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AMERICAN COMPETISM ABROAD.

THE evidences multiply that Americans are successfully competing with foreigners in many branches of industry, and so monopolizing their trade that they are compelled to look about for new industries. Thus, as we learn from an article on this subject in *Harper's Monthly* for September, from which we freely quote, when the report of M. Favre-Perret, Swiss Commissioner to the Philadelphia Exhibition, "was read to crowded meetings of watch-makers at Neuchâtel and Geneva, the general expression was that of abject despair. Work was suspended for months on the costly buildings of the School of Watch-making founded by the Geneva government. And a commission was appointed by the cantonal legislature to inquire what new industry could be introduced in place of that which must henceforth be abandoned to American competitors. Among those interested in the other leading manufactures of Switzerland—the silk-factories of Basle and Zurich—there were like searchings of heart." This same report of M. Favre-Perret warned his fellow citizens that the silk business was as sure to be run away with by the Yankees as the watch business. The exportation of ribbons from Basle to the United States is only one-sixth of what it was four years ago. In like manner American dairy products are filling the markets of Europe, and crowding out the products of Swiss dairies formerly so much prized. In respect to leather, American competition is producing similar results. Europeans no longer control the leather market. Prices are now set by America. Every little tannery in Europe feels the influence of importation from America, "while exportation to the New World has dwindled to almost nothing."

The article from which we have gathered these statements goes on to show that the case must grow worse and worse for the foreign artisans, because the superior advantages of American manufacturers does not arise so much from their greater use of machinery in place of hand-work, but "from the personal superiority of the American workman." M. Bally, in his pamphlet, written after his visit to the American Centennial, and entitled "*Garde à Vous*," or "Look out for Yourself," illustrates the fact that here much more is got out of a man than in Europe, by reference to the starting of a railroad train. There, "each one of a series of conductors cries successively, 'Fertig!' then he whistles; then the bell rings; then the locomotive whistles; finally the train starts. In America the conductor sur-

veys the whole train. When all is ready he makes a sign to the engineer, and off she goes." M. Bally "gets into a stage on Broadway and is struck by the contrivance of fare-box and door-strap, which enables one man to do the business of three on a Paris line." The European manufacturer waits until he is compelled by competition to improve his tools and machinery; the American does it at once to save time and money. M. Bally is the proprietor of a great boot and shoe factory at Schoenenwerth in Switzerland, and he naturally examines with special interest similar establishments in this country. Of one he visited in Massachusetts he writes:

"A thorough exploration of the factory brought us first to the department where the leather is prepared for the soles. Five stamping-machines furnish all the soles required for a maximum production of 9,000 pair a day. At my factory one machine of the same sort can not turn out more than four hundred pair of soles a day.

"In this department as well as in that for cutting the uppers, it is a settled principle to employ none but American workmen. The men are paid by the day; but an account is kept with each, in which he is debited with the amount of leather delivered to him, and credited with the amount of work which he accomplishes. If he falls short of a certain amount of work, or if he wastes too much stock, he is discharged. In shops of the same dimensions with mine, they turn out six times the amount of work. But it should be remarked that in America each manufacturing concern devotes itself to a speciality, while the European houses are under the necessity of executing more or less every thing in their general line of business.

"With us, for the 'crimping' of boots the workman is paid about fifty centimes [ten cents] a pair. In this American factory, by means of a crimping-machine and a little stretching apparatus, one man can crimp a pair in eight minutes. By reckoning what we ordinarily pay for a day's work, it is easy to calculate how much quicker the American works than the European. To crimp three thousand pairs of boots a day, like the concern of which I am speaking, we should have to keep, with our present methods, not less than two hundred workmen for this alone.

"In the sewing shop the feed of the sewing-machine communicates with a pedal. The thread cuts itself the moment the right hand takes away one shoe upper or boot leg, while the left hand brings on the next, the foot still resting on the pedal. So the machine keeps sewing for hours, without cessation, at the rate of 800 stitches a minute.

"The eyelet machine, of which I brought a model home with me, cuts the hole and sets the eyelet at the rate of 175 in a minute.

"With the pegging-machine I have seen, in one minute, two pair of soles pegged to large men's shoes with a double row of pegs. In this space of time, then, the machine has driven 800 pegs, without allowing for the time of fixing the four shoes to the machine and taking them off.

"With us, it takes not less than an hour for a country shoemaker to finish and polish a pair of common workmen's shoes. In this factory, the seven different operations that go to this work are easily dispatched in ten minutes.

* * * The proprietor complained at the high rate of wages. He could not get hands at less than two dollars a day; and so long as this continued, he could not think of doing an export business. I footed up, from his own factory books, the amount he was paying *by the piece*, and found that I was paying double what he was, and yet my men are always grumbling. They work with American machines, and use the same sort of tools, but they are far inferior to the Americans in productive capacity. The same remark has been made by manufacturers who have set up German shoe factories on the American plan, but find they can not succeed with German workmen."

All this is flattering to our national egotism. It is pleasant to be told by foreigners that we have the most intelligent, skillful workmen in the world, and that our products are filling the markets of Europe with the very articles with which a few years ago Europe supplied us; but it must be confessed that there is a decided drawback to this pleasure in the knowledge that our success is an occasion of despair to foreign workmen, and taking bread out of their mouths. But such are the unavoidable evils of competition. One's success means another's defeat. We can abide it as a part of the great struggle

for existence, which controls all life that subsists by grasping. But we shall never cease to protest against its being regarded as an indispensable element in human life. We shall never cease to believe there is a principle of solidarity in human relations more radical than any principle of competition; and that society should be organized with reference to it. When this is accomplished every new facility of production in any branch of industry will benefit all. Then the laborer will welcome and bless every invention which lightens the toil of any brother laborer, knowing that, directly or indirectly, it is destined to lighten his own toil. Now, increased facilities of production have two manifest results, to increase the profits of the capitalist, and to throw a certain proportion of laborers out of employment altogether. M. Bally says that American shoe factories of the same size as his own, by means of their increased facilities and superior workmen, can turn out six times the amount of work: a grand result provided it proportionally improved the social condition of American workmen and did not drive to despair workmen elsewhere engaged in the same branch of industry. But how if this greater production did not proportionally improve their conditions, and actually forced a part of those who would, but for these improved facilities, have remunerative employment, to join the great army of tramps and vagabonds, and moreover drove others, with diminished facilities of production, to "abject despair?" It is easy to say the latter ought to improve their facilities, and make them equal to the best, and then they would not be driven out of their present markets by foreign competition. But even in that case more persons in the aggregate would be thrown out of employment. It is no solution to say other departments of industry are always open; for it is not true in this country, much less in Europe. Even agriculture, the poorest paid of all industries, is overstocked with laborers. If the unemployed could all work upon the soil, what gain unless all own land? There is no lack of the necessaries of life. *The trouble is in their unequal distribution*; and how can this be remedied so long as it is considered legitimate and right for men to accumulate individual property without limit? We believe the time is not far distant when men of great capacity and business enterprise will recognize their obligations to use their talents for the general good; when it will be a greater object of ambition to men to become "a blessed providence" to those around them, and guide their industries for their benefit, than to become millionaires; and then the evils and miseries of competition will begin to disappear. But for this we must patiently labor; it can never be effected by compulsion.

PRIMITIVE COMMUNISM IN RUSSIA.*

III.

IN considering the Communal system as it exists in Russia, the question naturally arises whether this species of partial Communism is a real improvement upon the ordinary individualism of property ownership, or whether it is merely a relic of a past age, that has prolonged itself into the present, and which will sooner or later disappear before a higher civilization. While common prejudice will incline the reader to the latter view, we have seen that intelligent Russians, who have a life-long acquaintance with the Communal system, pronounce it an effectual safeguard against some of the most threatening social evils of the times.

Russian opponents of the Commune object that it prevents good cultivation according to the agricultural methods actually in use, and prevents the peasantry from undertaking permanent improvements and passing to a higher state of agriculture. "Serfage," they say, "has been abolished only in name. Formerly the peasant was the serf of the proprietor; now he is the serf of the Commune. He is still attached to the land, and can not leave his home even for a short period without receiving from the Commune a formal permission, for which he has often to pay a most exorbitant sum. When he has

* Russia; by D. Mackenzie Wallace: London, 1877.

found profitable employment in the towns, or in some other part of the country, the Commune may at any moment, and on the most futile pretext, order him to return home; and if he does not obey, he is brought back like a convict. He receives a share of the Communal land, but he has no inducement to improve it, for he knows that the Commune may at any time make a re-distribution of the land, and that in this way the labor he has expended on his share will be lost to him."

Mr. Wallace, though evidently not predisposed in favor of the Communal system, answers these objections with great fairness, and his conclusions as to the practical advantages and disadvantages of the Commune are worthy of careful consideration. It should be stated, in explanation of the following quotation, that the "Black-Earth Zone" is a region in Southern Russia in which the land is extremely fertile, yielding abundant crops with comparatively little labor; while the "Northern Agricultural Zone" lies further north, and the land is much inferior in productive capacity:

"In the Black-Earth Zone, where the annual dues are less than the normal rent of the land, to belong to a Commune is a privilege; in the Northern Agricultural Zone, on the contrary, where the dues exceed the normal rent, to belong to a Commune is a burden. Now it must be admitted that in the Northern regions the Commune has really taken the place of the serf-proprietors, and holds its members in a state of semi-serfage; but it must in fairness be added that for this the Commune is not to blame. As it is held responsible for all dues and taxes, and these exceed the value of the benefits which it has to confer, it is obliged to retain its members by force, whether they desire to possess land or not. In short, the Commune in this part of the country has been transformed into a tax-gatherer, and it is obliged to use stringent measures, for the taxes are heavy, and it is responsible for their payment. What is called the Communal tyranny, therefore, must be laid, not to the account of the Commune, which is in this respect a mere instrument in the hands of the financial administration, but to the account of the Emancipation Law, which compelled the serfs of this region to purchase their liberty under the disguise of paying for the land which was conferred on them without their consent. In the Black-Earth Zone, where the dues do not exceed the normal rent, and where, in consequence, the Commune has more the character of a voluntary Association, we have few or no complaints of Communal tyranny. Here any member who wishes to absent himself can easily transfer his share of the land and of the burdens to some one of his neighbors who require more land than they actually possess. He may even, if he wishes, leave the Commune altogether, and inscribe himself as burgher in one of the towns; for the other members willingly consent to pay his dues in return for the share of land which he abandons. Thus, we see, many of the accusations which are commonly made against the Commune ought to be made against the system of dues established by the Government. However burdensome or odious a tax may be, the tax-collector can not reasonably be blamed for simply doing his duty, especially if he has been made a tax-collector against his will.

