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COMMUNISM CONSERVES PROPERTY.

PROFESSOR AMOS has justly said, that "those who advocate the introduction of a Communistic type of society, instead of designing to abolish property, only wish to change the existing laws of property, and to have enacted in their stead other and better laws." It needs but a glance at the considerations upon which the institution of property rests, which are few and simple, to show that if Communists have common sense they could not do otherwise.

Property is simply production; the result of the application of labor to natural objects. Nature produces many things fit for the support of man, such as fruits, nuts, fish, and wild animals, but in finding and appropriating these to his use, even in the rudest and most primitive manner, he must expend labor. He must gather the former, or catch, kill, dress and in some way cook the latter, and though this necessary labor be done in the rudest manner, it is nevertheless labor, and the assertion that when he has prepared the food ready to eat he has no right to it or property in it, would shock the sense of justice in the rudest minds. So of the products of labor when applied to making clothing or houses for protection from the action of the elements. The sewing of fig-leaves together for aprons makes an article of property; much more the fashioning of a garment from the skins of animals which one has slain, and still more when one takes a bundle of flax, or a fleece of wool, and artfully combining the strands or fibers makes threads which by weaving are converted into a web of cloth and then into garments, by the expenditure of his labor he acquires a right to his product which no other can have without his consent. And so of the rude hut of bark

and boughs, or of the mansion of fashioned material which by and by man erects for shelter and other comfort; his labor on it is what gives him his property in it. And the same thing is true of land, water and other like things, with some limitations. Before land can be cultivated and made to produce, it is generally necessary to clear it, then it must be ploughed, or otherwise prepared for the reception of the seed, and to successfully raise crops of any kind the husbandman must have the control and care of the land from seed-time to harvest. To successfully prosecute agriculture there must be such control of land as will enable the farmer to calculate for a succession of crops, and for manuring his land from year to year, to preserve the soil from exhaustion. These all involve the bestowal of labor upon land and must give property in it. But whether one can rightfully have property in land which he does not or can not work is another question, and not now under consideration.

What is said of land is true of water, but in a less extensive sense. For ordinary purposes water exists so abundantly that no property can be acquired in it. But when the supply is limited and labor is needed to appropriate and use it for any special purpose, as for irrigation, and canals and ditches must be constructed to carry it, or when it is desired to make use of its power to turn a wheel, and a dam or a raceway is needed to utilize that power, in these and other analogous cases labor must be expended, and property in water is acquired by reason of such expenditure.

Property is founded upon the right, universally and as it were instinctively conceded, that each one has to his or her own faculties, physical or mental, and to what he or she can produce by the use of them upon natural objects; and not only by their use in actual labor, but also in care and saving: for a sound and healthy man or woman is able to produce at any particular time more than he or she needs for consumption, and so, if he or she will, to lay up a store for the future. This is necessary, else no adequate provision could be made for children, aged persons, or others incapacitated by any cause to provide for themselves. But in any case of producing a surplus, one may without idleness or extravagance expend more or less of his store in a free, if not lavish supply of his own wants, or he may be abstinent, economical and saving, and may apply his surplus in many ways to the work of production, and thus is gradually created that accumulation of the products of labor and saving called capital; for capital is but the products of labor, saved. And closely connected with the right of property, so as almost to form a part of it, is the right to give or otherwise transfer by mutual agreement this personal right to one's productions to another, and this makes trade or commerce.

I refer to these simple, fundamental elements of property and of the right of property, in order to say, that in Communism the same principles in respect to them must be recognized. Communism does not, can not, change the laws of production, nor can it ignore them. The form of society can not affect production but by way of embarrassing or facilitating it; things produced must ever be the fruits of labor, care and saving. Communism simply proposes to change the mode of holding and using these things. Instead of each individual holding as his own separate property what he can produce by himself or others whom he can control, be they women, children, hirelings or slaves, it proposes to unite the productive power of the whole Community, the combination being limited as to numbers, only by considerations arising from situation, convenience, efficiency, harmony, etc., and to hold their united productions as common and indivisible property; but it is property all the same.

As between the Community and other individuals outside of such body, or as between one Community and another, especially if they are organized on different social, religious, or other bases, the productions and accumulations of such body must be and remain property, to be held, and if disposed of to others, so

disposed of by some form of mutual agreement, substantially as in the present form of society and on the same grounds.

Communism aims to be a better form of society, to furnish man higher conditions for culture and life. In doing this, it can not ignore the laws of ownership, nor overlook the effect which the fact of ownership and security in the possession of the products of his labor have upon man's capacity and development. As things are, a very considerable portion of human life must be occupied in labor, in the business of converting to human uses the various things of earth, even where climate and soil are most favorable and men have been able to avail themselves in production of the manifold results of mechanical and other invention. Viewed in their lowest estate, men are to be regarded as beings individually endowed with a physical and moral constitution which expresses itself in a variety of positive wants, desires, aspirations and tendencies. So far as these are material in their nature, it is very plain that in the production and use of property is to be found one of the most important means of satisfying them. But this is by no means all. It is not to merely material or sensual wants, desires, etc., that the possibility and the fact of ownership lend powerful aid as an instrument of gratification and even of development. Is not man's highest worth seen in his capacity and in his function as a producer or as a creator? Does he not rise to his highest moral and spiritual grandeur in forming and fashioning things of use and beauty; in the creations of labor and of art? But abolish property in these things; take away the idea of ownership and of the security of possession which it implies; give men only mere physical holding for present use, and, as has well been said, "the position of man as a moral being is pitiable and even contemptible in the extreme. He keeps for himself and for his own uses just so much as he is able to retain hold of, and for just so long a time as he can retain hold of it. His energies must be wholly engaged in the exercise of vigilant retention. His hand is against every man, because every man's hand is against him. There is no room or opportunity for speculation about the future uses to which he will turn his possessions, nor even about any but the most obvious and simple immediate uses. There can be no play for the imagination as to the effect of protracted and carefully-planned labor upon the things about him, and still less as to the consequences of regulated coöperation with his fellows. Suspicion, fear, self-indulgence, an instinctive sense of the wisdom of immediate consumption and of trusting as little as possible to the morrow, are the habits of mind generated under such circumstances, and which, in fact, represent an almost ideal savage state." *Amos' Science of Law*, p. 155.

In such a state the most precious qualities and elements of man's nature hardly exist at all. Man wants faith in himself, self-reliance, courage; he wants faith in others; he needs stimulus to prudence, to foresight, to the forming of deliberate, far-reaching, comprehensive plans. Without the institution of property, he will be poor and feeble in these as well as in material things. With it, these qualities and habits will be much more likely to be evoked and stimulated. The thoughts of the property-owner center around the objects of which it consists, and they constitute a medium by which he is brought into continually exciting contact with those about him; he is led to look toward the future and to the conduct of his life in it; he thinks of those that are to come after him and of the provision to be made for them; he considers his relations to society and the various institutions which exist or should exist in order that the fruits of his labors may be secured to him and to those dependent upon him, and the subject of his and their highest welfare is more likely to be an object of contemplation; and so the institution of property must make man a more worthy and capable being than he otherwise would be.

Therefore, Communism conserves property, and its form of holding it in large groups or families, by putting an end to competition and increasing the power of pro-

duction by its economies and savings on every hand, offers to make property secure to all who have the faculty of agreement. Thus it will save the individual from the care and anxiety which oppress and haunt him under the present system of private property and of competition, and make him free to reap the benefits above-recited derivable from secure possession and ownership, and to make the highest use of the institution, not only as a means of material comfort and satisfaction, but also of social and spiritual advancement.

J. W. T.

IS COMPETITION A "BENEFICENT FORCE?"

THE Rev. J. M. Sturtevant, D.D., sharply reviews in the *Congregationalist* a recent lecture of Rev. Joseph Cook on the Labor Question. Mr. Cook had said: "We must in some way insist upon it that unprincipled competition shall not grind the faces of the poor;" and that "the chief trouble comes not from the workingmen, and not from the real princes of capital, but from second-rate business managers, who hardly know how to make a fortune except by cut-throat competition." These terms—"cut-throat competitor," "unprincipled competition," "grinding the faces of the poor"—seem to have greatly disturbed Dr. Sturtevant; and he proceeds to belabor the Rev. Mr. Cook as follows:

"True competition no more merits such opprobrious epithets than the law of gravitation does in physics. It is the one only force in the economic world by which the relative value of any two things can be ascertained. Instead of being 'unprincipled,' and 'grinding the face of the poor,' it is a beneficent force, impartially friendly to the buyer and the seller, to the laborer and the capitalist. It is a force to which both are alike subjected, and from which neither can by any possibility escape. Let us take as an illustration the case with which Mr. Cook has furnished us, that of a laborer who can obtain but a dollar a day in the labor market, and who yet must feed and support by his labor a wife and three children.....To call the case of such a family a case of starvation is to confuse the public mind by calling very different things by the same name. It certainly is very easy to show that, while there is an inconveniently small income, there is not necessarily any starvation in the case. But let that be as it may, the question the public are interested in is, why can that man obtain but one dollar a day for his labor? The answer is very obvious. A plenty of men are at hand, who are ready and glad to do such work as he can do for one dollar a day. Those who wish to employ such labor can obtain as much of it as they need at that rate. What then? Would Mr. Cook have employers, as soon as they discover that some of those who are employed in labor of that grade have families that can not live on a dollar a day, raise the wages paid to such laborers to one dollar and a quarter or one dollar and a-half a day? Are they practicing 'cut-throat competition,' and 'grinding the face of the poor,' unless they do so? If Mr. Cook's remarks do not mean this, I am unable to form any definite conception what they do mean.

