

THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

DEVOTED TO THE ENLARGEMENT AND PERFECTION OF HOME.

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WHAT THE PAPER IS AND WHAT IT IS NOT.

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

A COMMUNISTIC PLAN OF SUBSCRIPTION.

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

CORRESPONDENCE.

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

All correspondence should be addressed to

"The American Socialist, Oneida, N. Y."

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THE "AMERICAN SPIRIT" IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

EDITOR AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—Your paper always provides a rich feast for the thinker, and even the dishes not acceptable for "a good square meal" always serve as a relish and stimulus for thought. In the number for Jan. 17 there is an interesting account of the Socialism of the ancient Peruvians, presented to the Labor Party as having some connection with their proposed remedies for existing evils. But the two systems vary materially. The Labor Party ignore all privileged or use-less classes, and we shall have to continue the wages system as the only one applicable to the condition of the masses. And a republican government through township organizations will be more in accordance with our American principles and habits than a paternal one.

Much stress is laid upon our willingness to give up certain liberties and submit to the necessary restrictions connected with the change contemplated. What social system could be more slavish than the present? Every factory, workshop, and industrial establishment is a miniature state-prison. Arbitrary regulations are made and enforced which the worker has nothing to do with but obey. He has no control over his hours of labor or his pay. He is liable at any moment to be turned adrift to starve. He has to undergo innumerable sacrifices of health and comfort without any corresponding benefit. It is useless to change one system for another unless for benefit, and it would be hard to devise a worse, more coercive or soul destroying, system than the present.

In every industrial system men must work and undergo certain necessary restrictions. But where is the Coöperative or Communistic body that finds its own regulations irksome? The benefits derived cover all deficiencies of this character. Work is not transformed into slavery, and no vast outlays go for the support of what has become little better than a slaveocracy. The certainty of abundant work and liberal wages even now renders industrial slavery bearable. And with the universal Coöperation aimed at by the Labor Party, the work, the labor and wages will be under perfect control, and can be increased or diminished as the general exigencies may require.

These wages are private property, as distinguished from the means for production. I agree with my friend Smart that a man's house shall be his, provided he chooses to spend his savings in that direction; but I have no hesitation in assuming that if we ever arrive at this Coöperative phase of society, associative dwellings will immediately begin to supersede private houses. Private homes are relics of barbarism.

And as to the distribution of accumulations not essential for public use, the preferable form would seem to be through increased wages, as we go along. And the community at large would provide so much, and take charge of so many things now a private burden, that there would be no desire for individual accumulations except as a means for present enjoyments. Are any of your Oneida members afflicted with the mania for private accumulations?

By "Communism in government" I mean simply a common property and interest in government. I still maintain that the Coöperative changes contemplated must ultimately merge in Communism, although the change may be distant, and not yet seen. The "rival Communisms" which Mr. Smart denounces illustrate at the same time the benefits of Communism and the disadvantages of competitism, for it is the Communistic part that works so well for the associated "Communists," and the competitive part that is so disastrous to wage-workers and outsiders.

While the *Ohio Volkszeitung*, the *Socialist*, and labor reformers in general desire a peaceful solution of the labor question, it must be confessed that the lessons of history are unfavorable to that view. There is in every country a large class opposed to all changes and innovations, and they assume a prescriptive right to put down such by force. The new is compelled to oppose force to force, or remain unborn. And yet there has never

been a conflict that might not have been avoided had the opposition been wise. Would the British have opposed the Revolution if they could have looked ahead a century? And would our slave-owners have endured such terrible sacrifices if they could have looked into the future for a dozen years? And it does seem amazing, with this great labor struggle confronting them, that our capitalistic classes do not at least try to look into the future.

It must be conceded that the Labor Party are acting in the "American spirit." Their platform interferes with no rights, and they hope to settle the dispute through the aid of the ballot. The whole movement is American. There is no political oppression and no exclusive class to war against, as in Europe. It is fully realized that rich and poor are alike the results of a defective social and industrial system, and it is the system that is to be attacked and remodeled. Of course it can not be determined precisely what the new system shall be, nor what disturbing influences may arise to modify present views. Let us wait and see whether the new or the old is the first to desert American principles and usages, and appeal to European Cossackism.

Pontiac, Mich.

J. F. BRAY.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE INCAS OF PERU.

POINTS OF LIKENESS AND UNLIKENESS.

Part I.

EDITOR AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—If I shall not be monopolizing too much of your space perhaps there can be no better way of presenting my interpretation of the industrial organization proposed by the "Socialistic Labor Party," than by commenting upon the editorial article in your issue of Jan. 17th, under the title of "A Study for the Workingmen."

The comparison therein made of the plan of our party with the social and industrial organization of Peru, under the Incas, is a good one; and the excellent outline of their system given by the writer is extremely interesting and timely. Considering the circumstances under which labor was performed at that time; the absence of machinery, and the consequent possibility of individualizing labor; the isolation of the nation from other civilized nations, with the consequent absence of commerce; the pastoral occupations of the people, and so on, I think that the wise systematization of their economic relations was truly wonderful, and calculated to produce far more happy results than any form of society existing in this nineteenth century.

In comparing it, however, with the scheme of Social Democracy, the points or features of unlikeness will be found, I think, more numerous and more important than the writer of your article supposes. I must acknowledge that it is the fault of the Social Democrats, who have not yet made a clear and comprehensive statement of their principles and objects (at all events not in the English Language), that all our critics, the editors of the AMERICAN SOCIALIST included, have a much truer conception of a social system that has passed out of existence than of the one which we believe is in the immediate future in these United States. But so it is, and I must therefore commence by correcting some misapprehensions of the programme of the Socialistic Labor Party that appear in the article I am reviewing; always reminding the reader that, having no authority to guide me—or to limit me—I speak only for myself, and that others more competent may have different and more correct views.

One of the propositions in our platform, quoted in your article, at the commencement, has, I am happy to say, been amended by the late congress at Newark; and the parallel proposition to it in the new platform reads as follows: "We demand that the resources of life, the means of production, public transportation and communication, land, machinery, railroads, telegraph lines, canals, etc., become the common property of the whole people through the government—to abolish the wage system and substitute in its stead coöperative pro-

duction with a just distribution of its rewards." You will notice that the phrase, "and operated by free coöperative trades-unions," is omitted. I consider that this omission, together with the adoption of a distinctive and suggestive name for the party, indicate a great advance in the direction of Socialism for one short year. When the next congress meets, I hope and expect that an additional step forward will be taken by proposing to place under Social control the work of *exchange* and every other process of distribution, including the Social ownership of all the products of labor until they reach the actual consumer in the form of commodities of life. This, indeed, will be the logical complement of the proposition quoted above, as the Social ownership and control of the means and work of production can not exist apart from the same ownership and control of the raw material and the things produced. Commerce with foreign nations will also come under this control. Banking and insurance conducted by the government is another new feature in our platform, and in the same direction. So also is an amendment in the clause relating to trades-unions, which are now required to be organized on a *Socialistic* basis.

There are still several demands in our platform that I think inconsistent with our principles, and that it would have been better to expunge, and there are new ones introduced quite as objectionable, in my opinion. But we are learning—learning, and can not expect to transcend the laws of growth.

As I have described the improvements in our platform at such length, perhaps it will be more agreeable to you if I divide this article into two parts, and conclude this first part by pointing out what I conceive to be the misapprehensions of our position contained in your article.

I think that you mistake us in supposing that we desire "a paternal government," and this mistake is perhaps the foundation of some of your other objections. SOCIAL DEMOCRACY is the word; and Social *democracy* is what we mean. Our ideal government is perhaps less of a government than any government that ever existed. "A government of the *people*, for the *people*, and by the *people*," is precisely what we wish to realize. The government that we only possess theoretically to-day we wish to possess practically and positively; and this we claim is an impossibility so long as the people, or any portion of them, are in economical dependence. We wish to extend the application of the democratic principle to the *economic* relations of the people; not only with the object of securing equity in those relations, but also as the only means of realizing *political* independence. We say that whoever controls the production and distribution of wealth in any nation, whether it be an absolute monarch, or an oligarchy, or an ecclesiastical hierarchy, or a class of capitalists, or any portion of the people less than the whole people, controls the political interests and all other social interests of such nation; and that the classes left in economical dependence must necessarily be in political dependence and subservience. We say that all experience shows this to be true, and never more so than in our day and in our country.

I shall have to reserve for part second of this article the proof that the form of government that will result from the adoption of our principles will be democratic in the full sense of the word, and not at all of a paternal character. In presenting the details of our system, to compare them with those of the Incas, the proof of what I say will be quite apparent. I could not help feeling amused at your idea that in order to secure "remunerative employment for every man, woman and child over fourteen years of age" we should have to relinquish some part of our *present independence*. Save the mark! What independence does a Workingman in competition with machinery and every other form of wealth now possess? Ask the operatives of any of our manufacturing towns. Ask the poor degraded workers in our mines, or on our railroads, or in our merchants' stores and offices, or anywhere where labor is the sole means of independence. Think of it for a moment, and you will realize how absurd the idea is—even in *free* America!

