think of four good large families living in one room? One of the women was asked if it was not uncomfortable to be huddled together so closely. 'Yes,' she said, 'rather, for one family is now taking boarders.' * * * * *

"There will be the lectures on literary, industrial and scientific topics, by means of which we will strive to lead our hearers to a knowledge of the higher truth, which is Christ and His salvation. There is no use in disguising that there is a wide gulf between the working-classes and the Church, and the Church is largely responsible for the misfortune. This is one of the methods by which the chasm is to be bridged. The enterprise is an experiment in this country, but not in Great Britain. In Liverpool alone there are thirty such places, some of them in handsome buildings. The Christian merchants of the city invest their money in this way, and don't lose by it. The coffee houses pay ten per cent. on the original outlay. They are similar to Mr. Bailey's two coffee houses in Philadelphia, which are now self-supporting. One of them accommodates 2,700 persons, and is generally full every day."

In this attempt to establish a club for workingmen we think the Churches are undertaking an important and legitimate work. A true church ought not to be blind to the temporal condition of its members. One of the highest compliments paid to the religious Communities of this country is contained in that saying of the Boston Commonwealth: "They are Churches which feed and clothe their members in a material as well as a spiritual sense." The church organizations are the natural fathers of society, and it should be regarded as rightly within their province to examine all Socialistic problems.

The establishment of clubs for the laboring men, even if they should become general, would be only an elementary part of what has got to be done. Such clubs,

either for men or women, do not make a happy home. Mrs. Stewart has found that the costly palace which her husband built as a hotel for working-women did not make a happy home for them. The social atmosphere in it was too cold, and the women would not live in it. But the clubs will be a transitional step from the homes of the poor as they now are to their homes as they should be. They will be Socialistic schools. In that respect they will be valuable.

Dr. Tucker says, "The Church is doing very little to help suffering and struggling women in this city. It can do nothing without helping the home." He intimates that the new movement is to help the women as well as the men, but the *Herald* report does not explain exactly how the women are to take part in it. We would like to hear more about this.

Will not the churches sometime learn to make their own organizations and their buildings more home-like? Is not true religion a matter intimately related to home? We think so, and in our opinion the influential clergymen ought to lead the way to better social conditions. To do this they must be in earnest and unselfish. Dr. Tucker says: "It is not desired to change the relative position of men, to make the rich poor and the poor rich, but to teach them the nature of their mutual relation and the duties which it involves." We do not think the distinction of rich and poor will continue forever. Communism makes an end of it, so far as it obtains a foothold, and in the Kingdom of Heaven, in which we all hope to be granted a place, there is no such distinction. It is well enough to bear this in mind and prepare for a change. We would amend the Doctor's saying thus: "It is not desired to make the rich poor, but to make the poor rich." That is what Communism will do.

FOURIERANA.

Selections from the Harbinger, Phalanx and other Publications of the Fourier Epoch.

XIV.

LABOR FOR WAGES.

Those writers who laud civilization and dwell with raptures on its future extension, have, it must be confessed, but little idea what it really is. They imagine it to be a high and indefinitely perfectible state of existence; they have never inquired and do not know what are its distinguishing features; and accordingly the very vagueness of their notions only gives their words a bigger inflation and a more senseless glitter. But the truth is, that civilization is as distinct a social state as the savage, the barbarous, or the patriarchal; its traits are as marked and almost as deformed and hateful, and like its predecessors, it is only the transition into a more elevated phase of social life.

One of the leading and invariable characteristics of civilization is, that its work is done for wages; hired labor is a permanent institution, as closely interwoven with all the structure of civilized society as chattel slavery is with barbarism. They stand or fall together; the abolition of slavery conducts us out of barbarism, and the abolition of labor for wages out of civilization; a radical change in the system of labor which now prevails in so-called free countries, would at once raise the whole of society from the civilized chaos into a state of comparative order and happiness and lead the way to rapid and extensive progress.

The first thing which strikes us in the system of hired labor is the conflict of interests between the laborer and his employer. It is perhaps in this relation that the incoherence and duplicity which prevail in existing relations most plainly appear. The interest of the laborer is to get the largest possible amount of pay for the smallest possible amount of work. The interest of the employer is to get the largest possible amount of work for the smallest possible amount of pay! What frightful facts are described by these few words! But let us look a little at the practical operation of the system. In this conflict of interests, it is manifest that the advantages of the parties are by no means equal. It is not at all a fair battle. The employer has all the power in his hands; to him it is a matter of comparatively little consequence whether such an operative works for him or not, but to the workman and his family it is a matter of life and death. Capital commands, and labor is its impotent victim. The first thing is to reduce the wages of labor to as low a rate as possible, so that the cheapness of the product may insure a large market, and so that the largest amount of profit may go into the pocket of the capitalists. Does the laborer resist? In vain! Even the benevolence of the employer is ineffectual, for he also is the slave of competition, and his neighbors'

wares are already in the market compelling him to furnish his own at the lowest price, so that he cannot pay high wages if he would. Then comes the fatal competition between laborers, underbidding each other and literally starving themselves for a living! Here is the conclusion of that civilization of which philosophers and philanthropists are not ashamed to boast! And it is no exception, no accident, but a constant and inevitable result of the system of labor which prevails in the most advanced countries. Shall we sit quiet while the immense majority of our fellow beings are thus degraded and ruined, bodily and spiritually. Every sentiment of justice, every breath of human feeling, protests against such a state of things. We only wonder that all generous men do not rise up against it at once and declare that it shall exist no longer. One is almost inclined to doubt whether a heart be yet beating in men's bosoms, when they move on without concern in the midst of such crying wrongs to Man and such sins against God. Who can look upon the toiling masses, yielding their strength for the world, bearing its heaviest burdens, and accomplishing almost inconceivable works without the deepest sympathy! Patiently, nay, desperately, they go forward, subduing nature, building palaces, and making nations rich, themselves bent, body and soul, with ceaseless labor, ground by poverty down to the very dust. O friends, here is a tragedy such as was never seen before! Battle fields strewn with murdered men are not so mournful! And yet by a little legislation, by restrictions here and prohibitions there, it is all to be remedied! Let us not cheat ourselves with such fatal delusions. The evil lies far too deep to be reached by such means. As well might a man attempt to check the fury of a whirlwind by the breath of his nostrils. The difficulty is in the framework of society, and external applications cannot cure it. While the relation of *Master and Servant* remains, while the labor of the world is *hired labor*, you may legislate and restrict till doomsday, and ten chances to one you make the matter worse.

And here let us say a friendly word to the workingmen, but especially to those who are engaged in the workingmen's movement, as it is called. We entreat them not to be mistaken in their measures, nor to suppose that they will find permanent relief from any merely superficial changes. If they succeed in reducing the hours of a day's labor to ten, as in some parts of the country they are trying to do, what will they have gained? Something certainly, but in comparison with what justice entitles them to, nothing at all. Only a social reform which shall institute new and harmonious relations between capital and labor, which shall abolish hired labor, and substitute Coöperative labor, which, in a word, shall guarantee to every man, woman, and child, the right to labor and to the fruit thereof, can do anything of much value for them, or for any other class of society. This is the basis and beginning of all social improvement; without it the most successful efforts of the most devoted philanthropy, and the most glowing love of the right can have only transient and unsatisfactory effects.—*C. A. Dana.*

DISTINCTIONS IN COMMUNISM.

EDITORS AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—I owe you an apology for not having promptly responded to your article on "Political and Social Communism," in your issue of May 9th. The same reason that has delayed the writing of my final article on "The Era of Social Democracy" I must ask you to accept as my excuse; namely, a slight indisposition both of mind and body that seemed to unfit me for pursuing the same train of thought.

I am quite ready to admit that as there are distinctions in Socialism so also there are distinctions in Communism, but I think that they consist more in forms and methods than in essential principles. In what I have said upon the subject I have had in mind Communism as a principle of social organization, contrasting it with other principles of social organization and using the word *social* in precisely the same sense as *political*. Using the two terms in the same sense as you use them, I think that both "political" and "social" Communists "recognize the fact that men must grow into better social conditions," but differ as to the external agencies of such growth—the outside conditions or environment. Political Communists seek to surround the individual with institutions established and enforced by authority of the will of the majority, and which must be supreme over all other authority; that is, it must be national. It would not be enforced Communism any more than the republicanism of this nation is enforced republicanism, and it does not necessarily involve any destruction of life or property, or any unjust appropriation of present private property for public uses. The political

Communists could purchase collectively all the natural and accumulated wealth of the nation of its present possessors, just as the Social Democrats propose to purchase collectively all the natural wealth and such portion of the accumulated wealth (capital) as is needed for the establishment of a system of national coöperation or Social-democratic labor, making all labor a public or social interest (as some branches of labor are to-day—the Post-Office service, for instance), but not interfering with the right of private accumulation, nor with any other individual rights that do not involve the rights of other individuals.

Social Communists—in your sense—seek to accomplish the same end as the political Communists by the *voluntary* individual surrender of the same individual rights; and they both give up the right to the Community—whether the Community is a nation or a private association—of holding individual property. Every member of a voluntary Community must be himself a Communist by education or conviction, and therefore that form of Communism must be of very slow growth in any nation whose social organization is based upon precisely opposite principles.