"Is, then, this view of the case sound? Let us see. Let us suppose that so soon as employers discover that some of the laborers of that grade find it difficult to support their families on a dollar a day, they, with humane promptness, raise the wages of that grade of labor to a dollar and a-half a day. 'None too much,' cry the labor-reformers in a chorus. 'It is no more than they ought to pay.' Perhaps not. But the question is, how is this arbitrary raising of the wages going to affect the real interests of laborers in that grade? It will not at all diminish the severity of the competition which they suffer, but greatly increase it. Before, competition had reduced the wages of that grade to a point so low as to be very inconvenient to some laborers. Now, the point of competition is changed. The struggle of competition is now, not to obtain higher wages, but to retain any place at all in that grade of labor. Before, employment in that grade was only sought for by those who were accustomed to receive a dollar a day. Now employment in it will be eagerly sought, not only by all those who are accustomed to labor at a dollar a day, but by those who had demanded, and been accustomed to receive, a dollar and a-quarter and a dollar and a-half a day, and all intermediate rates; and the poor man who was nearly starved on a dollar a day is now in imminent danger of quite starving, because he has no wages at all. His work has been taken from him, and given to better laborers than himself, who are very much less needy than he. Employers can not possibly do a greater injury to the laborers of a given grade than by arbitrarily raising the wages of that grade above the point at which competition would fix it; and the very best thing which employers can do for laborers of every grade is to leave the rate of wages of all labor to be determined by open competition. Such competition is not a 'cut-throat,' it does not 'grind the face of the poor;' it is the laborer's truest friend and protector.....If Mr. Vanderbilt has really paid one dollar or one dollar and a-half a day for a grade of labor which could have been abundantly procured at eighty cents a day (as Mr. Cook says in a

subsequent lecture), he has not acted the part of a true friend of the rights of the laborer. Those men who were eager to do the work at eighty cents a day had a right to the employment, and it was unjust and cruel to drive them from it by the competition of laborers who were not willing to work for less than a dollar or a dollar and a-half a day. It is one of the many vicious features of the present economic conditions of this country, that great corporations and wealthy employers do not determine the wages of the laborer by competition, but attempt to take the thing into their own hands, and settle it by their 'own sweet will;' and thus cultivate in the public mind, and in their own minds, and worst of all in the minds of laborers themselves, the delusive belief that wages are to be determined by the arbitrary will of the employer."

In these strictures Dr. Sturtevant takes several positions which appear to us untenable. In the first place, his comparing competition with the law of gravitation is most unfortunate. Gravitation is a universal principle, acting throughout space and between all bodies, and by fixed, ascertainable laws. Competition is not universal, does not act between all persons, and has no fixed laws. It is limited, and sometimes abolished, by friendship, by love, by Christian principle. Instead of being a "beneficent force" and "impartially friendly" to all, it allies itself with all manner of deception, and is the grand disturber of social harmony. Dr. Sturtevant says no one can by any possibility escape from competition; on the contrary, it is wholly conceivable that societies should entirely dispense with its "beneficent" aid. Indeed there are already some forms from which it is substantially excluded. The entire scheme of the Gospel, as well as of every benevolent institution, is based on the idea that competition may be interfered with most beneficently. If Dr. Sturtevant is right, then all the talk we find in the New Testament about dealing liberally with the poor, and all the efforts of modern times to shorten the hours of labor, to raise its wages, and to improve the condition of workingmen generally, are sadly wrong. Owen's labors at New Lanark and his efforts in behalf of the factory operatives of England and other countries were vain if not criminal. The true way was to let them take care of themselves under the "beneficent" law of competition. A man who pays one dollar for labor which he might obtain for eighty cents, instead of doing a praiseworthy act, does a censurable one, for he thereby intensifies the action of the "beneficent" law. If it were really beneficent what would be the harm; but does it intensify competition? If it intensifies it at one point, does it not lessen it correspondingly at another? If, for instance, there is a surplus of agricultural laborers in a State, so that competition is sharp among them, and railroads offer wages that draw off a part of these laborers and make competition keen for positions on the railroads, is there any general increase of competition? Is it not rather transferred from one point to another? Scattered over the country are many manufacturers and capitalists who have not only paid their workmen higher wages than they would have been obliged to under the strict law of competition, but who have otherwise improved their conditions, supplying them with libraries, lectures, and other means of culture, erecting for them comfortable houses, caring for them in sickness and misfortune; and these have seemed to most men to be true benefactors of the laborers; but our Reverend Doctor says: "No; the very best thing which employers can do for every grade is to leave the rate of wages for all labor to be determined by open competition. Any one who interferes with this principle does not act the part of a true friend of the rights of the laborer." A more comfortable doctrine for the rich and for the purely selfish we can not imagine; or a doctrine more at variance with the precepts and spirit of the Gospel and with the higher instincts of humanity.

WHAT HAS THE GRANGE DONE?

In general these things:

It has saved money.

It has formed a bond of union among farmers.

It has led the way to the formation of various business organizations.

It has broken up the isolation of the farm, and made centers of pleasant social life.

It has educated the farmers to parliamentary usages, and accustomed them to speak and act in public affairs.

It has incited thought on almost every important subject in which farmers are interested, civil, social, and professional.

It has made farmers more independent in every way, and given them higher notions of their own dignity and worth as men.

It has taught farmers, and not farmers only, but all

the people, particularly the party politicians, the power there is behind the plow.

It has broken our social shackles, our business shackles, and also our political shackles; helped farmers out of debt and taught them to stand by their friends and disregard the party whip.—*Patron's Helper*.

SOCIALISM IN ENGLAND.

HISTORICAL REMINISCENCES.

BY E. T. CRAIG.

XIII.

THE address Owen now published had considerable influence, as it dealt with the relations of machinery and labor, and told with great force against the prevailing views of the Malthusians as to surplus production and over-population. The working-classes now began to comprehend the aims of coöperation and association in connection with the land. The following passages indicate the scope of the address:

"Two years ago I left you in apparent prosperity; you then thought that war only could stop the progress of your success; you have remained at peace, and yet you have passed through a period of more distress than the oldest of you had previously experienced. * * * *"

"Your labor is the support of yourselves and families; all the wealth which you and the other classes consume is produced by it; and under the existing arrangement of society, you have to sell your labor as any other commodity is sold, and upon its merchantable value in the general market of commerce your prosperity or adversity depend. When it is of low value you are in poverty, and when it is in high estimation you are in comparative affluence.

"Machinery, after it has been introduced to a certain amount, comes in direct competition with your labor; and as machinery is extended through the various departments of production, the value must diminish; and hence is the sole cause of your pecuniary distress for some years past. The different causes which have been assigned for your distress were nothing more than the immediate mode by which superabundance produced the embarrassment. * * *"

"The new powers of production created in Great Britain and Ireland since the days of Adam Smith are now little, if any, short of the labor that could be obtained from 600 millions of active men, previous to that period; or, the working-classes of Great Britain and Ireland can now, aided by mechanical and chemical improvements, finish as much work of the kind to which their labor is directed as could be completed in the days of Adam Smith by *three times the manual labor of the world*. * * *"

"It is this power which is hourly encroaching on the value of your labor, that has thus far oppressed you by the facility it affords to over-production; while the existing organization of society has been formed solely to counteract the evils of under-production. * * *"

"Instead of selling yourselves to the public for money, by which your laborer receives the most useless and injurious direction, would it not be more rational to apply your physical and mental powers directly for your own use, in a fair exchange among yourselves, of value for value, or the amount of labor in one article against the same amount in another? * * *"

"I now request to ask our legislators and political economists how it has occurred that you should have received, in about half a century, no aid to your natural powers of production equal to the assistance of 600 millions of well-trained laborers, who tire not, who never refuse to work, who require neither food nor clothes, and yet that you should experience a dire necessity to extend the time of your daily labor just in proportion as these millions come to your assistance, from nine hours per day, of comparatively light and healthy occupation, to 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and, as I am told, in the manufacturing districts to 15, and sometimes to 16 hours per day, of severe and often unhealthy employment—and that you do not receive the same advantages in return for the 14 and 16 hours of hard labor per day that you really obtained for 9 hours of comparative easy labor, before the introduction of these enormous artificial powers?"

"I now require them to account for the additional productions of these 600 millions of laborers, who are now in full work, without requiring food, or clothing, or education, and to account for your present pecuniary condition, as well as for your very natural fears for the future. I also request them to inform you why measures have not been recommended, and adopted in practice, to produce the very reverse of these lamentable results? why, in proportion as these new powers were brought to your aid, your labor did not gradually diminish from 9 hours per day, to 8, to 7, to 6, to 5, to 4, and to 3? and why the three hours of labor per day should not now be of more value to you, as they might easily be made more productive, than the 9 hours were before the introduction of these enormous mechanical and chemical powers of production? * * *"

"It will be no answer to these questions to say, that 'your numbers have increased,' for you bring with you at birth the power to produce with ease far more than you consume;

and, therefore, under a right direction of these powers, an increase of your numbers ought to increase still more your surplus productions, and consequently require less daily labor from each of you."

These statements had a very marked influence on the intelligent portion of the working-classes. The doctrines involved for the social amelioration of the people appeared like a new sign and revelation in relation to the future of humanity. The zeal of the advocates of coöperation in those days was powerfully sustained by their lofty aims and the great social and educational results anticipated. It was the educational advantages to be derived from coöperation that first attracted my attention to the subject at this period. The story will require details that necessitate expositions of a personal character, and the interest of incidents related must be the apology for their record.