"There still remains, however, the difficult question as to how far the Communal right of property in the land and the periodical re-distribution to which it gives rise impose restrictions on the peasant's liberty of action in the cultivation of his share, and deprive him of all inducements to improve the soil. From the theoretical point of view this question is one of great interest, and will doubtless acquire in the future an immense practical significance, but for the present it has not, in my opinion, the importance which is usually attributed to it. There can be no doubt that it is much more difficult to farm well on a large number of narrow strips of land, many of which are at a considerable distance from the farm-yard, than on a compact piece of land which the farmer may divide and employ as he pleases; and there can be as little doubt that the husbandman is more likely to improve his land if his tenure is secure, or if he is sure to obtain, in case of ejection, a fitting remuneration for capital and labor expended. All this, and much more of the same kind, must be accepted as indisputable truths, but they have little direct bearing on the practical question under consideration. We are not considering in the abstract whether it would be better that the peasant should be a farmer with abundant capital and all the modern scientific appliances, but simply the practical question, What are the obstructions which at present prevent the peasant from ameliorating his actual condition."

To sum up Mr. Wallace's verdict in a word, the Commune is not theoretically and abstractly the best method of holding landed property; but practically, and as adapted to its present uses, it is the best. He continues:

"That the Commune prevents the peasantry from adopting various systems of high farming is a supposition which scarcely requires serious consideration. The peasants do not yet think of any change of the kind; and if they did think of it, they have neither the knowledge nor the capital necessary to effect it. In many villages a few of the richer

and more intelligent peasants have bought land and cultivate it as they please, free from all Communal restraints; and I have always found that they cultivate this property precisely in the same way as their share of the Communal land. If no striving toward a higher system of cultivation has yet appeared among these men, who may be assumed to be, as a rule, more intelligent, laborious and energetic than their fellows, we may safely conclude that the others have not yet begun to think of the matter. As to minor changes, such as the introduction of a new kind of culture, we know by experience that the Mir opposes to them no serious obstacles. The cultivation of beets for the production of sugar has within the last few years greatly increased in the central and south-western provinces, and flax is now largely produced in Communes in northern districts where it was formerly cultivated merely for domestic use. The Communal system is, in fact, extremely elastic, and may be modified almost to any extent as soon as the majority of the members consider modifications profitable. When the peasants begin to think of permanent improvements, such as drainage, irrigation and the like, they will find the Communal institutions a help rather than an obstruction; for such improvements, if undertaken at all, must be undertaken on a large scale, and the Mir is an already existing association. The only permanent improvements which can be for the present profitably undertaken consist in the reclaiming of waste land; and such improvements are already sometimes attempted. I know at least of one case in which a Commune has reclaimed a considerable tract of waste land by means of hired laborers. Nor does the Mir prevent in this respect individual initiative. In many Communes of the northern provinces it is a received principle of custom-law that if any member reclaims waste land he is allowed to retain possession of it for a number of years proportionate to the amount of labor expended.

"But does not the Commune, as it exists, prevent good cultivation according to the mode of agriculture actually in use?"

"The ordinary mode of agriculture in Russia—except in the far north and in the steppe region, where the agriculture is of a peculiar kind, adapted to the local conditions—is the ordinary Three-field system in its simplest form. According to this system, good cultivation means, practically speaking, the plentiful use of manure. Does then, the existence of the Mir prevent the peasants from manuring their fields well?"

"Many people, who speak on this subject in a very authoritative tone, seem to imagine that the peasants in general do not manure their fields at all. This idea is an utter mistake. In those regions, it is true, where the rich black soil still retains a large part of its virgin fertility, the manure is used as a fuel, or simply thrown away, because the peasants believe that it would not be profitable to put it on their fields, and their conviction is, at least to some extent, well founded; but in the Northern Agricultural Zone, where unmanured soil gives almost no harvest, the peasants put upon their fields all the manure they possess. If they do not put enough it is simply because they have few cattle, and consequently not enough to put. In the intermediate region where the soil is rapidly losing its natural fertility, they continue to throw away manure, when it might more profitably be put upon their fields; but this phenomenon is evidently to be explained by ignorance and the force of routine, and has nothing to do with the existence of the Commune. Many landed proprietors in these localities act in the same foolish way. As soon as the peasants become convinced that the use of manure will more than repay them for the additional labor, they invariably begin to employ it, and if they find it profitable they continue the practice.

"But the peasantry of the northern provinces, it is urged, would increase the number of their cattle and put more manure on their lands if they were not afraid of Communal injustice.

"In reply to this objection we must begin by defining clearly what Communal injustice in this case means. There are two eventualities which the peasant is supposed to fear. In the first place, part of his cattle may be sold by auction by the Imperial police for Communal arrears, though he may have paid in full his own share of the taxes and dues; and in the second place, the Commune may make a general re-distribution of the land, and give to others the plots or strips which he has carefully manured for several years.

"The former of these eventualities does sometimes occur, and must have a certain deterrent influence on those peasants who desire to increase their live stock; but here again the fault lies, not in the Commune, but in the existing financial system. These confiscations of private property for Communal obligations take place likewise in Little Russia, where the Commune, in the Russian sense of the term, does not exist.

"The second eventuality is the favorite weapon of those who desire to see the Commune abolished; but it has, I believe, much less influence on the peasants than is commonly supposed. To give this weapon its full force, I shall assume with those who use it—a somewhat violent assumption, truly!—that the majority of the peasants are always ready to rob the minority when they think it advantageous for

themselves. In a word, I shall leave out of view all moral considerations, and restrict myself to a simple examination of facts. And what do facts tell us? In the southern provinces where no manure is required, the periodical re-distributions take place almost every year; as we travel northward the term lengthens; and in the Northern Agricultural Zone, where manure is indispensable, general re-distributions are almost unknown. In the province of Yaroslaff, for example, the Communal land is generally divided into two parts; the manured land lying near the village, and the unmanured land lying beyond. The latter alone is subject to frequent re-distribution. On the former the existing tenures are rarely disturbed, and when it becomes necessary to give a share to a new household, the operation is effected with the least possible prejudice to vested rights."

FAMINE IN INDIA.

The inhabitants of the southern provinces of British India are suffering severely for want of food. In 1876 the crops were not good, owing to the lack of rain, and this year the drought has been even more extended and severe, until now an actual famine is upon the land. Rice is one of the principal crops relied on for food, and it is a thirsty plant. The sugar cane requires still more moisture. The inhabitants of the districts of Madras, Mysore and Bombay are suffering most. This region has several large rivers rising in the Western Ghats mountains and emptying into the Bay of Bengal on the east; the Godavery is 800 miles long, the Kistna 600 miles, the Cavery 472 miles, the Punna 355 miles. Besides these there are other smaller streams. The ordinary annual rain-fall on the watershed of the Western Ghats is from 70 to 100 inches, and with this fall the streams are full and open to navigation. But at present, owing to the long-continued drought, they are so shrunken as to be but little available for the transportation of supplies.

Finding that these dry periods are of frequent recurrence, the government of India has been for a considerable time engaged in constructing a system of canals for bringing water from the upper stretches of the large rivers to the poorly-watered lands. It seems that under the old rule of the Rajahs there was an extensive system of irrigating works which have since fallen into partial disuse. These are being repaired, and new ones constructed. We get some idea of the extent of these works from the statement that the area of irrigated land in the Madras Presidency amounts to 4,880 square miles. The area of distress from lack of food in Madras is officially stated at 84,700 square miles, and in Bombay at 54,000 square miles. The districts in which the crops have failed to a serious extent have a total population of nearly 20,000,000 souls. It is evident from these figures that the facilities for irrigation are totally inadequate to resuscitate this year's crops or to relieve present distress.

It is now six months or more that these poor people have been pinched for food. They have thus far managed to get a little rice and pulse with the aid of the government, so that there have not been many deaths from actual starvation. Early in the year, as the procuring of food became more difficult, the government adopted the policy of employing the starving natives on the public works, the irrigating canals, etc., paying them small wages and relieving as many as possible. They also made arrangements for supplying a minimum of food gratuitously to those who could not earn it. Three weeks ago nearly a million of natives were employed on the relief works at Madras, while 870,000 were receiving charitable relief. Within the last fortnight there has been an increase in the number relieved of 385,000 persons. The number of those who labor on the relief works is decreasing, while the number who are charitably relieved is rapidly increasing. It is said that the scarcity of the last six months has weakened the physical powers of resistance of the natives, who are habitually abstemious, and produced a sort of moral paralysis which makes them more readily succumb to epidemic diseases, such as cholera and fever. Until quite recently it has been hoped that the government of India, with perhaps some assistance from the home government, would be able to furnish the people with sufficient food to avert actual starvation; but the prospect in this respect is every day becoming more doubtful. The *London Times* says: "The crisis is only too certain. The consequences which will follow it depend upon what may be done in the interval." At the last reports the demands of Madras and Mysore were stated to be 4,500 tons of grain daily.