National or "political" Communism might be established and maintained, as national republicanism was established and is still maintained, without the previous individual development of all, or even any very considerable number of the people. An intelligent and influential body of persons under favorable circumstances—at a political crisis, for instance—such as, at the close of the American War of Independence, might induce a majority or even the whole of the people to establish such a form of social organization; and then, the institutions of Communism being everywhere in operation, and all being partakers of it, the development of individual Communism—the growth of the idea—would be very rapid. I confess that, if I believed in the principle of Communism, I should prefer Political to Social Communism.

I will only just refer to the difficulty which experience shows voluntary Communities to be subject to, to preserve *agreement* and stability among their members. The fact that this can only be done by securing something like a uniformity of religious belief, and by maintaining an "afflatus," as Mr. Hinds calls it, seems to me to show a weakness in the system which perhaps would not exist in national Communism.

With regard to the French and Latin origins of the word, I have made no research and cannot give an opinion. I have no doubt you are quite right in regard to that, but it seems to me of little consequence.

With great respect, yours,

W. G. H. SMART.

SMALL BEGINNINGS.

From the Voice of Truth.

Since the war and the freedom of the Southern slaves, the people of the South have had trials in housekeeping which they never knew before. Indeed, we believe the difficulty of procuring good domestic servants is one which is felt all over the United States; and any plan which proposes to lighten the cares of housekeeping, and at the same time to subserve the interests of a much needed economy, should be hailed with delight and devout thanksgiving. In this city we are proud and glad to inform our readers that the great problem of Coöperation is being tried on a small scale, and in a practical, common-sense way, by people who probably never thought of the subject *theoretically*, and who feel intensely shocked at having the term "Communist" applied to them in any shape or way. A friend said to us the other day, "I have been to see Mrs. T—, and she has given me an idea by which I mean to profit, and on which I mean to act as soon as ever I can. She is really not able to do all her own domestic work, especially the cooking, and she is completely discouraged about employing hired servants. She says they are so wasteful that it takes nearly twice as much to provide food for the table with a servant as without one, besides their high wages and general unfitness for their occupation; and now she is trying to get five or six families in her neighborhood to join with her and get their meals cooked and brought to them by 'Aunt Sally.' You know," our friend continued, "that she is a splendid cook, and she is quite willing to undertake the arrangement if we can make it any object to her." "Good!" we exclaimed, "Good for you; and also for Aunt Sally! Common sense is coming to the rescue, and we feel devoutly thankful. Coöperation forever!" "Why," said our friend, "what about Coöperation? Is this what you have been writing and talking about all this time?" "Neither more nor less," we replied; "you have joined, in a practical way, the great army of reformers."

And we have just heard of another case where such an arrangement has been made and has proved a complete success. Mrs. L—, one of six heads of families who have entered into a similar arrangement, says the cost of pro-

viding her family, consisting of her husband, four boys, one of them grown, and herself—with three good meals a day, nicely cooked, does not exceed fifty dollars per month. Probably on the old plan, with a servant in the kitchen, at twelve dollars per month—the lowest rate for cooks—and taking into consideration the inevitable waste, and the mental disquietude connected with incompetent and constantly changing domestics, the cost of living was at least double. We know of four young ladies in Boston, art students, who hire one large room, at one end of which are four neat single bedsteads, beautifully draped; in one corner, behind a tasteful curtain, they do their own cooking, each in turn, on a kerosene lamp; and here, when the labors of the day are ended, they receive their guests, and enjoy delightful social reunions, free from the artificial restraints of fashionable society, and snapping their fingers at all the Mrs. Grundys in the world. It is now the custom in the northern cities—and perhaps to a limited extent in the South—for several families to hire a large mansion divided into suits of rooms, all the families using the same kitchen and apparatus, and hiring a competent cook and the necessary assistants. The ladies of each family take it by turns to provide for and superintend the establishment, and the only emulation is as to who will accomplish the best results on the most reasonable terms. A variety of experiments are being tried, all tending toward economy, freedom from crushing care, and the spirit of mutual forbearance and brotherly love. Without this last panacea for human woes, all cooperative schemes *must ultimately fail*. One little anecdote, and we have done. A friend of ours was once in a Southern city on business of a literary character. She found the food of a boarding-house not suited to her taste or her health, and concluded to take a room and board herself. But an old "Aunt"—another Aunt Sally—was found, who offered for fifty cents a day to provide and cook her food. The offer was accepted, and our friend lived, as she says, in clover. When about to leave town, feeling that perhaps she had not paid enough for her "keep," she offered an additional gratuity to the good aunt, who exclaimed, "Why, Lord bless you, chile, with that half a dollar Ise kep' me an' my ole man and de boys without another cent! No more money for me, chile." The truth is, our old darkies, many of them trained in other days by kind and careful owners, have a genius for these things, and can manage to do what their more intellectual white sisters could never accomplish.

M. D. S.

CO-OPERATIVE IRON MILLS.

From the New York Herald.

The theory of cooperative industry, of which we hear so much in the abstract in the Eastern section of the country, has been practically and successfully carried out by workmen who made and saved their money in and around Pittsburg. Instead of depositing their money in savings-banks, any number of skilled workmen have combined during the past few years, and with their common fund have erected iron mills of their own all along the country lying west of Pittsburg. The large and wealthy manufacturers are just beginning to feel the effect of this sharp competition on the part of men who understand every detail of the business far better than they do themselves, and whose smaller requirements enable them to be content with small profits, and hence can sell at lower prices. Only one of the mills started on this plan has not succeeded, and that was owing to the absence of a proper head in conducting the finances of the concern. All the rest are flourishing to-day, and their number is continually on the increase west of Pittsburg, farmers even taking stock in some of them. A workingman, who is part owner of one of these cooperative mills, explained to me how the concern was managed. He said that having saved a few thousand dollars he and several of his friends, all being experts in certain branches of the iron manufacturing business, joined their funds a few years ago; he had put in five thousand dollars, and there were others who had contributed less, and they went to work. Though owners they were all credited with regular wages—the nailer, the machinist, the roller, the heater—each man got his price, and each man is allowed to draw a certain amount in accordance with the size of his family. Being owners themselves it is but seldom that they draw the full wages allotted to them, which is all the time being credited. Any one of the partners can draw it out at the end of the year if he so desires, but if he does not, a certain interest is added, as this particular wages' account is his own individual capital. At the same time, the entire profits of the concern are, like in any other partnership, credited to the individual accounts of the various members, and this profit account is never drawn out by anybody, as it materially helps to increase the capital of the concern. The Coöperator who thus explained to me the working of his mill said they started about five years ago, and though times had been hard he had been working for something, and had in this manner made more money than if he had remained in the employ of another mill owner. They were all mechanics, he said, except two men, one of whom was a salesman, the other an expert accountant; but even these two were partners or stockholders in the concern. The one

great advantage—the absence of all uncertainty as to whether they would receive from their bosses lower wages or not—he particularly dwelt upon, and as they could always afford, owing to smaller expenditure of living, to sell the goods at a lower price than the large manufacturers, he feared not the business outlook at all.

JOSEPH COOK ON JOHN RUSKIN.

From the Labor-Balance.

On Monday morning, March 4, it was supposed in Boston that John Ruskin was dead; and Rev. Joseph Cook devoted his address that day on "current themes" to an eulogy of England's greatest teacher for a hundred years. The editor was present; and, immediately after, he jotted down a brief comment, which he has made the nucleus of this article.

Mr. Cook said, "Ruskin sustained six characters in this generation: that of an art critic, that of a political economist, that of a philanthropist, that of a master of English prose, that of a prose poet, and, lastly, that of a philosophical, evangelical Christian believer. Except in the department of political economy, you will all grant me, I think, the right to assert that he has done good work." Again Mr. Cook said, implying his own judgment, "As a political economist, Ruskin, you say, was a failure;" and then he goes on to venerate the "failure" with praise of him as a philanthropist.

Still further on, Mr. Cook said that Ruskin was so lofty an Alpine soul, that the light of both the rising and the setting sun shone upon him, and a "divine coloring filled all his writings." Then, having quoted Ruskin's saying that "the right hand of Christ first strewed the snow on Lebanon, and smoothed the slopes of Calvary," as that one sentence which best reveals the secret of his power, Mr. Cook said that it was that pierced right hand which was under Mr. Ruskin's heart.

But if John Ruskin did live in that eternal light, if his soul was so lofty as to be always roseate in the morning and evening glow of the Divine sunshine, if under his heart there was the pierced right hand that first strewed the snow on Lebanon and smoothed the slopes of Calvary, and if that heart did beat faithful and true to the hand that held it, then by what authority does the one who declares this say that that heart was right and a master in five great departments of public life, and a "failure" in the sixth, and that the greatest of all? If "a divine coloring filled all his writings," how could his writing on the greatest of all the themes upon which he did write be a "failure?"

But, again, when Mr. Cook alluded to what Ruskin did teach on political economy, he went as widely astray in his testimony as he had gone just before in his judgment. Now, surely, an eulogist who assumes to say that John Ruskin was a "failure" in what he taught in the greatest of all the departments of human life into which he entered, must needs be particularly accurate in the statements he makes concerning the man he thus judges. But let us see how the case does stand.

