

# THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

DEVOTED TO THE ENLARGEMENT AND PERFECTION OF HOME.

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## AMERICAN SOCIALIST. Published every Thursday.

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### WHAT THE PAPER IS AND WHAT IT IS NOT.

THE sub-heading under the title tells in as few words as possible what the AMERICAN SOCIALIST is; but to see how the object proposed in that sub-heading permeates vast varieties of discussion and information on Communism, Coöperation and all connected themes, political and religious, the paper itself must be read. To show what the AMERICAN SOCIALIST is not, we quote a passage from a letter received from a Shaker of very high standing in his order—in fact, a member of the Ministry. After reading the paper a year, he says: "I see that some are misled, as I was a year ago, in supposing the AMERICAN SOCIALIST to be the organ of the Oneida Community. It seems to me now to be no more the organ of that body than though the O. C. had no existence. I have perused it with some care the past year, and find it, among all the Socialistic organs, without a peer."

### A COMMUNISTIC PLAN OF SUBSCRIPTION.

The hard times crowd us all. Now and then an able-bodied man sends us a dollar and apologizes for not sending two by saying that he has been laying by that dollar, a few pennies at a time, for several weeks. On the other hand, our annual receipts do not thus far half pay for the bare cost of paper and printing, to say nothing of editorial labor. At the same time many of our subscribers are wealthy and sometimes send us more than the price of the paper. These circumstances have suggested the following plan for equalizing burdens all round: Let every person who can spare a dollar besides his regular subscription send it to us with the name of some poor person to whom he would have the SOCIALIST sent, and we will contribute the other dollar in every case and send a full volume. That is, we will contribute as much, in this way, as all others will send us. If the sender does not know a suitable poor person who would like to receive the paper, we will, when requested, suggest one of the many who apply to us and state his lack of means. This plan is exactly suited to the genius of Communism, which teaches those who have an abundance to help those who lack.

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THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST will in the future, as in the past, publish all well-written accounts of new Communistic and Coöperative Societies which may be offered in good faith; but it should be clearly understood that its conductors disclaim all responsibility for the character or success of such Societies. They consider that they perform their duty if they exclude schemes which are manifestly hair-brained or fraudulent and continue to set forth, as opportunity offers, the principles which seem to them to lie at the foundation of successful Socialism.

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### CORRESPONDENCE.

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

All correspondence should be addressed to

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

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### SOCIALISTIC NOTES.

One cotton mill of 70,000 spindles and another of 40,000, are closed in Blackburn, England.

The striking shoemakers of Dover, New Hampshire, have returned to work at last year's prices.

The furniture workers of Chicago are talking of establishing a Coöperative Factory with a capital of \$50,000, divided into 2,000 shares.

The lasters of the Natick shoe factories, who struck for higher wages, a short time ago, are now at work again, the employers having acceded to their demands.

The *Utica Herald* says the first new wheat placed upon the market in this State was received at Albany, July 25th, from the Lebanon Shakers.

A Coöperative Colony Club is being organized in New York for the purpose of collecting funds and selecting candidates for colonies to be established in Texas. H. E. Sharpe, Organizer; H. B. Brown, Secretary.

Brazil does not appear to be a good country to colonize in. The thousand Mennonites who emigrated thither from Russia three years ago have returned in a very impoverished condition, and now await the permission of the Imperial Government to settle again in their native country.

George Jacob Holyoake, the English Coöperator, will arrive in New York about the 12th of August. He will lecture on the Conflicts of Labor and Capital, Trades-Union, Employers' Union, Coöperation, and other subjects of interest. Discussion will be allowed after each lecture. Parties requiring his services can address Peter Sidebotham, New Bedford, Mass.

The statement in the SOCIALIST of July 10th, that E. V. Neale is to publish an illustrated pamphlet on M. Godin's Familistère at Guise, has brought us some inquiries as to where it may be obtained. We have only seen a single announcement in the *Coöperative News* of its intended publication; we will give its price and office of publication in this column as soon as we obtain the information.

Professor North of Hamilton College is reported to have said at a recent meeting at Saratoga: "The Oneida Community are industrious, enterprising and thrifty. They have introduced better methods of farming and gardening, and new industries previously unknown in their vicinity. If they make shrewd bargains they never break a covenant once entered into, and the word of the Community is as good as its bond. They furnish profitable employment to many outsiders during the busy harvest months. Their manufactured wares and canned fruits find a ready market in all parts of this country and in other countries."

At Lowell, Mass., a Tennessee Emigration Society has been organized. Its constitution says the fundamental principle of the Society shall be mutual coöperation and assistance; that in all the settlements of the Society there shall be regulations for preventing the sale of intoxicating liquors, gambling and prostitution; that it shall be the duty of every member to exercise every caution to exclude from the settlement immorality and vice of any kind, and to encourage virtue, temperance, industry and economy; that children shall be educated at the common charge, etc. A Committee on Location has visited Tennessee, and reported in favor of locating in Coffee County.

*The Worker* is the name of a neatly-printed eight-page monthly just started in New York City in the interests of Coöperative Colonization. Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson is its publisher, Rev. R. Heber Newton its editor, and E. E. Barnum its business manager. Its objects are thus stated: "To promote the better distribution of labor in our country, and relieve our overcrowded cities by stimulating and guiding a return to agricultural life. To this end the Association shall gather and verify, and place conveniently before the working classes, information concerning available lands in all parts of the Union; shall, by personal intercourse with workingmen, meetings, lectures and the press, educate a sentiment in favor of emigration to the country; shall in every way feasible, except direct money aid, assist individuals or groups in seeking country homes, and shall especially devise plans and solicit financial aid to plant, from time to time, colonies, in which capital, duly guarded and remunerated, shall assist labor to find homes upon the soil, and in which the principle of associated life shall be carried out as far as is consistent with the sacredness of the family and the force of individuality."

From *The Worker*: "Nothing can be more inexcusable in a period like our own than violent language in the discussion of social questions. Our opinions may differ strongly; men may regard Socialism as a pernicious evil, a folly and a danger. Its follies may be exposed and its dangers forewarned in the most earnest manner; but violent talk is only less excusable than violent action. The one is the direct preparation for the other. However absurd, it has a right to propagate itself peaceably. If it lays itself open to the charge of social incendiarism in action, there are the proper legal remedies for that. But for men of cultivation—religious men professing the spirit of Jesus Christ—to talk of Socialists as leading preachers and papers have done of late is at once a folly and a shame. True there is as wild talk on the other side. There are social demagogues on the platforms and papers of labor reform, who find their interest in wholesale denunciation of existing institutions; wronged workers bitter against society. But surely something better than demagogic rant and vengefulness is to be expected of educated, prosperous men. Do our cultivated classes know that American Socialism contains, with much that is crude and wild, more that is a legitimate protest against the wrongs of society, a pure aspiration after a nobler order? It is the dream of an idealist with the snorts and groans of a nightmare interjected. We do not ask our *ipse dixit* to be accepted. We only ask that those who question this should note what our wisest economists say. Let the skeptic read what Mill or Thornton or Fawcett say on the matter, and then ask themselves whether Socialists are not entitled to respectful treatment. No danger from the wild rantings of demagogues is half so great as the irritation and indignation, the hard defiance, the bitter vengefulness produced by the *ad captandum* talk of men of position who ought to know better than to speak as they have done."

### WHAT IS, AND WHAT MIGHT BE.

XXIV.

#### POPULATION. (Continued.)

There is one general feature of the population question which I desire to point out as being peculiar to our time. It is one which is doing much to hasten on the day when mankind will be compelled to find some method of limiting the increase, or some new outlet for it.

It is a peculiarity of our age and civilization that science has obtained control of most of the violent epidemic and contagious diseases which formerly ravaged the world without let or hindrance. The time was, and that not very long ago, when the cholera issued at irregular intervals from its vile source among the ignorant and unclean Asiatics, and, sweeping westward, decimated city after city. Its march was unopposed. Even the ocean could not hold it back. America suffered from the terrible scourge as well as Europe. After running such a course and putting every nation in mourning, the invisible pestilence would silently retire to its old haunts, but only to gather strength to cut a new death-swath a few years later. In the same way the small-pox, yellow fever, and various forms of the plague, have in the past run their direful courses. But of late years the civilized races have obtained a practical mastery over these diseases. The Health Boards of the large cities successfully fight cholera by cleanliness and a thorough use of disinfectants. The disease no longer excites alarm among Western nations. In a similar way the small-pox has been mastered by an organized system of vaccination; i. e., a mild disease has been substituted for a fatal one, by the aid of science. It is quite possible that entire cleanliness, temperance, and the disuse of an excess of animal food would render vaccination unnecessary.

The prompt and effectual way in which the Russian authorities have this year suppressed what appeared to be a most malignant form of the plague, which in former centuries was so fatal, shows that even that fell scourge need no longer create apprehension. As soon as it was found that the plague had really made its appearance in some small villages on the Volga, the Russian authorities formed a military cordon around the infected region and permitted no communication between the unfortunate people who had been exposed to the disease and the rest of the empire. Several villages were

burned to the ground, as were all infected articles of clothing, furniture, etc. Anything which had been near the disease was burned. In this way the plague was first isolated and confined within certain bounds, then destroyed by vigorous sanitary measures. It was strangled before it began its deadly march, and there is every reason to believe that hereafter it never will be allowed to desolate whole nations as in times past. The yellow fever and some other malignant diseases remain to be studied and subdued.