The situation in India may prove to be an awful commentary on the Population Question which is receiving such an agitation in England. It certainly has a direct

bearing on the question. Mr. Froude, the English historian, is reported to have warned the nation, in his late book of essays, that they would "very speedily have to face the difficulty of population in India. Hitherto famine and pestilence kept down the race. Now we avert pestilence and feed the famine-stricken population, and at each recurrence our task becomes heavier and the power of provision in India smaller." Mr. Froude's conclusion is, "that the only chance of success is that we should discover some artificial check to population." The old Malthusian law that population tends to encroach on the means of subsistence is evidently at work. Before India became consolidated under British rule it was divided into a number of petty dominions governed by native princes, and each foreign to the other. When a famine occurred in one or two such dominions the people had to endure it with no expectation of relief from their neighbors, and very little was known of the real loss of life from famine and the diseases it entails, except that these, assisted by an occasional war, kept the population down. Malthus says that "India, as might be expected, has in all ages been subject to the most dreadful famines." But since the British conquered the country and established a responsible government, there has been peace, and severe famines have been averted. It is probable, therefore, that the population has rapidly gained on the means of subsistence, and that, as Mr. Froude suggests, the only ultimate remedy for the recurrence of such disasters as have heretofore kept the population down will be the discovery and adoption of some voluntary, artificial check on procreation. This puts the British Government in a very embarrassing case. Their Lord Chief Justice has just sentenced Mr. Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant to imprisonment for discussing the feasibility of such a check, and yet without some check the nation must either bankrupt itself in supporting an enormous native Indian population in such a time as this, or allow that population to starve. It is estimated that the present famine will cost the government at least \$30,000,000, and possibly a great deal more. It seems probable, therefore, that the logic of stern facts may in time so mould the public sentiment and ideas of Englishmen that they will not only consider it not immoral, but positively praiseworthy to devise a safe, healthy and wholesome check on the increase of population.

SOCIALISM IN ENGLAND.

HISTORICAL REMINISCENCES.

BY E. T. CRAIG.

THE suggestive lessons of history would be far more effective and impressive if the motives to human action were more clearly unfolded, or made known as they transpire. Hitherto the philosophy of motives has been vaguely understood; a faithful record of human conduct has, therefore, been almost impossible. The annals of the past have been little better than the history of force and fraud, illustrated by the deeds of men struggling for wealth, power, privilege, and distinction above their contemporaries, their equals and often their superiors in purity of motive and rectitude of conduct.

Until the present day free inquiry was scarcely possible, as men preferred prejudice to reason, and often yielded to conformity rather than conviction. Historic revelations to be useful must be honest, but nothing has been more difficult to discover than historic truth. This was evident to the Rev. Charles Kingsley, who gave up his position as Professor of History at the Cambridge University, as he declared it impossible to discover facts in relation to a truthful history. Mr. Froude, the historian, also speaks of difficulties in his search after historic evidences. These difficulties are increased by the conditions which surrounded past events, which have not been witnessed by the narrator, but gathered from tradition, or the testimony emanating from those who were themselves not active participators in the work recorded.

All history worthy of the name must be founded on biography. History has no higher function, nor literature any nobler theme, than the biographies of men who have devoted their energies and their lives in aiding the upward progress of humanity; and the truthful exposition of the lives of men who have aided in the evolution of social organization, transcends in importance all other records as much as the history of human happiness exceeds that of all other annals: hence the biographies of men who have influenced events which mark the progress of social life, are the most instructive portions of history. As I was intimate with many of the founders of Coöperation and Socialism in England and Ireland, and took an active share in the early advocacy of the cause in the press, on the platform and in practi-

cal association, I knew the men and the motives which actuated them in seeking the conditions calculated to ameliorate the relations of social life. My own efforts have often been referred to by others, but sometimes misunderstood, and occasionally misrepresented. I have been repeatedly requested to record my recollections and experiences in the course of an active life, and, in complying with the request at this date, when the sands of life are fast falling to their rest, the motives that lead me to comply can scarcely be deemed other than intended to benefit those who may feel an interest in the history of early struggles and difficulties which prompted to action and led to the progress of a great social movement.

In giving the leading incidents of life in my autobiography, I lay no claim to any special gifts beyond an earnest love of truth and a desire to promote the happiness of others. Before entering on the active portion of my efforts to promote Coöperation and Socialism, it may be interesting and suggestive to give the history of the conditions of the working classes, as the application of steam-power at the beginning of this century and the organization of labor in the creation of wealth were the harbingers of the mightiest revolution the world has yet seen, and the despotic force of which is not yet duly appreciated.

Born in Manchester in the fourth year of the present century, it may be conceded that the social conditions by which I was surrounded had their influence in forming my notions of life and society. One of the earliest impressions from experience arose out of the circumstance that in the year 1808, through the death of my father, I became a resident with my paternal grandparents at Lancaster, and there received the rudiments of education. Among my first lessons in real life was the fact that England was at war with the French, and that Napoleon was a name of terror to the young. The national prejudice and military enthusiasm existed among the members of my family, as they were among the volunteers of that day, while preparations for war seemed the business of life.

To estimate the progress of the present conditions of social life it will be necessary to glance at the past, when it will be evident that the application of steam to manufactures was one of the chief causes which led to coöperation as an agent in production in excess of the means of consumption, thereby making association necessary for the social happiness and prosperity of all.

(To be continued).

THE CAPITALISTS CALLED TO ACCOUNT.

From Appleton's Journal.

It is a maxim of the economists that wages under pressure of competition will always gravitate toward the lowest point under which life can be maintained. So far as economists simply aver in this a fact in the history of labor, no one can gainsay them; but if this maxim is the expression of a necessary fact—if it really be true that the laborer is to be sustained from the products of his labor only to the extent of maintaining the strength out of which these products come—then our civilization needs a radical recasting. But are we right, here in America especially, in assuming this theory to be necessarily true? Are we right in so conducting affairs that it becomes true? Is it not possible for justice, fairness, consideration, that large policy which looks forward to ends remote as well as to ends near, to greatly modify the severe operation of rigid economic law? If the mass of mankind must remain forever wretched drudges, miserably fed, housed, and clothed, compelled to ceaseless labor, deprived of every hope for a brighter future, forced down by a mysterious Juggernaut into the dust, then there has been no progress of civilization worth any thing, and Christianity, Freedom, Brotherhood, Enlightenment, Education, are but idle names.

They are not idle names, however, in thousands of things; but they seem to vanish into air when some great industrial question is violently agitating the public mind. Every class of the community, every individual in the community, exists largely by the sufferance of other classes or other individuals. Rigid economic laws do not determine the status, the rewards, the prosperity of any, unless we except the great wage-class. Presidents of corporations, superintendents, lawyers, physicians, clergymen, secretaries, book-keepers, merchants, clerks, these classes are not usually paid under the strict law of competition, and do not hold their places or receive their fees simply at the prices which outside people will consent to accept. A railway brakeman must work for seventy-five cents a day because there is a host of idle fellows who will compete for his place at any price that will save them from absolute starvation; that is, these brakemen must not be permitted to earn their loaf a day because there are starved others who will do the work for half a loaf a day! How would all the well-paid clerical people in every city like to hold their positions under such a pressure as this? And yet this is what is exacted of the laboring class. Old service

is to go for nothing; proved fidelity does not count; experience is not considered of market price; nothing weighs in favor of him in possession against the needs and promises of outside claimants. At the best, laborers are not overpaid in any pursuit; and if the tenure of their places must always be uncertain, their earnings continually pressed down to the lowest point, we create not only a discontented but a reckless and dangerous class. Political economy covers only half the field; it asserts how certain forces operate, but it is obvious that certain factors may step in to mitigate the harshness of these laws.

For our part we do not believe that the recent wide-spread and disastrous railway strikes could have occurred had there been justice and right-doing on the part of the companies. Men inflamed with a sense of injustice are very apt in their resentment to go to excesses! it is indispensable that these excesses should be brought under restraint. It will not do for a moment to permit violence, to allow laborers to dictate by force the prices they shall be paid, to sanction organizations that attempt in unlawful ways to obtain their ends. But while men of ease and position are uttering economic maxims to the work-people, and telling them how inevitable it is that labor, like commodities, must be bought at the lowest possible price, we prefer to address ourselves to that upper class—the class which supplies capital, controls and directs labor—and call it to account for its share in the recent mischief. These gentlemen should see that, unless labor receives its fair reward, unless it is elevated by training, education, and living wages, unless it can enjoy in some just measure its share of the wealth it helps to produce, the future of America will be one of anarchy, of discontented classes, of degraded peasantry; and all the once fair promises of our land come to naught. That is not the happiest land which has the most wealth; the happiest land is that where wealth is the best distributed, where labor is fairly rewarded, where the operations of so-called economic laws are modified by the interposition of such human factors as justice and brotherhood. Those who employ labor, moreover, are morally bound to consider the nature of the material, just as the engineer must be governed by the conditions of steam—they should understand its ignorance, its inflammability, its needs, deprivations, and its ambitions, and govern with that flexible and watchful law of administration that human nature as well as natural forces exact. Wise leadership rather than arbitrary law will save us from events like those in our recent history.

Are we to go on through all the far future accumulating wealth for the few, and doing nothing to ameliorate the condition of the many? Are our great railways, our extensive mines, our immense mills, to be nothing more than devices to centralize wealth, with no thought among those who control them for the welfare of the toilers who labor night and day for their behoof? Instead of pressing down wages to the lowest point, great corporations should do every thing in their power to lift up their work-people, to give them as good wages as profits permit, to promote their comfort and welfare by encouraging coöperation among them, to enlist their zeal and pride, to open ways of preferment; they should stand toward their work-people in some other attitude than that of mere purchasers of muscle, or else they will be sure to reap disorder, insecurity, hatred, and other evils more serious.