In the *Advertiser* report of his address, Mr. Cook is recorded as saying, "He [Ruskin] was no Communist. He was no wild declaimer for the abolition of property." Can it be that Mr. Cook had never read such a passage as the following, and was unaware of its existence? Near the opening of his seventh letter to workmen, in his *Fors Clavigera*, Mr. Ruskin, speaking of "new ideas," says:—

"The newest of all these new ones, and in fact quite a glistening and freshly-minted idea to me, is the Parisian notion of Communism,.....as far as I understand it.....For indeed I am myself a Communist of the old school—reddest also of the red.....For we Communists of the old school think that our property belongs to everybody, and everybody's property to us.".....

And thus he goes on for pages, teaching as radical and revolutionary a Communism as ever was taught by Karl Marx, Louis Blanc, or Citizen Schwab; and yet all the while the difference between him and them is as deep as the sea, and as wide as the poles. Nevertheless the difference is *not* one of end to be reached—for he and they have the same end—but of *temper and method* in reaching that common end. Ruskin says as explicitly as any of the Parisian school, "Communism means that everybody must work in common;" but the spirit of his teaching, and the manner in which he would have the work managed and its products distributed, are altogether different from those of that school. Thus by Mr. Ruskin's own words it is clear that his eulogist did not bear true witness concerning him, however he may have supposed that he did.

Against Mr. Cook's "failure" I will put the true judgment concerning Ruskin. This greatest of art critics known to men, this prose poet who has no superior as a master of English prose, has a yet higher place; and I can lead the reader best to see, I think, that place, by setting him to read a portion of Mr. Ruskin's own writings.

Mr. Ruskin has been telling what he had heard from his father concerning Sir Walter Scott's account of his manner of writing his stories; and then he goes on to say:

"Alas! he did but half know how truly he had right to plead sorcery, feeling the witchcraft, yet not believing in it, nor knowing that it was indeed an angel that 'guided,' not a demon (I am forced for once to use with him the Greek word in its Presbyterian sense) that misled his hand, as it wrote in gladness the fast-coming fancies. For truly in that involuntary vision was the true 'design,' and Scott's work

differs from all other modern fiction by its exquisiteness of art, precisely *because* he did not 'know what was coming.' For, as I have a thousand times before asserted—though hitherto always in vain—no great composition was ever produced by composing, nor by arranging chapters and dividing volumes; but only with the same heavenly involuntariness in which a bird builds her nest. And among the other virtues of the great classic masters, this of enchanted Design is of all the least visible to the present apothecary mind; for although when I first gave analysis of the inventive power in 'Modern Painters,' I was best able to illustrate its combining method by showing that 'there was something like it in chemistry,' it is precisely what *is* like it in chemistry that the chemist of to-day denies.

"But one farther great, and greatest, sign of Divinity in this enchanted work of the classic masters, I did not then assert,—for, indeed, I had not then myself discerned it,—namely, that this power of noble composition is never given but with accompanying instinct of moral law; and that so severe, that the apparently too complete and ideal justice which it proclaims has received universally the name of 'poetical' justice, the justice conceived only by men of consummate imaginative power. So that to say of any man that he has power of design is at once to say of him that he is using it on God's side; for it can only have been taught him by that master, and cannot be taught by the use of it against him. And therefore every great composition in the world, every great piece of painting or literature—without any exception, from the birth of man to this hour—is an assertion of moral law, as strict, when we examine it, as the Eumenides or the Divina Commedia; while the total collapse of all power of artistic design in Italy at this day has been signaled and sealed by the production of an epic poem in praise of the devil, and in declaration that God is a malignant 'Larva.'

"And this so-called poetical justice, asserted by the great designers, consists not only in the gracing of virtue with her own proper rewards of mental peace and spiritual victory, but in the proportioning also of worldly prosperity to visible virtue; and the manifestation, therefore, of the presence of the Father in this world, no less than in that which is to come. So that, if the life-work of any man of unquestioned genius does not assert this visible justice, but, on the contrary, exhibits good and gentle persons in unredeemed distress or destruction, that work will invariably be found to show no power of design; but to be merely the consecutive collection of interesting circumstances well described, as continually the best work of Balzac, George Sand, and other good novelists of the second order. In some separate pieces, the great masters will indeed exhibit the darkest mystery of human fate; but never without showing, even then, that the catastrophe is owing in the root of it to the violation of some moral law: '*She hath deceived her father, and may thee.*' The root of the entire tragedy is marked by the mighty master in that one line—the double sin, namely, of daughter and father; of the first in too lawlessly forgetting her own people and her father's house; and of the second, in allowing his pride and selfishness to conquer his paternal love, and harden him, not only in abandonment of his paternal duty, but in calumnious insult to his child. Nor, even thus, is Shakespeare content without marking, in the name of the victim of Evil Fortune, his purpose in the tragedy, of showing that there is such a thing as Destiny, permitted to veil the otherwise clear Providence, and to leave it only to be found by noble Will, and proved by noble Faith."

In these extraordinary paragraphs, Mr. Ruskin does something more than show us Sir Walter Scott and the power that worked through him. Unconsciously to himself, he discloses the innermost of his own life. As no one can know mother-love but a mother, so no one could describe with such power and accuracy the Divine inspiration but one who had experienced it. In a far higher degree than ever it was in Sir Walter Scott, we see that "the enchanted design" is in himself. In himself is the "instinct of moral law" most highly manifested. Truly the hand that strewed the snows of Lebanon and smoothed the slopes of Calvary does hold his heart. And that hand it is which has woven in that heart the web filled with "the enchanted design" not of a mere story, but of the kingdom of God on the earth. The glory and beauty of that design, as Christ wove it in his heart, Ruskin has gazed upon with intensest vision, and in his writings on political economy he has declared the laws of that kingdom concerning wealth and work. By the right hand of Jesus has he been made a prophet of God in our time, to the same degree and with the same authority as by that same right hand the holy men of old were made prophets of God in their time. And it is this work of this man which Mr. Cook, in the face of the intelligence of all America, has pronounced a "failure." Are Mr. Cook's words appropriate?

PSYCHOLOGICAL PHENOMENA IN FRANCE.

There is an interesting account of spirit-seeing at the time of death—a fact so frequent, and now so commonly acknowledged—in the *Revue Spirite* of March, 1878, which was made especially striking by the spirit presenting himself to his brother, when surrounded by witnesses; moreover, a telegram arrived bringing an account of the death, quite unexpectedly to the same witnesses. The event was first published in the *Liberté Coloniale* of September last, and was taken from a letter sent, apparently from Paris, to M. Martinet, at Martinique.

The company of the *Théâtre-Lyrique* were rehearsing the opera of the *Cle d'Or* for the last time previous to a first presentation the same evening. Leon Achard, the tenor, was to play the chief character.

"Suddenly Achard turned pale, and placed his hand before his eyes, crying out, 'My brother!.....My brother!'

"The other actors pressed around him. 'What is the matter?' said Vizentini, the manager.

"Achard looked fixedly at him, and said, 'We cannot play to-night.'

"'You are mad,' said the manager, 'explain yourself.'

"'My brother is dead,' said the tenor.

"His brother was manager of the *Conservatoire* at Dijon; every one knew Charles Achard. He was supposed to be in the best health. Nevertheless, the singer continued to hold his hand before his eyes.

"'I see him!' he said; 'it is he indeed! He is dead!'

"While attempts were being made to bring order to the rehearsal a telegram arrived for Leon Achard. It announced the sudden death of Charles Achard, manager of the *Conservatoire* at Dijon.

"That is the reason why placards were posted up to say there would be no performance that evening, on account of indisposition."

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

THURSDAY, JUNE 6, 1878.

WE have now received twenty-nine names, with appropriate inclosures, from persons subscribing to Mr. Joseph Anthony's plan, published under the heading "How to get Acquainted." This more than completes the first list, but we have included all the names and sent them to the printer. Those who are entitled to a copy of the list may expect one shortly by mail.

A CRAZY fanatic attempted the assassination of the Emperor William; but that did not make the German Reichstag prompt to pass Bismarck's bill designed to suppress Socialistic meetings and papers. Its first paragraph was voted down by a majority of 215, and the bill was withdrawn. The leader of the Socialists in the German Parliament declared that his friends would not discuss a bill which was based on the assumption that the Socialists were in any manner responsible for the attempted assassination.

WE allow our esteemed contributor and associate, THEO. L. PITT, considerable space in our present number, to present his views on the great double-topic of "The Eastern Question and the Leadership of the World;" but in so doing we have no intention of committing the AMERICAN SOCIALIST to either side of the great national quarrel. In fact, we have so much respect for the English Liberal leaders, and for the great army of English Coöperators, who are opposed to the prospective war, that, without more thorough study of the Eastern Question than we have been able to give it, we could not indorse all of Mr. Pitt's positions. We are unable, for instance, to see that Russia's history has been marked by a more aggressive policy than England's; that drafting Indian soldiers into European service is certain to raise England's grade among the Powers of Europe; or that Lord Beaconsfield's career and character are such as to entitle him to the very high position in which he is placed by our contributor. But for all this, the article in question will be found interesting, and will do no harm.

IS IT A DEFECT?

In a recent English review of "The Wages Question: a Treatise on Wages and the Wage Class, by Francis A. Walker, M. A.," occurs this remark:

"Dr. Walker concludes, and supports by ample illustration the conclusion, that the defect in coöperative enterprises is the inadequacy of the reward which the manager of a coöperative society may expect to obtain compared with what is in store for one who carries on business on his own account. There seems to be no reason to suppose that coöperation will triumph over this difficulty."