It is a striking historical fact, that there has been no systematic destruction of machinery since Mr. Owen addressed the working-classes on the possibility of applying it under coöperation to shorten the hours of labor, and increase the means of enjoyment and happiness. The Socialists became the advocates of a peaceful revolution by means of coöperation, to realize a change in the relations of labor, land and capital. The difficulties in their path were great, their progress sometimes slow and doubtful, but on the whole great and encouraging.

"VISIONS OF THE BEYOND."

EDITOR AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—I think your reviewer does not do justice to Mr. Herman Snow's little book—"Visions of the Beyond." He says it "is one of a large class of Spiritualistic works which have been published during the last ten or fifteen years, and which go over about the same ground, one after another with nothing in them new or specially worthy of attention to commend them to public notice. The book before us is merely a sentimental romance, setting forth the ineffable delights of the spirit-world in a way which is doubtless very seductive to weak women and credulous men. It is a place, according to these narratives, where, if every thing is not exactly as it should be, at the present moment, it is fast becoming so; and this world is, on the whole, but a poor, forlorn region in comparison."

This description seems to me hasty and inaccurate. There may be works to which it would well apply, but to my mind this volume is not one of them. I have read it with much interest and edification, even at the risk of being thought "credulous and sentimental." I do not agree with all its theology. But there is enough matter in it to suggest profitable thought, and to make one who wishes for a happy and true life in the hereafter stop and consider well whether the life he is living here is likely to issue in what he hopes for there. For if one of the lessons which the book teaches is that there is progression and change of character in the life beyond, another lesson which it enforces is that the spiritual world is a place of retribution—a place where we have to give an account of the deeds done, and the life lived, in the body. If the idea it gives of "the beyond" is any where near the truth, the poorest of ways to go there would be that suggested by your reviewer—"to hang oneself forthwith." For in one of the visions it is shown that "every suicidal act is in reality a mistake involving personal loss and retributory suffering."

Mr. Snow's book, however, is not all devoted to a record of phenomena from the other world. It has a quite lengthy Introduction in which the editor gives a sketch of his own history and connection with Spiritualism, and a very clear and sincere review of the Spiritualistic movement. Mr. Snow graduated from the Theological Department of Harvard University, in 1843 and for many years was actively engaged in the Christian ministry. In 1852 he began to look into the then novel claims of Spiritualism, and for the last twenty-five years has been an earnest and faithful student of the subject. He has come to look upon Spiritualism as the "great reform movement of the age." And to one who studies his introduction to the "Visions of the Beyond," and sees the honesty, modesty, clearness and force with which he writes, I think he presents himself as worthy of a courteous hearing. Allow me therefore to quote a few passages, which, it seems to me, convey important truth that could hardly be better said:

"To those who have paid much attention to the subject, it must be obvious that, in a movement like this, there must be apparent upon the surface of things tendencies of a greatly varied character. For how can it be otherwise? The world with which we are now in close and positive communication is made up of the usual varieties of character as seen here; it being constantly peopled, or colonized as it were, from our own earthly life. It is not the wise and the good alone that we send out from our midst over the river of

death, but also the foolish and the false, the selfish and the base; in short, every possible shade of character that our earth has ever borne upon its bosom. What we call death has only to do with the *modes* of existence; it does not, it *can not*, work a positive change in the real, inward character. Of this, such as have had much to do in the way of communicating with those who have just passed over to the other side have had abundant proof.

"CIRCLES: THEIR USES AND ABUSES."

"Here, then, we have it clearly before us: a telegraphic communication, so to speak, has been opened between the heterogeneous masses of the world beyond, and of the world in which we live. It is no arbitrary or partial arrangement by which this channel of intercourse is thus laid open; but, like all the action of natural law, it is freely accessible to all who are careful to comply with the required conditions, even as one would have to do in order to send a telegraphic communication on the earthly plane of action.

"Essential harmony of condition between all the parties concerned, visible and invisible, is one of the most important of these established laws of success in the new way of communication. Hence we may conclude that the moral atmosphere on the invisible side of a company, or circle, assembled for purposes of communion, is not in its immediate contact very much elevated above that of the company still in the mortal form.

"Now let us consider for a moment what the general tone, or actual spiritual condition, of the average of such circles is likely to be—that is, so far as our knowledge of human nature as it is, shall guide us. Do we find here such conditions as would naturally bring into a near presence invisible ones especially fitted to impart a high order of spiritual truths? Or should we not be led to expect that the prevailing influence would be from spirits still but little above our earthly plane of thought and feeling? And would not the instructions and sympathies of such spirits be too nearly in harmony with our own present condition to allow of our being very materially lifted up in our real inward selves by what we might thus receive from them?

"It is true, that in such cases, the mental and moral tone of the invisible is likely to be ever *somewhat* above that of the visible company. It is true also, that, by the action of inevitable spiritual law, a single aspiring breath from the assembled company will instantly reach a higher condition of spirit-life, and bring down to their aid a purer and nobler help.

"And so, with all their defects, these gathered circles for spirit communion are wisely adapted to the *gradual* enlightenment and elevation of the members. But, at the same time, to look upon them as in any sense the constituted oracles for the announcement of high moral truths, or for the unfoldment of the principles of advanced wisdom, is something, of which the natural result must be disappointment."

* * * * *

"SOME DARK SHADES IN SPIRITUALISM."

"Thus far I have made use of the term 'Spiritualism' as applying to all phases of the general movement. If, however, I had adhered closely to existing distinctions in my own mind, I should have applied the word 'Spiritism' to most of what has already been given. For Spiritualism, in its broadest, truest sense, is something reaching far beyond the mere methods and results of a personal communication with spirits, however important these may be in their place. The true *Spiritualism* relates mainly to the growth of the higher, spiritual life of the individual, and, through the individual, the higher growth and perfection of the race. It reaches to the very center of man's religious nature; and, with its powerful appeals and sacred sanctions, lifts him steadily up, and out of the sensual and selfish, into the purity, the wisdom, and unbounded beneficence of the higher angelic life.

"But that which I have just now, for the time being, called Spiritism, in its ordinary influence upon the individual, seems not *necessarily* to have any direct and successful action toward the higher spiritual life. And yet many, very many, to whom the new truth has come, seem contented ever to remain in the region of material wonders, of personal tests and spirit-communications. It is indeed sad to think how much of the so-called Spiritualism of to-day rises no higher than this.

"But surely something more *must come*, or the great end of the newly-opened highway between the earthly and the spirit kingdoms will never be reached. Clearly the great want, in the present stage of the general movement, is that Spiritualism itself should be spiritualized; or in other words, that, from being Spiritualism in name, it should become Spiritualism in reality.

"Is this rebuke gratuitous and wholly uncalled for? Why, then, is it, that, in so large a proportion of instances, an almost wholly selfish use is made of the new discovery? Why the great call for 'business mediums,' and the efforts through them to find out the value of stocks and the location of mines, rather than the value of a noble character, the location of the personal weaknesses and evils in the way of it, and the true methods of their cure? Why, in short, amid the throngs of those who visit mediums, are there not more who seek for wisdom to do good to humanity, rather than

for that knowledge which will subserve only personal and selfish ends?

"And what of the mediums themselves? Is a pure and elevated character the usual result of so close a relation to the unseen world? True, there are noble instances of this kind; but is it not equally true that there are many cases of a decidedly opposite character? If we have, as is certainly the case, faithful and aspiring ones in this class, is it not notoriously true also that there are many in the mediumistic ranks whose present tendencies seem to be downward, rather than upward, in the scale of true nobility of character? Have we not our 'fast' mediums, who, though they gather largely from the use of their gifts, are also strongly prone to scatter largely in the usual dissipations and frivolities of the earthly life? Have we not our mercenary mediums, whose excessive charges debar all but the wealthy from the benefits of a right use of their gifts? And have we not likewise our fraudulent mediums, whose sad lack of moral integrity readily allows of a large mingling of the false with the true in what they give?

"Queries like these are aimed at a state of things actually existing within the ranks of Spiritualism, of a line so dark as to almost lead one to the conclusion that a permanent downward tendency is impending over the movement. But it must be clear, however, to a deep and thoughtful view of the subject, that this seeming degeneracy is far more apparent than real, it being but the natural if not necessary result of existing abuses which are by no means exceptional in the world's general history. For all great movements, especially those of a religious tendency, have passed through similar abuses and similar temporary phases of degeneration. These have come as the natural rebound of the very ignorance and degradation to be removed.

"What need have we of a more perfect illustration of this than is found in the early history of the Christian religion itself? Its conflict with the perversions and falsities of the age in which was its first advent resulted in a long-continued degeneracy, even down to the dark ages of the world's history, there to accumulate the grossest abuses of both doctrine and practice, from which its deliverance is by no means yet fully accomplished: it had to go through with all this before it could, in any reasonable degree, do its higher work in the world. And where but in the Christian records, is there to be found a better illustration of the natural vocation of mercenary adherents, false prophets, and fraudulent wonder-workers?

"The truth is, that, in the present imperfect growth of earthly affairs, nothing of real value is without its adulterations and counterfeits: why, then, should we expect this of Spiritualism?"

It strikes me that such passages as these, to say nothing of many more which I might quote, do have in them that which is sufficiently "worthy of attention to commend the book to public notice."

