AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

DEVOTED TO THE ENLARGEMENT AND PERFECTION OF HOME.

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EVOLUTION OF COMMUNITIES.

VI.

Our last article brought out with some clearness the idea that the spirit of service is the fundamental qualification of a true leader; but with this point settled there is still room for careful discrimination. The mere physical worker, however industrious and self-denying, is evidently unfit for leadership. Nordhoff, after visiting one of the least progressive of the existing Communities, comments on "the extreme importance and value in such experiments of leaders with ideas at least a step higher than those of their people." This wise discrimination would exclude simple hand-workers; and there would be scarcely any gain, perhaps a loss, in taking in their stead men remarkable only for enterprising business habits. Physical service, whatever the degree and kind, when it is made the basis of leadership or of right of influence in a Community, is liable to become one of the very worst snares and means of usurpation and oppression. This is what killed the Hopedale Community. (See "American Socialisms," p. 132). A smart business man, with apparently "great enthusiasm for the cause," joined the Community, and after a while, by the help of outside financial operations, "which were very lucrative," was able to buy up three-fourths of the joint-stock, and so control the destinies of the whole body; and it was this man who finally took the responsibility of saying, "This thing must not go any further."

The Swedish Community in Henry County, Illinois, came to an untimely end from a similar cause. After the death of its founder, the central control was wielded by one and another, until finally Olaf Janson, the business manager, got every thing into his own hands, and ran the ship aground, making a total wreck.

Illustrations might be multiplied. We are sure the Shakers could tell any number of stories, showing how absolutely important they have found it not to let the leadership of their Societies fall into the hands of mere business men, however smart or industrious or devoted to the general interest.

The ordinary family mainly concerns itself with the physical comforts and good behavior of its members, leaving their spiritual interests to be cared for by the church, and their intellectual by the school, the library and the newspaper. The Community is a little world by itself, including all interests. It has its own church and school and library; and is in short responsible for the spiritual, intellectual, moral and physical conditions

of its members; and hence the necessity that its leaders, those who give tone and character to the Community, those who have a controlling influence in its councils, and are most responsible for the development of the individual members, should not only be free from selfish ambition in respect to leadership, and possessed by the genuine spirit of service, but that they should give themselves to the different kinds of service in the order of their importance. This requires that they should labor first and above all things for the faith and harmony of the Community; that they should signalize themselves primarily by their zeal in spiritual things, and give only subordinate attention to other departments of life

We have commended Paul as a leader who had the true spirit of service, working with both heart and hand; but, note, he never made the mistake of giving his chief attention to things of inferior importance. Though he supported both himself and others by the labors of his hands, though he was a profound moralist, and a thorough scholar, yet he never leaves you in doubt as to the department of life which absorbs his chief interest. His soul struggled for the highest attainable experience, and his word to his followers was, "Be ye followers of me even as I am also of Christ."

We are persuaded that the inner history of the most successful Communities would disclose the fact that their leaders have not only been examples of zeal in general service, but have found a way to "labor more abundantly" in ways tending to harmony and the highest development of the members. Christ proclaimed that his office—that for which he came into the world—was to bear witness to the truth; and every true leader is likely to discover, sooner or later, that his highest function is of the same character, and especially to bear witness of truth relating to the deep things of life, visible and invisible.

COMMUNISM INSURES.

IV.

COMMUNISM would not only insure to parents the life long companionship of their children, but it would insure them the inestimable satisfaction of seeing the intellectual faculties of their offspring fully trained and developed without the sorrows and incalculable risks of separation at an age when they most need a parent's guiding hand. The Communist need not intrust his children to the hands of uninterested strangers in order to secure for them a liberal education. Warm friends, confidential companions, men and women thoroughly known by years of association and fellowship, are the interested guardians to whom he consigns the education of his children with the absolute assurance that it will be all that his heart could desire. A father being a daily witness of the educational growth of his son in the midst of a large and vital home, where every member takes a real heart interest in the expansion of its youth, what has he to fear? He has the most perfect insurance that can be given against his sons becoming a moral or physical wreck, because he is constantly surrounded with the saving and civilzing influences of home, and the interested friendship of scores whose strong motives for leading him aright are those of love and a regard for the public interest only. The load which is thus lifted from the parental heart is one which must weigh heavily upon many fathers and mothers, whose children are at distant schools, learning they know not what debasing

Every one who has any practical acquaintance with college life knows that there is a painful proportion of its young men who are not strong enough to withstand its temptations and are, therefore, virtually maimed for life in body and soul by the snares into which they have fallen. We predict that the time will come when it will be thought, not only unnatural and unscientific, but prejudicial to every interest of the individual and society, to send young men to distant schools to be educated in droves, aloof from all home influences. Home is the source and center of all our boasted civilization, and yet we banish our young people from it during the

years when their passions are in their first strength, and when they most need the counsel and fellowship of those who have passed the perils of youth before them. How can we then complain if they come back to us with baleful habits and unhomelike ways? There must be a way found to combine the University with the perfect home, if we would suppress barbarism and give growth only to what is noble and comely.

The enlarged home is the only one that can comprise a University within its walls and furnish teachers whose only motive is one of loving interest to give its scholars an integral, harmonic development that shall fit them for the greatest usefulness, and the most lasting happiness. The wealth and economies of Communism furnish the libraries, the instruments and scientific apparatus; the number of members, with their diversity of gifts and attainments, furnish competent instructors and lecturers.

Communism, therefore, insures to its children a liberal intellectual development, without sacrificing for it any of the civilizing and refining home influences which alone are said to make the great difference between the man and the savage.

MINISTERS TO THE FRONT.

WE said in our last number that the rapid progress of Socialism is easy if the right kind of men can be induced to act as its leaders; and we called on the conductors of great enterprises, the captains of industry, men of intellectual power and executive ability, to come forward and head the grand movement; but in our enumeration we made no mention of the clergy, who are in many respects its most natural leaders. There will be abundant room for all men to play their parts according to their ability: but the clergy, by their studies and profession, ought to be the best prepared to take charge of Communities as they spring up, and guide them to harmony and success. They are by profession, and some of them in reality, amphibious, that is, live a twofold life—spiritual and physical; and it should be easy and natural for them to proportion their labors to the great departments of interest according to their importance-keeping the spiritual in the ascendant and controlling. Though their attention is naturally concentrated on this highest department, they are as a class men of intellectual and moral power; and they need only to follow after Paul in becoming men of business, "working ministers," in order to cover all the great departments of human interest. As a further preparation for Community leadership they would need such a preliminary drill in practical Communism, including its system of truth-telling criticism, as would take out of them all insincerity and mere lip-work, and make them genuine "doers of the word;" but something of this experience would be necessary in all cases. No man is fit for a Community leader, nor can he hold the position, unless he is thoroughly honest and finds his highest pleasure in unselfish effort—living for others. But, other things being equal, ministers have the advantage in position and preparation, and ought to be leaders of the new dispensation of Socialism. In point of fact, they played a very important part in its beginnings thirty years ago, and should be made to feel that it is their duty to complete what they then begun. Several of the most efficient workers for social reorgani zation at that time were ministers. The leader and founder of the first and most prominent of the Fourier Associations, Brook Farm, was a minister, Rev. George Ripley; and all accounts agree that he did his work well. The measure of success Brook Farm achieved was unquestionably owing in great part to his wise leadership. Will the example then set by Ripley, Channing, and other ministers of that early period, be followed in these days of Socialistic revival? Will they rise with the occasion and lead their flocks on into the unselfish relations of Communism? As we urge the manufacturer to make his hirelings coöperators and partners with him in his business, so we urge, and with redoubled earnestness, that ministers shall perfect the

unity of their churches—make all their interests one and perpetual. Thus, and thus only, can the Scriptural idea of a church be realized—"a living body," all "members one of another," all "caring one for another." This is Communism: this is the unity for which Christ prayed—"that they all might be one."

We have elsewhere shown that the best outlook for Socialism is in the direction of the local churches, because in them Communism "would have the advantage of previous religion, previous acquaintance, and previous rudimental organizations, all assisting in the transition from the old world of selfishness to the new world of common interest;" and we have expressed "the hope that churches of all denominations will by and by be quickened by the Pentecostal Spirit and begin to grow and change, and finally, by a process as natural as the transformation of the chrysalis, burst forth into Communism." We still look in the same direction and have the same hope; but that the change may take place most naturally and speedily, we must secure the coöperation of the clergy.

"UTOPIA, OR THE HAPPY REPUBLIC."

A PHILOSOPHICAL ROMANCE.

II.

PRELIMINARY.

SIR Thomas More, in the introductory plot of his Utopia, set an example which has had many followers. Harrington's Oceana, Bacon's Atlantis, Swift's Gulliver and many other less celebrated fictions have imitated More's machinery, which consists in pretending to report what a seafaring adventurer met with on his travels in far off seas. The Utopia is divided into two "books," and the first book, with an epistle before it, is entirely taken up with this preliminary plot. The actual account of Utopia begins with the second book.

The object of such introductions is to make fiction seem like reality. The annotator of our edition, speaking of some little nicety in the preliminary story, says:

"The reader will probably detect in this and similar passages much of the manner of that very exact and instructive traveller, LEMUEL GULLIVER; and may probably concur with me in supposing the said traveller to be not a little indebted to the Utopia. It must be owned that More well understood the art of lying like truth. There is nothing that communicates to a narrative so great an air of matter of fact as such little corrections as this, and dwelling on minute particles; as Æschines cunningly objects to his great rival in his Speech on the Embassy. 'He will tell you,' says he, 'the very day on which some imaginary event took place; and not only so, but name at once some imaginary individual who witnessed it, exactly imitating the manner of persons who relate what is true.' Defoe and Swift adopted this natural style of writing, which is also that of Bunyan, who may, perhaps, be said to have carried it to perfection."