O, THAT THEY WERE COMMUNISTS!

THAT is, all of my neighbors. I will tell you why, Mr. Editor. I am fighting potato bugs nowadays and think that if my neighbors were all Communists we could soon make an end of the pests. I am specially interested in this phase of Communism which enables it to cope successfully with wide-spread evils, because I have made a specialty of seedling potatoes. I have had a thousand or more seedlings that were started a few years ago, and now by selection the number is reduced to less than two dozen; and two of the kinds are special favorites, and are planted in considerable quantity. These are late potatoes, and it is the late potatoes that are the special victims of the great swarms of bugs that have been generated on the many and wide-spread acres of early potatoes all over the country.

Our acute Yankees, knowing that there are three generations of bugs produced in the season, very wisely for their private interest, plant only the early potatoes, for they know that they can thus avoid the trouble of fighting the third and last brood of bugs. Consequently this last brood, swelled to a myriad multitude of hungry tramps, go prowling about the country seeking late potatoes to devour, and woe to the luckless late-potato raiser, unless he is trebly armed with public spirit, patience and Paris green.

Now let me explain how we would trap the vermin if we were all Communists. Of course we would all take the SOCIALIST, and all the potato raisers in each of the Communities all over the land would, through its columns, subscribe to the following agreement: 1. That the

main crop of potatoes every-where should be early ones, of which enough should be raised for the supply of the whole population. 2. That each Community all over the land should raise just a few late ones, which would attract all the bugs that escaped from the main crop of potatoes, and they should be poisoned with the utmost rigor. By rigidly carrying out such a system I have no doubt but that in a few years we should possess our potato-fields in peace. Therefore, please go ahead with your enterprise, and convert the people to Communism as fast as possible, and you shall have the hearty sympathy of a struggling

POTATO RAISER.

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 23, 1877.

ONE of the signs of the times is the appearance in Sheffield, England, of a little paper called *The Socialist*, advocating Christian Communism, and declaring, as we have done, that Christianity is Communism. The little sheet holds aloft such texts as these:

"And all that believed were together, and had all things common."

"And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul, neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own, but they had all things common."

The editor boldly says: "To declare that Communism is not practicable is to declare that Christianity is not practicable." When the idea that Christianity is Communism gets established in people's minds we shall think the world's regeneration is hastening on.

MR. T. C. LELAND writes us a private letter commenting on "these very lively times, full of Social texts," and concludes as follows:

"There never was so good a chance for an able, well-conducted Socialist and Labor paper to start and grow up here in New York—weekly at first perhaps, but soon as possible to become daily. May it be among the decrees of fate (backed up by will) that the AMERICAN SOCIALIST shall occupy this ground. It is needed to clear the air of fuzz and dust."

Others besides Mr. Leland, and men whose judgment we respect, have lately expressed to us similar assurances of a favorable opening for our paper in New York. We regard it as a very encouraging sign, too, for when we first started the SOCIALIST many people seemed to think there was not much occasion for such a paper. But events are ripening rapidly. It is more and more apparent that the great subjects which must engage the attention of mankind in the immediate future are Socialistic ones. At least one able and reliable paper will be needed to take the lead in discussing these matters, and, in common with Mr. Leland and others, we hope the AMERICAN SOCIALIST will be that one. We will do our best to make it the true medium, and shall hope for unlimited sympathy and support. We would be glad to see our paper established in New York as a large and prosperous daily, but we are content to patiently wait and let its circulation and its size grow with the growth of good and honest Socialism.

THE evil and destructive results of the recent labor troubles in this country are sufficiently obvious; some good results are also coming to view, and this among others; that attention is directed to the conditions of the less fortunate class, and the question is asked, with new significance, What are the duties of the rich toward the poor and employed? And often in the answers which come may be detected a half recognition at least of the fact that the rich should use their wealth for the greatest good to the greatest number. This idea is very plainly expressed in the article which we copy into our present issue from *Appleton's Journal*, entitled "The Capitalists Called to Account." The article also clearly shows that this question of the relation of Labor and Capital can never be settled satisfactorily by the enforcement of the rigid rules of political economy; that higher elements must enter into the solution of the problem—elements of brotherhood and justice, that are too often wholly neglected in the haste to accumulate fortunes at whatever cost.

NEGRO Slavery was abolished at the South, not by an insurrection of the negroes from below, but by the pressure of the higher civilization of the North demanding justice to the weak and compelling the strong to go to work.

Hireling slavery at the North is going to be abolished in like manner, not by insurrection of the hirelings,

but by the pressure of the higher civilization of Christianity, demanding justice to the weak and compelling the strong to go to work.

THE religious sects are only beginning to find out, after centuries of strife, that they can live together in peace and cooperate in many ways to great mutual advantage. Why should not the Socialistic sects improve upon the experience of the religious ones in this respect, and enter at once into relations of harmony and cooperation? They are all working in different ways for a common end. None of them have the whole truth; all have some truth; there is reason therefore for mutual respect and confidence. How much better it might have been for the common cause could Fourier and Owen have found a way to work together instead of abusing each other; and shall the Communists and Fourierists of today continue the internecine strife? For our part, we purpose to discover the good in all Social systems, and cling to it as though it were our own, whatever criticisms we may give them. We claim to have a sincere appreciation of Fourier and of his work. His idea that the passions should be organized, and that labor should be rendered attractive, are splendid conceptions. He failed in supposing that his machinery would run itself, and so is more or less responsible for the mistakes of his followers; but this should not interfere with a just estimate of him and of his system. Certainly there was something in Fourierism that brought out a splendid display of the prime elements of Communism thirty years ago, and all the schools of Socialists of to-day are greatly indebted to it. We frankly acknowledge our indebtedness and our willingness to discharge it in the only possible way, namely, by commending all the good we discover in Fourierism, and helping it to a fair chance in the great work of Social reorganization which is impending.

DON'T BORROW CAPITAL.

MR. JOEL A. H. ELLIS advances a good idea in his article entitled "The Way to Employ the Idle," on another page. It is certain that the only way in which laboring men can escape from their present slavery to capital, is by combining their means, their labor and their brains, in some good business, so that the profits shall be divided among themselves, instead of going into the pockets of a few wealthy men. Still, the reading of Mr. Ellis's article gives one the impression that he does not appreciate all the difficulties in the way of his plan. He speaks of "millions of idle people," and his scheme is evidently intended to apply to everybody. But we think he is wrong in assuming that under any plan all the shops and factories in the country can be kept running full time and returning a profit. The effectiveness of labor-saving machinery is such that we are now able to manufacture a greater quantity of certain articles than people require, and there is a growing tendency, owing to new inventions and improved machinery, to over-production in every line of trade. Let us take the boot and shoe trade as an example. Within a few years very great improvements have been made in the application of machinery to this manufacture. In consequence, large profits were at first realized, which led many others to engage in the business. This so increased the production that competition between the different makers became very sharp, prices declined, the profits were no longer large, new markets were sought and supplied, and then the trade began to grow dull. At present the United States has facilities for manufacturing shoes enough to supply our own people and all Europe, if constantly employed. But as we can not get the shoe-trade of all Europe, or its equivalent outside of our own territory, the shoemakers and their machines must unavoidably lie idle part of the time. So it is with other manufactures. If assured of the market, our watch-makers would soon manufacture a watch for every man, woman and child on the globe. Then, unless people could be persuaded to carry two watches, the watch companies would be forced to close up for a time. And so on.

The fact is, no one can devise a plan for keeping all profitably employed, unless he has a thorough understanding, not only of the principles and results of competitive trade, but also of the essential principles and economies of cooperation. If it were not for competition and private ownership, whereby many accumulate more wealth than they can use, no person would need to work more than four or five hours per day in order to produce all that he required, even with our present high standard of civilization. The remainder of his time could be devoted to self-culture. And if there were no competition, but all shared equally in the results of

labor, there would be no such thing as over-manufacture known. In the present order of things it is said that demand regulates supply, and it does so on the large scale, but with a vast deal of waste and suffering. Owing to a want of concerted action among manufacturers there is a constant alternation of over-productions and depressions or stagnations of trade; whereas a plan by which they would all share equally in whatever trade there was, would prevent all that. Most kinds of goods deteriorate rapidly by being kept over. Therefore periods of over-production entail enormous losses.

Mr. Ellis's suggestion that workingmen hire capital, instead of letting capital hire them, sounds full as strong as it really is. Hiring capital and guaranteeing a certain percentage of profit to the capitalist owner is pretty much the same thing as borrowing money at a certain rate of interest to do business with. The only difference is that in Mr. Ellis's plan the borrowers would specify to the lender what business they were going to put his money into, while in ordinary borrowing they need not do so. In effect his plan is to have workmen combine for the prosecution of certain business, which they are to do by means of borrowed capital. It is supposing a great deal to assume that the employes of a factory could run it profitably on such a plan, when the owners have been forced to suspend. No doubt most owners would be glad of an arrangement whereby they would be guaranteed seven per cent. on their capital invested. The hard end of the bargain would fall on the workmen, for many times they would have to work for much less than they are now willing to do, to pay such a percentage to the owner.

However, a little modification of Mr. Ellis's plan would obviate this difficulty. Let the workmen combine their present means, however small, and start a business of their own without any borrowed capital. They would have to be satisfied with small beginnings, but their experience and their means would steadily increase, and they would be much more sure of success in the end.

