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THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST AND THE WORKINGMEN'S PARTY.

Translated from the Ohio Volkszeitung.

THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST, which is edited by John Humphrey Noyes, the founder of the Oneida Community, gives its attention in the No. of the 15th of Nov. to the Workingmen's Party of the United States. Mr. J. F. Bray of Pontiac, Mich., well known by many excellent articles to the readers of the *Emancipator*, which, alas! is temporarily suspended, calls attention in the same No. to the subject, and the Editor devotes to it his leading article.

Bray says that because the conditions and circumstances, which are inwrought into our present form of society, are unfavorable to a higher development of the individual, we must find satisfaction in promoting the lower forms of Communism. To-day thousands of men and women work together in factories without strife while the same men could not possibly agree in a higher Communistic society. For such men, the Workingmen's Party, imperfect though it necessarily is, because the material of which it is composed is imperfect, would be the apostle of Communism. Thinking men of all classes should on this account study the character of that party, before they set it down as dangerous and visionary.

Upon this, Noyes observes that the Workingmen's Party may have a political and social meaning which deserves very careful consideration. Though it may not yet be completely organized as a unit, and though, with reference to its principles and aims, it may not yet have reached the necessary clearness, yet the movement is at bottom a united effort of the laborers to free themselves from labor-thralldom. It proceeds from the poorer classes who desire to attain a more independent and comfortable existence. This is a praiseworthy end, and deserves the sym-

thy of all well-wishing men of wealth. But it appears that the party by its coming on the stage awakes hostile emotions in the higher classes. As an offshoot of similar movements in Europe, the Communists in France and the Social Democrats in Germany, it has exhibited a spirit of violent agitation and change, that is not justifiable here, for here the people stand toward the government otherwise than in the monarchical States of Europe. According to the American idea the laborers only need to bring the majority of the voters upon their side in order to accomplish all that they wish, and in this way they might introduce great and useful reforms. But they would commit an error if they should think themselves able at once to bring in a paternal government, with possession by the State of all railroads, telegraphs and other ways of business or traffic, such as public workshops for labor. This may be a desirable state of things, but it can not suddenly be attained:

"If the Workingmen's Party, instead of adopting the quarrel of the poor against the rich as it stands in Europe, will study their rights and plans carefully in the American spirit, and work out for themselves an original American platform, which will commend itself to the reason and conscience of those who have learned to think in American schools and under American institutions, we pledge ourselves to join it and work for it with all our might; for we are and have been and shall be workingmen ourselves, and hold ourselves bound in common interest with all honest producers. But we hate the war-spirit as being the uttermost opposite of the producing spirit, whether it shows itself in military repression on one side, or in agrarian aggression on the other."

Besides these two articles relating to our movement, there is in the same No. still a third, which treats of social-political questions in America. This is from the pen of Mr. Chas. Sears of Williamsburg, Kansas, and discusses, under the title "Are we Entering upon Guarantism,"* the historical development of parties to our time, when politicians even are beginning for their own purposes to press labor-questions into the foreground.

All these three expressions of thought upon the character of modern Socialism, and its agitation as the programme of a political party, are very interesting to us, and are to us clearly a significant sign that the hour of action for our party rapidly approaches.

Mr. Noyes is a man who understands the practical aspects of Communism better than any body else. The experiment made by him with the Oneida Community has proved itself, in very many and various respects, a magnificent success, and the most interesting problems which exist in respect to higher intellectual Communism—as also with respect to the important sexual functions of mankind—are by that experiment pushed upon the borders of scientific inquiry. His judgment upon the efficacy of the Workingmen's Party, which in fact represents another ray of the same sun from which the moving idea must originate for the foundation of Communistic societies in Oneida and elsewhere, is very noteworthy, and it fills us with the greatest satisfaction that he expresses his sympathy for us so decidedly. We must remember that he has been withdrawn from the outer world and has created for himself a circle in which he, as a preacher without a rival, could make his special efforts of value in results; that he nevertheless—and indeed on the portals of old age—felt the necessity of turning back again from this narrow sphere of retirement, upon the broad field of national life, and that he from there acknowledges our movement as one which is nearest to his ideas. The few thoughts which he expresses against it have found expression within a portion of our own ranks (and indeed have already produced a change in our discussions), and rest in part upon misunderstanding.

Our party plants itself decidedly on the ground of lawful agitation by means of the right of suffrage, and that it will become as far as possible truly American in spirit is proved by a current of influence which is making itself powerfully felt within the party, and of which the matters proposed for the next Congress by the German section of Cincinnati, is the most striking and important expression. The members of the party also know very well that the ultimate objects which its platform thus far expresses are not to be attained without revision or change, and the platform is on just this account divided into two parts, a principal one, and one for practical reforms to be temporarily introduced, such as the establishment of a normal day's labor, and the founding of

* Guarantism, a word used by Fourier for the sixth period of culture, which he includes in his system of Socialistic development, and in which the Guaranty of all interests and participation of all therein is introduced.

statistical bureaus of labor and productive associations to be aided by the State.

But we know that we can only successfully agitate for these innovations if we present them conformably to the truth, as a transition to a Socialistic State, as an emanation of the Socialistic idea, as far as the same can at present be embodied in form. Should we suppress the peculiar thoughts which move us to action, should we conceal the great principle which is to impel human thought and action in new channels, the power would fail us to argue and to convince, just as it would have been impossible a hundred years ago for the founders of the republic to separate themselves from England, if they had not declared the principle of independence (as it for the most part had been formulated in Paine's "Common Sense"), and as the Republican Party would never have abolished slavery if the Abolitionists with their radical thinking had not preceded as a bold herald. To wish to discuss social questions without Socialism seems to us as if one would undertake a race for a wager with a wooden horse. It is simply absurd, and can only be attempted by demagogues who speak not from conviction of principles but from selfish interests.

If Mr. Noyes takes upon himself for once to study our party organization, and especially the agitation as it is carried on here in Ohio, in Wisconsin, in Illinois and Missouri, he will come to see that we are doing just what he wishes of us.

GOOD IN THE ASCENDANT.

SOME well-disposed people sincerely believe that the world is retrograding, becoming more and more filled with sin and misery. They point to the daily records of crime and suffering; they cite the deeds of horrible wickedness now committed; they refer to the laxity of principles formerly deemed sacred; they speak of the thousands of abandoned characters thronging our cities; of the prevalence of intemperance and licentiousness; and of the development of theories foreboding the entire disorganization of society. Men are degenerating, they tell us, in body and mind; the races are less vigorous, and more exposed to the ravages of disease; and, consequently, human longevity is continually decreasing: in short, the world is approaching its final stage of weakness and wickedness.

We enter our protest against this dismal view of the present and the future. We believe that evil is decreasing and good increasing in this world, and that the future is altogether more likely to be filled with sunshine and angels of good than with darkness and hobgoblins of evil.

We might assume this on the ground that God is constantly pouring his spirit and grace into the world, and that in the great conflict of good and evil, good must be steadily progressing in its conquest and steadily encroaching upon the domain of evil, and that its grand and universal triumph impends, simply because good is stronger than its rival.

But we are not left to assumption. The facts are in favor of the hopeful view. Newspapers nowadays magnify evil, and din the ears of all men with their reports of sinful deeds; and yet we think it would be difficult, if not impossible, to name a single great manifestation of evil that is not less flagrant than it has been in the centuries that are past.

Look at the great vices of society: poverty, ignorance, excessive labor, intemperance, licentiousness, official corruption, governmental oppression, sectarianism, sickness and death. Is there one of these more rampant or more universal in its action now than at any previous period? We think not. Take them in their order.

Signs of poverty are abundant around us, and still more abundant in older countries; and yet, especially for the last eight hundred years, the circumstances of the people, of the great masses, have been gradually improving, and many men are now possessed of moderate means where one at some former period could call even himself and family his own, saying nothing about property.

Ignorance is now the exception where it was once the rule. Within half a score of years the school-book has been given to millions in our own country who

previously lived in enforced ignorance; and in England, in Italy, in Spain, and in many other countries, education is working with the other agents of civilization in dispelling ignorance, superstition, and whatever would enthral the human mind.

That the evil of *excessive labor* has been greatly restricted is shown by the single fact that slavery has been abolished by nearly every nation calling itself civilized. In the centuries that are past slavery was almost universally practiced. Christians at first enslaved one another, as well as Jews and heathen. But in other ways has excessive labor been limited. Every mechanical improvement has weakened its power. There is no department of human industry that has not shared in the general improvement. There is scarcely a tool used by the farmer, a utensil of the kitchen, an article of furniture, that has not been modified in a way to lighten labor. Then in addition, consider that the hours of labor have been directly diminished in millions of cases. The labor reformers make some unwise claims, but it must still be acknowledged that they have done great good. They have made it impossible, with reference to mechanical businesses, for employers to demand that fourteen hours of labor shall constitute a day's work.

Shocked as worthy people now are with the terrible evil of *intemperance*, many live who remember when intoxicating liquors slew a much greater proportion of the population than at present. We lately saw a letter of Noah Webster in which the good man wailed the fact that nearly every man who drove into New Haven brought with him a rum jug, and in which he commended, as a model for others, the example of his own family which only used two gallons of rum in a year! And yet it is only thirty-four years since Webster died. The letter may have been written fifty years ago, but who that is acquainted with New England society does not know that so far as intemperance is concerned great improvement has been made within the half century? The influences which have been brought to bear upon this vice have entirely removed it from thousands of families. We think the same is true of other parts of this country and of other countries.