For our part we must confess that the illusory contrivances in the first book of Utopia are rather tedious; and we shall take the liberty to assume that our readers are more anxious to see what Utopia is, than to be cheated into any vain imaginations as to how it was discovered. We shall therefore content ourselves with a very brief summary of what is spun out at great length in the book before us. The story of book first is this:

Henry VIII of England, having some differences with Charles, Prince of Castile, sent Sir Thomas More into Flanders as special ambassador for composing matters between them. During this embassy More went to Antwerp; and while he was there, among the many who visited him was one Peter Giles, who was more acceptable to him than any other, being a young man of rank, education and good character. Through this Giles he became acquainted with Raphael Hythloday, the adventurer who is supposed to have visited Utopia and given the account of it in the second book.

His first meeting with Hythloday, More describes as follows:

"One day, as I was returning home from mass at St. Mary's, which is the chief church, and the most frequented of any in Antwerp, I saw Peter Giles talking with a stranger that seemed past the flower of his age; his face was tanned, he had a long beard, and his cloak was hanging carelessly about him, so that by his looks and habit I concluded he was a seaman. As soon as Peter saw me he came and saluted me: and, as I was returning his civility, he took me aside, and, pointing to him with whom he had been discoursing, he said, 'Do you see that man? I was just thinking to bring him to you.' I answered, 'He should have been very welcome on your account.' 'And on his own too,' replied he, 'if you knew the man; for there is none alive that can give you so copious an account of unknown nations and countries as he can do; which I know you very much desire.' 'Then,' said I, 'I did not guess amiss; for at first sight I took him

for a seaman.' 'But you are much mistaken,' said he, 'for he has not sailed as a seaman, but as a traveller, or rather as a philosopher; for this Raphael, who from his family carries the name of Hythloday, as he is not ignorant of the Latin tongue, so he is eminently learned in the Greek, having applied himself more particularly to that than to the former, because he had given himself much to philosophy, in which he knew that the Romans have left us nothing that is valuable, except what is to be found in Seneca and Cicero. He is a Portuguese by birth, and was so desirous of seeing the world, that he divided his estates among his brothers, and ran fortunes with Americus Vespucius, and bore a share in three of his four voyages that are now published; only he did not remain with him in his last, but obtained leave of him, almost by force, that he might be one of those four-andtwenty who were left at the furthest place at which they touched, in their last voyage to New Castile. The leaving him thus did not a little gratify one that was more fond of travelling than of returning home to be buried in his own country; for he used often to say that the way to heaven was the same from all places; and he that had no grave had the heavens still over him. Yet this disposition of mind had cost him dear, if God had not been very gracious to him; for after he, with five Castilians, had travelled over many countries, at last, by a strange good fortune he got to Ceylon, and from thence to Calicut, and there he very happily found some Portuguese ships; and so, beyond all men's expectations, he came back to his own country.' When Peter had said this to me I thanked him for his kindness in intending to give me the acquaintance of a man whose conversation he knew would be so acceptable to me; and upon that Raphael and I embraced one another; and after those civilities were past which are ordinary for strangers upon their first meeting, we went all to my house; and entering into the garden, sat down on a green bank, and entertained one another in discourse. He told us that when Vespucius had sailed away, he and his companions that staid behind in New Castile, did by degrees insinuate themselves into the people of the country, meeting often with them and treating them gently: and at last they grew not only to live among them without danger, but to converse familiarly with them; and got so far into the heart of a prince, whose name and country I have forgot, that he both furnished them plentifully with all things necessary, and also with the conveniences of travelling: both boats when they went by water, and wagons when they travelled over land; and he sent with them a very faithful guide, who was to introduce and recommend them to such other princes as they had a mind to see: and after many days' journey they came to towns, and cities, and commonwealths, that were both happily governed and well-peopled. Under the equator, and as far on both sides of it as the sun moves, there lay vast deserts that were parched with the perpetual heat of the sun; the soil was withered, all things looked dismally, and all places were either quite uninhabited, or abounded with wild beasts and serpents, and some few men that were neither less wild, nor less cruel than the beasts themselves. But as they went further a new scene opened, all things grew milder, the air less burning, the soil more verdant, and even the beasts were less wild: and at last there are nations, towns, and cities, that have not only mutual commerce among themselves, and with their neighbors, but trade both by sea and land, to very remote countries. There they found the conveniences of seeing many countries on all hands, for no ship went any voyage into which he and his companions were not very welcome. The first vessels that they saw were flat-bottomed, their sails were made of reeds and wicker woven close together, only some were made of leather; but afterwards they found ships made with round keels and canvas sails, and in all things like our ships; and the seamen understood both astronomy and navigation. He got wonderfully into their favor, by showing them the use of the needle, of which till then they were utterly ignorant; and whereas they sailed before with great caution, and only in summer time, now they count all seasons alike, trusting wholly to the loadstone in which they are perhaps more secure than safe: so that there is reason to fear, that this discovery, which was thought would prove so much to their advantage, may by their imprudence become an occasion of much mischief to them. But it were too long to dwell on all that he told us he had observed in every place; it would be too great a digression from our present purpose: and whatever is necessary to be told, chiefly concerning the wise and prudent institutions that he observed among civilized nations, may perhaps be related by us on a more proper occasion. We asked him many questions concerning all these things, to which he answered very willingly; only we made no inquiries after monsters, than which nothing is more common; for every-where one may hear of ravenous dogs and wolves, and cruel men-eaters; but it is not so easy to find states that are well and wisely governed.

"But as he told us of many things that were amiss in those new-found nations, so he reckoned up not a few things from which patterns might be taken for correcting the errors of these nations among whom we live; of which an account may be given, as I have already promised, at some other time; for at present I intend only to relate those particulars that he told us of the manners and laws of the Utopians: but

I will begin with the occasion that led us to speak of that commonwealth.'

In the course of the conversation thus reported, Peter wonders that Raphael for his wisdom was not retained at the court of some king as counsellor; but Raphael thinks that kings would not listen to his counsel, and cites the case of Dionysius who, because Plato desired to relieve him of ignorance, sold him for a slave! Raphael also recounts a table-talk which he once had with the Archbishop of Canterbury in which he discussed the propriety of substituting penal servitude for hanging as a punishment for the crime of theft, and in which he showed that so long as society retains its present customs and property is accumulated in the hands of the few, thieves will be tempted to their crimes. His discourse on this topic closes the first book as follows:

"I must freely own to you, that as long as there is any property, and while money is the standard of all other things, I can not think that a nation can be governed either justly or happily. Not justly, because the best things will fall to the share of the worst men; nor happily, because all things will be divided among a few (and even these are not in all respects happy), the rest being left to be absolutely miserable. Therefore, when I reflect on the wise and good constitutions of the Utopians, among whom all things are so well governed, and with so few laws; and among whom, as virtue hath its due reward, yet there is such an equality that every man lives in plenty: and when I compare with them so many other nations that are still making new laws, and yet can never bring their constitutions to a right regulation, among whom though every one has his property, yet all the laws they can invent can not prevail so far that men can either obtain nor preserve it, or be certainly able to distinguish what is their own from what is another man's (of which the many lawsuits that every day break out and depend without any end, give too plain a demonstration); when I say, I balance all these things in my thoughts, I grow more favorable to Plato, and do not wonder that he resolved not to make any laws for such as would not submit to a community of all things. For so wise a man as he was could not but foresee that the setting all upon the level was the only way to make a nation happy, which can not be obtained as long as there is property: for when every man draws to himself all that he can compass by one title or another, it must needs follow, that how plentiful soever a nation may be, yet a few dividing the wealth of it among themselves, the rest must fall under poverty. So that there will be two sorts of people among them, that deserve that their fortunes should be interchanged: the former being useless, but wicked and ravenous; and the latter, who by their constant industry serve the public more than themselves, being sincere and modest men. From whence I am persuaded, that till property is taken away, there can be no equitable or just distribution made of things, nor can the world be happily governed; for as long as that is maintained, the greatest and the far best part of mankind will be still oppressed with a load of cares and anxieties. I confess, without the taking of it quite away, those pressures that lie on a great part of mankind, may be made lighter, but they can never be quite removed. For if laws were made, determining at how great an extent in soil, and at how much money every man must stop, and limiting the prince that he may not grow too great, and restraining the people that they may not become too insolent, and that none might factiously aspire to public employments; and that they might neither be sold nor made burthensome by a great expense, since otherwise those that serve in them, will be tempted to reimburse themselves by cheats and violence, and it will become necessary to find out rich men for undergoing those employments for which wise men ought rather to be sought out; these laws, I say may have such effects, as good diet and care may have on a sick man, whose recovery is desperate—they may allay and mitigate the disease, but it can never be quite healed, nor the body politic be brought again to a good habit, as long as property remains. And it will fall out, as in a complication of diseases, that by applying a remedy to one sore, you will provoke another; and that which removes the one ill symptom produces others, while the strengthening of one part of the body weakens the rest.'

"'On the contrary,' answered I, 'it seems to me that men can not live convenien: e an things are common. How can there be any plenty, where every man will excuse himself from labor? For as the hope of gain doth not excite him, so the confidence he has in other men's industry may make him slothful. And if people come to be pinched with want, and yet can not dispose of any as their own, what can follow upon this but perpetual sedition and bloodshed, especially when the reverence and authority due to magistrates falls to the ground? For I can not imagine how that can be kept up among those that are in all things equal to one

"'I do not wonder,' said he, 'that it appears so to you, since you have no notion, or at least no right one, of such a constitution: but if you had been in Utopia with me, and had seen their laws and rules, as I did, for the space of five years, in which I lived among them, and during which time I was so delighted with them, that indeed I would never have left them, if it had not been to make the discovery of that new world to the Europeans, you would then confess that you had never seen a people so well constituted as they are.'

"'You will not easily persuade me,' said Peter, 'that any nation in that new world is better governed than those among us. For as our understandings are not worse than theirs, so our government, if I mistake not, being more ancient, a long practice has helped us to find out many conveniences of life; and some happy chances have discovered other things to us, which no man's understanding could ever have invented.'

