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AMERICAN COMMUNISM.

IMMENSE mischief is done by the confounding of things in popular estimation which are distinct in character and object. This most often occurs when two things happen to have some peculiarities in common, and hence a common name. For example, the American people, a century ago, established a republican form of government, which was peaceable, orderly, and remarkably free from excesses of all kinds. Scarcely had their work been completed, when the French people also undertook the same task. Their effort was premature, and the result shocking to men and angels. Their republic was soon transformed into a military despotism, but during its short term of existence, under the name of liberty and of republicanism, the greatest disorder and most horrible excesses prevailed. It should have been plain to all the world that the republicanism of Marat and Danton, St. Just and Robespierre, was a wholly different thing from the republicanism of Adams and Franklin, Jefferson and Washington; but the monarchists of Europe and the Tories of the United States and the opponents of republicanism everywhere persistently confounded the two, and compelled the lovers of liberty here to suffer the opprobrium which belonged solely to the political demagogues and fanatics of France. "Behold," they continually cried, "the fruits which grow on your boasted tree of liberty." And it was very long before a clear distinction was recognized and expressed in the world's thought and language; but finally the republicanism of 1776 came to be known as *American*, in contradistinction from that of 1789, which was labelled *French*. It is very probable that France will in future develop other and superior forms of republicanism, and indeed her present republicanism appears to have little in common with that of 1789.

Communism is another unfortunate word, whose history has been similar to that of republicanism. America took the lead in the establishment of certain organizations, like the Shakers and Harmonists, based on Communism of property, and hence called Communities. Other Communities followed, successful and otherwise, but all carrying on their experiments without interference with common society or hostility to it. This was the normal character of American Communism. It was free from every form of compulsion and conservative of property, order and morality. It aimed to improve the present social condition of the world, but it relied mainly upon example, and asked only vol-

untary individual coöperation, and contemplated no violent or sudden revolutions in society. This fact was becoming recognized, and the word Communism in a fair way to acquire honor if not renown, when, lo! another form of Communism enters the field, as widely contrasting with American Communism as we have described it, as the American republicanism of 1776 contrasted with the French republicanism of 1789. This new form of Communism demanded that society as a whole should at once resolve itself into a state of common property, which would really be compulsory Communism, and would amount to plunder of the upper classes by the lower. Moreover, it would necessarily result in anarchy and enormous waste, if it did not end in universal poverty. It aimed at controlling the functions of government and society. In a word, it was the Communism of force. It manifested itself on a large scale and displayed these inherent characteristics in France during and immediately following the Franco-Prussian war, and hence has been called French Communism. It showed itself in other countries, and was called European Communism, International Communism, etc. We do not care to insist upon its retaining any of these names, and are far from wishing to condemn it as wholly wrong in character, tendency and objects. We only insist that so far as it has been characterized by compulsory elements, it is not allied to what is properly termed American Communism, and that this distinction should be kept clearly in mind by all who would speak or write intelligently on the subject. It may, and we hope will, outgrow these objectionable features, but until it does there is no fairness in confounding the two kinds of Communism. The Communism which has been practically illustrated in the United States during the last four-score years is voluntary, peaceful, conservative. From it there is no violence to be feared. If there is a "strike" or "outbreak" or "uprising" or "mob" or "disorder" or "destruction" any-where or of any kind, it may be safely assumed that Communism, in the true American sense of the word, is in no manner responsible for it. It abhors every form of compulsion.

THE BETTER WAY.

A DEEP and broad gulf exists between the rich and poor—the capitalists and laborers. On the one side there is wealth and all that wealth can buy—all the comforts and luxuries of life—education, art, leisure, and all that pleases and gratifies the human mind. On the other side there is toil and want, suffering and starvation, ignorance and misery. It is perfectly demonstrable that could the inhabitants on both sides share alike there would be plenty for all; and hence the natural temptation to enforce equal distribution; and hence, too, the determination to resist compulsory division by those already resting in pleasant places. Hence, also, the defenses set up by the rich against the encroachments of the less fortunate, and the aggressive steps taken by the latter to secure what appears to them a part of their birthright—a fair proportion of the good things of life. The rich naturally desire to render the gulf broader and deeper, and their efforts to accomplish this only stimulate endeavors to cross it on the part of the poor. Such "strikes" as have been just witnessed in our country all along our great thoroughfares are only the efforts of storming-parties to pass the gulf. They know it is not impassable. Thousands who were once on their side are now on the other, and show no disposition to return.

Now it is singular that so few have conceived of the plan of constructing a safe bridge across the gulf. There is only required a few sound plank made out of the timber of agreement. Such a bridge, if of ample dimensions, would enable persons to pass easily from the side of want to that of plenty and comfort, without risk of tumbling into the gulf, and would render wholly useless and even ridiculous all the operations of storming-parties.

Many of the English laborers have availed them-

selves, to some extent, of such a bridge, and have found it a grand thing. From oppressed and starving laborers they have become employers and capitalists themselves. Charles Nordhoff, in his "Communitistic Societies of the United States," undertook to bring this means of passing the gulf to the attention of American laborers. That was the avowed object of his book. He saw that storming-parties were springing up on every hand, and that there would be no end of the strife and destruction—loss of property and of life—that would ensue unless some quiet and safe way were found for crossing the chasm. He saw, too, that the various Communities of the United States had found such a way and had crossed over safe and sound, and were rejoicing in happiness, peace and plenty. And he rightly concluded that he should be doing the laborers, the common people of our country, a valuable service, by describing in detail the bridges constructed by these Communists, and their manner of passing from one side of the gulf to the other, and their present conditions and prospects. And we can not perhaps do our readers a better service at the present time than by quoting that portion of his introduction to the work already mentioned, bearing directly on these points. He says:

"Though it is probable that for a long time to come the mass of mankind in civilized countries will find it both necessary and advantageous to labor for wages, and to accept the condition of hired laborers (or, as it has absurdly become the fashion to say, employes), every thoughtful and kind-hearted person must regard with interest any device or plan which promises to enable at least the more intelligent, enterprising and determined part of those who are not capitalists, to become such, and to cease to labor for hire.

"Nor can any one doubt the great importance, both to the security of the capitalists, and to the intelligence and happiness of the non-capitalists (if I may use so awkward a word), of increasing the number of avenues to independence for the latter. For the character and conduct of our own population in the United States show conclusively that nothing so stimulates intelligence in the poor, and at the same time nothing so well enables them to bear the inconveniences of their lot, as a reasonable prospect that with industry and economy they may raise themselves out of the condition of hired laborers into that of independent employers of their own labor. Take away entirely the grounds for such a hope, and a great mass of our poorer people would gradually sink into stupidity and a blind discontent, which education would only increase, until they became a danger to the state; for the greater their intelligence, the greater would be the dissatisfaction with their situation—just as we see that the dissemination of education among the English agricultural laborers (by whom, of all classes in Christendom, independence is least to be hoped for), has lately aroused these sluggish beings to strikes and a struggle for a change in their condition.

"Hitherto, in the United States, our cheap and fertile lands have acted as an important safety-valve for the enterprise and discontent of our non-capitalist population. Every hired workman knows that if he chooses to use economy and industry in his calling, he may without great or insurmountable difficulty establish himself in independence on the public lands; and, in fact, a large proportion of our most energetic and intelligent mechanics do constantly seek these lands, where with patient toil they master nature and adverse circumstances, often make fortunate and honorable careers, and at the worst leave their children in an improved condition of life. I do not doubt that the eagerness of some of our wisest public men for the acquisition of new territory has arisen from their conviction that this opening for the independence of laboring men was essential to the security of our future as a free and peaceful state. For, though not one in a hundred, or even one in a thousand of our poorer and so-called laboring class may choose to actually achieve independence by taking up and tilling a portion of the public lands, it is plain that the knowledge that any one may do so makes those who do not more contented with their lot, which they thus feel to be one of choice and not of compulsion."

[Here follow several pages devoted to Trades-Unions and International Clubs, which, Mr. Nordhoff attempts to show, have only been means of evil to the industrial, educational and practical interests of our country. He

therefore directs his attention with the more interest to the Communist Societies:]

"I have thought it useful to examine these, to see if their experience offers any useful hints toward the solution of the labor question. Hitherto very little, indeed almost nothing definite and precise, has been made known concerning these societies; and Communism remains loudly but very vaguely spoken of, by friends as well as enemies, and is commonly a word either of terror or of contempt in the public prints.

"It appears to me an important fact that these societies, composed for the most part of men originally farmers or mechanics—people of very limited means and education—have yet succeeded in accumulating considerable wealth, and at any rate a satisfactory provision for their own old age and disability, and for the education of their children or successors. In every case they have developed among their membership very remarkable business ability, considering their original station in life; they have found among themselves leaders wise enough to rule, and skill sufficient to enable them to establish and carry on, not merely agricultural operations, but also manufactures, and to conduct successfully complicated business affairs.

"Some of these societies have existed fifty, some twenty-five, and some for nearly eighty years. All began with small means; and some are now very wealthy.

"Moreover, while some of these Communes are still living under the guidance of their founders, others, equally successful, have continued to prosper for many years after the death of their original leaders. Some are celibate; but others inculcate, or at least permit, marriage. Some gather their members into a common or 'unitary' dwelling; but others, with no less success, maintain the family relation and the separate household.

"It seemed to me that the conditions of success vary sufficiently among these societies to make their histories at least interesting and perhaps important. I was curious, too, to ascertain if their success depended upon obscure conditions, not generally attainable, as extraordinary ability in a leader; or undesirable, as religious fanaticism or an unnatural relation of the sexes; or whether it might not appear that the conditions absolutely necessary to success were only such as any company of carefully selected and reasonably determined men and women might hope to command.