The same objection to coöperation—that it does not sufficiently reward managers—was urged in the recent Coöperative Congress at Manchester, England, by Lord Ripon, and has indeed always been urged against every form of association. For our part we are inclined to think that Dr. Walker and the English reviewer are correct in their conclusion. But we do not regret the fact, nor consider it an objection to coöperation that it does not offer the same prizes to ambition and selfishness that are offered in the field of individual competition. On the contrary, we regard this as a powerful argument in favor of coöperation. One of the worst evils of competitive society is that it makes such great differences in the rewards of labor. The common railroad laborer receives from three hundred to five hundred dollars a year; an attorney for the same road receives \$20,000 per annum, and sues the company for \$50,000 more (see the daily papers of recent date)—and yet works fewer hours for the company than the day-laborer. Coöperation proposes to abolish such immense distinctions between hand-workers and brain-workers; and who will say the world would not be the better for it?

So long as the brain-worker is paid manyfold more than the hand-worker, so long will one kind of labor be considered more honorable than another—so long will unworthy men crowd into the professions and into official positions—so long will the most shrewd and unscrupulous fare the best, and society be one great arena for the grab-game.

But the question might be raised whether, in case the Coöperators and other reformers succeed in their object of having men more equally and justly rewarded, there will be left sufficient inducement to draw into the public service the best talent. We think this question should be answered in the affirmative; that the best men of a nation—those with highest aspirations and wisest heads and hearts—will find sufficient reward for any service in the consciousness of noble action and in the approbation of the public.

POSTHUMOUS BENEVOLENCE.

The *New York World* has an interesting article on this subject, in which it is urged that rich men should distribute their own charities. When this work is left for others to perform it is often poorly done. Witness the great project of A. T. Stewart to establish a Home for Working-women. It is an acknowledged failure; and yet there can be no doubt of Mr. Stewart's benevolent intentions respecting it. On the other hand, the founder of the Cooper Institute and of the Cornell University have shown how wise it is for men to manage their own benevolent enterprises. "The former has seen from year to year the good effects of his own generosity multiplied through the community. The latter spent the happiest and busiest portion of his life in working and scheming for the advancement of the University which he founded." One serious objection to delegating such business to others, to be executed after the donor's death, is, that difficult questions concerning the investment are liable to arise, and to lead to vexatious and expensive litigation, which is sometimes so prolonged as to consume a large part of the legacy. We, therefore, indorse the *World's* idea, that "every man should, so far as possible, carry out his own charities, and should leave those to whom he transmits his fortune to carry out theirs." But we would go a step further, and counsel every one—especially every rich man—to settle his own estate, so far as practicable, by dividing and distributing his property before his death, and so make sure that his wishes regarding it are faithfully executed, and that the heirs do not quarrel over it, nor the lawyers fatten upon it.

HOW TO CONQUER.

Miss Frances E. Willard, in her Introduction to the "History of the Woman's Temperance Crusade," says:

"It is a very plain, practical matter to help organize the kingdom of heaven in a human breast. It is a business enterprise based on an eminently practical treatise known as the New Testament. Replace the brandy flask in the pocket of a drinking man by the Bible—get him to read it with sincere wish to understand the words that are spirit and life, and you have set in motion the forces of a new dispensation in his heart. You have built him up within instead of propping him from without. To give him a loaf of bread, if hungry, would be a good thing, but to put him on the track of getting one for himself by feeding him with heavenly bread is better. To put a broken arm in a sling is a kind act, but if one could by an electric touch make that arm whole, that were the supreme benefaction, and analogous to that is the loving gospel work by which we help to enthroned conscience and enshrine Christ in a man's soul? The process is as plain and simple as the Rule of Three. The geometric formula, that 'all the angles of a triangle equal two right angles,' is not more demonstrable upon the blackboard than this rule is demonstrable in a life, namely: Prayer will cause a man to cease from sinning, as sin will cause a man to cease from prayer. The whole problem of 'how to do it' was wrought out over and over by the women of the Crusade. They proved anew to the great church militant that its solution involves and ever must, the individualism of Christ's own way of working; that the 'masses' are to be lifted one by one, and not otherwise. It is a question of contact. It is 'elbow heathen' the Crusaders reached, just because they found them at their elbows. They acted on the principle that the man and woman in the next alley to us are a part of our parish in the geographical nature of things. Some people spend a lifetime chasing after 'the masses,' and are in such hot pursuit they cannot stop to capture the unit of the mass—and that's the nearest and neediest man. The masses elude us; the next-door neighbor couldn't if he would, and wouldn't if he could. The masses are a glittering generality: the man, poor, needy, wicked, sad, is a most unglittering fact. It is the way an army is recruited—one by one; it is the way commerce marches across a continent and captures it for civilization—one by one; it is the way Christ's church adds to its numbers, and heaven to its souls—one by one. And first, best and most sacred of the lessons taught by the Crusade, was *this lesson of individual work for Christ*, which

must be learned by every disciple before Christ comes as King in government, in society and individual life."

There is deep truth in the above which Socialists would do well to study. If the world is to be won to Socialism, it will be done *one by one*. The "unit of the mass" must be captured. To capture this unit our eyes must not be "in the ends of the earth." The unit is at our elbow—our near and needy neighbor, perhaps the man or woman whose face is daily lifted to ours, and whom we pass and hardly see. They are all around us, men and women and children starving for the meat and drink—spiritual and perhaps temporal—that Heaven's Communism would bring to them. What are we doing to lift them out of a life of selfishness and isolation into the sunshine of brotherhood and mutual help? If we have tasted of the hidden manna, and felt the power of the kingdom of heaven in the new life of Communism, are we helping our poor and hungry neighbor to the same blessing? If we have heard the words which were spirit and life to us, have we told them to yon groping man or woman, that the fountains may be opened in his or her heart?

Socialists need to take lessons of the Crusaders and missionaries and learn the art of winning souls, the science of individual work for Communism. They need consecration to the new life. They need the fiery baptism of its spirit. This will give them the power to convert souls and organize churches of Communism. The missionaries know that to win converts they must be themselves what they wish others to become. If they would teach others to pray, they themselves must be men of prayer. If they would lead men to Christ, they must first know Christ themselves. Their own life—what they *are*—determines the measure and character of their influence on others.

T. L. P.

GIPSY REFORMERS.

I apply the term *Gipsy Reformers* to a certain class of persons, not with any thought of giving them an opprobrious name, but simply because I think of no other term so expressive of their character and habits. The individuals to whom I refer are migratory, traveling from village to village, and from State to State, without any definite abiding place. They are poor in this world's goods, depending mainly for subsistence on charity, sleeping in barns and outhouses, or behind haystacks, as it happens. They seldom labor with their hands, having a higher calling as they believe. They are gentlemen of leisure, in no respect hampered by common earthly cares and perplexities. Outwardly they are not attractive. Their wearing apparel, let alone the matter of cut and style, is not suggestive of cleanliness or neatness.

But while they have externally a beggarly appearance, their minds are not dull. They have examined more or less thoroughly every new *ism* and *ology*, and have an opinion formed in respect to each and all of the reformatory movements. They are generally familiar with the Bible, and will often surprise you with their accurate verbal quotations. Nearly every soul of them believes that he has a superior mission to perform in this world, and in revealing it impresses you with his intense earnestness. They are solitary Apostles and Prophets, seldom boasting of any followers. Their eccentricities and beggarly habits and appearance make them the subjects of persecution and personal abuse. I do not join in the common cry of condemnation. While it is not clearly obvious what good they do in this world, the same doubt may arise in regard to the classes who despise these wayfaring reformers. There may be among them rich hearts, groping for the truth; and where we now see rank and poisonous weeds, may some day grow precious fruits and flowers.

Of the many Gipsy Reformers I have met I will mention but one. He called at my Community home during the War of the Rebellion. After being supplied with his morning meal, he requested the privilege of a short conversation concerning our society. You would have taken him at first sight for an ordinary beggar, without energy or aspiration; yet this person dreamed of doing a great and important work for the cause of human progress, and verily believed that he had a Divine commission. Naturally possessed of good intellectual powers, with his evident faculty of earnest feeling, under favorable circumstances and well-ballasted he might have gone far toward realizing his present dream, and been regarded as one of the world's benefactors. But "the spirits" had complete control of him, telling him to go here and there, and filling his mind with impracticable plans which they promised to help him execute.

On introducing himself he apologized for his rusty appearance, by saying that the spirits so ordered his

apparel at present, but promised him a new suit ere long. He had read our publications, and had been directed by his invisible guides to come here to get more definite wisdom on a few points of our social economy. He had been investigating the subject of society arrangements for a great many years, and had nearly completed his grand scheme. He thought our system a good one, but applicable only to a very limited class of society. "Only here and there can be found a person sufficiently advanced in civilization," he said, "to enter harmoniously into such social arrangements as yours. My scheme," he continued, "is intended to be of very general application. It will take men as they are, and educate them socially until they are fitted for thorough Communism." He said the spirits would not let him write anything; but he was soon to deliver ten lectures—the first five would give a rationalistic, philosophical, deific explanation of the universe; the remaining five would explain man's relation to the universe and society. These lectures would be reported and published, and form a comprehensive theory for the social education of men. He expected to be able in process of time to build a fine palace, surrounded with the most magnificent grounds. The labor incidental to this royal phalanstery would at first be performed by hirelings, who would be instructed in the new social theories; and as fast as they were prepared, they would become partners in the enterprise, and participate in all the pleasures and emoluments of the institution. Thus eventually the poorest and most degraded would be placed in better circumstances than are now enjoyed by the most wealthy.