It is also a characteristic of our time that everywhere hospitals, infirmaries, asylums, retreats, and homes, are founded and endowed by governments, municipalities and wealthy individuals. Many of these are so constituted that the poor can have the benefit of them as well as the rich. They are charitable institutions. Good care is taken of the inmates.

A further peculiarity of the civilization on which we have entered is, that the great wars which have heretofore devastated nations will not be much longer permitted. The tendency of the world is more and more toward settling disputes of all kinds by peaceful arbitration and friendly intermediation instead of by brute force. I believe the time is not far distant when wars will be forbidden by a solemn compact of all nations. An offending nation can be punished or forced to make reparation without the cannon or bayonet, if all the other nations can agree as to what should be done. The wrong-doer could be isolated and shut off from all commercial and personal intercourse, until reparation was made.

It will be readily seen that these features I have mentioned all go to reduce the death-producing checks on population. The great masses of mankind are better protected from disease than ever before. Add to this the fact that the means of transportation are becoming so fully developed in every part of the world that supplies of food can be sent with comparative promptness to any region threatened with famine, and we must believe that the average duration of human life is considerably prolonged by them. It is asserted as a matter of fact that the point of average duration is steadily rising. Dr. Southwood Smith quotes Ulpianus to show that among the patrician classes of the ancient Romans the mean duration of life was only thirty years. Dr. Buchanan states that in the sixteenth century it was only eighteen years. It is now forty-two years in France, forty-three in the United States, forty-five in Great Britain, and forty-seven in Switzerland.

Now, while scientific measures for the prolongation of human life in a condition of health and activity have been developed so as to secure these wonderful results, nothing whatever has been done, except by the French, to limit or control procreation. The consequence is that population is secured a steady growth in its geometrical ratio, unrestrained by some of the principal checks which have heretofore kept it down. Statesmen are beginning to take notice of this point, for they see what it threatens. Commenting not long ago on the condition of India, Lord Derby remarked:

"We have established there order and peace; we have done away with local wars; we have lessened the ravages of pestilence; and we do what we can—and, in ordinary seasons we do it with success—to mitigate the effects of destitution. The result is, naturally and necessarily, a vast increase in population; and, if present appearances can be trusted, we shall have in every generation a larger aggregate of human beings relying upon us for help in those periods of distress which must, from time to time, occur in a country wholly agricultural and liable to droughts."

Dr. Noyes enlarges on this same point in his essay. He says:

"Take, for instance, China and India, which contain nearly one-half the human race. India, by the enforced peace conferred by the English sovereignty, has got into a state of chronic famine. Occasional relief has resulted in a condition which calls for almost continual relief, and the wretches who survive are constantly adding to the burden. Railways and canals distribute and equalize supplies, but the famine area only spreads into new regions. By and by, when local famines have been made impossible by systematic arrangements for bringing all the resources of the country to any threatened point, population will rise during some lengthened period of good harvests to a number which will exceed the resources of the whole country in a time of scarcity. The utmost benefit which rapid communication can then confer will be to make the whole population share alike in the calamity. The frightful scenes attending actual starvation in local famines might be thus averted, but the world would witness a new form of distress, viz., a population of several hundred millions living for several months or years on short rations. This distress must tend to do one of two things: either kill off the redundant population, or produce restraints upon propagation to an equivalent amount. If the country should squeeze through such a time of scarcity

without one or other of these effects, it would advance during the ensuing seasons of plenty to a number which would have to economize even in seasons of moderate productiveness. Then a season of scarcity, such as comes perhaps only once a century, would produce an actual famine which would kill its millions without the slightest possibility of relief. The very instruments of relief for local famines—the railroads and canals—would, by producing a false confidence in times of local scarcity, become powerful agents to bring about this final catastrophe."

I have now been over the main points bearing on what is called the Population Question, the importance of which cannot be overestimated. I need scarcely allude to the relation which Socialism bears to it, for I have, I trust, made it plain that until some method of controlling population shall have been found and adopted, there will be little possibility of effecting those improvements in society as a whole which true Socialism contemplates. And as it is evident that the control which is needed is a wise and scientific control of the birth-rate, a thing most difficult as society is at present organized, I think we may fearlessly conclude that the pressure of population will sooner or later force the adoption of different social customs and institutions. Exactly what they will be or when they will be brought in I need not undertake to say. We have seen that a public opinion in favor of prudent foresight limits the birth-rate in France. It is known that the Communities of America are so organized as to have a practical control of their procreation, and that some of them hold the theory that the human race is as susceptible of being elevated by wise and scientific breeding as are the lower animals. If future developments shall declare in favor of this last idea, it will certainly be necessary to institute great changes in society. I am aware that this is delicate ground, in the present state of public opinion, and I leave the subject with these brief and suggestive hints, only pausing to express my personal conviction that the time is approaching when the urgency for better arrangements will become so great that the false sentiments of delicacy which now forbid the free discussion of these subjects, so vital to the happiness of all, will be put away forever. F. W.-S.

(To be Concluded.)

#### AMERICAN COMPETITION WITH BRITISH AGRICULTURE.

[From the London Spectator.]

Every week shows some improvement in communication, till it really seems possible that within five years Illinois farmers, paying, say, the equivalent of a rental of two shillings an acre, against the English average of one pound, and requiring scarcely any imported manure, will be placed in direct competition with English farmers, and with no weight to carry beyond a freight not more than equivalent to a five-shillings rental per acre. It cannot be denied that this is a terrible prospect for the British farmer, who, if this rain lasts, and it seems as if it would never leave off, will, in October next, have to meet a fourth bad harvest, with markets glutted with cheap American wheat, with American barley preferred to his own, and with dead meat of the second quality sold at prices at which he cannot grow the living animal.

We do not wonder that, the drift of all things agricultural being in this direction, farmers should be almost in despair, that landlords should think themselves "well out of the scrape" with a ten per cent. reduction, or that observers should speak plainly of a coming "social revolution." It may be coming. It is very difficult to avoid the belief—though it may prove untrue—that England under this tremendous competition must be cultivated on some new system; that the cultivator, to speak plainly, must throw off some burden or another in order to get on at all, and may throw off the landlord. It seems almost impossible that a moderate reduction of rent should meet the difficulty, or that any new method should enable tillers of an old soil like ours, needing much manure, and burdened with heavy rents and all the cost of an old civilization, to compete with the owners of a new world of deep, arable soil, which it will take fifty years of careless cultivation to injure seriously, for which they scarcely pay, and which, with the help of machinery, the owners almost cultivate for themselves. We know too well how solid this hierarchical society of ours is, how often it has survived difficulties that seemed insuperable, the owners holding on through everything, till at last the "times came round," either to attempt prediction or to believe thoroughly in pessimist prophecy; but still it does look as if land in England could be cultivated only by its owners, and as English society is based on the theory that it can be cultivated by tenants paying sixty-

seven million pounds a year to a class which does not directly work, that change would be a "social revolution." We see this possibility clearly, and do not wonder either at regrets or at exaggerations, but we confess we do wonder at some of the arguments based upon the anticipation of such a change. Where, for example, is the reasonableness of saying that if it occurs England will be dependent upon foreign countries for her supply of food, and must modify her foreign policy accordingly? Why should England produce less because rent falls, say, to make the catastrophe more visible, to five shillings an acre, or the farms are purchased at low rates by farmers themselves? What ground is there for expecting land to be thrown out of cultivation? It can never be the landlord's interest to let it lie waste, and as to the tenant, there must be a point at which he can grow corn on equal terms with his rival in Illinois, who must be weighted with some freight, at all events. Suppose the British farmer a freeholder of cheap land seventy miles from London. Surely he can compete with the Illinois man, seventy miles from Chicago and three thousand from London. No possible improvement in communication can then put him at a disadvantage, or make his occupation, if profitable to his Illinois rival, less than profitable also to himself. A great and powerful class may be impoverished, or even extirpated, by the change, and Great Britain may suffer grievously in every department of life for want of a wealthy and leisured class devoted to politics; but the suffering, however keen, would not affect the supply of food. The national wealth might be diminished to a terrible extent by the loss in the selling value of land, but the national crop would not be diminished by a bushel. Farmer Greenacre would not grow less, because he paid no rent. The landlords cannot leave land waste in a fit of pique with nature and events, nor would farmers, because they got land cheap, and could only as business men afford to buy it cheap, be necessarily either poorer or less competent cultivators. The dream of England going out of cultivation is a dream merely, at least if it is to go out of cultivation out of dread of competition.

#### CO-OPERATION AMONG FARMERS.

A writer in the *Country Gentleman*, having inquired how Coöperation is to be practically carried out in farm life, receives the following reply through the same journal:

"I can reply to this in no better manner than to give the experience of the Highland Creamery near Hartford. The farmers in that vicinity, feeling they were not getting as good returns from their dairy products as they ought, and that the class of goods made by them individually was not uniform, after looking around to better themselves, resolved to build a butter factory. They formed a joint-stock company, some putting in more and some less capital. They built their establishment in a very favorable locality, and in first-class shape, employed the best help they could get, and started on the merits of the goods they made. They appointed one of their number their agent to make sales, collect bills and attend to the business generally. Their butter was found in a short time to be so superior to the general run that they had orders for more than they could make. Neighboring farmers who were not stockholders, as soon as the thing began to show signs of success, were anxious to come in, and were allowed to do so by paying a certain sum to reimburse the stock-holders, and now the factory is running to its full capacity. The result of it all is, that those farmers who are getting their milk worked up there, are getting from one-half to three-fourths of a cent more per quart for their milk, than those who market their own; and that too, by no combination to put up the price, but on the merits of the goods alone. The saving of the household work to the wives and daughters is also something which is of no small consideration.