I intended to reply in this to the questions with which you concluded your article, but space will not permit; I shall endeavor to do so in your next issue.

W. G. H. SMART.

SOCIALISM, as we understand it, is a principle which demands the regeneration of man. As a natural being he is a gross egotist who cares but little for the well-being of his fellow-men; as a regenerated being he is to realize his own well-being through that of society. As the present education in and through society has de-

veloped his desires and appetites, he regards the fellowship with all others chiefly as a means for his own happiness (or what he may consider his happiness), and cares for that of others just as is convenient to his own passions and pleasure; as the man of the future, he will derive an infinitely greater and nobler self-satisfaction by caring first for justice and the common interests of all.

—The Labor Standard.

CAUSE AND CURE OF THE HARD TIMES.

THE first great cause is the union leagues and kindred societies, which claimed the right to say how many hours should constitute a day's labor and how much should be paid for the same, and to decide what is good work.

Next they demanded exorbitant wages, and "struck" if they were refused. Those having work, being obliged to pay for the support of the strikers in idleness, continued to raise their wages until the common laborer demanded two dollars a day or more, and mechanics twice that sum. This enabled them to live on three or four days' work a week, and they spent much of their time and money in drinking, smoking and gambling. Nor was this all; many of these leagues forbid any man to go to work and supply the places of those who had struck, on peril of their lives; and they waylaid, attacked, beat, bruised, and sometimes killed men who dared go to work after the leagues had declared a strike.

And further, they not only set their own prices and hours for work, but often forbade their employers to hire any journeymen or apprentices without their consent.

The consequence was that manufacturers had in many cases to pay more for labor than their productions brought in the market; and when they told their laborers so and asked them to reduce their prices, they would strike; and frequently the employer was obliged to continue to pay the same or higher wages or his business would suffer, and the final consequence was the total failure of a large number of our best manufacturing and mechanical establishments.

Our leading employers, who owned and operated the great establishments of the United States, saw and feared the effects produced by these lawless leagues, and labored for years to come to some reasonable and just understanding of the rights existing between labor and capital, the employer and employee; and the answer was, "Labor alone has the right, and what are you going to do about it?"

These labor leagues have driven a large number of employers into bankruptcy, and forced a still larger number to suspend business; so the question is now coming home to themselves, "What are *you* going to do about it?"

Now let capital and labor, or the employer and employee, get together and see if they can both answer this Tweed question. If they can answer it wisely they will have removed one of the greatest obstacles to good times, peace and plenty, by giving every person an opportunity to work and an equivalent for it.

The employers are not necessarily bloated, lazy aristocrats, as charged by some; on the contrary, they include the most industrious class in the world, those who have built their own fortunes by temperance, industry and economy, and will do it again if they can hire at fair prices men as temperate, industrious and economical as themselves; and I hope the time is coming soon when they can do it.

Now what should laborers do? Seek employment, take small wages rather than lie idle; if no one wants your labor employ yourself, and if possible become an employer. If you have not means enough of your own, seek some one or more suitable persons to coöperate with, unite your means, hire men, pay them small wages, and as soon as a liberal safety-fund can be accumulated the coöperators can increase wages, and not safely

till then; and thus this Tweed question will be answered.

Most of the mechanics and laborers in this country, who are responsible for the trouble between the employers and employed, are foreigners; many of them are hard drinkers and grumblers about having to work too long and for too little pay; many are poor, lazy workmen, and demand that all shall be paid the same wages; have a mortal hatred of their employers, and still complain because they will not constantly employ them, and at high wages; not thinking that the majority of employers in this country were once laboring men, and became employers by patient industry, frugality and temperance.

This hard class must be provided for. There should be industrial schools for farmers, mechanics, and all needy persons in every county and large town; and every man, woman and child able to work and needy should there be provided for, and not be allowed to tramp the country asking for food or clothing for themselves or family, but be placed where they could be placed where they could earn their own living, learn a trade, acquire a good common-school education, be instructed in habits of industry, temperance, morality, and taught to do unto others as they would like to have others do to them.

Thus far for the main cause of hard times. But there are many other causes. Our country has passed through a bloody, expensive and demoralizing war, by which the people have been burdened with an enormous debt, and they lack the wisdom of France or England to rise under it, but have been withdrawing and tampering with the currency till prudent men are afraid to go into business or hardly to continue in their old and established work. Savings-banks have failed for many millions, and more are following daily. National banks are cramped and failing, and failing is the word written all over the finances of this country, whilst our Congress in their wisdom propose as a cure resumption of specie (gold) payment.

The country has been prosperous, crops bountiful, while the people grew indolent and extravagant; men drank more whiskey and beer, smoked and chewed more and better tobacco, drove fast horses, and wasted their substance in going to Europe, and in "riotous living," whilst the women—well no matter, they think they are of little account if not well dressed, or if they have to work for a living.

CURE.

Send men of common sense to Congress, instead of lawyers and bankers, and let all the people go to work, earn their living, and spend less than they earn.

J. G.

SOCIALISM IN ENGLAND.

HISTORICAL REMINISCENCES.

BY E. T. CRAIG.

XXI.

How dimmed is the glory that circled the Gael,
And fall'n the high people of green Innisfail!
The sword of the Saxon is red with their gore,
And the mighty of nations is mighty no more.

THE Historic Reminiscences hitherto recorded have illustrated the slow progress and gradual evolution of civilization and social ameliorations of mankind from the days when Rome was the ruling power and when conquered races were held under thralldom, until the grasping acquisitiveness of the governing classes, living on the labors of masses of men held in slavery, culminated in the destruction of the republic and the Empire. The force, fraud and superstition of the dark ages prepared the way for feudalism and the dominant rule of the Normans, ending in the Revolutionary wars of France and the sordid ambition and military power of Napoleon. The demands of war, developing inventive skill in devising labor-saving machines, were followed by over-production and accompanied with low wages, which induced the uneducated and starving people to try and arrest the evil by the destruction of machinery. Competition intensified the evil, and the Corn Laws aggravated the question, while periodic returns of distress led to the consideration of the relations between labor, land and capital. Social economists were now

led to appreciate and advocate wiser arrangements for the production and distribution of wealth in relation to human progress and happiness.

Efforts were made to apply the principle of Association, and it now becomes necessary to give the history of an experiment where the system was applied in Ireland to agricultural peasantry in the humbler conditions of existence, then living under

A REIGN OF TERROR.

To understand the Irish it is necessary to read the history of Ireland, and to know something of the country and the people. She has had many noble sons, but she has also had many treacherous and vacillating leaders; whether these leaders were Milesian or Saxon, the Irish have been trained in a school of treachery from the days of Henry II. and Strongbow to those of Castlereagh and the Union. The English rule, until recently, has been calculated to arouse the passions of the people instead of their better feelings. The records of the tyranny of their oppressors are remembered. The vacillation of Charles, the despotism of Stafford, the confiscations of James, and the furious slaughters of Cromwell's soldiers, were not forgotten. The bitterness of religious enmities added intensity to the political divisions fostered by privileges attached to professions of faith, and aroused the leaders and friends of Ireland to energetic utterances and patriotic efforts to obtain just and equal laws from the English Parliament. Burgh, of whom Mr. Flood said, though "he did not live to be ennobled by patent he was ennobled by nature," embodied the feelings of his countrymen in a thrilling outburst of indignation. "Talk not to me," said Burgh, "of peace; England has sown her laws like dragon's teeth, and they have sprung up in armed men." The echoes of this short speech were heard at intervals down to the days of Catholic Emancipation, and were heard on the mountains and in the glades where hunger, starvation and discontent had converted peaceful peasants into "armed men" with "dragon's teeth."

The population of Ireland in the year 1830 amounted to about seven and a-half millions. Poverty is marvelously and unwisely prolific when want grows faster than food. Land in Ireland is limited, and as it forms the basis of existence it becomes an object of great importance to obtain it, and hence competition had raised its value and reduced the wages of labor. The food of the peasantry consisted chiefly of potatoes. In the southwest the crop had failed. To add to the evil large landlords had begun to reduce small holdings, and, owing to the want of capital and of confidence, tillage farms were converted into grazing lands. The rents for one acre were enormous, as well as unfair, from the fact that the poor tenant supplied the manure for the potato crop, and the landlords took the benefit in the grain crops subsequently sown. Rents were demanded at the rate of £8, £10 and in some cases of £14 per acre! If the tenant could raise a sufficient crop of potatoes to pay the rent and sustain his family he considered himself fortunate. In many cases the crops were taken to the market attended by the agents, and the proceeds handed to them in payment of rent. In bad seasons famine soon became prevalent.

Under these conditions many perished in silence, while thousands, alike ignorant of the causes and the remedy, banded together, in the vain hope of finding a cure by striking terror into the hearts of the great landlords, their agents, and the government. They saw no way of life for them save through the meshes of crime and the bloody portals of force, violence and murder. The distrust between the landholder, the tenantry and the peasantry, soon became manifest and serious; and so dangerous toward the end of that year that in December the Lord Lieutenant (the Marquis of Anglesea) was urgently requested by the magistrates to visit County Clare, to aid in the suppression of the armed bands perpetrating the most violent acts of lawlessness. This was, in fact, an acknowledgment that the local authorities, although aided by an armed police force, were unable to preserve the peace or protect the lives of the wealthy landholders.