"'As for the antiquity, either of their government or of ours, said he, 'you can not pass a true judgment of it, unless you had read their histories; for if they are to be believed, they had towns among them before these parts were so much as inhabited; and as for these discoveries that have been either hit by chance, or made by ingenious men, these might have happened there as well as here. I do not deny that we are more ingenious than they are, but they exceed us much in industry and application. They knew little concerning us before our arrival among them. They call us all by a general name of the nations that lie beyond the equinoctial line; for their chronicles mention a shipwreck that was made on their coast twelve hundred years ago, and that some Romans and Egyptians that were in the ship getting safe ashore, spent the rest of their days amongst them. And such was their ingenuity, that from this single opportunity they drew the advantage of learning, from those unlooked-for guests, all the useful arts that were then among the Romans, which those shipwrecked men knew; and by the hints that they gave them, they themselves found out even some of those arts which they could not fully explain to them; so happily did they improve that accident of having some of our people cast upon their shore. But if any such accident have at any time brought any from thence into Europe, we have been so far from improving it, that we do not so much as remember it: as in after times, perhaps, it will be forgot by our people that I was ever there. For though they from one such accident made themselves master of all the good inventions that were among us, yet, I believe it would be long before we would learn or put in practice any of the good institutions that are among them: and this is the true cause of their being better governed, and living happier than we do, though we come not short of them in point of understanding or outward advantages.'

"Upon this I said to him, 'I do earnestly beg of you, that you would describe that island very particularly to us. Be not too short in it, but set out in order all things relating to their soil, their rivers, their towns, their people, their manners, constitution, laws, and, in a word, all that you imagine we desire to know; and you may well imagine that we desire to know every thing concerning them, of which we are hitherto ignorant.' 'I will do it very willingly,' said he, 'for I have digested the whole matter carefully, but it will take up some time.' 'Let us go then,' said I, 'first and dine, and then we shall have leisure enough.' 'Be it so,' said he.

"So we went in and dined, and after dinner we came back and sat down in the same place. I ordered my servants to take care that none might come and interrupt us, and both Peter and I desired Raphael to be as good as his word. So when he saw that we were very intent upon it, he paused a little to recollect himself, and began in this manner."

(To be continued).

THE VIRGINIA COLONY.

TROUBLE IN THE CAMP.

178 Greenwich-St., New-York, Jan. 12, 1877.

Ed. American Socialist:

DEAR SIR: -About Jan. 1st, I received the circular which you printed in the American Socialist of Jan. 11, concerning the "Industrial Coöperative Association of Virginia." My astonishment was equal to what yours no doubt was, and my grief considerably greater. I had hoped from that date until to-day that the differences between the two classes of Socialists who have been trying to unite their forces in the Virginia Colony, could be settled by a quiet separation. But now I find that circular printed in full in your paper, and letters expressing sorrow and surprise coming from correspondents of the "Eclectic and Peacemaker," and I am forced to make a painful explanation. When a sort of eclectic colony was first proposed, we thought that so few would offer that it was only by a mutual straining of our forbearing faculties that a sufficient number for a start could be obtained. But many more than were expected responded; and at the same time it became evident that two classes were represented in the correspondence, whom it would be difficult to harmonize. I suggested this to Mr. Daniels some time ago; but finding him and his class confident that harmony was possible, I determined not to be outdone in "breadth of charity.

Notice has been made in your paper of plans and constitutions, printed in the "Eclectic" for the consideration of our friends of all classes. Messrs. Daniels and Durant wrote me from Washington that they were

meeting there, and also concerting plans. The former requested me to delay the December "Eclectic" that I might print the result of what they had to offer. So I delayed it. Imagine my surprise then to receive that circular as the finished result of the "collective wisdom" of the friends of this movement. No proof was sent to me. Mr. Daniels sent me a circular one day in a finished state calling it a "proof," and the next day sent to me—and as I now learn to such of my friends as were accessible—bundles of the same document. I supposed then that a few had been sent out for preliminary consideration; but I find now that they were sent broadcast, and every effort made, as in your case and the *Tribune*, to get the plan before the public.

At first I thought that Mr. Townsend and I could take out our names before they got into the papers in that connection, and separate ourselves from it without a public rupture: but this energetic haste to put us before the public in a wrong light makes this protest necessary. I thought I could give them a good word in my paper as well-meaning men who wished to go into coöperation as a business merely: and that perhaps we could even organize another association alongside theirs, so that there might be some mutual helpfulness. But this inevitable antagonism would make the latter course hardly desirable.

I will only say in conclusion that not more than one-half of that circular expresses views to which I could accede, that my name was put upon it as a director without my permission, that the plan seems to me a quite incongruous one (a set of workers being put in a state of practical Communism, and their joint earnings placed at the mercy of the capitalists). In your next or the succeeding number and in the "Eclectic," we will present a "constitution" with a list of officers, etc., of a society that will, we think, represent the class of Socialists who alone have as yet succeeded in integral association.

Yours for Peace, SAMUEL LEAVITT.

ANOTHER VIEW OF THE MATTER.

Washington, D. C., 1877.

EDITOR AM. SOCIALIST:—I have received the Socialist with the extended notice and card descriptive of our movement. Mr. Leavitt's position is quite surprising and, indeed, annoying, as it turns out. It is proper to explain a little on this point. Mr. Leavitt is not the author of the plan we announce, and in no way responsible for it; but we supposed it substantially what he desired, from numerous letters and consultations. Mr. Durant and myself have been in consultation upon the plan of organizing labor and exchange for several years past. Mr. Durant is one of our ablest lawyers, and has been a student of social science for thirty years.

To find a practical mode of organizing has been our study; not an ideal, but a transition form of social life that should give every man and woman a chance to work and receive full, just, and prompt compensation, while it guarantees better protection to old age and childhood. We have spent much time and careful thought upon this, and have reached, not a perfect plan, but a practicable rallying-point.

Some time ago it became evident that a considerable number of persons were ready for a practical effort, but neither Mr. Leavitt nor any of the correspondents of his paper had any plan, except the general one of a constitution and by-laws such as he published from the pen of Mr. Townsend

We went steadily ahead here, giving nearly two days of every week to consultation. Having found what we wanted, we at once obtained a charter, using the names of Mr. Leavitt and Mr. Townsend only to fill the requirements of the law which requires us to name some directors. As we covered the ground substantially, we supposed our New-York friends would acquiesce, and leave to time any changes in detail.

I have just written to Mr. Leavitt, proposing to obtain a tract of land adjoining our own, and let him arrange a plan to suit those who agree with him. colonies could use much in common and might react upon each other healthily. There is plenty of room, and, I believe, plenty of candidates. Our friends here are generally profoundly religious persons, but they object to any written creed. We believe rather in the saving influence of good men and women to build with, than in the power of any written instrument. Our plan deals only with the economic problems, but we recognize the great truth that it is only a dead skeleton unless vivified by the spirit of love and earnest self-sacrifice, and devotion to the highest good. But time and spiritual force are too precious to waste in controversy with each other. We have a common enemy. We can not afford to quarrel over plans of campaign. Even a very

faulty one, as Bonaparte says, is redeemed by vigor of execution.

We want the right spirit in our recruits, and then, if we are only headed in the right direction, we shall find the enemy and overcome him. But the soldier that waits for the plans of campaign to be perfect will never march. If Mr. Leavitt will start a movement on the religious basis he will have our earnest good will and aid. We want our cause to succeed, but whether by our methods or by another is wholly indifferent.

Very truly yours, EDWARD DANIELS.

LETTER FROM AN "OLD SALT."

A RETIRED sea captain who loves salt water too well to stay in New Haven, has built a nice house on the background of the Short Beach in Branford, Conn., where he can look out upon the Sound, and so has become the nearest neighbor to our Wallingford Communists when they sojourn at Cozicot. We have seen him day after day, and season after season, rocking in his little boat off among the islands, hauling in the blue-fish or waiting for them like a saint; and in fact this was where we got acquainted with him-which was the best luck we ever had a-fishing. We sometimes think he was sent to Cozicot on purpose to show us where to fish, and teach us how to bait, and take care of our buildings and boats when we are away, and sprinkle the coast with the genial spirit of a true fisherman and a true gentleman. But he is not a mere summer friend. Here is a winterletter from him that smacks of the ocean and oceanfriendship so heartily, that we can not keep it from our readers, though we have to give it to them without

Short Beach, Conn., Dec. 29, 1876.

FRIEND CRAGIN. — The tides have ebbed and flowed in about the usual manner since my last. The "old squaws," "coots" and "broad-bills" have sung their "coot-day" songs and kept up the usual palaver of "uc! ury! uc!" as they have been driven in and out of their feeding grounds by the relentless hunters. The weather has alternated from cold to warm. mostly dry but comfortable. Neither the "Tip staff" nor the "Tramp" have put in their appearance, nor the wrecker nor the thief disturbed us at our midnight rest. The dreaded enemy of mankind, Death, in his wanderings has found our "door-post sprinkled" and thus no victims among our households. The bins are full of coal. We make an occasional "draft at sight" on the hen-coop, when the butcher fails in his weekly calls, and the moving grocer rises too late for his trip to Short Beach. All has been comfortable and quiet outside, and Peace within our walls, for we "bunk" at 8 and rise as best suits our convenience or inclination; for with such lazy folks, sleep is food, and we have settled down on two meals a day; breakfast at 11 A. M. and the next spread about 6 P. M. We thank God for what we get, and for what we hope to be. No one is inclined to grumble or complain of quality or quantity, for in every thing we give thanks as in duty bound. But hark! What's that? Ah, this mild N. E. storm is casting her shadows before. The barometer is not in order; let's consult "Beckwith"—the greatest man of the 19th century, who, as all men agree, is the clock of the tides and the moons. Yes, high water at 10.4 P. M., and full moon to-morrow morning at 5 A. M. Phir-r bang! whang! go the shutters; and a whistle louder than the boson of a 74 gun frigate comes ricocheting like a chain-shot over the waters. Ah! how it did squeal! And another tearing puff butted Salt, as he raised the specs off his nose and said, "That's a spanker!" Yes, I accept service of the warning. Every thing is in apple-pie order. House is double reefed, dead lights all in, hatches well battened down, garden house well anchored, and chickens in the barn. Whirr! whirr!! how it does blow! Wind hauling to E. S. E., with long puffs and

It's 9 o clock now; wind hauls to the southard—heavy sea, and yet it hauls more westerly. "Up she goes, and yet she blows." W.S. W. by Jingo! and how it tears! What a sea! No fears for our little fleet; the C. F. H. lays well up, 10 feet above high-water mark; the Prue [Community boat] lays head to westard on top of bank with anchor over to windward and with stern line to stake. They are both in good shape; no fears in that direction, for when they drag we may as well stand by to run.