"I desired also to discover how the successful Communists had met and overcome the difficulties of idleness, selfishness, and unthrift in individuals, which are commonly believed to make Communism impossible, and which are well summed up in the following passage in Mr. Mill's chapter on Communism:

"The objection ordinarily made to a system of Community of property and equal distribution of the produce, that each person would be incessantly occupied in evading his fair share of the work, points undoubtedly, to a real difficulty. But those who urge this objection forget to how great an extent the same difficulty exists under the system of which nine-tenths of the business of society is now conducted. The objection supposes that honest and efficient labor is only to be had from those who are themselves individually to reap the benefit of their own exertions. But how small a part of the labor performed in England, from the lowest paid to the highest, is done by persons working for their own benefit. From the Irish reaper or hodman to the chief justice or the minister of state, nearly all the work of society is remunerated by day wages or fixed salaries. A factory operative has less personal interest in his work than a member of a Communist association, since he is not, like him, working for a partnership of which he is himself a member. It will no doubt be said that, though the laborers themselves have not, in most cases, a personal interest in their work, they are watched and superintended, and their labor directed, and the mental part of the labor performed, by persons who have. Even this, however, is far from being universally the fact. In all public and many of the largest and most successful private undertakings, not only the labors of detail, but the control and superintendence are intrusted to salaried officers. And though the 'master's eye,' when the master is vigilant and intelligent, is of proverbial value, it must be remembered that in a Socialist farm or manufactory, each laborer would be under the eye, not of one master, but of the whole community. In the extreme case of obstinate perseverance in not performing the due share of work, the community would have the same resources which society now has for compelling conformity to the necessary conditions of the association. Dismissal, the only remedy at present, is no remedy when any other laborer who may be engaged does no better than his predecessor: the power of dismissal only enables an employer to obtain from his workmen the customary amount of labor; but that customary labor may be of any degree of inefficiency. Even the laborer who loses his employment by idleness or negligence has nothing worse to suffer, in the most unfavorable case, than the discipline of a work-house, and if the desire to avoid this be a sufficient motive in the one system, it would be sufficient in the other. I am not undervaluing the strength of the incitement given to labor when the whole or a large share of the benefit of extra exertion belongs to the laborer. But under the present system of industry this incitement, in the great majority of cases, does not exist. If Communist labor might be less vigorous than that of a peasant proprietor, or a workman laboring on his own account, it would probably be more energetic than that of a laborer for hire, who has no personal interest in the matter at all. The neglect by the uneducated classes of laborers for hire of the duties which they engage to perform is in the present state of society most flagrant. Now it is an admitted condition of the Communist scheme that all shall be educated; and this being supposed, the duties of the members of the association would doubtless be as diligently performed as those of the generality of salaried officers in the middle or higher classes; who are not supposed to be necessarily

unfaithful to their trust, because so long as they are not dismissed their pay is the same in however lax a manner their duty is fulfilled. Undoubtedly, as a general rule, remuneration by fixed salaries does not in any class of functionaries produce the maximum of zeal; and this is as much as can be reasonably alleged against Communist labor.

"That even this inferiority would necessarily exist is by no means so certain as is assumed by those who are little used to carry their minds beyond the state of things with which they are familiar.

"Another of the objections to Communism is similar to that so often urged against poor-laws: that if every member of the community were assured of subsistence for himself and any number of children, on the sole condition of willingness to work, prudential restraint on the multiplication of mankind would be at an end, and population would start forward at a rate which would reduce the community through successive stages of increasing discomfort to actual starvation. There would certainly be much ground for this apprehension if Communism provided no motives to restraint, equivalent to those which it would take away. But Communism is precisely the state of things in which opinion might be expected to declare itself with greatest intensity against this kind of selfish intemperance. Any augmentation of numbers which diminished the comfort or increased the toil of the mass would then cause (which now it does not) immediate and unmistakable inconvenience to every individual in the association—inconvenience which could not then be imputed to the avarice of employers or the unjust privileges of the rich. In such altered circumstances opinion could not fail to reprobate, and if reprobation did not suffice, to repress by penalties of some description, this or any other culpable self-indulgence at the expense of the Community. The communistic scheme, instead of being peculiarly open to the objection drawn from danger of over-population, has the recommendation of tending in an especial degree to the prevention of that evil."

"It will be seen in the following pages that means have been found to meet these and other difficulties; in one society even, the prudential restraint upon marriage has been adopted.

"Finally, I wished to see what the successful Communists had made of their lives; what was the effect of communal living upon the character of the individual man and woman; whether the life had broadened or narrowed them; and whether assured fortune and pecuniary independence had brought to them a desire for beauty of surroundings and broader intelligence: whether, in brief, the Communist had anywhere become something more than a comfortable and independent day-laborer, and aspired to something higher than a mere bread-and-butter existence."

And as the result of all his observations among the Communities Nordhoff confesses that the Communist life "is so much freer from care and risk, so much easier, so much better in many ways, and in all material aspects," than "the life of an ordinary farmer or mechanic even in our prosperous country, and more especially than the lives of the workingmen and their families in our great cities," that he "*sincerely wishes it might have a farther development in the United States.*" This is only saying that the Communists have found a "better way" of crossing the gulf of separation between the different classes of society than the "strikers" and Trade-Unionists, and advising the latter to call off their storming-parties and try the bridges of Communism and other forms of agreement.

THE OLD RED COMMUNISM.

In these days of war and strikes, excitement and confusion of ideas, when ignorant men are destroying property in a foolish, reckless way, and superficial writers and talkers are hurling the words Communism and Socialism about in an equally foolish and reckless way, it may be well to stop and read a little from Ruskin as to what genuine Communism means. It was written in 1871, just after the news had come to him of the destructive work of the so-called Communists of Paris:

From *Fors Clavigera*.

"The newest of all these new ideas, and, in fact, quite a glistening and freshly-minted idea to me, is the Parisian notion of Communism, as far as I understand it (which I don't profess to do altogether, yet, or I should be wiser than I was, with a vengeance).

"For, indeed, I am myself a Communist of the old school—reddest also of the red; and was on the very point of saying so at the end of my last letter; only the telegram about the Louvre's being on fire stopped me, because I thought the Communists of the new school, as I could not at all understand them, might not quite understand me. For we Communists of the old school think that our property belongs to every body, and everybody's property to us; so of course I thought the Louvre belonged to me as much as to the Parisians, and expected they would have sent word over to me, being an Art Professor, to ask whether I wanted it burnt down. But no message or intimation to that effect ever reached me.

"Then the next bit of new coinage in the way of notion which I have picked up in Paris streets, is the present meaning of the French word 'Ouvrier,' which in my time the dictionaries used to give as 'Work-man, or 'Working-man.' For again I have spent many days, not to say years, with the working-men of our English school myself; and I know

that, with the more advanced of them, the gathering word is that which I gave you at the end of my second number—'To do good work, whether we live or die.' Whereas I perceive the gathering, or rather scattering, word of the French 'ouvrier' is, 'To *undo* good work, whether we live or die.'

"And this is the third, and the last, I will tell you for the present, of my new ideas, but a troublesome one: namely, that we are henceforward to have a duplicate power of political economy; and that the new Parisian expression for its first principle is not to be 'laissez faire,' but 'laissez re-faire.'

"I can not, however, make any thing of these new French fashions of thought till I have looked at them quietly a little; so to-day I will content myself with telling you what we Communists of the old school meant by Communism; and it will be worth your hearing, for—I tell you simply in my 'arrogant' way—we know, and have known, what Communism is—for our fathers knew it, and told us, three thousand years ago; while you baby Communists do not so much as know what the name means, in your own English or French—no, not so much as whether a House of Commons implies, or does not imply, also a House of Uncommons; nor whether the Holiness of the Commune, which Garibaldi came to fight for, had any relation to the Holiness of the 'Communion,' which he came to fight against.

"Will you be at the pains, now, however, to learn rightly, and once for all, what Communism is? First, it means that everybody must work in common, and do common or simple work for his dinner; and that if any man will not do it, he must not have his dinner. That much, perhaps, you thought you knew?—but you did not think we Communists of the old school knew it also. You shall have it, then, in the words of the Chelsea farmer and stout Catholic, I was telling you of, in last number. He was born in Milk Street, London, three hundred and ninety-one years ago (1480, a year I have just been telling my Oxford pupils to remember for manifold reasons), and he planned a Commune flowing with milk and honey, and otherwise Elysian; and called it the 'Place of Wellbeing,' or Utopia; which is a word you perhaps have occasionally used before now, like others, without understanding it. You shall use it in that stupid way no more, if I can help it. Listen how matters really are managed there."

[Here follows an extract from More's Utopia, showing how by all the people working only six hours a day, in an organized way, abundance of all necessary things was produced, and the public wealth constantly increased.]

"You see, therefore, that there is never any fear among us of the old school, of being out of work; but there is great fear, among many of us, lest we should not do the work set us well; for, indeed, we thorough-going Communists make it a part of our daily duty to consider how common we are; and how few of us have any brains or souls worth speaking of or fit to trust to:—that being the, alas, almost unexceptionable lot of human creatures. * * * * *

And therefore our chief concern is to find out any among us wiser and of better make than the rest, and to get them, if they will for any persuasion take the trouble, to rule over us, and teach us how to behave, and make the most of what little good is in us.