The starving peasantry were clamorous for food, and for land on which to raise potatoes, and it was proposed to silence them by military force. While quietness followed on the appearance of the soldiers in one district, the discontented peasantry assembled together in other parts and perpetrated many atrocious crimes.

An active magistrate, an obnoxious landholder or steward, was not assured of safety for a single night. The peasantry marched in bands through the southwestern counties, demanding a reduction of rents and an increase of wages, which were then only sixpence, and in some places eightpence a day, for agricultural labor.

In some districts they insisted that spade-husbandry

should be the mode of tillage. In other places they took laborers from their work and the horses from the ploughs. Arms were obtained by breaking into houses during the night, and the weapons which every one deemed necessary for his own safety were carried away. In January, 1831, in the County Clare, Mr. Blood was murdered by men introduced into his house by his own servants. In February Mr. Synge was pierced with four bullets. A week later a magistrate in Tipperary was murdered by a band who entered his house in search of arms.

Many of the landholders fled and left their mansions in the care of the police. Distress was widely spread. In the west of Ireland there were 200,000 persons in want of food and the means of obtaining it. Parliament was petitioned for relief, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed a vote of £50,000 to be applied to the starving poor in making roads. In the meantime there were many in whose hearts

"Famine had written fiend."

Murder, robbery, and searching for arms were perpetrated in groups which could not be controlled by the police. Although these men were supplied with fire-arms and were under military discipline, they were unable to cope with the discontent and violence manifested at various points. At Carrieshock the police attacked a party which was proceeding to enter a house, when five of the police were shot dead and several of the rioters killed and wounded.

The next movement of the peasantry was against pasture land. Men and women armed themselves with their agricultural implements, and in open day dug up the grazing lands, and turned the stock adrift. In many cases cattle were houghed and maimed so they had to be killed and sold. On one occasion, I was informed, a number of peasants had assembled on a grazing farm, leveling the boundary walls or fences and turning up the grass, when a troop of soldiers accompanied by one or two magistrates made their appearance. The peasantry stood their ground and were prepared to resist, and a horrible slaughter must have followed if one of the magistrates had not sought a parley, and advised them to desist and seek other modes of redress. The peasantry still continued to meet in the night, and began to levy blackmail on the small farmers, and had complete control over large portions of County Clare; and this was admitted in Parliament.

The Catholic priests formed a committee to try and restore order and tranquillity, but they soon found themselves powerless, and made known by public announcement their utter inability to arrest the prevailing system of plunder, outrage and murder.

Mr. Thomas Steele, a popular advocate of Repeal of the Union, and a friend of Daniel O'Connell, put forth an address which was posted up in Ennis and other places, in which he declared against them thus:

"Unless you desist, I denounce you as traitors to the cause of the liberty of Ireland. * * I leave you to the Government and the fire and the bayonets of the military. Your blood be upon your souls."

The Lord Lieutenant made a progress through the County of Clare in May, accompanied with a display of military force and artillery, and attended by the magistrates. A piece of ordnance was planted on the bridge at Clare, ready to exterminate the insurgent peasantry. His Lordship was received with passive indifference.

The evil days still remained; want was thinning the bodies and the ranks of the poor. Proclamation of the "Insurrection Act" was made; and although all were enjoined to keep within their homes after dark, midnight assemblages were still continued. A special Commission tried and condemned several miserable wretches for murder, carrying arms, digging up ground, and other violent outrages. But even while the Commission was sitting night visits were made by "Terry Aits" "Whitefeet," and "Lady Clare Boys."

CO-OPERATIVE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

From the St. Louis Echo.

A SOCIETY is being formed in this city (St. Louis), to be composed of families who wish to settle in some place where land is cheap and productive, where the climate is healthy and mild, and which is yet not too far from the great centers of civilization. The plan of colonization is very comprehensive; and is to include those who have some little capital, as well as those who have none. The former will stay where they are for the present, and furnish money for those who have no capital but their hands; the latter will go to work and clear the ground, plant trees, and erect buildings for the future homes of themselves and those who have so far furnished them with means. Each day's work shall

count as one dollar of stock, and each one dollar of cash will go against one day's work. In this way, those who are penniless will find work and a future home, and those who have saved something will not fare so roughly as those who had nothing. In a few months a village will have been built, cleared and cultivated, ready for the occupancy of the stockholders, and they will have nothing to do but to step into their dwellings and go to work. The whole community will labor on the Coöperative plan, and will be governed by laws made by themselves. All will be expected to work, all will have more time to play. Of course, agriculture and horticulture will be the staples at first; but as our numbers increase every trade will be represented in our settlement. Schools will be opened, a newspaper started, and such arrangements for worship as the colonists may decide. A dairy and poultry-farm will give light and profitable employment to the women and children, and basket and toy-making may be added as occasion requires.

As regards the land, the climate, and the area, all these are found in the thriving State of Texas. Texas can support fifteen million people at least; and the condition of her lands makes her virtually a sovereign State, which no other State really is. The State is of immense area, much larger than any other State of the Union, and possesses within its borders every kind of raw material necessary to man. She has all the metals in large quantities, immense beds of coal, forests of valuable timber, soil of an average fertility unsurpassed by the soil of any other State, and a climate in which the Caucasian race does not degenerate.

Almost every kind of fruit and grain known to man can be grown within her borders. The pine-apple, the grape, apple, pear, peach, rice, sugar-cane and wheat, all find suitable localities here. If a wall were built around Texas, isolating her completely from the rest of the world, her people could live happily and not lack any thing that nature provides for the general use of mankind.

I believe that a social system can be devised which shall, in time, equalize the members of the human family; and I believe it to be the duty of every person who holds such views to do something more than preach. * * *

Colonies from each city will choose their own officers and trustees, who will be responsible only to those they represent. Any workingman in good health (and if he has a little money, all the better) can become a member of this colony, and can have all further particulars by addressing the editor of this paper, who will forward the applications to headquarters, and a reply will be promptly transmitted to him.

THE ANTS AND THE GRASSHOPPERS.

A Fable.

ONE fine summer's day, a couple of Grasshoppers, "out on a spree," called on a community of Ants, celebrated for their industry and unity. The Ants obligingly showed them around their big home, while the Grasshoppers put on an air of polite interest. They were overheard however by one or two Ants contemptuously sneering at what they saw.

"What a monotonous and ignoble life!" said one. "How much better we are situated, who can go about doing as we please without being responsible to anybody but ourselves!"

"Yes," said the other, "I would not give up my little home and its independence, to live in such a big family, for anything. Here, if you don't do just right every body knows it, and you are called to account right away. But when I am in my own house I can do as I please, and every body has got to do as I say; if they don't, I make it pretty lively for Mrs. G. and the little Grasshoppers."

"Just see," said the other, "these crowds of Ants going hither and thither, as peaceful and as happy as clams! Its contrary to insect nature, and can't last. If pinches in business or hard times should come, I'll wager my best hopping leg that they'll go to quarreling and break up in no time."

With a feeling of immense superiority the Grasshoppers took leave of the Ants, and went hippity-hop through the world, as gay as you please all summer long.

By and by winter came, and there were hard times and panics and all sorts of discouraging incidents. Mr. Grasshopper No. 1 got out of work, and could not get any more. He had been too improvident to lay up much money, and soon beggary and starvation stared him and his family in the face.

Mr. G. No. 2 was taken sick and laid up for the

winter. So his surplus in the saving's-bank had to go to pay doctor's bills, stinting his family in food and clothing, so that some of them died from want and hunger. Spring found both of the families in a sad plight—sickly, destitute, objects of charity to the well-to-do.

As soon as he could crawl, Mr. G. No. 2 went out seeking work, but no one had any to give him, so he begged from door to door. While so doing he came across the community of Ants he had visited the summer before. Here all was thriving, and signs of comfort were on every hand. He approached a busy group of Ants (who were spreading out some of their grain to dry in the nice spring sunshine), and humbly asked for some to give his starving wife and children.

One of the Ants, turning to look at him, said, "O ho! you are one of the fine fellows who came here last summer and made fun of our simple lives and ways. Yes, you can have some wheat for your family—we have plenty and to spare. Go, and remember that it is not always he who laughs loudest, but he who laughs longest, who is truly happy."

Moral.—Unity and numbers, joined to industry, insure comfort and prosperity in times of greatest need.

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 31, 1878.

A GIFT TO POOR WOMEN.

THE "Communitistic Plan of Subscription" proposed in our first column finds some friends, and will, we hope, find many more. A gentleman of means and high social position, residing in the city of Philadelphia, has adopted it in a slightly modified form to suit his personal views. He offers to pay over to us a certain sum of money if we will send the AMERICAN SOCIALIST free for six months to poor women who are interested in Socialism but are unable to pay for the paper themselves. The gentleman stipulates that the women shall be residents of the Eastern States, Middle States, or Ohio, and that they shall be unmarried or widows. We cheerfully accept this offer, and hereby invite our subscribers to make the opportunity known to any poor and deserving women of their acquaintance who belong to the class specified and who reside in the States mentioned. Every woman should make application in her own handwriting, stating her general circumstances and means of livelihood. *This offer holds good for only three weeks from the date of this paper.* Be careful to give the full post-office address, town, county and State. If more names are received than are anticipated in the offer, a selection of those who seem most worthy will be made. Address your letters to the AMERICAN SOCIALIST, Oneida, N. Y.