If we turn now to the mediumistic part of the book, we find the same clearness of presentation, and the same freedom from pretension, which characterize Mr. Snow's Introduction. There is no claim of infallibility. The revelations are simply called "Symbolic Teachings." The medium, Mrs. Loucks, is a clairvoyant. While in a trance condition, she described the scenes which were presented to her inner eye, under the management of a band of spirits. Notes of what she told were written out by Mr. Snow. These notes were reviewed and corrected by the leader of the spirit-band, through the medium. They were collected and published in this book under spirit-direction. At these séances, Mr. Snow says that he had not the least foreshadowing of what was to open before them; and he has reason to believe that the seer was equally unconscious of what was coming, until in due time the first unfoldings of the vision came up before her. "I will not," he says, "now attempt the very difficult investigation as to how far these visions were objective and present realities to the seer—I mean to her spirit-vision—and how far they were subjective presentations of instructive truths imparted through psychological law. * * * Certainly there were instances in which it seemed that the seer *must have been* in open and present vision with the scenes she described. At some other times it appeared even as if the vision had been prepared in advance by the controlling influence, much as a painting or panorama with us, and then psychologically imparted through the mental capacities of the seer. Let each reader judge for himself upon this as upon other points of the investigation."

The "Visions" themselves, as we have said, teach that there is opportunity for progress, for repentance and change of character in the Hadean world, and also that retribution is sure. There are no heavens there for the selfish, the sensual and the impure. If there is a germ in such which can be reached and energized by the spiritual influences of goodness, love and truth, those influences may in the end lead them out of their corrupt condition, through retributive discipline and judgment, into a higher life and an ever-improving ca-

reer. But if we would find a heaven or an elysium in the spirit-world, upon our entrance there, we must begin by living a heavenly life here and doing whatever we can to make a heaven of this world. The would-be great ones of this world are the small ones and the unenvied over there. The meek and the lowly, the tender and the loving here, are the happy and the rich ones in the great Beyond. A book, or a Spiritualism, which teaches this is certainly not worthless, though it leaves the doctrine of total depravity and the fate of the incorrigibly wicked unsettled questions.

THEO. L. PRIT.

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1877.

THE article on our first page, "Communism Conserves Property," will be found to fully demonstrate that Communism is not necessarily destructive of property or the rights of property; and that its true advocates only seek to introduce new and improved laws and arrangements regarding the holding and distribution of property. The same teaching is in our reply to Ruskin which will be found below.

THE review of "Visions of the Beyond" in the SOCIALIST of last week was written by one not inclined to look favorably upon the claims of Modern Spiritualism, and was perhaps too caustic. That which appears in the present No. is more charitable in its comments, and on the whole suits us better.

AN ENGLISH FOG.

MR. RUSKIN, as our readers know, has been lending the favor of his approbation and material aid to a certain kind of Coöperation and even to Communism. Exactly what his Socialistic schemes are, we have not understood hitherto, either for want of definition on his part or attention on ours. A late number of a little monthly called *The Socialist*, which started a few months ago in Sheffield (Mr. Ruskin's special field of labor), prints a letter from him which gives us some new insight—not much, but enough to deserve notice. He says:

"Let me earnestly beg of you not to confuse the discussion of the principles of Property in Earth, Air or Water with the discussion of principles of Property in general. The things which, being our neighbor's, the Mosaic Law commands us not to covet, are by the most solemn Natural Laws indeed our neighbor's 'property'; and any attempts to communize these have always ended, and will always end in ruin and shame."

It strikes us that here is an obvious confusing of *coveting* with *communizing*. When the Mosaic Law commands us not to *covet* our neighbor's property, it does not forbid us to *buy* our neighbor's property, nor does it forbid our neighbor to *give* us his property; that is, it does not forbid the voluntary transfer of property from one to another either by sale or gift, but only the hankering after property not voluntarily transferred. In other words, it simply forbids *compulsory* Communism, which is perhaps as good a generic name for theft, robbery, and all the methods of overreaching which are common in ordinary commerce, as can be invented. But the voluntary holding of goods in common may properly be regarded as a mutual sale or barter so far as equivalent values are exchanged, and as a gift where no specific equivalent is asked. The Mosaic Law does not forbid this voluntary Communism, but encourages it in many ways, as might easily be shown; and it is simply a trick of confusion to talk about Communism and coveting our neighbor's goods in the same sentence, as though they had any connection.

It will be observed that the things which Mr. Ruskin sets apart as not proper to be communized are distinctly described as those which the Mosaic Law forbids to be coveted. Here is the list of those things given in connection with the tenth commandment:

Neighbor's wife,
His house,
His field,
His manservant,
His maidservant,
His ox,
His ass.

Now omitting for obvious reasons the first, fourth and fifth of these items, we may ask—Is it unlawful for us to buy or wish to buy a neighbor's house, or his field, or his ox, or his ass? or is it unlawful for us to give or receive such property gratis? and if not, is it still unlawful for us to hold with our neighbor an undivided ownership of a house or a field or an ox or an ass? and

if so, why? The present laws of civilized countries do not forbid such holding, but favor and protect it as though it were as good as any.

This enumeration of the kinds of property which Mr. Ruskin excludes from Communism has in it one item which apparently belongs to the other sort which he admits to Communism, *viz.*, our neighbor's *field*. He puts "Earth, Air and Water" on one side, to be discriminated from the property pointed out in the Mosaic command, and yet here is our "neighbor's *field*" (which, we take it, is a part of the Earth) treated just like his house or his ox or his ass—real estate and personal property are put in the same category; so that there seems to be no scriptural, if there is any rational, basis for the discrimination which Mr. Ruskin begs his Sheffield friend to give heed to. Moses himself confuses the earth with "property in general."

Says Mr. R.: "Any attempt to communize these [*viz.*, the kinds of property mentioned by Moses—house, field, ox, ass, etc.] have always ended, and will always end in ruin and shame." This is truly sweeping. We ask for specifications. We have not so read history. Leaving out of account the common legal holding of undivided property, as not being Communism in the ordinary sense, we ask, first: Did the attempt of the apostles to communize personal property at Jerusalem end in ruin and shame? or secondly, Have the attempts of the Shakers, now going on beyond a hundred years, ended in ruin and shame?—or are they likely to? If these two cases can be brought under Mr. Ruskin's pronouncement, it will be enough; we will give it up that it will never do to attempt communizing any thing but Earth, Air and Water.

Immediately after this remarkable teaching Mr. Ruskin says:

"Do not attempt to learn from America. An Englishman has brains enough to discover for himself what is good for England; and should learn, when he is to be taught any thing, from his Fathers, not from his children."

To which the editor of the English *Socialist* (very properly, we think), responds in a note:

"The caution, in the second paragraph, appears to have been written without much consideration."

If there is any thing in what we have said that appears harsh or disrespectful to Mr. Ruskin, we wish in conclusion to balance it by acknowledging our great admiration of the independence and magnanimity with which he is laboring for Social progress. We have learned a great deal from him and expect to learn more.

J. H. N.

A NEW ORDER OF KNIGHTS-ERRANT.

THERE is antagonism between Labor and Capital: there is oppression on one side, and discontent and bitterness on the other; there are monopolies and exorbitant profits and high charges, which often reach the commonest things of life. Capital demands, and too often secures, fifty, yea a hundred per cent., and there are things which even the poorest must have from time to time upon which the profit reaches a very much higher figure. How can the evil be overcome? How can a satisfactory adjustment of the relations of Labor and Capital be effected? How can the poor be secured better opportunities and conditions in life? These are questions which now exercise the brains and hearts of multitudes, and every one should consider himself invited to aid in their solution. There is a practical suggestion which occurs to us, that may be of some value. Let the rich who really desire to help the poor, and don't know where to take hold, go to work in earnest to break down the monopolies that exist and that compel the poor to pay a great profit on the commonest things. You need not stop for the growth of a political party nor for any special legislation. You have only to find out where the greatest profits are made, or where monopolies exist, and produce the articles now in the hands of monopolists at low prices. They will perhaps attempt to crush you, but they can at best only compel you to manufacture at a small profit, and in doing this will have to reduce their prices materially, and this is the very object you have in view. What has been done in the case of the Turkish Bath may be done with reference to a thousand things. That was esteemed as a great luxury, out of the reach of the common people, and the charges were accordingly—ranging from one dollar upwards. A little capital, and a little purpose to give the common people the benefit of this agent of health and happiness, was all that was required to take it out of the hands of the so-called "upper classes." Baths for fifty cents are now flourishing in many places, and possibly will be brought ere long to a lower price. As another example, a single article of table-ware has been reduced

nearly fifty per cent. in price by the starting of a small factory with a few thousand dollars' capital. These simple illustrations show what great good might be accomplished by such an organization as the Young Men's Christian Association, if, along with its other labors in behalf of the common people, it should seek by peaceable methods to displace the monopolies that now put many necessary articles of use or consumption beyond the reach of their limited means. What could not a Vanderbilt accomplish? But we can not expect that men bent simply on the accumulation of riches will engage in such enterprises. They are the ones who create monopolies and exact exorbitant profits. But there are men who have wealth, and who yet have "bowels of mercy," and genuine desire to help the poor. Of these, let there be constituted an order of knights-errant, who will go through the land hunting up articles for which the poor pay double price, and who will be shrewd in devising means for striking off excessive profits as the knight-errants of old chivalric days struck down the oppressors of the weak and unprotected. To accomplish this, the knights-errant of today need only stand ready to use their money, not their swords, and take advantage of the common avenues of trade. Very likely in many cases they would meet with a better reward than the successful knights of old; and at all events will have the sweet consciousness of not having wrought in vain.

WHAT THE OLD SOLDIERS SAY.

HERE is Horace Greeley's final judgment on the Religious question:

"That there have been—nay, are—decided successes in practical Socialism, is undeniable; but they all have that Communistic basis which seems to me irrational and calculated to prove fatal. * * *

"I can easily account for the failure of Communism at New Harmony, and in several other experiments; I can not so easily account for its successes. Yet the fact stares us in the face that, while hundreds of banks and factories, and thousands of mercantile concerns, managed by shrewd, strong men, have gone into bankruptcy and perished, Shaker Communities, established more than sixty years ago, upon a basis of little property and less worldly wisdom, are living and prosperous today. And their experience has been imitated by the German Communities at Economy, Zoar, the Society of Ebenezer, etc., etc. Theory, however plausible, must respect the facts. * * *

"Religion often makes practicable that which were else impossible, and divine love triumphs where human science is baffled. Thus I interpret the past successes and failures of Socialism.

