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DEVOTED TO THE ENLARGEMENT AND PERFECTION OF HOME.

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A CHANCE FOR COMMUNISM.

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

success of any such plan depends on the earnestness with which our readers themselves will advocate and make it known. Let us hear what is thought of it.

REQUISITES OF SUCCESS.

EDITOR SOCIALIST:—I have read with interest the communication of Mr. N. C. Meeker in the SOCIALIST of Nov. 22 on "Why Owen Failed." His suggestions are pertinent and forcible; but the subject of failure or success is so serious and practical a one, so many-sided, that it can profitably be studied from different points of view. There is one point in his communication, to which I am disposed to take exception. He says: "I take it, Brother Noyes, that the success of every Community depends entirely on good business management, or the exercise of first-rate common sense." Good business management is an excellent thing, a very essential thing in a Community enterprise; but is that alone sufficient to run a Community successfully? Mr. Owen undoubtedly had good business management, as his remarkable success at New Lanark abundantly attests, and so I presume had many of his associates at New Harmony; but the enterprise was a disastrous failure. My impression is that in many of the other social experiments in this country that ultimately failed there were not a few men of excellent business talent, but they were not able to prevent the social discord and discouragement produced by jarring interests and conflicting opinions, and that rendered their business talent nugatory. The faculty of agreement, of making social harmony, is quite as essential to success as good business management. The best business talent could do little with crotchety, unkempt men.

Mr. Meeker further says: "The Oneida people are wise, for they will not admit Tom, Dick and Harry, for Tom & Co. are not the right kind of men to enter a Community, no matter what their views." I heartily agree with him in this. It is not special views of any sort, but the "right kind of men" that makes a Community a success. Assuming this to be a correct induction, the question of success fairly resolves itself into the question of how to secure the right kind of men.

Taking the facts as we find them, it can not be denied that so far religion has had the best luck in this line. It is not wise to ignore or belittle this fact. The true way to treat it is to study it carefully with a view to ascertaining its significance and bearing on the general problem of success.

I would suggest that it is due principally to three causes:

1. "Religion," according to Webster, "is a recognition of God;" that is, it is a recognition of a higher interest and a higher control than that of the individual, in which all individual interests center, and by which they are cared for. The direct effect of this is to turn men's attention, and that too with a sincerity and directness that is hardly possible except in some such way, to promoting the public good, the higher interest, as the best means of subserving their own.

2. Religion, when intelligent and sincere, is a strong stimulus to personal improvement of the character; cultivating a higher life. This is especially true of the higher forms of Christianity. And it is to some special development of this idea, or rather to some special "revival" afflatus connected with it, that the religious Communities owe their origin. It was to lead a higher and truer Christian life that the "Perfectionists" gathered in Communities; and the same may be said substantially of the Shaker and other religious Communities.

3. The effect of earnest religion of this kind, more particularly where it is stimulated by "revival" influences, is to bring people nearer together, make them feel their substantial unity and common interest. It softens down sharp individualities, and promotes kindly feeling, mutual esteem, appreciation and regard.

Now is it not evident that these characteristics must be valuable auxiliaries to Socialistic success? They not only greatly facilitate integral organization and har-

monious action, but they give an earnestness of purpose and singleness of aim that will not be balked by ordinary difficulties. If Mr. Owen had been surrounded at New Harmony by men of this stamp, I doubt if even the "miasma of Wabash valley" could have been potent enough to have spoiled his experiment. Like the Harmonists, they would have gone elsewhere. Indeed, it is not unlikely that the integral character and working force of any social organization will be in proportion to the extent to which three elements, *viz.*, devotion to the public good, love of personal improvement, and mutual esteem and regard, are found to prevail.

The query will probably be suggested here to some minds whether success is not purchased at the expense of personal liberty and freedom of thought? But I apprehend it will ultimately be found that personal liberty will depend upon the same conditions in Communistic that it does in ordinary society, *viz.*, the education, intelligence and good sense of the individual. Where these are free he will certainly have all the personal liberty that can do him any good.

But is it to be inferred that this is the only way in which to get the right kind of men? No. As has been well remarked in the SOCIALIST, Socialism is a thing of degrees, or as I might say of varied development. The Familistère of M. Godin at Guise in France shows what can be done in quite a different line of advance. Then the coöperations in England and in this country are still other forms of successful experiment. Such establishments as that of M. Boissière at Silkville, and even such innovations on the old each-one-for-himself system as that of the Cheney Brothers at South Manchester, are of much value in helping on the cause of Socialism and educating the "right kind of men."

These experiments, as I suppose, were made without any reference to religious considerations. But they can hardly be called social organizations. They are almost wholly under the control of the men who furnish the capital and the business, or are simple coöperative, joint-stock associations. The only actual Community organization of any considerable size that is non-religious, so far as I know, is that of Icaria, in Iowa. How far an integral social organization can be made successful without reference to religious character can only be determined by trial. And here it may be well to say that mere religion, or even religious character, can not help to success only as it is of the "right kind"—the kind that makes sincere, honest, self-denying men, men that love the public good—that not only "fear God," but "hate covetousness." If these can be had without religion I imagine there will be little trouble about the success. I think the facts will show that all successful enterprises that have for their object the bettering of man's social condition, have been begotten at least, by men that have been inoculated with this kind of spirit, whether they are professedly religious or not.

And after all I do not see how the religious element can well be prevented from becoming a quite important factor in the problem. Both Mr. Meeker and Mr. J. A. H. Ellis concede that discrimination is necessary in regard to character, and a good deal of it. But Christianity has so diffused itself into the life and impressed itself upon the civilization and culture of all people of European origin, that to secure a *personnel* of sufficient culture and reliability to warrant the expectation of success, and on whose character Christianity in some form has not had an important influence, is hardly possible. Even so pronounced an infidel as Col. Ingersoll has it in the blood, and inherits the Christian culture of his ancestors. Indeed, it were almost like the task imposed by Shylock, to find a circle, however small, of real culture and refinement, that is free from its infusion.

There is one other point that fairly has a bearing on this subject. The religious origin of the Oneida Community as well as that of the Shakers, and the German Communities whose story is told by Nordhoff, show unmistakably that the original tendency to Communism, so manifest in its first Pentecostal outburst, still inheres in Christianity, and that it only needs the proper ma-

terial upon which to work, and a little of the warmth and glow of the original Pentecostal "fire," to burst forth into a blaze.

For these reasons I can not but think that the best hope of Socialism is in Christianity; not institutional Christianity, with its theologies and creeds, its forms and rituals, but that which has in it the life and warmth of the original Pentecostal outflow. G. A. C.

AFFLATUS AND AGREEMENT.

ED. AM. SOCIALIST:—I have been thinking for some time of saying a word to your readers, and what you say of Religion and Agreement reminds me that now is a good time to do it. I agree with you fully that religion, using that word to mean devotion to the highest, the sentiment of unity, faith in goodness, harmony and progress as the destiny of man on the earth, is essential to successful social organization, and that agreement is no less so.

Faith is for the most part inborn; it does not need, and can scarcely have cultivation, except by exercise: it can not be taught. Not so with agreement; that can only come consistently with individual freedom and development, through science.

Afflatus is a very good thing, like all emotions, as the power of the will-force which impels to action, but it is powerless to direct our course; that must be done by the reason. Afflatus is like the boiler which furnishes the steam, the force which moves the ship or the train, but without the engine, which is like the reason, there would be no motion, only wasted effort, escaping steam, explosion. Afflatus is the wind which fills the sail, but without the sail, the mast, the rudder, and in spite of them sometimes, there is no motion or wreck.