He expected to secure the means for building his palace by successful commercial enterprises. The spirits had predicted that he should soon enter upon a course of great prosperity in connection with a life on the ocean wave. The spirits would protect his vessels from all disaster, and tell him when and where to purchase goods, and when and where to dispose of them to the best advantage. "Don't you see," he exclaimed, "what advantages I shall have over all other traders? Why, it may be that my success will lead even the Government of the United States to employ me; and if I once obtain command of a man-of-war it will not take all summer for me to find the pirate Florida. The spirits will tell me exactly where to find her."

"I expect," he continued, "to take an active part in this war before it ends. I was formerly a non-resistant, but I now see that we must fight with evil if we cannot successfully resist it by milder means. As Wendell Phillips once said, a few persons are living in the nineteenth century, but the greater part are still in the fifteenth. Many men are still barbarous, or only half civilized, and we must meet their barbarism with such weapons as will overcome it. I remained a non-resistant through a great deal of persecution, and was only converted when I had three ribs broken at one time. Then I saw the folly of non-resistance, and resolved to meet blows with blows; and I have had no further trouble."

Our visitor, like most persons of his class, was more eager to communicate than to listen; and I am fearful that the spirits chided him for not more faithfully carrying out their behest to seek wisdom on certain vital points, before propounding his grand scheme to the world.

This man had a peculiar stare to his eyes, and a nervous action of the body as he spoke, which made me suspect that his mind was not perfectly steady; and before he left us he confessed that the spirits had allowed him to pass a brief period in the insane asylum; but he regarded that experience, as all others, with the calmness of a philosopher.

As he held out his hand at parting (which proved final, for I have neither seen nor heard anything of him since, nor of his great schemes) I own I felt a degree of commiseration toward the man, now so tattered and torn in mind and apparel, but who still honestly desired to do the right thing for his fellow men. At the same time, I was persuaded that what he and others in similar circumstances need more than pity is to have the judgment-fire of truth search their characters, separating them from the influences which now mislead them, and consuming the egotism, ignorance, fanaticism, sloth and uncleanness which now make them such unacceptable members of common society. Their attention is so absorbed in the idea of resisting some specific evil, in promoting some fractional truth, or in contemplating some great reform, that they neglect all personal improvement, and become practically useless as reformers. Given the best conditions, they could not make a happy, progressive, associative home. If each of them had a palace already built and fur-

nished, neither he nor the world would be the better for it.

Moral: Let all men who meditate great things for themselves or for mankind begin by self-improvement, learn to successfully cultivate their own garden-patch before proclaiming themselves teachers of the great science of Social Culture.

CORRESPONDENCE.

North Union Community,
near Cleveland, O., May 22, 1878.

EDITORS AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—Permit me through the columns of your paper to say a few words in regard to this home. This Community I think, for several reasons, should have the serious attention of all true friends of the cause. For those who are really in earnest in their desire to benefit humanity through the field of Communism in practical life, and are willing to sacrifice something for the cause, I do not know of a better place than this, though I am told it is but a sample of Shaker Societies in general.

This Community was founded over fifty years ago, by five brothers, of whom Rodney Russel, aged eighty-two, is the only survivor. It has 1,300 acres of land, and about seventy members, all told, who are divided into three Families. The center Family, where I am, has about forty members. Where these seventy are, there were once about two hundred, and the place is capable of supporting as many, or more, at the present time. But as the old ones died or went away, new members were not forthcoming to fill their places, and now all that are left are old people rapidly passing away; and the question arises, Who shall occupy the ground in the future? Will men and women come in to carry out the principles of its founders, or will the property be sold and pass into the hands of strangers? Or will people come in and so modify the principles as to make them acceptable to modern modes of thought? The crisis seems to be rapidly approaching which shall decide these questions. I think that Communists ought to take an interest in this matter, and make an effort to so fill up the ranks here that there may be no danger that this property shall ever again be diverted from Communism. We want this whole country filled with a regenerated society, and to have it individuals are required who are themselves willing to be regenerated and to "come up to the help of the Lord against the mighty," and to hold every inch of ground against the enemy.

This is held as a Shaker Community, or, as they call themselves, "Believers in the first and second appearing of Christ." The first appearing was in the person of Jesus of Nazareth; the second, they say, was in the person of Ann Lee, thus indicating the dual nature of Deity as the Father and Mother God. And this dual nature, they affirm, runs through all the works of creation. God is only known by his works. The Bible, they assert, is not the word of God, but a history of those to whom the word of God came. The true word must be in our own souls. Yet they do not make any creed the test of membership, but accept all who are able and willing to work and live a virtuous life and abide by the rules of the Society.

Yours for the cause of truth and humanity,
J. G. TRUMAN.

Auckland, N. Z., April 24, 1878.

EDITORS OF AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—The Coöperative Home at this place (Port Albert) is, I am sorry to say, broken up. I believe the mistake was in commencing as a Coöperative Home. Home relations are so close and delicate that there must be either the strongest ties or the most complete sympathy between those entering into them. In the case of similar religious belief, decisively dogmatic, you have this tie, but unfortunately with the risk of bigotry. In the case at Port Albert, where the freest inquiry was cherished, it was more difficult to feel this tie. Then some being unmarried, but looking forward to marriage, created another sunken rock. I can see that to form a Coöperative Home of a small number is immensely difficult, unless by a very rare chance they happen to be intensely sympathetic. This was not the case at Port Albert—some being very much more cultivated and having more refined tastes than others. Among a large number, as at Oneida, it is practicable, because out of such a number, all coinciding on certain points, each one would be likely to find, somewhere or other in that large number, the closer sympathy essential to the production of Home. This seems to me the most difficult problem. Experiments of the kind must begin with a few; but in proportion as that few consist of cultivated and refined

minds it becomes increasingly difficult to establish that thorough sympathy which each one needs, all the more because refined. But to begin in a small way—the only way possible—you need almost superhuman insight to select the right individuals: that is, for a home. I can imagine unusual cases in which a higher providence may bring together the right individuals—as probably with you—or where there is a sufficiently strong religious bond. This seems to me the real reason why religion is essential, not that there are not people sufficiently sympathetic without, but that there is no way of bringing them together. I fear this is an almost insuperable objection to efforts of the kind. Such Coöperative Homes must spring up from an inward spontaneity, as the ordinary marriage unitary families do (that is, ought to). This difficulty has been present to my mind all along, and made me look upon all these attempts as experiments only, prophetic of and leading the way to (probably) some grand development of human life and society, of which at present we have but little conception. The only deliberate effort that seems to promise success, is coöperation in some practical undertaking with a view to closer union; so that the sympathies of the different natures may be gradually tested and disciplined, without too close an approximation—it needing a great deal of religion or philosophy or natural oneness for a few people to live together as a family. The many can do it, by giving more scope to each; but then the many cannot begin it.

I thought you might be interested in knowing why this attempt failed, so I have given you my ideas. You can make any use you like of them, without giving names.

CEREBRUM ABDOMINALE.

XI.

We see the religious instinct has a strong element of passion in it. It is grouped with the moral sentiments phrenologically, and with many it shows itself only as a belief, but with others it is a passion, the most powerful which the heart is capable of. If it is undeveloped as a passion in most persons, its development to this extent in others is not to be considered abnormal. Because many persons are deficient in a taste for music, we do not consider the passion which others have for it abnormal. New perception of beauty and of course new passions must develop with the progress of the race, and the highest passion may be only the endowment of a few in the present stage of human cultivation.

Next to this passion in power and vividness of sensation is love of the other sex. To some the birth of love is the first trembling revelation of the mystery at the pit of the stomach. They have not been without feeling—they have felt heavy, they have felt exhilarated, anxious, buoyant, etc., but they have never traced their feelings to the head-spring. Emotion has not been strong enough in their natures to make its local habitation distinct. Homesickness is a vivid sensation in the emotional center. Real homesickness is a physical agony, like the toothache, in the pit of the stomach, showing that inhabitiveness has a pole in the solar-plexus, as the other affections in its neighborhood have. The loss of friends and pets is felt there in early youth; and sudden frights or joyful surprises startle persons of all ages into this central consciousness. So do thrilling music and spectacles of the sublime and awful. But the secret chamber of the heart is not discovered after all, by many persons, till love comes. Then the least emotional become aware of its location. The head and its senses have been all the world to them before, but now they have found an El Dorado, a new place entirely in which to live. Their thoughts and feelings all gather in there, reason goes to sleep and the senses are enthralled. One adorable presence lights up the place like the Shekinah. That presence is society, music and dancing, painting and poetry, food and wine and warmth and everything life wants. When that presence is withdrawn the darkness and chill and solitude are unspeakable.

Do the scientists and physicists speculate about the phenomena of love? Undoubtedly they do, but we have not read their ideas on the subject. They "hypothesize" ether to account for the production of light. They imagine a medium finer than air, which is to light what the air is to sound. On its vibrations or undulations light makes its way from the remotest star to eyes on this planet. This ether, they say, is so fine that it penetrates and surrounds the very atoms of solid substances. Imagine now a finer medium than ether, many mediums if you please, increasing in fineness till you come to one that carries the pulses of life, the thoughts and feelings and will of human life. Would not this account for

heart's meeting heart, and for all the throbs and tremors of love?