"So much for the first law of old Communism, respecting work. Then the second respects property, and it is that the public, or commonwealth, shall be more and staterlier in all its substance than private or singular wealth; that is to say (to come to my own special business for a moment), that there shall be only cheap and few pictures, if any, in the insides of houses, where nobody but the owner can see them; but costly pictures, and many, on the outsides of houses, where the people can see them: also that the Hôtel-de-Ville, or Hotel of the whole Town, for the transaction of its common business, shall be a magnificent building, much rejoiced in by the people, and with its tower seen far away through the clear air; but that the hotels for private business or pleasure, cafés, taverns, and the like, shall be low, few, plain, and in the back streets; more especially such as furnish singular and uncommon drinks and refreshments; but that the fountains which furnish the people's common drink should be very lovely and stately, and adorned with precious marbles, and the like. Then farther, according to old Communism, the private dwellings of uncommon persons—dukes and lords—are to be very simple, and roughly put together—such persons being supposed to be above all care for things that please the commonalty; but the buildings for public or common service, more especially schools, almshouses, and work houses, are to be externally of a majestic character, as being for noble purposes and charities; and in their interiors furnished with many luxuries for the poor and sick. And, finally and chiefly, it is an absolute law of old Communism that the fortunes of private persons should be small, and of little account in the State; but the common treasure of the whole nation should be of superb and precious things in redundant quantity, as pictures, statues, precious books; gold and silver vessels, preserved from ancient times; gold and silver bullion laid up for use, in case of any chance need of buying any thing suddenly from foreign nations; noble horses, cattle, and sheep, on the public lands; and vast

spaces of land for culture, exercise, and garden, round the cities, full of flowers, which, being everybody's property, nobody could gather; and of birds which, being everybody's property, nobody could shoot. And, in a word, that instead of a common poverty, or national debt, which every poor person in the nation is taxed annually to fulfill his part of, there should be a commonwealth, or national reverse of debt, consisting of pleasant things, which every poor person in the nation should be summoned to receive his dole of, annually; and of pretty things, which every person capable of admiration, foreigners as well as natives, should unfeignedly admire, in an æsthetic, and not a covetous manner (though for my own part I can't understand what it is that I am taxed now to defend, or what foreign nations are supposed to covet, here). But truly, a nation that has got any thing to defend of real public interest, can usually hold it; and a fat Latin communist gave for sign of the strength of his commonalty, in its strongest time,—

*'Privatus illis census erat brevis,
Commune magnum;'*

which you may get any of your boys and girls to translate for you, and remember; remembering, also, that the commonalty or publicity depends for its goodness on the nature of the thing that is common, and that is public. When the French cried 'Vive la République!' after the battle of Sedan, they were thinking only of the Public, in the word, and not of the Re in it. But that is the essential part of it, for that 'Re' is not like the mischievous Re in Reform, and Refaire, which the words had better be without, but it is short for *res*, which means 'things'; and when you cry, 'Live the Republic,' the question is mainly, what thing it is you wish to be publicly alive, and whether you are striving for a Commonwealth, and Public-Thing; or, as too plainly in Paris, for a Common-Ilth, and Public-Nothing, or even Public-Less-than-nothing and Common Deficit."

HOW IT IS TO BE DONE.

It is generally known that there is a wide diversity of opinion as to how many people this noble old planet of ours will sustain under favorable circumstances. Many intelligent people of the present day agree with Mr. Malthus in the belief that some voluntary checks on human procreation will eventually become necessary, even when every inch of ground has been brought to its highest culture, in order to limit the world's population within its food-producing capacity. Other writers, however, scout this idea as a very silly notion. In their opinion there will always be food enough, propagate as fast as we may. In the Platform of the "Independent Bread Winner's League," which we have just had the advantage of perusing, this idea is put forth in the following form:

"Art. 7. That our natural wealth, undeveloped and boundless, justifies any increase of population, and such increase, however rapid, if properly distributed throughout the country, should not be a cause of suffering to the many, but of prosperity to all."

If every body could be persuaded of this, and could come to believe that it applied, not only to the immediate future, but to all time, we might put by all anxiety for our posterity and let the population question take care of itself. But the above resolution gives no statistics and is otherwise not wholly satisfactory, and we are happy to have found some further and more explicit information as to how an unlimited population is to be sustained. One of our exchanges has a disquisition on "The Increase of Population," by a learned "Doctor." Speaking of the future food supply this writer says:

"The first remarkable change, then, in the nourishment of the future will be the entire disuse of animal food, with the exception of fish; and even the production of plants will be reduced to those that science shall have discovered to be most absolutely useful and necessary. There is not the slightest doubt that we shall enjoy more happiness than we do now. Our food will be free from adulteration, and dyspepsia and physicians will be utterly unknown. As the elements to repair the waste of tissue in our systems all exist in the atmosphere, and in the bowels of the earth, and as nothing is either added to or diminished from nature, it is manifest that we can provide for all our wants that may arise if we can only discover the laws relating to the changes of form so as to hold the balance properly between, and regulate supply and demand. We must be able to mix the elements of sustenance in their proper measures. Therefore, this admixture will in future become the greatest study that can occupy the mind of the race. To the wonderful discoveries that may be effected in this boundless field of scientific research, we are at present unable to see any limits, and it will only be by limitation in this field that the multiplication of humanity can be checked. * * * * *

"We shall abolish all kinds of food that contain but a small percentage of nourishment and which have a tendency to make the body heavy and stupid, such as cabbage and potatoes. We shall confine our sources of nourishment to the articles which contain the most highly nutritious elements in the smallest quantities. In this respect the minera-

kingdom will play a very important part. As an example of drawing large supplies from this source we might refer the reader to the history of the arsenic-eaters in the mountainous regions of Europe. They have accustomed themselves from youth up to take arsenic at first in very small quantities. These arsenic-eaters are robust, healthy and fat."

It will be seen that the food of the future is to be of such a condensed nature that a little of it will be quite as nutritious and healthy as a larger quantity. But the writer does not stop with the matter of the food supply. He points out how the unlimited population is to be lodged:

"All the forests and marshes will be turned into fertile fields and gardens, and the deserts will be made to blossom as the rose. It is scarcely necessary in a philosophic article of this day to discuss the manner in which this will be done, as the possibility of it will be taken for granted, and we have no time or space for details at this stage of such an important subject. There will always be room enough and to spare, however, and we would not advise the ignorant homicides who now erect tenement houses to persist in doing so, anticipating a dearth of space at some period in the future centuries. We are of the opinion that it would be best first to cover the entire surface, except certain portions necessary for the production of food, with houses not exceeding three stories, erected with due regard for ventilation and the latest sanitary improvements. The lower animals will all of course gradually disappear in the order of their utility, to make room for the higher intelligences, on the principle of the survival of the fittest. Lions, elephants, crocodiles and even the horse, the dog, the cat and the monkey, will be ruthlessly exterminated, in spite of Mr. Bergh's protestations.

"Some inquisitive reader, unmindful of the Christian injunction not to make foolish inquiries beyond what is written, may ask, 'When will these things be, and what then? What shall we do when the entire earth is covered, and we have scarcely space enough to move about, or, as we say in common parlance, 'elbow room,' and scarcely land sufficient when raised to its highest productive capacity to give us enough sustenance?' We answer, By that time engineering skill will have made such progress that it will be easily practicable to bring into general use the celebrated hanging-gardens of Babylon; and it requires very little imagination to conceive the brilliant idea of erecting a first story all over the earth with abundant appliances to afford sufficient ventilation to dwellers on terra firma. Then there can be a universal basement excavated for the convenience of the inhabitants of the ground floor. We simply make these general statements to point out the solution to the question of space."

Don't you see? If a race of men should be developed who could subsist on such concentrated food as arsenic, strychnine, and the like, their stomachs would not need to be larger than butternuts; and if their other organs gradually diminished to similar proportions, there would be room for an immense number of the little fellows in those hanging-gardens! By the way, the hanging-gardens might be put up so as to swing like great hammocks. This would make a delightful breeze for those residing in the "sky parlor," and would at the same time fan the dwellers on the "ground floor" and in the "universal basement." F. W. S.

THE MALTHUSIAN LEAGUE.

HAVING lately received from our correspondents inquiries as to what were the doctrines of Malthus on the population question, to which reference is so frequently made, we judge that a brief account of a Society which has just been organized in England for the purpose of pushing forward the inquiries which Malthus began, will be interesting to all our readers. This society is the direct outgrowth of the trial and conviction of Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant for selling Dr. Knowlton's pamphlet entitled "The Fruits of Philosophy." Perhaps if we reprint part of the report of the Committee appointed to draw up laws, etc., for the Society, it will give a sufficient idea. We quote from the report as it is given in the *National Reformer*:

"RULES.

"I.—Name.

"That this Society be called 'The Malthusian League.'

"II.—Objects.

"That the objects of this Society be:

"1. To agitate for the abolition of all penalties on the public discussion of the Population Question, and to obtain such a statutory definition as shall render it impossible, in the future, to bring such discussions within the scope of the common law as a misdemeanor.

"2. To spread among the people, by all practicable means, a knowledge of the law of population, of its consequences, and of its bearing upon human conduct and morals.

"III.—Principles.

"1. That population has a constant tendency to increase beyond the means of subsistence."

"2. That the checks which counteract this tendency are

resolvable into positive or life-destroying, and prudential or birth-restricting.

"3. That the positive or life-destroying checks comprehend the premature death of children and adults by disease, starvation, war and infanticide.

"4. That the prudential or birth-restricting checks consist in the limitation of offspring by abstinence from marriage, or by prudence after marriage.

"5. That prolonged abstinence from marriage—as advocated by Malthus—is productive of many diseases and of much sexual vice; early marriage, on the contrary, tends to insure sexual purity, domestic comfort, social happiness, and individual health; but it is a grave social offense for men and women to bring into the world more children than they can adequately house, feed, clothe and educate.

"6. That over-population is the most fruitful source of pauperism, ignorance, crime, and disease.

"7. That the full and open discussion of the Population Question is a matter of vital moment to society, and such discussion should be absolutely unfettered by fear of legal penalties."

COMMUNISM AND THE STRIKES.

Mungerville, Mich., July 26, 1877.