"With a firm and deep religious basis, any Socialistic scheme may succeed, though vicious in organization and at war with human nature, as I deem Shaker Communism and the antagonist or 'Free Love' Community of Perfectionists at Oneida. Without a basis of religious sympathy and religious aspiration, it will always be difficult, though I judge not impossible."

—*Recollections of a Busy Life.*

Also Charles A. Dana, in old times a Fourierist and withal a Brook Farmer, now chief of *The New York Sun*, says in an editorial on the Brocton Association (May 1, 1869):

"Communities based upon peculiar religious views have generally succeeded. The Shakers and the Oneida Community are conspicuous illustrations of this fact; while the failure of the various attempts made by the disciples of Fourier, Owen, and others, who have not had the support of religious fanaticism, proves that without this great force the most brilliant social theories are of little avail."

CHEAP LIVING.

REDUCING the cost of food or other necessaries is equivalent to raising wages, and has this additional advantage that it helps the poor to help themselves, and so far makes them independent of their employers. Such philanthropic effort as prompted the publication and free distribution of Mrs. Corson's pamphlet, telling how six persons—father and mother and four children—can supply themselves with food for fifteen cents a meal, are worthy of special encouragement. The information Miss Corson's pamphlet contains is needed by very many persons at the present time. Her weekly bill-of-fare, which we cut from the *World*, affords considerable variety, it will be noticed, even at her low figures. Unfortunately it makes no mention of Tuesday, but that is undoubtedly the fault of the *World's* reporter or printer:

"Monday there is boiled rice and milk for breakfast,

corned beef and cabbage for dinner, and peas boiled in stock for supper. That day's food costs 35 cents. Wednesday there is toasted bread and scalded milk for breakfast, stewed tripe for dinner, and polenta for supper. Thursday, rice panada for breakfast, salt *pot-au-feu* for dinner, and lentils stewed in stock for supper. Friday, broth and bread for breakfast, mutton and turnips for dinner, and barley boiled in broth for supper. Saturday, mutton broth and bread for breakfast, beef and potatoes for dinner, and beans boiled in broth for supper. Sunday's fare costs 61 cents, and includes breakfast of cocoa, bread and fried lentils, dinner of bean broth, haslet stew and suet roly-poly pudding, and supper of cheese pudding. For the week that makes a total expense of \$2.53, and leaves a balance on my estimate of 62 cents for extra bread, milk and butter."

There is, we learn, a general downward tendency in hotel and restaurant prices in the cities; and George Francis Train, the workingman's friend, claims to have found a place in New York where he "dines sumptuously" on five cents. This is what he says in a letter to the *Sun*:

"To-day I dined at 413 Grand-street, sumptuously, everything good quality (my landlord being a college graduate), on this bill-of-fare:

Coffee.....	1c.	Oatmeal.....	1c.
Pumpkin pie.....	1c.	Baked beans.....	1c.
Bread.....	1c;		

Total..... 5c.

"Twice a day, ten cents, or \$36.50 a year, which is ample food for a laboring man! All would be healthier on this diet. In Asia they live on half this, or \$18. But this New York evolution is cheaper than any part of Europe. It discounts Miss Corson, ruins Delmonico, and will soon be popularized in every city in America. I know it pays ten per cent.

G. F. T."

It does not appear to us that either Miss Corson's bill-of-fare or G. F. T.'s would furnish "ample food for a laboring man," and we have no wish to see him reduced to the minimum; but such schemes may set the poor to studying out better ways of living on low wages until their conditions are otherwise improved.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Cambridge, Mass., Nov. 19, 1877.

EDITOR AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—The last number of the *SOCIALIST*, Nov. 15, had an article, as also a letter, from Mr. Charles Sears, which suggested the idea to me of sending to you for publication the inclosed copy of a letter which I received from him in May last, with the object of having it reach a larger number of educated minds in Socialism than it otherwise would. Its subject matter is such that I do not see any breach of decorum in making it public; but you can judge. I only regret that it did not occur to me before.

T. A. C.

{ *Silksville, Near Williamsburg,*
Kansas, May 22, 1877.

DEAR SIR:—M. de Boissiere refers to me your letter of inquiry, dated 12th inst., addressed to him or me. M. de Boissiere has made an endowment here to the extent of something over one hundred thousand dollars in land, buildings, plantations, etc., for the purpose of affording facilities to such as can make these available in industry. The conditions of guaranty of employment do not exist here at present, and I suppose can not exist until we have larger numbers of people, a widely-varied industry, and well-established methods and markets. The plan in operation here now is for each associate to pay rent for such property of the establishment as he uses, and to manage his own business for his own account, or to make such group combinations as he likes, similar to the "Independent Group" plan, as it was called, at Brook Farm and at the North American Phalanx. Each individual or group enjoys the advantages of combination for market either of purchase or sale, and of living at cost; the restaurant plan now in operation enabling each one to live according to his taste, within the limits imposed by location.

The leading industries for production are farming, including dairying and cheese-making, fruit-growing and silk-culture. We are adding from time to time to the stone-wall enclosures and to the buildings, also of stone, as demanded for use, and have need of repairs of agricultural implements; so that there is more or less employment for stone-masons, wood-workers and blacksmiths. The people in the country and in the towns about us live at much the same rate as people in the Eastern States; and if you could institute some branch of manufacture which would meet a public want, this is perhaps as good a field as any. I scarcely know what to suggest in this respect; you can judge for yourself better than I can for you. You might engage in silk-culture, but in this business, like that of

ordinary farming, your times of sale would be a year apart.

In dairy-farming for the cheese-factory, your market will be daily, and pay monthly, for about half the year. A dairyman can provide for and milk about twenty cows, and the products will run from \$10 to \$25 per cow for the season. I would say, however, that some branch of manufacture, particularly one which will provide winter employment, has most of promise.

Respectfully yours,

CHAS. SEARS.

Vineland, N. J., Nov., 1877.

DEAR SOCIALIST:—I rise to say a word for Robert Owen. He is deservedly coming to the front, and will be better appreciated and known in the future than in the past. Such reminiscences as are brought out by Mr. Craig show him to be an earnest man with the good of his fellows at heart, laboring persistently with vigor and zeal for his idea, which in many instances he backed up with solid cash. I consider his position really sublime, when, baffled and confronted by high and great, with the knock-down argument that he was ahead of his time, the world was not ready—not prepared—he said with emphasis, "*Then I will go and prepare the world.*"

That is the high calling of every reformer to-day—to prepare the world; and that seems to be the mission of the *SOCIALIST*, whose work also will surely become better understood and appreciated. By publishing the recollections of the "old guard," and the utterances of the enthusiastic workers of thirty-five years ago—like Channing, Ripley, Dana, Godwin and others, whose hearts were then aglow with fervent zeal for God and humanity, you are helping on the tidal wave of Socialism, which must roll over the land and inundate and destroy selfishness and sin, and bring in the good time coming.

M. L. W.

WHITTIER.

WE received with the December No. of the *Atlantic Monthly* a life-size crayon portrait of the poet WHITTIER. It is furnished to the subscribers of that magazine for one dollar, and makes a companion to the portraits of Bryant and Longfellow, furnished in the same manner in the two preceding Decembers. The face is remarkable for its expression of benignity and transparent goodness, while a fire-flashing eye and lines of strength are not less observable. His seventieth birthday will occur before the close of this year. Accompanying the picture is a sheet containing some interesting particulars of his life and character, and one of his finest poems, "My Birthday," written for the *Atlantic* six years ago.

His genius is rated very high: he is called the Burns of America—comparing with the Scotch Bard in the simplicity of his language, in his scottish descriptions of lowly life and humble scenes, and in his generous appeals to all that is noble in the heart of man. But what is the highest praise, his genius does not seem to have preyed upon his being and made him morbid or erratic. One friend says, "Whittier, in his own pure, sweet, beautiful life, is far grander than in his writings. His life is his best poem. The man is far nobler than the poet." And another writer says, "Mr. Whittier's life has been more beautiful and true than any poem that ever flowed from his inspired pen, and fully justifies the warm eulogium contained in the closing lines of a tribute to his life and character from the pen of his devoted friend, the late Phoebe Cary:—

'But not thy strains with courage rife,
Nor holiest hymns, shall rank above
The rhythmic beauty of thy life,
'Tself a canticle of love.'

He was reared, like Burns, at the plough-handle, with no other education than what he obtained in the roadside school-house and old-fashioned academy. He is described as extremely modest, the success of his effusions always giving him surprise. It was not till the appearance of "Snow Bound" that he began to realize much from his productions, though he himself considered that a "very indifferent bit of versification" and its sudden popularity unaccountable. Mr. Charles H. Brainard, who made him a visit soon after its publication, tells this story:

"I found his house newly painted and improved, whereupon I said to him, 'It is evident that poetry has ceased to be a drug in the market.' The next morning Mr. Whittier's answer came. It was in the winter, and as the poet went up to the fire to warm his boots preparatory to putting them on, he said: 'Thee will have to excuse me, for I must go down to the office of the collector.' Then, with a humorous gleam in his eye, he added: 'Since 'Snow-Bound' was published, I have risen to the dignity of an income tax.'"

But Whittier was never very poor, because, we are told, his wants were small, and because, with the frugality and conscientiousness characteristic of Quakers everywhere, his outgoes never exceeded his income. Here is praise again which does not always attach to the genus poetical.