10 P. M.—Sea making a clean beach over the W. C. bar where the boats lay; wind west and a tremendous sea; shore all one mass of ice pummice. At Gunn's bay the sea breaking inside the good old cedar where the praise meetings were held. What more could be done? so the old man doused the lights, crawled into his bunk, thanked God for his good harbor, and slept till 2 A. M. Wind up west, sea roaring, hail and sleet pattering. Gale at its height, with longer lulls and shorter puffs; and he slept soundly till morning. Judge his surprise! At 7 o'clock the wreckers are on the ground, picking up things among the debris. List of casualties: W. C. bath house gone, and lies on Hamilton Beach, stranded, a total wreck. Wardrobe

all gone; 2 oars in the hands of Mr. Button; 1 in our hands, the other not yet recovered. Hope to find some of the wardrobe at low water. C. F. H. bottom upwards badly injured; covered by boards drifting from fish house under two feet of mush ice. Prue all right. Other losses: Knowles' boat broken from its moorings at Baily's, total wreck; 1 boat from Horton's, total wreck, and 3 others not known.

Thus, you perceive, variety is the spice of life. "The wind bloweth where it listeth," and in this case it came sudden. It occurred to me that if one of your ladies, who wished to see a rumpus of old Neptune, could have been present during the blow, say at high water, I would have given three cheers and run up the colors. Give her my compliments and accept those of the season to you all; specially to Mr. Hamilton. Truly yours, c. f. H.

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 18, 1877.

As fathers of society and the natural teachers of the people in all important social matters, clergymen ought to have the benefit of such a paper as ours. But in most cases there is no provision made in their salary to enable them to get it, and we have therefore decided to offer it to them at half-price, or one dollar per year, post paid. We shall be glad to send the AMERICAN SOCIALIST to every clergyman in the United States and Canada on these terms.

Just as our paper was going to press last week, we received a letter from Mr. Samuel Leavitt, requesting us not to publish any part of the circular of the "Cooperative Industrial Association of Virginia" in which his name appears as a director, and giving some reasons for his sudden withdrawal from that enterprise. We could not delay our printing, so we wrote to Mr. Leavitt that his request had come too late, and suggested that he write an explanation of his action and present position, for publication in our paper this week. He has done so, and his account of the split in the management of the Virginia scheme, appears in another column. Col. Daniels has also written a letter giving his version of the matter, which we publish in the same connection.

We hope there will be no serious quarrel in this affair, and if there should be we intend to keep ourselves and our paper out of it. Indeed, we presume that any interference on our part would be regarded as impertinent by both parties. But it can do no harm for us to take the occasion to make some general remarks that may possibly be useful in this and other cases of the kind. What we have to say is simply the transcript of our own experience, and has already been said in various forms in our "History of American Socialisms" and elsewhere.

We think that in all cases of gatherings for Association, if the parties are substantially strangers to each other (as indeed they must be in most cases), the safest way is to begin with the very lowest forms of compaction, viz., Coöperation in some form that will clearly define the rights of all concerned and keep them entirely separate. With this condition, a probationary state can be established in which the parties can get acquainted with each other, without being committed to a union from which there is no peaceable escape. In process of time if they are patient and honest they will ascertain each other's characters and capabilities, so that they can safely advance to nearer relations; or if the result of the trial is unfavorable they can separate without serious damage. Our doctrine, briefly expressed, is this: Approach Communism by degrees, and at every degree get ready for the next. Or, taking marriage as a symbol of final Communism, we may adopt the following as a good formula, covering the whole ground:

Courtship before engagement; Engagement before marriage; Marriage before cohabitation.

People who have good sense and self-control enough to enter upon a progression of this kind, and stay long enough in each degree, till they know themselves and one another thoroughly and can see their way safely into the next degree, will succeed, one way or the other—either by reaching the desired consummation, or retreating in season and in good order. But sudden jumps into close association, however they may be hedged about by constitutions and creeds and solemn agreements and legal forms, are very sure to be as disastrous as hasty marriages, and worse in proportion to the numbers ensnared.

"Well, but," says an enthusiast, "is that the way you reached Communism?" Yes, we answer, exactly. The O. C. was simply a joint-stock company and went

by the name of "The Corporation" for some ten years before it became a Community.

And this doctrine of degrees is plainly taught in many passages that might be quoted from the "History of American Socialisms." See pp. 56, 57, 117, 615, etc., etc.

RUSKIN QUOTING THE AMERICAN SOCIALST.

For half-a-dozen years Mr. Ruskin has been publishing monthly "Letters to the Workmen and Laborers of Great Britain." These Letters are issued in pamphlet form, usually of from thirty-two to forty pages each, under the title of Fors Clavigera. They treat of all subjects of interest to the well-being of the people, from Art to Socialism In the last November letter Mr. Ruskin quotes liberally from the American Socialist, giving the whole of an article on the "Future of Society," written originally by George W. Noyes on his return from a visit to Europe, and contrasting some of the features of European society with those of America, and especially with those of a Communistic order of society toward which the people of the New World seem tending as their ultimatum. Mr. Ruskin also quotes a short letter from the same number of the Socialist on the question of how large home ought to be. These extracts are introduced by the following somewhat ironical remark:

"The development of 'humanity' in America is so brilliantly illustrated in the following paragraphs, that I have thought them worth preserving."

The articles are accompanied with a few critical and appreciatory remarks, and points in them are referred to several times in the course of the regular Fors letter. One of these occurs in connection with the witty remark about God quoted in a late Socialist. He is writing about the Italian painter Carpaccio, and his wonderful pictures of the legendary Princess Saint Ursula; and after saying that if Carpaccio did not actually believe that the princess and angels, whom he painted, ever were, "at least he heartily wished there had been such persons, and could be," he continues:

"Now this is the first step to real faith. There may never have been Saints: there may be no angels—there may be no God. Professors Huxley and Tyndall are of opinion that there is no God: they never found one in a bottle. Well: possibly there isn't; but my good Sheffield friends, do you wish there was? Or are you of the French Republican opinion—'If there were a God, we should have to shoot him' as the first great step toward the 'abolition of caste' proposed by our American friends."

Again,

"Do you so much as want any kind of Princess? or are your aims fixed on the attainment of a world so constituted that there shall be no Princesses in it any more, —but only Helps in the kitchen, who shall 'come up stairs to play the piano,' according to the more detailed views of the American Socialist, displayed in our correspondence."

To which last question we may reply that American Socialists find that it works well to have only such Princes and Princesses as those who will find an equal and interchangeable delight in "serving one another" in all the phases of a true and enlarged home-life, whether it be "piano-playing" or "helping" in the kitchen and dining-room. As Mr. Ruskin is somewhat of a Socialist and Communist himself we think practical life in a society that admits only of an "aristocracy of mutual service," would convince him of its esthetic as well as Christian advantages.

We are pleased on the whole with Mr. Ruskin's generous and fair treatment of American Socialism; and as we are diligent students of Ruskinism, we judge that the lines of movement on both sides of the ocean tend toward the one point of true and happy life in true and happy homes.

An old lady named Sarah Crosby, living in Groton, N. H., has sent us copies of certain petitions which she has presented to the "Male Republican Legislature" of that State, and which she asks us to publish. We have not the space for this, but perhaps it will answer every purpose if we say that Mrs. Crosby seems badly out of joint with the existing political and legal institutions of our country. She denounces the Courts of Justice, and thinks the men of the United States are abusing the women. She says: "The crisis is near at hand. This American Male Republic, with women under his iron heel, is an old sinner, almost an hundred years old, and must die accursed." She also claims that the "solemn swearing" required in oaths of office, is doing a great mischief. But what especially grieves her is that

when, in 1874, she sent in a similar petition to this same "Male Republican Legislature," a "member of the House motioned they refer it to the Old Grannies in the Insane Hospital!" We think we have now given the gist of the papers sent us.

A NEW DEFINITION OF RELIGION.

Much of the difficulty encountered in attempting to harmonize Science and Religion unquestionably arises from misconception of the terms themselves. On the one hand, Science is made to include theories and hypotheses, which, however convenient and useful in many ways, are still not Science in the true signification of the word. On the other hand, Religion is so encumbered with sentiment and theological dogma that its true character is misunderstood, and men who have schooled themselves to scientific methods of thought and investigation are repelled by the false attitude which Religion is made to assume. The great battle between the two is for the most part a sham affair. Science fights not Religion, but the spurious claims which are put forth in her behalf by mistaken zeal. Religion does not quarrel with the facts and discoveries of Science, but with the interpretations put upon them. Between the facts of Religion and the facts of Science there can be no serious quarrel. Each is bound to acknowledge those of the other. Further, both the Scientists and Religionists recognize that all truths are inseparably connected, and hence that Science and Religion, regarded simply as expressions of the truth, are twinsisters, that ought to dwell together in perfect harmony; and they will when each assumes her true character and function. But how are these to be determined? Who will give a definition of Science which shall be accepted by Religion? And more especially a definition of Religion which shall be accepted by Science? For Religion can make little objection to some of the definitions of Science which occur in the books, such as "a knowledge of facts," or "a systematic arrangement of knowledge;" but the definitions of Religion are indefinite and complicated, and so extended as to cover all creeds and forms of worship in both Christendom and Pagandom. What wonder that Science, with her rigid methods, rebels at the claims put forth in the name of Religion! Evidently a new definition of Religion is demanded, which shall enable her to work hand-in-hand with Science. The following has occurred to us, but we would be glad to see it improved upon by others:

Religion is a rational apprehension of the existence of a spiritual world, and a love of the truth that will make us eager to explore that world and prompt to accept and act upon all discoveries in that world.

It may be said in behalf of this definition that it throws down all partitions between Religion and Science, which is the important work to be done; for Religion is nothing but the love of the truth (which is the love of Science) extended into all worlds, including the spiritual. It offers a basis on which Science can carry her love of investigation into all the claims of Religion, and it should satisfy Religion by its demand that Science shall not only explore the invisible world, but accept and act upon its facts. Who will offer a better definition?

THE CROWNING GLORY.

COMMUNISM is the fruit of the world's highest civilization. Men in barbaric conditions may have been forced into relations bearing some resemblance to Communism, just as animals have been compelled to herd together for their better security from common dangers; but the higher conditions of Communism are only evolved from the most advanced civilization. You might as well look for the direct evolution of man from a crocodile as for the development of the unselfish relations of Communism among the lower races of mankind. The Socialistic ideas of Plato's Republic had for their medium the best representative of the highest philosophy of Greece. The Jewish Essenes, who are credited with Communistic ideas, were in many respects in advance of the civilization of their day. Christ, the embodiment of heavenly civilization, was also the greatest Communist the world has seen. His words, his ex ample, his spirit, all preached Communism with power irresistible. When the heavens were opened, and the divine spirit came down upon the multitude of his disciples upon the day of Pentecost, practical Communism was the natural, inevitable result. "All that believed were together and had all things common!" Why "all things common?" Why not "each had his own?" Manifestly, because individual ownership and the civilization of heaven, which the Holy Spirit brought down, could not subsist together! Selfishness was swept

away as the mountain torrent sweeps away the débris obstructing its pathway to the plain. And something of this kind happens whenever the heavenly spirit finds channels for its free flow into the world. All along from the time of Christ to the Reformation of Luther, those who with special zeal consecrated themselves to the realization of their highest conceptions of life and duty, fell into relations of brotherhood akin to Communism. The Reformation itself only accelerated this tendency. The article copied into the American Socialist of Jan. 4th, from the London Coöperative News, shows how busily the Communistic principle has been at work in Europe for the last century or two. It has been equally busy here, as the concomitant of Revivals, Transcendentalism, and the most advanced thought. It was in the "Athens of America" that Transcendentalism had its birth, with Channing and Emerson, Alcott and Ripley, Margaret Fuller and Elizabeth Peabody for its god-parents; and that in turn gave birth to the Brook Farm Community, which was the beginning, and in an important sense the progenitor, of the whole troop of Communities, Associations and Phalanxes which followed. It was Revivalism which gave birth to the Shakers and Rappites and Zoarites and Aurora-Bethelites and Oneida-Wallingford Communists. The latter trace their origin directly to the influence of the highest schools of New England Congregationalism—to the advanced thought of such theologians as Dr. Taylor of New Haven and Professor Stuart of Andover.

Those who would keep Communism out of the world must bring civilization to a stand-still or turn it backward; must stamp out every thing like Transcendentalism and Revivalism, and stop all intercourse between the two worlds. For as certainly as things are allowed to go on in the future as in the past, with discoveries of new truth and recurring waves from the invisible world sweeping over us, so certainly will there be repeated outbursts of Communism, repeated experiments to actualize the grand gospel of brotherhood proclaimed by Christ and his successors; and so civilization will march forward to its culmination of universal Communismits crowning glory.

It is not best to overrate the sunny banks and cushioned seats. Let no man be afraid to take a good broad section of life; let him cut right across from bark to pith, like butchers cutting through the red meat and the fat, through gristle and bone to make their steaks.—Barron's Foot-Notes.

There is something which includes all other powers, and gives weight of character to a man; making him strong irrespective of talent. It is that which gives momentum to the intellect: it is that which gives strong wings to genius; it is that which gives authority to morals. One man's life is only a flickering candle. But if this great force is not transmuted into intellect and moral sense, it simply makes a tremendous animal.—Ibid.

SOCIALISM AND RELIGION.

Editor American Socialist:—My attention has been called to an article under the above heading, in your valuable paper, by W. A Pratt, of Waveland, Iowa. He says, "It is easier to say prayers than to do right." So it has ever been and will ever be until the moral and spiritual in man gain the ascendency over the physical. Then it will be as easy to do right as to say our prayers. The development of the moral sense and the spiritual or inner part of ourselves should be our chief aim. How to do it is the question.

Your correspondent says, "What can I do? How am I to do any thing to aid in advancing this grand idea? But from that thought no answer comes that is satisfactory.'

This was said in regard to Communism, as if Communism was an end instead of a means. Communism may be the highest form of social life, but is not the finality of human development.

The universe moves in circles. Hence the point from which it started must be reached again. If God is spirit and the universe originated in God, its ultimate must be spirit, and in kind and essence identical with God. So if God be mind and all mind originated in Him, the ultimate of all minds must be to be identified with the mind of God. Thus identification with God is certainly the only true end of all experience, and this reaches far beyond mere Communism.

The conditions most conducive to the attainment of this end are, perhaps, questionable. Your lowa correspondent seems to think that Communism is the only way, and that in his case poverty is the great obstruction. Yet Christ chose those to be his disciples who were poor, evidently considering that condition the most favorable out of which to select his instruments for the salvation and spiritual elevation of the world. Evidently

there must be a great many such folks as Christ was, or at least such folks as he made his disciples in spite of their poverty, before there can be any Communism.

I think character is quite paramount to mere external conditions; and so far as character is concerned riches may be a worse school than poverty. The cares of riches crowd the mind and block the avenues through which spiritual ideas must come. But neither poverty nor riches are the only impediment. Communism itself may obstruct spiritual development.

A Community may resolve itself into a mutual admiration society as the best method of self-gratification, and have no ideas reaching out for identification with God or for the elevation of mankind. Such a Community must be a failure. If its felicities consist chiefly in perpetual courtship, it is but too evident upon what object their aspirations terminate, and how far they come short of

Real happiness, final, perpetual, must be the result of a perfect equipoise of all the elements of our nature, and hence our study should be ourselves and the best methods of self-harmonization. Our fault or failure is in looking too much outside of ourselves for happiness and too little inside. Our defective inward development is inadequate to appreciate or control external conditions, and hence come disappointment and vexation; and feeling our own weakness we call for aid, and call in vain, because we have not yet learned the only source from which help can come, which is in the spiritual part of our being.

If we would elevate humanity we must elevate ourselves, for humanity is one—one in essence and in value —one in spirit, in faculties and powers. We must learn the divinity of humanity and that we can become teachers only as we take the lead in the development of our own faculties and powers.

To submit passively to a ruling mind may produce temporary harmony and exhibit a degree of happiness to external observers which may invite participation; but remove the magnetic control of such mind and the superficial nature of the harmony and happiness will be apparent. True and lasting happiness must well up out of interior unfoldment. So far as Communities tend to this unfoldment they will prove a success and a blessing. We suppose the spirits of light shine from the depths of their own luster-that borrowed light among them is at a discount. Abstract personal development must be the measure of our own value as intellectual, moral and spiritual beings. Floating on the current of circumstances, or trusting to the propelling power of other minds will not carry us to heaven or any desirable haven in this world or any other. Let us not reveal our own insufficiency by "waiting for something to turn up." The best evidence of interior life is motion-activity.

The enthusiasm with which some of your correspondents express their ideas of Communism reveals the danger of their regarding such institutions as the final haven of rest, the consummation of happiness. No doubt experience, unyielding facts, and the unvarying laws of nature will in time correct such misconception.

On the whole I think a normal development of the social feelings and the progressive development of the higher faculties generally tends to Communism in some form. If Oneida has reached the acme of perfection it has nothing to fear; if not it may learn something in the future to rejoice over.

Brush Creek, Cherokee Co., Kas., Jan. 9, 1877.

UP STAIRS AND DOWN STAIRS. A SHAKER VIEW OF THE SITUATION.

South Union, Ky., Jan. 6, 1877.

J. H. NOYES. RESPECTED FRIEND:-

I have been a distant observer of your Communistic efforts from the beginning to the present. Have admired your sacrifices, approved your "Home-Talks," considered them worthy a place in my family circle, though I have not seen them in book form. I subscribed for the American Socialist for the sole purpose of seeing the remarks of W. A. Hinds on the different Communities he was visiting. They have given me an excellent opinion of the man-have shown capacity, acuteness of observation, discernment, candor and honesty, and a perfect freedom from sectarian bias. I find the American Socialist ably edited—of course not faultless; but a good paper, and I herewith inclose subscription for second volume. Barring the stirpiculture and breeding part, it will be a Communistic star of the first magnitude. I find it, in common with the mass of mankind, to be laboring under a mistake with regard to our body. We would not be considered, as friend Hinds represents us, as one of the Communities of this world. We claim to be simply the body of Christ, whether externally in Community or not-"in the world, but not of the world," hence, not one of the Communities of the world. We are up stairs, above the rudimental state of man, which is the generative. They are down stairs, -still in the rudimental. We are not one of that group. Our work is chiefly for the soul and in the soulworld. All externals merely incidental, whether there be many or few at any given point in space. Theirs is mainly for the body combined with the intellect; they labor for their special improvement, comfort, gratification and pleasure. All well enough on the lower (not the lowest floor), but whereon no one can be a Christian, because Christ was not there; while these with us are ignored or held in abeyance to spirit dictation in obedience to the teachings and example of Christ. It is true we are denizens of the New Earth, while partaking of the bliss of the New Heavens, the one being internal, the other external to us. You may ask: How is it the New Earth? Ans.: Because it is unattended by any of the old conditions. It is not the property in ownership of any person or any number of persons. It is the redeemed earth consecrated to God, and its use is his gift to all mankind who will rise above the rudimental and embrace the new conditions, where they may use and enjoy its blessings in common with his air and sunshine, with no more personal claim on the one than the other. It is God's daily gift to the consecrated soul; this and nothing more. Herein "all things have become new and all things of God." This was prefigured by God's daily gift to the manna-fed multitudes, where if any were so selfish as to gather for themselves more than they needed, it proved a curse instead of a blessing. So it is to-day, and any who persist in such a course for their own personal advantage, must sooner or later seek lower-floor conditions. The New Heavens are the new spiritual conditions attained to, and the bliss enjoyed therein. The Old Heavens, which from us have passed away, are the generative, and consist in the bliss therein enjoyed. This you see leaves our Oneida friends in the Old Heavens much as we regret it.

Very sincerely thine, H. L. EADES.

[We experience a little good-natured regret to see how many of our correspondents imagine the American Socialist is set for the defense of the Oneida Community. We are trying to make a paper for all Socialists; but many seem to think that the only proper thing for us is to sink into exponents of the O. C., and the only proper thing for them is to criticise the O. C. Well, fire away. The O. C. can stand it without defense from us. We are not its attorney, and don't mean to be. —Ed. Am. So.]

CORRESPONDENCE.

Wallingford, Conn., Jan. 12, 1877.

EDITOR AMERICAN SOCIALIST:

Turning to your "History of American Socialisms" (a copy of which I keep at hand for convenient reference in these days of socialistic revival), I find that "N. C. M.," your Greeley correspondent whose letter appeared in the American Socialist of Jan. 4th, is N. C. Meeker, the respected founder of the Greeley Colony in Colorado, whilom agricultural editor of the New-York Tribune, etc. I have always read the productions of his pen with much interest. I recall his letters on the North American Phalanx which were published in the Tribune ten or eleven years ago, and his account of the Oneida Community which appeared in the same paper a few years later, I think. He is a shrewd observer and a philosophical thinker; and whatever he says bearing on Socialism is worth a little study. One remark in the letter you publish struck me as of special importance. He says, 'All other ideas," except religious ideas, "are weak and without stimuli." That is just the truth you deduce in your "History" from all the experiments of Owenism and Fourierism, and just what the conductors of the AMERICAN SOCIALIST evidently believe and teach so far as they allow their own ideas to "come to the front." Now I just want to say, if all other ideas are weak and incompetent, as Meeker says and as you teach, for heaven's sake and for hope's sake, let us have religious ideas, and let us make the most of them in the approaching era of Socialism. What use is there in repeating the failures of the past? Why such persistent efforts to dispense with religion when it promises to do so much for us, and experience shows we can not get along without it? Mr. Meeker, judging from his letter, seems to prefer taking his fortunes with a system connected with "miseries" and "horrible mjustice," rather than be beholden to religion for any better way of living. The Community system, he says, is to be preferred to any other, and he can not imagine a more delightful life than

one in a properly organized Community; but as men are naturally lazy and deceitful, and only a strong leader aided by religious ideas can control them and guide them in right paths, he surrenders all hope. Let us rather say, If strong leaders and religious ideas can alone give us the blessings of Communism, then will we secure these at all costs.

Yours, A. H.

Hyde Park, Mass.

I find on looking over the Socialist of Sept. 17, 1876 (the extra one which you kindly sent), that I had never seen it before. It probably came (if at all) when I was absent from home. There are several excellent matters well discussed in it. But what especially caught my eye, and made my heart leap for joy, was a sentence in the article "The Future University," to the effect that in that University "the highest science," that is, "charity," should be an elemental study. I sometimes think that evangelical churches have no other or higher notions of charity, than as alms-giving. They can be liberal with their money, but they are not liberal with their sympathies-kind words and kind actions or lovein behalf of, or toward persons of different religious sentiments and practices from their own. Also in dealing with unfortunate persons, designated by statutes as criminals, they deal out to them revenge and injury, disguising its true nature, under the name of justice. When that Future University is established, and clearheaded, warm-hearted, magnanimous, beautiful, graceful Charity, that is a loving welcome $(ag\acute{a}p\bar{e})$ there abides, the gloomy reign of superstition and selfishness is ended. I send out a warm greeting (that may not reach it until years after my change of worlds) to that Future University. A. E. G.

Milwaukee, Wis., Jan. 8, 1876.

Dear American Socialist:—Thanks for your promise to give us the whole of More's "Utopia," though the last chapter would have satisfied me. It is written in a prophetic spirit, and the author's ideas have been more than carried out, though he wrote three hundred years ago. I also thank the three donors, two who gave twenty-five dollars each, and one who gave ten dollars, to the American Socialist. Although I regret not being able to imitate them, I send you one dollar as the "widow's mite," and I hope I will have imitators, for many could give one dollar who could not give twenty. A party advocating advanced ideas should be supported if we wish its principles to be carried out, and the American Socialist is the organ of such a party.

Yours truly, John Hepburn.

s duly, John Hepburn.

Oberlin, Ohio, Jan. 9, 1877. Editor American Socialist:—In No. 1st, Vol. 2nd. of the Socialist, at the close of Evolution of Communities No.4, there is an invitation given which I gladly accept. The subject of Community leaders is a vital one of course, but not difficult as the social problem is solved, and it only remains to work it out. My way of ordaining a leader would be this, I would institute a search for a man, meek as Moses, and meeker if possible, and who was filled with the Holy Ghost, and without one particle of sinful pride, who had but one idea, to wit, the Glory of God and the good of his fellow men. In such a man would be found and embodied the wisdom of the entire community. He would gather it as the bee does honey, from every one, even the least and simplest child, and if he found one who could administer affairs better than himself, he would instantly resign in his favor, if permitted. He must be a man of common sense and experience and no novice in suffering. In the furnace is where man, as well as metals, parts with his dross. Of course he must be a man of decision, and sound judgment; able to distinguish between good and evil advice or suggestions. Let each Commune take the best materials it has for a leader, and use them (male and female; it takes a pair to make one) and use until a better developes itself. Let the Commune pray for a man of this kind or rather that God appoint. Exalt meekness, and thus bid for it. The right man will be servant of all, and will not desire this service beyond the time a better develops. He will himself be anxious to welcome a successor and be relieved of his duties and glory in seeing one younger arise to take his place. The proper individual will be at once the greatest and the least of all. Having made a selection, pray for him and hold up his hands by every means. Yours,

E. M. LEONARD.

55 Myddelton Square, London, E. C., 1st Jan., 1877.

EDITOR AMERICAN SOCIALIST:

In American Socialist, p. 284, you say there are three methods of getting Leaders: 1. "Hereditary Descent," 2. Majority Election," 3. "Inspiration or appoint-

ment of God." The last hardly seems definable as a method of getting—I should rather say receiving them, passively; as the active verb to "get" implies something in the power of the getters. However, I do not think the two former alternatives, heredity and head-counting exhaust the purely human expedients for ruler-choosing. A poor outlook for society if this were so; for indeed I never could see a bit of justice in either of them.

Inclosed is an outline of a Republican method, that perhaps you Perfectionists might think worth looking at. [See below.]

The idea has never, that I know, been broached elsewhere in the English press; and I would not do so again in our present condition, because I fear there may be some among our captors astute enough to see its value for their own vile object of prolonging the status quo. Were I a conservative, I should agitate for something of this kind, both as just in itself, and for hindering the present American electoral law ever coming into real operation.

Now a carrying out of some juster method than your present one (of mere head-counting), in America, even were it ever so extensive and blessed, would nowise tend, I think, to enlighten our riders, or hinder their being thrown, as we Radicals intend, and believe that God intends, within a few years; and their contempt of every thing American will blind them so that, though there is danger of their learning dodges from any other quarter—from Germany, from Turkey, China, Queen of Sandwich or of Madagascar—they will never learn any thing from you. They would have invented, years ago, some Maine Liquor Law for us, I believe, if you had none; and we have hopes that the spread of female suffrage among you, will have a similar preventive effect here, and blind our ruling classes to the tremenduous (and for us, disastrous) conservative power they would gain from it.

You see, I have not the slightest faith in "Universal Suffrage" or head-counting as a principle; but as a godsend just now to this poor nation I accept it, and pray it may have realization and free course to do its work utterly; but not remain long—not a year after its work is done.

With best wishes for every year, Yours truly, E. L. GARBETT.

SUPPLY-SUFFRAGE.

A MODE OF RULER-CHOOSING WITHOUT EITHER HEREDITY, DEMOCRACY OR THEOCRACY.

It is notorious that the House of Commons, the Republican element in the chaos called the "British Constitution," would never have been called into existence could the expenses of government have been met without tax-raising (as the Norman kings had met them), nor would a House ever be elected or reassembled, to this day, but for the question of Supplies. Supplies, however, are not, as vulgarly assumed, synonymous with Taxes. "The subjects of every State," says Adam Smith, "ought to contribute toward the support of the government, as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities; that is, in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State." The quotation is not made here as any thing true. On the contrary, the present writer holds, they "ought" to be made to contribute in proportion to what their respective gettings cost the nation. Four men in England may get equal incomes, but while the first costs the country nothing, the second's may cost it ten seamen's lives per annum, the third one's income may cost us twenty work-children dwarfed in mind and body into semi-savage or semi-cripplehood, and the fourth's may involve the imbruting of thirty fathers per annum into drunkards. These equal incomes, "which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State," ought by no means to render their taxes equal; but if you get £10,000 a year at no greater cost to the community than I get £50, you ought to be taxed no higher than I am. Adam Smith speaks not, however, of taxes, but simply of supplies -what each "ought to contribute," which might be done in other and better ways than by taxing.

Suppose it had been possible for Simon de Montfort, the inventor (if he were so) of Representative Parliament, to say as any modern Minister may when he chooses—"First bring your supplies, O! people, and then be represented according thereto. More supply more suffrage, and less supply less suffrage." That need not imply suffrage proportional to supply, observe; nor yet proportional to heads. No need at all that if a supplier of £10 is to have more votes than a supplier of £1, therefore he should have tenfold more. You may sell vote-papers, each entitling to count as a determined number of votes, and oblige each person, under penalties, to use but one paper. Then make the prices of a person's second, third, and any other votes rise beyond that of his first in any ratio. For instance, his second to cost double

his first; his third, if he wants a third, triple; and so on ad libitum. Then if a single vote-paper cost a florin, a two-vote paper would cost three florins; a four-vote paper ten, a ten-vote paper fifty-five, a forty-vote paper 820, a 400-vote paper 80,200, etc. No need either for the single vote to cost more than the labor of polling, which it must even with "Universal Suffrage." Whatever the price of the single or minimum vote-paper, you may enact that the poll-clerk shall repay to every voter this price. Although none can vote them without buying a vote-paper, he or she will always have one vote for the mere trouble of buying and reselling it, the the labor of polling being the smallest "supply" the State recognizes.

Now, suppose a voluntary Revenue raised thus, by sale of vote-papers, and a House elected therewith-How long has that House a right to sit and legislate? Plainly, as long as the said revenue is unspent. If they make it last as a twoyears' supply, or an eight-years', for two or for eight years they are the Republic's unquestionable rulers—and not a day longer. But suppose, as is probable, the voluntary revenue insufficient for the current year. A revenue for the year was the thing asked for, but the nation has not bought votepapers enough to yield more than a part thereof. Consequently, somebody or somebodies must have been too greedy. Somebody or somebodies must be taxed. Has not this House the right to tax them? Of course it has, to the extent needed for the current year. It was elected by those who professed to pay up the year's necessary revenue, but as a whole failed to do so. It has a right, then, to get the deficit made up as it can; as little from its constituents, and as much from others—from the unrepresented or less represented -as it can; because these latter are precisely the ones who bought insufficiently, being too greedy.

To enable accurately the right people to be taxed, all that was needed was that, either when buying their vote-papers, or when polling, every one should receive a voucher stating how many votes, or what voluntary revenue each had paid. Now suppose the voluntary revenue to have been twelve millions, but the estimate for the year thirty millions, so that eighteen millions have to be got by taxes. Let the Taxmaster devise a budget of such a sort that our full payment thereof, with no drawback, would yield as much more than the year's thirty millions as the eighteen required are less than the same. In short, instead of the difference between the paid twelve and the whole thirty, take their sum, fortytwo. The budget is to be such as would yield forty-two, if all levied; but instead of the whole being levied, every one on producing his voucher of voluntary revenue, which he has kept from the beginning of the year, is to be entitled to a drawback of twice as much. Everybody's vouchers then being altogether for £12,000,000 they entitle to £24,000,000 drawback, which taken from the £42,000,000 that the taxes would produce, if wholly levied, leaves to be actually raised, £18,000,000—the actual requirement.

Those, then, who happened to buy accurately the right number of votes, will have nothing to pay the tax-collector, their voucher being for just half his demand, and entitling them to set off the whole. But one of Bunyan's magistrates, Sir Having Greedy, will have but a comparatively small setoff to show. He must pay nearly all the impost. There will be others as our friend Frank Openhand, whose voucher will be for more than half the assessed tax, and so, instead of paying the collector any thing, they will have to receive from him.

And when this has gone on for a few years, especially if the Parliaments of some of them were to exert their unquestionable power and right of passing Budgets adjusted with a still greater allowance in favor of their constituents, or the voluntarily over-represented, as against the voluntarily under-represented, with allowance (say) of a drawback thrice instead of twice the voluntary revenue—whose example do our wiseaeres fancy would begin to be most followed, Sir Having Greedy's or Frank Open-hand's? Would there not be some chance of nearly everybody following the latter? And then, pray, where would "inequalities of representations" be? And where "inequalities of taxation"? Would there be any taxation after a few years of this system? Should we not all take care to prevent any? Would a tax ever again be imposed without at the same time a "Day of Humilation and Fasting" for the national disgrace of having required the revival of so antique a barbarism? E. L. G. London, England.

The above has traveled some three thousand miles to get into our paper. As it seems to contain an original idea, we pass it along, hoping somebody will be able to comprehend it, although it was evidently not written for this longitude.—Ed. Am. So.]

The Traveler's Official Guide of the Railway and Steam Navigation Lines in the United States and Canada (to give its whole title), is a most useful publication. It is issued monthly, and keeps faithfully up to the times in reporting the latest time-tables on every railroad in this country. It gives all the railway connections, and has plenty of maps. With a copy of the latest issue of the "Guide" in his hand, a traveler might go from Maine to Oregon, or from any one rail-

way station to any other, without asking a single question or losing any time. It is therefore well-nigh indispensable to those who travel much, or who have agents traveling for them.

THE JANUARY MAGAZINES.

The Atlantic Monthly opens with the 17th and 18th chapters of the "American," by Henry James, Jr., which are not less interesting than previous ones. Thomas Bailey Aldrich has a humorous essay entitled "From Ponkapog to Pesth. A Slight Glance at certain Manners and Customs." "The Blackbirds," by J. B. Greenough, is the old story of

"Sing a song a sixpence a pocket full of rye,
Four and twenty blackbirds baked in a pie," etc.,

done up in the form of a COMEDIETTA—with eight characters: the king, queen, maid, servant, 2 princes, 1 princess, and page. Bayard Taylor describes "Weimar in June." Frances Anne Kemble contributes another chapter of "Old Woman's Gossip." There are poems by Longfellow, Lowell and Edmund C. Stedman. W. D. Howells makes a piquant review of "Some New Books of Poetry," which really is quite as racy reading as the extracts he gives from the poems.

The Penn Monthly—a little Quakerish in its plainness, perhaps—is a very ably edited magazine. The present number, after an interesting summary of the events of the month of December last, follows with an article on "Art Industries," by Christopher Dresser. An exhaustive article on "Pauperism and its Allied Offenses," by Ely Van de Warker, M. D., who treats the subject from a wholly scientific standpoint; and following is a discourse on "Wisdom in Charity," by Rev. Chas. G. Ames (a kindred theme to Pauperism), who treats the subject from a more moral and religious standpoint. The two are strong articles, on topics which are in the minds of thinking people these days.

It is a calumny on men to say that they are roused to heroic action by ease, hope of pleasure, recompense-sugar-plums of any kind, in this world or the next. In the meanest mortal there lies something noble. The poor swearing soldier, hired to be shot, has his "honor of a soldier," differing from drill regulations and the shilling a day. It is not to taste sweet things, but to do noble and true things, and vindicate himself under God's heaven as a god-made man, that the poorest son of Adam dimly longs. Show him the way of doing that, the dullest day-drudge kindles into a hero. They wrong man greatly who say he is to be seduced by ease. Difficulty, abnegation, martrydom, death, are the allurements that act on the heart of man. Kindle the inner genial life of him, you have a flame that burns up all lower considerations. Not happiness, but something higher; one sees this even in the frivolous classes, "with their point of honor" and the like. Not by flattering our appetites: no, by awakening the heroic that slumbers in every heart, can any Religion gain followers.—Carlyle.

THE LUXURY OF EARNING A LIVELIHOOD.

From the London Globe.

The very large section of Paris society, which lives chiefly upon small talk, is far less surprised and interested by the collapse of the Ministry and the crisis in the East than by the eccentric conduct of the young Duc de Galliera. The substitution of one Ministry for another is an event which has long been borne by the non-political world with the most stoic indifference; and as for the Eastern question, it is very wisely agreed that there will be plenty of time to discuss it after the conference has been opened. But the strange proceedings of such a celebrity as the Duc de Galliera present an urgent topic upon which it is felt that every one at all comme il faut should at once state his opinions. It seems the young nobleman in question has finally determined to reject the inheritance which legally devolves upon him from his father. He has long been devotedly attached to the noble cause of education, which he promotes in a nowise abstract or sentimental, but most practical manner. He has engaged himself as a répéileur, or what we call a "coach," and toils manfully at his duties for the modest compense of 15 francs a day. With this occupation, moreover, and with its income, he expresses his firm intention to remain satisfied, and thus the hospitalities and splendors of the ducal-house are supposed likely, at least for a time, to vanish from the gay scene in which they were lately so conspicuous. The loss is the greater inasmuch as the young heir represents, through both his parents, a name dear to Paris. The late Duke, although an Italian, had acclimatized himself to such an extent in the French capital as to be considered practically naturalized, and it would almost seem as if fate had taken the same view of the matter, for he was cut off by death at the very moment when he was about to found a University at Rome.

Donaldson, the æronaut, who lost his life in an ascension, predicted that if traveling in balloons ever became common

it would not be by lofty flights, but close to the ground. He said that by carefully gauging the amount of gas in the bag, and using a pole to assist in rising over obstacles, a man might certainly travel fast and safely in the direction of the wind; and he thought that some system of steering and tacking might be devised that would make movements possible without reference to the wind. The Secretary of the British Æronautical Society seems to have a similar idea, for he says: "It is singular that no one has taken advantage of an ascertained fact to put the balloon to more pleasurable, because more prolonged use, than has been attempted. There is every probability that, with a balloon properly balanced, a push with a long pole would send it up spinning for fifty feet or more, and might traverse a few hundred yards before it neared the earth and required another push."—The Sun.

A PALINDROME is a word or sentence that reads alike backward and forward. One of the best is Adam's first observation to Eve: "Madam, I'm Adam." Another is the reply of Napoleon when at St. Helena; being asked by an Englishman if he could have sacked London, he is said to have replied, "Able was I ere I saw Elba."

SUMMARY OF NEWS.

HOME.

Cornell University has fifty female students.

It is reported that a new combination is forming for advancing the price of coal.

President Smith, of Dartmouth College, has resigned his office in consequence of ill health.

Real estate in New-York is at present a drug in the market, purchasers being few and hard to find.

The Supreme Court have affirmed the judgment against Wm. M. Tweed, in the \$6,000,000 suit.

Gold reached $105\frac{3}{4}$ during the past week, which is lower than at any time since specie payments were suspended in 1862.

Mr. Hunter has introduced a bill in Congress for an appropriation of \$50,000, to be used in further exploration toward the North Pole.

The relics of the Polaris expedition to the North Pole, which Capt. Nares found during his late voyage, have been sent by him to Washington.

The proceeds of the auction sale of pews in the Rev. H. W. Beecher's church amounted to \$48,421.50. This is \$15,-258.50, less than the sum realized last year.

The Ashtabula disaster has turned the attention of the various railroad companies of the country to the condition of the bridges on their roads, and engineers are examining and testing them.

A new local Congregational association is to be formed by a number of the leading doctors of divinity of New-York and Brooklyn, who withdrew from the old association in consequence of its endorsement of Mr. Beecher.

The Republicans of the Legislature of Maine have unaninously nominated James G. Blaine, as their candidate for Senator during both the short term, and the term of six years beginning the 4th of next March.

A project to build another bridge across the East River is on foot. The bridge is to go from Seventy-seventh street, and it is reported that work on it will begin this winter. The estimated cost does not exceed \$2,500.000.

Mr. David Dudley Field has been elected to the House of Representatives, from New-York city. Though he voted for Hayes on the 7th of November, and his political bids has been with the Republican party, yet his high standing as a man of great legal knowledge made him the Democratic candidate.

The will of the late Commodore Vanderbilt leaves all but about \$15,000,000 of his large fortune to his son William H. Vanderbilt. This sum is divided among his relatives, no part of his fortune being bequeathed to any charitable or other institution, though it is said that he left instructions with his son William H., for the founding of a hospital for injured railroad employes.

An extensive snow blockade of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad, the past week, has almost prevented any trains from running, and the few that attempted it, had to be drawn by as many locomotives as there were cars, and in some cases, more. As the Central has not experienced much trouble from snow for many years, the late heavy fall caught them without snow-plows or any mode of clearing the tracks, except the slow process of shoveling.

Mr. Ferry, The President, pro tempore, of the United States Senate, still declines to give his opinion as to his own duty and intentions in counting the electoral vote for President and Vice President of the United States. He hopes that a solution of the question will be found by the Congressional Committees appointed to present to Congress some method for counting the votes. In the event of their failure to do so, Mr. Ferry says he shall not shrink from acting according to the Constitution, as he interprets it.

On the 8th inst. Gov. S. B. Packard and Lieut. Gov. C. C. Antoine were inaugurated at the State House in New Orleans, and Gen. Nicholls and Wiltz were also inaugurated Governor and Lieut. Gov. at St. Patrick's Hall, on the same day. The first two claim to be elected, and are of the Republican party, but the Democratic party claim that the other two were elected. The inaugurations were peaceable and it remains to the Congressional Committee who are investigating the elections to prove which are the rightful holders of the offices. On the day following the inauguration, the Nicholls party took possession of the Court House. No blood was shed as the Republicans made no resistance.

What might have proved a very disastrous accident occurred at the Grand Central Depot in New-York on the 12th inst. A large mass of snow had collected on the roof of

the building, and by alternate freezing and thawing became a solid ice covering over the alternate sections of iron and glass which formed the roof. The warm weather on the 12th inst. loosened the ice on the two upper sections and about 11:35 A. M., it suddenly slid down to the third section on the east side, falling a distance of 8 feet before striking it. This section was made of panes of glass 8 feet by two feet, and \(\frac{1}{2} \) inch thick, supported by iron rafters. The falling ice crashed through all these, carrying with it broken glass of various sizes and shapes, on the railroad track and passenger platforms, a distance of sixty feet below. But the most remarkable circumstance was the entire absence from the spot, at that moment of any person, as a passenger train had unloaded only ten minutes previous, and another was due in fifteen minutes after the accident occurred. The only injury done, besides the breaking of the roof, was to two street cars with teams which were near the place, but the conductors and drivers were absent, taking their dinner. The ice on the west side was removed as soon as possible, to prevent a like catastrophe on that side of the depot. The damages are estimated at \$2,500.

FOREIGN.

The enlarged Welland Canal will probably be completed in 1879.

The eminent Scotch author, Alexander Bain, LL.D., is dead.

The Russian Grand Duke Alexis intends to spend the winter in the United States.

R. Wagner is said to have lost £3,000 by the Bayreuth Festival of Music.

The Duke d'Audifferet-Pasquier has been re-elected President of the French Senate.

M. Grèvy has been re-elected President of the French Chambers of Deputies.

Gen. Diaz of Mexico, is advancing with success, and many of the troops of Iglesias have joined him.

 ${\bf A}$ new species of Paradise bird has been discovered in the Bay of Geelvink, New Guinea.

The Conference of the foreign powers at Constantinople still fails to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Eastern question with the Porte.

Paris.—More than 2,000 workmen are engaged day and night in the Champ de Mars and Trocadero preparing for the Paris Exhibition of 1878.

Mr. L. Rousseau, a civil engineer of Brussels, has invented a new plan of propelling tramway-cars, by which the car wheels are kept in motion by means of hydraulic pressure.

M. Jules Trebeau is leading a party of explorers in French Guiana, the interior of which has hitherto remained almost unexplored, though it is the territory of a civilized nation.

Roumania has declared herself released from her vassalage to Turkey, and has demanded of the Turkish Government that it shall recognize that Roumania forms no integral part of the Turkish Empire.

The Cuban Patriots have made a successful raid on the

The Cuban Patriots have made a successful raid on the Spanish stores, capturing three lighters loaded with provisions, valued at \$500,000, with the crews of the same, about one hundred men.

The North British Railway Company propose to establish at all the stations on their lines, Savings Banks for the use of their employés, an arrangement which will doubtless be found of advantage both to employers and employed.

Gen. Aparicia commender of the government troops of

Gen. Aparicio, commander of the government troops of Ecuador, has been captured and his forces defeated by the revolutionists. President Borrero, on the arrival of the news at Quito, took refuge at the Columbian Legation; meanwhile the citizens pronounced for the revolution.

Tobacco planting on the east coast of Sumatra is vigorously prosecuted. Chinese and others are settling there in considerable numbers. As soon as affairs are permanently settled on the Malay Peninsula, a field will be offered for cultivating tobacco and other tropical articles of commerce.

Gen Mendez, who is in command of the city of Mexico, under the Diaz government, has appointed an election to be held on the 28th inst., for President, and Chief Justice. All officers of the Juares Lerdo or Iglesias governments are prohibited from becoming candidates for election.

A new system of navigation, based on the use of chronometers, has been successfully tested by M. de Magnac, who sighted land within two miles of the point aimed at, after a voyage of one hundred days. M. de Magnac and M. Yvon Villarceau, who have invented this system, claim that it can be used under circumstances in which all old methods would be useless, and in any event is much more accurate.

The French Academy of Science has received the final report of Captain Roudaire's survey of the Algero-Tunisian depression, through which it has been proposed to cut a canal, and convert the Sahara into an inland sea. This completes the preliminary work, and a commission has been appointed, of which M. de Lesseps, of Suez Canal fame, is a member, to take such measures as are necessary for its execution.

A wide-spread association, under the name of "Federation and Liberty," has been discovered in Moscow, whose aim it is to make Russia a Federal Republic. The Empire is to form five separate States, united by a federation. The dynasty is to be set aside, the aristocracy abolished, and communal and republican institutions to be introduced on the most democratic basis. Numerous arrests have consequently been made in Moscow.—Sun.

At the elections in Germany on the 10th inst. much astonishment was caused in Government circles by the unexpected success of the organization known as the "Social Democrats." These people believe in and advocate perfect equality among all men, and an equal distribution of the results of labor. They were perfectly quiet and orderly at the polls; but their activity in the canvass had been such that they were able to carry more than twenty seats in the Prussian Reichstag. The agitation which they are causing extends into the army and causes the Government some uneasiness.

SOCIALISTIC NOTICES.

The Co-operative Industrial Association of Virginia is a chartered company, designed to organize labor and social life upon the basis of order and justice. It aims to secure higher education, fuller protection, and better conditions of living. It is located on the high bluffs of the Potomac, twenty miles from Washington; has aniple land, with clear title, extensive buildings, bearing orchards, and fisheries. No debts to be incurred. Willing, cheerful hand-workers, or those who will help others work by furnishing means only, are wanted. Subscriptions, and applications for resident membership desired. Address with particulars,

Dr. J. A. ROWLAND, No. 600 Sixth-st. Washington, D. C.

A NEW CHANCE.

THE undersigned, having sufficient means, intends forming a new Communistic Home, and with that object would be pleased to correspond with those who are prepared for Community life. Only those honest men and women who are willing to work faithfully for the support of such a Home, and who will cheerfully submit to such regulations as are necessary for its best development and preservation, need respond. These may address,

CHARLES P. WHITE, General Post-office, New York City.

Advertisements.

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WM. T. HARRIS,

Box 2398, St Louis, Mo.

ANNOUNCEMENT.

THE Journal enters upon its eleventh volume with the next number. The following articles will be published in the Journal as soon as space can be found

ished in the Journal as soon as space can be found for them:

I. Schelling's Academical Lectures (affording the best view of Schelling's System, inasmuch as they sum up the earlier or Pantheistic stage of his system and project into view, prophetically as it were, the fundamental thoughts of his latest system).

II. The remainder of Lachelier's "Basis of Induction."

III. Novalis's "Hymns to Night."

IV. Mr. Snider's Essays on the General Relations of Shakespeare's Plays.

V. Elucidation of Rosenkranz's Pedagogics, by the translator.

VI. Goeschel on the "Immortality of the Soul."

VII. The "Notes and Discussions" will contain some of the attempts made in the "Kant Club" to elucidate Hegel's Logic (a work to which the club is devoting its second winter).

VIII. Portions of Hegel's Æsthetics relating to Symbolic, Classic, and Romantic Art.

N. B. Green muslin covers for binding the Journal can be had at 40 cents each (including postage); Any one sending for covers should specify which volume he wishes to bind, inasmuch as the ninth and tenth are thicker than the others. Volumes one and two bound together are of the same thickness with Volume IX.

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