By the way, this theory of invisible mediums is suggested by Mr. Finney's description of his sensations in religious ecstasy. He says: "I could feel the impression like a wave of electricity going through and through me. Indeed it seemed to come in waves and waves of liquid love, for I could not express it in any other way. * * * There came waves over me and over me and over me, one after the other, until I recollect I cried out, 'I shall die if these waves continue to pass over me.'" Mrs. Edward's description of her sensations also have a strangely scientific cast. She says: "I seemed to myself to perceive a glow of divine love come down from the heart of Christ into my heart in a constant stream, like a stream or pencil of sweet light. At the same time my heart and soul all flowed out in love to Christ, so that there seemed to be a constant flowing and reflowing of heavenly love from Christ's heart to mine, and I seemed to myself to float or swim in those bright sweet beams of the love of Christ, like the motes swimming in the beams of the sun," etc.

If there is anything worthy of scientific investigation it is the phenomena of the heart. Studies with the microscope are infinitely more interesting and valuable than studies with the telescope, and the whole universe of coarse matter is to the human heart as the husk of grain is to the kernel within. Novels are almost the only heart-literature current nowadays, except the Bible. The Bible is all heart. It might well be called a manual for students of the heart. Even when it speaks of the mind and understanding it seems to mean the heart; at least it does not mean the brain. If it makes any approach to recognition of the brain it is in passages like these: "In much wisdom is much grief, and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow;" "Knowledge puffeth up, but charity [a quality of the heart] edifieth." We have to place novels side by side with the Bible in the providential education of the people. Their warp and woof is heart-experience, and their object is to affect the heart, excite its imaginations and touch its sensibilities. Their power is in working close to the heart, exhibiting its changing moods and actions, and the pleasure they give is in vibrations on the solar-plexus. They are full of foolishness and falsities of course, but they promote activity and so development in the best part of our natures. The fascination they exert, not only on the frivolous and simple, but on every grade of mind and character, (have we not just seen that Guizot was a great novel-reader?) shows what a field of human interest they occupy. It is high time that science and the schools should begin to explore it.

THE EASTERN QUESTION AND THE LEADERSHIP OF THE WORLD.

It does not look, just now, as though Russia were destined to become the paramount power of the world. The tide of her aggression in the East has come face to face with an obstruction broader and higher and more impassable than the Himalayas, more unyielding than Mohammedan fatalism. This obstruction is the English Empire.

For a long time we have heard of the great Northern colossus, standing with one foot on the shores of the Baltic and the other on Kamtchatka, with its face to south, ready to swoop down on all Southern Europe and Asia, seize Constantinople and India, and make an end of England's power in the East and of her influence in the counsels of Europe and the world. For a century or two the mysterious will of Peter the Great, and the portentous, impending, autocratic, Slavonic destiny, have been hung on the northeastern sky of civilization by this gigantic colossus, like some lurid aurora borealis, threatening the peace of the planet. We have been told over and over, with tiresome monotony and iteration, that this great power stretched half round the globe, that it had 80,000,000 of subjects, and some 2,000,000 of soldiers; with ominous hints of what it might, could or would do, when it got everything ready.

Of late Russia has been trying to carry out some features of her big programme. She has been advancing through Central Asia, toward India. She has been for years fomenting discontent and rebellion among the Slavonic and Christian subjects of European Turkey. And when the time came when it seemed needful that Europe should interfere and secure the peaceful settlement of Turkish troubles, Russia with studied insolence toward England, and in substantial defiance of her wishes and interests, undertook the settlement alone and declared war against Turkey. That England consented to see the war go on for a year, resulting in Tur-

key's being driven to the wall and submitting to most humiliating and destructive terms, was due only to the divided counsels of its Government and lack of preparation for immediate armed resistance. The year's result to Turkey, and the revelation which it has brought of Russia's real spirit and purpose, in the Treaty of San Stefano—the hereditary spirit of aggression, and the purpose of territorial aggrandizement, both immediate and ultimate, for which the pretense of protection to the Christian subjects of the Porte, was only a cover—have made the English Cabinet a unit, have broken the power of the pro-Russian opposition in Parliament, and carried the nation far on the road of preparation for resistance of every sort. The time now seems rapidly approaching when the power and pretensions of Russia are to receive a decisive checkmate. She has been playing the game of universal empire, and is likely to lose. And the very power which it has long been her dream to thwart and destroy seems destined to be her greatest and fatal antagonist.

The past year has witnessed a startling *change of front of England to the world*. For a long time she had seemed to be drifting into the position of a secondary European power. Her influence, diplomatic and material appeared to be waning. Her army was small. Her colonial possessions were in loose relations with her, and seemed likely to drift away into independence; in fact, she seemed rather discarding them under the influence of the Gladstone party. Her home policy seemed to be growing more and more insular, and the great Continental governments were disposed to snub and ignore her. She had come out of the Crimean war conjointly victorious with France, Italy and Turkey, but somewhat shorn of her long-time military prestige. The twenty succeeding years had rather tended toward humiliation than otherwise. Financially she was the richest of nations, but her wealth and her organic power lacked unity.

Suddenly comes a change, great and significant—a crisis whose far-reaching and amazing possibilities we can only measure by the most daring conjecture. *England places herself in front of her vast empire and summons it into unity for defense*. By this act she becomes the foremost military, strategical and financial power of all the world. By this act from being a mere European power, co-equal with France, Germany and Austria, with insular limitations and military weakness, she steps at once into the position of a unitary, cosmopolitan empire of nearly 300,000,000 people—the mightiest empire the world has ever seen. "Her morning drum-beat, following the sun, and heard around the world," from being a musical, interesting fact, serving to point a period for some glowing orator, takes on a fresh significance, and becomes the *reveille* of a new day of power to all the English-speaking race. Russia as suddenly realizes—on the plain of San Stefano—that she is not merely confronted by an effete Mohammedan power, with a waning British ally on the horizon, but with a new and mighty antagonist—the Empire of Anglo-Saxondom. As she begins to realize the fact she begins to halt. The ships of a new and greater England are at the Bosphorus. They will not depart at the Czar's bidding or the Sultan's request. They watch the minarets of St. Sophia with as keen and fearless an eye as do the Grand Duke's legions. They put a new aspect on the whole Eastern Question.

Where shall we seek the pivotal fact and event on which this crisis-change has turned? Out of the East—where morn appears—came the dawn of this new historic day in English empire. The April sun which melted the snows on the high slopes of the Himalayas looked down on the embarkation of 30,000 native Indian troops for the shores of the Mediterranean. Small event, What of it? do you say? 'Tis the small events and facts on which history turns. A bit of sunken road in Belgium, and Napoleon's failure to see it, says Victor Hugo, "changed the front of the universe." It certainly sealed the fate of Napoleon and changed the history of Europe and the world. So in this movement of troops from the plains of Bengal to Europe, we see the change of front of England to the world. Henceforth she fights her battles with her 240,000,000 Asiatics as well as with her 40,000,000 Anglo-Saxons. Her home forces may number but half a million against the two millions of Russia. But in India she can put 750,000 soldiers into the field in six months, and 500,000 in a very short time—soldiers officered by Englishmen, and little if any inferior as fighters to the armies of Europe. And these would be but the beginning of her resources from that quarter. Three times as many soldiers can be drawn from the vast population of India as Russia can gather from all her

wide-spreading dominions. The initiation of this policy of defending the English Empire with the empire's whole population and resources, and of using them wherever they may be needed, is the master-stroke of the new governmental wisdom and inspiration which now control English affairs. In attempting to thwart or embarrass it, the opposition to Lord Beaconsfield's cabinet utterly broke down and left him master of the field.

The originator of this new order of English policy and statesmanship is that remarkable Hebrew genius, Lord Beaconsfield. Nearly a year ago we pointed out the fact that the "heart of the Eastern Question was the Hebrew Question"—What shall be done with the inalienable inheritance of Israel—Jerusalem and Palestine? We contrasted the position of England and Russia toward the Hebrew people. We showed that while Russia was still their bitterest oppressor among all the nations of the earth, England had become their special friend, and was more controlled by Hebrew interests and sympathies than any other nation; that the head of her government, next after the Queen, was Lord Beaconsfield, a full-blooded Jew by birth. In view of these facts we suggested that "England seemed providentially set to look out, not merely for her own interests, but for the interests of the Great Powers of the Hebrew Covenant."