As we said at the start, Mr. Ellis's idea of cooperation among workingmen is an excellent one. It is the key to the solution of the present difficulties between capital and labor. It may be that Mr. Ellis can show the capitalists that it is for their interest to combine with their workmen, sharing losses and gains with them, pro rata, without the guaranteed seven per centum. That would be an advance, and by way of giving him a fair chance to do this, we make room for his article.

F. W. S.

THE "HIGHER LAW."

POLITICAL economists and other wise people insist that the question of Labor is only one of supply and demand, and that Labor must take its chances, like any other commodity, under the universal and inevitable law that the price of a thing is determined by its scarcity or abundance. Under this law the price of wheat, for instance, may at one time be so high as to afford the farmer a handsome profit on his labor and investment, and at another so low as to scarcely cover the cost of sending it to market. That the same law does have an important bearing upon the question of Labor can not be denied; and still a man can not be treated precisely like a bag of wheat. Other and higher elements must be taken into consideration in all transactions in which human beings are concerned. It is demonstrable, for instance, by the rule of three, that human labor might be so abundant, and the demand for it so limited, that a day's work would not on the average give a man food sufficient to sustain life, let alone wife and children; but there is a limit beyond which human beings can not be forced, except at fearful risks. Here in this country every one has imbibed with his mother's milk the idea that he is entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. How about these things if one can not earn his daily bread?

When there were four millions of slaves in the United States the highest tribunal in the land decided that they had no rights that white men were bound to respect; and the same soulless reasoning would have proved that they were in slavery in strict conformity with the law of supply and demand. But the time came, and swiftly, when slavery and all its laws and covenants and constitutional safeguards were swept from sight, and a higher law was recognized in their stead. It is no less true of the hireling system than of the slave system, that (in the words of Wm. H. Seward, in his memorable higher-law speech in the Senate of the United States), all laws regarding it must sooner or later "be brought to the standard of the laws of God, and must be tried by that standard, and stand or fall by it." "There is but one law for all," said Burke, "namely—that law

which governs all law—the law of our Creator—the law of humanity, justice, equity.” Let not the rich pursue the suicidal policy of the slave-holders, and say their obligations are fulfilled when they have paid the hirelings their wages, though sustained in that position by law and usage. There is a higher law that will be heard and obeyed, which requires that the rich shall use their wealth and power in the interest of humanity.

THE hard times give to such necessities of life as food and clothing an augmented value, and they are of course of prime importance; but it seems to us that there is another great and wide-spread form of poverty which must soon clamor for relief as loudly as the present want of bread. It is the poverty of social life; the poverty of vital sympathy; the poverty of brotherly love and of warm friends and companions; the poverty of moral support and the strength which goes with united action, and the poverty of general advantages for intellectual, moral and social culture. The man who lacks these prizes of Coöperation and Association will realize, sooner or later, that he is wretchedly poor, even though he get three dollars a day. It is this miserable poverty of social life which the dram-shops seek to cure, and if the temperance reformers would make their work sure, they must substitute for the coarse stimulants against which they preach, the wine of gladness which comes from a more bountiful and nourishing social life:

They do not starve, alone, who for the need
Of daily bread, grow faint and gaunt and pale,
And, hopeless, take the gloomy roads which lead
Beyond the veil.

They do not freeze, alone, who for the lack
Of warmth, which hearths and garments magnify,
From off life's thorough-fares shrink trembling back,
In haste to die.

They starve who have no love to bear them up,
They freeze who know not love's divine caress.
The loss of love! It gives life's bitterest cup
Its bitterness.

G. N. M.

THE WAY TO EMPLOY THE IDLE.

MILLIONS of people are compelled to stand idle and suffer to-day, when the labor they would gladly do could be made to produce all they need and a large surplus besides. Why is this so? Why do they not go to work and produce the things they need? Because they lack capital to purchase the stock, tools, lands, shops, etc., required to work with. Why do they not borrow the capital? There is plenty now lying idle to be had at low interest on good security. It is because these people have no credit, no security to offer. Capital is afraid to take the risk of doing the business lest it should result in loss—thinks it safer to remain idle. So the business is not done, and the laborers are compelled to be idle and destitute of the products of their labor. This is the whole cause of the difficulty, *the timidity of Capital*. Is there no remedy for this, no way in which the idle labor and the idle capital can be made to work together again, and produce the result they both need and desire so much? Certainly there is a very simple and efficient remedy.

Labor must take the risk of doing the business, and guarantee capital a fair compensation for its use. In other words, labor must do the business and hire capital, pay it fixed wages, and take the risk of loss and the chance of gain itself, instead of waiting for capital to take the risk and employ labor, guaranteeing a fair compensation for it as has been the case heretofore. Labor can well afford to do this rather than stand idle and starve, especially as it will then have all the profits of the business if there are any. How shall this be done? *By Association among the workmen*. To illustrate. Here is a manufacturing establishment that does not pay, and the proprietors have stopped work. The superintendent, book-keeper, foremen and workmen are thrown out of employment and are losing several hundred dollars per day in wages. Those who are intelligent and worthy among them associate themselves together and agree to make the following proposition to the proprietors. We will run the establishment and guarantee you seven per cent. for the use of the capital you have invested in the business, we receiving the balance that the business earns after paying you this as wages; and we will leave three months' wages constantly in the business pledged as security for the payment of your interest on the capital, provided you agree that we may continue to run the business for a fixed term. Very few proprietors of establishments that do not pay and are idle would decline such a proposition as this. The employés who were not desirable or not able or willing to enter into such an arrangement as this could easily be replaced with better hands from other establishments that were idle, who were willing to enter

into it. The wages of each employé would be fixed as now by the superintendent or a board of directors appointed for the purpose, and if the business earned enough to pay these wages they would be paid in full; but if there was a deficiency then the wages would be reduced, pro rata, until the earnings of the business would pay them; and if the business earned a surplus after paying the wages fixed upon, then the wages would be increased, pro rata, until this surplus was paid out in wages. This would make every employé directly interested in the business, as their daily wages would depend entirely upon its success. No shirking or waste would be permitted. Each fellow workman would be an employer and the business would be a success.

Let employers, instead of cutting down wages or stopping their works, make a proposition like this to their operatives, fixing a reasonable rate of wages for themselves as managers, and they will find all their best workmen ready to enter into the arrangement rather than stop; and those who do not go in can easily be replaced by others who will be glad to do so. Once fairly inaugurated, this plan of doing business will never be abandoned. All branches will be compelled to adopt it to succeed; and strikes, dull times and stopping the works will be numbered among the things that are past. All will be employed who wish to work, receiving such wages as they can earn in the business, and these wages they will expend purchasing the articles they need to make them comfortable and happy. This will make trade good and business lively, as it never can be when laborers are idle and receive no wages with which to buy.

JOEL A. H. ELLIS.

Springfield Vt., Aug. 13, 1877.

AN ARMY OF PROGRESS.

MR. G. H. KREIDER, Box 191, Richmond, Va., sends us a copy of a circular which he has addressed to "reformers every-where," and asks us to call attention to it. It is too long to print, but perhaps we can give the pith of it. Mr. Kreider says:

"The object of organizing an Army of Progress is broad, grand, comprehensive and cosmopolitan. It embraces every thing germane to humanity, viz.: 'To unite all persons in a universal brother and sisterhood, where all can actually meet on a common level and work collectively to ameliorate the condition of humanity in every possible manner.' * * * *

"Free Unitary Homes will be built and provided for its members. The benefits of life- and fire-insurance will be given its members at first cost. It will seek without bloodshed and in a quiet and unostentatious manner, to bring about a mighty revolution in America. In short, as before stated, it will embrace all reforms that appertain to human welfare, and will endeavor to unite all in a CO-OPERATIVE UNION, A UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD, A GRAND ARMY OF PROGRESS, for attaining all the blessings of life and avoiding all its curses."

As examples of the reforms which the circular specially emphasizes, we quote: "It [the Army of Progress] will solve the great problem of the age, the social question." "It will reconcile the differences between capital and labor." "It will establish a sound monetary system and currency that will be acceptable to all."

This is certainly, as Mr. Kreider claims, a broad and comprehensive scheme. It strikes us that it is a very great work to undertake to "unite all persons in a universal brother and sisterhood." Our experience leads us to believe that careful discrimination in the selection of members will be necessary for a good while to come. But we are glad to see another man is ready to devote himself to the establishment of Unitary Homes. It may be that Mr. Kreider will find a good many people ready to cooperate with him whenever he shall have developed a clear, safe and satisfactory plan of operations. If his plan meets with sufficient encouragement Mr. Kreider intends to publish a paper regularly, to be called the "Army of Progress." He proposes to issue the first number on or about October first.

Mr. Kreider's scheme tempts us to make one further remark. When men, in the first enthusiasm of a new vision of social progress, forthwith sit down and construct a plan of universal social redemption which is to include "everybody," they are apt to forget that before that general harmony can be secured, some appliances must be invented for making over the individual characters of the rascally part of mankind. Rascals do exist, and very bad rascals. It is not fair to ask good men and women to associate with them in a common brotherhood while they remain rascals. They must be reconstructed before they can be received into full fellowship. How shall they be reconstructed? On this point study "Mutual Criticism."

THE BRADLAUGH-BESANT TRIAL,
OR
THE POPULATION QUESTION.

II.