EDITOR AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—The questions your paper discusses are of vital importance to this country and should be studied by every thinker and well-wisher of his country's prosperity. I am thoroughly convinced that a Community of interests based upon love and true religion is the best safeguard of life, property and happiness. Just at this time when the country is shocked and paralyzed by the magnitude of the riots and bad blood aroused by the strikers from Baltimore to Missouri, we can the more readily apprehend the need of companies and their employes working for each other's interests in money, family-comforts, education, religious privileges, etc., etc. If this can be secured on some practical basis, it is the desideratum of the age. If familism can be merged in Communism and all work together on the plan of the Russian Mir, or some modification of it, so that all can see their interests respected, and food, clothing and shelter guaranteed, strikes, rings, monopolies and money must end. Men with families who are out of employ, and have no resources to fall back upon, seeing the dear ones starving and naked before their eyes, become desperate, and unless government or society can and will provide for the pressing necessities of life, insurrection, strikes, mobs, robbery and murder will scar and curse this "land of the free" and home of oppressed. Unless it be voluntarily done, some terrible social cyclone, hurricane or earthquake shock may drive the people and the government into measures that will force them to cooperate, all working for each, and each for all. And only in this condition can the golden rule be made practical and obligatory. Respectfully, D. HIGBIE, M. D.

ENGLISH VIEW OF COMPETISM.

From the *Coöperative News*.

To judge from the present aspect of the labor market and the trading world, things could not be much worse with the producers of wealth. The periodical glut in production, and the consequent stagnation in distribution, have left many homes destitute, and the condition between employers and employed most unsatisfactory; indeed, what was gained by the workmen in the time of prosperity is lost again in the present hour of adversity. Ay, and, if events speak truly, even more than was made good in the last struggle.

Competive society is a curse from any point at which it might be viewed. On the part of the "Upper Ten Thousand," it brings no solid satisfaction and true happiness. It is their position to dread any political change from the agitation of the masses, and to anxiously manipulate all political reform from a fear that their powerful social position may, in some way, be weakened, or absolutely wrested from them. Even so with the middle or commercial classes. They feel no security. The gains of to-day may be lost to-morrow. Eager to enter into the ranks of the "Upper Ten Thousand," they speculate, traffic, grind the face of the poor, and do all and every thing to make and accumulate wealth; and then, by a sudden turn of the wheel of fortune, find themselves, from a collapsing state of trade, at the bottom rung of the ladder again, and once more at work eagerly mounting the steps of their ambition, this time, if possible, to reach the giddy height of the "Ten," and perhaps to obtain a title. Following the middle, come the humbler classes; but with them the struggle is to live. Competition has placed them prone on the earth, the middle classes using their bodies on which to place their ladders of ambition, and to make their scramble after position, a step higher in the world. And even then to be disappointed, as in ninety-nine cases out of the hundred the upper ten will not admit these plebeians, having no blue blood in their veins, or being short of a million or two to buy a title, or to purchase a bride in whose aristocratic person flows the blood

of a hundred barons. Such is the character of the society in which we now live, and move, and have our being. Competition curses all, makes property and person unsafe, mocks at and disappoints ambition, and makes of the whole family of man fourteen hundred millions of opposing units.

In this wretched, scrambling, reckless world, the producer of wealth is held down with his face to the earth. As now, in times of adversity, he is the shuttlecock or football of the manufacturing and distributing classes, knocked here, kicked there, as their profits sink, and the social distance between themselves and the upper ten thousand becomes greater from the want of trade. Under such circumstances what can exist but antagonism? Yesterday there was a demand for labor, and a strike could command all it asked for. To-day, there is no demand, and a lock-out can bring down the price of labor ten, fifteen, or twenty per cent. Tomorrow the demand for labor will come again, and then the capitalist will "cave in" and cry aloud for arbitration. And thus the see-saw of antagonism goes up and down, and every seven years' term of production and glut has its ins and its outs—now capital, now labor; now lock-outs, now strikes; now compulsory grants from the hoardings of capital, now drainings from the last funds of labor; bankruptcy on the one hand, the poorhouse on the other. Such is the social duel, constantly at war; such is the economy of capital, such is the economy of labor; competition ever measuring the paces, and preparing the arms of the combatants; death and ruin being the ultimate and fatal results to both.

Certainly, this state of continuous warfare need not exist. Neither is it to the interest of any that it should exist. In that one word, "coöperation," there is a remedy for all! But the difficulty is to make that fact clear to the understandings of all.

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 2, 1877.

It might be shown that Patriotism is Communism. Indeed it is self-evidently so by its definition. A patriot is one who sacrifices or is ready to sacrifice his private interest for the common interest. That is what men praise in good rulers and good soldiers. And that is Communism.

Then it might be shown that the terrible troubles that are upon this nation and the world, are owing to the lack of Patriotism. Government is becoming impossible because rulers seek their own and not the common good. In other words, the world is perishing for lack of Communism.

No balancing of selfishness against selfishness will ever make good government. No organization of greedy passions, such as Fourierism proposes, will make good government. Nothing short of conscientious self-sacrificing Patriotism ever did or ever will make good government. Wherever there has been any approach to good government, there have been men, few or many, who regarded the nation as their family, and sacrificed themselves and their families for the public good. In fact, it is only as the spirit of the day of Pentecost has been developed, more or less, in the leaders of mankind, that there has been any government other than that of wild beasts—the law of the strongest.

Then, conversely, it might be shown that none but Patriots are true Communists. Men may believe in Communism and live in Communities, but if they are seeking their own—if they have not hearts devoted to the public interest—they are not Communists.

DUTIES OF THE RICH.

Now that the fury of the "strikers" has nearly spent itself, it is natural to ask, as some of the papers are doing, Is there to be no punishment of the rioters? Is every thing to be condoned? Are men to be permitted to indulge in such wholesale pillage and murder—to destroy millions of property—to stop the circulation of the great arteries of trade, and threaten our large cities with famine and bankruptcy, and yet go "scot free?" It is feared, and with good reason, that if the originators and organizers of the movement are not severely dealt with they will be encouraged to repeat it again and again, until they become entire masters of the situation, able to dictate their own terms to capitalists and employers.

But attention should not be wholly confined to this side of the subject. There is another set of questions that may also be appropriately urged at the present crisis. For example: What shall be the attitude of the rich toward the poor? Have they not new lessons to learn and new duties to perform? Should they go on as in the past, accumulating fortunes without limit, regardless of the conditions of the poor around them? Can they reasonably expect security from pillage and other evils if they keep a single eye to their own gain? Ought they not to step down and become leaders and teachers of the less fortunate in the ways of prosperity? And, still further, ought they not to enter into practi-

cal coöperation with them. We confess for ourselves that these and similar questions, touching the responsibilities of the higher classes, seem to us quite as important as those which regard the present punishment of the evil doers. We would not utter a word that can be tortured into approval of the late "strike." We see nought but folly and madness in its conception and consequences; but let us pluck from it the flower of wisdom, for all that.

Our great manufacturers and capitalists are not yet prepared for Communism, neither are common laborers; but are not both prepared for some form of mutual help? We think they are, and that now is a good time for a more general establishment of such relations, for instance, as exist between the Cheney brothers and their workmen at South Manchester, Conn. Who among the rich will emulate the example of the noble Ward Cheney, chief of the brothers? Of him the Rt. Rev. Bishop Clark said: "In his business relations he practically solved the vexed question of the adjustment of labor and capital; and he did it by identifying his own interests with those of the persons in his employ, and by making them feel that their interests were identical with his. And where in all the land, where in all the world, can you find a manufacturing village, in all its appointments, superior to South Manchester? Here men and women and children find not merely a roof to shelter them, and food and raiment to keep them alive, but every thing is done to make life desirable: here are pleasant and attractive homes, with flowers and gardens; here are parks and fountains and churches and libraries and reading-rooms, and all varieties of wholesome amusement; the money which the laborer earns for his employer is in a good degree expended for his benefit, and as a matter of course peace and goodwill always prevail."

More than new and stringent legislation, more than an increased military force, more even than the punishment of past offenders, there is needed, for security against the repetition of the horrors of the recent conflict between labor and capital, more institutions like that at South Manchester, more capitalists who will do for their workmen what the Cheney brothers have done for the fourteen hundred whom they have gathered around them. It is idle to suppose that the poor will be permanently contented except as they are made to realize that there is some bond of unity and interest between them and the rich. Better, a thousand times better, were there no such wide class-distinctions; but this is looking too far ahead. What is most needed to-day is such practical philanthropy on the part of monied men as was displayed by Ward Cheney, chief of the noble brotherhood—who made the interests of his laborers his own.

A PLAN FOR THE RAILROAD MEN.

If the recent strikes have demonstrated any thing it is, that the laboring men can not ameliorate their present hard lot by any violent or lawless action. So long as they preserve a peaceable and manly behavior in stating their wrongs and seeking relief from their employers, the public sympathy goes with them; but when they begin to use violence, to burn and pillage, they are immediately looked upon as savages and enemies of society. Then public sentiment condemns them and they are suppressed by the strong hand of the government. The instinct which leads these men to organize themselves into a society under leaders is a good one. But unfortunately the leaders in whom the men have confided have not shown themselves wise enough for the places they hold. They have been too ready to assume that there is a necessary hostility between capital and labor, and that the working-man must fight his employers on occasion, in order to secure his full rights. In this the leaders have been looking in the wrong direction for relief. If, instead of organizing strikes, they would study how they might improve the homes of the laborers and furnish them the necessaries of life at lower prices, the present distress would soon decrease. To illustrate the methods we would recommend, we will roughly sketch a plan suitable for these railroad men to enter upon at once.