The drift of things since this suggestion was published has certainly been adding a fine plausibility to it. Since August last the inspiration of Hebrew genius has placed England in the front rank of the nations of the earth as a military and diplomatic power. It has consolidated her extended and loosely-held possessions into an empire, which seems likely in the future to have the major voice in the control of the world. Only a few years ago the world smiled at Mr. Disraeli's pageant at Delhi, and the proclamation of Victoria as the Empress of India. Wise-headed statesmen thought it an empty form and a doubtful honor. Now it appears that the Delhi proclamation was a first step, taken with prophetic genius. Thirty thousand troops marching from the quays of Bombay on to the decks of English transports, on their way to check the march of Russian aggression, is another step, and a very practical one, in the same Hebrew's programme. India has become an integral part of English Empire. England's foes are henceforth India's foes. India's sons step forward with alacrity and enthusiasm to cross bayonets with Slavonic legions. Not only has England changed front to the world, but this event changes India's relations to England. They will become henceforth one nation. Their interests will become more united and vital. The lurid prophets and evil-thinkers have always been predicting disaster and wishing trouble for England in India. Not everything that England and her agents have done there can be justified. No doubt there have been selfishness and oppression. But English occupation, on the great scale, has been a blessing to India. The selfishness and oppression have been immensely less than India experienced under her native rulers. A higher and better civilization will come to India from the contact. Anglo-Saxon civilization is not yet the highest. There is a better one to come—that of the New Jerusalem. But where Anglo-Saxon civilization and control go, there go the Bible and the Christian missionaries. With the Bible goes the Holy Spirit, winning men to the civilization of heaven. The Anglo-Saxons are the great Bible-loving and Bible-distributing race. For this the Bible Powers—the old Hebrew Covenant Powers—favor them. For this they are making them the "Kings of the East," and preparing the way before them. If we were to hazard a prophecy as to the future, it would be that not Russia and the Slavonic race, but the great English-speaking race, under *Hebrew leadership, visible and invisible*, is the favorite of Providence, and the destined Ruler of the Gentile world! THEO. L. PRITT.

"THE FALL OF MAN."

Seventy-eight years ago, in Stanbridge, P. Q., standing under the eaves of the Cedar House, I caught the pint cup half full of dropping water. Elated with the first great achievement of my life, I climbed the ladder to sound my trumpet to the older children, and get their applause. When near the top of the ladder, with cup in hand, I slipped between the rounds and fell slambang into a five-pail kettle. Alas for human greatness! But there was one consolation—I had a fall of my own, no thanks to Mr. Adam of the garden.

Sixty-eight years ago, when the moral forces in my make-up began to claim fealty, I resolved: *Henceforth I will be what I seem*—what I would that others should take me to be. The resolve unbarred the gates of heaven—

angels were my associates. But this was not the end of it.

The American Colonies declared—"We are free and independent States;" but they had to prove it by many hard-fought battles, from most of which they came out second-best. Did they give it up? France came to the rescue.

With sacred resolve as aforesaid, I learned that I, too, had battles to fight with innate, lower-law influences. Did I give it up? Never—*Communism* came to the rescue. In union there is strength. Many, combined, are mightier than the lone one.

Had I remained at the foot of the ladder, there would have been no fall. Had I not resolved, there would have been no hard-fought battles—I might have ranked in dignity with animals in general.

OLIVER PRENTISS.

ANTHONY BUFFETED.

From the New York Sun's Report of a Meeting in the Park Street Church, Boston.

"Resolutions were then read which proposed the organization of the 'New England Society for the Suppression of Vice.' When the vote was to be taken upon their adoption a muscular-looking clergyman arose and expressed his desire to ask Mr. Comstock three questions. Mr. Comstock consented. 'Did you ever use decoy letters or false signatures? Did you ever sign a woman's name when writing a letter? Did you ever try to make a person sell you forbidden wares, and then, when you had succeeded, use the evidence thus obtained to convict him?' Mr. Comstock answered each question in the affirmative. Meanwhile an attempt was making to suppress the questioner. He would not be suppressed, however. 'I am a Congregational minister,' he screamed. 'My name is Jones [laughter]—Jesse H. Jones—and I have as much right to be here and to be heard as anybody.' When Mr. Comstock had answered the last question Mr. Jones shouted at the top of his voice: 'Then I say that Mr. Comstock has done what would be pronounced disgraceful in a policeman in any court in Boston.'"

From the Utica Herald of June 3d.

"The Congressional House Committee on revision of the laws report favorably on repealing that section of the Revised Statutes relating to the sending of obscene literature through the mails."

ANOTHER COLONIZATION SCHEME.

The Viticulturists' Coöperative Association of Washington, D. C., now including some forty persons, is an organization that has for its principal object the formation of Coöperative Colonies, especially in the Southern States. Some of its members are interested in wine-culture; hence the name of the Association. We copy from the Washington *Evening Star* an account of a meeting of the Association, held to receive and consider the report of a Committee recently sent to South Carolina on a prospecting tour:

"After a few introductory remarks, explaining the general aim of the Association and the specific purpose for which it was then assembled, the president introduced Commissioner Bryan, who presented a report based on observations made in his recent visit to the South. He said that it was not grapes nor the want of grapes, but bread or the want of bread that had brought them together. The distress of the people in the great cities is to find relief in agricultural pursuits. Labor is needed in the South, and thousands of the idle in our cities may find profitable employment there, if how and where to go are pointed out to them. This pointing out is one of the duties of your Association. The unimproved lands of the United States are a heritage of riches available to the industry of present and future population. The only remedy for existing distress is a redistribution of labor; its diversion when in surplus from trade and manufacture to tillage of the earth, the basis of all industries and the primary source of all wealth. In France 54 per cent. of its area are devoted to agriculture, while the United States, which far excels it in the range of products, both staple and luxurious, shows only 10 per cent. of agricultural lands.

"The Southern States offer most tempting inducements to industrious settlers. The field is vast, the resources unmeasured and immeasurable, needing only men and means for their profitable development. The speaker then referred to his recent visit to the South, and said that though it was short, owing to the necessity of his sudden return in behalf of the public schools, it nevertheless sufficed to justify his hearty indorsement of the report of the Association Committee, soon to be read. He said that the proposed emigration impressed him as entirely feasible, if effected through a colony such as is projected. Grape culture is only one, though an important feature of the proposed colonization scheme; success in such enterprises being greatly promoted by diversifying the agricultural pursuits. The soil of Virginia and the Carolinas is sufficiently fertile for the most varied growth of both fruits and cereals. Fertile lands in these States may be obtained for from two to five dollars an acre, and if the reception of the Committee may be taken as an indication the settlers will be given a most cordial welcome. The speaker closed with a stirring appeal to all classes of men to take advantage of the opportunity offered, of at once relieving want and developing the nation's resources. The report of the Committee, consisting of Dr. Smolinski, Mr. Bliss and Dr. Tindall, referred to in Commissioner Bryan's address, was read. It narrated in a pleasing style the adventures of

the Committee in their tour through South Carolina for the purpose of examining into the capacities of the land, the climate, etc., and the disposition of the people towards immigration schemes. The soil, climate, timber, water and health of the State were touched upon, and the cheapness of the lands and the anxiety of the people for settlers were distinctly brought out. Mr. Richardson, of South Carolina, in a vigorous speech then bid the Association God-speed in its work. He referred to the change of sentiment among the people of his State from the olden times of slavery, when their policy was to discourage immigration, and said that now industrious and honest workers were sadly needed and would be gladly welcomed."

RECEIVED.

ON THE EBB: A few Log-Lines from an Old Salt. By Charles F. Hotchkiss. New Haven: Tuttle, Moorehouse & Taylor. 1878.

FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS, made to the General Assembly of Ohio for the year 1877. Columbus: Nevins & Myers, State Printers. 1878.

TRAVELERS' OFFICIAL GUIDE of the Railway and Steam Navigation Lines in the United States and Canada. National Railway Publication Company, Philadelphia. June, 1878.

THE LAW OF POPULATION. Its Consequences and its Bearing upon Human Conduct and Morals. By Annie Besant. Authorized American from the 25th thousand, English Edition. New York: Asa K. Butts, 19 Dey St., 1878.

ONE THING AND ANOTHER.

Sepoys are trumps.

When the Pope resigns we'll notice it.

The Russians have bought six steamers in this country.

England has not yet asked for anything for herself, not even for Egypt.

There is no kind of satisfaction in hearing that a woman has married another ole gehrl in men's clothes.

The *Pekin Gazette* claims that Kung Fo Whing, who flourished in the tenth century, invented the telephone.

John C. Fremont, jr., a lieutenant in the navy, has just married a wife on the sly. That is the way his father got Jessie Benton.

Now comes the tug of war: boat races, horse races, foot races, Latin races, hay to get, garden to hoe and mosquitoes for everybody.

Duplex telegraphy has been applied to the ocean cables. This improvement practically doubles the number of trans-Atlantic lines for business.

Kimball, the church-debt raiser, has been instrumental in relieving thirty-seven churches of liabilities aggregating \$1,500,000. Owe no man anything.

If you are a rich man take time to do your good deeds before you die. It will save all doubt as to your intentions, and save the contesting of your will.

Jefferson Davis has just received a judgment in the Mississippi Court of Appeals, establishing his claim to the plantation of Briersfield, and thereby saving him from the further sting of poverty.

The bill for the suppression of the German Socialists was withdrawn by the Government after its first clause was defeated by a union of the Ultramontanes, Particularists and other malcontents.

It begins to look as if New York would yet have the benefit of that \$2,000,000, more or less, which the late Samuel Wood bequeathed for the purpose of establishing a Musical College in that city.

"I will hold up my hands and be searched if you will only let me examine your pockets. I hain't stole no President." That is what the innocent Republican ought to say to the investigating Democrats.

The Democrats and Republicans have sat down to another game of draw-poker. The Democrat has dealt, and the Republican has put up civil war for his ante. We shall see who throws down his cards.

The latest novelty in the solution of the Eastern question is the idea of giving England a Protectorate over Asiatic Turkey. This, the English Liberals say, will amount to a total obliteration of the Turkish Power.

England has 48 old Dukes and Lords whose ages range from 70 years to 91. The Earl of Beaconsfield is in his 74th year. The English aristocracy doubtless has its strength in a class of tough and much enduring men.