"I advocate no Coöperation which tends to put a fictitious price on farm productions. Farmers have organized from time to time to put up the price of milk in the New York market, and to put up the price of farm products of all kinds, forgetting that the law of supply and demand will control prices, and that it is only by bettering the class of goods, that an increased price can be gained. This is better effected by a combination working toward one common end, than by individual effort that way. By combining and appointing a business agent, and allowing him to dispose of the goods, middlemen, in a certain sense, are done away with, and a profit saved in that direction; but the greatest profit is in the superior class of goods made.

"Our friends, the grangers, have made an attempt toward Coöperation, and in one sense they became successful—they were enabled to resist monopolies that were charging them extortionate prices. They can now, as far as New England is concerned, get more advantages than farmers coöperating through a general agent who sells their goods and buys for them. I am glad to say that the tendency of this day of low prices in this section, is toward Coöperation to make a better class of goods. We have near us a cheese-factory, established this spring on this principle, which makes a better class of goods than the average farm dairy, be-

sides saving the work in the house. Let us hope the day is not far distant when this tendency will be carried out to a much greater extent than it now is.

"Cornwall Hollow, Ct.

HAUTBOY."

### RUSSIAN COMMUNISM.

[From the Pall Mall Gazette.]

On a former occasion we called attention to some of the details of that agrarian revolution in Russia of which so little has been known in this country, notwithstanding the extraordinary interest attaching to the exercise of supreme power which carries back the thought to the days of Republican or even of regal Rome. There is one feature in that remarkable transaction of which less, if possible, has hitherto been known than even of the general outline of the change. In giving any estimate of the power of that factor in the European problem of the day, of which we know less in all probability than we do of either of the other main conflicting elements, it is of no little importance to ascertain how material is the difference between the establishment of a peasant proprietary body, such as has so long existed in Switzerland and some other European countries, and the actual operation of the ukases that altered the legal status of the Russian serfs. French wit, with its inimitable sparkle, has intimated by the mot, "*Grattez le Russe, vous y trouverez le Tartare,*" how profound a mass of barbarism underlies the thin veneer of imported civilization which Russia displays toward Western Europe. But an analyst like M. Leroy Beaulieu has observed the barbarian without the veneer. There are but very few writers who have looked with their own eyes on the inner life of Russia; who have seen the moujik at home, and who have formed some idea of his social, moral and political condition. Guided by such observers, we are enabled to step into the unknown wastes of Russia. In so doing, we step into the darkness of the past. We find ourselves in the presence of institutions so archaic that, but for the labors of Sir Henry Sumner Maine and a very few other students, they would form part of the prehistoric unknown. And we see how, under the pressure of autocratic power, the Russian proletariat touches with one hand the conditions of the nomadic penury that existed when the world was too wide for its inhabitants, and with the other hand approaches that disastrous and dreary level to which the more violent form of French Communism endeavors to reduce the organization of society. In dissolving the links which bound the Russian serfs to their lords, the act of emancipation by no means altered all the conditions of peasant life. While giving the land to a certain extent to its former cultivators, the enfranchisement rather changed the master than lightened the obligations of the peasant. It is not as individual property that the soil is enjoyed. It is now the property of the commune instead of being that of the lord. It is only the cabin in which he dwells, and the scrap of garden or of yard immediately attached to it, that are the personal property of the peasant. The bulk of the land is the property of the commune, and thus the individual who cultivates it has only a partial or transitory interest in its produce. As regards what seems to be the chief object of some Governments, the collection of taxes, the Russian State has secured its own revenue in the most satisfactory manner. The whole commune is held responsible for the amount of taxes levied; and each member of the same is jointly and severally responsible. By this arrangement, while securing the national revenue, the Russian law has contrived to combine the economic disadvantages of two opposite systems. The impoverishment of the soil by want of manure and careless culture, which always results from the absence of personal right in the improvements made, is combined with that minute and tedious subdivision which reduces agriculture to a sort of irregular kitchen-gardening. The Russian peasant has the same piece of land for only a year or for a few years—or rather, instead of one allotment of land in the quantity fit for cultivation, he has them in separate parcels, disconnected and often distant from one another, and thus calculated to give him the minimum return for the maximum of labor.

In the village Communities of Great Russia the family still exists in its more primitive type. Property is undivided among the children or brothers who live together; each man has an equal right to its fruits. Paternal authority is supreme. The married son remains subject to his father till he has a son of his own grown up, or till he succeeds to the headship of the family. This domestic sovereignty has remained intact through all the revolutions which Russia has undergone. It underlies the authority of the Czar—the supreme father of his people. It exists unchecked among the peasantry.

Among the nobles the influence of foreign intercourse has enfeebled the ancient order, but its former prevalence is yet attested by the Slavonic habit, on the part of the children, of kissing the hands of their parents after each meal. Respect for age is one of the most admirable characteristics of the Russian peasant. It would seem that it is the likeness of the father that is respected in every old man; while the actual parent often bestows not only reproaches but blows on his grown-up sons without meeting anything but perfect submission. To this paternal authority is joined, in these patriarchal families, the régime of the Commune. Often several generations, direct and collateral, live together in the same house, under the common rule of the oldest ancestor. On his death it is sometimes the widow, or the oldest brother, who succeeds; sometimes the most capable member of the family is chosen by a common accord. The association of these heads of families forms the communal assembly, in which it is rather the family than the individuals that is represented. All the male members of the Commune have an equal right to the communal land, as all the male members of a house have an equal right to the family goods. As numbers vary, by deaths in one family or births in another, the land is redistributed, the idea of equal right being dominant. Thus no hereditary succession to property exists.

This holding of land has been aptly compared to the possession of an estate by a company, which from time to time may be thrown into liquidation, every member having an equal claim. This primeval form of social organization leads to the periodic redivision of the soil. Considerable differences exist in different localities as to the epochs of division, the mode of allotment, and even the right to a share. The latter is sometimes per soul—that is to say, per male inhabitant; for Slavonic gallantry considers the two expressions to be equivalent—sometimes per *tiaglo*, or household. The former mode is more prevalent among the peasants who were formerly subject to the capitation tax, the latter among those who were the serfs of individual proprietors. Thus the lot of each family is either in proportion to the number of its male members or in proportion to that of its married couples. In the former case the increase of numbers enriches instead of impoverishes the family, as each boy that is born gives a claim to a further share of the communal land. It is not surprising that in Russia there are more marriages than in any other European country in proportion to the population; and also that each marriage is more fruitful than elsewhere. The proportionate number of births in Russia is nearly double that in France. Thus the normal increase of the population is made the cause of a frequent redivision of the soil. In some Communes there are reserved lands, the distribution of which defers the period of total redivision. In pasture lands the division is for the most part annual. There is even an instance cited in the government of Tombof where the division is made twice a year. The annual division of cultivated land prevails in some districts; in the government of Perm, for example. The extremely ill effects of the logical outcome of the theory of the Commune has been so evident, however, as to lead many Communes to use a triennial division; and this term is sometimes extended to six, twelve, or even fifteen years. In the government of Moscow the period is decennial. The result of thus depriving the cultivator of any permanent interest in the land which he tills is the constantly increasing impoverishment of the soil, and the corresponding aggravation of bad harvests. Another inconvenience of this method of insuring equality arises from the habits of the people as to abode. Farmhouses surrounded by their farms are unknown in Great Russia. The peasants live in wooden houses, agglomerated into villages; each house surrounded by its small portion of undivided land. In consequence, the distances to be passed over by the cultivator become considerable. To introduce equality here, the land of the Commune is sometimes divided into three concentric zones, and the holding of each "soul" is made up of a portion from each zone. The lots are thus made to assume for the most part a triangular or wedge-shape; and, as their occupation is determined by lot, the time of the cultivator is wasted to the utmost extent by the peregrination between his different lots. All the evils of small holdings are thus exaggerated to the utmost, and the equality of the Commune is an equality in waste, discomfort and penury.

The great advantage claimed for the Commune by its advocates is that, in giving to every man equal right to the land, it prevents the formation of any proletariat class. Agrarian Communism, in Russia as in Java, now threatens to transform the rural population into a population of proletaires. It is hardly necessary to insist

on the important lesson to be drawn from an impartial description of the state of the Russian peasant. We see, for one thing, that the time when we shall have to reckon with a Great Power supported by a real yeoman population, owning the land and living on it as intelligent and industrious cultivators, is yet far distant. What may be the case by the year 1910 A. D., when, if all goes well, the debt incurred by the former serfs toward the Government will be liquidated, it is not for us to predict. Meantime, however, the exigencies of taxation are such as to prevent the expectation of any material improvement. Thus, under any undue strain, the strength of Russia is but too liable to collapse. Of such a yeoman population as should at once form an element of national wealth and dignity for Russia, and give something of a pledge for European peace, the seed has yet to be sown. Whatever the emancipation may hereafter effect, it has as yet apparently done little more than secure a more undisturbed payment of taxation.

### HOW FISHERMEN CO-OPERATE.

[From the Irish World.]