Let all the men employed on one of the great trunk roads—say the Baltimore and Ohio, on which the late strikes began—organize themselves into what we will call the "Baltimore and Ohio Coöperative Union," with a President and competent Board of Directors. The object of this Union will be to procure for its members groceries, coal, clothing, fresh and preserved fruits, etc., at the lowest possible prices. We do not know how many men are employed on that road and its branches, but as there are about one hundred and fifty thousand

men on all the railroads in the United States, we will suppose the Baltimore and Ohio has three thousand who might be persuaded to enter the proposed "Coöperative Union." This would include train-men, those employed at stations and on the track. After the Union is thoroughly organized, the first duty of the Board of Directors will be to hire an honest and capable man to act as buyer, and to furnish him with a suitable store-room in one of the large cities on the line of the road in which he may choose to locate. The buyer would need one or two assistants. The three thousand men composing the Union would now form themselves into little clubs at each town where they reside. Each club would appoint a manager to call for money in advance, keep accounts, and preside over the distribution of goods purchased. At convenient periods, say once a week or once a month, the members of these clubs would state their wants and hand in to their managers enough money to cover the probable cost. The managers would credit each member with the exact amount handed in, and would then send in to the general buyer the club order. When the goods arrived the managers would also oversee the distribution, charging each man for what he had, according to the buyer's receipted bill. The buyer, having entire control of the trade of three thousand men and their families, and having always ready cash to offer in payment, could secure the goods needed at the very lowest wholesale prices. Buying in bulk, he and his assistants would make up such parcels as were ordered by the clubs and promptly dispatch them to the several towns along the line. It is probable that if the railroad authorities were approached in the right spirit they would cheerfully consent to transport such supplies for their men without charge. In this way the men would begin to realize a marked saving at once. They would get better articles at a much less price than they now do. They would secure for themselves the profits which now go to the numerous retail dealers. Undoubtedly there would at first be some friction in the working of even this simple plan, but as the men became accustomed to it and to each other, every thing would go easily.

The trade of three thousand men, or even of a much less number, would abundantly justify the organization of such a buying establishment as we have outlined. But after a suitable experience in this plan there would be a fine opportunity for realizing a further profit. The buyer and his assistants could be authorized to increase their stock and sell from it to persons outside the Union. Of course they would charge outsiders higher prices than those charged members of the Union, but, their expenses being already provided for, they could still undersell the regular dealers and thus secure an enormous trade, the profits on which would be divided among the members of the Union. These profits would in time become so considerable as to place the railroad men, one and all, in very comfortable circumstances. Additional retail stores for outsiders could be opened at the best points along the line of the road, the general buyer of the Union keeping them supplied.

Of course the men would have to learn to be patient and forbearing before they could realize the advantages of any such scheme, but does any other plan offer as hopeful an outlook to them? F. W. S.

ESSENTIAL INSTITUTIONS.

HUMAN society is made up of certain institutions which seem to be essential, as they are found everywhere and at all times, appearing to be as permanent and universal as human nature itself. Not to go back to the most primitive states of society of which we have any knowledge, we may consider what belongs to the conception of a nation or state, which, in the earlier period of its history, though having attained independence and self-conscious existence, has not yet developed all the complex and intricate machinery of an enlarged and cultivated commercial and social life. In such a conception we shall find that certain institutions are indispensable parts of the whole, and so we may say are essential to the existence of society itself.

The first thing we notice in such a nation or state is that it has a government of some sort. Some organization of all the constituent members of the state is adopted at the outset; in some way or other they resolve themselves into governors and governed, those coming into place who possess and exercise authority to express the voice of the state as a whole, and to use its aggregated power for self-preservation in repelling attacks from foreign enemies or in protecting rights and suppressing crime and domestic violence. The government may be of a monarchical, aristocratical, or democratic type, or it may combine two or more of them; but whatever the type, the government is more or less steadily fixed, and

we have no reason to suppose society can exist without such an institution. New and better forms may be discovered and more perfect machinery may be brought into use, but government as a social institution is essential and probably ineradicable.

The next thing noticeable in a state is the institution of property. We connect with the idea of nationality the qualities of stability and continuance, and these require that the state should be measurably self-dependent. To be self-dependent the people must occupy themselves with agriculture, producing from the primal source the necessaries of life. When production by labor and care begins, the idea of ownership and the institution of property come into being. Even in nomadic states, when man abandons the chase and fishing as the principal or sole means of subsistence, and betakes himself to the care of flocks and herds, ownership becomes distinctly marked. But property is more firmly established when the cultivation of the soil begins, and thenceforward gets deeper and wider root as an essential institution of society.

When men begin to own things the next thing in order is the making of agreements with each other about such ownership, buying and selling take place and the transferring of ownership from one to another. As the state develops, ideas of economy come in, and instead of each person or head of a family trying to produce all that he or they need, division of labor takes place; one tills the soil, another builds houses, another makes clothing, shoes, etc., another engages in trade and facilitates exchanges and all enter to a greater or less extent on the making of contracts, simple and elementary at first, and growing more and more complex and important as social and commercial life expand and are diversified. With contract, obligation, continually deepening, becomes connected, and at last an institution is established of binding force upon all the members of the state whose requirements can not be violated with impunity; the institution of contract, without which it is hardly conceivable that any but the rudest state, scarcely deserving the name of society, is possible.

Again, the state is seen to be not merely an aggregation of individuals without inter-relations or being combined in any way, but rather an assemblage of groups founded on relation by blood or affinity or both. Anterior to the existence of society properly so called, or at least before society develops into a nation or state, a domestic condition or institution is developed and becomes more or less firmly grounded and entrenched. Marriage in some one of its many forms exists; the relations of husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters, and the like, are recognized, and of these are formed the family, patriarchal or other; and these again, as in many primitive states, grouping into "village communities;" and as society has not been found to exist in any form without the family, we may say that it is, as to its substance, if not its form, essential to society.

We have then these four institutions, government, property, voluntary promises or contracts, and family life and relations, which we assume to be facts of society, present every-where and in all stages of national development. The generality and permanence of these facts justify their being called essential. They are written in the record of human nature wherever kept. All ancient history, every traveler's story, every body of law however old, all customs and traditions, give evidence of their substantial existence in some form or other.

If they are essential, we must in some way take them into account in our efforts at Socialistic improvement and organization. Dispense with them or destroy them we can not if we desired to do so, any more than we can destroy society or our nature itself. Just now some leading papers seek to make the impression that Communism would destroy these institutions, and especially that it would abolish property in fact if not in name, resolve all obligation into that of the rich to divide with and provide for the poor, and would resort to flame and sword to compel these things. A greater misnomer is not possible than that of calling those who would so act, Communists. A type of this sort of Communism may have been produced in Europe among the galled and jaded victims of centuries of class domination, whom poverty and want have made fierce and mad with wretchedness and pain, but such Communism is misnamed. Communism means communion and unity. It is the work of agreement and concord. It produces order, security and peace. So far from dispensing with any of the essential institutions of society it finds more and more need of the substance of all of them, however much it may seek to improve them, and make them subserve the greater interests of society as a whole. How Communism conserves government, property, etc., I will endeavor to show in future articles. J. W. T.

ANOTHER PUZZLE.

THERE is another thing which I don't understand very well, and I don't think the village folks understand it either, for they sometimes speak of it as though it were a puzzle to them. I don't understand how it is that Mr. Albright and his wife get along so well as they do, and always seem so healthy and prosperous and happy, when the other families in the village look very anxious and careworn, and as though life were a burden that they would gladly let drop. Mr. Albright is a large shoe manufacturer, but instead of leaving his wife at home to wear out her life in bearing and caring for many children (as poor Miss Erwin did), he has her take an equal share with him in the management of his business. She seems to take an uncommon interest in business, and is so bright and energetic and active, and appears to have such a hearty enjoyment of life, that everybody likes to meet her and catch a little of her sunshine. It is an interesting sight to see her walking to the factory in the morning, about an hour after her husband. She looks so brave, and handsome, and resolute, and as though she had an active part to play in life that satisfied her mind and heart! Sometimes I have crept into the office at the shoe-factory just to watch her, and then I have noticed how much reliance Mr. Albright places in his wife's judgment. He is continually consulting her in regard to the styles and patterns of the ladies' shoes, and about the running of the machines, and the sewing-silk, and the girls' wages, and when he goes to the city for a week to buy stock he leaves every thing to her management. Then, too, although Miss Albright and her husband are very single-eyed in carrying on their business while they are at the factory, and are never sillily sentimental, it is plain that they respect and love each other very much. They are so prosperous and have things so well organized in their factory, that they often leave their business for half a day to a foreman, and take a sail in the harbor, or a canter along the beach, or a ramble in the woods. Some of the city folks who were stopping at the hotel last summer happened to see him one afternoon helping her over a great fallen tree in the woods, and when they got back to the hotel they asked the landlord who "those young lovers were, and when they were going to get married." They seem to have some secret for preserving their enchantment and reverence for each other, which makes strangers think that their acquaintance is only that of courtship.

But Mr. and Miss Albright have been married eleven years, and their son Philip is eight years old. He is the only child they have, but there is not another like him in the village. He is not only gentle and respectful toward every one, but is manly and robust and vigorous. He seems to have been very carefully trained to obedience, for he does not pay any heed to the solicitations of his playmates if he thinks they are contrary to the wishes of his parents. The schoolmaster says that he has had a "splendid bringing up," and that he is "smart enough to be President some day."

Seeing the Albrights so free from care makes, as I said, some half-envious, half-wondering talk in the village. Miss Aliter, who is a very outspoken old maid, said once, in Ira's hearing, that she "never regretted her lot except when she saw Mr. and Miss Albright together. As for the rest of the women in the village they had her unmitigated pity." And this reminds me of something about my Aunt Ruth, with whom I live, that I never suspected before. She never was married, but she is the most cheerful body in the world, and every one loves her. Well, the other evening, when Mr. Albright and his wife were riding slowly by on horseback, I noticed that she looked at them very earnestly, and at last she laid down her knitting and leaned her forehead against the pane till they were out of sight. Afterward I thought her eyes were wet, and she seemed very tender and subdued all the evening. I wonder if Aunt Ruth regrets her lot. I never mistrusted it before, though she is very fond of children.

Old Captain Santum said that the prosperity of the Albrights was a "mystery," but the more I think of it the more simple it seems to me. Instead of staying at home, and spending her life as a consumer in bearing many children and making an expensive household, Miss Albright is almost as much of a producer as her husband. In this way his forces are doubled, and the task of supporting his family seems to be no task at all, but a positive pleasure.