LAST week we gave a part of the Solicitor-General's opening address, which we conclude in the present number. In his argument that the "Fruits of Philosophy" is an obscene book that ought to be suppressed he was saying that its author appeared to contend that in order to avoid the evils of over population, and at the same time allow men to gratify their passions, it is lawful and proper and expedient to disseminate among the people a minute description of the physical means whereby these two ends may be secured,—when the Lord Chief Justice interrupted him by calling his attention to the restriction of early marriage urged by Malthus, and saying that the "Fruits of Philosophy," on the contrary, favors early marriage, and "does not profess to suggest these means of checking population as the reason why marriage may be dispensed with." The Solicitor-General then pursued his argument:

"THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL:—I did not mean to represent that there was an actual mention of commerce between the sexes without marriage. Whether or not it might obviously suggest itself to persons who wished to gratify their passions without marriage, I will not say. I was about to say that marriage is continually mentioned in the course of the book. This is what I should be disposed myself to suggest as a mere colorable introduction of that which in terms suggests marriage, but which it will be for the jury, if they look at the whole scope and tendency of the reasoning, to consider whether it is more than a colorable—the introduction of the word marriage, from time to time, in the progress of the argument. But the argument which I was dealing with was the mode in which it was suggested that the evils of overpopulation could be avoided by physical checks. (The Solicitor-General then briefly alluded to the contents of pages 11-18, 18-33, 44, and 38-41.) That is the nature of the book. The mode in which the subject is treated I am afraid you must hear more minutely hereafter. That is the scope and tenor of the arguments. As my lord has pointed out to you (and, indeed, as I had intended to point out to you), all this is put before the reader under—what, I should say, in speaking plainly—under the guise of philosophy. The writer professes to entertain deep sympathies with the poor curate, and the artisan, who is, by the circumstances of his life, unable to afford the means of the care and rearing of an enormous family. The book, I think it may be said, is carefully guarded from any vulgarity of expression; the whole tone of it is, as I say, under the guise of philosophy and medical science. Further, it may be said that the two defendants, who are the publishers, in the preface here, say that they are neither of them doctors, that they do not affirm the medical truths which are laid down by the author of the book, who, perhaps, I should have told you before, was a Mr. Knowlton, a medical man, and they profess, therefore, not to entirely assent to, or advocate, all the medical truths which the writer puts forward in the book; and, further with respect to the philosophical proem which precedes the book, they profess to disagree with the propositions which appear in that part of the work."

"THE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE:—The book has been published in America, and was first introduced in this country forty years ago, I think?"

"THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL:—I believe so, my lord. They further proceed to say they do not agree with some of the propositions in the philosophical proem, and which I rather think they say are mistakes. But what underlies apparently the whole thing, and what may be taken to be the principle of the defense here as far as one gathers, is this: that it is a subject of interest, that the subject of the population and the relations between the sexes, may involve a subject of deep national interest, and, therefore, the defense appears to be of this character: although we do not agree with some of the medical knowledge, and although we do not agree with all the philosophical proem, yet, as it is a subject of interest we claim a right to publish it, because, in the conflict of opinion, and the discussion which may ensue, the truth ultimately may be elicited. That appears to me to be the main proposition underlying the whole of the contention, that they have a right to publish this work. * * * But the question will still remain, whether they are justified in publishing and circulating in the wholesale and unrestricted way which I have pointed out to you, that which—if in the result you should be of that opinion—is an obscene work. * * * In questions of this kind it should be borne in mind by the jury, not only the nature of the work published, but the mode of publication, and I can not do better than to read to you, gentlemen, his lordship's own language in the case I have already referred to—The Queen v. Hicklin. His lordship, at page 367 of 'Common-Law Reports, Q. B.,' says: 'A medical treatise, with illustrations necessary for the information of those for whose education or information the work is intended, may in a certain sense be obscene, and yet not the subject for indictment, but it can never be that these prints may be exposed for any one, boys

and girls, to see as they pass. The immorality must depend upon the circumstances of the publication.' Therefore, gentlemen, as it appears to me, it is a matter worthy of your consideration, not only the nature of the work itself, but the mode in which it was and is now claimed to be published. It is not whether a work of this kind can be submitted to a college of philosophy, but whether it can be sold at the price of sixpence about the streets of London and elsewhere, and it is with a view to stopping that publication that the law has interfered."

"The LORD CHIEF JUSTICE:—That is assuming always that it is an obscene work. I did not intend it to apply to a work on a scientific question."

"The SOLICITOR-GENERAL:—No: it may be absolutely necessary for the medical profession that plates and works treating on obstetric matters should be published: but who would say it would be right to publish such things indiscriminately throughout England? And it is to that question that I venture to think the distinction of my lord seems to point. The morality or immorality in such a case must depend upon the circumstances of the publication. We have here, in the work before us, a chapter on restriction published, not written in any learned language, but in plain English, in a facile form, and sold in the public streets at sixpence. Of course, as my lord has pointed out, although the question is one of publication, the mode of publication is involved. You must first establish that the work is an obscene work. Now, gentlemen, I do not wish to read you extracts from the work. I would rather refer you to the passages in the copies of the work you have before you, which we, the prosecution, rely upon as being obscene."

"The LORD CHIEF JUSTICE:—Meaning by obscene, tending to influence the passions, or recommending some course of conduct inconsistent with public morals."

"The SOLICITOR-GENERAL:—I do not want, gentlemen, to trouble you in going through many passages of this work: but at page 34 you will find a chapter on promoting and checking conception. * * * The whole chapter, gentlemen, is as you will perceive, devoted to the subject of promoting and checking conception, referring amongst other matters to the use of cayenne; and, gentlemen, I do not desire to read it. I would rather refer you to the chapter, and you will perceive for yourself what it purports to be."

Then followed a discussion as to how much of the book in question should be read, Mr. Bradlaugh urging that the exact parts should be known that were relied on to support the indictment, and the Chief-Justice sustaining him. The Solicitor-General then read some pages of the book, which he thought not only showed the object of the writer, but illustrated the mischief and evil that the work is liable to produce, and then completed his address in the following words:

"Gentlemen, I have read the whole of that, and I assure you that it has been with extreme pain and regret that I have found myself compelled to read it, and if it were possible—I don't know that it is, but if it were—to do what the defendant said in his interlocutory statements, *i. e.*, to produce from any number of medical works observations supporting this book in its entirety, I should submit that a medical work, published as this is, would be properly the subject of an indictment. It must not be assumed that, peradventure, a great number of works having been published that have not been made the subject of an indictment, that another should not be proceeded against. No one feels more deeply than I do that these prosecutions are fraught with danger, and that any number of authorities may be brought before you to suggest that these works are not novel. Any authorities of that sort I should recommend you to disregard. You may tell me about American doctors; but it is not to be permitted that doctors in England shall have a right to circulate such filth, and then be allowed to substantiate it by instances from other medical works. Many things—medical treatises, recommendations for the use of medicaments, herbs, and so forth—applicable to the ills under which humanity may suffer may, in the study of the physician, be properly considered for the purpose of applying to mankind some kind of remedy for the evils under which they may suffer. But is it to be said that because these things may be discussed and considered in the closet of the physician, that they may be cast broadcast all over the streets? If you accept that, you entirely subvert the principle which is properly deducible, and there is no such thing as indecency and obscenity at all. A man who had the view that the human figure was the most beautiful in the world might claim the right to walk naked through the streets, and might triumphantly say, 'I am exhibiting nothing but the natural parts, and it is only a prurient mind that will see any thing improper in it.' And you might push it to the extreme of saying that, inasmuch as sexual intercourse is a natural provision, there is nothing improper in publicly performing it.—[We paraphrase the extreme coarseness of the language here used by the learned counsel.] There is no limit to the extent to which a proposition like that may be carried. The question is for the good sense of an English jury, whether what I have read to you—and I don't wish to read any more—may be properly sold. I rely upon that passage read as indicating what is the nature, the extent and the scope of that particular passage

led up to, as I have told you it is, by a description of the parts engaged. It may be said that parts of this book—the defendant will be entitled to point to them, and I wish to make no concealment of such passages—contain passages in which the general scope and thesis enforced relates to marriage, which is introduced where the connection between the sexes is spoken of. Therefore, you may read it thus: I recommend this not as a mode by which persons who are unmarried may gratify their passions without the consequences which follow from that gratification. You may read it in every line that the defendant recommends and points out this simply as the use that is to be made of the preventive check, assuming that lawful connection between the sexes, and assuming that marriage has sanctified the intercourse of which he is speaking. Gentlemen, the question for you is, whether a book of this sort, published to everybody, would not suggest to the unmarried as well as to the married, and any persons into whose hands this book might get—the boy of 17 and the girl of the same age—that they might gratify their passions without the mischief and the inconvenience and the destruction of character which would be involved if they gratified them and conception followed. Gentlemen, that is one of the questions which you will have to determine. I venture to submit that the whole scope and tendency of giving such a minute description of all that has relation to the sexual appetite and the apparatus concerned therein—the effect of that is to constitute an obscene book. Gentlemen, there is one passage at the very end of the book, pp. 44 and 45, which I will also read. [The Solicitor-General here read p. 44 and to the end of p. 45.] Now, gentlemen, I pause for one moment upon that. These expressions, which you find all scattered through the book, assuming that they are meant for married persons to put a check upon undue population, I submit to you that is colorable, and that the object of the whole book, the scope of this book, is to permit people, independent of marriage, to gratify their passions, independently of the checks which nature and providence has interposed. I say that the object of this book is to tell everybody how they may do that, and yet have no children, whether they are married or not. Now, I invite your attention to the last passage. You will observe the thesis is the necessity, in point of health and in point of morals and mental tranquility, for the gratification of this particular passion, and observe—'It is a fact universally admitted, that unmarried females do not enjoy so much good health, and attain to so great an age, as the married.' What is the inference from that? Here are the means by which the unmarried female may gratify her passions. The truth is, those who publish this book must have known perfectly well that an unlimited publication of this sort, put into the hands of everybody, whatever their age, whatever their condition in life, whatever their modes of life, whatever their means, put into the hands of any person who may think proper to pay sixpence for it—the thesis is this: if you do not desire to have children, and wish to gratify your sensual passions, and not undergo the responsibility of marriage; if you are desirous of doing that, I show you a philosophical treatise, forsooth, how you may effect that object satisfactorily and safely, after a long experience, collected from a great number of scientific persons; the expedient I recommend has never been known to fail. And, therefore, this is to be put into the hands of every one, and it is sought to be justified upon the ground that it is only a recommendation to married people, who under the cares of their married life are unable to bear the burden of too many children. I should be prepared to argue before you that if confined to that object alone it would be most mischievous. The Christian religion is happily still a part of the law of this country, and if it were confined simply to that recommendation, I certainly should have a great deal to say to you, and would point out that that is immoral in the higher sense to which my lord at the commencement of the case referred. I feel it would be inappropriate to enter upon a discussion of this character, because it would appear to concede that this book is only intended for circulation among persons so situated. I deny this, and I deny that it is the purport and intention of this book. This book is sold for sixpence, and at such a price as that it will induce a circulation, which you may well conjecture, and it may be induced amongst an enormous population, there will be so many sold to boys and girls and persons who may obtain it with perfect facility in the streets; I decline to argue the question, and it would be most inappropriate and inadequate to discuss the book as if it were a document handed to a young couple who are anxious to avoid the evil and misery, which, as the writer states, a large family produces. That is not the ground on which I should discuss it. I submit to you, that from what I have read, it is an obscene book. The mode of publication is such as does not justify the book, and it is calculated to deprave and destroy the minds of those young persons especially into whose hands it may come, and therefore, it is properly the subject of an indictment. Don't talk to me about doctors! I care not if every physician in England had written a book of this character—although God forbid that I should suggest any physician could do so!—if you collect into this book all that may be found relating to one subject-matter scattered