THE article by John Gage in our present number, on the "Cause and the Cure of the Hard Times," will not be popular with many of our readers, and does not cover the whole ground; but it will be read with interest by many as a frank statement of one side of the great question. We do not believe the laborers are responsible for all the trouble, or that every thing can be remedied by their making the best of their circumstances; but it will not hurt any of them to read what one who has been and still is a laboring man, has to say to them.

WE have received a letter from the author of "Felixia" criticising us rather sharply for publishing her letter in the SOCIALIST of Jan. 17th. We thought it entertaining and well written, and concluded that the writer would have no objection to its publication, so long as we did not give her name; but as it turns out, it would have been better to have obtained liberty from her before giving it to the printer. She now wishes it distinctly understood that she is not a spiritualist and does not indorse any of the spiritualistic theories of the day. She believes in the existence of God and the Devil, but does not believe that the spirits of the dead ever come back to earth. She claims for herself, she says, "that not only does her mind in writing at times follow that predestined path by which every inspirational writer follows a thread of divine guidance, and copies from a spirit-scroll, but that she has also a consciousness of a guiding finger of God, often too positive to be mistaken;" but she claims "to find the great Helper only when she struggles with thought and exerts all her faculties;" and hence she denies that she is a medium in the common acceptance of the term. We do not clearly see the distinction she would make; but no matter. The term

"medium" strikes us as a good one, and broad enough in its signification to cover all forms of spirit aid and control; and we certainly had no thought of applying it to our sprightly correspondent in any opprobrious sense.

LET US HAVE THE DETAILS.

WE are pleased to have MR. SMART and MR. BRAY, two of the ablest writers who have espoused the cause of the Workingmen, undertake to explain more in detail the proposed plan of their organization. We have found it difficult to form any clear conception of the practical workings of a system to be founded on the principles put forth in their platform. The case of the old Peruvians, which we cited, seemed to us so nearly in point that it would be likely to draw on a discussion of practical details, such as these writers now hint at. MR. SMART promises us a second article next week in which he will give many details. He offers to show in that article that the government proposed by his party will be "democratic in the full sense of the word, and not at all of a paternal character." We did not mean to give the impression that we considered a paternal government a bad one. The example of the Peruvians suggested that in any nation where the government is called upon to secure to the people unusual benefits and guaranties, the people must on their part be ready to exhibit an unusual degree of docility, submission, and susceptibility of organization in the spirit of obedience. And we doubted whether the members of the Labor Party had sufficiently considered this side of the matter. Both MR. SMART and MR. BRAY are astonished that we should speak of the "present independence" of the Workingmen. We were alluding to their legal status. At present the poor people are, as these writers so vigorously demonstrate, enslaved by their necessities, the laborers being entirely subordinate to their employers. But that is a very different thing from being legally obliged to submit to certain rules regulating their conduct. The workmen in a factory may strike against their employers if the conditions imposed or wages offered are unsatisfactory, or they may leave and find work elsewhere; but they could not strike against the government. That would be rebellion. And if the government engages to keep them in constant employment it will need to know exactly where they all are. They will not be at liberty to rove about from place to place at their own will as at present. At least, so it seems to us.

WE shall await with some curiosity MR. SMART'S demonstration that a government which is to have control of "all the resources of life—the means of production, public transportation and communication, land, machinery, railroads, telegraph lines, canals, etc.;" which is to regulate all exchange and distribution of supplies; which is to have a "social ownership" or control of all "raw material and things produced;" which is to "conduct banking and insurance;" which is to provide employment for all the people, administer justice without charge, etc., is "not at all paternal in character." We call that government paternal which exercises paternal functions, no matter how democratic it may be in form, or how many of the people may be concerned in making and administering its laws; and the functions above enumerated strike us as decidedly paternal in character. If we are unsound in this, MR. SMART'S second paper will, we trust, set us right. Our main purpose in discussing these points is to get a concrete idea of the proposed organization before the people as soon as it is ready for their scrutiny.

FREE BIBLE-CLASSES.

AMONG the franchises of the O. C. is the right to study the Bible, though nobody is compelled to do so. Several volunteer classes for that purpose have been organized this winter. At a late meeting of the leaders of these classes Mr. N— gave the following exhortation, which one of the students has transcribed for the AM. So., thinking it good for all latitudes:

"I do earnestly advise the conductors of Bible-classes to exclude from their sessions controversies about questions of doctrines, especially about the doctrinal questions that are agitating the country at the present time, such as whether there is a hell, etc., etc. Let such questions wait for explorations. I would not touch the subject of the inspiration of the Bible, its infallibility, and all that. There is no need of meddling with these questions. It will only engender strife and do no good. Whatever inspiration there is in the Bible will come into good and honest hearts without being proved. As the apostle says, 'Seek for those things that make for peace, and those whereby one may edify another.'

Seek for good experiences of the heart. Your true object in studying the Bible is to *attract good spirits*. Keep that always in mind. Don't let in a proselyting spirit. Don't try to get people into your classes or cast any reflections on those who stay away. By keeping out controversy, using the Bible only as a *medium* of spirits, not a text-book of doctrines, and avoiding proselytism, you will make room for all sorts of people; and I venture to say that all will find 'sincere milk' in the word, even if they don't like the pail in which it comes."

THE ROCKER THE ROCK.

"Said Kate to her new husband, 'John,
What rock does true love split upon?'
Quoth John, and grinned from ear to ear,
'The rock of yonder cradle, dear!'"

WE find this little ditty in a scrap-book of newspaper anecdotes, but not credited. It is very queer—very strange. Somebody spoke right out in meeting. Who was it? What did somebody mean? Now Kate might say to John, "Beware!" and John might answer to Kate, "Beware!" for the danger from the cradle is twofold. It is the shipwreck of true love when it is filled too often, and the mother is tied to it day and night till she loses all her wifely attractions; and it is the shipwreck of true love when the first baby in it bewitches the mother and becomes the rival of its father. He must beware of the first danger, and she must beware of the last. There is nothing to fear from the cradle, nay, it is the very anchor of true love, if it is used with wise moderation, and the wife does not hover over it too fondly.

THE Stories of Poverty bring home to us many a pleasant word from our subscribers. This shows what a taking kind of reading autobiography is. It is a kind of reading which often owes nothing to literary habit, but every thing to artlessness or sincerity. Egotism with pride is offensive, but there is a phase of humble egotism which is peculiarly charming. It is self-forgetful egotism. We used to know an old lady who would talk all the time we sat with her about nothing but herself and her folks, yet we were never tired of hearing her. She was humorous and never "spoiled a story for relations' sake" or for her own sake. You can not please better than by telling a laughable story at your own expense. Fiction which approaches nearest autobiography—genuine and artless—is the very best. Instance Vicar of Wakefield and Robinson Crusoe. We shall want less fiction as people grow more sincere. There will be no end of entertaining reading when pride gives up the key to stories of real life.

THAT "VILE WEED"

TOBACCO, sends every now and then a disagreeable whiff to my nostrils. See what I cut from an exchange a week or two ago:

"A Methodist clergyman mentioned to the Rev. Mr. Barnitz, an earnest anti-tobacco missionary, one member of his church who last year gave \$1 for missions, who admitted that he paid during the year at least \$100 for tobacco, and another member who gave \$3 for Bible, tract, and mission purposes, whose tobacco bill for the year was \$300. Mr. Barnitz has made a careful computation from the best available statistics, which shows that the professing Christians of America expend at least \$25,000,000 annually for tobacco, while the total of all their contributions for the support of churches, Sunday-schools, missions, Bible and tract societies is less than \$7,000,000!"

To-day I was reading one of Charles Reade's letters to the *Harper's Weekly* on "The Coming Man," and I noted this incidental remark: "Why, Englishmen spend twice as much in the mere *tax* on tobacco as they do on all their books and newspapers!"

Religion and education, you see, almost smoked out of house and home. It's — Why, it's outrageous! Isn't it, now?

As a Communist I am interested in the cause of Anti-tobaccoism, for I think the poisonous narcotic by stupifying the mind and irritating the nerves, hinders interest in the cause of Socialism and renders folks impenetrable to the inspirations of the power of agreement.

As an Anti-tobaccoist I am an enthusiastic Socialist, for I think that only by the insuring to all mankind the pure delights of a true social organization can the evils of narcotism be overcome. It is admitted, I believe, that mankind generally indulge in stimulants to gratify an inborn passion for change, enthusiasms, excitements. Drudgery and disagreeable or monotonous circumstances of all kinds tempt to the indulgence in some sort of stimulant. But enlarge and perfect your home, and its rational pleasures, its noble ambitions,

its improving enthusiasms and genial excitements, will leave no room for these temptations to creep in. When is every body going to find this out?