The methods of coöperation adopted by the whale fishers are pretty nearly as follows:—There are such towns as Salem, London, New Bedford, in New England, where this system is very well understood, and very profitably worked. A ship is to be built for the whale fishing. Its hull, tackle, and general outfit, with provisions for three years, will cost say \$20,000. This is divided into two thousand shares of \$100 each. These shares are submitted with prospectuses to the inhabitants of the town, say Salem, New Bedford, etc. All the people in the place, who have any spare funds, take up those shares, and pay in by installments according as the building and outfit of the ship goes on. Old ladies and young ladies, boys and girls, even children take up shares in the new "whaler." The vessel being built, provisioned, and ready for sea, the captain calls for a crew on *shares*—half the catch is voted to the "ship"—that is, to the shareholders in the ship—the other half of the proceeds of the "catch" is to be divided between the captain and crew in shares. The captain, mate and harpooners getting more shares than the men "before the mast." In this manner, though with many modifications according to local circumstances, the coöperative principle is worked by the fishermen of New England. I can see how distinctly the principle pervades the entire enterprise, and I note too what a snug, wealthy, well-to-do class of people are to be found in those fishing towns I have named, and in other towns also where the coöperative principle in the fishing industry is properly in operation.

### COMMUNISM AND BAD HABITS.

The persistence with which such nuisances as tobacco-chewing and whisky-tipping hang on to society, after moralists and physiologists have exhausted their efforts to drive them out, and after everybody knows them to be gross violations of good manners, must be very discouraging to those who think of combating them only in the usual way. In spite of Graham and all his apostles, tobacco-using, we judge, is on the increase. In cities and large towns almost every other man you meet is applying his powers of suction to a tobacco-teat in the shape of a cigar. The result to the smokers and chewers themselves, physiologists will tell you, is a decrease of vital power, causing a predisposition to disease in them and their children. But there is one accompaniment of this tobacco-madness which is not often touched upon—the voiceless misery it imposes on the women, who by social and domestic ties are brought in contact with it. Women endure and endure, and say nothing; but you who know the difference between a sweet breath and an impure one, think of her who lays her head on the pillow every night beside one of those tobacco-saturated gentlemen! She says nothing, and after a while gets used to it, as the eels in the fable got used to skinning; but after all there must be a silent protest going up to heaven from millions of abused nostrils throughout the houses of the land, against this unindictable but none the less flagrant crime against society and good fellowship. Gentlemen, this is wrong; and if, as we have learned, justice takes note of all oppression, even though the victim be dumb, exacting in due time full redress therefor, you must prepare to give account for all the disagreeable, tobacco-laden breaths which you have whiffed in the faces of those about you whose position allowed them no means of escape.

We would not talk as a Pharisee on this subject, nor as unmindful of the weakness in men upon which the love of tobacco fastens, having had plenty of experience

on this point ourselves. Our object in adverting to the matter is not to preach a homily, but to point out the happy fact that there is a certain cure found for these miserable, selfish, untidy habits that burrow in human nature, tobacco-slavery among the rest. Old means, it is true, have failed, but a new one is now in the field. The competitor that is destined to clear them all out is *Communism*. Do you ask how? We answer by its three-fold power of religion, science, and love. The faith in God and humanity that leads to social unity prepares men for reform. Then free criticism, with its gentle but firm exposures of truth, still further loosens the hold of bad habits. Finally, regard for woman, which Communism introduces and preserves in a manner that carries with it all the inducements to refinement that belong to the period of courtship, puts on the cavalry charge which drives the enemy pell-mell from his position. This is no fiction; we have seen it done in a society of hundreds. Where many of the members were formerly addicted to tobacco now it is unknown. Such should be the result of Communism in every instance.

## AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

THURSDAY, JULY 31, 1879.

### COLONIZATION.

It may be questioned whether the time has yet arrived for new experiments in practical Communism on a large scale; but it must be admitted that the time has come for a more general movement in the line of colonization. Vast tracts of cheap, fertile land in the Western States and Territories now invite settlement (thanks to our system of continental railways) which a few years ago were scarcely accessible to civilized man; and with the substitution of free labor for bond-service the Southern people have become friendly to immigration from the more populous Northern States, and in many cases have urged it with much zeal and many substantial inducements.

On the other hand, there are powerful agencies at work favoring colonization. Machinery is displacing hand-labor in all our manufacturing towns to such a degree as to compel men to inquire for other means than mechanical labor to gain a livelihood. Then Socialism has taught men the advantages arising from Coöperation in trade, labor and other things, and implanted in thousands of hearts an inexpugnable desire to put this beneficent principle in practice: and what promises better facilities for this than colonization? Some of the enterprises of this kind which have been started make Coöperation a fundamental principle of action; and it is likely to play an important part in all of them. A colony invites and requires Coöperation from the start on the part of all its members; and it is almost inevitable that any new colony, in arranging its village and organizing its institutions, should have more reference to this principle than generally obtains in older settlements. This is well known to have been the case with Vineland in New Jersey, Greeley in Colorado, Anaheim in California—all flourishing villages established on the Coöperative principle.

Among the advantages which Coöperative colonization secures is the ability to control in a measure the character of the inhabitants—it being easy in organizing a colony to make such provisions as will exclude the profligate and intemperate. Then a colony can be substantially homogeneous in its beliefs, including but a single sect; or it may include all sects and be an example of toleration. It may be made up of persons with reformatory tendencies, who are tired of the hand-to-hand struggle with the conservative regulations of established institutions, and wish to try new forms. All that is required in any case is that the persons composing the colony shall be agreed as to their objects and methods.

Undoubtedly, colonization, like every other good thing, will be taken advantage of by unprincipled men for selfish ends, and many will be drawn into worthless schemes, while still others, who should be content with their present circumstances, will bitterly repent the moment they resolved to try their fortunes in a colony. Still colonization will

go forward and win its triumphs. New settlements will be made; the area of civilization will be extended; the wilderness will be made fruitful; new forms of social combination will arise; new illustrations of the advantages of agreement will be furnished; new incentives given to strive for the unity which alone makes full Communism either desirable or practicable.

### THE GREAT VAMPIRE.

Nine-tenths, nay ten-tenths, of human woes, be they physical, mental or spiritual, have their origin in selfishness. 'Tis this that lies at the bottom of all your troubles. Selfishness causes your anguish of heart; separates you from friends that you love; destroys your peace of mind; makes your son insane; makes your husband a drunkard; furrows your brow with care and grief, and makes yours a household of discord and confusion. The insatiable monster! the demon—the bane of our existence! It transforms godlike men into devils incarnate. It tramples on the poor; oppresses the needy; corrupts the wealthy. Every failure, every affliction, every dire disaster, and every appalling crime, is rooted and grounded in selfishness. It is for this men lie and steal and kill. It is for this men are jealous, covetous and niggardly. If we desire to banish poverty from the land; if we would see the wretched happy; if we would see the end of crime; see the afflicted comforted; see jealousy replaced by love; cruelty by mercy; covetousness and niggardliness by charity; smallness of heart by largeness of heart; let us make it our daily prayer that selfishness be weeded from the human heart. When this prayer is answered we shall find "the tabernacle of God with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them and be their God. And he shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain; for the former things are passed away." That will be the Great Millennium.

### A REVOLUTIONARY BOOK.

The Bible, as its whole history plainly shows, is a *revolutionary book*. The time of its completion was signaled by a great overturn of previous opinions and institutions, and the introduction of Christianity on the ruins of Judaism. The Bible was deeply concerned in that revolution. It was then embodied in living men—Christ and the apostles—and it was their testimony, as is now recorded in the Bible, that destroyed the old and brought in the new. It is fair to say that the Bible began its career with the subversion of the oldest, strongest and most sacred hierarchy that this world has ever known, viz., Judaism. It destroyed a civil and religious organization and a system of institutions which had previously been sanctioned in some sense by God himself. Such was its first great revolutionary feat.

From Judea the Bible went forth into the Gentile world, and overturned the idolatrous systems of Rome and of the whole Roman Empire; and that again was a revolution on the largest scale that the world has ever seen. The breaking up of the central power of Heathenism is fairly to be attributed to the Bible.

Still later, it was the Bible that broke loose at the time of the Reformation and scattered the night of Popery from the face of Europe. It became the chosen armory of all progressives and radicals from the time of Wickliff down through the whole period of Luther's career, and then of the English reformers, and so laid the foundation of Protestantism and modern progress. The Bible was the real spring of the whole movement—the Bible working against hoary superstitions and man-made institutions. That was the issue between the Protestants and the Catholics, and the Bible was on the side of the Protestants. It was their armory and strength.

So far it is plain that the Bible, instead of having been on the side of old institutions and the policy of keeping things as they are, has been on the side of radicalism. It has been constantly upheaving and overturning old institutions in the past. It was the victorious enemy of Judaism, of Heathenism, and of Popery.

But what is the character and position of the Bible at the present time? Does it still hold the same relation to reform? There seems to be a wide-spread impression among reformers and progressives that the Bible is

against them, that we have outgrown its sympathies for reform, and that it is to be abandoned as the appropriate constitution of the party that goes for keeping things as they are.

Now if that is a true impression—if it has come about that the Bible is a conservative book in the anti-reform sense of the word—in favor of things as they are, and opposed to the men of progress who are heaving and straining for new conditions, then we have truly a remarkable change to consider and account for. The present position of the Bible, if this is the case, reverses all its past history; for, as we have shown, the Bible has hitherto been the best friend of those who were seeking to abolish tradition and let loose free and naked truth. It is manifest on the whole face of its career that it has been the ally of reform against old-fogyism, the best friend of the future, and the strongest opponent of the dead past.