in various books, it is a totally different thing. Apart from such a question altogether, if you were to prove to me that any physician in England had published a book like this, I submit that there can be no justification for that book to be quoted, which is calculated to deprave the minds of those into whose hands it may fall. I therefore ask your judgment that this book is an obscene publication."

THE RUSSIAN ARTEL.

THE Artel in its various forms is a curious institution. Some are simply temporary, itinerant associations of workmen, who during the summer live together, feed together, work together, and on the termination of each bit of work divide amongst themselves the profits. This is the primitive form of the institution, and is now not very often met with. Here, as elsewhere, capital has made itself felt, and destroyed that equality which exists among the members of an artel in the above sense of the word. Instead of forming themselves into a temporary association, the workmen now generally make an engagement with a contractor who has a little capital, and receive from him fixed monthly wages. According to this arrangement the risk is less and the wages are smaller, and if any exceptional profit accrues from the undertaking, it goes into the pocket of the contractor, in compensation for the exceptional losses which he may have to bear. The only association which exists in this case is for the purchase and preparation of provisions, and even these duties are very often left to the contractors.

In some of the larger towns there are artels of a much more complex kind—permanent associations, possessing a large capital, and pecuniarily responsible for the acts of the individual members. Of these, by far the most celebrated is that of the Bank Porters. These men have unlimited opportunities of stealing, and are often intrusted with the guarding or transporting of enormous sums; but the banker has no cause for anxiety, because he knows that if any defalcations occur they will be made good to him by the artel. Such accidents, however, rarely if ever happen, and the fact is by no means so extraordinary as many people suppose. The artel, being responsible for the individuals of which it is composed, is very careful in admitting new members, and a man when admitted is closely watched, not only by the regularly constituted office-bearers, but also by all his fellow-members who have an opportunity of observing him. If he begins to spend money too freely, or to neglect his duties, though his employer may know nothing of the fact, suspicions are at once aroused among his fellow-members, and an investigation ensues—ending in summary expulsion if the suspicions prove to have been well-founded. Mutual responsibility, in short, creates naturally a very effective system of mutual supervision. Might not some of our employers of labor, who complain loudly of the carelessness and dishonesty of their servants, make some practical use of this principle?—Wallace's Russia.

HERE is an institution which might be profitably copied in this country. Fancy an association of horse-car conductors, with money enough to make good all losses to employers from conductorial thieving! Every street-railroad would avail itself, without delay, of such an opportunity to secure its just receipts, and the bell-punch company would have to suspend business. So with clerks, salesmen, or any other set of persons who have the opportunity of unlimited stealing; an organization which would guaranty employers against such dishonesty would have all the business it could do. Is not this a good, wholesome function of association, to protect the public against frauds and breaches of trust? It seems to us that organizations suitable for this purpose could do their work in a much more effective manner than would be possible without association and combination. Such an organization would be literally an association for the promotion of honesty and the suppression of vice.

A SPIRITUAL CURE OF DRUNKENNESS.

DR. J. C. JACKSON, in the August No. of the *Laws of Life*, in a chapter on "What I have seen in Prayer-Meetings," relates the following incident illustrating the power of prayer and spiritual influences in breaking up a fixed habit of drunkenness, which occurred at a prayer-meeting in his native town, many years ago:

"Let me tell a case. There lived in that neighborhood a man who intellectually was as gifted as any man in it. He was by nature a marked man, but was a poor, degraded, debased creature, because he was an habitual drunkard. He belonged to this church, and between Thursday night of one week and Thursday night of the succeeding, as the weeks went by, this man would have a debauch—a regular drunken carousal—becoming so drunk that he would have to be picked up and carried home to his sorrowing, saddened wife and mortified children.

"When he got over his debauch, he would go to prayer-meeting in a very humble frame of mind, beseech the brothers and sisters to pray for him that he might become

ITEMS OF NEWS.

HOME.

sober and 'hold out faithful unto the end.' They would pray for him, rebuke him, criticise him, and deal with him, and he would promise amendment and then go out and get drunk again. So the thing went on for months, he getting drunk, and then confessing; they reproving, rebuking, but letting him stay in the church, until it became scandalous to outsiders; and they taunted the members of the church for their inconsistency in retaining such a man in their membership; but they had some very faithful men and women whose fertile forecast led them to perceive that if the church was not the proper place for such a man, then of a truth he was an outcast and must be given over, body and soul, to the devil. They therefore were indisposed to cast him out, and hoped that some day or other the power of God would come upon him and change him.

"On a given Sabbath afternoon, I think it was when the meeting-house was filled, and as the sun was going down, there arose a girl, not more than nineteen years of age I believe, who said: 'I have had a vision from God; my inner sense has been quickened, and I am led to stand up to-day and say that as a church we have pursued altogether a wrong course with reference to our erring brother. He has pursued a wrong course himself. We have been praying to God that he would strengthen our brother so that he might be able to overcome his degrading vice and become a sober man. We have brought all the arguments in our power to bear on him. We have appealed to his love of manhood, to his love of his wife and children, to his need of being sober in order that he may support himself and them in comfort. We have told him how he was disgracing his Christian profession, and how he was hurting the church. Every moral consideration that we have been able to urge, again and again has been presented to him by almost every one of us. Now, brothers and sisters, there is one thing we have not done. We have not confessed our helplessness to save this man, nor his utter inability to save himself. We have talked exactly as though he might put himself beyond the all-controlling power of his appetite, and we have failed. I propose a new plan; that we make an opening here and invite this man to come into its center, and those of us who feel that we have no strength to help him shall insist on his confessing, not to us, as he has been in the habit of doing, but to Jesus; that he is a poor, miserable, lost, degraded, debased wretch, a disgrace to himself and a dishonor to this church; and that he shall lie down here on his face and cry out, 'God be merciful to me a sinner!' 'Lord Jesus Christ save or I perish!' Kneeling down by his side let us make the same confession to Christ, and put the whole burden of saving this man off our shoulders, on to Jesus, our Master.' The audience shouted, 'amen! amen!' 'That is it!' 'Glory to God!' 'Make a circle and let Bro. — come in!' 'Let us all go to Jesus with this case!' They did. They rose upon their feet, made a hollow circle, and into it this poor, old, bleary-eyed, decrepit, debauched, thick-lipped brother came in; and down he went onto the floor, and they kneeled about him, and called on Jesus for help. Till then I never had witnessed such a scene. For twenty minutes it was like a Babel—calling and praying, agonizing and crying, weeping and wailing; and then there came a stillness over the house—it seemed like a wave of peace. First one, then another arose, and without a word shook hands, bade each other good-bye, and went out as solemn as if they had been in the presence of the dead. The last man to get up from the floor was this poor drunkard. He went home, and from that day until the day of his death, he never touched a drop of liquor. He became clothed and in his right mind, and he supported his family well. He was a man of wonderful spiritual and enlightened activity in every good word and work, and when he died, an old man, went away from us clothed with the graces of the Spirit."

The first prize in art has just been awarded by the University of London to Prof. Huxley's daughter.

There are twenty women students at Harvard in the summer schools of chemistry and botany, and twelve at Yale in the school of fine arts.

TRUE EDUCATION.—"Our so-called education does not fit a man for understanding his social duties. It does not make him better. Public opinion is now beginning to take a different view of what education ought to be."—*Professor Huxley at the Domestic Economy Congress, at Birmingham.*

Germany is making rapid progress in provision for the higher education of girls. While the State has provided for elementary schools for both sexes, compelling the attendance of children, the higher schools have, until recently, been provided only for the boys. Within the past few years most of the States have established middle and higher schools for females of the same grade and with the same appropriations as those for males.

Some of the American preachers in attendance at the Pan-Presbyterian Council seem to have astonished the canny Scots not a little. After Dr. Hoge's sermon in St. Andrew's, a venerable elder was asked what he thought of it. "I thought I had him twice," replied the good old man; "but he gaed ower my head with a fluff like a bat."

To your tents, O Methodists.

Forest fires in Michigan and Wisconsin.

Counterfeit eagle pieces are on the wing.

Old Virginia has joined the folks who mean to pay.

We don't go to the backwoods for our sharp-shooters now.

Providence is going to have two statues of Roger Williams.