I don't know, but I hope my great-great-grand-children will find tobacco used only by the medicine-men and the vermin-killers. COMMUNIST.

COMMUNITY HOMES.

SOME REASONS WHY THEY ARE HAPPY.

1. Community men do not use stimulating drinks. They do not spend their evenings gossiping in bar-rooms or drinking-saloons. They do not swear, gamble or patronize prize-fights or horse-racing. They do not grumble when house-keeping bills come in. They do not bet on elections or go crazy about politics. They do not get mixed up in divorce suits, either as plaintiff or defendant. They do not bury themselves soul and body in money-making. They love home—concentrate there all their treasures, and devote their strength and talents to beautify and improve it.

2. Community women do not smoke or snuff. They do not get nervous and sallow through tea-drinking. They do not keep up their spirits or restore shattered nerves by fancy cordials and bitters. They do not get lily brows and rosy cheeks from pearl powder and rouge. They do not get their hair from Paris. They do not think "their market is made," and so go round all the forenoon in an untidy *dishabille*. They are not afraid or ashamed to work. They do not get into quarrels with the neighbors or the school-mistress "about the children." They do not send their children to school "to get them out of the way." They do not send them down-stairs for Bridget to take care of. They are not afraid their boys are out in the street evenings. They do not scold or fret because it is "only husband" that hears. They are not worried to death about the house-work. They do not believe that as youth departs they must cease to be pleasing and lovable. They believe that the best and most enduring of all charms is "the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit." c.

A HOTEL AND COTTAGE ASSOCIATION.

New York, Jan. 22, 1878.

W. A. HINDS—Dear Sir: In answer to your questions I reply: A large number of persons were ready to join the Potomac Colony from many States. In one Ohio village alone thirty met weekly to prepare for the undertaking. But when we in New York found that the friends at Washington were determined that the affair should be only a matter of business, we did not dare to summon our correspondents. As most of those interested had become so through us, the announcement in my paper that we had disagreed with the Washington people naturally brought the undertaking to nought. Messrs. Daniels and Durant made an effort to keep that movement up, and we formed the "Peacemaker Society," which bides its time, but will attempt nothing hastily.

We were tempted, contrary to our better judgment, by the offer of Mr. Daniel's place, to essay a big, sudden movement. I trust that we will not be induced again to venture on an attempt at integral association that is other than a slow, sure growth from a perfectly harmonious nucleus of persons who, while aiming practically, but secondarily, at material prosperity, make moral and spiritual growth their first consideration. Keeping this idea steadily in view, we are cautiously preparing to establish a gathering-place of progressive people near this city, which, while remaining a permanent and pleasant home for persons who do not wish to venture into integral life, will enable those who desire to form that intimate acquaintance with other Socialists which should precede the establishment of a unitary home—to see each other eye to eye for a sufficient length of time.

The spot chosen for our "Hotel and Cottage Association" is a tract of twenty acres called Falls Glen, situated, not as some suppose on the low lands near Plainfield, N. J., but in a sort of "happy valley," watered by two mill-streams, hill-sheltered and abounding in beautiful scenery, both level and rugged, in that spur of the Orange mountains which presents its bold front close by the village of Scotch Plains or Fanwood, on the New Jersey Central Railroad, twenty miles from New York. This is the nearest approach of the mountains to the metropolis in that direction; and this Washington valley is famous as a place where New York and Brooklyn people who are drifting into consumption can speedily recuperate.

The land, two mill-dams (sixty horse-power when united), old mill, two dwellings, etc., are owned by that veteran associationist, Tappan Townsend, who first fixed

my mind on Socialism twenty-five years ago, by his earnest advocacy of it in Spiritualistic meetings. I will not burden your readers, who are well-informed on associative methods, with minute particulars of our programme. These are given in my *Eclectic and Peacemaker*, copies of which will be sent to inquirers. The following items will suffice: We contemplate going only one step beyond those eminent conservatives who bought a strip of land at Long Branch and divided it into cottage lots, except a central plot upon which they built a unitary house, where they have kitchens, laundries, parlors, billiard and smoking rooms, etc., for the use of the lot-holders. The only striking feature we will add will be suites of rooms in the central buildings for those who prefer such to cottages. One-third of the plot will be reserved for Coöperative uses, including a union store and stables. The rest will be in cottage lots, the owners of which will be free to use and sell them at will, subject to no more restrictions than obtain in any "village park" such as "Rutherford." As soon as we have contributors enough to buy the place out and out, including a large share retained by Mr. Townsend, we will form a Coöperative Society and bring the place and plan to the notice of the general public, by giving the facts to the papers. Meanwhile we want a few more subscribers to the original purchase. The place is very cheap. It would be useless for us to disclaim any speculative object in this connection. Those at least who know J. K. Ingalls will be assured that while he is a principal figure in the movement speculation will be absent. Visitors to the city will find Messrs. Wood and Holbrook of the Hygienic Hotel well informed about this movement. And by the way, and finally, a "Sanitarium" is among the proposed features.

Yours etc., SAMUEL LEAVITT.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Milwaukee, Jan. 16, 1878.

I am much pleased with the management of the *SOCIALIST*, and profoundly touched by the "Stories of Poverty." The fact that you have in your home people of like experiences tells me that you have much that must, for a long time to come, go far to promote the work of Communism in its deep, unselfish sense.

C. M. C.

Vineland, Jan. 23, 1878.

AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—Enclosed is an article for your columns (See "Cause and Cure of the Hard Times" in another column). It may be well to state that I am and always have been a laboring man. I began life on a farm, a farmer's son. I worked hard, lived plain, went to school but little; went to learn a mechanical trade at 18, which I continued till 46; then returned to a farm, and I have lived and worked there ever since. I commenced without money, with naked hands; have been employee and employer, and my sympathies are with the honest, industrious employee.

JOHN GAGE.

St. Louis, Jan. 22, 1878.

The "Stories of Poverty" are truly interesting.—They thrill me with sympathy, and often bring tears to my eyes before I get half through. How terrible for Mrs. R. to be alone at the birth of her babe, and for Mrs. M. to have her child born before the husband and father had hardly got out of sight, in search of help. The shoeless feet of Mr. T. in mid winter remind me of having had an invitation to an evening party with the rest of my schoolmates; and I could not go, unless I went barefoot, as I had no shoes to wear: and then, as you say, the story of Mrs. M. piles up the agony.

I like the *SOCIALIST* very much—was interested in Squire Noyes's "Washington Correspondence," also in Mr. Pitt's writings. F. W. Smith is right when he says, "Selfishness is what causes all this difficulty in society and trade. Those who are strong, cunning, educated, and well endowed for the competitive struggle use their powers to benefit themselves at the expense of the weak, the ignorant, and those who are less capable of winning." I feel the force of what has been said from time to time about Competism; it is a barbaric monster walking through our midst. I can say "Amen" to what has been said on Community of families and enlarged homes.

The spirit of Revival is at work in our city, and many are confessing Christ as their Savior. We have held prayer meetings in our Church every night for most four weeks, and have quite a Revival in progress. Much good is being done in the name of the blessed Jesus. The Temperance movement has just begun in St. Louis. My prayer is that God will overthrow King Alcohol and shut up the beer hells. It is astonishing how these

drinking-places flourish. They rent our most expensive corners, and thrive on the money and bread taken from their customers' wives and children. D. J. W.

HOLIDAYS.

The holiest of all holidays are those
Kept by ourselves in silence and apart,—
The secret anniversaries of the heart,
When the full river of feeling overflows;—
The happy days unclouded to their close,
The sudden joys that out of darkness start
As flames from ashes; swift desires, that dart
Like swallows singing down each wind that blows!
White as the gleam of a receding sail;
White as a cloud that floats and fades in air,
White as the whitest lily on a stream,
These tender memories are:—a fairy tale
Of some enchanted land we know not where,
But lovely as a landscape in a dream.

LONGFELLOW.

STORIES OF POVERTY.

[It is good for the rich to see just what the poor have to go through. We have gathered from the members of the Oneida Community some narratives of pre-communistic experiences which we propose to present under the above title. Besides illustrating the distresses that are common among ordinary and "respectable" poor folks, these stories prove what we have often said of the O. C.—that it is not a select society of well-to-do people, but an average slice of humanity, in which all classes are represented and where the rich and the poor meet in equal comfort.]

VIII.

MRS. D.'S STORY.

I WAS born in the lap of luxury, inheriting the pride, taste and sympathies of a refined and cultivated ancestry who traced their lineage to royal blood. When I was three years of age a disastrous fire swept away my father's property, leaving him with hardly a penny in the world. At about the same time he became nearly blind, and was thus ever afterward much crippled in the support of a large family. My earliest experience in earning my living was at setting cards, an employment which mother took into the family for herself and children. How our little fingers used to fly to accomplish the hourly stint of so many rows! I recollect also picking up rags in the street and digging greens that I might earn a few pennies with which to buy an apron or some other article of clothing. When quite young, I was put with my brothers and sisters into a factory to work.