But we are bold to affirm that there is no truth in the idea that the position of the Bible is changed in this respect. We are certain that present facts actually accord with all its past history, showing that the Bible still occupies the very van of progress. It is the very heart of all the free movement that is now going on in this country. If our progressives congratulate themselves on the fact of a wonderful ferment in favor of universal reform, they must take into account that that ferment has arisen in a population which has been educated in the Bible school—instructed more thoroughly in that book than any other people on the face of the earth. It is not for us to ignore the *foundation* that we stand upon—the *source and cause* of the present phenomena. Here is now a glorious ferment of mind, a free-thinking and heroic reform-progress, in all directions. But it will be noticed that this phenomenon has had but a short independent existence. It is hardly more than forty years since the Anti-slavery and Temperance agitations began the present movement of free discussion in relation to the institutions and morals of the land. What were the elements existing *previous* to that—the real mother-influences, out of which all this heat and power of reform have grown? What was the fire that made this high head of steam? and how was it kindled? We may say with perfect certainty that it was Bible-truth. It was the Bible that stirred the hearts of the people in the first place, as was manifest in the religious revivals which preceded this whole ferment of reform; and it was the Bible that was the original stimulus and armory of the Anti-slavery reform; and Anti-slavery, in receding from the Bible, dishonored its father and its mother. The same is true of every one of these reforms that has any truth and usefulness in it. The men that are at work in them were originally Bible men, or were moved and set to work by Bible men; and these reforms, whether it is acknowledged or not, were warmed into life by the Bible, and their infancy was nursed and suckled by the Bible. Is it wise for them, now that they are able to go alone, to discard the Bible, and so dishonor their own origin?

The Bible is a revolutionary book yet. It is now the best friend of the future, and the truest opponent of the dead past. It will have the credit finally of the present revolution, as it certainly has the credit of the Reformation and the subversion of Judaism, Heathenism and Popery in former times.

In calling the attention of progressives and radicals back to the Bible, we would ask them to study the subject as a matter of *policy*—for true policy will go with true honesty. And if they have lost their confidence in the Bible, and do not see clearly the demand that it has on them as a book of authority, we would ask them at any rate to look at it from the point of expediency, and see what claim the Bible has on them as a helper of reform—as an armory for all true revolutions. In the first place, we would propose for consideration the fact that the Bible has a hold on the hearts and minds of the mass of the people in this country and in all Christendom that makes it a very powerful book—the most powerful book in the world by a great deal. But if it is true that that book is on the side of the owls and bats, it is a very unfortunate thing. It renders the prospect of reformation, to say the least, distant and dim. How much more hopeful would it be if we could believe that the mighty influence of that book is on the side of progress and radical reformation! We advise radicals to be slow to surrender the enormous power of that book. They should not abandon such a stronghold in a pet, and without having first a thorough appreciation of its capabilities.

The question of policy in the case may be illustrated by the different positions that used to be taken among abolitionists in relation to the Constitution of the United States. That is a Constitution, which many con-

sidered and believed to be sound—one which admits of true expansion into all the principles of freedom, and whose legitimate and ultimate operation would abolish all slavery. But the more violent class of Abolitionists, in the progress of their heated career, got out of patience with the Constitution, and pronounced it a proslavery compact—renounced their allegiance and broke loose from it altogether. We can now see clearly which party was the wiser.

There is a similar question in regard to the Bible. The Bible is the Constitution of Christianity; and while one party says that it is an unsound constitution, the other party says that it is sound, and has in it the essence and almighty power of progress and reformation. If that is so, it is not only a false, but a very impolitic move, for persons to divest themselves of the privilege of acting on the public mind from the Bible—of living and voting under the Constitution of Christendom. We have shown that the Bible has been, and is now, the book of revolutions—the book that has proved itself to be the mightiest enemy of all those systems and institutions that have abused mankind. We claim that it is a sound constitution; and that in it, and under it, the army of reform can secure its objects, and in the most effective way. To renounce the Bible, as reformers have done, is treachery to their own chosen object—it is disabling themselves, and giving up their stronghold, with all its guns and munitions, to the enemy.

Any one who will simply look at the central doctrine of the Bible may see there the seeds of a complete revolution. He will see that nothing can satisfy the demand of Bible radicalism, short of destroying all sin and selfishness, and all the institutions that belong to them, and the actual establishment of heaven upon earth. That is the germ and center of the Bible Constitution. And all the limitations and drawbacks from this *ultimatum*, that are to be found in the Bible, are simply prudential principles which, properly understood, do not hinder the execution of its central object, but help it. They are simply designed to avoid stumbling-blocks and smooth the way to that central object.

If we might be permitted to give our advice to the progressives, we should counsel every man of them to make himself master of the Bible, as the first thing, and not judge it till he is master of it. For the next thing, we should advise the army of reformers to occupy the field of interpretation, and by giving the Bible a new and true voice in the world conquer and use that greatest arsenal of persuasive power that can be found in the world.

In the first great quarrel between conservatism and progression in this generation the conservatives stuck to the Bible, and the progressives abandoned it; but there is to be another battle; and if we read the signs aright the progressives will this time stick to the Bible and the conservatives will be obliged to abandon it. We call on all honest-hearted progressives to rally for this object, recover their stronghold, and fling out henceforth the Bible as their banner of Reform.

#### VISITORS AT O. C.

##### II.

#### THE RESPECTFUL INQUISITIVE.

We have mentioned a class of visitors to the Community who come with excited imaginations, and a design to make some shocking discovery, to search out some trap-door or blue-chamber or other. There is another class we will now introduce, who are not less inquisitive and determined, but whose range of investigations is somewhat more elevated. They do not quiz us as though we were impostors and knaves, but they are exceedingly mystified as to *how we manage our affairs*, financial, industrial and domestic. Their questions do not imply that we are wicked, but that we are *awfully legal*. They assume that we have a code of the most minute and stringent regulations, as the only conceivable way to make our machinery work.

"You all have to get up exactly at the same time, don't you? Your breakfast bell rings at a certain hour, and nobody is at liberty to oversleep, I suppose?"

Our breakfast is ready at half-past six, to be sure, and those whose business makes it more convenient, or whose taste inclines them to be up with the sun, can sit down at that time; but the breakfast lasts until half-past eight. The waiters are attentive till then, and the loiterers after that, though they may have to wait on themselves, find breakfast without much trouble.

"Well, you all have to eat the same things?"

Very much as members of one family do elsewhere. Do you and your wife have different dishes? We have the ordinary variety of food (less meat but more fruit), and we have a rotation of cooks in the kitchen, which

gives us an admirable chance to find out the best ways of preparing food. Besides, there is all the latitude desired for individuals to cook for themselves. Most of us enjoy our meals best at the general table. We believe in living well, and mean to exalt cooking into rank among the fine arts. The table is a subject for criticism in the family meeting from time to time, when every one has a chance to find fault and suggest improvements.

"Well, how is it about dress? Some persons want to dress a great deal more than others. How do you insure equality?"

We are not careful about equality in this thing. The financial committee has power to veto any great extravagance, but generally persons have what dress they wish for, and some more than others. There is no rule of equal distribution, and no prescribed uniform. A public opinion exists in favor of simplicity, and a person's spirit about dress is the subject of free criticism. We have popular discussions in which we seek to find out what is good and true, or, in other words, what is the taste of heaven in this matter of dress; but we have no laws.

"Are you not obliged to wear the short dress?"

No. Any woman is perfectly free to wear a long dress if she chooses. Several of our elderly women wear long dresses.

"But suppose you wish to take a journey, can you go without asking leave?"

We *consult*, as any member of a common family would, and find out whether it is sympathized with, and finances will allow. You ask your husband, I have no doubt, dear madam, when you wish to travel. I ask the family heads here.

This class of inquirers suppose that our arrangements in respect to children are carried out by the strictest legislation and worse than Spartan severity. They do not consider that we put our children into what is called "the Children's House" as voluntarily as they send their children to school, not under solemn law, but from an appreciation of the opportunity. Our children are fed and clothed and attended, not by frigid rule, but by love, as much as yours. They are in the bosom of a great Community, though not in the bosom each one of its own father and mother. Parental love is too often a hot-bed warmth, sickly and dwarfing, but Community love is the sun itself—the natural element of happy growth. We cultivate philoprogenitiveness true and tender, separate from the feeling of possession—the *little feeling* that "this child is *mine*."

Whereas some people think the only resolution to our position in respect to marriage is into licentiousness, these folks seem to think we are conscientious and pure, but that our social system is one of great constraint—that love is compulsory, and personal tastes and antipathies entirely disrespected. We trust it will appear to them some time that our social system respects all the rights of the affections and sensibilities as none other does; that it excludes compulsion as none other does. But they wish to see our *regulations*, and we have none to show. Our only answer is, "Our *principles* are more or less known. You may be acquainted with them. We made a frank exposition of them the first year after we started the Community, which has only been withdrawn from circulation since the Comstock raid. These principles are the subject of sincere discussion and elaboration in our family meeting. The *truth* is set free and circulated by every possible means, by discussions and by the freest personal criticism—and this is our regulator. In short, the *truth* is our grand regulator in everything. In becoming disciples of Christ we become lovers of the truth, and he can regulate us by that without laws." A MEMBER.

#### COMMUNITY ITEMS.

##### ONEIDA.

—The "dry cicala" is sounding its drowsy note.

—The trap manufactory requires 200,000 links per week.

—Vacation is over, and the children are attending school again.

—Red and black raspberries are very fine and abundant this season. The frequent rains give promise also of an extended crop.