The Voltaire Centenary, which came off on the 30th of last month at the Gaieté Théâtre, Paris, was organized by the men of letters. Two thousand persons attended. The free-thinkers also had a meeting at which 6,000 were present.

Of the poets, M. A. Hardaker sings:

"Drinketh one from polished metal,
Wrought in form of leaf and vine;
Drinks the next from birchen vessel,
And yet both are drinking wine."

The Master of the Rolls has decreed that Mrs. Besant's infant daughter shall be taken from her custody and given to her husband, from whom she separated in 1873. Alleged cause, atheism on the part of the mother, and her attempt to bring up her daughter in that dreary negation.

The Grand Jury has indicted fifteen members of the New York Board of Aldermen, also the Board of Health; the one for allowing the hucksters to obstruct the sidewalks, and the

other for allowing the city to become an offense that smells to heaven. Oh, that is nice; do it some more; go on!

Two German ironclads came in collision in the English Channel off Folkestone, on Friday, the 31st ult., and one of them, the Grosser Kurfurst, was sunk in about five minutes, with 450 persons aboard. The Grosser Kurfurst was a turret ship of 4,111 tons, 5,400 horse-power and six guns.

Susan E. Dickinson says in the *Graphic*: "Hauser, the mouth-piece of the French and German Communists, who are infesting New York and striving to infect American workmen, never said a truer thing than when he uttered the wail: 'The Americans and Irish are not friendly to our views.'"

The President has been asked to change his cabinet officers, but he don't do it. He seems to like them. They are all plain, hard-working men, making no show, giving no expensive entertainments, and all living within their salaries, except Mr. Evarts, who is supposed to be able to spend more than his wages.

Seventeen years of Republicanism and extra-legality have not given the Democrats a love for strong government. The house has passed Hewitt's army bill reducing the army from 25,000 to 20,000, and forbidding its use as a *posse comitatus*, except when such employment is expressly authorized by an act of Congress.

Now is your time to buy books: "At the present moment," says the *Graphic*, "standard novels are selling at prices ranging from 10 to 20 cents, according to the number of pages. A sterling work, like Wallace's "Russia," which was published in England at one guinea and in this country at \$4, is sold for twenty cents."

On the whole, we think the British Liberals have been too narrow minded. Beaconsfield has been able to think outside of them and all around them. The Marquis of Hartington has repudiated them, and gone out with a considerable following. On the Indian troops' question raised by the Liberals the government had a majority of 174.

The Senate has passed, by a vote of 41 to 18, the bill prohibiting the further withdrawal of the greenbacks, and directing the treasury to resume them. This bill sets loose about \$160,000,000 in that kind of currency. The department had purchased them preparatory to destruction as money. If the bill becomes a law that amount will have to be reprinted.

The Chicago Board of Trade wants to have this country better policed. At a meeting last week it passed a resolution memorializing Congress to provide by law for an increase of the army to 100,000 men. Yes, the present army of tramps would doubtless yield that number of good soldiers after they had been sandpapered and gone through a season of rest and meditation.

Congress has voted \$20,000 to meet the expenses of the Investigating Committee, and that beautiful body has had some meetings and decided to send sub-committees to Louisiana and Florida. It has also softened its heart a little and consented to permit the attendance of counsel on behalf of Mr. Sherman. Now 'tis said newspaper correspondents will be admitted to the sessions of the Committee.

An official report from India says that with proper care 750,000 soldiers can be enlisted in that country and put into the field in six months: 350,000 could be made available almost immediately. All good military material. You must remember that those men are not slant-eyed Mongolians, but true Aryans like ourselves, though sunburnt and full of heathen whimwhams and theology.

Lord John Russel, dead, aged eighty-six. He was one of the old Whig statesmen: weighty and solid, but not brilliant nor magnetic; a little ultra evangelical, he had the mortification of seeing Lord Amberly, his son, become a decided atheist. It was said of Lord John that no man in England had a better opinion of him than that entertained by his Lordship himself. His title of Earl goes to one of the boys left by Lord Amberly.

Mr. Francis Galton, the distinguished author of "Heredity of Genius," has devised a method by which you can photograph the true family look—that look which is common to all the members of your family although they may differ in a hundred particulars. It is done by taking a single picture by brief impressions from a large number of family photographs. In this way you can get that something which marks your family whether it be Nokes or Stokes or Bromley-Brown.

Stewart's Hotel for Women will soon be opened as a big tavern for everybody. It never had more than fifty women boarders at a time, while it could have accommodated a thousand. Various causes are assigned for its failure. One is that the women were not allowed to drive nails in the walls and otherwise do as they pleased. Another is that the women really like to live in the house with our bibulous, boisterous, barbarian sex, and will suffer many privations for the sake of doing so.

Count Schouvaloff, Lord Lyons, Count Andrassy, M. Waddington, Count Corti and Sadyk Pasha are mentioned as the representatives of their respective governments at the European Congress. Germany will issue the cards of invitation. Prince Bismarck and Count von Bulow will represent

Germany, the former presiding. Herr von Radowitz will act as reporter, and M. Tiby, the French Minister at Copenhagen, is expected to draft the final report, embodying the decisions of the Congress. There is some idea that Greece will be represented at the Congress.

The old horror of body-snatching is likely to come back and disquiet our nights. We all supposed that the medical students were content to get their subjects from the city hospitals, but it seems not. The body of the Hon. J. Scott Harrison, son of President Harrison, was taken from its grave at North Bend, where it had been placed under guard, and was unexpectedly found by his son in the Ohio Medical College, Cincinnati, where he and a friend were searching the medical schools for the body of another man. It has caused some excitement at Cincinnati.

The Rev. P. H. Waddell, a Scotch clergyman, has translated the Psalms "free Hebrew until Scottish." Here is a passage from the first Psalm:

"Blythe may the man be, wha airts-na his gate by the guiding o' the godlowse; an' wha louts-na at the down-sittin' o' lowse jaukers.

"But wi' the law o' the Lord is his hail heart's-gree; an' owre that rede o' his, day an' night, sigheth he.

"For he sal be the frute-stok plantit by the waterrins, that frutes ay weel in his ain frute saison; an' his vera blade blights-na, bot a' the growthe he maks luckens."

You see when the American editor spread his hand on the map of Europe and noticed how small England is and how immense is Russia, he swelled a little and wanted to know where the British were going to get their soldiers. Right there and then it was that Lord Beaconsfield showed his magnitude. He was thinking of himself as the Prime Minister of the British Empire—the Canadas, Australia, India, Great Britain and Ireland, to say nothing of his other islands in the sea—all making an empire with more men and money at its command than any other civilized or half-civilized dominion on the globe. The ordering up of those Sepoys has enlarged the thought of the world. Beaconsfield has given it a new idea to think over.

If you goody folk don't like Voltaire, then go and acquire a style as magnificent as his. You can set your goodyisms afloat in that way, and they will keep up forever. Don't imagine that uncombed and undressed thought is going to be wanted for any great length of time. It will be sent to the back country and backdoors as surely as you send away your poor relations. You will have to witness periodical resuscitations of Voltaire like the present, if only to hear again what a tremendous word-master he was and what an exceedingly improper old party. If you don't love your truth enough to give it a good dress 'tis a sign you don't love your truth half enough and are not willing to serve it. Until you can do that we shall never know that you have much of a hold on your truth after all.

The concessions which England has obtained from the Czar, preliminary to a full discussion of them in the forthcoming Congress, have been made public in England. They are to this effect: Bulgaria will come short of the Ægean Sea, and be divided into two parts; that north of the Balkans will have a Prince, that south will be under a Christian Governor. Russia will have Batoum and Bessarabia, though England will say she don't quite like it. The international arrangements relative to the Danube will be discussed in the Congress. Russia will not push her boundaries further eastward into Asia, or take indemnity in land, or interfere with the claims of English creditors. The Congress will reorganize Epirus, Thessaly and the other Greek provinces. Bayazid is to be ceded to Turkey, and Turkey will cede the Province of Kotour to Persia. Russia agrees that the passage of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus shall remain *in statu quo*. The reorganization of Bulgaria and the passage of Russian soldiers through Roumania will also be discussed. That Russia shall not push further into Asia seems an important concession. It guards India.

Mr. Key, the Post-Master-General, has addressed a letter to the Southern Democrats warning them against every thought of ousting the President. He tells them that they were deceived once in the Northern Democrats, and will be again. They will find that they have got to meet a solid North. He says: "No man need hope that the scheme of the men who have engineered the movement to unseat President Hayes can be carried out without a bloody war." This is, without the least shadow of a doubt, the mind of the President. A correspondent of the Philadelphia Times had an interview with Mr. Hayes at Gettysburg, and the latter said, "I am endowed with a trust which I must discharge like a magistrate. Mr. Key did not exaggerate the case. . . . They can impeach me in the House of Representatives, and try me in the Senate. There is no other way in which I will recognize any attempt of Congress to remove me. . . . By getting a large majority, say two-thirds in both houses of Congress, they might attempt to decline cooperation with the Executive, and bring on a deadlock in affairs." Suppose Congress should recognize another person as President? "That," said Mr. Hayes, "would be the civil war Judge Key and Mr. Stephens referred to. I should defend my office and the independence of the Executive against any intruder. I want the people to see to what this action of Congress tends."

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