My mother, who always had a babe in her arms, and was still young enough to expect many additions to her family, sorrowed deeply over the fate of her children, born into poverty and ignorance, with no hope of better conditions. She felt such a repugnance to giving birth to any more children to struggle with adverse circumstances that she resolved to take a bold step which would preclude any such possibility. She accordingly proposed a temporary separation from her husband, broke up housekeeping, and went herself to the factory to work, first providing situations for the older children where they could earn their livelihood and yet attend school a part of the year. Thus, when I was but ten years of age our family was scattered, and never came together again. This separation from home and its loved ones was a very sorrowful experience to my childhood; for a year I saw none of the dear faces, and afterward I met them only occasionally at brief intervals. The divorce between father and mother grew into a permanent one, adding what was then considered a great disgrace to our family sorrow and poverty. This circumstance weighed heavily on my youthful life.

At the breaking up of the family I was sent alone fifty miles in a stage to live at service with a woman who had several small children. The hardships and sufferings endured in this place caused a permanent injury to my nervous system. I had the care at night of a sickly, rickety child, but little more than a year old, who kept me awake so much that I hardly knew what it was to get any good sleep. During the day I had this child and one younger still, in my arms nearly all the time. When in winter I had a cough which disturbed my lady she sent me into a garret to sleep alone. I was naturally a timid child and much afraid of the dark. That garret, after the stories she told me about it, became such an unspeakable terror to me that my little cot-bed shook all night with my trembling. She told me that her dead children had haunted former nursery maids, following them upstairs and catching hold of their dresses; that the devil had been seen capering all about that garret, disappearing at last through the scuttle window in a blue flame, and many other such things which, in my childish ignorance, I believed to be entirely true. My mistress was also a very passionate woman, and would at times beat me fearfully with a broomstick, a club, a carving-knife or whatever she happened to have in her hands. She allowed her son, a rude, coarse boy of sixteen, to spit in my face and otherwise insult and oppress me without reproof. Once, after almost beating the breath

out of my body, she pushed me headlong down-stairs. Her sister, who was present, wept at the sight of her cruelty. On learning soon after this event that I was not in the least to blame for the cause of her anger, she repented somewhat of her treatment of me and gave me a pair of ear-rings to heal my wounded heart and body.

After living with this woman for more than a year my mother made me a short visit. She had so many troubles of her own that I refrained from telling her mine, and indeed I had no opportunity, for I scarcely saw her a moment alone. It almost broke my heart that I was not allowed to sleep with her the one night she was there, when I had not seen her for so long a time. It was not many months, however, before she was informed of the abusive treatment to which I was subjected. She then took me immediately away, and was distressed to find my neck and arms covered with scratches and bruises left by that harsh mistress.

But it would not do for me to remain idle, and as mother knew of no situation for me she took me by the hand and led me about the streets of Boston nearly all of one day in search of work. At last we found a place in the city where I could earn my board and fifty cents a week at housework.

Soon after I was established in my new quarters my little brother of three years was taken very sick, and mother was obliged to leave the factory to take care of him. Her wages of course ceased, and she had no other resource than to carry him to the poor-house and take care of him there. I went to help her for a day or two. The child was not expected to live, and we felt sure he would die unless we could give him better care than it was possible to give him there; so mother left the apparently dying child with me and started out to seek some other place to which to take him. A poor woman in Cambridgeport kindly offered her a room in which were a bed and a stove, and there we carried the child and all we owned, a distance of half a mile, during a snow-storm. This bare room seemed a delightful abode in comparison with the place we had left. I took a basket on my arm and went through the streets where new buildings were going up, and picked up chips for fuel; then I called at the backdoors of some friendly persons who knew of our destitution, and received from them the broken victuals which they offered. Having accumulated quite a store I hastened back to my place of work, which was two miles distant. Every few days I would go to mother to carry her a part of my earnings and to pick up food and fuel for her, and then walk back again in the evening over the long, dark Cambridge bridge and through the streets of the city alone.

The child did not die, but was very sick all through the winter. My little sister, whose board mother had no means to pay, came also to live with her. Before the winter was half over I was discharged from my place of employment, and was therefore obliged to live with mother and my brother and sister on the charity received at the backdoors of benevolent friends, though I occasionally found work for a week or two.

Early in the following spring a wonderful change came over our fortunes. A distant cousin of mother, having learned of our destitute condition, came to us from Boston with his carriage laden with good things, and as soon as the child's health permitted he sent us all into the country at his own expense. After that my grandmother took the little boy for awhile, and I helped her take care of him; but I was soon taken sick, and he and I were all summer under the care of a physician who said that my constitution had been injured by hardships during my growing years. When I recovered my strength I had the privilege of attending a good school for one term. Then I worked out for awhile until I had clothed myself well enough to go to school again. I had just found an excellent situation in a good family, where I could work for my board and also attend school, when my father, who was tired of being without a home, gathered the youngest children together, and asked me to keep house for him. Although I much regretted leaving school, I was so sorry for father that I did as he wished. I was then fourteen years of age. He took me to a little village about twelve miles from Worcester, and all the furniture we possessed with which to commence housekeeping he carried thither in a one-horse wagon. Father had learned to make baskets, and in spite of his almost sightless eyes was able to earn considerable at that trade. We children soon became expert at braiding palm-leaf hats, and thus with all our earnings we managed to live quite comfortably and send the younger ones to school during the winter. We knew little, however, of the relaxation and amusement which childhood so much delights in, for all day long we had to sit and braid and braid until our fingers were so tired

that we would occasionally relieve ourselves by a lively frolic at sprinkling water in one another's faces.

The trials, privations and mortifications which I had experienced had the effect to turn my heart to God for help and comfort, so that at fifteen I became a church-member and a Sabbath-school teacher. I had previously been an almost constant attendant at Sabbath-school in spite of my poverty and shabby dress.

The hat business continued good for a year or two; but when the children were old enough to spare me I earned better wages by going out as nurse, dress-maker or tavern-cook for a few weeks at a time; then home again to wash and cook and mend and put things to rights. In this way I became so much worn down with work that I was overtaken by a long and severe attack of illness. During these years I experienced much kindness from persons by whom I was employed.

The hat business becoming very dull, I went with the children into a cotton factory to work, keeping house at the same time. I was obliged to rise very early in the morning in order that we might dispose of our breakfast in time to reach the factory at the ringing of the bell. I would leave things handy for father to get his own dinner at noon, and then do up the other work in the evening. The winter I was eighteen was a very distressing one to us. Factory-work failed us, provisions of every kind were very high, and we had only father's scanty earnings to live upon. In addition to all this, father moved into a lonely place among strangers, in order to more easily obtain timber for his basket-work. There we lived in an old, cold house; we could afford but one fire, and that was in the room that father used for a shop. A part of the winter we were all sick at the same time. A brother older than myself, who was also out of work and sick with the rest of us, went out every day in the snow and caught wild rabbits for our food. This was our principal diet for a number of weeks.

For a long time after that winter my health was quite low, and it was the opinion of many that I would soon leave this world; but a sudden change came over me in a curious way. I had been thinking one day of my fast-approaching dissolution, my mind dwelling on some parting words I wished to say to my friends, and on the disposition I should make of the few treasures I possessed. I had just planned what I would say and do at the final farewell, when my sister came to my bedside and asked me if I would not get up and take supper with the rest. I arose and went to the mirror to brush my hair, and at the first glance I laughed outright at my reflection there. My eyes were bright and my cheeks were red with the excitement of my thoughts, and I exclaimed, "How much you look like dying!" I began to recover from that moment; but if my looks had then corresponded with other symptoms, I have no doubt I should soon have followed my gloomy thoughts to the grave.

After that severe winter times became easier. My brothers and sisters were old enough to take care of themselves and help father some, and we soon emerged from our difficulties into comparatively comfortable circumstances. My opportunities for a much-desired education had hitherto been quite limited; but I now had an opportunity to go for one term to an excellent seminary. I, however, found myself so much behind those of my own age, that I preferred to study by myself. One of my younger sisters was just then developing into a fine scholar, and I accordingly assisted her to continue her course of study at the seminary while I took lessons of her at home. In the course of a year or two, I fitted myself for teaching a common school; but though I ever earned my own livelihood by teaching or dress-making, I found time and had the disposition to enter enthusiastically into the benevolent and progressive reforms of the day, which finally led me into Communism and the Oneida Community. At the time I met this good fortune I was at Mr. Horace Greeley's, engaged in the care of his son Arthur, the prodigy whom they called "Little Christ." It came about in this way: Mr. Greeley had been negotiating with me for some time to take charge of the boy and educate him according to Margaret Fuller's ideas. I felt many misgivings about taking the place, but finally agreed to try it for a week. My mind was so much exercised in regard to the new theories of perfection that were agitating the country, that I found myself dissatisfied with the churches, and in a state of great unrest. As I left mother I said, "I don't believe I shall suit Mrs. Greeley or that she will suit me; but perhaps I shall find there what I do want." Sure enough! On my way to the Greeley mansion, I met in the stage Mr. C., one of the prominent members of the O. C., and became so much interested in what he told me of the practical

workings of Communism, that as soon as my trial-week with Mrs. Greeley was ended, I took my departure for the Oneida Community, where I have rested content ever since.

INEFFICIENCY OF EDUCATION.

New York Herald's Report of a Sermon by H. W. Beecher, Jan. 20th.

I THINK the Gospel spirit was caught early and shut up in a box, said Mr. Beecher yesterday. Certainly the world has not seen much of it. Not until whole communities began to "enthusiasm" would it be apparent that the spirit of Christ was abroad. The very heart of Christ and the essence of His Gospel were contained in that sentimentality which men call the "Gospel of gush." If it had not been for the spirit of Christ in individuals the Church would have gone with the world to the devil long ago. I am led to make these remarks in the course of a sermon, the object of which is to convince my hearers that there are cardinal deficiencies in all those methods which have had for their aim the saving of the world, and to prove that there is needed some influence anterior to education, and which shall bring into the world a race superior intellectually and physically to the present, and predisposed hereditarily to good rather than evil. Much has been accomplished in the culture of plants and in the purely physical culture of animals, but very little has been attempted in the direction of animal intelligence or disposition, for that is a realm complicated, subtle and little known. In the kingdom wherein man is found there has been no attempt to give scientific symmetry in the development of the body and mind, including the intelligence, moral sentiments and affections.

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE.

The development of bodily conditions without regard to mental had been attempted in a very limited and altogether empirical way, but no effort had been exerted to improve the race stock *ab initio*. No attempt had been made to renew the earth through the instrumentality of natural laws. We had simply waited for generations to be born, and then attempted to educate them. Yet the principle of hereditability was not a modern one—it ante-dated civilization. It was recognized in the very earliest period of history, and no grander enunciation of it had ever been made than that in the passage read by the preacher as the text of his discourse wherein Paul describes the character of God and declares that the virtues and faults of parents are carried over to the third and fourth generations. How little has been done, even toward the education of mankind, was pointed out, the vast swarms of men that people India, Africa and the islands of the sea far beyond the influence of the school-master being referred to as evidence that the people who have been trained intellectually bear the same proportion to the race as a little cream does to the body of milk on which it floats. The existing efforts to elevate the race were compared to the acts of one who should stand below Niagara Falls and attempt to cleanse the water with a tiny filter, while vast agencies above were grinding out mud and sending it over in torrents. Is there then nothing by which the source far back of the point where education begins can be improved and purified? The mould itself can be changed, not alone the image that comes out of it polished a little.

TRANSMISSION OF INFIRMITIES.

With education Mr. Beecher found fault. "It has been," he said, "personal and not generic, and the operative forces have hardly been touched." Then he discussed the marriage relation, criticising the existing state of society which renders marriage optional and casual. On marriage depend infinite consequences to the human race, and yet a man might marry though he were consumptive and was certain to transmit the disease to generations. So a man might have insanity, and yet there was nothing to prevent his transmitting it to posterity, and it was in the power of animal man to embroil his descendants. There was mourning over these things, yet there was nothing in systems of philosophy or theology against them. In consequence of this state of affairs preachers and teachers found themselves in every age fighting against organic diseases inside and outside. To attempt to reform the trouble by education was like giving one born a cripple a work on health to read.

In discussing the terrible condition of mankind Mr. Beecher broke down, and in tears said:—"I can't think of these things." The congregation was visibly affected by the scene. Then he proceeded to discuss some of the causes why nothing had been done in the direction he had indicated. One was the lack of knowledge arising from the fact that the great mass of men were

obliged to exert their whole physical force to obtain existence simply.

CHANGES OF MEN NECESSARY.

But we must change our theories, else we should never have better things. The men who looked upon the world as simply bearing a depraved race which existed in former spheres, and was put over into this world for a second time, would have to abandon their notion that the earth was a sort of convict ship. Those who believed that Christ was to come upon earth again to make all things lovely would also have to see the world in another light, and all would have to see that such a long period has elapsed between the coming of the advent angels and the saving of the world, simply that we may have an opportunity to be co-workers with God in achieving the salvation of the race. Mr. Beecher denounced in unmeasured terms the arrogance, the tyrannies and the obstructions of organized religion in this and other ages, and expressed his gratification at the progress of science. I hail, he said, with unspeakable pleasure the approaching wedding of Religion and Science. They are yet very coy, and to some extent have quarreled. Science thinks Religion takes liberties which she has no right to take, and Religion thinks that Science is presuming, and has no business to kiss her under such circumstances. But the time is coming when they will embrace each other, and there will be no more checks than such as will arise in all well regulated families. The minister of the Gospel was not the only preacher of righteousness; every man that invented a machine to expedite industry and relieve men from the bondage of toil that keeps them from higher things was an evangelist. The strikes and similar outbreaks on the part of the workers arose out of the present transition state, but the time was coming when men, lifted above the toil that embroiled them in the past, should achieve a nobler standing. The elevation of the race would be accomplished by men working from the social, from the political and from the physical points to a common end.

R. G. DUN & Co.'s quarterly circular for Jan. 1st shows the total number of business failures for the year 1877 to be 8,872, with liabilities amounting to \$190,699,000; against 9,092 failures in 1876, with liabilities amounting to \$191,117,000. This is a slight improvement, but does not afford sufficient ground on which to base any very sanguine hopes for the immediate future. In regard to the theory that the state of the currency has a depressing effect on the business interests of the country, we subjoin the following statistics:

	Average circulation for each Trader.	Percentage of failures.
Eastern States,	\$1458	one in 58
Middle "	547	" 73
Western "	281	" 84
Southern "	256	" 85
Pacific States and Territories,	118	" 41

If business prosperity is in proportion to abundance of circulating medium, then the New England States ought to be the most prosperous part of the country; but the foregoing table shows that the failures have been relatively more abundant in that quarter than anywhere else except upon the Pacific slope. And, leaving out the Pacific States, in which other causes have operated more strongly than at the east, it will be seen that the proportion of failures increases almost in exact accordance with the abundance of money; in New England, where there is most money, we find the highest ratio of failures, and in the Southern States, where money is least plentiful, the ratio is lowest. If we were to stop here, we might argue that increased prosperity would accompany a restricted circulation, but referring to Canada, we find that with an average circulation of \$391 for each trader, the failures were one in thirty; and this in a country where currency has a specie basis, and where the other elements of prosperity seem to be abundant. Taking it all together, we have to conclude that the causes of the prevailing depression are independent of the currency, and must be looked for in some other direction.

A report on the "tramp" nuisance has been submitted to the Governor of Massachusetts by the chief of the detective force, who had previously sent out two of his men to experiment in vagabondage and make an acquaintance with the army of tramps. We can't make out that this rogue-catcher has come to any solution of the question. He tells us, however, that there are a thousand winter tramps in Massachusetts. The fear of interfering with the poor man's right to hunt for work is what makes us all so slow to stop the impudent vagrant and send him to the work-house. Should think that by this time the country had developed an unerring instinct as to who is the honest man, who is the tramp, and that there should be no hesitation in stopping the one and in letting the other exercise his right of free locomotion.

ITEMS OF NEWS.

HOME.

California sent about \$18,000,000 in silver to China last year, but not much gold.

Senator Blaine has pointed to a "bar sinister" in the escutcheon of Massachusetts.

The people of New Haven do not mean to give up devotional exercises in their schools without an effort.

A letter from Utah says the Mormons are going to investigate Brigham Young's ways of getting fat on the church.

The tariff must be amended so as to yield us \$50,000,000 per annum more than it is now doing. Our importing trade is small.

The oil men now go down to the "fourth sand rock." Some of the old wells are made to yield wonderfully when treated in this way.

The Hon. Galusha A. Grow has bent his mind to the tramp question. Over-production and under-consumption are what's the matter, he says.

The Northern Pacific Railway is lagging—it wants ten more years in which to complete itself, and still not lose its hold on the public land.

E. K. Collins is dead. He was the father of the "Collins Line," the first American steamers to ply the Atlantic between this country and Europe.

It is rumored that the Senators will let the President make the great appointments in their respective States, and that he will let them name the little ones.

The Charleston Chamber of Commerce has followed that of New Orleans in passing a series of resolutions denouncing the attempts to postpone resumption and remonetize silver.

The manufacturers are flocking into Washington to see what the Ways and Means Committee is going to do with the tariff. The Committee will not advise a tax on tea and coffee.

Mrs. Swisshelm wants to know what shame there is in a "pull-back" so long as a man has to stop and pull up both legs of his pantaloons before he can stoop over to lift any thing from the floor.

Did you notice that New England had a greater proportion of failures than any other part of the United States except the Pacific States? And yet the South and West clamor for silver because of the hard times.

Certain railway projectors in Philadelphia are about starting a second vessel for Brazil with 200 workmen and supplies, to be employed in building a railroad for better communication between that country and Bolivia.

Caleb Cushing has been telling the Judiciary committee what he thinks we can do with the rest of that Geneva award. He says the money was given to the United States to be disposed of at the discretion of Congress.

R. Worthington, of New York, has published Dean Ramsay's famous "Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character." This is a joke book. We mention it because a Scotchman is supposed to be serious and canny, but never humorous.

The naval monument just set up in Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, is the work of Mr. Frederick Simmons, an American sculptor. It was projected by officers of the navy, and is said to be one of the most artistic things at the National Capital.

There are two bills in Congress for the purpose of establishing a steam-mail service between this country and Brazil. One provides for a line of steamers from New York to Rio Janeiro; the other for a similar line from New Orleans to the same port. The trade of South America is a sort of Brazil-nut that we ought to have a crack at.

The mines on the Pacific slope paid dividends in 1877 amounting to \$25,125,000. There has been a great proportion of business failures in that region, but not every one is losing money. If to the profits of mining we add that of banking, insurance, and express companies, the dividends of that part of the country amount to \$34,366,000, a million and a quarter more than in the year 1876.

The Commissioners of the New York Central Park have concluded to reduce Frederick Law Olmsted to the position of a consulting landscape architect. All which means that Mr. Olmsted, the genius and designer of that piece of landscape-gardening, won't have any more to say about it, and that it will, as a good many fear, be given over to politicians and practical men who glory in their horse sense.

"Miss Grundy" says in the *Graphic*: "I love to watch Miss Dodge (Gail Hamilton) in society, because she reflects credit on her sex by proving the superiority of intellectual attractions to those which consist merely in the contour of the features and delicacy of coloring. No woman in Washington can surpass her in the art of making herself agreeable to both men and women, and since to be a belle it is necessary to be constantly surrounded by gentlemen when in society, I claim for Gail Hamilton a foremost place among the belles of the national capital. She never has less than two gentlemen listening to her sparkling chat, which is car-

ried on with no apparent effort. At a dinner party she is invaluable."

The Directors of Girard College have begun to admit poor boys to that institution from places outside of Pennsylvania. One hundred and sixteen new pupils will be admitted soon, making the whole number 870. There has been an attempt made to divert the surplus income (\$200,000 to \$300,000) to the use of the city of Philadelphia, but Judge Brewster has decided that the surplus of the College must be used in enlarging the buildings and the number of pupils until the limit, 2,500, is reached. The enormous funds of this College are very carefully invested. A chapel is now in process of erection capable of seating 2,000 persons.

Among other advantages to be gained from a phonetic modification of the alphabet, Superintendent W. T. Harris, of St. Louis, expects to secure "the development of logical power of mind in the pupil. He can safely be taught to analyze a word into its sounds and find the letters representing them, whereas, with the ordinary orthography, it is an insult to his reason to assure him that a sound is represented by any particular letter. Hence, analytical power is trained, instead of memory, from the day of his entrance into school; and analytic power is the basis of all thinking activity."

The funeral of Mr. Samuel Bowles was attended by many of the distinguished men of the country. Now that he is dead we hear that he was the greatest journalist of his time. Miss Anna C. Brackett's praise of him is perhaps the best of any: "First, was the perfectly pure and refined atmosphere which he always brought with him. * * * * * Then of all the men I have ever known, he was the only one who never made a woman feel as if he were condescending in thought or word when he talked with her. * * * * * This always gave me, when with him, a glad sense of freedom, and left me at liberty thus to be and say my best."

The National Reform Spelling Association has been in session at Cincinnati. These reformers think they have the argument pretty much all on their side. Some of them, however, see the necessity of moving slowly and gradually in their proposed improvements. If we could institute a thorough reform in our alphabet, leaving out all superfluous letters and adding new ones till every elementary sound in the language had an appropriate character, and every word was spelled phonetically, we should have one of two results, either of which would be disastrous enough. In the one case our children would be entirely cut off from reading all our old writings, and in the other case—if the first were intolerable—we should have to reprint the whole body of our literature.

FOREIGN.

Cleopatra's needle has got to London at last.

That Turkish navy has done next to nothing in this war against Russia.

'Tis said the Dutch are going to have the job of draining Lake Mareotis in Egypt.

One hundred thousand pounds' worth of gold was withdrawn from the Bank of England for New York on the 22d.

Austria said she had nothing to urge against the terms of peace so far as she is concerned, but then she would like to have England suited.

The Chinese have regained Kashgar, a state about as large as New York, wrested from them by Yakoub Beg, who just took it without stopping to beg.

Kings are allowed to marry their cousins, with only a few to choose from. Suppose we should apply science to the breeding of rulers, then we might have some kings that would rule as of old, and not be mere puppets in the hands of the prime ministers.

A great trial of Russian Nihilists, which began at St. Petersburg on the 31st of October, has just ended. One hundred and nine persons were accused, but only twenty-one found guilty. The rest were liberated on bail. Many of the accused belonged to the nobility.

The Chinese have just sent a full legation to China. Japan has already a legation at Peking. It is believed that these two countries have found it for their interests to enter into closer communications for the purpose of counteracting the policy fastened upon them by the Western powers.

France has lost two prominent artists—Lambinet and Courbet—the latter a splendid genius and sot, who drunk himself to death on beer and absinthe, in Switzerland—an exile from Paris on account of the part he took in the overthrow of the Vendome Column. If he had been a man of transcendent morals perhaps he would have been a minister, and then we should have lost the artist. Can't we have this thing fixed?

"The fourth cause of trade depression—bitter to the hearts of persons whom Mr. Herbert Spencer calls patriots—is," says Mr. Ruskin in his "Fors" for January, "that the inhabitants of other countries have begun to perceive that they have got hands as well as we, and possibly in some businesses even better hands, and they may just as well make their own wares as buy them of us—which wholesome discovery of theirs will in due time mercifully put an end to the British ideal of life in the national shop, and make it at last plain to the British mind that the cliffs of Dover were

not constructed by Providence merely to be made a large counter."

England was profoundly agitated over the delay of Russia in making known her conditions of peace. Earl Derby and Caernarvon, the leaders of the peace party in the Cabinet, have resigned, and Beaconsfield, the Premier, has called out impulsively for more money to spend on preparations for war. The Mediterranean fleet was ordered to Gallipoli, and before it reached there the order was countermanded; for the Turks had signed the terms of peace.

The marriage of King Alphonso, of Spain, to his cousin, the Princess Mercedes, third daughter of the Duke de Montpensier, was celebrated in Madrid on the 23d with great splendor. Not exactly a quiet wedding, but one followed by five days of festivities—bull-fights, horse-races, Italian opera and the like, just as if the royal heart and happiness had overflowed the whole city and country. The Duke gives his daughter 25,000,000 francs, to say nothing of diamonds and trousseau and a present from the Pope.

The French glory in a Parisian store bigger than that of A. T. Stewart & Co. A correspondent of the *St. Louis Republican* says of it: "One thousand eight hundred persons are attached to this magazin, 1,600 being men and 200 being women. Many of them live in the building, and every thing seems to be done for their comfort. There is a *salle d'armes*, 100 out of the 1,600 men box and fence twice a week. There are a library, a barber's shop, a *salon* with a piano, a band of 120, and a chorus of 200, a reunion once a year, a house physician, a hospital, and, my dear, M. Boucicaud offers his employees free evening lessons in English, German, vocal and instrumental music, and provides lectures on scientific, literary and historical subjects."

The Russian terms of peace are quite lenient, though called harsh by some. Bulgaria is to be practically independent with a Christian governor; Servia and Roumania to be independent; Bosnia and Herzegovina to have reforms and Christian governors; Montenegro to acquire Antivari, Nicsics, Spuz and a part of the shore of Lake Scutari. As an indemnity Turkey shall cede a part of Bessarabia to Russia, pay \$100,000,000, and let the latter hold Batoum, Kars and Erzeroum, with the adjoining territories, until the indemnities are paid; the conditions of peace are to be signed by the Grand Duke Nicholas in Constantinople; questions relating to the free passage of the Bosphorus are to be referred to a conference of the powers; Turkey is to guarantee better government in all her provinces. These terms were made known to Germany and Austria, but not to England, and Turkey is said to have agreed to them without taking advice.

The military situation in Turkey at the time Russia announced her terms of peace was just about this: Suleiman Pasha, who was reported in a trap between Gen. Ghourko, at Philippopolis on the west, and the cavalry of Radetzky at Harmauli, toward Adrianople, on the east, made a three days' running fight to get away from Ghourko, and after being considerably broken up and losing some 7,000 killed and wounded, finally escaped to the southward through the Rhodope mountains into the valley of the Maritza, and followed it down to Drama on the Aegean Sea. Preparations were making to transfer his army—scarcely 40,000—to Gallipoli and Constantinople. Mehemet Ali was supposed to be at Kirk-Kelissa, thirty-two miles northeast of Adrianople, where the Russians were ready to move on Gallipoli or Constantinople. The Servians, by a series of successes ending in the capture of Pristina, had isolated Bosnia and Herzegovina from Turkish aid. The Turks in the quadrilateral showed scarcely any signs of life—they being doubtless without the means for rapid movement. Two-thirds or more of European Turkey was substantially in the power of the Russians, and her army quite broken to pieces and scattered. Great terror and panic prevailed among the common people in Roumelia, and hordes of women and children were fleeing in great want and misery to the Capital. The Russian victory could not be much more complete.

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