More noise is perhaps made about the *licentiousness* of the present day than about any other evil, and yet if history is to be credited there have been periods when it was far more common. We are compelled to believe that a few centuries ago this vice pervaded all ranks of society, purity of social life being the exception rather than the rule. Monks, priests, bishops, even the Holy Father at Rome, did not escape the general corruption. There may be local exceptions, but the world's tone in respect to sexual matters is greatly superior to that, for instance, of old crusade times.

Take the vice now "so rank that it smells to heaven"—*official corruption*. Bad and wide-spread as it is, it is by no means so uncontrollable, even in this country, as it has at sundry times been in various European countries. Witness, for example, England during the period covered by Macaulay's History.

Compare the present governments of England, France, Spain, Italy, Austria, Germany, Russia, or even the governments of the extreme eastern countries, China and Japan, with those of a few centuries ago, and you will be surprised to see to what an extent the evil of *governmental oppression* has disappeared. So far as the real legitimate objects of government are concerned—the protection of individual rights of persons and property and the maintenance and execution of principles of justice—it is difficult to find words to characterize the great difference between the present condition of the civilized world and that of society in the middle ages.

Sectarianism is a great evil now, but was a much greater one in the early days of Christianity. As a rule there are now friendly relations between the several Christian sects, and in many cases there is harmonious coöperation. Then, slight causes—a different interpretation of a word or phrase, more often questions that now seem trivial in speculative theology—sufficed to give origin to distinctive sects, and once formed, there was an end of harmonious working. Persecutions were waged too horrible to describe. Those taking the name of Christ mutilated and destroyed one another like enemies in war: in fact, sectarian differences not rarely eventuated in open, deadly war, in which thousands were killed.

Then, too, we must recognize great progress in the world respecting *war* itself, notwithstanding the recent exhibitions of international strife. Nations do not now resort to the last extremity on such slight pretexts as formerly, on the one hand; and, on the other, differences of the greatest magnitude are more often settled by peaceable methods, as in the case of the Alabama and

other claims between the United States and Great Britain.

Finally, those great and universal evils, *sickness* and *death*, have been in some measure limited. Science, as well as faith, successfully resists them in these latter days. Statistics show that the races are not on the whole deteriorating, either in vigor or longevity, but that the reverse is the case. "Figures," says G. M. Beard, M. D., in a carefully prepared article published a few years ago, "show that all classes live fifty per cent. longer under the modern civilization of England and the United States than the most favored brain-working classes lived under the Roman civilization. Increase of longevity is shown by comparison not only of ancient and modern times, but also of the earlier with the later stages of our modern civilization. Thus in Geneva, where vital statistics have been carefully kept for nearly four centuries, the expectation of life in the 16th century was 21.21 years; in the 17th century 25.67 years; in the 18th century 33.62 years; from 1814 to 1833, 40.68 years. This comparison shows an increase of almost one hundred per cent. in three centuries. In England and Wales mortality has diminished two-fifths in a single century—from 1720 to 1820. Comparing cities alone we find even greater increase. The rate of mortality in Dublin at the beginning of the eighteenth century was 1 in 22 of the population. In the middle of the nineteenth century, 1 in 38 of the population. The rate of mortality in Boston from 1776 was 1 in 28 of the population; in 1864, 1 in 37 of the population. The rate of mortality in Boston from 1728 to 1752 was 1 in 21.65 of the population; from 1846 to 1865, 1 in 42.08 of the population. A decrease of about fifty per cent. in one century; similar decrease has been observed in Paris and London."

These statements will read strangely to those who believe every thing is drifting to the bad; and yet they are undoubtedly true. Civilization, as Dr. Beard points out, "gives us better food and drink, better homes and clothing, better surroundings every way than barbarism." The great cities, where many diseases best thrive, are more clean, better drained, supplied with purer water. All these things, as well as the moral and spiritual changes which have occurred, tell against disease and death. "Moreover, hygiene and medical science in all its branches have rapidly advanced, and every week witnesses greater success in our method of preventing and treating disease." Hence, many diseases that were once allowed to sweep unchecked over entire districts and even countries, are now in great measure controlled, while others are no longer feared. "The plague which in the seventeenth century destroyed thousands every year, and the 'black death,' which in the fourteenth century slaughtered such multitudes, are now unknown. Small-pox is but 1-10, measles 1-5, fevers 1-4, and consumption a little more than 1-2 as fatal now as in the seventeenth century. Nervous diseases have lately increased in severity and variety, but they are much less fatal than fevers and epidemics. Mortality of infants, which was once fearful, has diminished a very great per cent."

Take a general survey of the nations, and the hopeful view is fully confirmed. Great changes are every-where occurring—all conspiring against evil—all foretelling the glad day pictured by poet and seer. Away then with croaking! Forward to the bright future!

SOCIALISM IN ENGLAND.

HISTORICAL REMINISCENCES.

BY E. T. CRAIG.
XIV.

"All organic beings are modifiable; modifications are inheritable, and therefore the remote issues of any new influence brought to bear on the members of a community must be serious."—*Spencer*.

THE Pioneers of the Coöperative and Socialistic movement in Lancashire, owe some acknowledgement to the Manchester Mechanics' Institution, as they were connected with its early history and operations, and derived much benefit from its indirect influence over them. I became one of the first members on its opening in 1824, and gained great advantages from its extensive library, its lectures and classes. From a sincere, but mistaken impression, on the part of my grandparents, as to the danger lurking in the study of science, my reading had been restricted to books chiefly of a religious and pious tendency. Works of science and of fiction were viewed as instruments of Satan in creating doubts and skepticism, thereby preparing a pathway to perdition. The Calvinistic doctrines relating to "original sin," "predestination" and "eternal punishment," had become painfully depressing, and produced a harsh and gloomy feeling to such a degree that I began to hold life as scarcely worth the risk arising out of the conditions of

existence and the repressing influences of trade. I had occasionally visited the free library of Cheetham's College, not far from our house, and now, having access to a wide range of literature, became interested in the metaphysical works of Locke, Dugald Stewart, Helvetius, Volney and the *Spectator*; works of fiction, poetry and travels also became sources of gratification, and prepared the way for the investigation of questions which had been deemed dangerous and forbidden fruit. To avoid giving unnecessary pain, I concealed the books selected for reading and study, and smuggled them into my bedroom. To prevent any discovery and to avoid awakening those who occupied the bed-chamber below me, I was accustomed to sit reading with my pillows under my feet during the night, and often till one and two o'clock in the morning.

Although I was attracted to the study of the works of the metaphysicians, in order to get at the real nature of the mental constitution of man, I derived but little advantage from the doctrine that the immaterial mind is divided into compartments called memory, imagination, judgment, and so on. Although Locke cleared the ground as to "innate ideas," looking upon the mind, at birth, as a blank sheet of paper, he failed to see that men are born with innate faculties, varying to a vast extent in their susceptibility and power of manifestation, so that some persons, at birth, may be compared to common foolscap, others to hot-pressed, glazed post, and many to ordinary blotting paper, on which it is difficult to have a clear and distinct notion or impression. It was not then seen what great truths underlie the laws of man's physical organization in relation to capacity and character. As heritage and training are the foundations of all future evolutions of the highest development of man, and as moral beauty of character is intimately dependent on an harmonious balance of the organic forces in the constitution, society may yet discover the importance of teaching to the young the laws that govern health and vital power, so that parentage may be in harmony with the happiest results, as easily as we see paupers breed paupers and criminals rear criminals. It would be as easy in fact, to multiply men of worth, energy and capacity as we now rear pigeons, turtle-doves, "tumblers" and "fan-tails," the powerful draught-horse or the high-mettled racer, if the young were educated to appreciate the laws of heritage.

The philosophy of man, when fully and widely understood, will guide him to his true position in relation to his fellow-man, and indicate his happiest social evolutions. It is only by the cultivation of the highest intelligence and by a thorough knowledge of the nature of man that the principles of morals can be applied in all their force, freedom and usefulness in practice. Men have hitherto been childish afraid of new truths. They are only now awakening from the sleep of ages. Many eagerly pursue new fashions of belief, yet cherish their accustomed and acquired habit of rejecting what to them is doubtful, untrue or heterodox. Hence the vast importance of a science or philosophy of man, and therefore a science of society, to be made familiar to the young, that their minds may be free to investigate the laws of nature without apprehension or prejudice, as in the dark night of ages.

The lectures on Natural Philosophy, delivered at the Mechanics' Institution by W. John Davis and others, were as interesting to me as the revelations of a new creation. Chemistry showed how the atoms of matter under their varied arrangements produce the properties of bodies. That oxygen, nitrogen, hydrogen and carbon, could possess such mighty forces when in varied relations, were themes for wonder. That light, electricity, magnetism and heat, should be so intimately related, was a mystery. The revelations of the stellar world, as illustrated by astronomy, were magnificent marvels of astonishment and delight.

These studies led me out of a dark jungle of prejudices into a new life of restless inquiry. Gradually the mind was raised out of the misty cave of uncertainty into the open daylight of knowledge and of facts, showing the undeviating laws of nature, and affording a constant source of interest and gratification. My attendance at the geometry and drawing-classes made me conscious of a new pleasure in giving an artistic appreciation of beauty of form and proportion, and I took lessons from a landscape painter, at the modest fee of sixpence per hour, with the hope of mastering the mysteries of color.

When passing one of the class-rooms of the Mechanics' Institution, in 1827, my attention was arrested by a large collection of crania, busts and casts spread upon the floor, seats and desks, which were used by Dr. Spurzheim in illustration of his course of lectures on the physiology of the brain. The subject was a theme of

ridicule and amusement to some at that time, but I had recently undergone a great change of feeling, and had acquired such a thirst for a knowledge of the truth with regard to the nature of the human mind, that I pursued the study of Dr. Gall's discovery with much eagerness, and found an intimate connection between cerebral conditions and mental capacity and power, proving the relations between organization and character. This discovery had a cheering and hopeful influence as to the future improvement of the human race, and for securing the general happiness of mankind by improving the organization, and especially the great central nervous system, the brain, the real source of perception, emotion, passion and intellectual power. It is not only to wealth and culture, but to the proportions and the quality of the brain, that men must look for the future improvement of humanity. The problem lies in the breed; race is at the root of the questions to be solved, for the highest and best organisms will ultimately rule the destinies of the civilized world.