The Permanent Exhibition at Philadelphia don't pay very well.

The workingmen have been holding conventions in many places.

Mr. Moody has snatched a moment to do up a little farm-work.

Bennington was the birth-place of Col. Martin Scott and that famous coon.

The Californians have made an ocean-going steamer for the Sandwich Islands.

Gen. Crook says the Indians are as well armed as the regulars and can shoot better.

The struggle for existence still goes on. It doesn't appear to be localized anywhere yet.

What does Conkling mean to do? That is the question now. Wait till Congress meets.

If you want to hear from the President just read Secretary Sherman's long speech at Mansfield, Ohio.

Gough and Murphy are at Fairport, New York, where there is a deal of tent-life and singing in the woods.

There were 75,000 people at the Bennington Centennial—all pleased with themselves and glad to see the President.

Wheeling will be the capital of West Virginia till May, 1885; after that Charlestown will be the seat of government.

The tramps have a great deal of time to sit in the Central Park where they sometimes sleep in the bushes and steal an early bath.

The American riflemen expect to beat at the forthcoming contest at Creedmoor. They have made the best averages so far.

You folks who are asking the Government to do more for us, Are you ready to be governed a good deal more than you are now?

Bank Superintendent Ellis, of New York, has been found too small for the place. He meant well, but hell, you know, is paved with such stuff.

The Commission appointed to investigate the New Orleans Custom-House have recommended that 25 per cent. of the employes be discharged.

Two bad boys have just performed the feat of swimming Niagara River below the Falls. Good boys don't plague their mothers in that way.

Richard Realf, who figured in the times of Harper's Ferry insurrection as old John Brown's Secretary of State, is going to publish a volume of poems.

The street-car conductors of New York found a way to beat that bell-punch for a little while. Hope they will keep on trying till they beat it by being perfectly honest.

It didn't do any good for the politicians of Ohio to add a labor-plank to their platforms. The workingmen went right on to hold conventions of their own and make nominations.

One of our exchanges thinks marriage ought to be graded so that a man can marry just a little and be respectable, or a good deal and be perfectly happy and the father of sixteen sons of genius.

The national monument just finished at Plymouth, Mass., in honor of the Pilgrim Fathers, is a granite "Faith" 36 feet high, standing upon a pedestal 40 feet in height. It cost nearly \$40,000.

The Pennsylvania Coal Company at Pittston has been so considerate with its employes as to get along without a strike. It is reported that the colliers in that region have lately had their wages raised ten per cent.

A Watertown, New York, man has devised and patented a rail-car Turkish bath lighted with blue glass. It can be attached to a moving train, and be switched off at any town as long as business lasts, and then be moved on again to new fields of conquest.

The steamer *Denmark*, of the National Line, was taken possession of by the United States Marshal of New York on a charge of smuggling. There are seven charges in all, amounting to \$27,466. She has been released and another vessel held as a substitute.

The partial reports of Professors Riley and Packard confirm the idea that the Western farmers have little or nothing to fear from the grasshoppers this year. The wet, cool and backward weather has prevented their hatching in sufficient numbers to do much damage except in a few small localities.

The troubles are not over in the coal regions of Pennsylvania. On the 15th inst. six or seven hundred rioters made a raid on the mines of the Delaware and Hudson Coal Company and closed all of them between Wilkesbarre and Mill Creek. The Company is likely to experience great loss and damage by the flooding of their works.

The Woodruff Expedition is going to be a sort of floating college. The boys they will study; and the professors they will lecture as they sail, as they sail. The Expedition will set out in October on board the *Ontario*, which will be under the command of Commander Philip of the United States Navy. The individual expense of this two-year's cruise around the world will be \$2,500.

The red planet Mars has got a little moon. About 11 o'clock on Thursday evening, the 16th, Professor Hall of the Naval Observatory, Washington, was observing Mars when he saw a small star which seemed to be following the planet. Further observation showed him and others that it was a true satellite. Its period of revolution is 30 hours; distance from Mars 14,000 or 15,000 miles; diameter 100 miles.

Mrs. Crapo, who went across the Atlantic with her husband in a sail-boat only twenty feet in length, writes from England that she has had enough of it. She fainted twice, slept in a wet bed for seven weeks, and had aches in every bone in her body. They had seven gales of wind and a ter-

ribly anxious time. The last one continued "from Saturday afternoon till Tuesday morning, but God was with us," she says, "and he calmed the sea so that we were able to make sail." The fool-hardiness of their expedition makes her pious trust seem a little exasperating.

Gen. Gibbon fought the Nez Percés at Big Hole River in Montana, with only 182 men—32 of whom were citizen volunteers. The Indians, some 350 in number, had retreated across the Bitter Root Mountains to escape Gen. Howard. Gen. Gibbon overtook them in the valley of the Big Hole, where they had encamped on the edge of a prairie. Attacking them at once and fighting them nearly all day, he was at last obliged to fall back and suffer an attack in turn. The Indians finally withdrew after having lost a hundred or more men in all. Gen. Gibbon's loss was 25 killed and 42 wounded, including himself.

The range of the buffalo is now confined to two separate tracts: the one extends northward from the principal southern tributaries of the Yellowstone into the British possessions; the other is in Western Kansas, a part of the Indian Territory, and Northwestern Texas. The buffalo country was thus divided by the great emigration to California in 1849. According to Mr. J. W. Allen's "American Bisons, Living and Extinct," the buffalo once pastured as far south as latitude 25° N. (northwestern Provinces of Mexico), as far north as latitude 62° (Great Slave Lake), west to the Blue Mountains in Oregon, and east to Buffalo in New York. With the exception of parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia its range east of the Mississippi was mostly confined to the areas drained by the Ohio and Illinois and their tributaries. It never went south of the Tennessee River.

FOREIGN.

That war is outrageous.

Russian patriots can now enlist in the Home Guards.

The Turks have ordered up 35,000 troops from Bagdad.

The French are getting fresh beef from the River Platte.

Something is going to be done in Armenia. Look out for it.

The potato-bug has put in an appearance at Henford, England.

There is much sickness among the Russians. Gen. Ignatieff has had the gastric fever.

Canada will take \$14,200,000 on her fish-claim against the United States and say no more about it.

Sitting Bull will go home if some authorized person will come up, cap in hand, and settle with him.

Gen. Alchasoff is one of the new generals in Armenia. The Turks will see to it that he doesn't chase 'em all off.

The American Missionaries in Armenia are at work alleviating the sufferings of the Turkish wounded at Erzeroum.

The King of Holland has resigned in favor of his son, a young man of thirty-seven, and brought up to the King business. That is an advantage.

Mukhtar Pasha says the Russians, 50,000 strong, attacked the Turkish lines defending Kars on Saturday, the 19th. The losses were slight on both sides.

Great Britain and Egypt have concluded a convention for the suppression of the slave-trade. British cruisers will capture slavers hoisting the Egyptian flag.

There are now some Mexican soldiers at Camargo looking across the Rio Grande to see if there are any American troops at the Ringgold Barracks.

The British riflemen who are going to take part in the international shooting-match at Creedmoor, Long Island, set sail from Liverpool on the 16th. There are sixteen of them, one of whom is Sir Henry Halford.

A number of French silk-houses have failed in Lyons with liabilities amounting to \$1,000,000. The partial loss of the American market and a substitution of woolen fabrics for silk are among the causes assigned.

Mr. O'Sullivan was in Washington the other day to push the interests of the proposed Nicaragua Canal. He thinks the work can be done in five years and at a cost of \$60,000,000. The survey has been already made by the United States.

The German Admiralty officers have been experimenting at Keil with the Lupis Whitehead torpedo, and at 800 metres they could n't make it hit worth a cent. They have ordered a suspension of the further construction of torpedo boats.

If we have got to feed the poor and starving in India we shall have to have something to do about their breeding by and by. That is what England will have to say to herself after she has fought the famine for a generation or two. She ought to be saying it now.

In the Queen's speech of the 14th, proroguing Parliament till October 30th, she congratulates her subjects on the acquisition of Transvaal, assures them of her desire to preserve neutrality, and reassures them that if British interests are in any way threatened something will be done right off.

The British Consul at Nicolaieff, Russia, has discovered that petroleum is good for a bald head. Every thing depends on how you apply the remedy. "It was remarked," says the *Tribune*, "that a majority of the people who went into the oil regions when the petroleum speculations were at their highest, came out bald-headed and with a tired appearance."

The dead-lock in Bulgaria still continues. The two hostile armies are supposed to be engaged in bringing up reinforcements and in seeking to fortify and strengthen their respective positions. The feeling is one of great suspense, and that a decisive battle is imminent almost any day. The bombardment of Rustchuck has been recommenced from the Roumanian side, and is quite as destructive as ever. After driving the Russians out of Roumelia by the victories at Eski Sagrah and Kalofer, and blockading them in the Skipka Pass, Suleiman Pasha pushed northward through the Balkans at Tvarditza Pass, and has effected a junction with Mahomet Ali between the town of Bebrova and the village of Tjeserora. This is an important move on the part of the Turks, extending and strengthening their line as it does, in the direction of the Russian advance to the Balkans. Osman Pasha holds a very strong position at Plevna, but the Cossacks by their superior numbers are able to worry him by capturing his ammunition trains and interrupting his communications with Sofia. The Russians in the Dobrudzha seem to be as sick and inactive as ever, and as unmolested, although there is a report that a body of Turks has gone against them. They have retaken Kustendje.

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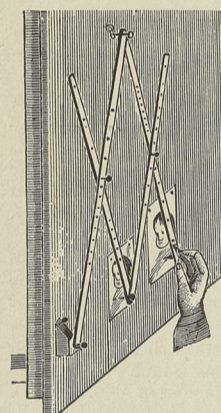
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