—The Trumpet Creeper, which climbs nearly to the top of the north tower, is now in full bloom, and is greatly admired by visitors.

—Trapping is all the rage among the boys. They have an equipment of "Hawley & Norton's," which they set in the woods for squirrels, woodchucks, chipmunks and other small game. We notice, also, that "The Trapper's Guide" is their favorite reading.

—A trapper, writing from Fort Benton, Montana Territory, says: "Four parties that have trapped all over the United States have got together here and propose to form a Company under the name of the 'Newhouse Hunting and Trapping Co.,' in honor of your celebrated traps (which we use in preference to all others), and make a tour from this place, *via* National Park, Snake River and Walla Walla, to the Pacific coast."

—About a year ago the evening train from Norwich left a young gentleman at our house. His voice was very feeble, his step tottering, his face thin and pale. He asked to remain awhile in order that he might test the efficacy of the Turkish Bath in relieving him of neuralgia, from which he was a terrible sufferer. He had consulted many physicians and had tried many remedies without receiving relief, and now came to the Turkish Bath as a *dernier ressort*. We of course granted his request. After a short course of treatment the pain which had seemed so unendurable passed away, and our patient began to regain his appetite. Last week he made us a brief call. His appearance was so much improved that his shampooer, whom he hailed on the walk, was scarcely able to recognize him. His weight had increased from 115 to 145 pounds, his countenance was rosy, his step firm and elastic, and he said he had not had one sick day since he took the baths.

—Our highly esteemed friend, Mr. Ashton, who has been spending a number of weeks with us, returned to his home a few days ago. A hearty vote of thanks was offered by the family before his departure for the cheerful, whole-souled way in which he has used his time and talents for the benefit of the Community. Mr. Ashton responded very happily, that it certainly afforded him quite as much pleasure to serve the Community as it did us to have him, and if at any time we had anything for him to do we had only to send him word, and we might be sure that he would come along. (We are indebted to his skill and generosity for a number of pieces of excellent scenery for the stage.) "Why," said he, "it has been the dream of my life for forty years—ever since I became imbued with the principles of Socialism—to see something of their practical working. I have never before had a chance like this. I have visited other Communities for a day or so, but have never found one so nearly approaching my ideal as this." Some one having inquired his age, he answered, "I am sixty-seven; but I feel just as well as I did at twenty, and rather better, too, I think." He said he attributed his health and vigor largely to his embracing the principles of Socialism in early life, and to his having kept a steady glow of enthusiasm in that direction. He is certainly a wonderful example of a man who has kept untarnished the bloom of youthful ideals.

[The Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners of England, having expended during the years 1877 and 1878 £25,460, or over \$125,000, for "trade privileges, strike pay, and other costs of strikes," the inquiry naturally arose whether a plan could not be devised whereby this great expenditure might be avoided; and the Hammersmith Branch of the Society requested our old correspondent and contributor E. T. CRAIG, to prepare the following paper on the subject, which has been sent to all the Branches of the Society, with the expressed hope that "Delegate Meetings may be held in all the principal towns to discuss the subject." It is addressed to English readers, but contains suggestions and arguments that are of general interest and application.—Eds. Am. Soc.]

#### LABORING CAPITALISTS.

COÖPERATION AND FEDERATION IN BUILDING TRADES—A PLAN FOR SELF-EMPLOYMENT AND THE AVOIDANCE OF STRIKES.

The time has arrived when the members of the Building Trades should duly consider the existing relations between employers and the employed.

*Plan Proposed.*—It is highly desirable that measures should be wisely adopted for combining the resources of the various branches of the Building Trades, so as to utilize their labor, skill, and funds to be subscribed for as a capital, for the purpose of securing reproductive employment for such members as may, during a dispute, or the depression of trade, be thrown out of work, and that without any demand or waste of the funds of the Society. To pay industrious and skilled workmen for doing nothing while plenty of reproductive work may be provided seems opposed to the simplest notions of common sense, and at variance with the best interests of the Society.

*Change the Relations of Capital and Labor.*—Capital, in the hands of sordid, selfish and grasping individuals or companies, has no conscience, and is often the instrument of injustice and despotism. But change the relations of Capital and Labor, and make workingmen laboring capitalists, and the motives to action become wholly changed and transformed. Men, finding their interest involved in the success of their work, become their own masters, and, as was the case at Ralahine, their own foremen, discharging their duty with a willing heart, never realized under a despotic taskmaster.

*Examples of Success.*—That reproductive Coöperation is

practicable and profitable, has been demonstrated. The Co-operative Boot and Shoe Manufacturers of Leicester have more orders than they can execute. The Wolverhampton Co-operative Locksmiths are a splendid example of unity, devotion and integrity in reproductive Coöperation under great and trying difficulties and opposition, from the want of capital and the opposition and unfair competition of their former employers. The working members only took one-half their usual wages, and lent the other half to the Society as capital.

**Wages Raised.**—They have long since overcome all their difficulties. They have beaten their masters by the excellence of their goods and the integrity of the members. They have raised the wages of the trade ten per cent., while their locks have the highest reputation in the market, and give the best quotations in the trade. The Co-operative Fustian Manufacturers and Dyers, of Hebden Bridge, are now a flourishing Society, and give full employment to their own members. The Paisley Shawl Manufacturers and the working bakers of Glasgow are doing a good and profitable trade.

**Productive Societies.**—Great, and in some cases marvelous, success has attended the efforts of the thirty-six reproductive Coöperative Associations of workmen in Paris, such as the masons, joiners, painters, mathematical instrument and spectacle makers, tailors, piano-forte manufacturers, etc. The excellence of their work commands the market.

**Success Inevitable with Right Conditions.**—In America, too, reproductive Coöperation among the iron-molders of Pittsburgh has proved highly successful, and the system is extending. In fact, success is inevitable, if certain conditions are observed; and the future remains with those who have the practical wisdom to mold their surroundings in harmony with the laws of nature and the requirements of social and political economy.

**Four Requirements.**—The conditions essential to success comprise: 1st, capital at command for trade; 2nd, capacity, combined with intelligence, practical skill and experience in the work to be achieved; 3rd, integrity or conscientiousness in working out the objects of the reproductive building Society—EACH FOR ALL, and ALL FOR EACH; and, 4th, judiciously selected localities for practicable building operations. A brief exposition will prove all these conditions attainable.

**Profits the Origin of Capital.**—As to capital, it would be easier for the combined trades to accumulate capital than private, individual speculators, and by none could it be done with greater ease and satisfaction than by the members of the Amalgamated Building Trades. Capital is nothing more than savings out of the profits of labor. Labor is the source of all wealth, and workingmen by Coöperation can, and do, save money out of profits to the tune of a million a year. But the members of the Building Trades allow mere speculators to employ capital saved out of their own labor to be employed against themselves, while they laugh at their simplicity. It is high time that the members of the Building Trades became working capitalists by the plan of organization indicated, though briefly. Where there is a will there is a way.

**Working Capitalists.**—The Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners comprise 17,000 members. Allow 2,000 for unemployed and sick members, leaving 15,000 paying members. Let every member have a distinct number and a card with a corresponding number, and advance one shilling as a loan every week for twenty weeks, to be entered weekly on the card, at their respective branches.

**A Capital of £15,000 in Twenty Weeks.**—At the end of twenty weeks there will be £15,000 as a capital, to be lent for ten years without interest. The E. C. shall have cheque-books, with registered numbers corresponding with the cards with counterfoils, and as soon as a member fills up his card at his branch, it will be forwarded to the chief office, and a debenture or cheque for £1 will be returned to him, to be held by him or his representative till called in by the Executive Cashier and cashiered or destroyed. Here is a capital without any loss or charge to the trade funds.

**Capacity Means Brains in the Right Place.**—Capacity comes with brains in the right place, cultivated by exercise and experience; and there are plenty endowed with these conditions in the Building Trades.

**Guarantees.**—As to trust and confidence men differ. Some are a law unto themselves; but to give confidence to all, every manager or officer dealing with the funds shall give a guarantee for the faithful discharge of his duties to the Society. All bills for materials to be paid by cheques countersigned by trustees, in whom property shall be invested for the benefit of the Society.

**Lands and Houses.**—There is no safer security for the investment of capital, and few more profitable, than the investment of capital in houses and land, and a Coöperative Building Department, wisely managed, would give safe investment and reproductive returns, while providing certain and congenial employment for members of the building trades, and especially for those who are now drawing over one thousand pounds annually for unemployed benefit, whereas they might be augmenting the fund instead of consuming it.

There are no better localities for profitable building operations

than the suburbs of London and the districts to the west of Manchester, such as Moss Side, Whalley Range, Stretford, Trafford, Sale and Bowden. Well-arranged dwellings in these localities will always command good rents and good selling prices.

**E. C. Appoint all Managers.**—The supreme management and direction of the plan should be under the control of the Executive Council, who should appoint the managers to each establishment or shop. They shall also select the men to be employed on trial, subject to the approval of the manager.

**Managers to have Absolute Control.**—Every candidate for the office of manager shall have been a workman for not less than ten years; not under 30 nor over 50 years of age. The manager of each establishment should have power to appoint or remove any foreman or servant, and possess absolute control over the whole business, subject to the approval of the Executive Council. The members employed to be subject to the foreman of his department, the foreman to the manager, and the manager to the E. C.

**Suggestion Book.**—A Suggestion Book shall be provided for written suggestions or complaints to be laid before the E. C. The manager to give his advice and to adopt or reject any suggestion at his discretion.