From the *Coöperative News*.

THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF CO-OPERATION IN CHIPPING NORTON.

IN the year 1866 a few workmen found out that by joining together they would be able to purchase coals at a considerably lower rate than in the ordinary way, *viz.*, through the retailer at the then existing wharfs. These few workmen no sooner found this out than they at once clubbed together, and got enough orders for two trucks of coals, which accordingly they sent for. They had very little idea of the mode of carrying on coöperation, consequently their aspirations were very limited. They only intended having a truck or two of coals once or twice during the year. The opposition they met with from the coal agents, instead of causing them to desist in their endeavors, so annoyed them that they one and all determined to resist it by forming a Coöperative Coal Society and going thoroughly into the trade. This resolution was no sooner formed than they at once took the necessary steps for calling a meeting. At the meeting about thirty came forward and enrolled their names, subscribing capital to the sum of £30 for working the society. This was so encouraging that a committee was formed, a wharf taken, and by the 1st of December, 1866, they were enabled to begin business. In order to impress these agents with their determination to punish them, they at once caused the price of coals to be reduced 3s. per ton: thereby carrying out the motto which they had adopted—“*Pro Bono Publico*.” During the first year of the society's existence 948 tons of coals were sold to the value of £787, which realized a profit of £17. This profit was divided amongst the shareholders, as is done in joint-stock companies, leaving the poor consumer out in the cold; which manifested the limited amount of coöperative intelligence then existing in the society. 1868, or the second year of the society's existence, saw the society still flourishing. The members had increased by this time to eighty; the share capital to £111; the sales for the year to £903, with a profit of £28. The members having found the coal trade to answer so well, concluded to take another step by starting in the bakery business. The starting of this department, which was accomplished the last quarter of the year 1868, opened the eyes of the shop-keepers as to what they might expect from the movement. They naturally supposed, if the society continued to prosper, that other trades would be added as opportunity permitted. Opposition they soon found out to be of no avail, and wisely they acted in contenting themselves with grumbling, and letting the society go its own way unmolested. During the year 1869 the society experienced various vicissitudes. The members hitherto had been content with an annual balance sheet and dividend. They now desired to know quarterly how they stood, and what profits they made. From some cause or other unexplained the two first quarters' balance sheets did not show that they made any profit. Nevertheless, the members, nothing daunted, continued to steadfastly adhere to the society in the faith of better days in store for them. The third quarter showed profit to the amount of £7. 8s. 5d.; and the last quarter showed a profit of £25. 1s. 5., enabling the society to declare a dividend of 1s. in the £ to members, and 6d. in the £ to non-members. The total sales during the year amounted to £1,771, with a membership of 130, and a capital of £719. In the early part of the year there was a good bit of talk of going into the grocery trade. The committee, seeing good substantial premises for sale by private contract, actually purchased the premises without consulting the general meeting to avoid the competition that would have resulted when it became known what they intended to do. The starting of the grocery department was also the means of opening up new intercourse with the coöperative world, by which the society largely profited. The society during the year 1870 continued to increase in numbers and trade. The sales for the year amounted to £3,321; and the profit £144, averaging a dividend of 1s. in the £ to members; the member-

ship was 140 with a capital of £870. The trade of the society during the year 1871 again increased; the sales being £4,534, realizing a profit of £372; averaging a dividend to members of 1s. 11d. in the £; the capital of the society now stood at £956, and members at 196. The shoe trade was added during the year 1872. The total sales now reached £7,590; realizing a profit of £537, which allowed a dividend of 1s. 8d. to members, and one-half of that sum to non-members; 338 members now stood on the books, with a capital of £1,590. The vexed question of bonus on labor was tried the first six months of the year 1873. The general meeting at the end of that period could not be induced to sanction its continuance. They failed to see the justice of placing their servants in a different position to themselves. They held with each one being well paid for his work; and if the facilities offered to all of becoming members, thereby reaping the full advantages, were not enough to induce them to exert their entire energy in the furtherance of the movement, neither would they be so induced by the allowance of bonus on labor. The close of this year saw the sales at £8,294; the profits at £617, allowing a dividend of 1s. 6d. in the £. Number of members 335, with a capital of £1,696. A special meeting was held after the annual meeting for the alteration of rules, the principal alteration being to compel each member to hold at least one transferable share. Quarterly meetings were again introduced to the benefit of the society. From this date the society has had a smooth run, gradually, quarter by quarter, increasing its trade and members. The year 1876 shows the sales at £13,405; profits at £1,340, averaging a dividend of 1s. 11d. in the £ to members, and half that amount to non-members: capital at 3,255, memberships to 471, with an educational fund amounting to £7 10s. This last item is the only spot on our escutcheon. We ought to have gone into this question before, but let us now take the matter up with greater vigor, and not rest satisfied until we have a reading-room of our own, where our members can come and sit and read free of expense; with a good circulating library and regular fund fitting to maintain it in good order. Total sales during the 9½ years of the society's existence amounts to £68,331, realizing a profit of £5,772. The members now number 510, having a share capital of £3,743. The business having so greatly increased, our premises are beginning to be found too small, or more properly speaking very inconvenient, every one of our departments being in a cramped condition, signifying that at no very distant date the desirability of erecting new stores must be taken into consideration. And why not? We have the money; we have the trade to warrant its outlay. Then let us have a good substantial building, one that each one of us may look up to with pride and joy, as a lasting landmark of coöperation in Chipping Norton for many generations to come.

THE INEVITABLE.

WE must all submit to the inevitable; and if any thing is to be inevitable it is change and progress, exemplified in modes of production and distribution, discoveries in all departments of science, and the transformation of creeds and beliefs. To hang on to the present is to be overwhelmed—to offer a vain resistance to the inevitable.

We ought therefore to determine, if possible, what is inevitable, and be prepared for it. But the trouble is that we go so much in ruts, and the ruts are worn so deep, that it is almost impossible to look ahead and view the prospect before us.

This is eminently true in respect to political and religious changes. The Reformation was neither foreseen nor provided for, but had to work its way amid sorrows and sufferings. Neither was our own nor the French Revolution foreseen or prepared for, and each had to work out its own destiny at great cost and bloodshed. The same was true of our civil war and the abolition of slavery.

Yet all these things gave forewarnings if ruling powers could have perceived them; but all they could conceive of or attempt was a blind resistance to the inevitable.

Having settled the rights of man religiously and politically by two revolutions, and his free status by a civil war, we are confronted by the paramount question, What shall be his industrial status? Shall it be modified serfdom, as at present, in which the fruits of his labor are taken from him, or shall he be industrially free, and pay tribute to no individual or class?

One would think that the logic of past changes should prepare us for the coming one. But all that the pulpit, the press and the politician can do is to bark like frightened dogs at the new light appearing on the horizon. Is it simply a distant fire, or the rising of a new luminary?

We have had workmen and women for ages, but

how many of our writers had heard of or cared for the “labor problem” half a dozen years since? Who was afraid of trades-unions? And who is *not* afraid of the present aspect of the labor world? “A fair day's wages for a fair day's work,” was once the extent of labor's demands. But now labor is repudiating all forms of servitude to capital, is ready for war or peace as capital may elect, feeling in the marrow of its bones that industrial independence, self-employment, and all the advantages that flow from these are to come to it, through the workings of the inevitable.

Shall we once more try repression, and fail at a ruinous cost? After all, what wrong is there in a man's setting-up in business for himself? All do so when the chance comes through their own savings or credit. And the contemplated setting-up of all workmen and women in business for themselves, through general coöperation under a governmental management instituted by themselves, is nothing more than an enlargement and universal carrying out of this setting-up idea. If certain classes lose an artificial status and corresponding profits, it is only a step toward the realization of a true manhood.

A Labor Reformation comes as naturally as a religious one. Each grows out of the necessities of mankind. Thoughtful men should guide this movement and conciliate it. The idea of a great movement measurably qualifies the world to act upon it. If we had been satisfied with monarchy until we had grown into a republic where should we have been to-day?

Pontiac, Mich.

J. F. BRAY.

BOSTON COMMUNISM.

From the *New York World*.

THE general notion in regard to Communism is that it aims at a redistribution of property; but such a shallow scheme would find few advocates among intelligent men, because wealth, no matter how frequently it might be distributed equally among all citizens, would under the present organization of society soon find its way out of the hands of the money-spenders and into the hands of the money-getters. The design of Communism is not so much to scatter the capital already accumulated as to counteract the tendencies through which wealth is segregated. Its purpose is not to divide the possessions of the community as an estate is divided among the members of a family, but to make use of the earnings of the community as the income of an estate is used for the benefit of the members of a family. Communism of this kind is partially represented in every city government, where the poor man can saunter in the public parks, enjoy the protection of the police, drink at the fountains, walk in the light of the street-lamps, send his children to the common-schools and rejoice in the many benefits paid for by the municipality which he could not elsewhere attain. The workmen of Boston seem to have studied this matter thoroughly, and they are pushing for such an enlargement of the functions of the city government as would make the municipality virtually a huge family with a common fortune to be administered for the general good. The changes proposed are set forth in such moderate language, and they are so reasonably suggested as developments of the present municipal system, that they do not appear startling until they are closely examined. It is demanded that the city shall provide ballots for voters, to be distributed by the police at the house of each citizen a few days before an election. It is demanded that the unemployed people be employed on public works, and that such as can not be disposed of in this way shall be furnished with opportunities for productive labor by the community or be colonized. It is demanded that the public rooms and halls of the city be opened for the free use of all educational or political associations of citizens. Extending the theory on which public libraries are formed, it is demanded that social club-rooms be established in every ward, where the working-classes can find all the means and appliances of recreation and amusement. It is demanded, furthermore, that public deposits of fuel shall be made and maintained where the people can purchase it at cost; that public flour stores and bakeries shall be set up to supply bread at cost; that ice and gas shall be furnished by the municipality as water now is; that improved public markets shall be established and an efficient system of inspection to prevent adulteration in any article of food or commerce be put in operation. It is finally demanded that the city shall take possession of the horse railroads and run them in the interests of the public, and that the municipality shall buy text-books for the children in the public schools. Boston is a city which has always been remarkable for its public spirit, and has done much at great expense to promote the wel-

fare of the whole community, and it will be seen that nearly every thing proposed by the workingmen is attainable by simply pushing to an extreme some principle already in operation. Yet if their system were carried out it would render Boston the first Communistic municipality in the world. The obvious objection to such a scheme is the fact that municipal governments have already grown dangerously corrupt in the exercise of the power intrusted to them, and if these powers were multiplied the sources of temptation to corruption would be too numerous and their influence too strong for human nature. The vote polled by the workingmen in the Boston municipal election will be a matter well worth studying.

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1877.

OUR first article this week is notable as a fair, moderate, conciliatory reply to the overture we made to the Workingmen's party some time ago. And what makes it the more remarkable is that it comes from a German paper which may be presumed to represent the foreign element whose influence in that party we have feared most.

THE article in our 47th number, "Why Owen Failed," by N. C. Meeker, appears to have struck a vibratory chord in many of our readers and correspondents. One of them, J. A. H. Ellis, as will be noticed from his article on another page, has been incited by it to make "A Proposition to the Friends of Progress," with a view to practical Socialistic organization and experiment. We still adhere to the conviction that AGREEMENT is the one indispensable condition of success in all such experiments, and that RELIGION is very useful in producing it; but we are glad to have those who think differently have a fair trial. It is a question to be settled by facts rather than opinions. We shall certainly rejoice in every genuine success however attained.

"THE SOCIALIST" is the name of a new eight-page weekly issued in the interest of the workingmen, and published at Detroit, Mich. It has a clean, smart look, and bears the motto: "The interests of the whole people are more sacred than the interests of the individual."

THE article from the *New York World* on "Boston Communism," printed on another page, will be read with interest by those who are watching the tidal wave of Socialism. Such an article from such a paper is a phenomenon. We agree with every word of it, and only wish to emphasize the "obvious objection" which it makes to the schemes of the workingmen, viz., "that if the powers of municipal governments were multiplied the sources of temptation to corruption would be too numerous, and their influence too strong, for human nature." This is the difficulty with all governments as they are, and it will pursue the workingmen, world without end, only becoming worse as the business of governments are extended, unless new guarantees for official integrity can be found. A new breed of officers, and that is to say, a new breed of men, is what is wanted to make things go well in the great plans of paternal government which the workingmen are pondering. Is there any prospect of such a breed either by generation or by regeneration? Do the workingmen think that their party will turn out better officers than the present breed? Or have they any new machinery by which selfish patriots can be moulded and pressed into honest officiality? The trouble with all government as at present conducted, is that officers have two interests to care for, the interest of the government and the interest of their own private fortunes. If any way could be devised for bringing these two interests together and making them pull the same way, so that an official man could say from the heart, "*He serves his own private interest best who serves his country best,*" we could hope for an administration that would be above temptation to embezzlement; and then the more paternal the government the better. This ideal will come some time; but we reckon it will not come till stirpiculture and the grace of God shall give us genuine Communists enough for officers.—An enthusiastic friend at our elbow thinks there are enough now. Here is his solution of the difficulty:

"Make all public officers Communists. Require every man who enters the service of his country to renounce private property. Give him needed main-

tenance, but no salary or other reward except honor. This is no new scheme for securing honesty in rulers. It was for ages the practice of the priests who ruled Egypt to live in common and have no private property; and Plato proposed Communism among the governors of his republic for the express purpose of excluding temptation to embezzlement. Thus it appears that Communism was invented for the purpose of keeping rulers honest; and it may turn out that this is one of its prime functions. This scheme would call out for public service a different class of men from those who seek office to make money; and I believe there is Communistic experience enough in this country to make it safe and practicable."

We confess we do not see exactly how all this is to be arranged; but anyhow this is no worse way of "chasing the devil round the stump" than those we have now.

ARE WE RIGHT?

THE *Worcester Spy* complains of the AMERICAN SOCIALIST that it does not keep the public informed about the principles and practices of the Oneida Community. We reply that the Oneida Community itself has published (till within a short time) for more than thirty years a paper expressly devoted to such information; and that it has now, for sale and advertised in our columns and elsewhere, a stock of books and pamphlets explaining its principles and practices, from which inquirers may get all needed information. There is, therefore, no occasion for the suggestion of concealment or evasion, either on our part or on the part of the Community. We have generally been praised for unusual openness of dealing with the public.

THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST, from its beginning in the early part of last year, honestly disclaimed being the especial organ of the Oneida Community, and undertook to raise a standard around which all classes of Socialists can rally for exchange of thought and coöperation. Obviously the urging of the peculiarities of any single Community would be out of place in such a paper. We have no more right or reason for thrusting the sexual ideas of the O. C. before the public than for making the celibacy of the Shakers a prominent topic.

Whether it is morally right for editors to work on platforms so broad as to require them to say but little about their peculiar sectarian views, is a question of casuistry which seems to be pretty well settled in practice. We know that many of the best editors in the country keep their denominational preferences to themselves; and we presume the editor of the *Worcester Spy* follows this fashion, if he has any peculiar views on religion or morality.

The further question may be raised, whether we are the proper persons to undertake a generic Socialist paper. We have been well aware that the reputation of the Oneida Community is in many quarters a heavy drawback on our attempt; and on that account we felt very modest in assuming the post of honor. But we saw that somebody ought to take it, and we did not see that anybody else had the drill and equipments necessary, or were likely to volunteer. So we divested ourselves as well as we could of the corporate narrowness of Oneida Communism, and announced not only that we should not advocate that particular form of Socialism, but that we had no wish to have it imitated or propagated further under present conditions. We flatter ourselves that we have in a good measure redeemed these pledges and professions and kept faith, in the management of the paper, with all classes of Socialists. Indeed, now we think of it, the *Spy's* complaint is an evident proof and commendation of our integrity.

The reader will find on another page the original platform of the AMERICAN SOCIALIST, published in its first number, March 30, 1876, and following it a letter, published in the same paper, from Mr. R. J. Wright, a well-known and very respectable writer on Socialism, not in any way connected with the O. C., whose advice in respect to the conduct of the paper we accepted and have followed. We hope the editor of the *Worcester Spy* will take note of these documents, and see if he can not, in the light of them, think better of us. J. H. N.

CHRISTIANITY is Communism; its very essence is reconciliation and union with God; it is not a creed, but an afflatus; and an afflatus is a vital infusion making many become one. The original Christian afflatus introduced Communism of property; all of Paul's teachings in regard to the indwelling of Christ in believers and in regard to the church being the body of Christ, imply vital Communism as the very constitution of Christian-

ity; hence all the churches of Christianity, so far as they have the actual afflatus of Christianity, are already, in a vital sense, Communists, and are under an inevitable persuasion and gravitation toward Communism in every sense. In a true revival it will be as easy and natural for any church to pass into Communism of property as it was for the believers on the day of Pentecost; and we expect that universal Communism is coming in this way.

CAUSE OF FAILURE.

N. C. MEEKER says ague killed the Trumbull Phalanx, and that it was one of several sufficient causes for the failure of Owen at New Harmony. On the other hand, T. C. Leland, who was "a director in two Phalanxes, a resident in another, and a visitor in all those that started in Western New York," in undertaking to answer the question, "What Killed the Phalansteries?" said in a letter published in the AMERICAN SOCIALIST:

"Now concerning the failure of the Fourier Associations permit me to say that the cause you assign—'lack of agreement'—is unfortunately too true. I know it is usual to attribute the general failure to bad location, malaria, fire, short crops, lack of means and especially debt—all of which were minor causes, and helped the final catastrophe in their degree, but which, on a better basis and with more wisdom, could have been surmounted in some of the Associations. For a long time I deluded myself and others with the idea that these were the real causes of the various failures, and that with abundant means most of the Associations might have succeeded; but a larger study of Social Science, a further knowledge of bottom facts and principles, compared with my memory of just how these early attempts were organized and managed, and the kind of human material of which the associates, especially those who drifted to the top and became governors, were made, revealed to me that it was hardly possible that they could have succeeded. None but high and commanding leaders could have reduced such crowds to order, and such leaders they did not have. Unregimented and unguided as they were, the more means they had the more they would have squandered. There is great strength, indeed, in the bundle of sticks, but what if they are crooked sticks? These were so angular they could not possibly lie straight. No adjustment, 'spoon fashion' or any other, could make them agree. Communal partisanship, over-legislation, quarrelling in Boards of Control, debate in public meetings and general lack of unanimity, did the business for all the Fourier Associations with which I was acquainted. In the 'Ontario Union,' where I resided, I wrote a special lecture in the interests of peace. I called the Association together one evening, and delivered it as an effort to harmonize jarring factions. It had a good effect, for there was silence in that heaven for the space of a week, when contention broke out again, and all was over."

AGREEMENT WINS.

From the *History of American Socialisms*.

THE INDUCTIVE SCHOOL OF SOCIALISM says to all: The enormous economies and advantages of combination, which you see in ten thousand joint-stock companies around you, and in the wealth of the Shakers and other successful Associations, and even the blessings of magnificent and permanent HOMES, which you do not see in those combinations, are prizes offered to AGREEMENT. They require no special number. If two or three of you shall agree, you can take those prizes; for by agreement and consequent success, two or three will soon become many. They require no special amount of capital. If you are poor, by combination you can become rich. Agreement can make its own fortune, and need not wait to be endowed. The blessing of heaven is upon it, and it can work its way from the lowest poverty to all the wealth that Fourier taught his disciples to beg from capitalists.

Thus demanding equilibrium of the passions and harmony at the outset, instead of looking for them as the miraculous result of getting together vast assemblages, we throw to the winds the limitations and impossible conditions of Fourierism. And the harmony we ask for, as condition precedent, is not chimerical, but already exists. All the facts we have, indicate that it comes by religion; and the idea is evidently growing in the public mind that religion is the only bond of agreement sufficient for family Association. If any dislike this condition, we say: Seek agreement in some other way, till all doubt on this point shall be removed by abundant experiment. The lists are open. We promise nothing to non-religious attempts; but we promise all things to agreement, let it come as it may. If Paganism or Infidelity or Nothingarianism can produce the required agreement, they will win the prize. But on the other hand, if it shall turn out in this great Olympic of the nineteenth century, that Christianity alone has the

harmonizing power necessary to successful Association, then Christianity will at last get its crown.

THE ORIGINAL PLATFORM

OF THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST, PUBLISHED IN NO. 1. VOL. 1., MARCH 30, 1876.

THE aim of this Journal will be to make a faithful public record of facts relating to the progress of Socialism every-where, and to offer to Socialists of all kinds a liberal medium of exchange and discussion.

Is there a place and demand for such a Journal? We will briefly give our views on this question.

Two memorable facts in the history of Journalism are these:

1. The *New York Tribune*, now the most renowned newspaper on the continent, was originally a Socialistic Journal, and laid the foundations of its fame in its labors for the great Fourierite revival.

2. The Brook Farm *Harbinger*, which labored with the *Tribune* in the Socialistic field, was for several years the most brilliant Weekly in the country, and was the school in which many of the most popular editors and magazinists of the present time were trained.

These Journals certainly found in the United States the materials of a great Socialistic party. What has become of that party? Was it annihilated by the collapse of Fourierism, or did it only disappear and become latent?

Nordhoff says that the main cause of Socialism is the discontent of the common people with "the unbearable-ness of the circumstances in which they find themselves." Certainly this cause has not failed. If hard times makes Socialists there ought to be material for as great a party of that kind now as ever there was.

On the other hand, we maintain that the afflatus of Christianity, leavening the whole world from the day of Pentecost till now, is the main cause of Socialism; and in this Nordhoff nearly agrees with us; for he says that the words of Luke concerning the Communism of the first Christian church at Jerusalem "have had a singular power over men in all ages since they were written, and form the charter of every Communistic society in this country, even the Icarians not excepted." This cause certainly has not failed. The world is as full of Christian churches as it ever was, and we hold that every one of them, so far as it is really under the Christian afflatus and its inevitable persuasions, has in it the "promise and potency" of Pentecostal Communism.

Besides these perpetual, immanent causes of Socialism, we have still extant among us the old religious Communities, such as the Shakers and Rappites, testifying as of old by solid facts to the possibility and advantages of close association; and as their example certainly had much influence in the development of the Socialistic party in the times of Owen and Fourier, it may be assumed that the same influence has been at work through the long, silent interval since the decease of the *Harbinger*, and is still at work as vigorously as ever.

And it is a very notable thing that these old examples of Socialism have lately been inspected and brought to light by the accomplished editor and author from whom we have quoted—Mr. Nordhoff—a man whose opinions have great weight with all parties in the highest spheres of society and politics; and the verdict he has given is, that "life in these Societies, compared with that of the mechanic and laborer in our large cities and of the farmer in the country, is in many ways—and in almost all ways—a higher and better, and also a pleasanter life." Such a verdict would surely raise a new Socialistic party, even if the old one were really dead.

Moreover, there have been several notable additions to the list of successful Communities since the death of the *Harbinger*—the Oneida Community for one, and the Brocton Community for another.

Besides these practical examples, old and new, that have been steadily leavening public sentiment, we see indications of Socialistic hopes and longings breaking out from time to time in large bodies of advanced thinkers. The Spiritualists, for example, who are said to number some millions, are almost to a man infected with Socialistic tendencies, as is shown by the experiments which they are continually making in the face of continuous failure.

From these and other signs we judge that there is in this country, as there certainly is in England, France, Germany and Russia, a Socialistic party, suppressed and almost smothered under long discouragements, but waiting for light and leading. To this party we offer the AMERICAN SOCIALIST. We propose to take up the labor for Socialism where the *Tribune* and *Harbinger* laid it down.

THE PREVIOUS QUESTION.

Reprinted from No. 1, Vol. 1.

Philadelphia, March, 1876.

EDITOR AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—In response to your Prospectus proposing to issue the AMERICAN SOCIALIST, and inviting contributions to it, will you be kind enough to allow the writer to offer a few suggestions?

1. It seems to him, then, that before you open your columns to the free discussion of marriage or other sexual questions [which had been contemplated as unavoidable in the programme circulated before the paper commenced], it would be better to thoroughly ventilate a previous question, namely, whether the free discussion of marriage and sexual subjects would not materially hinder the other and main object of the new paper; viz., to be a medium for the expression and intercourse of Socialists generally, and in some measure to fill up the vacuum left by the discontinuance of the old *Harbinger* and other high-toned Socialistic papers. The best of those papers would scarcely have allowed much, if any, argument against marriage, nor such a free expression on sexual questions as would be likely to appear in this paper, if those questions were left open in it at first.

2. Even if the free discussion of these subjects be not at all, of itself, improper in the family and before children, yet there is a very wide-spread feeling against it; and as long as people are conscientiously of that opinion they will be unwilling to allow the new paper free ingress into their homes.

3. People in common life have no sufficient means of allaying and governing the passions of youth. Consequently they need to maintain all the barriers which exclude thoughts and feelings which they have not the means, nor the knowledge of the means, of satisfying virtuously; and the excitement of which, in common social life, is so very apt to lead to immediate and injurious indulgencies.

4. Another part of the argument is, that a free discussion of marriage and sexual subjects in this new paper of yours is *not* demanded by your own dignity, self-respect, nor faithfulness to your own convictions; because your opinions and convictions on these subjects are already well known to the public, you having already published them in other forms; and because the greatest hindrance to propagating Communistic or Socialistic sentiments that I have met with, is a wide-spread prejudice that all Communists and all social improvers are aiming after, or are tending toward, the subversion of marriage and the banishment of delicate modesty. And it is very important to do away with that impression, and to let social improvement be presented to the people in the most acceptable light.

5. According to your own theory, the modification of marriage and sexual freedom come *last* in the order of social improvements; and as the Editor of the SOCIALIST has said, let no one abandon marriage until he "stands in the holiness of the resurrection." Why then should not the discussion of these radical and delicate subjects also be left until a later and riper period?

R. J. WRIGHT.

A PROPOSITION TO THE FRIENDS OF PROGRESS.

THE views of N. C. Meeker printed in the SOCIALIST of the 22d inst, on the causes of Owen's failure, are so fully confirmed by my experience in starting and managing a Coöperative Home, that I take great pleasure in indorsing them heartily.

We have a family of about thirty members as intimately associated as the members of any Community; much more so than the members of a Shaker family; and among the number are Universalists, Methodists, Episcopalians, Congregationalists, Infidels, Materialists, Spiritualists, Nothingarians, a Shaker and a Catholic; and no difficulty or friction has grown out of any one's religious views, to my knowledge, in the past two years. All are at liberty to believe whatever they please so long as they do their duty to their fellow-men.

A Coöperative Home secures to its members nearly all the advantages and comforts that a Community can enjoy, and is much better fitted to suit the taste, habits, and condition of people. At the present time it is all that the best are prepared to receive and adopt; and Mr. Meeker is right in saying that not more than ten in a thousand are fit for pioneers in establishing such a work, but when successfully organized and established a much larger proportion could be admitted with safety.

Coöperative Association, whose members are furnished with a complete and well-appointed home, in which from three to five hundred persons live together in comfort and plenty, and where they are furnished with constant

and profitable employment by the Association, will be very common at no distant day, and will finally take the place of the little, inconvenient, incomplete and ill-kept places called home, by the mass of our people at the present time.

They will be established by business men on business principles because they pay. They will furnish a much larger amount of comfort and happiness to the members at a much smaller outlay of labor or money than the present system of living does. And the present plan of living can no more compete with them than hand cards, the spinning-wheel, and the hand-loom of seventy-five years ago can compete with the factory of to-day in the manufacture of cloth. It took time and money and skill and patience, and numerous failures in obtaining experience, to establish manufactories of cloth successfully on a large scale. It is taking the same to establish associated homes; but the advantages to be gained are equally as great in the one case as the other, and the improved and enlarged homes are sure to come. The steam-engine required a hundred years and a hundred failures before it was successfully used. And if the inventors who improved and perfected it had spent their time in writing fine-spun theories, instead of experimenting in a practical way, it would not have been in use to-day.

The trouble with the Socialists is, that they are nearly all speculative theorists, instead of practical workers in the cause. How many of the leaders of the Socialists would be willing to risk a hundred dollars in testing any practical plan for the advancement of the cause? If they will send their names to me on a postal card, I will have them all printed in the advertising columns of the SOCIALIST at my own expense, and will add my name to the list for five times that amount. And when we have all the names in, if there are more than five of us we will organize an association to promote the work in a practical way. Send on your names; no money will be called for until we are organized and have a well-digested plan of action which the majority approve. If no other good comes of it at present, we will come to know one another's names and places of residence, and the number who are willing to make an effort in a practical way. Nothing can be more appropriate at this time than for the friends of Association to unite in their efforts to promote the cause. Respectfully yours, JOEL A. H. ELLIS.

Springfield, Vt., Nov. 25, 1877.

"THE ANCHORITE CLUB"

OF ANCOR, NEW JERSEY. GEO. T. CALDWEL, PRESIDENT.

THE above institution is a monarchy and democracy, "two-in-one." As its name implies, it seeks quiet and retirement, rather than bustle or fame. The President consults with the members, and calls such meetings as he is satisfied will be for good to all concerned. He presides at the meetings, and appoints such assistants as are needed for the welfare of the Club. There are no dues except good will and voluntary coöperation, and no fines except expulsion. It is the duty of the President to collect the former, and if necessary to administer the latter. The members, over their own signatures, agree with the President and with one another: 1st, to do nothing to another that they would not have another do to them; 2nd, if from any cause disputes should arise, no member is to resort to litigation, but settle all differences by arbitration, each disputant to choose one arbitrator, and if these fail to agree, they to choose a third, whose decision shall be final and binding on all concerned. It is not expected the millennium will immediately follow, but it is believed if similar clubs were organized in many parts of the country, to furnish the means for people to meet in a quiet and orderly manner to discuss all things pertaining to their welfare, better things would follow. G. T. C.

The *Church Times* (English) contains the report of a remarkable sermon at St. Michael's, Shoreditch, by the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, B. A., curate of the Parish Church, Bethnal Green. The text was:—"Verily, verily I say unto you, he that believeth on me the works that I do shall he do also, and greater works than these shall he do, because I go to my Father." The preacher spoke plainly, bravely, and comprehensively. He said:—"When we think of the Holy Eucharist, as also the Holy Communion; when we think of all baptized men as members of a great brotherhood, of the Christian family, and compare it with what we see around, do not the words seem the most profane mockery? Can we say of the baptized society *now* that there are none among us who lack? Is the wealth and leisure of this Church of Christ in England distributed to every man as he has need? I say, throughout Eng-

land, is the Church making any effectual protest against competition, and for brotherhood? Are not the rich getting richer, and, in many places, the poor poorer? Is there not a terrible contrast between those who work too hard and those who do not work at all? Is not the luxury of the few grounded on the degradation of the many? . . . Though a brotherhood in name, the Church has ceased to be so indeed."

NOVEMBER GLEANINGS.

II.

"That goodness
Of gleaning all the land's wealth into one,"

—Shakespeare."

ALONG the river's shaly banks the sycamores, like straggling sentinels worn and wan with watching, stay the eye. Seen by moonlight on clear November nights, their ghostly beauty is almost terrifying. But whether seen by sun or moon, there is a mystic air about them very different from that of the sturdy beech, which is altogether homey and even human-like. Indeed, the beech, with its low figure, and its smooth, tight-fitting, light-colored bark on the full, round trunk and limbs, gives me the impression of human flesh. There is actually so muscular a look about it, that when I unexpectedly come across a clump of beeches, I am often overwhelmed with a sensation as though I had caught a group of rustic athletes *en déshabillé*.

But of all the tree-beauties revealed by autumn, Nature's arch-Master of the Robes, that of the American aspen ranks with me as queen. It is not alone its form, so straight and round and smooth, that I admire, but its coloring is indescribably lovely. This is a pale, greenish-drab, overspread with a silvery sheen which glistens in the sun and makes its crowning charm.

Among the shrubs, the black alder or "winter-berry" and the red-osier dogwood are most conspicuous, the fall and winter through; the first for its red berries, the last for its bright red bark. But during November's earliest days the glory of the shrubbery is all in the witch-hazels. These, thus late in autumn, as if in scorn of bitter frosts or chilling winds, put forth multitudes of fragrant blossoms whose slender, crimped petals make the woods look as though trimmed with rosettes of yellow ribbon in honor of some gala-day. The witch-hazel blossoms take me by surprise every year—a miracle for which I am never prepared. I think of the aged Sarah, who late in the autumn of her life laughed and brought forth a child. So the witch-hazels, suddenly a-flower some frosty morning, seem to laugh at their tawny, leafless branches, tipped with glowing blooms.

If you are tired of considering the comparative beauties of tree and shrub, come with me to yonder nutty wood, and I will show you their king lying in state. The ruthless axe and saw have laid him low, but mighty even in his fall, maple and hemlock and ash have given way before him, broken, splintered, uprooted. His own head is sadly shattered, but if you care to measure, you will find that what is left of him is over a hundred and ten feet long; his trunk over four feet in diameter; and his age two hundred and twenty-five years at least, for I have carefully counted the rings on the broad and level stump. Two hundred and twenty-five; ah! that carries us back to the time of the Commonwealth with "bluff old Noll" at its head; of France ruled by that magnificent despot, Louis XIV.; and Sweden, with eccentric Queen Christina on its throne. The uncle of Peter the Great was then Czar of Muscovy; Frederick the Great's father Elector of Brandenburg and Prussia; and the indomitable "William the Silent," Stadtholder in Holland. A century it was of wars and rumors of wars, petty and big; all the nations "by the ears;" England warring with the Dutch, French, Danes, and Moors; France with the Dutch, Spaniards, Poles and Turks; the Turks with the Austrians, Hungarians and Candioties; the Swedes with the Danes, Russians, Prussians and Poles; Russia with China; and so on. A century, too, of colonization and seeking after adventure by Europeans in Cathay, Tasmania, Africa, the Americas, and the north-west passage. A century of religious sects, quarrelsome, dogmatic, whether Protestants, Calvinists, Dissenters, Covenanters, Puritans, Independants, or Fifth Monarchy men; and, fighting against them all, the Jesuits, omnipresent in court and wilderness. The century, too, of Plymouth rock, the Pilgrims, and "Miles Standish's Courtship." In those days popes ordered the assassination of kings and blessed the monkish regicides. Then was the "golden age of buccaneers," who, with the emblem of death fluttering from their pirate barks, ruled the stormy main, plundering, ravaging, committing "atrocities which it curdles the blood to think of." There were revolutions from Eng-

land to Siam; conspiracies and plots; fires, plagues and pestilences. There were strange sights and sounds: comets, one with a tail forty degrees in length; showers of sulphur and of meteoric stones; masses of iron dropping out of a clear sky; volcanic eruptions; earthquakes; mysterious stars appearing and disappearing; and unaccountable darkneses at noonday.

Far away from all this stir and turmoil, amidst the wild woods of the New World, a little seed, one summer's day, came fluttering down from the top of some stately elm, and sunk into the leafy mold of this shallow, wooded gully. The next spring, waking to a sense of its life duties, it sent two tender leaves up to the light and air above the black, rich mold. Then began its sapling growth, while the Five Nations roamed the neighboring forests, and the Dutch ruled the New Netherlands. Slowly and steadily it grew, and the Declaration of Independence found it a young giant of over a century's growth. Now the old patriarch's days are ended, and undoubtedly the satyrs and wood-nymphs, who keep the chronicles of the forest, have already recorded: "He lived to be over two hundred and five and twenty years old, yearly begetting scores of sons and daughters, when he was sawn down for the sake of a few paltry pounds of wild bees' honey." I feel ashamed of such a record, and never can see this aged tree so crushed and broken without a desire to clear myself of all blame in the eyes of its surviving companions. But then it may not be very comforting to them to know that, were I master of this wood, I should ever stand ready to sacrifice them one and all, rather than touch the grand old elm.

Nov. 20, 1877.

A. E. H.

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE SIXTY YEARS OLD.

Washington, Jan. 24, 1816.

* * * Our business in the House is (most of it) extremely interesting. Randolph and many others display themselves to great advantage. We are at this moment debating a bill, the provisions of which are to preserve our neutrality with Spain: that is, to prevent arms and vessels going from this country to aid the Spanish patriots. * * *

Feb. 12. * * * On Thursday last I was invited to dine with the President on Saturday. I went, and I will give you an exact description of the affair;—but I warn you that it will not be worth reading by any body but the children.

On my arrival at the President's door, I was met by a livery white servant, who showed me up stairs to a spacious octagonal apartment, finely carpeted with light-colored broadcloth, and ornamented with pictures, chandeliers and brilliant lamps. I shook hands with the President, bowed to Mrs. Madison and the circle of ladies and gentlemen, numbering about thirty, seated myself and joined in conversation. At half-past five Mr. Madison in a plain, farmer-like manner announced that dinner was ready. We fell into pairs, Mr. Pitkin taking Mrs. Madison by the hand, and other members in like manner escorting other ladies, Mrs. Todd being assigned to me; and thus walked in procession down stairs into the lower room and seated ourselves at the table; Mrs. Madison at the head, Mr. M. on one side, and Mr. Todd, Mrs. Madison's son and only child, at the foot. The table was most richly and elegantly spread with every dainty and delicacy—viands and wines—that the world can afford—too many at least for me to name. After sitting about an hour and a-half and participating partially in the dessert, the ladies rose from the table (the men also rising), and left the room; the gentlemen then resumed their seats at the dessert, and after sitting as long as each one pleased for conversation or for wine, took leave without ceremony. Mr. Madison is a taciturn man. Mrs. Madison presides with great dignity and grace.

Feb. 20. * * * Business is now very important in the House. Congress has already voted away millions and tens of millions with as little apparent concern as you would lay out a twenty cent piece. Glory—Military Renown—the Splendor of a Great Nation—Rewards to all the friends of the late War—these are the order of the day at present. * * *

Feb. 22. * * * Judge Brigham, a member from Massachusetts, died this day at eleven o'clock. * * *

Feb. 23. * * * A very impressive funeral to-day. While the corpse of Judge Brigham lay at his boarding-house last evening there was a ball in honor of Washington's birthday at the hotel right across the street, where the President and more than five hundred gentlemen and ladies attended and kept it up till nearly daylight. Thus the solemn and the joyous go on together. * * *

March 2. * * * The question whether we are to have another U. S. Bank is under discussion in the House. * * *

March 9. * * * The Bank question is still before us. Mr. Clay is making a long speech in its favor. * * *

March 12. * * * It is said the Democrats will meet to-night in a great caucus for the purpose of nominating a President. Probably Monroe will be the man. * * *

THE WORLD WITHIN.

WE copy the paragraphs below from an article by Dr. Alexander Wilder in the last No. of *The Evolution*. When a young man Dr. Wilder was an inmate of the family of the Editor of the AMERICAN SOCIALIST, in the old Putney days of Perfectionist study. He parted company with the Putney believers before they had advanced far into practical Socialism, and has since had a varied and progressive career. He has studied politics, and for many years was connected with the New York *Evening Post*, as a writer, and as Albany correspondent during the Legislative sessions; and was at one time, we believe, an Alderman of New York city. He has studied medicine, and won high honor among the Eclectic Medical fraternity—for a long time holding the office of President of the Eclectic Medical Association. He has studied metaphysics and ancient mysteries and religious symbolism, editing important works in this connection. We are glad to see that he is turning attention to, and advocating the claims of, Spiritualism and the interior world. Perhaps through them he will again reach the field of Socialism, and help in winning the world to better homes and a life of brotherhood. [T. L. P.]

"Sir William Hamilton says: 'However astonishing, it is now proved beyond all rational doubt, that in certain abnormal states of the nervous organism, perceptions are possible through other than the ordinary channels of the senses.'

"It is feeble logic to ascribe such perceptions to the abnormal state of the organism, as though it had created them. I may as well attribute to my window or the broken crevice in my apartment, the production of the stars and landscape which I am thus enabled to behold. But normal as well as abnormal conditions may exist in connection with the manifestation of such powers. Some persons perceive odors where others can not; a Kashmere girl can detect three hundred shades of color, where the Lyonnaise notices only a single one. Is it an unwarranted analogy that one has the developed faculty of spiritual perception, which another has not? It would seem to us that what is termed 'the inspiration of genius' was good evidence in this matter. 'When all goes well with me,' says Mozart, 'when I am in a carriage, or walking, or when I can not sleep at night, the thoughts come streaming in upon me most fluently. Whence, or how, I can not tell. What comes I hum to myself as it proceeds. Then follows the counter-point and the clang of the different instruments, and if I am not disturbed, my soul is fixed, and the thing grows greater, and broader, and clearer, and I have it all in my head; even when the piece is a long one, and I see it like a beautiful picture, not hearing the different parts in succession, as they must be played, but the whole at once. That is the delight! The composing and the making is like a beautiful and vivid dream, but this hearing of it is the best of all.'

"But it is not to be supposed that gifted persons alone possess this *sixth sense*. It must exist, rudimentarily at least, in everybody. Indeed, he must be an imperfect type of the human race in which it has not unfolded. There is an infinite substance of intelligence of which what we call *knowledge* is an added and exterior form or set of forms. Pythagoras meant this when he denominated his philosophy, the *gnosis ton onton*; and Emerson when he wrote. 'We are wiser than we know.'

"Had our eyes no sunny sheen,
How could sunshine e'er be seen?"

* * * "In the sleep produced by anæsthetics the unconsciousness is only external and probably never complete. The patient in the moment of recovery is often acutely sensible of having been aroused from a condition of superior existence. The every-day life then seems like a half-death; external objects are more or less repulsive, sounds grate harshly on the ear, every thing is felt as if at a distance. Conscious of having had a glimpse of another more real existence, the person seeks to recall it, but invariably fails in a lost mood of introspection. The writer has repeatedly had this experience, and he has likewise the concurring testimony of others. He has also, when in normal and waking condition, perceived voices speaking to him which could not have been imaginary or produced by intellectual disturbance. In one instance, when employed beneath a tree, he became suddenly conscious of a command to step from the place, and in doing so escaped instant death from a falling fragment which had broken away. * * *

"The power to perceive [signals of the interior life] is, we are aware, a developed faculty. In many persons it is more or less dormant. Men in one condition of the intellect will not perceive truths which are to others perfectly plain and intelligible. The Australian considers the science of arithmetic as beyond the scope of the human faculties; and the Carib of South America, that to talk of the laws which regulate the motion of the physical universe is to use language, which to him at least, is pure nonsense. Others of a skeptical turn would place in the same category the phenomena of unbodied spiritual existence. * * *

"I never knowingly beheld an apparition, whether ghost, wraith or doppel, and I have no expectation of ever seeing one. But I am sure that if beings exist in an ethereal or spiritual form, there are persons who are capable of perceiving them. I do not believe that all spectral appearances are produced by a deranged digestion or disturbed molecular adjustment of the brain. I am totally incapable of such credulity.

"To illustrate this belief we will now cite two or three examples which it seems to us can not be candidly questioned. M. Matter, a French gentleman holding a position in the Department of public Instruction at Paris, stated to a well-known American in 1859, that he paid a visit to Friedrich Oberlin the celebrated pastor of the Ban-de-la Roche in Alsace. Oberlin submitted to his inspection a manuscript prepared by himself, entitled *Journal des Apparitions et Instructions par Reves*. He found it to contain, among other things, a narrative of a series of apparitions of his deceased wife, and of his interviews (*entretiens*) with her. 'Oberlin was convinced' said M. Matter 'that the inhabitants of the invisible world can appear to us, and we to them when God wills; and that we are apparitions to them as they are to us.'

"Miss Anna Maria Porter, the author, relates that during her residence at Esher, in Surrey, England, an old gentleman was in the habit of visiting her house of evenings, reading the newspaper and drinking a cup of tea. One evening she saw him enter as usual, and seat himself at the table, but without speaking. She addressed some remark to him, but he made no reply. After a few seconds, she saw him rise and leave the room without uttering a word. Astonished and alarmed at this conduct, she immediately sent a servant to his house to make inquiries. The reply was brought back that the old gentleman had died suddenly about an hour before.

"It is also related, that a gentleman in London who was familiar with the late George Smith, the celebrated Assyriologist, heard his name called in Mr. Smith's natural tone of voice, on the afternoon of the day that he died at Hierapolis in Syria, August, 1876.

"Indeed, so general is the belief of mankind, from all antiquity, upon this subject, that there is no people among whom apparitions of the dead are not related and believed. * * * * * The visions of a celestial immortality are no deceptive mirage; no Fata Morgana. There is a sun behind the cloud, and a life beyond the veil. The present existence is but a staging, which is maintained around the framework of the house that is yet building. However essential it may be it is not the real structure of the future. The more we live for that immortal life, the more will its elements be assimilated into our spiritual substance. We shall become better for it, more clear-seeing, more intellectual; there will be more confirming tokens of the deathless inheritance. We will each become conscious of our own eternity. Time will bury the grave, while infinite myriads of self-conscious minds will live in the one-containing Spirit that fills them all, each still seeming to pursue its own self-centering end."

THE MAGAZINES.

Scribner for December opens with an illustrated paper on the lumber business of the United States, in which the writer estimates the total yearly timber product of the country at ten billions of feet; Geo. E. Waring, Jr. in describing the thoroughbred horse, thinks that the breeding of fast horses as now practiced in this country tends to the deterioration of the animal; Mrs. Herick writes about ants and their ways; and Edward Eggleston and Adeline Trafton furnish the serial stories. Mr. Eggleston's "Roxy" is advertised to continue through the year, which we rather regret, as we are not especially partial to that gentleman's productions, although they seem to be popular with a large class of readers. "From the Atlantic to the Andes," is a condensation of a book on the interior of Brazil by a German engineer who was employed to survey a railroad route up the river Madeira; Mr. Stoddard's "After Many Days," is a discourse upon the life and writings of John Keats; C. H. Truax tells us how we may revile our fellow-men without exposing ourselves to action for slander, quoting the salient points in the leading slander cases in English and American jurisprudence; a posthumous paper by Robert Dale Owen affords a glimpse into public life in Indiana forty years ago; "American Oyster Culture," gives some interesting information respecting this favorite bivalve; Mr. Sturdy writes about "Mars and his Moons;" and Chas. De Kay contributes a somewhat ambitious four-page poem, entitled "Hesperus."

The December Supplement to the *Popular Science Monthly* prints Prof. Tyndall's lecture entitled "Science and Man," delivered in October last before the Birmingham Institute, and also reprints from *Frazer's Magazine*, Dr. Carpenter's paper on the "Psychological Curiosities of Spiritualism," in which he handles the modern spiritualistic phenomena rather harshly, as well as some of their prominent investigators, such as Messrs. Wallace and Crookes. An article from the *Cornhill Magazine*—"A Mighty Sea Wave"—discusses the cause of the destructive waves which have in several instances devastated the western coast of South America, and estimates from known data that they were 120 miles in breadth, and traveled from the coast of Chili to the Sandwich Islands, a distance of over 6,000 miles, at the rate of something more than 500 miles per hour. Other articles are, "The Moral and Social Aspects of Health," by J. H. Bridges; "Æsthetic Analysis of an Obelisk," by Prof. Grant Allen; "Books and Critics," by Mark Pattison, and "Theology and Science Two Hundred Years Ago," by Carus Sterne. The paper on "Sun Spots and Famines" is reprinted from the *Nineteenth Century*, as also "Animal Depravity," from the *Quarterly Journal of Science*.