All the early attempts at Association had afflatus, but they lacked the agreement that can come alone from knowledge of the social laws of the universe. Failing in this, they failed in every thing, except as lessons and warnings.

An apparent exception is that of the Societies based on Theological doctrines and governed by Theocratic leaders. Here the agreement is attained by associating only those having the same doctrinal views, and owing to the nature of the human mind such successes must be very limited in the number of persons included, and limited as to duration in time, since the human mind is constantly progressing toward integralism, and away from the despotism of doctrines and dogmas.

What is wanted is a religion broad enough to embrace the whole human race, with every individual peculiarity of mind and thought, in short, religion based on unity of faith, with variety of doctrine, and that can only be reached through universal science, which matches and compliments unitary religion, as man does woman.

If by Christianity is meant universal love and infinite faith, then we have in it the spirit of true religion; but if by Christianity is meant historic Christianity, or the set of dogmas and doctrines commonly meant, then it is not what the world needs, and must give place to higher ideas, evolved by men progressed further than those were who originated Christianity. No permanent success can come from afflatus alone, call it Christianity, religion, faith, or what you will. Science is equally important, and far more difficult to get.

As well attempt to make and perpetuate a Community with woman alone, leaving out man, as to establish the reign of harmony, or the Kingdom of God on the earth, by afflatus, inspiration, religion or Christianity, without science. F. S. C.

THE ANARCHY OF LABOR.

BY HORACE GREELEY IN THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE.

To an observing eye, anarchy is written all over our industry and modes of life. Four times as many persons as are really needed are engaged at three times the needful cost in supplying families with milk, fruits, vegetables, groceries, etc., and in the various departments of retail trade. All these must live by their business, and the sum of their subsistence and profits is of course an indirect tax on productive labor. Ten times as many persons as are needful are employed in conveying passengers and their baggage to and from steamboats, etc.; so that while they obtain a bare living the public pay three times what they should for the service, and measurably so through all departments of human effort.

Such are some of the social evils which association proposes to remedy, by substituting accordant for discordant interests and efforts. It aims to increase the reward of productive labor, by taking away or diminish-

ing the occasion for non-productive avocations. It does not rail at the lawyer, the doctor, the grocer, the retailer of any kind; yet it aims to dispense with their vocations and place them and all men in better positions than they now occupy. Association proposes to demonstrate the practicability of a better township or municipality than those now existing—a union of capital, labor, and skill in a joint-stock partnership, securing constant employment and just reward to all. By the system of association, when perfectly carried into effect, it is firmly believed that these rights will be secured to all mankind, viz:

1. A thorough education, intellectual and physical, whereby each person, male or female, shall be instructed in many different branches of industry, so as not to be dependent on one only. Now the great majority can only earn a living in one way, and thousands are suffered to grow up in ignorance of any way.

2. Adequate employment at all times. In association there never could be a season when any should be idle because they could not obtain work. The capitalist, the cunning or skillful workman, would have larger annual dividends; but the mere worker would always have work either indoors or out, according to the season, and would be sure of the just reward of his labor.

Added to these, the laborer would have in association:

3. Immense economies, not otherwise attainable. His rent and fuel would cost him little, and the farmer, the manufacturer, the mechanic, blacksmith, etc., etc., would exchange their products directly, and without the intervention of traders. The working-classes of this city are now paying twice as much for their provisions as those who produce them receive for the same. All this immense difference will in association be saved to productive industry.

4. Labor will be rendered vastly more effective by association. The time now wasted by the farmer in running to the store, the blacksmith, the shoemaker, the doctor, etc., etc., will be saved; steam or water will always supply any amount of power and save manual effort; there will always be a force on hand for an extra effort in any department of industry that may need it; while no time need be lost by reason of inclement weather. The death of the father or mother would not deprive the children of a home, nor of their accustomed spheres of industry or education. Such are a few of the immediate, palpable advantages of industrial association.

STORIES OF POVERTY.

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

III.

MISS H.'S STORY.

My parents were always poor, especially in the early part of their married life. Judging from the stories I have heard my mother tell, that part of her life must have been full of the hardships and trials which poverty brings. My mother had a great deal of energy and forethought, and was very industrious and economical. If my father had been equal to her in these qualities, they need not have been poor. It was the deficiencies in my father which caused my mother more real sorrow of heart than all the hardships and privations she had to endure; for in his lack of good calculation, his roving disposition and love of ease, she saw the death of the strong hopes she had entertained, at their marriage, of becoming in time, by their united efforts in industry and economy, well off, if not rich. The fact that they must always be poor, which soon became thoroughly settled in her mind, made it doubly hard for her to bear children. To see her family rapidly increasing, without any corresponding increase in their means of subsistence, was almost torture to her; and on one occasion she became so desperate as to search among my grandfather's medicines (he was a physician) for the means of getting rid of an unborn child. Her search was happily made unsuccessful by my grandmother's carefully hiding every thing of that nature from her.

Although my father was inclined to take life so easily, he had his periods of gloom and despondency. At such times he was full of evil-forebodings for the future, often asserting that we should all have to go to the poor-house in a few years. This would make us feel very miserable, and for the time we children would almost wish we had never been born. I do not remember ever going hungry; but I know that many times our variety of food was very limited, and that very little

or nothing was left upon the table when a meal was finished.

We used to meet with losses from time to time and have a good deal of what is called "bad luck." Perhaps we had no more of these troubles than families in general; but our poverty made them seem to come often, and also made them hard to bear. One of these losses came upon us when I was quite young, and when my mother had seven children, the oldest of which could not have been more than eleven years old. We were then living in Maine. I have said my mother was very economical. You would have said so too, could you have seen how every scrap of wool she could get was saved, how she carefully carded it by hand, spun it into yarn for stockings, or wove it into cloth for other garments. You can infer from this how she must have prized a small flock of sheep which we owned at this time. These sheep were kept about half a mile from our house on another farm where was a barn, and where the hay was stored for the winter. This barn was near the woods. It was in the fall of the year, and the sheep were not shut up at night. One night there came a light fall of snow, and in the morning my brother, who was about ten years old, was sent to feed the sheep. As he approached the barn he saw many tracks of some wild animal, and soon came across a dead sheep. This frightened him, and he ran home with the story that the bears had been killing the sheep. It was soon discovered that the wolves, not the bears, had killed the whole flock. It seems to me now, in looking back, that if we ever got a little forehanded, we were sure to have some loss of this kind come upon us.

Another misfortune of this kind occurred after we had moved to New York State, and had got comfortably settled; owning ten acres of land, two cows, a span of horses, etc. One night when the cows were taking their supper one of them got choked with a potato and had to be killed. Soon after this we managed to buy another cow, and she hooked the best horse so that he died. Such accidents as these, which hardly make a ripple on the surface of our Community life, were in my father's family great calamities, and bitterly felt by even the youngest children.

When my mother was married she had many nice clothes presented to her by her rich relatives of Boston. These were nearly all sacrificed during the first part of her married life in paying the girls she was obliged to hire during her frequent confinements.

My oldest sister, though of rather delicate constitution, was very ambitious to do all she could to help the family. When quite young she used to braid hats, work lace, sew, or do any thing she could to earn money. The winter she was fifteen years old she spent in spinning for one of the farmer's wives who lived about twelve miles from our home. In the spring she came home sick. She was an invalid from that time till the next spring, when she died. My mother said her death was caused by insufficient clothing and hard work.

I began to feel the mortifications of poverty when quite young. I remember being called upon one Sabbath, when I was a little girl, by two of the neighbors' children, to go to meeting with them, and how mortified I felt because I had nothing fit to wear, and had to stay at home. When I was only twelve years old I began to work for wages. I was first engaged by a farmer's wife who lived about two miles from my home, to help her about her sewing and housework. She gave me fifty cents a week and my board. After this I continued to go out to service of this kind till I was seventeen, when I joined the Oneida Community. I went to school winters till I was fifteen. I was naturally timid and very bashful in the presence of strangers, and it was a great trial to me to be obliged, as I was, to often change my place of service and go among strangers. I had to do this because the people with whom I lived were those who generally did their own work, except in case of sickness or pressure of business at certain times of the year. I might have lived in one place permanently, I suppose, if I had been willing to enter a rich family at some distance from home. But this I would not do for two reasons: first, I loved my home too well, though it was a poor one, to go very far away from it; and, secondly, I was too proud to be treated like a servant.

NECESSITY OF LEADERSHIP.

I WAS present at a large meeting in Manchester, England, in 1834, when Robert Owen, in accounting for his failure at New Harmony while he had succeeded at New Lanark with an inferior population, said: "At New Lanark I was a tyrant—a mild one, to be sure, but

still a tyrant"—meaning that his wishes were strictly carried out, and that was the secret of his success. At New Harmony he had a population including many excellent men, but also many adventurers, many who cared only for "the loaves and fishes," and many who cared more for their own principles than for Owen's. Hence the failure. In my opinion no Community can succeed without a leader who is respected and obeyed, and whose decisions are final. JOHN W. ASHTON.

Pawtucket, R. I., Dec. 20, 1877.

WELL SAID.

The *Daily Graphic* closes an article on "Future Punishment" with the following sensible suggestions:

"Without entering into the controversy [about eternal punishment] which agitates the Congregationalists, it may be proper to remark that, as far as we have seen, liberal theology has not yet supplied the world with any motive to righteousness equally as strong as the one it denies. Leaving out every other consideration, there can be no question that a place of eternal torments prepared for the wicked was a strong sanction of morality in the past. Ordinary men can appreciate it. The Puritans molded—nay, nurtured—on this belief, were an honest, sober, God-fearing folk. They were hard and stern in dealing with offenders, but they were not open to the charge of plundering the widow and orphan, of violating trusts, of committing perjury, and of all the many offenses which our present life brings, unfortunately, to the knowledge of us all. It is, doubtless, a pretty theory that looks upon crime as its own punishment, but man has not become civilized enough to allow it to be experimented with by any community. A hell is a very ugly conception, but it had its uses. It made human life on this planet better than it would otherwise have been. And the world would do well to inquire whether a great deal of our present moral laxity is not due to the decay of the belief without substituting any thing equally as repressive in its stead."

ITEMS OF NEWS.

HOME.

The great New England editor is improving.
 A new fort is wanted to look after Sitting Bull.
 Senator Conkling understands the "manly art."
 Baltimore is holding meetings to decide what she ought to do with the tramp.
 Senator Kerman thinks there are only twenty-four gold men in the Senate.
 The silver men think they are going to do it, and the gold men begin to fear they will.
 The metric system will be taught to about 800 pupils in the public schools of Cleveland.
 Blaine and Conkling are very "mutual." They found the "missing link" in Judge Davis.
 Frothingham's "Life of Gerrit Smith" will appear this year. G. P. Putnam's Sons publish it.
 Henry Watterson says if the Southern devil gets loose he will just vote that national debt out of sight in no time.
 Kansas proposes to send a statue of John Brown to Washington. Wendell Phillips wants Martin Milmore to make it.
 And now they say the President is the loneliest man in the country. That is what comes of being clean-handed and honest.
 This is the age of corporate management and machinery. It is time to have some effective democratic jealousy of great corporations.
 Dr. T. S. Lambert, the President of the American Popular Insurance Company, has been convicted of forgery and sent to the Tombs.
 Daniel Webster believed that Byron was "the incarnation of demonism," with nothing but his "genius and wit" to make him "likeable."
 President Porter was the guest of the New England Society in New York and shook hands with some of the 1,500 Yale men in that vicinity.
 The contestant in the Vanderbilt will case will be allowed to show that W. H. Vanderbilt conspired to injure his good name with the Commodore.
 The Texan Pacific Road only asks \$25,000 a mile for the easy places, and \$35,000 in the mountains. This is \$10,000 a mile less than it once asked.
 American Democracy has been on trial for a hundred years. And now Joint-Stockism is on trial: it remains to be seen how it will come out.
 Ex-Governor McCormick has been made United States Commissioner-General to the French Exposition. His office is at 24, Post-Office Building, New York.
 The President and wife have been in New York, where he had a reception by the Union League. He also made the formal opening of the Museum of Natural History.
 North Carolina and Kentucky have the most distilleries—the one 1,025 and the other 754. New York and Pennsylvania have the most breweries—one has 379 the other 361.
 Mr. Whittier says: "It is not true, as has been said, that I dash off my writing rapidly and send it to the printer without any corrections. I don't believe any body does that or has a right to."
 It is quite probable that the Creeks, Cherokees, Seminoles, Choctaws and Chickasaws will soon be represented

in Congress by a Delegate from the Indian Territory. There are about 60,000 of those people.

The Congregationalists are examining themselves as to their belief in hell. Thirteen ministers, out of a hundred inquired of, say that the belief in it is decaying. I would not steal any thing on the strength of that, though.

It is announced that an entirely new line of steamers from Philadelphia to the principal ports of the Mediterranean will be started in a few weeks. It will bring fruits, oils, etc., one way and carry American manufactures the other.

Brother Kimball, "the church-debt raiser," might give his attention to paying off the national debt. He wouldn't have to "nurse that job," and when done our erring friends at the South would have but little to feel sore about.

The silver bill has been put away in a bag; the New York Custom House appointments have been sent to a bonded warehouse, and the whole Government—President, Senate and Representatives—have gone a hunting New Year's turkey.

The "Church debt-raiser" has been holding a protracted meeting in Dr. Tyng's Church to lift a debt of over \$260,000. Lifted \$145,000. Let him follow Mr. Moody and complete his work, for debt is that perilous stuff which weighs down the heart.

The New York Employment and Relief Association propose "to give relief to all worthy and needy applicants for employment who are brought into distress, not by their own vices, but by the providence of God, until employment is secured for them."

If the striker can't subdue the capitalist then he will have to turn around and subdue himself. It would be well to begin early and have a pretty small family. That would save the reading of "A Fifteen Cent Dinner for a Family of Six Persons," and books of like character.

If you are married to a coal-stove and have to sleep with it nights I wouldn't sit with her all the day, no I wouldn't. I would go off in the afternoon and court the north wind. Kile-stove won't mind it. She knows you will like her all the better after the rowdy winds have cuffed you and hung your beard with icicles.

Dr. Howard Crosby, of New York, says "there are 10,000 places in that city where fiery liquors are sold to make people drunk, and that too, mainly, largely, in defiance of law." Don't you see it's that state of things which tempts us Republicans, Pharisees and temperance men to make you righteous on compulsion?

As long as there are so many sphynx questions and conundrums to be answered, you won't find it easy to make us believe that the great thinkers are not the great doers. The soap-boilers, lumber-dealers, money-makers and soldiers and the like, have a conceit that they are about the right sort of doers. Let them stand aside a little.

The fight at San Elizario near El Paso, Texas, resulted in the defeat of the Texan party and in the deliberate shooting of Dr. Howard and two other men concerned in trying to make private property of certain salt-wells which have been used a long time by the Mexicans as common property. It is believed to be a strictly neighborhood affair, though there are those who want to make it international.

The American edition of Dr. Schliemann's great work, "Mycena," is now ready: one vol., quarto, with maps, colored plates, views and cuts, representing more than 700 types of the objects found in the Royal Sepulchres of Mycena and elsewhere. Price \$12. Schliemann discusses the Homeric questions with a spade, and is supposed to have got ahead of those Germans who smoke and read and evolve facts from their internal consciousness.

Now that we are looking at Whittier, it will be well to know that his first poem was written when he was eighteen years old. It was called "The Sea," and has never appeared in any of his works. Somebody found it in an old paper and kept this, the first stanza, in his memory:

Unfathomed deep, unfettered waste
 Of never-ending waves!
 Each by its rushing fellow chased
 Through unilluminated caves,
 Beneath the rocks, where turrets rude
 Ever since the birth of Time
 Have heard, amid their solitude,
 The billow's ceaseless chime.

Under the new régime in South Carolina salaries have been reduced from \$264,418 in 1876 to \$143,000; legislative expenses from \$142,135, to \$105,000; public printing from \$78,687, to \$10,000. The jails and prisons are everywhere full of men concerned in the iniquities of the Chamberlain-Moses Government. The negroes have liberty to work, save money, mind their own business, and vote the Democratic ticket. The white folks control the elections, fill all the offices and tolerate no dissenters in politics, and as a result the negroes do not have to burn so many houses and barns as they used to do, and the happy white men don't have to murder so many colored folks as they did.

Somebody in the *Atlantic* has blurted out in the "Contributor's Club" a bit of sense which will, if well minded, go far to make life and thanksgiving possible, without cranberry sauce and turkey: "Culture brings with it impatience and even anger. If cultivated people would only hold their tongues, if they would only let their weaker brethren enjoy themselves in their own way—but they never will. According to their own showing, they live in a constant state of acute suffering from the atrocious tastes of people around them. There seems to be more unhappiness than happiness in it; as Gwendolen said, they dislike what they don't like more than they like what they like."

Harvey's "Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Daniel Webster" is the work of an admiring friend. The "Great Ex-pounder" believed that Clay "was no lawyer;" merely "a statesman, a politician, an orator, but no reasoner." He afterward modified his opinion, and in "Compromise" times he pronounced Clay a "very great man—a wonderful man." Calhoun he esteemed the "greatest man he had ever met in the Senate, or with whom he had come in contact in public life." Benton "knew every thing" and "where every thing was." Silas Wright "is the most overrated man I ever met. He is oracular, wise-looking, taciturn, and can-

ning as a fox." Buchanan "merely looks at things as they affect the party." Franklin Pierce "is not by any means a small man. He is a well-informed, intelligent, ripe, talented man." Webster's account of the "trouncing" he gave William Pinckney, to make the latter apologize for an insult in the Supreme Court Room, is another evidence of the fact that he never quailed before the Southern mind and character, notwithstanding he weakened politically for the sake of office.

On Monday, the 7th inst., Mr. Houghton, the senior publisher of the *Atlantic Monthly*, gave a dinner at the Hotel Brunswick, Boston, to celebrate the 70th birthday of the poet Whittier and commemorate the 20th anniversary of that magazine. It was a man's party. The former publishers and veteran contributors were present, but not one of the women who have given life and color to the pages of the "Atlantic." Speeches and original poems were in order. We cut this from Dr. Holmes' verses:

"Yes, 'style is the man,' and the nib of one's pen
 Makes the same mark at twenty and three-score-and-ten.
 It is so in all matters, if truth may be told,
 Let one look at the east, he can tell you the mold.
 Now we all know each other: no use in disguise;
 Through the holes in the mask comes the flash of the eyes.
 We can tell by his—somewhat—each one of our tribe,
 As we know the old hat we can not describe."

George P. Fisher, D. D., has published a book on the "Beginnings of Christianity," in which the connection between the Second Coming of Christ and the destruction of Jerusalem as described in the first two Gospels, is ably urged as a proof that they could not have been written subsequent to that event. The early Christians did not expect to overcome the world till the Second Appearing of Christ. Accordingly the Fathers clung to that hope far into the second century, and it was not till the death of Origen in 254 that the idea was suggested that the Gospel by its own moral and spiritual power would overcome heathenism in the Roman Empire.

FOREIGN.

Diplomacy to the front!
 Nobody wants to mediate.
 What is Russia going to ask?
 "If you want peace, ask me for it," says the Bear to the Turk.
 We sometimes think Bismarck is coming back, and then we think he isn't.
 It is reported that the Earl of Manchester will succeed that Lord Dufferin Canada.
 It is well enough to mention that Servia has declared war and started her troopers along.
 The French Government is making a descriptive catalogue of all the works of art belonging to the nation.
 You would think, by the excitement in London and the calm in Turkey, that England was the one beaten at Plevna.
 The commercial traveler can now go to Prince Edward's Island and not have the constable bothering about a license.
 The Rev. Moritz Kaufmann will say his say on all "Utopias and Schemes of Social Improvement" in the *Leisure Hour* for 1878.
 Germany stuck out her elbow at England and said, "It's none of our business; Russia can make such terms with Turkey as she pleases."
 Turkey came up a little "groggy" and out of breath, saying, "We are not beaten; but then it would be rather pleasant and save blood to have a peace on the basis of some of those protocols or conferences."
 There is little or no use in American surgeons trying to get places in the Russian army. Those positions are not open to foreigners.
 Todleben, Gourka and Skobelev are the three heroes in Bulgaria. Two of them are old and experienced, and one of them is young and dandy.
 The French Chamber of Deputies shows its confidence in MacMahon by voting the Budget by inches—one twelfth at a time. He may hold the sword, but they hold the "puss."
 Captain Wiggins, with a schooner of forty tons' burthen, has sailed from the capital of Siberia to St. Petersburg. His achievement seems to open a new channel of commercial intercourse with Siberia.
 Suleiman Pasha has made his appearance in Constantinople with 10,000 men on his way to make another Plevna at Adrianople. The Balkans were too slippery, and so he went around by Varna and the sea.
 A buried town has been found at the foot of Mount Gargano, Italy. It is the ancient Sipontum of Stabo and Livy. It is buried about twenty feet deep, and the Government is taking measures to complete its exhumation.
 There is a great deal of talk as to what England is going to do about it. Parliament has been called for the 17th of January. So much is certain. When she assumes the suzerainty of Egypt and buys the Turkish navy, we'll stop and make a note of it.
 The people of Boston are considering the fact that Massachusetts doesn't yield nearly so much bread and meat as she used to, and they begin to talk about emigration. Let the modern Athens find some new Ionia in Old Virginia, and take her art and music there.
 Professor Huxley, who has been lecturing on "Technical Education," says there should be some machinery for utilizing in the public interest special talent and genius brought to light in our schools. If any Government could find a Watt, a Davy, or a Faraday in the market the bargain would be dirt cheap at £100,000.
 The new Republican Ministry of France stands as follows: Dufaure is President of the Council; Marcere, Minister of the Interior; Waddington, of Foreign Affairs; General Borel, of War; Bardoux, of Public Instruction; Pothuau, Marine; Leon Say, of Finance; Teissirenc de Bort, of Commerce; and De Freycinet, of Public Works. All of these, except Gen. Borel and M. Bardoux, have been in office before.
 Writing from London to some one in America, Sumner once said, "We judge English Authors better than the English themselves; all here are too near them. When I see

the foppery of Bulwer every day, and hear his affected voice, should not that disenchant me from the spell of his composition? You, sitting in your rocking-chair and joining reading to your household duties, actually keep a better run of English literature than many—aye, than most of the English themselves."

Now that Osman Pasha is a prisoner we all want to see his picture: Here is one from the *Daily News*, taken when the Great Russians went to see the captive Turk, "who rose and bowed in grim silence. He wore a loose blue cloak, with no apparent mark on it to designate his rank, and a red fez. He is a large and strongly built man. The lower part of his face is covered with a short, black beard, without a streak of gray, and he has a large Roman nose and black eyes. A grand face, and that of a great military chieftain."

There has been a lull in military operations since the fall of Plevna—both parties doubtless requiring time to think before entering on any new campaigns. The Russians at Erzerum are not making any great progress. General Komaroff has assaulted and taken Ardanutch, a fortified position thirty-four miles southwest of Ardahan. In Bulgaria the Servians claim to have had an engagement with the Turks and to have cut the enemy's communication between Nisch and Leskovatz by capturing and destroying the Shetchina Bridge. Servia wants to do something to go on the record.

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1877.

PROSPECTS.

We wish it to be distinctly understood that the AMERICAN SOCIALIST stands on a firm basis and is not likely to fail for want of support. In the first place, its subscription-list is steadily increasing, and secondly, the paper is independent of subscriptions. Its backers have the means to support it, as they have supported previous papers for many years. Our present purpose is to publish it with unflagging zeal till January, 1880. If it does not, by that time, win a subscription-list that will support it, *perhaps* we shall think it best to stop. Subscribers for the coming volume may be sure that it will be steadily issued and that it will improve as it has done. At the same time those who wish to place it on a *permanent* basis, and enable it to enlarge and become a National paper—perhaps a Daily—will do well to work and be wide awake for the next two years.

The series of articles lately commenced under the title, "Stories of Poverty," already proves to be a mine of interesting matter, richer than we expected, and we have on hand and in preparation several numbers even more thrilling than those already published. It is likely to be a long series, especially if we continue it, as we may easily do, with narratives from abroad.

Another new feature which we hope to introduce in the coming volume is a serial story of Socialistic Romance. We have the promise of such a work from a person who appears to have the genius for it. If money will buy a genuine article of this kind we shall not spare expense; and if it won't, we intend to start novel-writing at home. We know that there is an infinite fund of romance in Socialism, and sooner or later it will have to "materialize."

Our readers may also expect occasional pictorial illustrations.

Our staple discussions of Communism in all its degrees and of the various forms of Coöperation, together with constant reports of all practical experiments in these lines, will steadily increase in interest as the tide of Socialism rises and as we extend the circle of our connections.

Above all, we ourselves are learning our business and expect to do a great deal better next year than we have done the last.

Our aim is to make a paper that will *deserve* the support, not only of all Socialists, but of all good people. As the apostles on the great day of Communism managed to make themselves understood by "Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia and in Judea and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome, Jews and proselytes, Cretes and Arabians," so we hope to speak to Owenites, Fourierites, Shakers, Rappites, Zoarites, Bethelians, Aurorians, Amanians, Icarians, Broctonians, Coöperatives, Trades-Unions, Workingmen, Spiritualists, Revivalists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Unitarians, Universalists, Young Men's Christian Associations, Liberalists and Scientists, in such a manner that all shall "hear the wonderful works of God in their own tongues."

THE discussion of the question whether Religion is necessary to close Association continues to occupy considerable space in our paper, and the articles on it this week are pretty well balanced.

Mr. Cabot, we suppose, intends to maintain the nega-

tive; but he is a devout Fourierite, and we have read Fourier enough to know that his great system is based on God, and that he means by the word God, not an abstraction, but what folks generally mean by it. So we count Mr. Cabot, on the whole, as in favor of Religion.

Icaria has all along been the main example appealed to by those who insist that Religion is not needed; and with charitable inconsistency we have really hoped that it would make a point against us in the controversy about Religion. But curiously, it is just now reported to be at the brink of "the jumping-off place."

ADVICE FROM AN ANTI-PUGILIST.

A NEW monthly magazine of twenty-four pages called the *Anti-Sceptic*, published at Boston, comes to us for exchange and notice. We judge from this specimen that it is to be a dashing fighter against all sorts of infidels—especially the "spiritist" sort. The editor does not give his name, but appears to be a man who has gone through the mazes of Spiritualism and come out a convert to Evangelical Christianity. He is not so Evangelical, however, as to exclude Universalists and Unitarians from the army which he hopes to enlist against Infidelity. He classes the Oneida Community among the "marvelous enterprises," such as Anti-Masonry, Mormonism, the Rochester knockings, etc., which have "originated in Western New York;" which is a mistake, the O. C. being a genuine product of New England. But we take no offense. Indeed, we have considerable sympathy with his views and intentions, notwithstanding it is likely he counts us among the Philistines. We wish, however, we could persuade him to change his *methods*. Christianity needs for its defense, not fighters, but builders. For instance, the Evangelical host, instead of laying out its strength to put down Spiritualism by invective and "the secular arm," ought to be bringing to the front the true Spiritualism of the Primitive Church. God is provoking them to emulation. They must beat the signs and wonders of the Spiritualists by better signs and wonders—not by scolding. And so of all their controversies. The way to put down the false thing is to bring out the true thing. That is our understanding of the policy of Christ and Paul. "Fight! fight! fight!" is the cry of the times, and the churches are shouting it louder than any body. And they fight not only with the word but with the sword. They have put down slavery by war; and what has come of it? They have sent armies and armed judges against the Mormons; and what has come of it? They have put down the workingmen's riots by bloodshed; and what is likely to come of it? They are fighting obscenity, blasphemy and intemperance by law; and "the law worketh wrath and causeth the offense to abound." So says Paul and so says common sense. Another style of Christianity, which relies not on law or fighting (which is the same thing), but on the Almighty power of Pentecostal grace, is surely coming; and the editor of the *Anti-Sceptic* would have helped the advent of that kind of Christianity more, if he had sat down and studied *Paul's views of Law* at least six months before starting his paper. In that way he might have discovered that it is easy to make the wicked worse by trying to make them better in the wrong way.

J. H. N.

ICARIA.

IN the SOCIALIST of Nov. 8th mention was made of the fact that a letter had been received from the President of the Icarian Community, saying that "an unforeseen event had made it necessary to postpone for awhile the enlargement proposed in the circular of the Committee of Propaganda, published in the SOCIALIST of Sept. 20th." The unforeseen event here referred to is nothing less than a collision, so serious as to endanger the autonomy of the Community, between two parties that have been developed in its midst—one party being conservative, cautious, prudent, and including a majority of the voters and most of the older members; the other, radical and progressive, believing that the time has come for improving many of the conditions of the Society, and comprising a numerical majority, but a minority of voters. To this party belong many young people who have grown up in the Community, some new members and others. We have no wish to take sides with either party. Indeed, our observation has convinced us that in such cases it is seldom that either party is wholly right or wholly wrong; and that what both parties are most likely to need is the spirit that seeks peace and is ready to yield something for the sake of unity. We regret the condition of things at Icaria, and hope the threatened dissolution may be averted, both for the sake of the cause of Communism, for which they have labored so long and endured so much. But if a separa-

tion is inevitable, we trust they will have wisdom to make an amicable division of the property without resorting to courts or litigation. In most cases of Community dissolution in which the lawyers have had the handling of affairs, it has been the fable of the monkey, the cats and the cheese enacted over again. If they can not agree among themselves in regard to the division, they can at least agree to submit the whole question to disinterested arbitrators and bind themselves to accept their decision.

We learn from both parties at Icaria that there is no intention to abandon the Community experiment. If a separation is finally effected there is likely to be two independent Communities or two branches of the same Community.

ONE of the signs of the times is the frequency with which new Socialistic and Labor Reform papers appear. Almost every week the mail brings us "Vol. 1, No. 1," of some periodical of this class, and we are pleased to see that the general tone of their leading articles is more thoughtful and less violent than that of some which have been longer established. *The Socialist*, of Detroit, is quite an able new paper for the Workingmen, and the *Labor-Balance*, edited by our *quondam* correspondent, Rev. JESSE H. JONES, and published in Boston, is an earnest little monthly magazine, "devoted to the welfare of the working people." Others might be mentioned, besides the fifteen or twenty older Workingmen's papers. Now and then one of these papers is forced to suspend, as in the case of the Milwaukee *Emancipator*, for lack of means or for want of a proper harmony between the different sections of the party. But the movement they represent is new and unorganized, and it will take time to get the right understanding all round. The present is mostly occupied in studying platforms and principles. When the time for action arrives and the people undertake to vote in new men and new measures, we hope the spirit of peace, fraternity and agreement will have united all parties and broken down present class distinctions.

THE MAGAZINES.

THE *Nineteenth Century* for December has one feature not often seen in a Magazine, *viz.*: a good colored map; the subject being the Straits of Magellan. It accompanies Mr. Brassey's account of his trip "Round the World in the Sunbeam;" the said Sunbeam not being a ray of light, after the style of Jules Verne, but a substantial steam yacht. Sir Thomas Watson's paper on "Hydrophobia and Rabies" indicates that Hydrophobia and dogs are considerably on the increase in England; Rev. Malcom MacColl discourses on the Turks, Bulgarians and Russians in a way not at all complimentary to the Moslems, or to the policy of the English Government regarding them; Sir Julius Vogel writes about cheap telegraphy in England; Matthew Arnold criticises a "Primer of English Literature" lately published; and Sir Henry Maine contributes an interesting paper entitled "South Slavonians and Rajpoots." Other articles are, "Suggestions as to the Reform of the Criminal Law," by Sir James Fitzjames Stephen; "Nonconformists and the Church Congress," by Rev. A. K. Cherrell; "Amusements of the English People," by Godfrey Turner; "Egypt and the Khedive," by Edward Dicey; and "The Poor of India," by Charles Grant.

THE poetic element is well represented in *Scribner's Monthly* for January, that number beginning and ending with a poem, and having thirteen separate poems between its covers. We suppose the statistical article on the "Growth of Cities in the United States" is intended as a sort of makeweight against such an unusual luxuriance of the imagination, and possibly a "Century of Civil Service" may subserve the same purpose. From the former paper we gather, that the proportion of city population to the whole population of the country has increased from three and seven-tenths per cent. in 1810, to nineteen and one-tenth per cent. in 1870. At the present date probably one-fourth of the entire population of the United States live in the cities. This shows the strong tendency of the times toward aggregation, although the conditions are by no means the best possible. "Fox-Hunting in New England" is well illustrated, and is a pleasant reminder of similar scenes in our earlier life. Dr. Schliemann's explorations at Mycenæ are the subject of an illustrated paper; and Mr. Stoddard concludes his study of Keats, in which he pronounces the "Eve of St. Agnes" the "most artistic, the most exquisite, the most perfect poem in the world;" and we are tempted to agree with him. The usual serials are continued, and a short paper on "Pidgin English" gives some insight into that funniest and quaintest of modern dialects.

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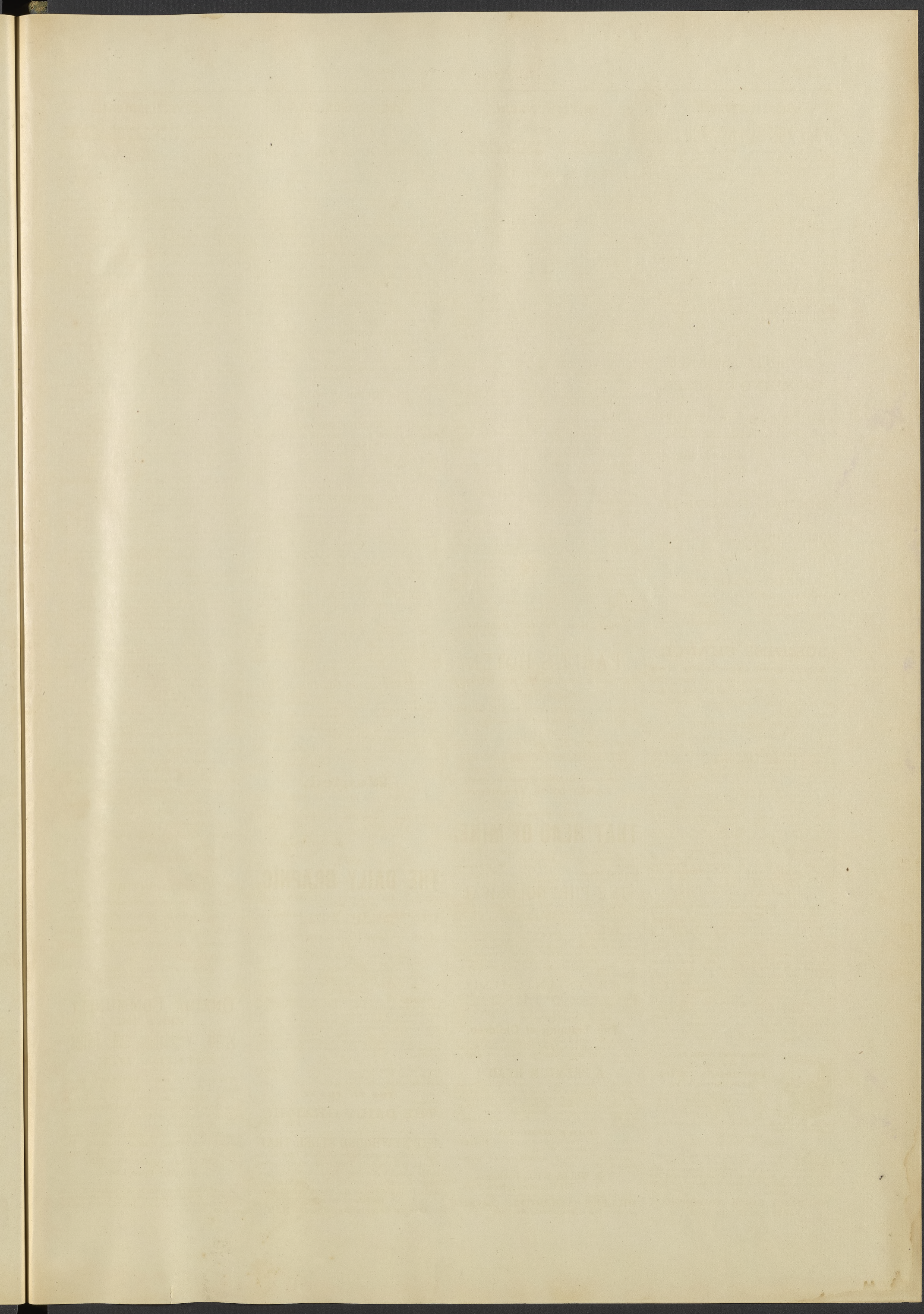
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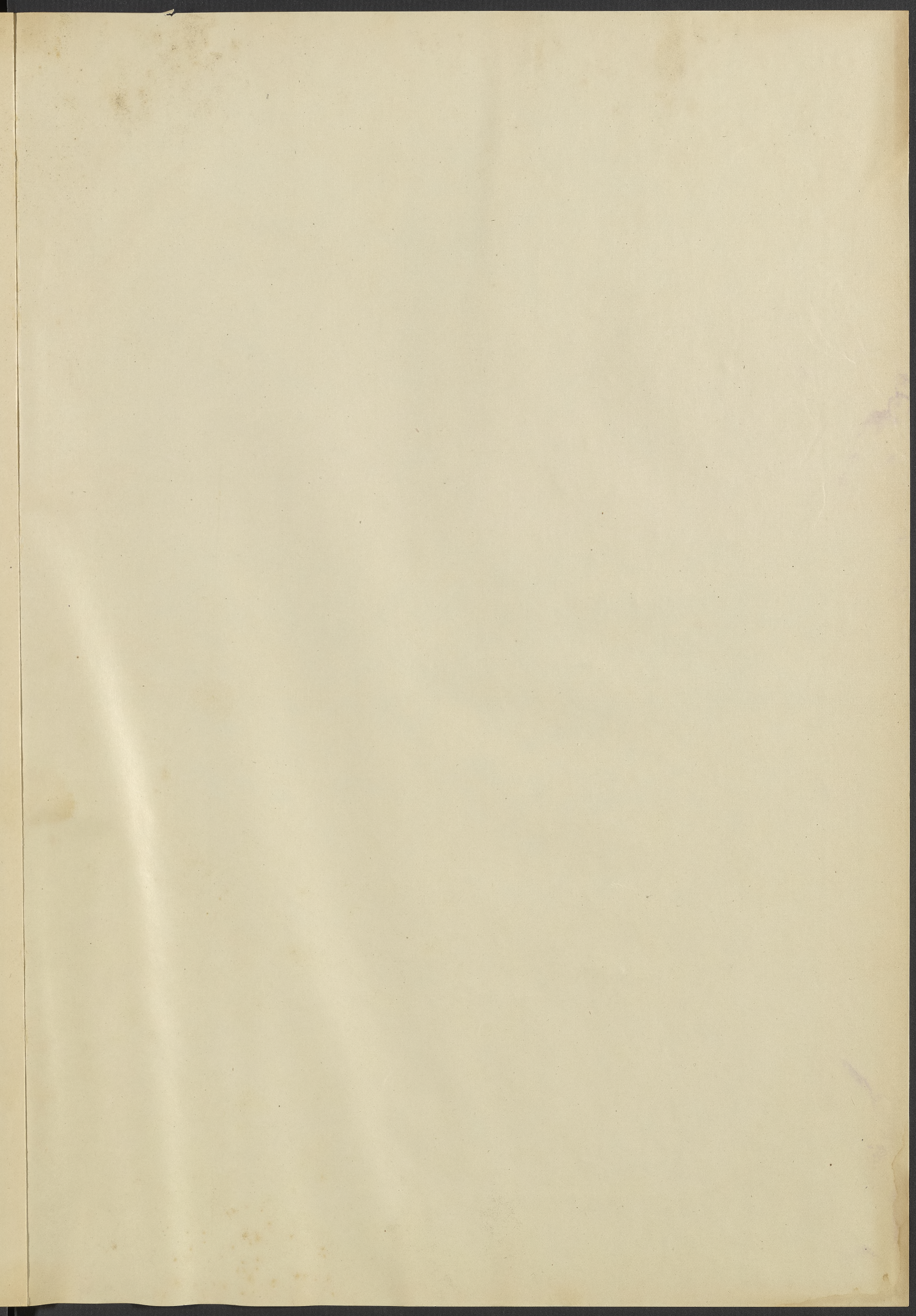
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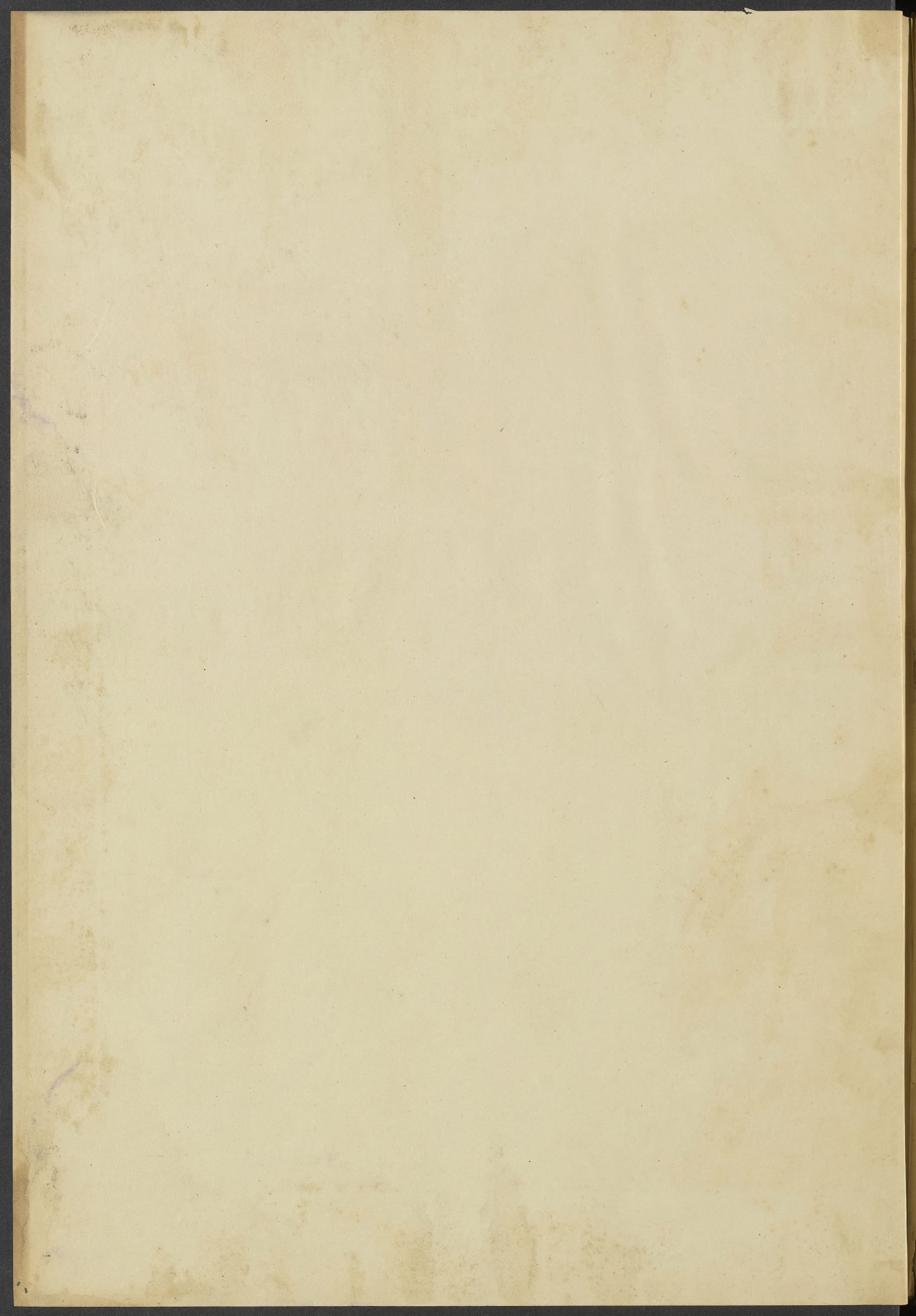
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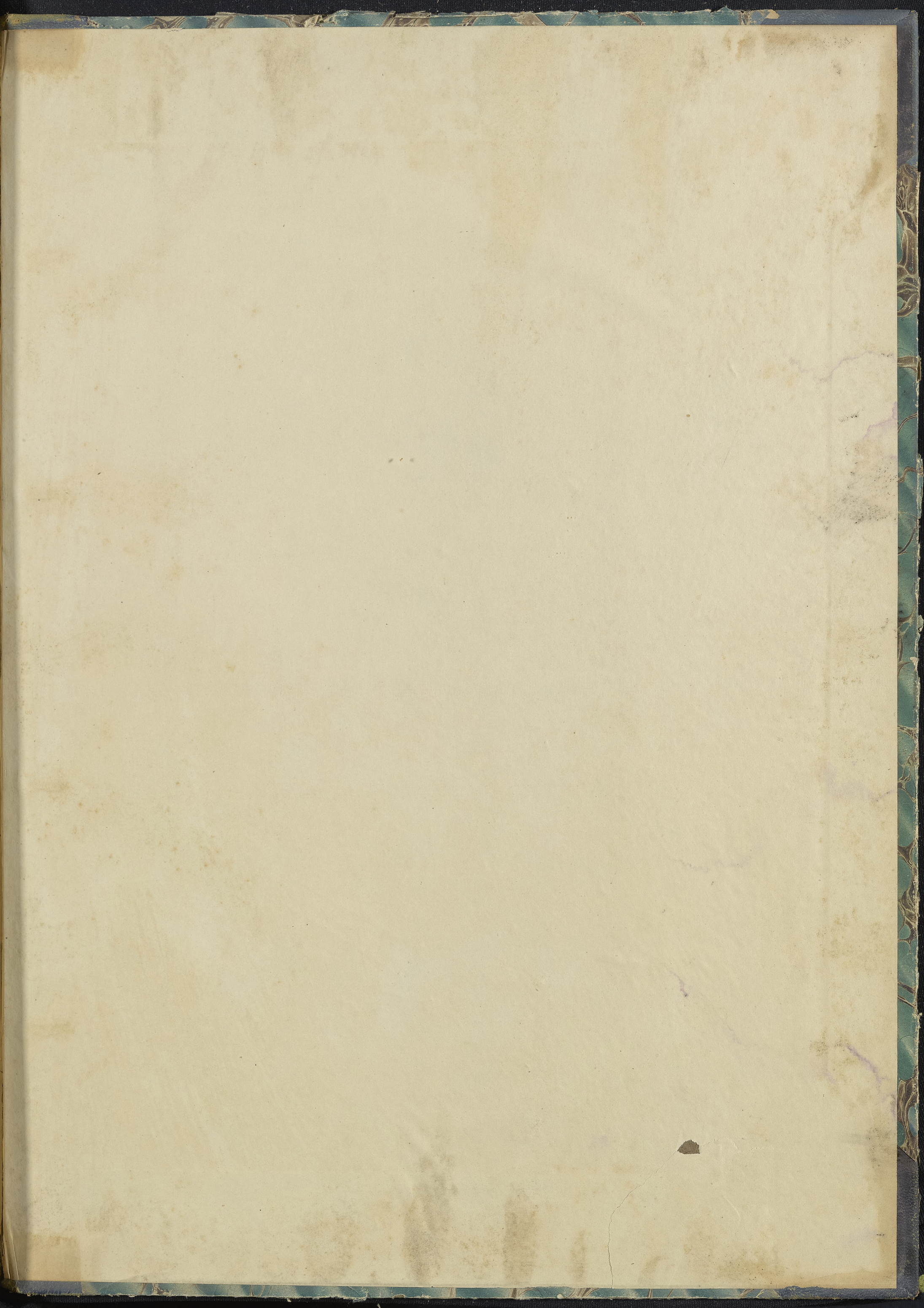
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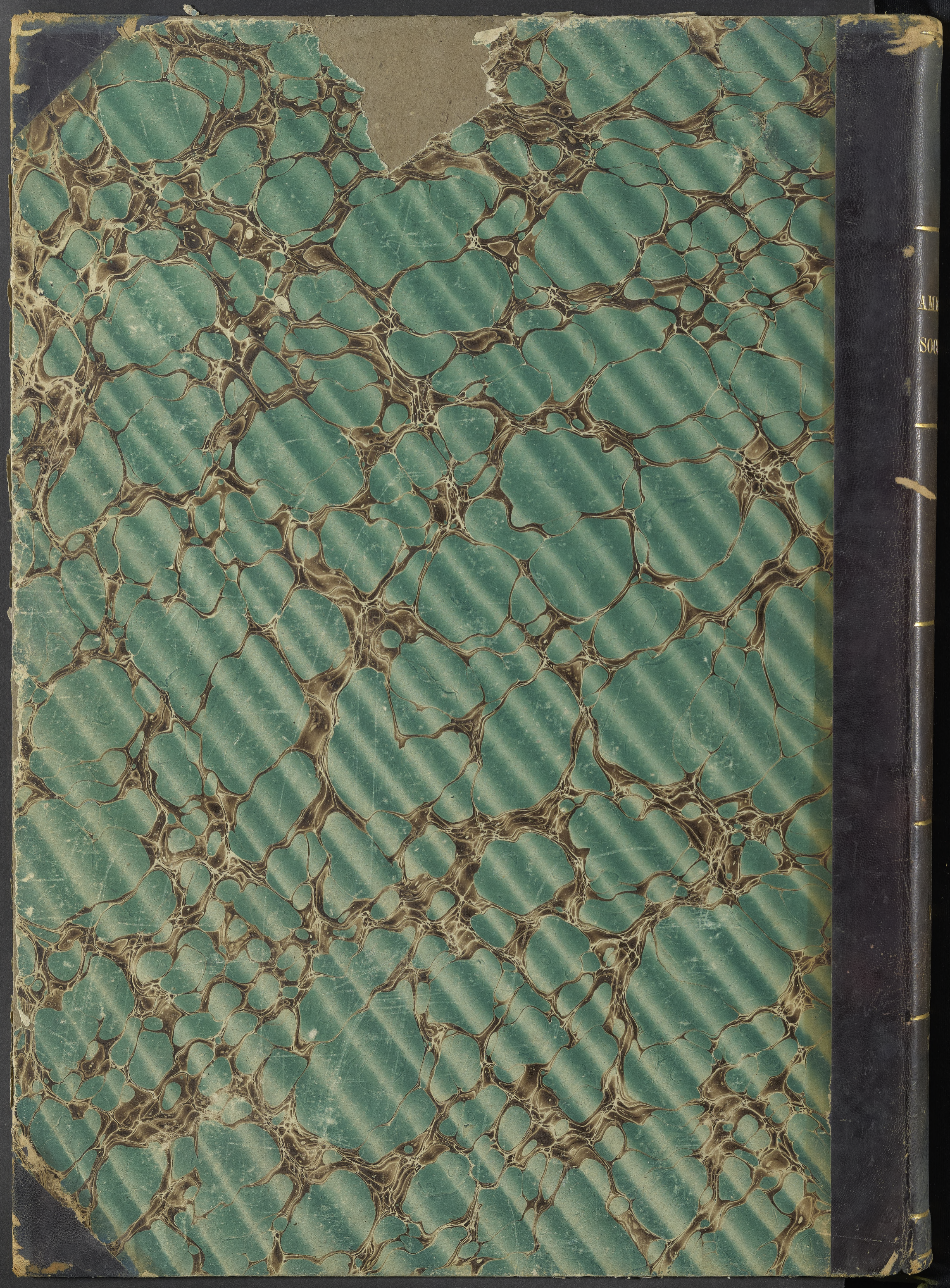
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