**The Coöperators.**—The present time is the most opportune moment to commence Reproductive Coöperation. It has just been decided at a meeting of delegates from Coöperative Societies in the Southern Section, that Coöperative Societies should invest their spare capital in the building of houses. One Society in the Midland Counties has £18,000 thus invested. The Coöperators have confidence in the plan, and it will ultimately succeed. If the Amalgamated Building Trades were prepared for the work, the Coöperators would naturally give the benefit of their capital in the erection of dwelling-houses.

**Organization of Coöperative Movement.**—Some twelve years ago the present organization of the Coöperative movement was devised by the writer, in the hope that the Societies would combine their dividends or profits and employ them in reproductive Coöperation on the land and in manufactures. The organization of the Central Board, the Congress, the Conferences, reading of papers, and exhibition of manufactures, all contribute toward steady progress. But as they have not yet got the wisdom to unite their capital, they consume a million a year in profits, which would give them immense power if they could unite for reproductive purposes.

**Are the Amalgamated Trades Equal to Plans Proposed?**—It remains for the Amalgamated Building Trades to rise equal to the opportunity now put before them, and thereby, within a few weeks, provide profitable employment for those who are simply consuming the funds.

**Profits to Capital.**—The plan should be started with some of the best hands in the Society, and as it would be marvelously prolific in increasing the original capital by adding the profits, the Society would ultimately become enabled to give employment to a large proportion of their members. Private speculators have to live out of their profits, but the Coöperative Carpenters and Joiners would live on their wages, and could every year add their profits to the original capital.

**Profit of One-fifth.**—To illustrate, suppose the E. C. were satisfied with a yearly profit of one-fifth. Many builders take one-third, some one-half. Upholsterers take 100 per cent. on some of their cabinet work, charging the public double what they pay the men!

Suppose the £15,000 is invested in the erection of fifty houses, the cost of material and labor of 150 men amounting to £300 each, equal to £15,000.

These houses, constructed on an improved plan as to health, comfort, and domestic convenience, and with economy, would find a ready market at a remunerative profit. All materials would be paid in ready money, and from 2½ to 5 per cent. saved in materials.

The following table, omitting fractions, will show the progress of the funds each year for ten years:

	Investment.	Rate of Profit—1-5	Profit.	Capital and Profit.
1st year.....	£15,000.....	5.....	£3,000.....	£18,000
2d ".....	18,000.....	5.....	3,600.....	21,600
3d ".....	21,600.....	5.....	4,320.....	25,920
4th ".....	25,920.....	5.....	5,184.....	31,104
5th ".....	31,104.....	5.....	6,220.....	37,324
6th ".....	37,324.....	5.....	7,464.....	44,788
7th ".....	44,788.....	5.....	8,957.....	53,745
8th ".....	53,745.....	5.....	10,749.....	64,494
9th ".....	64,494.....	5.....	12,898.....	77,392
10th ".....	77,392.....	5.....	15,478.....	92,870

If the original capital is deducted to be returned, there will still remain over seventy-seven thousand pounds as a capital.

**The Road to Health and Wealth.**—Here we have a mine of wealth open to the Amalgamated Trades. Here lies the road to constant employment, to wealth and happiness. It also leads the way to perfect independence and freedom from the wayward, domineering despotism of the capitalist and those whom he employs. As to competition, the Coöperative builders might defy the whole world of private capitalists, for strikes would be unnecessary, as they could employ themselves.

**Federation of Collateral Trades.**—Measures should be

adopted, at once, for the Federation of all Branches engaged in the Building Trades with the Carpenters and Joiners' Society, such as the Bricklayers, Stonemasons, Plumbers, and Painters, so as to form a compact and united body for self-employment in the erection of all kinds of buildings.

**Sources of Power.**—If the subscriptions were added to profits, then the capital would increase so as to enable the Society to undertake works of the greatest magnitude. By adding the profits on the consumption of articles of daily use, 10 per cent. might be added to the weekly wages.

**A Grand and Glorious Future.**—By utilizing the whole capital of the Society, and the skill and industry of the members, a grand and glorious example would be before the Trades, command respectful attention, and lead to numerous imitations in various parts of the world.

**Are the Men Equal to the Work?**—Men acting singly are but as grains of sand, blown about by the winds; but rocks are made up of atoms, cohering by affinity, and stand out against the storms of ages; so it may be with reproductive Coöperation. Will the members of the Amalgamated Trades prove themselves men of good sense, and become equal to the realization of the plan proposed? Time will tell.

#### ONE THING AND ANOTHER.

Midsummer, Quetelet tells us, is the season for crimes of violence.

We are going to wait for the Bonapartists to simmer down the succession.

Did our union soldiers wear breast-plates beneath their blue westkits? The rebels affirm they did.

General Walker estimates that the next census will show a population of 48,000,000. Call it 50,000,000.

Glance at the fever news from Memphis, but don't let your heart go down to the bottom of your abdomen.

Tewfik Pasha says he can't govern Egypt if he is shorn of the power to maintain armies and make treaties.

Victoria has been acting a great deal more like a mother and woman to the ex-Empress Eugénie than like a queen she is.

Lord Chelmsford, the incompetent, had substantially ended the Zulu war before Sir Garnet Wolseley got on the ground.

Secretary Sherman has ordered the Treasurer of the United States to begin paying out those millions of bright silver dollars.

Leon Peter Federmeier has trundled a wheelbarrow from San Francisco to New York. He set out Dec. 8th, and finished July 4th.

The amount of land entered for homestead settlement in the year ending June 30, 1879, was a trifle over 6,000,000 acres. An area a little greater than the State of New Hampshire.

Among the sixteen suggestions of the National Bureau of Health is this: "Mail-matter and mail-bags should be heated to a temperature of 250° Fahrenheit, or should be otherwise disinfected before they are sent from infected places."

It is settled that Mlle. Sara Bernhardt will sail for the United States at the end of September, 1880. Moody and Sankey had better quit their hens and be up and stirring, for when she comes there will be small chance for them.

According to a paper lately read before the London Statistical Society, the Irish language is now spoken by only 600,000 people. In 1851 there were 1,500,000 who spoke it. The number who speak Irish only is less than 400,000.

We can't row with all the oarsmen; walk with all the pedestrians; trot with all the horses; pitch with all the ball-players called base; lounge with all the idle at the seashore, nor shout at a single one of your umbrageous camp-meetings.

It now appears that the death of the Prince Imperial was the result of the most superlative carelessness. Think of a scouting party of only six men, in a place of known danger, lying down without a watch, with carbines empty, and horses unsaddled.

The French stay at home, but their ideas take in the continents. Here is one proposing a canal across the Isthmus of Darien, another to make an inland sea of a part of the Desert of Sahara, while a third wants to build a 1600-mile railway from Algiers to Timbuctoo.

George Reynolds, the first Mormon convicted of polygamy under the United States law, has been removed from the Nebraska Penitentiary to a "clay biggin," four miles from Salt Lake City, where he can enjoy his martyrdom without any great strain on his domestic feeling.

The men with an eye to business are beginning to crowd the splendid "nobs" who live on Fifth Avenue, New York. A private house, only two blocks from the Stewart palace and three from the Astor's, is now changing into an elegant store and arena for the politely impudent counter-jumpers.

A writer in *Harper* for August, figuring away at "The Foreign indebtedness of the United States," estimates our total foreign debt, Jan. 30, 1878, at \$1,649,632,287. "This includes stocks which some claim are not debt when owned abroad. But they possess the only two attributes which

make bonds a debt—that of claiming interest and of being paid when returned, and they are equally with bonds a continual claim against us to the amount of their value in our markets."

Victor Hugo, talking about age, not long ago confessed that the most disagreeable advance for him was that from thirty-nine to forty. "But," said a friend, "I should think it a great deal better to be forty than fifty." "Not at all," replied Hugo, "forty years is the old age of youth while fifty is the youth of old age."

Mr. Austin Corbin, the President of the Manhattan Beach Company, Coney Island, has said, with an eye to business, that the Chosen People are not the folk he would choose to have come to his hotel. He very naturally wants to see people who buy more, say less, wash oftener, and take up less room than do the vivacious Hebrews.

A more rigid censorship of the press has been established in Russia lately. The control of printing has been transferred from the civil to the military tribunal. The process is called caviareing. Only such publications as are named by the Government are allowed to be sold or circulated. The *New York Herald* and a scientific magazine are the only American prints permitted to appear.

The Fourth of July was unconsciously celebrated in England by a debate in the House of Commons on the agricultural distress, in the course of which it was admitted that America was underselling the home food-producers and the manufacturers alike, and that the price of food in England must hereafter be "the least price at which American food, including cost and transportation, could be supplied there with profit to the importer." The fate of New England agriculture, under the influence of Western production, is quite likely to overtake the English system.

Carlyle's famous essay on Burns concludes in this wise: "Granted the ship comes into harbor with shrouds and tackle damaged, and the pilot is therefore blameworthy, for he has not been all-wise and all-powerful; but to know how blameworthy, tell us first whether his voyage has been round the globe, or only to Ramsgate and the Isle of Dogs." Principal Shairp has lately written a memoir of Burns for Morley's series of "English Men of Letters," ending with this plain and serious conclusion: "These moral defects it is ours to know: it is not ours to judge him who had them."