Oh, why could not Mr. Erwin have found out the secret of living as Mr. Albright does? He might at least have let Miss Erwin help him compose some of his sermons. I think they would have been much more interesting if they had had some of her persuasive

gentleness and artistic taste in them. Then, instead of being in the old churchyard, she would still be the light and comfort of the village. But she is gone, and it does no good to mourn for her now. SIMPLE BEN.

CHRIST A COMMUNIST.

THIS fact, so patent to all who read the New Testament as they do other books, instead of attempting to distort its obvious meaning, occasionally comes to the surface in the popular literature of the day, as witness the following passage from "A Day at a Country Home on the Hudson" in the July No. of the *Galaxy*. It occurs in a conversation between Sylvan, the host, and Hermine, one of his guests, on the comparative advantages of country and city life. Sylvan is the first speaker:

"Let money parade itself in the city, with the pauperism for a foil which it at once creates and despises."

"You are severe."

"Am I? I do not think so. Death by starvation is severe; the sufferings of the sick mother, without money to pay her rent to the rich nabob who is her landlord. I admit that a modified pauperism would seem to be inseparable from any form of society yet devised; but everybody knows that the abject and degraded and vicious type might be nearly if not quite annihilated by a humane use of that wealth which gives to fashion its fascination and its power."

"I like society," said Hermine evasively; "I like fashion; I like gayety."

"Do you like misery?"

"No; I do not see much of it."

"You shun it, and in doing so but procrastinate a responsibility you can not ultimately escape. And the most remarkable thing is, that those who think with you profess generally, in some way, the religion of Christ, whose teachings were directly opposite; who forbade the accumulation of wealth, and whose system, if it had any distinct principle, was to make the money of all his devotees contribute to the happiness and comfort of the whole."

"You make Him a Communist!" cried Hermine, aghast.

"I do not make him any thing," said Sylvan coolly; "but if any man ever founded a Community, that man was Jesus of Nazareth. The whole Christian world knows this. All the property of the early Christians was in common. When the rich young man sought immunity from the inexorable law, he was commanded to sell all he had and give to the poor. This was more than Communism. Yet you all close your eyes to these facts of Christianity, which so fatally interfere with your selfish luxuries and pet vices, and only profess to revere the name while you dishonor the teachings and practice formalities which He never heard of, to the utter neglect of vital principles."

THE *Windermere Forum*, a new weekly published at Wallingford, Conn., is one of the liveliest and most readable of country papers. That it should be started in these dull times, when so many journals are gasping for breath, only proves that its projectors are determined to make a paper so interesting that it will sell itself. Success to their enterprise. The following sketch of things new and old relating to the Wallingford Community, cut from their last issue, shows that that society has a great deal more life and activity than is becoming, considering the number of obituary notices of it which the newspapers have recently published:

THE WALLINGFORD COMMUNITY.

From the *Windermere Forum*.

All the printing presses, machinery, type, etc., of the Wallingford Printing Company are compactly stowed away in the northwest room of the Community building, and are advertised for sale. The Community folks say the printing works barely paid expenses the last two years they carried on the business, though in former years printing was reasonably remunerative. Nice printing does not pay nearly as well as blacksmith work. The printing building is being altered over into a spoon factory, under charge of the junior Mr. Cragin. The floors are being torn up, and heavy machinery for lifting drop presses is being put in, the floors strengthened by timbers and posts, tubes for conducting air from blast wheels, etc., are being gotten in readiness, and several small outer buildings, with chimneys for melting the metal, etc. The spoons will be of iron, tinned over, and are designed for the hardware trade. They will be of a new and pretty pattern, and will be offered very cheap. The Community are dealing largely in hardware, at Oneida, and the spoons will come naturally in their line of trade. The chimneys for their works were built by Perkins and Lines of Meriden; and the Community folks seem to have fallen in love with the mayor of the enterprising young city on our northerly border. The Turkish Bath establishment has been closed, and its house converted into a laundry—for the Community folks do a deal of washing. With them cleanliness is a virtue next to godliness. But they keep a small family Turkish Bath running night and day, in connection

with the mansion retreat, and most of the members take a bath every day, or more generally every night. The members religiously hold to the belief that no man or woman who keeps his or her skin in perfectly healthy order—of course by means of the Turkish Bath—need ever be sick. They are devoted Thompsonians, rigidly maintaining that heat is life, and cold is death. Mr. Easton, a most essential gentleman, learned and cultured, always wide awake and always hard at work, is the foremost man in the Turkish Bath matters, and it was through his influence and persistence that a hot bath has been instituted in Meriden. The tables of the Community literally groan under the good and palatable things at this season of the year. Breakfast at seven, lunch at ten, and dinner at four. The nicest and freshest vegetables, butter, cream, and the nicest of every thing, prepared in the nicest manner. In order to live like a prince—Oriental, of course—one has but to take one of their famous Turkish Baths, cool off and sleep an hour or so, then arise and perform a simple toilet, and sit down to a Community dinner. He will then feel at peace with all the world and the rest of mankind. The land purchased for Windermere Lake, together with the cost of constructing the large and magnificent dam, cost the Community about \$75,000. The members who recently went to Oneida are assisting in picking and canning fruit, and other like farming and agricultural work. The Community have fine water works at the home retreat. An abundant spring of beautiful water, south of the dwellings, is lifted, by windmill power, to a reservoir at the base of Mount Tom, and the water is conducted thence, through pipes, all over the numerous dwellings and auxiliary buildings. The Community are rebuilding and replacing all their dwellings, etc. The original dwelling is soon to be moved off the grounds, and it is contemplated ere long to remove or tear away the barns and granaries, and put up others in the rear of the farming grounds. When all this is done, the scene will be wholly unobstructed, a view will be had of Windermere Lake in its length and breadth, and the prospect will be indeed delightful.

ABOUT NEWSPAPERS.

ONE often picks up a little country newspaper and wonders why it is that one side of the sheet is so much better printed than the other. Perhaps the outside is the better looking, perhaps the inside. The arrangement of matter and advertisements differs on the two sides as much as the printing. Why is this? One who has never published a newspaper might puzzle himself over it for a long time without finding the reason; but if he should announce that he was about to start a paper he would shortly receive by mail a circular somewhat like this:

SAVE MONEY.

Printersville, July, 1877.

DEAR SIR:

By this mail we send you samples of some of our six column folio papers, which show our Ready Print sheets. They are taken from the press as the regular editions are being run off, and are not selected specially for samples, and therefore are fair criterions of the quality and excellence of our work.

The paper is a GENUINE ALL RAG, stout, uniform and durable, a far different thing from a cheap wood paper. We can furnish you with an edition of less than 30 quires, for 20 cents per quire, and give you a paper different from any in your vicinity. We shall be pleased to correspond with you in regard to this matter. Yours, very respectfully,

Printer's Newspaper Union.

The Ready Print sheets referred to are papers printed on one side only. The Company offering them has able men who collect entertaining and instructive matter for one side of the paper, and the Company itself receives advertisements for that side. The half-printed papers are then sold for a small price to country editors who have not sufficient means to issue a whole paper of their own, but who can get together local items, a rehash of the news, brief political notes, etc., enough to fill one side of the paper. Papers made in this way are styled "Coöperative Newspapers," and the Ready Prints are also called "Patent Outsides" or "Patent Insides," as the case may be. There are about fifteen hundred of these Coöperative Newspapers published in the United States, or nearly one-fourth of the whole number of weekly papers. As to size of sheet, these fifteen hundred papers may be classified into half-a-dozen sorts, and of course a great many different papers are of exactly the same size. Therefore after the "Ready Print Company" have made up a form for a paper of a certain size and printed a few quires for, we will say, the *Farmington Advertiser*, they have only to change the heading and print again for the *Chase City Times*, then for the *Piedmont Independent*, and so on. Thus it may be that one hundred or more different country papers will have precisely the same matter on one side of the sheet, the same week, but as they are published in different

towns the readers are seldom or never aware of the similarity.

By this singular arrangement a great many literary aspirants are enabled to publish a newspaper who could not otherwise do so, and the Company who furnish the Ready Prints make money on the advertisements they get for their side. As they print the same matter on all the papers, they can afford to publish these advertisements at a rate per thousand copies which would not pay the publisher of a single paper for setting up the type, and still make a fine profit on the business.

PROF. CROOKES STILL BELIEVES.

PROF. W. B. CARPENTER, of London, is one of the most eminent champions of the old ideas which are opposed to the developments of modern Spiritualism. The Professor has lately published an article in the *Nineteenth Century*, in which he attacks some of the positions taken by PROF. CROOKES, who is equally eminent, and who has boldly endorsed the genuineness of certain spiritualistic phenomena. PROF. CROOKES has published in the same magazine a sharp reply impeaching the accuracy of PROF. CARPENTER'S statements in regard to the matter, and reasserting his belief in the phenomena. We will quote his concluding paragraph, to show the progressive attitude he holds:

"As I have said, Dr. Carpenter can draw but one lesson from the analysis of my scientific researches, and he insists that it is criminal to be 'possessed of any ideas, or class of ideas, that the common-sense of educated mankind pronounces to be irrational.' But the 'common-sense of educated mankind' at one time denied the circulation of the blood, and pronounced the earth to be the immovable center of the universe. At the present day it upholds errors and absurdities innumerable, and 'common-sense' has been well characterized as the name under which men deify their own ignorance. Are scientific men never to step over a rigid line, to refrain from investigation because it would clash with common-sense ideas? How far should we have advanced in knowledge if scientific men had never made known new discoveries, never published the results of their researches, for fear of outraging this 'common-sense of educated mankind?' Take the very subject which suggests the text for Dr. Carpenter's article. Can the wildest dreams of the spiritualist ask credence to any thing more repugnant to 'common sense' than the hypothesis imagined by Science and now held to account for the movements of the radiometer? In the glass bulb which has been exhausted to such a degree that 'common-sense' would pronounce it to be quite empty, we must conceive there are innumerable smooth elastic spheres, the molecules of the residual gas, dashing about in apparent confusion, with sixty times the velocity of an express-train, and hitting each other millions of times in a second. Will the 'common-sense of educated mankind' consider this rational doctrine? Again, both inside this empty space and outside it, between the reader and the paper before him, between the earth and the sun, occupying all the interplanetary space farther than the eye can reach or indeed the mind can conceive, there is assumed to be a *something* indefinitely more elastic and immeasurably more solid than tempered steel, a medium in which suns and worlds move without resistance. Is not such a doctrine utterly incredible to the 'common-sense of educated mankind?' Yet the kinetic theory of gases and the undulatory theory of light are accepted as true by nine-tenths of the scientific men of the present day; and doubtless in the processes of scientific evolution in the coming times many a discovery will be brought to light to give a sharp shock to the 'common-sense of educated mankind.'"

A COMMUNICATION is said to have come from Robert Dale Owen to Samuel Watson, editor of the *American Spiritual Magazine*. In it he writes in answer to a question as to the philosophy of spirit communication:

"There is a chain which binds the spirit-world in one complete whole. That chain is electric and caused to vibrate by the slightest spirit touch. Your desires cause this chain to vibrate with a sound much like that produced by the telegraph ticking when the message you desire is impressed. We in spirit-life are always listening for the click of the spirit chain. Then we know we are wanted, and we come to learn the nature of the mortal's desire. If we can satisfy, we do, but if not and another can, we go at once for that one. The existing desire on the part of mortals, and the willingness of spirits to help, bring them at once into rapport, and thus the communion is established."

Admitting that such means of communication exist between the two worlds, it is certainly desirable that it should be recognized and made the most of in the way of *mutual help*. If the spirits of the departed can help us and watch for opportunity to do so, equal power may reside with us on this side to help them. The principal use hitherto made of spirit communication has been to satisfy curiosity and demonstrate the possibility of interchange. The latter by the experience of all ages

has been proved. But its vast possibilities and its highest use will only be known when people on both sides the veil abandon mere curiosity and individual selfishness in seeking intercommunication, and give themselves up to the missionary spirit of Communism, which shall lift both worlds up into the light and life of heaven. Is it not time for the two worlds to compare notes and see what can be done in this line? T. L. P.

DR. EUGENE CROWELL, of Brooklyn, reports in the *Banner of Light*, that he was visited, at his residence, by Robert Dale Owen, a short time before the latter's death. Mr. Owen remained with Dr. Crowell from the 1st to the 15th of June. During his stay there several *séances* were held, attended by Mr. Owen, at which intimations were given of his approaching death. Among others who communicated was one purporting to be Commodore Stringham, formerly of the United States Navy, and with whom Mr. Owen was intimately acquainted while in Naples. The Commodore's communication was as follows: "Old friend, you can not stand at the helm much longer. You have sailed a good ship, and your course has been well kept; the voyage is nearly ended; you are in sight of port; you will soon come to anchor, and it is now time for you to retire to the cabin and let other hands take the helm. All your friends await your coming on the other shore, and will be glad to greet you. Do you understand?" Mr. Owen replied that he did. This was the last *séance* which Mr. Owen attended. He died on the 24th of June, nine days after leaving Dr. Crowell's.

SHAKER INVENTIONS.

We, the Shakers, have not been altogether dependent on the outside world for inventions; some very useful ones have sprung up among ourselves. Garden seeds were introduced into market by the Lebanon and Watervliet Shakers as early as 1790 or 1791. The manufacture of corn-brooms originated among the Shakers at Watervliet about the same time; and these were presented to the city markets. An improved *turning-lathe*, with screw feeder, for turning broom-handles, was invented in this place. Shaker herbs and extracts are noted throughout the States, and need no comment. Also, a machine for sizing broom-corn brush was invented at Harvard, Mass.; and the "*Improved Shaker Washing-Machine*" at Shaker Village, N. H. Mowers and reapers were invented in the Society of Shakers at New Gloucester, Maine. The first *circular saw* ever made was invented by the Lebanon Shakers, and may be seen to-day in the "State Geological Department," at Albany, N. Y., where it was deposited by Bro. G. M. Wickersham. When the Watervliet Shakers made "*sopus whips*" for market, they invented machinery for twisting the handles. A *pipe machine*, a *pea-sheller* and a *butter-worker*, were invented here.

The printing-presses used by the Shakers of Lebanon and Watervliet for printing their seed bags and herb papers, were invented at Watervliet, and improved by the Shakers of the former place. Also, at Watervliet, a machine for *filling seed-bags*, which has long been in use. The *planing-machine* was invented by the Lebanon Shakers, since which all others have come into use. A self-acting *cheese-press* was invented by the Lebanon Shakers.

Clothes-pins, an invention though small in itself, yet of its utility almost every family in the United States can bear witness, originated, it is said, at the Shaker Settlement at North Union, in the State of Ohio.

The inventions and improvements made by the sisterhood, in their fancy articles for market, are too numerous to mention. The above, with many others not here noted, show the fact (without boasting), that the inventive faculties of the Shakers have not been dormant during the one hundred years just passed by.

—O. A. Buckingham in the Shaker.

SHAKER DIETETICS.—Their diet is simple, but sufficient. Pork is never eaten, and only a part of the Shaker people eat any meat at all. Many use no food produced by animals; denying themselves even butter, milk and eggs. At Mount Lebanon, and in some of the other societies, two tables are set, one with, the other without meat. They consume much fruit, eating it at every meal; and they have always fine and extensive vegetable gardens and orchards. Father Evans (the Shakers call him Elder Evans, but we like Father better), now about 70 years old and at the head of one branch of the Shaker Community at Lebanon, has not eaten flesh for nearly forty years, and he is hale and hearty; much more so than most men of his age; yet when he commenced his vegetable diet he was in a declining state of health; as he tells us, "a candidate for consumption."—*Herald of Health*.

Dr. Erasmus Wilson, the first authority in England on cutaneous disorders, has been investigating the number of hairs in a square inch of the human head, and estimates that it contains on an average about 1,066. Taking the superficial area of the head at 120 square inches, this gives about 127,920 hairs for the entire head.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Vineland, New Jersey, July 22, 1877.

EDITOR AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—The paper comes to us freighted with excellent reading matter, and I am sure if all the readers of it could know how much of it is due to the young people of the Community, they would not only pray, but work for more Communities that would give such opportunities of culture, as well as of association that must make labor a delight instead of an onerous task to be shirked if possible. We were especially charmed by your last issue, and the spirit of A. E. H.'s "Ingenious Device" has "provoked" me to the following. Of course I do not expect it to be of any value to the paper, but you may see and be encouraged by the thought your work is "provoking," even in lowly and quiet places. Very truly yours, A. M. W.

LOVE'S PROVOCATION.

"Provoked to love," how peaceful and serene Living, that seeks no other provocation; How soft the atmosphere of such a scene, How like a constant, breathing invocation; Truly, the spirit of the Heavenly King Has touched divinely, earnest aspiration, Thus out of human lives to daily bring Love's living, active, holy inspiration. O world besotted with thy hate and strife! O race of men embroiled in competition! Here lies the secret of a hallowed life, This is of work the heavenly definition. O Power above! speed the incoming tide, Touch every soul with Thy truth's proclamation, That now, henceforth, forever may abide No strife that comes not of "Love's Provocation."

A. M. W.

From the Eclectic and Peacemaker:

Mr. Noyes of Oneida says that Fourierism is the chief obstacle to the progress of Socialism. Wrong again. Free Love, of which the Oneida Community is the chief bulwark, is the lion in the path.

Right again, without knowing it. Fourier was the man who first let loose the Lion of Free Love among Socialists, and the O. C. was the first and only Socialism that grappled with it and made it harmless.

ED. AM. SO.

CENTRAL PARK MENAGERIE.

The following is an extract from the report of William A. Conklin, director of the Central Park menagerie for the year ending December 31, 1876:

The number of animals of the first three classes of vertebrates exhibited in the menagerie was 983, classified as follows: Mammalia, 397; birds, 529; reptiles, 57; total, 983.

The registered additions to the menagerie during the year were obtained as follows:

	Mammals.	Birds.	Reptiles.
Donations.....	30	44	51
Deposited.....	144	43	—
Received in exchange.....	6	14	—
Born in menagerie.....	16	41	—
Purchased.....	1	—	—
Captured on Central Park.....	—	3	—
Totals.....	197	145	51

The following species have been bred in the menagerie during the year, and the number is large when the limited accommodations are considered: Six lions, two leopards, four prairie wolves, one Kerry calf, two goats, one fallow deer, one American elk, one equine deer, one Virginia deer, five ring doves, one Zenaida dove, fourteen pea fowls, thirty Guinea fowls, three black swans, eight white swans.

The number and value of the animals owned by the department and by exhibitors is as follows:

	Number.	Value.
Owned by the department—		
Mammals.....	78	\$11,753
Birds.....	354	3,736
Reptiles.....	4	65—\$15,554
Owned by exhibitors—		
Mammals.....	106	46,145
Birds.....	40	1,235
Reptiles.....	1	10—\$47,390
Total.....		\$62,944

The most important among the deaths of animals belonging to the menagerie were: Grizzly bear, presented in 1868. Axis deer, presented in 1868, died from old age. Lion, one year old, died from rupture of the diaphragm.

—Central Park Gazette.

THE "FRIENDSHIP COMMUNITY."

From Alexander Longley's "Communist."

As we stated in the last number of our paper that we had determined to remove our Community to a more accessible place on some already established railroad, and where better facilities were afforded for business operations and for the extension of our Community, we have now to report that we have had several places offered us, and a great many invitations to go to other places and purchase, from all parts of the country, but as yet we have not definitely determined where we will go. We hereby return our sincere thanks to the many friends who have kindly invited us to come to their places and join with them in establishing liberal Communism where they reside. It is very encouraging for us to know that in due time, when Communism shall have become more generally understood and appreciated, there will be no lack of places which will be freely invested and given to those who will establish Communities on them.

We have received many sympathizing letters from our

readers in all parts of the country urging us to persevere, and lamenting the prejudice and intolerance of our persecutors.

On Saturday night, May 12th, one-third of a mile of our field fence was torn down by some unknown persons, apparently as a continuance of the threats against us, exposing our crops to the cattle, mules, horses and sheep running at large on the adjoining prairie. The following week was wet and rainy, so that by undue exposure to the weather I have been down with the chills several times, which, with the loss of time in rebuilding the fence, has put us back in tending our crops so that there are about ten acres of our corn not cultivated and five acres of our plowed ground not planted.

During the week ending May 27th Mr. and Mrs. Glass and Mr. Evans packed up their goods and left us, and Mr. La Fetra started on horseback to Kansas, with the understanding that he would try and conclude arrangements there for the removal of our Community, but he failed to accomplish that result. Myself and family are all that are left here at present.

ITEMS OF NEWS.

HOME.

The sun is going to strike.

Don't take any sass from green apples.

Uncle Sam must increase his family of blue coats.

State rights have not gained any thing by the strike.

Secretary Sherman is bound to resume specie payment.

It isn't the railroads who will have to pay when the riots are done.

The two sons of William B. Astor have divided the old business.

The trouble is there are a great many folks who haven't any business in this world.

The poor man ought to know how to limit the size of his family—then he would be the rich man.

The Democrats of Ohio have nominated R. M. Bishop of Cincinnati, as their candidate for governor.

And now the rifleman twists himself into shapes as beautiful as a saw-buck, and proceeds to shoot a target.

The arrangements for celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the battle of Oriskany are now completed.

Delaware peaches could not get beyond Philadelphia, and they had to be sold there for whatever they would bring.

Some folks say the President's proclamation would have been louder if it had been punctuated with more bayonets.

The Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York will sustain its policies on citizen soldiers, duly called to assist in suppressing riots.

The Brotherhood of Engineers are working politically in New Jersey to prevent the enactment of laws obnoxious to their organization.

Robert T. Burton, a Mormon bishop, has been arrested for the murder of Joseph Morris, a fanatic and rival of Brigham Young, in 1861.

Those compulsory Communists will have to Schwab their little gun and try again at Tompkin's Square. They did not make any sort of a bang the first time.

Scarcely more than a third of the stock of our railways yields any profit whatever. Besides there are more than \$800,000,000 of their bonds in default.

Don't you want to go somewhere? Don't do it. It will be September by and by, and then the nicest somewhere in all the world will come to you and stay six weeks.

Love is a good thing and Communism is a good thing. You don't want to have either forced upon you. The one would be rape and the other would be hell and robbery.

This strike has revealed to us how many kites and thieves and robbers, carrion-crows and buzzards there are waiting to break out on any occasion which loosens the bands of society.

Darwin believes in the survival of the fittest. Clarence King believes in the survival of the most plastic. Beecher believes in the survival of men who can live on bread and water.

The conquest of nature will not be complete until our governmental daddy has a place in the poor man's bed-room and can stop him before he begins to beget paupers and starvelings.

What you want is an awful paternal government for awhile—one that will spank the tramp with a big horny hand, and set him to building school-houses and improving the roads and bridges.

David H. Wells thinks machinery has begun to supplant men in the work of production. The result is that four or five millions of us are thrown out of employment and have to tramp and gnaw our own bowels.

The Ohio election may be of some account to the Democrats and Republicans. It should be of no personal account to Mr. Hayes. He is out of politics now and engaged in governing the United States.

Daniel Sconodoo, the grandson of "the aged hemlock dead at the top," has been invited to attend the celebration of the Battle of Oriskany. A party of Oneidas took a part in that battle.

A shoe-black at Saratoga says it has become as fashionable to carry a shoe-brush as it is to have a tooth-brush. "The country is going to the bad," he thinks, "in mighty shabby looking boots."

Schwab says, "We cast 2,000 votes in Milwaukee, 4,000 in Cincinnati, and in New York 30,000 more. Germany is mostly Communistic, and at the last election there we cast 600,000 ballots, and will soon control the German Parliament."

The average price for carrying a ton of freight a mile on the New York Central, Erie, Pennsylvania, Lake Shore, and Pittsburgh, Ft. Wayne and Chicago railroads is less than one-half what it was in 1860, while the wages paid to the train-men on those roads previous to the late reduction were fifty per cent. higher than they were in 1860.

Stephen Pearl Andrews, the Pantarch, has shaken up the strike in his pan and panned out the following bit of wisdom: "Every thing depends from now on, upon the readiness of the wealthy classes to sense the situation in season to make terms with the new order of things; to sense the fact,

that there is a new order of things here now or inevitably about to come. The trouble about the strikers is that there are too many of them; that they are in effect the whole laboring population, the immense majority of the people; so that the theory of shooting them down is futile. A ready acceptance of the situation on the part of the rich and great will tide us in safety over the crisis."

Thomas Wentworth Higginson says: "I not only think that the foundation of nature's manners is best laid in conscience, but that some form of the religious sentiment is almost essential to the truest grace and polish. * * * And I think that something of this grace of conscientiousness and unpretending religious feeling, without narrowness or bigotry, may be found at the White House. And something of this gratifying impression of sincere and noble qualities is left behind, I think, wherever our new President and his wife are known."

The railway riots mentioned in our last issue had their culminating atrocity in the burning of all the railroad property in Pittsburg. The entire loss by fire and robbery is estimated at \$10,000,000. The Train-men's strike which occasioned these riots continued, however, and extended to other roads till it embraced nearly all of the trunk lines and great railway centers in the middle and Western States, reaching as far as San Francisco and taking in one or more of the Canadian roads. All the roads leading into Chicago became involved. At that point there was a great deal of riot and fighting, and an unknown number of persons were killed by the police and military. The trouble there is not quite over yet. The strike and stopping of trains on the New York Central lasted only a few days—owing greatly to the prudence of the company, and to a prompt display of all the military. In San Francisco the rioters spent the most of their fury on the Chinese wash-houses. The strikers derived additional strength from the scoundrel element which seized the opportunity for plunder, and from the affiliation of the militia with the mob in some places; also from its contagious effects upon men in other employments. The regular police, aided by special policemen and the military, have been able in time to deal with the difficulty. In some places the citizens began to form themselves into vigilance committees. Pittsburg was the only place in which the police and military utterly failed, and where the riot burnt itself out and died away in its own time. At the present moment nearly all the roads have either resumed business or are just on the point of doing so. At Fort Wayne there is some stoppage, also on the Pennsylvania Central: The coal-miners are still blockading some of the coal-roads in Pennsylvania. Perfect order will soon be triumphant. The fear and flutter is all gone. The mob has gained nothing. The mills of the gods will go round and round grinding as fine as ever, and the awful judgment will come.

FOREIGN.

The Russians have Skipka pass.

The British are sending troops to Malta, just to have them handy in case of an emergency.

John Bright thinks the troubles in the United States come from high duties and industrial seclusion.

An underground telegraph has been completed between Berlin and Mayence, a distance of eighty miles.

Gen. Grant was in Geneva on the 27th, where he laid the corner-stone for a new American Protestant Church.

Master Walter Frederick Carew Raleigh is a young gentleman of twelve years and the descendant of Sir Walter Raleigh. Besides inheriting an historical name he is heir to a very large estate, part of which is landed property worth \$641,855.

The Czar and his boys have had to learn how to work together. The old man was sort o' anxious and interfering, and the young fellows thought they could drive straight enough if he wouldn't crumple them all down trying to reach over and get hold of the lines.

The Ritualists in trying to smuggle the Romish Confession into the practices of the English Church have raised a storm which they are glad to hide from. The Society of the Holy Cross has agreed not to circulate its book which gave so much offense—"The Priest in Absolution;" but no disapproval of it is expressed. The Archbishop of Canterbury and his bishops are well stirred up, and declare that a man might as well "go to Rome" as take the confessional in the spirit of that book.

In Europe the Russian fingers appear to be gathering tighter and tighter upon the Turkish throat. The army from the Dobrukscha has gone beyond the line of Trajan's wall and invested Silistria. The hammering of Rustchuck is still going on. The most lively operations have been on the south side of the Balkans. The Russians are reported to have reached Kirkalissa, a town on the Shumla road about 110 miles from Constantinople. They have destroyed six railway bridges between Jamboli and Philippopolis. The former town is about fifty-six miles north of Adrianople; the latter eighty-six northwest. Suliman Pasha, who was sent to oppose the Russians, has been defeated at Karabunar, and is reported as retreating to Adrianople. As the Russians now have Skipka pass we may be sure they will do some good work on that side of the Balkans. They have, however, been sharply met at Plevna on the north of the mountains.

The London correspondent of the Nation says: "Some time ago no one thought of entering Parliament unless he was educated for political life. He was not unfrequently a son of a noble, or at least of an aced, house. From his boyhood he was trained with a view to the House of Commons. He was made to recourt in his own language the incidents of each day and week, in order to give him self-reliance and facility of expression. At Eton he studied the classical and the English orators, he took a leading part in the debating-society, and when in London he attended the debates in the two houses of Parliament. At Oxford and Cambridge his studies were directed to the same end, and on his leaving the University some pocket-borough or some country constituency was willing to receive him. He began practical politics before he was five and twenty, and might be in the Cabinet, having served his apprenticeship in the subordinate offices, by the time he was in the meridian of life. Such a system had many faults, but it bred up statesmen and orators. Money is now the key to Parliament, and men do not generally have money till they are far on in years."

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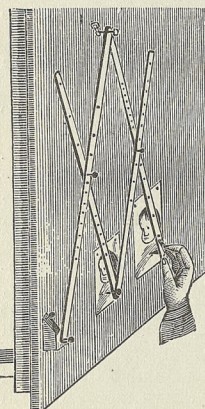
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curately enlarged to any
size. Complete outfit for
Shading, Painting and
Crayoning together with
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