RECEIVED.

PRETTY LITTLE BLUE-EYED STRANGER. Song and Chorus. By Bobby Newcomb. Published by F. W. Helmick, Cincinnati, 35 cts.
FINITE AVARICE. A Socialism drawn from the Genesis Trade-Union Law. By E. L. Garbett, author of "Principles of Designs in Architecture," etc. London: Industrial Review office.
BETTER TIMES. By A. Doual. Published by the Executive Committee of the Workingmen's Party of the United States. Printed by the Social-Democratic Printing Association of Chicago.

ITEMS OF NEWS.

HOME.

Conover is not a cake unturned.
Shall we teach our daughter Greek?
Boston is going to have a Latin school for girls.
New York sends 209 men to Yale. Connecticut 409.
The poor of New York were cared for on Thanksgiving Day.
Francis D. Moulton has gone into the salt business at Syracuse.
The old Board of Erie Directors will continue to manage that road.
Nine per cent. of the students in the University of Michigan are women.
Some of the silver-miners of Nevada work in a temperature of 157 degrees.
If any big rogue goes to prison we'll "overhaul the book and make a note on't."
Striving after unity: two game-cocks fighting—each one for "number one."
When a mule backs up and won't go, they call it "Democratic obstructiveness."
And now the carpet-bagger is a viper warmed in the bosom of the Republican party.
The American Colonization Society has sent 3,137 colored persons to Liberia since the war.
Harvard College has a comic journal called *The Lampoon*. Its illustrations excite commendation.
Thurlow Weed, a sharp old silverhead, is out in another letter favoring the remonetization of silver.
Devout Republican: "We might have peace if those wicked Democrats would only cease from troubling."
The United States are responsible to China for the Coolies in California. The Hoodlums had better think of that.
Gen. Harlan is "almost there:" his appointment was confirmed, and now it is going to be reconsidered to give somebody else a chance to vote.
Senator Bayard, of Delaware, says there were only nine Democrats in the Senate when he joined that party, and they had to "behave pratty" too.
The Democrats and Republicans, in the Senate, have agreed to divide the spoils. The one gets a seat for Kellogg from Louisiana; the other for Butler from South Carolina.
Henry Skeins, of Linden, N. Y., is a "track-walker" on a railway. He has walked twenty miles a day for seventeen years, making, after all deductions, a journey of 140,420 miles.
There are street peddlers in New York who "chisel" dishonest folk in this way: they go about selling second-hand laces which they pretend have been smuggled, and are therefore cheap.
The United States man-of-war *Huron* went to sea when the storm-signals were flying. Now she is a wreck on the coast of North Carolina, and 109 of her men are dead in the water and on the sands.
Elizabeth de S. Wood says in the *Graphic*, that Cassius M. Clay never liberated very many of his slaves. He made a profitable sale of them, including the old slave mother who nursed him when an infant.
Mr. Spofford, the Librarian of Congress, is a living catalogue of that great institution. Now that the question of library catalogues is up, why not consider the question of breeding catalogues of that sort?
Gen. Miles, who captured the Nez Percés, says Chief Joseph "respects education" and is just the finest Indian in all America. "Sitting Bull is the most perfect savage I ever met, and he wants to remain savage."
Col. Waring is a bold rider as well as a good writer, and he would like to see the English fox-hunt adopted in this country. He thinks the farmers could be brought to it by getting them to ride with the hounds.
Mrs. Abby May Alcott, the wife of Amos Bronson Alcott, and mother of Louisa A. Alcott, died lately at her home in Concord, Mass. She, too, had "ink in her blood," and wrote largely on topics relating to the poor.

Of the 234 persons who died last week in New York and Brooklyn, of diphtheria and scarlet fever, over one hundred were clearly the victims of bad sanitary conditions for which the cities themselves were directly or indirectly responsible.

What is your truth good for if it don't give you peace? What are your politics good for if you can't agree to have a quiet time and give the most of your attention to raising farm stuff, making Yankee notions and "solving the infinite?"

When the Sioux Indians were removing from Red Cloud Agency to their reservation on the Missouri River 1,700 of them broke away and took to the war path. Gen. Terry has therefore ordered the troops to prepare for a winter campaign.

It would be well to know how many of our Senators and Congressmen are the retained lawyers of great railway men and bankers. It is suspected that our great business men are the real governors of this country, and that they own our legislators.

Dr. Joseph P. Thompson thinks this nation was made of very tough and stringy material. In his book, "The United States as a Nation," he says: "I remember in my boyhood two venerable farmers of Connecticut, the one over sixty, and the other over ninety, who used to stand in their shirt-sleeves in the sultry field, and talk of God's sovereignty and man's freedom, and things invisible and eternal, and quote Paul, Augustine, Calvin, and Milton, in a way that could put a young theologian to the blush. The men who could discuss such

themes with the scythe or sickle in hand could take up the sword and the musket as the sons of Liberty, because the sons of God."

The American editor doubts whether we ought to pay that \$5,500,000 for fishing in Canadian waters, seeing that the Commissioners only agreed to the award by a vote of 2 to 1. That is always the way folks feel when they get beaten. Better pay and say nothing.

The negro question is likely to settle itself by and by. The death rate among the blacks at the South is found to be much greater than among the whites. They are so improvident in their liberty, and so ignorant of sanitary conditions. But wait for the next census.

England has tried postal savings-banks and found that they are a real comfort to the classes who have a little money to put by. It is hoped the thing will be tried in this country. The failure of so many savings-banks has left the people a good deal down-hearted.

It is some comfort to think that Secretary Evarts has set our consuls to work to find out ways to increase our profitable intercourse with other nations. Hayes is the right sort of a materialist; he believes in peace and business. You look at him a little and you will see that that is just the man he is.

Dr. Turner, of Minneapolis, Minn., is ready to make oath that he has just gone forty-two days without eating. He took walks in the open air, drank water when he wanted it, and lost only eighteen pounds in weight. He felt well, and could have fasted longer, but he had a big hungry when he began to eat again.

Mr. Robert L. Case, a fine old respectable and President of the Security Life Insurance Company, has been convicted of signing false reports of his company's condition. He will go up the river to a place where his hair will be cut short, and where his clothes will be as striped as a zebra. He will stay there five years.

The President's Message assures us that his policy has made peace at the South, that he will take all Constitutional measures to protect every citizen in the possession of his rights; that the bonds ought to be paid in gold; that the silver dollar should not be the "dollar of our daddies," but that it should be of the same commercial value as the present gold dollar; that its coinage should be limited as well as its legal tender. In regard to civil-service, he plants himself squarely upon the letter of the Constitution. He will, therefore, make all appointments and leave the Senate to sit upon them as a pure and impartial judge, uncontaminated by fear, favor or personal ambition.

FOREIGN.

The Russians bought Kars to take them on to Erzeroum. Italy proposes to have an international exhibition at Milan, in 1879.

Agricultural implements are what Mexico needs. Does the commercial traveler hear that?

George Macdonald, the British story-teller, has been awarded a pension of \$500 a year for successful authorship.

Russia has a large trade with Central Asia. 36,000,000 lbs. of cotton have come from Bokhara and Khiva in three months.

The Pope sickens, but he don't die. He feels too responsible to do that. It is wonderful how a sense of duty will prop up an invalid and get a deal of work out of him.

Italy has abolished the guillotine.
Keep your head upon your bod;
You may want it when you plod
along home, kind o'tired of the struggle for existence.

A party of Esquimaux have arrived at the Jardin d'Acclimatation, Paris. They will try to make themselves comfortable by camping out of doors this winter. Too hot in the house.

At the opening of the Roumanian Parliament Prince Charles announced that Europe would have to acknowledge the independence of his country as soon as the Russians took Plevna.

A gun-foundry is 'most as good as a bank. Krupp, the cannon maker, pays an annual income-tax of \$15,750, while Baron Rothschild pays \$17,000 on his income from German property alone.

General Todleben, the great Russian engineer, is a Jew by birth. He had to renounce his religion and join the Greek Church before the Czar could promote him for his great services in the Crimea.

Old Temple Bar, London, has got to come down. The Common Council has decreed it. An obelisk will be set up to mark the spot and fix the limits of the old city's jurisdiction. Dr. Johnson used to venerate the ancient pile.

Lord Derby has made a speech reiterating the idea that Russia will be allowed to fight Turkey as long as she wants to, provided she does not interfere with any British interest. Austria, he says, can not be depended upon to interfere. England continues to have stock in Constantinople; Russia musn't touch that.

The Turks have evacuated Orchanie, and the Russians have come so near Sophia as to produce something of a panic in that city. There seems to have been a general failure in the Turkish attempts to aid Plevna from the west. At Plevna, however, the Turks made an assault upon the Russians Twelfth Corps and were repulsed.

The dead lock in France continues. MacMahon threatens, if the budget is not voted, to give the Senate the alternative of either voting another dissolution of the Deputies or accepting his resignation. Gambetta is demanding that the President's right of dissolution be suppressed, or only exercised with the approval of a two-thirds' majority of the Senate. The Republicans have a mad man to deal with. He has yielded so far, however, as to confer with M. Grévy, but Gambetta's proposition angered him still more.

The Young Napoleon begins to talk as if he had an idea of going into the "Emperor business" sometime. He writes, "My father yielded too much to those who surrounded him. He favored the bourgeoisie at the expense of the workmen. I should follow out his first intention—that which dictated his writings when he was in the Castle of Ham. During my exile I have reflected, and I believe that the rights conquered by the people would remain barren if they did not pass from the domain of theory into practice."

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