The following description of his habit as an author shows what a genuine "gift" he has, as the Quakers would say:

"Usually it is not long after he conceives a poetical idea before he has it reduced to writing. He writes only when the mood seizes him, and then he writes as if fired with inspiration, losing all consciousness of time and things, going out of himself as it were, and becoming part and parcel of his subject. His first draft suffers little subsequent alteration, and the various editions of his works represent little or no time spent in revision. A thought seizes him: he does not mature it by slow processes and an infinite number of incidental thoughts and mental finishing touches; he deliberately seats himself at his plain little writing-table, and at once puts it upon paper. May be it is a poem of four or five short stanzas he will write: he does not strain after his ideas or expressions; they tranquilly come to him as fast as he needs them, and he writes them down. He may scratch a half line here and there, and begin again; he may substitute one word for another that does not mean enough; but there is no struggle, no nervous fidgeting about with the legs; no biting the top of his pen-handle in mental agony; no waiting for the sluggish current of thought to bear along on its surface the right idea."

The spirit of "My Birthday" is as refreshing as the rhythm is pleasing. There is no sentimental weariness of life in it. The poet would keep the "heart of youth" going "down the slopes of sunset" e'en as "up the hills of morn." Who does not hope he will do so and sing his songs to a summer's lengthened day? [H.

MY BIRTHDAY.

J. G. WHITTIER.

Beneath the moonlight and the snow
Lies dead my latest year;
The winter winds are wailing low
Its dirges in my ear.

I grieve not with the moaning wind
As if a loss befell;
Before me, even as behind,
God is, and all is well!

His light shines on me from above,
His low voice speaks within—
The patience of immortal love
Outwearying mortal sin.

Not mindless of the growing years,
Of care and loss and pain,
My eyes are wet with thankful tears
For blessings which remain.

If dim the gold of life has grown,
I will not count it dross,
Nor turn from treasures still my own
To sigh for lack and loss.

The years no charm from nature take;
As sweet her voices call,
As beautiful her mornings break,
As fair her evenings fall.

Love watches o'er my quiet ways,
Kind voices speak my name,
And lips that find it hard to praise
Are slow, at least, to blame.

How softly ebb the tides of will!
How fields, once lost or won,
Now lie behind me green and still
Beneath a level sun!

How hushed the hiss of party hate,
The clamor of the throng!
How old, harsh voices of debate
Flow into rhythmic song!

Methinks the spirit's temper grows
Too soft in this still air,
Somewhat the restful heart foregoes
Of needed watch and prayer.

The bark by tempest vainly tossed
May founder in the calm,
And he who braved the polar frost
Faint by the isles of balm.

Better than self-indulgent years
The outflung heart of youth;
Than pleasant songs in idle ears
The tumult of the truth.

Rest for the weary hands is good,
And love of hearts that pine,
But let the manly habitude
Of upright souls be mine.

Let winds that blow from heaven refresh,
Dear Lord the languid air;
And let the weakness or the flesh
Thy strength of spirit share.

And, if my eyes must fail of light,
The ear forget to hear,
Make clearer still the spirit's sight,
More fine the inward ear!

Be near me in my hours of need
To soothe, or cheer, or warn,
And down these slopes of sunset lead,
As up the hills of morn!

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE

SIXTY YEARS OLD.

Washington, Monday, Jan. 1, 1816.

I wish you all a happy new year. Have just returned from the President's levee; and a merry time it was; plenty of the best wine, punch and sweetmeats, and a great crowd to dispose of them. This was a drawing-room levee, and that means that the company were all on a level and at perfect ease. It lasted from eleven till two o'clock; and in the course of that time some four hundred persons appeared, made their bows and courtesies to Mr. and Mrs. Madison, passed the compliments of the season, mixed with the crowd, refreshed themselves at the side-board and retired. With the good cheer and lively bustle the company could not but be good-natured and sociable. Senators, Representatives, foreign Ministers and Consuls, officers of the Government (of which the city is full), of the Army and Navy, and every body else who think themselves gentry, many ladies among the rest, all mixed and crowded together. I got through it very well without small-clothes.

* * * Jan. 5. It began to snow at sunrise this morning, and continued till dark; depth about five inches. The Potomac is frozen nearly across, but the ice is very thin.

* * * Friday evening. Congress has adjourned to Monday.

Jan. 7, (Sunday). * * * Multitudes of boys (some pretty large ones) are out skating on the ice to-day. Sabbath is not much regarded by the citizens.

Mr. Glendie, the chaplain of the Senate, preached in our Hall to-day. Mr. Madison and Mr. Monroe were present.

Jan. 8. * * * John Randolph and Wm. Pinckney took their seats to-day. They may be considered the champions of the two political parties. Pinckney is a very portly man. Randolph is diminutive in every feature except the eye, which is large, piercing, black as jet, and of an Indian cast. By the way, he is said to be descended from the famous Pochahontas.

Jan. 9. * * * John Randolph made a speech to-day. He was wild, eccentric and amusing—perfectly collected and very energetic in his manner. He is an extraordinary man, and one may well wonder that a man who can speak so well, can speak no better. His fault is a want of that connection in his ideas and propositions which would give them a clear bearing on some particular subject.

Jan. 11. * * * The House for several days has had under consideration the "Budget" of taxes, imposts, etc. Randolph swings his whip and lashes right on to the sores of the Democrats most unmercifully.

Jan. 22. * * * Bills for raising money are before the house. They cause a great deal of debate. On the Previous Question Mr. Gaston made the best speech I ever heard—correct, full of argument, elegant and eloquent.

Jan. 31. * * * Yesterday they started a fox, that is, let one go, in the vicinity of our Hall. He started at eleven o'clock; gentlemen and their hounds started at twelve. Hundreds of gentlemen on horseback, with negroes and boys on foot, were seen riding and running in all directions. The fox was rather dull, and was taken by the hounds in about an hour and a-half. You would have laughed at the scene, and especially to see what spirit gentlemen shewed on the occasion, and to hear them on their return recounting their exploits in the hunting phrases.

NOVEMBER GLEANINGS.

I.

—“Gather
So much as from occasion you may glean.”

—Shakespeare.

MANY glibly applaud the witcheries of spring-time, the fullness of verdure in June, the gorgeousness of July and August, the placid, mellow beauty of September and October, and are then silent, thinking, doubtless, that they are well proved to be Nature's truest lovers. But to them Nature yearly dies with the falling leaf. For autumn's faded months they have no words, unless it be such as these:

“No warmth, no cheerfulness, no healthful ease,
No comfortable feel in any member,—
No shade, no shine, no butterflies, no bees,
No fruits, no flowers, no leaves, no birds,—
November!”

Ah, no: such are not Nature's faithfulest worshipers. Those bear for her a love as all-enduring as that the humble Silvius rendered to his dear one, when he said,

“So holy and so perfect is my love,
That I shall think it a most plenteous crop
To glean the broken ears after the man
That the full harvest reaps: loose now and then
A scatter'd smile, and that I'll live upon.”

To one whose love is even thus perfect, the broken beauties and scattered smiles of November yield a harvest full of refreshing and of charm.

There are the trees and shrubs. Think you that all their loveliness has fled with the winds, which, little by little, have stripped them of their rich array of leaves?

* “As You Like It.” Act. 3, Scene 5.

Nay, with many the beauty in form and coloring of bole and bark, of twig and bud, is but now revealed. An English lady traveling in the Orient, and allowed to frequent the Sultan's Turkish Baths, saw there the voluptuous beauties of the harem, now decked in costly, bright-hued robes, now nude as marble statues, chatting the while with her and one another as freely as little children. She made this note, that at these different times she ranged their comparative beauties very differently. Their lovely forms all bare to her gaze she found that she marked not the beauty of the face especially, but rather the grace and contour of the whole figure. Something like this I note in trees. Clad in summer in green of many shades, or in autumn decked in gold, or scarlet, or russet, my eyes are all admiration for the shape and color of the tree-top. But now, when their shade is no longer all-grateful to me, and I covet every bit of sunshine which struggles through their branches, my eyes take eager note of the outline of the trunk and branches, the color and markings of their bark, and the shape and setting of their buds.

Like the naked beauties in the bath, the trees disrobed take very different rank in beauty. The elm, who queens it the summer through, now shows a lank, enormous length of trunk covered with rough bark, and a head of awkward, straggling branches, which does not attract the eye; while many a tree, before thought insignificant, now shows a symmetry in the form and setting of branch and twig, and such delicate shadings and markings on the bark, as to make them worthy of highest praise and closest study. Sometimes two trees standing side by side will appear equally beautiful when clothed in leaves, while disrobed their beauty will bear no comparison. I know a bit of rising ground where stand a hard and soft maple which admirably illustrate this. The soft maple has a straight, perfectly rounded and tapering trunk covered with a smooth bark of lovely stone-gray, ornamented here and there with oblong patches of various sizes, colored a light drab—a combination of hues that is indescribably restful to the eye. At the subdivision of its trunk the limbs start forth with a graceful precision carried out even to the setting of the twigs and buds. Not so with its neighbor, whose branches, twigs and buds are arranged without regard to grace or symmetry, while its trunk and larger limbs are covered with dun-colored bark, deeply cracked and blotched.

The wild red and black cherry and the cherry-birch are attractive trees in my eyes at this time of year. The birch has somewhat the advantage, however, as its sweet-aromatic bark is pleasant to my palate. The bark of all three, however, looks somewhat alike (a reddish-brown flecked with white dots), so I am not always sure which is which. A taste quickly ends all questioning. The wild cherry bark is as bitter as quassia, and one does not choose to suck its juicy long. When I am thus caught, I am reminded of Jack Rawlins, who courted one of a pair of twin-sisters, that looked so nearly alike their own mother hardly told them apart. He used to say before he was married, that when he went to their house he could never tell which was “his girl,” unless he ventured upon the familiarity of a lover's kiss. There was no mistaking then, for “'t'other one had a beau of her own.”

A. E. H.

Nov. 10, 1877.

REVIEW NOTES.

FOURTEEN WEEKS IN ZOOLOGY, by J. Donnan Steele, Ph. D., F. G. S., pp. 308. New York, A. S. Barnes & Co.

THIS is the seventh of a series by the same author, which includes Physiology, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy and Geology, and is an excellent introduction to a course of Zoological study. The book is profusely illustrated, as the author believes that the description of an unfamiliar animal without a cut is useless. The engravings are made proportionate to the size of the animal represented, and this proportion is given under each cut, thus enabling the student to estimate with very little trouble the approximate dimensions of the object under consideration. We have never seen a work on Zoology in which such an amount of available information about so large a part of the animal kingdom is condensed into so small a space as in this book; and though the treatment of each subject must necessarily be brief, it is such as to beget in the reader or student a desire for more extended inquiry. The illustrations stimulate interest, and numerous footnotes, containing anecdotes, curious facts, explanations, etc., relieve the more strictly scientific matter of the text. The book would be a pleasant addition to the

children's library of every family, and is not unworthy the attention of the more mature reader.

DR. STANFORD E. CHAILLÉ's Centennial Address on the “Origin and Progress of Medical Jurisprudence,” which was read last year before the International Medical Congress, has been reprinted in pamphlet form, from the report of the transactions of that body. It is a strong and conclusive plea for the introduction of more accurate scientific knowledge into the medical jurisprudence of our country. It is estimated that our courts require medical evidence in at least twenty thousand cases annually, and this is often furnished by totally incompetent persons, though not unfrequently the tenure of large interests and even of human lives depends upon the technical knowledge of the witness. Dr. Chaillé thinks, and with reason, that our coroners should be legal and medical experts and should serve for long terms, instead of being elected to office, as is so often the case, by the popular vote, for a short period, and from among a class of men who are mere politicians, with no practical knowledge of either law or medicine. If none but thoroughly qualified persons were allowed to fill such places, it would not be long before every college in the country would have its professorship of medical jurisprudence, and the benefits to society from having certainty in many medico-legal cases, where we have now only guess-work, would be very great.—The pamphlet can be had of A. Brentano, Jr., 39 Union Square, New York.

THE MAGAZINES.

THE noteworthy paper in the *Eclectic* for December is the one copied from a late No. of the *Nineteenth Century*, entitled “A Modern Symposium,” consisting of criticisms of the Positivist theories of Mr. Frederick Harrison in regard to the future of the Soul, by Lord Selbourne, Canon Barry, W. R. Grey, Rev. Baldwin Brown, Dr. W. G. Ward, with a rejoinder by Mr. Harrison. The old orthodox idea that the future life of the redeemed is to consist in standing round the throne clothed in long white garments, and singing psalms, is rather rudely treated by Mr. Harrison, who maintains that if the soul has any existence at all after death it will be not as an individual, but as a part of a Great Entity, composed of a sort of condensation of all the soul material in the universe. The best reply to this is that by the Rev. Baldwin Brown, from which we will extract the kernel: “What then means this restless longing in man for that which lies beyond the range of his visible world? Has Nature wantonly and cruelly made man, her masterpiece, alone of all the creatures restless and sad? Of all beings in the creation must he alone be made wretched by an unattainable longing, by futile dreams of a visionary world? This were an utter breach of the method of Nature in all her operations. It is impossible to believe that the harmony that runs through all her spheres fails and falls into discord in man. The very order of nature presses us to the conviction that this insatiable longing which somehow she generates and sustains in man, and which is unquestionably the largest feature of his life, is not visionary and futile, but profoundly significant; pointing with firm finger to the reality of that sphere of being to which she has taught him to lift his thoughts and aspirations, and in which he will find, unless the prophetic order of the creation has lied to him, the harmonious completeness of his life.” Other readable articles are on the “Moons of Mars;” “Meteorites and the Origin of Life,” “German Society Forty Years Since,” by Lady Duff Gordon, and an installment of Mrs. Oliphant's serial story, “Young Musgrave.” The portrait this month is that of De Lesseps, the French engineer, and is an excellent engraving.

THE December No. of the *Popular Science Monthly* prints Dr. Draper's lecture on evolution, which was delivered last month before the Unitarian Institute at Springfield, Mass., and which forms as good a condensed statement of the theory of evolution as we have seen. Prof. Elias Schneider demonstrates that the tidal phenomena are more largely due to the influence of centrifugal force than has hitherto been admitted, and a paper translated from the German of Dr. Paul Niemeyer, on “Open Air and Health,” argues that open air is the best tonic for all pulmonary diseases, and that cold air is not injurious to the most delicate lungs; that in fact consumption is a very easily managed disease if its cure be attempted in season, before vitality becomes too much exhausted, that this disease is more often the result of too much heat and impure air, than of exposure to cold, and that it is best always to sleep with your window open. Other articles are “Star, or Star Mist,” by Richard A. Proctor; “The Growth of the Steam Engine,” by Prof. R. H. Thurston; “Language and the

English Civil Service," by Prof. Alexander Bain, and a few pages of statistics regarding the Great Bengal Cyclone of 1876, showing it to have been the most destructive catastrophe of the kind of which we have any knowledge. We ought also to include Dr. Seeger's paper on the "Laryngoscope and Rhinoscope," which although perhaps more specially useful to the professional reader, gives some interesting details respecting the power and capacity of the human voice, together with the organs which produce it.

THE *Nineteenth Century* is able, but a little heavy, after the good old English style. In the November No. Mr. Gladstone takes issue with Mr. Lowe, on the subject of County Franchise; Archibald Forbes writes from personal observation of the Russians and Turks, finding some objectionable features in both, and also among the Bulgarians, whom he does not seem to love with his whole heart; Messrs. Lockyer and Hunter attempt to prove that, there is after all a scientific connection between sun spots and famines, which may be formulated thus: many sun spots, much rain; few or no sun spots, little rain; and the less rain, the more famine, especially in densely populated tropical countries; as Col. Chesney shows in his paper on Indian famines. Sir Erskine Perry relates an interview with Auguste Comte, and prints a letter from the philosopher, in which he claims that the Positive philosophy is "l'unique préservatif contre un sauvage Communisme vers lequel tend ouvertement la révolution occidentale commencée partout au quatorzième siècle;" Rev. J. Guinness Rogers contributes an article entitled, "The French Congress on Nonconformity;" E. D. J. Wilson discusses French Politics since the German War, and Mr. Froude furnishes the final chapter of his series on the "Life and Times of Thomas Becket." In our opinion, a poem here and there would add a certain juiciness to this somewhat solid periodical of 176 pages, but we do not doubt the ability of the *Nineteenth Century* to make its way without any such vanities; though the copious quotations from Wm. Morris's late volume, in Prof. Morley's review, would seem to indicate that this want is in a partial way, at least, acknowledged by the editors.

TRIBUTE TO DR. DALE.

THE following letter to Dr. Dale is not strictly Socialistic matter, but we are willing to oblige the gentlemen who forwarded it to us for publication; especially as they represent a theological Seminary in which the editor of this paper was once a student and to which he is much indebted. It is interesting as showing that a genuine appreciation is growing between the preachers and theologians of the United States and England:

DIVINITY SCHOOL OF YALE COLLEGE,
New Haven, Nov. 2d, 1877.

R. W. DALE, D. D.

Dear Sir:—We desire, as instructors in the Faculty of Theology, to express our hearty and unanimous thanks to you for the Course of Lectures this day completed. With what attention your Lectures on preaching have been listened to by the Students of the Divinity School and by the Clergymen who have crowded the Marquand Chapel, you are a witness. We can say that the attention has been well rewarded; and we trust that the ministry of the word of God in our American Churches will be the more efficient for your impressive communication of what you have learned in your own experience.

We are glad that the publication of your lectures, which has already been announced, will add another and not the least valuable to the series of volumes which have illustrated the wisdom of the liberality which founded the Lyman Beecher Lectureship.

Praying that your return from New England to Old England and from your brief association with us in our churches and our homes, to your own Congregation and to the bosom of your family may be prosperous, and that the days of your service in the Kingdom of Christ on earth may be many and blessed, We are,

Your brethren in Christ,
LEONARD BACON, GEORGE E. DAY,
SAMUEL HARRIS, JAMES M. HOPPIN,
GEORGE P. FISHER, TIMOTHY DWIGHT.

In the building up of his character, one main advantage the individual derives from association is this: the rough angularities of his nature are rubbed off; he no longer feels that every man's hand is against him, but that men identified in interest work together harmoniously for mutual benefit; and if thrown in antagonism with other classes, that antagonism is merely for self-protection and is not aggressive. Men isolated have the feeling of antagonism toward all, and the Grange, if it accomplishes nothing more, will have done a good work in creating and fostering the sentiment of Brotherhood among even one class of men; then will come afterward the sense of universal Brotherhood and the spirit of aggressive benevolence.

—Patron of Husbandry.

RECEIVED.

Gone on before, O'er the River of Time. Song and Chorus. Words and Music by P. A. Hudson. Published by F. W. Helmick, Cincinnati, O.
Origin and Progress of Medical Jurisprudence, 1776-1876. A Centennial Address by Stanford E. Chaillé, A. M., M. D. Philadelphia, 1876.
La Loi de Solidarité. Conférence faite à la Chambre du Travail. Par M. Paul Janson. Bruxelles: Bureaux de L'Economie Sociale.
Arm en Rijk of Het Geheim des Oorlogs. Antwerpen: H. Swinnen.

ITEMS OF NEWS.

HOME.

The Senatorial jail-bird flits from twig to twig.
Eighty per cent. of the Massachusetts convicts have no trades.

The New Yorkers will go under the River to Jersey by and by.

Gen. Garfield can talk money, in a way to "change votes," they say.

Texas is very much in earnest about protection from the Mexican thieves.

New York expects to have a new "daily"—freckled and saucy—price one cent.

There has been a sale of ancient armor in New York. A Scotch claymore brought \$35.

When Brown's wife grumbled at him, he said he didn't want any dry whines for dinner.

The Democrats think it was a nice little game, and the Republicans call it an outrageous bargain.

You are right, Mr. Morris. Do all you can to keep the vandals from spoiling the Yellowstone Park.

That Bland financier at Washington says, "Take our silver dollar—you may have to take repudiation."

There are three Noyes men among the newspaper publishers of New England, and yet it isn't a very noisy time.

A mob of medical students keep down free speech in New York by sprinkling red pepper when the Liberal Club meets.

Now you can see why the President was so serene, when those Senators cautioned him against appointing Democrats to office.

California makes about 8,000,000 gallons of wine a year; 6,000,000 of which come to New York and get sold as foreign dry wines.

The President will continue to take the initiative in making appointments. It is the Senate's right to discuss and reject.

Captain Tyson has been heard from at Cumberland Gulf, Sept. 29. He was about to go into winter quarters, at the head of the Gulf.

It has been shown by the records of the Senate that Mr. Sumner did not neglect his duties as chairman of Foreign Affairs Committee.

A Texan mob lately gave Dr. J. S. Russell, a prominent citizen of Bell county, a hundred lashes for being a free-thinker and an infidel.

Folks are waking up more and more to the idea that it is unjust to tax a piece of property twice, as you do if you tax a farm and then tax the mortgage on it.

The House has voted to repeal the Resumption act by 133 to 120. Twenty-nine Republicans in the affirmative, and twenty-eight Democrats in the negative.

There is a little busy volcano out in Nebraska, called the "Iona volcano." It will have to be "wet down" before this earthquake business can be stopped.

The story that nine couples have left the Pleasant Hill Shakers, of Kentucky, is all a "hum." Only one couple went away, and that wasn't much of a Shaker couple.

Geo. Francis Train says he dined sumptuously at 413 Grand-st., for five cents. Coffee 1 cent, Oatmeal 1 cent, Baked beans 1 cent, Bread 1 cent, Pumpkin pie 1 cent. Total, one nickel.

We are not likely to have an entirely free and unlimited coinage of silver. The Senate has crossed that item off the bill, and its advocates show signs of feeling that half a loaf isn't half enough.

Willoughby, Ohio, has had a pumpkin-pie "sociable." The committee of gentlemen who tasted of all the pies and decided which was best, doubtless felt the next day as if they had been pumpkin pizen.

Julius Kircher, a manufacturing chemist of New York city, burned the body of his deceased child in one of his furnaces to save the extra trouble of burying it. Bernhard Kolb, an undertaker, has complained of him.

The House invited Senator Sherman to say how much chink he had in the treasury, and he said the gold coin amounted to \$101,486,964; the gold and silver bullion, silver coin, etc., amounted to about \$34,000,000 additional, or a total of \$135,565,580.

The city of Pittsburgh don't mean to pay any of the damages caused by the rioters. The Grand Jury lays all the blame on the railroad, military and State officials, and has not one bad word for the mob. It has, however, indicted one hundred persons for participation in the riots.

Dr. Sturtevant, Professor of Political Economy in Illinois, College, and its former President, has written a book called *Economics, or The Science of Wealth*. It advocates a system of cooperation against systems of Socialism, claiming that workmen should be stockholders, but preserving the benefits of competition.

This is the way Longfellow begins his poem, "Keramos." It is the song of the potter at his work:

"Turn, turn, my wheel! Turn round and round
Without a pause, without a sound;
So spins the flying world away!
This clay, well mixed with marl and sand,
Follows the motion of my hand;
For some must follow and some command,
Though all are made of clay!"

It was the reading of Burns that convinced Whittier he could be a poet. Says he: "I read Burns every moment I had to spare; and this was one great result of my communion with him: I found that the things out of which poems came, were not, as I had always imagined, some-where away off in a world and life lying outside the edge of our New Hampshire sky; they were right here about my feet, and

among the people I knew. The common things of our common life, I found, were full of poetry. It was a new and perfect revelation."

The Republican supremacy in the Senate has "gone where the good niggers go." While Conkling and the rest have been hooking with the President and his Cabinet in respect to the appointments, the Democrats have been, we suppose, perfecting their arrangements to capture Patterson from South Carolina and Conover of Florida, and thereby give Butler a seat as Senator from the Palmetto State. This move of the Democrats gives them the power of seating Spofford, their contestant from Louisiana. The next session of the Senate may have new committees, and we shall then hear less of the terrible things Senator this and that is going to do in case he can not dictate to the President in regard to his appointments.

At the time of the strike there was an organization of Communists at Indianapolis who gave the authorities considerable trouble by clamoring for relief. The leader was a queer "fish" who called himself the Workingmen's Moses. A writer in the *Galaxy* describes him: "This leader's appearance was extraordinary in the extreme. A small, thin man sat beside me. His hair was of gravelly color, short and uncombed; his overhanging forehead almost obscured his little weasel eyes, while a hair-lip made his face rather repulsive. His skin was unwholesome; his finger-nails, unlike his hair, were long and in mourning because bereft of soap. Clothes he had none. The coat he wore was literally threadbare, his pantaloons—dingy with age—hardly hung together, while his toes peeped out from beneath the uppers of his soleless boots. This was the man whose sanguinary appeal for bread or blood, on the court-house steps were listened to with terror by a thousand citizens of Indianapolis, "and whose remarks were telegraphed throughout the length and breadth of the land." This is not savory. If we must follow anybody, please give us a sweet-scented Moses, and handsome.

FOREIGN.

Mr. Froude is going to write the life of Carlyle.

The Peruvians have had an election without the usual violence and bloodshed.

The new French Ministry says, "Let us drop politics awhile and attend to business."

The Fishery Commission which has been sitting in Halifax has awarded the Canadians \$5,500,000.

Mukhtar Pasha has said to the Russians, If you want Erzeroum you must take it, big as you are.

It is believed that England can't stand another defeat like that at Kars. She is beginning to get mad again.

Count Andrassy said to the Turks, Oh no, you don't want any intervention yet awhile; it would be inopportune.

Mark Pattison, the scholarly rector of Lincoln, says we read books to keep from being bored to death by our "uninteresting fellow mortals."

Kars has fallen, and now the bears think it a good time to jump on railway stock and bread-stuffs. Peace in Europe means cheap bread in America.

The French Deputies have said to the new Ministry, "We don't know you." Said so by a vote of 323 to 208. MacMahon is obstinate and has resolved to fight it out.

The University of Cambridge has made Mr. Darwin a D. C. L. Lady Grouty consoles herself by saying, "In six days God made heaven and earth, and then he made a monkey."

Mr. Goldwin Smith has called our attention to the fact that, with a few exceptions, the English sympathizers with Turkey are the same crowd that upheld the Southern Confederacy during the rebellion.

Father Cenci, an Italian priest, has disquieted the Vatican by suggesting that the Pope should be reconciled to the Italian Government and stop nagging Victor Emanuel. The Father has been suspended by the order of his General.

The cotton-masters of north and northeast Lancashire have come to an amicable arrangement with the Operatives Societies at Manchester, that wages shall be reduced 5 per cent. the second of January if times do not improve.

The Chinese became so disgusted with the Woosung Railway that they just bought it up and destroyed it, road bed and all. The English call that an unfriendly act. The Celestials have, however, proved themselves successful steamboat-managers, and in some cases they have ruined the foreign lines by competition.

MacMahon hasn't named a Republican Ministry yet. He has named one made up of Conservatives and Bonapartists, but not a Parliamentary one as it should be. Gambetta says if the President does not change his policy it will be the duty of the Deputies to save the country and refuse to vote the budget.

The Comte de Lally-Tollendal died recently in a London coal-cellar where a poor tailor allowed him to sleep. The great Lally-Tollendal, his ancestor, was of Irish blood and left England in the troubles of James II, and went to France. He had a leading place in the contest between the French and English for the possession of India. This Tally-Tollendal had lived on charity for some time, but was proud and self-respecting to the last.

Suleiman Pasha is making himself felt on the Lom in front of the Czarevitch's army, doubtless with the intention of relieving Plevna. He has been fighting the Russians at Pargos near Rustchuck, at which last place he is believed to have his headquarters. The engagement took place on Monday, the 19th, and resulted in the temporary occupation and burning of Pargos by the Turks. The Russian loss was no less than 1,300. Their capture of Rahova is confirmed.

We don't have to take back any thing about the capture of Kars. It was carried on the night of the 17th and 18th by a general assault of 18,000 Russians upon all its defenses. The battle begun at 8.30 in the evening by Gen. Lazaroff attacking Fort Hafiz Pasha. After carrying that very strong position he next assaulted the Kara-Dagh, of Black Mountain, which is the key of the whole system of defense. This he took in the early morning. The capture of the other forts was comparatively easy after that. The Turks are believed to have lost 5,000 killed and wounded and 10,000 prisoners. The Russian loss is not placed at less than 2,500 killed. The Russian General Count Grabbe was shot in his attack upon Fort Kanli.

Advertisements.

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