In what is called the Black Belt of Alabama, or the cotton-raising district in the South-central part of the State, where the black population outnumbers the white from two to four to one, the negroes, though they have very little influence in politics, have become the owners of valuable and well-stocked farms: their credit is good for all needed advances when gathering their crops, and in default of free schools maintained by the State for the common benefit, they are able to support excellent schools of their own, employing white and colored teachers. Their churches, too, are well sustained and attended. The "exodus" does not reach them.

Lord Derby has been talking to the tenant-farmers of Lancashire. He describes a farm as a food-factory. In England the manufacturer of butter and beef has the rent of his factory to pay out of his profits, while in America he has no rent to pay. "You spoil your chances," said he, "by being too thick upon the ground. Those who mean to bring up their sons to agriculture should look to America and Australia." Irish farming has become prosperous since the great emigration from that country, and the Irish immigrant in this country has thriven greatly, smoking our best cigars, wearing our tallest hats, and "voting early and often."

A correspondent of the London *Daily News* has been telling how the old Khedive got himself out of Egypt: "Most of the women of his harem wore suitable European traveling costumes, with light and elegant veils, or apologies for 'acyhmas,' but the servants of different grades wore the tarha and khatara of the ordinary make. The styles of beauty were as varied as the toilettes. Some of the ladies had hair and complexions as fair as those of English women. Others were of the Spanish type with black hair and eyes. Except among the servants, none seemed over twenty-five years of age; but there pervaded them all a listless and vacant look, as of beings with no occupation or aim in life."

The British forces under Lord Chelmsford, numbering 5,000 men, attacked the Zulus near Ulundi on Friday, the 4th inst. After an hour's fighting the Zulus, estimated at 15,000, fled in disorder, and were pursued by the horse. The English fought in a hollow square supported by a Gatling gun and cavalry. The victors burned Ulundi. The British loss was slight, while that of the Zulus was about 1,000 killed. Sir Garnet Wolseley considers that the war is over. He has countermanded all reinforcements and supplies. King Cetewayo is reported to have fled northward. Large numbers of Zulus are surrendering, and in case the King does not surrender his brother can be put in command of the conquered territory by the British.

Capital is naturally long-sighted, and its representatives, the conservatives, have always said that we should have a compulsory communism wherever the ideas of Kearney and

Schwab got into the political machinery; and they now point in triumph to Toledo, Ohio, as a verification of the prediction. The Board of Equalization in that city is controlled by the Nationals, who as soon as they got possession went to "equalizing" things according to their fancy. To show how "raising" on the "rich uns" works, we may mention that some of the returns have been altered as follows: \$550 to \$30,300; \$500 to \$22,600; \$225 to \$15,275; \$8,900 to \$236,473. There is of course a good deal of consternation among the merchants, manufacturers and bankers affected, and they propose to contest the matter in the courts.

Here is a man in the *Nation* who looks upon the yellow fever as a sort of natural retribution for the sins of the South: "The cities of the South will never really be properly policed and guarded from pestilences until they are filled with a new, progressive, and prosperous population, who will make the necessary improvements, take necessary precautions, and raise the necessary taxes. But no such population will ever move into the South until the South is made attractive to them; which it will never be so long as the Southerners play fast and loose with their obligations, scale, compromise, and consolidate their debts, and involve themselves further in the degradation of a ruined credit. It certainly is not at all unsafe to prophesy that yellow fever and repudiation will both disappear from the South together."

You will notice that our American newspapers still think it necessary to "bear" the British Empire and give us only the anti-English view of everything pertaining to England and her dependencies: accordingly, a London correspondent of the *Nation* thus summarizes the results of the war with Afghanistan: "It is no exaggeration to say that the peace with Afghanistan, if its provisions are acted upon, jeopardizes the very existence of the Indian Empire. Upon a people poor, discontented and heavily taxed it imposes fresh burdens; upon a mercenary army it entails duties which former experience has demonstrated to be so unpopular as to produce disaffection and even mutiny. It places us in a position where the weight of circumstances will compel us to annex a country destitute of wealth and peopled by turbulent tribes. And, finally, must eventually bring us into immediate contact with a great military power to whom the disaffected in our dominions will naturally look for encouragement and support. In saying this I do not wish to be understood as supposing that Russia has any deep-laid or persistent design of conquest in India."

The "Easy Chair" in August *Harper* chats of two great men of genius in this sympathetic vein: "Men who were young a generation ago, and who then read Carlyle, have the great advantage of having been familiar in their plastic and susceptible years with one of the noblest pleas that one man of genius ever made for another, in Carlyle's essay upon Burns. They were countrymen, one born as the other died. Both had the deep, strong, melancholy nature which is nurtured by the misty coasts and solitary mountains and moors of Scotland. Both, too, had the immense vitality, the Berserker humor, the thorough manliness, of the Northern genius. As one reads the works of Carlyle, and marks his impatience of shams, and effeminity, and equivocation, and conventional moralities, and hears his loud satiric laughter dying into a wail of pathos and entreaty, it is easy to feel that he saw the sound hearty man he longs and prays for gone astray in Robert Burns. Such sweetness and grace and strength and tenderness! Such soft, pathetic, penetrating melody, as if all the sadness of shaggy Scotland had found a voice! Such roistering jovial humor, excessive, daring, unbridled! a charm so universal that it drew men from their beds in taverns at midnight to listen, delighted, until dawn. Here was a fullness of simple, native, massive manhood, not trained by the schools, not manipulated by the dancing-master and the professor of single-stick, overflowing bounds, shocking the proprieties, defying the rules, guilty of offenses that cannot be excused, and for which he paid the penalty. It fascinated and captivated the sad, grim, infinitely tender and manly and pure genius of Carlyle, and he has interpreted, as no other man has essayed to interpret, the wild, wistful, touching, and tragical story of Robert Burns."

The "Chautauqua Idea," as it is called, has, under the guidance of Rev. Dr. J. H. Vincent, grown from an annual gathering on the shores of Lake Chautauqua "for the purpose of instruction in advanced methods of Sunday-school work, combined with rural recreation," into a sort of People's College, called the "Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle," having the following features: "First, it has a prescribed curriculum covering four years; second, its aim is to give the college a student's outlook; third, it covers in special courses the entire range of study in art, science, literature, and history (the general and initial four years' course may be thought circumscribed and superficial, but this only prepares the way for exceedingly thorough special courses afterward); fourth, it is based upon religious truth, and embraces Biblical studies from an evangelical stand-point; fifth, the course of study is carefully prepared by expert and practical scholars—college professors, scientific students, and teachers of experience; sixth, a series of examinations is held by means of printed questions sent each member of the class (the first list of questions is before us, and appears to be devised with

exceeding skill; any one who answers a reasonable percentage of the inquiries must have pursued the course faithfully, as no system of 'cramming' would make it possible to meet the test successfully); seventh, a diploma will be given to all who complete the four years' course (to this diploma will from time to time be added seals for the 'special courses' completed, and it may in time become valuable from the number of special seals attached to it, each of which, issued by the professor in charge, shall certify to really hard and faithful labor); eighth, each member is kept in constant communication with the president by reports and by printed circulars containing suggestions and items of interest in connection with the course of study (this plan keeps alive the interest of the members, and affords a constant stimulus to faithful study)."

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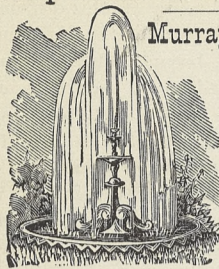
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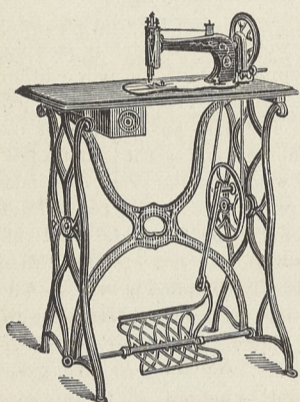
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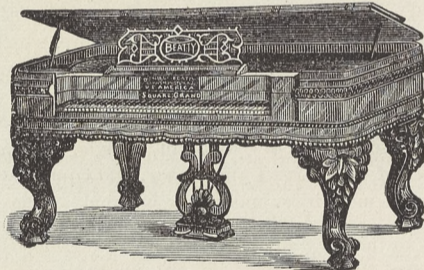
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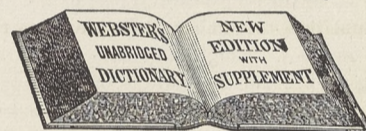
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Going North.		Time Table.	Going South.	
Accom.	MAIL.	STATIONS.	MAIL.	Accom.
8.00 A.M.	11.35 A.M. Dep.	Middletown Arr.	5.10 P.M.	
9.05 A.M.	4.40 P.M. Dep.	Walton	11.40 A.M.	6.50 P.M.
11.00 A.M.	5.51 P.M. Dep.	Sidney	9.17 A.M.	2.42 P.M.
8.15 A.M.	6.50 P.M. Arr.	Norwich Dep.	8.45 A.M.	1.00 P.M.
11.44 A.M.	6.55 P.M. Dep.	Norwich Arr.	8.15 A.M.	7.30 P.M.
11.55 A.M.	2.49 P.M. Dep.	Community	10.03 A.M.	3.41 P.M.
11.44 A.M.	3.00 P.M. Arr.	Oneida Dep.	9.50 A.M.	3.25 P.M.
*7.10 A.M.	3.15 P.M. Dep.	Oneida Arr.	9.33 A.M.	*7.50 P.M.
*11.30 A.M.	6.45 P.M. Arr.	Oswego Dep.	6.00 A.M.	*3.25 P.M.

\*Will only run Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday.