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DEVOTED TO THE ENLARGEMENT AND PERFECTION OF HOME.

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WHAT TO DO WITH THE POOR.

A WRITER in the November *Atlantic*, who is exercised on the subject of the conflict between labor and capital, suggests a remedy which, though not especially novel, is by no means devoid of good sense.

"The world," he says, "may be roughly divided (like Gaul) into three parts: First, we have the habitations and the pathways of men, including all the cities. Secondly, the farms. Thirdly, the waste places. Our surplus workmen of the cities can find no room on the farms, for machinery is crowding them out there just as in the factories. Obviously, then, they must go to the waste places, the rough lands which can never be cultivated successfully by machinery."

This is no doubt the most ready solution of the matter, and as an immediate remedy might be applied with the best results. There is uncultivated land enough in the country to support our surplus population for many years to come, if it could be adequately distributed and utilized; for, as our writer says: "A very little land will enable a man to live. A very little money will enable him to buy that land. If he is earning anything, a little self-denial will enable him to amass that money."

Still it must be borne in mind that this is not an absolute remedy. It postpones, but does not avoid the final issue, which is sure to come sooner or later in every civilized country whose boundaries are limited and whose population is increasing. And this issue is, whether labor and capital and machinery can be made to work together, and the results distributed beneficially and equitably among an entire people, or whether the antagonism between them is to continue till the laboring class are driven into revolution by sheer want. This crisis seems distant to our country, on account of the large areas of unoccupied land; and a plan like the one suggested above, if systematically carried out, till all the unused land is under cultivation, would supply an outlet for the laboring poor for several generations. But the time must finally come when all the land will be occupied; and it is the part of wisdom to anticipate the revolution which is sure to follow, instead of waiting till it is forced upon us. We see but one way to do this, and that is, by forming combinations between men of such a nature that improved machinery, and labor-saving inventions, instead of driving the poor out of employment, would enable them to get a living with less work than at present; merely by making the new machinery and all other improvements work for the

laboring classes and the impecunious, with the same vigor as for the select few who represent capital and the moneyed interest. It is impossible to force such a condition of things upon society, but it is practicable for those who have the will, whether they are capitalists or laborers, rich or poor, to so organize as to obtain for themselves all the benefits from the introduction of labor-saving machinery and other useful discoveries that are now realized too exclusively by the more wealthy.

The independence of the small cultivator is picturesquely sketched by the writer quoted above in the following description of the Southern negro:

"You can hardly ride half a dozen miles through some parts of Maryland without coming on a cluster of cabins in the very heart of a piece of woodland. Each owns his acre or half acre or more, of corn-land, or it may be a larger clearing; and perhaps he has a flock of geese and a few pigs besides. He has traps out, too, for rabbit, and an old long-barreled musket wherewith he occasionally contrives to kill a partridge sitting, and a 'possum dog' for night sport. In the spring the yellow perch come up the 'branches' by millions, and he can scoop them out and salt them if he will. In the summer a clumsy dip-net, a coarse cord, and a chicken's head are outfit enough for the capture of all the crabs he can eat. The woods and fields, also, abound in berries, and he can sell easily what he does not want. So, too, of his rabbit-skins and coon-skins, and best of all his otter-skins, less often attainable. The muskrats and squirrels give him meat and fur both. If he is not above doing an odd job or so he can make money for investments at the village store in candy and Sunday finery. But he is not absolutely forced to this dire resort. Like Charles Sumner, he is 'no man's man.' What employé working and living on a salary can truly say as much?"

This is a quite Arcadian picture of careless, independent existence, and the writer seems to think that if a Maryland negro can live and be contented in this way, any one can; yet it is noteworthy that very few poor people are willing to leave their dependent situations and unattractive surroundings in our larger cities and villages, for the untrammelled but isolated freedom of such a life. The obvious reason is, that the great majority of men and women value society more than independence, and are willing not only to sacrifice the one for the other, but to make other and greater sacrifices rather than live separate from their fellows. Many a workman will spend his life in a dirty tenement house, lacking the most ordinary comforts, rather than move into the country and live in a sparsely populated neighborhood, with little social contact outside of his own household.

A plan of settlement on waste or unoccupied lands which would be effectual to tempt the poor from their present homes should make large provision for the gratification of this social and aggregative instinct. We see in the lack of this a cause of the failure of many schemes of emigration which were otherwise well considered and judicious. A plan which would draw the poor from the alleys of our crowded cities, and distribute them over the unoccupied territory in organizations which should minister to their social as well as temporal wants, would be worthy of success, and would appeal to the sympathies of its subjects with much greater power, than an attempt to settle them on small, separate areas, each family by itself. In a word, Socialistic combination offers the best possible solution of this problem. If the colonization and cultivation of waste lands can be carried on in the spirit of mutual help and brotherhood, so that improvement in machinery and advanced methods of culture will operate for the benefit of all the settlers alike, it will be difficult to fill the country so full of inhabitants that each can not live comfortably, and have enough to eat, drink and wear. Any method of settling the question of what to do with our surplus population, and how to permanently relieve the poorer classes, which does not make large account of the advantages of unity between man and man and combination of interests, will only postpone, but will not prevent the coming of the evil day, which is the great dread of political economists and far-sighted philosophers—the time when the natural

increase of a people will impinge on their means of subsistence.

To sum up, the colonization of waste land should be done aggregatively, and not individually, to secure the best social as well as material conditions, and to avoid the ruinous competitive struggle for existence which makes life a burden to so many people in our larger towns. We can conceive of a settlement of unoccupied lands by bodies of workingmen with their families, organized in such a way that the title to all the landed property should inhere in the body, and not be appropriated by individuals, and its products divided equitably among the whole. In such case, every improvement in machinery and cultivation would increase the comfort of each of the settlers, giving him more time for productive employment or recreation instead of reducing his income and curtailing his means of subsistence. With such a social and industrial organization there would be no fear of poverty, no strikes and no unemployed workmen; but a comfortable livelihood for all. Here is a field for philanthropic capitalists. Who will be the pioneer in such an enterprise? J.

THE WORKINGMEN'S PARTY.

THE Workingmen's Party is a fact. It is going to be a bigger fact. Many well-dressed people look upon it as a rather "low-down" affair, in many respects. Its motives are not wholly such as thoughtful, humane people respect. The time-serving editor slanders it with his best faculty of unfairness, and will, at the proper moment fawn before it with whole-souled obsequiousness. The skunk politician watches it as a mean dog watches a laying hen, and will avow himself an original "workingman" as soon as he estimates there are votes to be got. The workingman himself does not yet throw much more than his little finger's weight into the movement, because he does not yet exactly understand what he is trying to do, and because the conviction of universal selfishness, that has been forced upon him, makes him rather incredulous of the possibility of men working together. His experience of life has been mainly that it is a dull, coarse, never-finished fight; he has never got any thing out of this world only by the hardest; any scheme that promises to lighten the task of getting a living is suspected by him of concealing some swindling "catch." The man who is strong enough to do a "day's work" is quite likely to be dominated mainly by urgent and absorbing animal appetites; overwork and consequent overfeeding do not leave him very much alive to spiritual or even intellectual issues. Still, there is knowledge and faith enough to cause the rapid growth of the Workingmen's Party; it is not to be pooh, poohed out of existence by the very sharpest anti-human ridicule of the commercial editor.

What is it?

Most men imagine that they have a right to the products of their own labor, and the more intelligent and capable they are, the more does this imagining possess them. But the laborer, upon entering the stage of action, finds his labor mortgaged in advance, by a tolerably distinct class of people who have got the start of him and who have got things "fixed" to their liking. These people we call capitalists; the means they use to extract tribute from the laborer are rent, interest, taxes, employers' and traders' profits, etc. The laborer arrives; all is forestalled; others have taken possession of all the land; all that is open to him is the highway, and upon that he must not stop to build a hut to keep the storm off him, but must "move on" or go to jail. He finds that do his best he can retain for his own use only from one-half to three-quarters of the value produced by his labor. He understands the impossibility of civilization without capital, but thinks capital too greedy. He rebels against the dispensation which permits five million people to consume year in and year out as much of the country's labor-products as the remaining thirty-five million. One mode of this rebellion is the Workingman's Party.

Now it must be admitted that the primary motives

and aims of the Workingman's Party are not particularly sublime. Here is no appreciable degree of "altruism" (I don't like that word, it is a high-flung slanginess), but merely a rude, selfish instinct of equity, a demand that each should have his own. Yet carry it out far enough and it amounts to about the same as the loftiest "altruistic" theorizing. Coupled with the demand that each should possess his own energies, should go the command that each should create his own subsistence by his own exertions, and not by any inherited or acquired advantage of capital, shrewdness (or unscrupulousness) over his fellows. Where does this road lead? Where does any road to social improvement lead but to the universal identification of hopes, labors, interests and fruitions?

Individual selfishness enlarges into clannishness, and this into patriotism; patriotism enlightened and humanized is the cosmopolitan spirit, and this, when it finds its heart and voice, is Communism—the most impracticable and most attractive of ideals.

Of course this rising, turbid torrent bears on its tide many shapeless crudities. Absurd demands; abortive dreams; blind revolt against wrongs felt but not comprehended; honest confused mixtures of truth and error—plenty of these. What I particularly started to notice is one of these mixtures. I am always pained to see them. I allude to the very prevalent disposition among the workingmen to curse the over-production which has come through the use of machinery. This has gone so far with many as to cause an outcry against labor-saving machinery itself, as the rival and enemy of the man with the two hands.

Machinery is a combination of applied science and capital; like science and capital in general, it is not bad in itself, but may be used for the most nefarious purposes. The outcry against machinery is simply a complaint of capital's too crushing advantage over labor. If machinery were used for the many instead of against them, the many would never complain of it. Science and wealth devoted to the general good, and science and wealth subverting the common wealth to narrow personal or corporate greeds, are as different as two things can be. This has already been fully shown in the SOCIALIST.

There is, however, one feature of this question which I do not see much noticed. It is useless to try to argue people into cutting grass with jack-knives, or pulling it with their fingers, as long as good scythes and mowers are attainable. On the other hand, it is senseless to make more scythes and mowers than are wanted, and then feel persecuted because they can't be sold at a good price. Undoubtedly there has been over-production of some things. One is indeed tempted to turn hobby-rider and reiterate the venerable assertion that there is one final moral to all stories of human failure, namely: "Come back to the soil and the simpler life that is implied in so doing." This quite common opinion that over-production—or rather over-manufacture—is one great cause of the existing industrial depression, could not arise without a foundation of fact. Too many people have wanted to get good wages for the clean, easy, regular work of tending machinery. It is thought more desirable to do this, live in town, wear good clothes, go to the shows once or twice a week, than to plough corn on some nameless prairie land's-end, or cradle thin oats in some back hill-lot, where the foot of (very) white man never trod. One of the worst curses of war in modern times is its unnatural stimulus of trading and manufacturing activity. When after our late war it was found that too much manufacturing was being done for the world's wants (or rather buying capacities), and it was found that the machine-operators must some of them either starve or come back to the ruder, less profitable (in ready money), labor of agriculture, or primary production in some form, the disgust among workingmen was extreme, and an entirely unwarrantable resentment has been excited against labor-saving machinery as the cause of the trouble.

If the Workingmen's Party demand steady work and good wages they are fighting against Fate. One thing they can demand and have the universe on their side, namely, room to live, the use of a portion of the earth's surface. There is plenty of land, and if there is any such thing as human rights, all have the right to the use of land enough to yield a simple subsistence (a much smaller plot by the way than is generally supposed). There is plenty of unoccupied or misoccupied land; when the land is all made into gardens it will be time enough to commence crowding each other off the raft—there is no necessity for it now. Listen to Fénelon, the well-beloved:

"The earth like a good parent multiplies her gifts in proportion to the number of her children who merit her bounty

by their labor. The ambition and avarice of mankind are the only sources of their calamities; every individual wishes to possess the portion of all; and becomes wretched by the the desire of superfluities. If men would be content with the simplicity of nature and wish only to satisfy their real necessities, plenty, cheerfulness, domestic concord, and public tranquillity, would be uninterrupted and universal."

G. E. TUFTS.

FOURIERANA.

Selections from the Harbinger, Phalanx and other Publications of the Fourier Epoch.

V.

THE GLORIOUS EPOCH BEFORE US.

BARBARISM and Civilization form the foundation on which the future social harmony that is to reign on our earth, is to rest; and it should not surprise us that a period of social injustice, discord and oppression, should exist as the forerunner of periods of social justice, liberty, and unity, for it is a universal law that a brief period of discord precedes a long period of harmony in all careers and existences; a brief phasis of infancy, a long phasis of maturity, strength and knowledge. We see this illustrated in the life of man, and of every living thing about us, and it applies equally to the social career of the human race. The false and discordant societies that have existed, up to the present time, on the earth, form the period of its social infancy and ignorance, and the six or seven thousand years that have elapsed since its creation constitute its childhood, the commencement of its life on this globe, its ascending transition from an incomplete and undeveloped state to one of full development and perfection. Long ages await mankind; great historic periods are before us: they are not to be epochs of poverty, fraud, oppression, and carnage, like those already passed through. The law of transition and progressive development teaches us the contrary, and assures us that they are to be periods of universal peace and liberty, of justice, abundance, and social harmony.

Mankind are prepared, society is prepared, to enter upon the epoch of social unity and harmony—the true natural, and organic social condition of Humanity. What is now wanting is a transformation of the present imperfect societies by the establishment of a true social order in their place. Let us hasten the advent of this glorious epoch; let us labor for the great social reformation which is to usher it in; the times are more than ripe for it, and it is the political ignorance and littleness, and selfishness and apathy of the leaders of the world only, that prevent it. It wants new leaders to do the glorious and sacred work. Let them arise and be about it.—*Harbinger.*

THE UNIVERSAL RESPONSE.

Men are glad to escape the evils which the present order of society inflicts on the large majority of our active population. They feel deeply the inequality, the injustice, the oppressions which prevail every-where; they are conscious that the worship of Mammon which is now installed in our great churches, in our commercial marts, in our fashionable saloons, is not the highest destiny of man; they long for a better condition of things, where abundance of supply shall be commensurate with the sense of want, where no cunning monopoly shall hoard the bounties of the Universe in private receptacles, and leave the necessities of the great masses unfurnished and uncared for; where labor shall be so arranged as to be attractive, and leisure for mental cultivation secured to all; and where the combined advantages of the social state shall be made to contribute to the development, the expansion, and the consequent happiness of every individual. There is scarce a human soul, however brutified by excess of toil, or enervated by the frivolities of fashion, which does not respond to the wish for an order of society, guaranteeing to all a more liberal share of wealth, of education, of elegance, and refinement, than now falls to the lot of the most pampered favorites of civilization.—*Geo. Ripley.*

WHAT ASSOCIATION ACCOMPLISHES.

In Association, the interests of all are inseparably combined; none are crushed and crippled by excess of toil, while a part are exempt from all labor; every man, woman and child is put in possession of the means of education, improvement, elegance of manners, and refinement of mind; no mud hovel stands in frightful contrast with the marble palace; no one can revel in a superfluity of wealth, while others are destitute of the common necessities of life; all will be guaranteed a competence; and no one will be shut out from the means of abundance. Surely in laboring for a consummation like this, we are not laboring in the interests of Jacobin-

ism; we are doing every thing in our power to appease the jealousy which now rankles with such venomous fury in the very heart of civilization; and were our ideas adopted, with the earnest conviction which they are sure to produce as soon as they are understood in all their relations and bearings, society would at once be converted into a band of brothers; a divine serenity would pervade the whole conduct of life; and the voice of God, now well nigh drowned in the fierce din of hostile interests, would be again heard in the habitations of men.—*Ibid.*

SOCIALISM IN ENGLAND.

HISTORICAL REMINISCENCES.

BY E. T. CRAIG.

IX.

THE FOUNDER OF COÖPERATION.

At the time England was groaning under a plethora of manufactured wealth in her overstocked warehouses, and her working-classes suffering want and destitution, owing to a glut in the markets for her manufactured goods, Ireland was in great distress from actual famine, while food in abundance existed, and in some cases was rotting in the granaries: several influential persons invited Mr. Owen, the founder of Coöperation, and the advocate of Associated Homes, to visit that unfortunate scene of famine, misery and wretchedness.

He passed several months during the year 1822 in traveling through the country, and met with welcome receptions from all classes, and was kindly received in the mansions of the nobility and homes of the wealthy. He held a public meeting in the Rotunda, in Dublin, and was supported on the platform by the Duke of Leinster, Archbishop Murray, and Lords Meath and Cloncurry. The "Hibernian Society" was formed, and Mr. Owen contributed £1,000, Lord Cloncurry £500, and others aided liberally. Mr. Owen explained his views, and speaks of Ireland at the time as being in a state bordering on barbarism, from the ignorant contentions and conflicts of political parties. Although no immediate action resulted, the documents and calculations which he published were interesting and suggestive; showing what the industry of a thousand persons would produce if employed on a thousand acres of land of medium quality of soil, and in

ASSOCIATED HOMES.

Although Mr. Owen acknowledges the law that human nature can not suddenly change its habits of thought and conviction, he appeared to attach great importance to certain views he held in opposition to popular opinion on religious and metaphysical questions. He had little practical knowledge of the physiology of the brain; nor did he at a later period seem to appreciate the great importance of the doctrine when I directed his attention to the subject of practical phrenology.

Among those, however, who had in the public press pronounced the system of voluntary and mutual coöperation impracticable, not one whose objections were examined had taken the trouble to understand Mr. Owen's proposed arrangements and means of execution. Among his opponents were many eminent men, as legislators, moralists and political economists, writers and journalists. It requires, however, a special experience to appreciate the force of some of the suggestions for the amelioration of the condition of the people, and to see that they are both practical and easy of attainment under suitable arrangements.

Whether it was the boldness of his proposals and the extent of his promises, combined with an air of mystery in some of his statements, or his courageous disregard of popular prejudices, his neglect to remove objections, his occasional inaccuracies of reasoning on matters of minor importance; whether these or other circumstances of a sinister character caused the indifference of the higher and wealthy classes, with some few exceptions, to the great and magnificent results involved in his system of mutual coöperation for the distribution of wealth, it is not easy to determine.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MR. OWEN.

Without approving of the methods he adopted for inducing the world to accept his views, it will be admitted that Mr. Owen was peculiarly constituted, and qualified by his special experience for the advocacy of doctrines new to the world, and opposed to the prejudices of the age and the growth of many generations. He had indomitable firmness, great perseverance, and unyielding fortitude. His benevolence was large and widely sympathetic. His liberality was well known in connection with educational movements. His moral courage of the highest order, enabling him to give utterance to what appeared to him of the utmost importance to mankind, but which was opposed to all their cherished habits

and prevailing notions of things. He went out into the world, as he said, "with his life in his hand." He had little imaginative power, but great and rare practical experience, which probably gave an appearance of dogmatic egotism to some of his statements derived from his plans at New Lanark. His manners were, toward strangers, unaffected and cordial. An American traveler, Mr. Grisconi, who stayed by invitation two days at Braxfield House, Mr. Owen's country residence, said "he had the candor and openness of a child," and invited the fullest investigation of his system. Those who possess his bust or profile will be able to appreciate the statement of an experienced phrenologist, when he states that the moral and intellectual proportions of the brain far exceed those of the propensities. His good temper, benevolence, and charity were therefore the result of heritage, as well as of conviction, self-control, and impulsive manifestation.

It was to be regretted that as a leader in a new and untried system of coöperation he was deficient in the talent requisite for the organization of the masses. He was always patient under opposition, and I have never known a public man his equal in good temper when opposed by ignorance, prejudice, and bigotry, and I have had considerable experience of public life. He was, in fact, never ruffled by ridicule, argument, vulgar abuse, or contradiction. He had strong social affections, shown in his domestic relations and in his sympathizing regard for the education of the young, and which, at a later period, he manifested in his warm approval of my plan of combining industrial training alternately with mental culture, as at Ralahine, and subsequently at the Ealing Grove School, near London, and which gave origin to the useful, industrial and reformatory training schools now extending.

Mr. Owen contributed £1,000 toward the promotion of Mr. Lancaster's British and Foreign school-system, and £500 to Dr. Bell's National School plan, besides many other evidences of similar active and generous sympathy. His habits were remarkable for temperance and regularity. I remember, at a time when he was devoting great exertion to the public advocacy of his plans, on calling on him, his breakfast consisted chiefly of a basin of bread and new milk, and his supper comprised the same simple yet health-sustaining dietary. The same abstemiousness was his rule of life, even while devoting his energies to the utmost in advocating his views throughout England, America, and the Continent. His statements on practical questions are often given with the greatest clearness, conciseness, and simplicity. Few men have acted with greater consistency and nobility of purpose, and with such utter disregard of worldly fame or pecuniary reward. He sacrificed a lucrative business in order to devote himself to the promotion of the public good. On the first publication of his views in 1817 he purchased and distributed more than 30,000 copies of the London journals containing the reports of his addresses, and distributed them among the leading men of the country. He expended some £40,000 to make known his views, and is said to have spent some £80,000 in promoting what he conceived would be for the benefit of mankind, and especially so for the working-classes. He manifested a passionate devotion and singleness of purpose to what he held to be "the cause of truth;" and a chivalrous sacrifice of personal ambition and worldly consideration, which proved him one of the most unselfish of men, ever swayed and governed by a noble devotedness to the universal good of mankind. He had the heroic devotion of the martyrs of old, holding fast to the truth as he felt or understood it.

ONEIDA COMMUNITY.

Editorial Correspondence of the Jefferson County (Wis.) Union.
Munnsville, N. Y.

In my last I promised to give my impressions in visiting the Oneida Community. On paying my visit Saturday, the 25th, I was surprised to find how marked had been the growth of this famous colony since my last visit thirteen years ago. Extensive buildings have been erected, additional land purchased, the grounds much enlarged and improved, and throughout the whole, a general air of finish and refinement has been added. On my first arrival, I inquired for Mr. Chester Underwood, who, years ago, was a much-esteemed teacher of mine. After a most cordial greeting he undertook the not very easy task of showing me the sights and answering my numerous questions. Much has been written upon these thrifty and strange people who are so very singular in the eyes of most folks, on account of the really singular custom of strictly minding their own business, never meddling with their neighbors,

never gossiping or scandal-mongering, and keeping their own concerns and secrets to themselves. I frankly informed friend Underwood at the outset, that I had no idle curiosity to gratify, nor insulting questions to ask concerning their sexual relations. I considered that was their business, not mine. I told him that I considered this Community one of the social experiments of the day, and what I wanted to know most particularly was, *how* they succeeded in taking 300 people composed of all sorts and shades of character, from low cussedness up to broad and substantial goodness, and so merging their effort, ambition, passions, prejudices and all as to make a harmonious Community, living peacefully with each other and the world; working but moderately, yet amassing riches rapidly and devoting a large allowance of time to intellectual and social culture. I informed him that I appeared there without any religious prejudice for or against; that what I was most interested in was how they managed the concern, and that ever troublesome factor, *Human Nature*. He met my inquiries with a charming frankness, and freely conversed upon the philosophy of their life as a people. From the general tenor of his remarks and such information as I obtained from their books, I gathered the following ideas:

THE COMMUNITY

is based upon a religious principle, the two ruling tenets of which are, 1st, "That Christ's Second Coming and the establishment of his kingdom took place within one generation from the time of his personal ministry; 2d, That the gospel of Christ provides means for the present salvation from sin.

These views were promulgated by John H. Noyes while a member of the Theological Seminary at New Haven, Conn., in 1834. He soon acquired followers, and commenced the founding of a sect, called "Perfectionists," at Putney, Vt. That all things should be shared in common, was another distinctive part of their creed. Being driven out of Putney, the band located at Oneida in 1848. Religiously they are a devout people, rendering, like most other sects, strict homage to every distinctive feature of their faith. They are Socialists, merging all property rights of the whole family. Hence every member works not for him or herself, but for the whole.

The land occupied numbers 587 acres, near the center of what was formerly known as the "Oneida Indian Reservation;" one of the most fertile tracts in the State. The capital employed in the whole concern amounts to over half a million dollars. The main building, or what is called "The Community Mansion," is 188 feet long, by 70 broad, and has extensions reaching 100 feet in the rear. This contains the Family Hall, the upper sitting-room and the library with 4,000 volumes. The "Tontine" is another brick building, 70x35, connected with the mansion by an underground passage. In this building is the kitchen and bakery. Two members of the Community are capable lawyers; admitted to practice in both State and United States Courts. A two-story building, to the south, contains the children's school-rooms, a chemical laboratory, a photograph studio, dental rooms, and rooms for the taxidermist and entomologist. The "old mill building" is 50x68, and is occupied by a carpenter-shop, wheel-wright shop, pattern-maker's shop, cabinet shop and box factory. Two hundred and fifty thousand feet of lumber is used here annually.

The laundry is a one-story brick structure, 35x80, fitted with steam fixtures, and the weekly washing in summer amounts to 500 pieces. North about fifty rods is the "Arcade," a large building 156x70. In this building is the printing-office, where is issued the "SOCIALIST," a weekly paper which is a model of typographical neatness. Here also is the paper-box factory and fruit-canning factory. The latter is an immense concern, requiring the labor of 75 hands, and consuming the products of over 100 acres of fruits and vegetables. The yearly sales amount to about \$60,000.

The Willow-Place works are situated one and one-third miles north, at what was formerly known as Turkey Street. Here are situated the trap-works, manufacturing annually over 400,000 steel traps; also the silk-works, the forge, machine-shops and a saw-mill. The value of silk goods manufactured in 1874 was \$180,400.92.

The Community are splendid farmers and breeders of farm stock. They have a herd of about 40 pure blood Ayrshires, and a number of pure blood Holsteins, and forty-three horses and colts. A summer resort for the members of the family, called "Joppa," lies twelve miles north, at the eastern end of Oneida Lake.

So much for a few of the outline facts connected with this institution.

As I said in the outset, these people in religion are Perfectionists. Socially they practice Communism, both in a business and marriage sense. By this I mean, that the accumulations of their industry is put into a general fund, and the conduct of business, supervised and directed by Boards chosen for the purpose.

The problem of government was one of the first which presented itself to my mind, and I asked Mr. Underwood very particularly on this point: How they managed to keep down the mischief-makers, the liars, the envious and unscrupulous, in short, that element that breeds the usual disturbances in human society every-where? He informed me that the chief agency for the repression of the mischief-maker was the system of mutual criticism in general vogue among them. Every member must pass through this ordeal and is expected to solicit it as a regular means of grace. With refractory cases, the criticism comes hot and heavy without solicitation, until the culprit is glad to hide his or her head. Since their organization only one case of expulsion has taken place. Constant change, however, is going on, and secession seems to be the order here as in other sects. Every one is expected to labor; but I noticed none of that insane hurry and grind that characterizes labor in the outside world. Matters move very smoothly and largely, so I believe, for the reason that they use the head more than the hand. Somebody has said "that all enterprises might be accomplished with a great saving of labor, if time were taken at the outset to devise the right way to do them." This seems to be the Community plan. They use the brain largely, are never in a hurry, because they are always on time. I esteem them the most perfect body of workers I ever saw. There is a wonderful discipline (evidently self-imposed) celerity without hurry, and dispatch without friction.

ANOTHER FAITH-WORKER.

SOCIALISM, as defined by the AMERICAN SOCIALIST and by the lexicographers, is a term of broad signification—broad enough, in fact, to include all organizations and movements which recognize the solidarity of human relations and the obligations of mutual assistance. Socialists may fairly claim that such men as Dr. Müller—whose great work in England in establishing schools and homes for orphans was briefly described in a recent No. of the SOCIALIST—are laboring for their cause. There are other movements like that of Dr. Müller's whose history is full of interest. Of one in this country I will give some account.

About fifteen years ago, Charles Cullis, a young physician of Boston, conceived the idea of providing a Home for poor consumptives. He was himself destitute of means, and, like Müller, he carried his burdens to God in prayer. After nearly two years of silent waiting and watching a friend gave him, unasked, one dollar for the object which lay so near his heart; but, as a mustard-seed beginning, it was enough. Funds slowly began to come in. A house was rented, and a few patients were admitted. It was exclusively a faith-work. Not a dime was asked of man. The petitions went higher. Finally, Grove Hall, on Boston Highlands, was purchased and paid for, and thus a healthy, comfortable Home was secured; a Home comfortable to die in or to live and get well in. Here was philanthropy worthy of a Howard!

In a letter dated Aug. 14, 1877, Dr. Cullis wrote:—"There are now about seventy patients in the Home. None but consumptives are admitted. The whole amount of cash received up to Oct. 1st, 1876, was \$326,583, and this year, so far, about \$18,000. Total up to present time \$344,583. We have fitted up during the past year a small home for the admission of those suffering from spinal diseases."

In addition to the Consumptives' Home and the "Small House" for those having spinal diseases, two buildings have already been purchased and appropriated to the use of the children whose parents were patients in the Consumptives' Home. Also efforts are making to build a Home for poor cancer patients, at a cost of over \$50,000. Several thousand dollars have been received for this purpose. A chapel has been erected near Grove Hall, in which Dr. Cullis holds Sunday services. Another chapel has been built at Beacon Hill Place, Boston, in which weekly meetings are held every Tuesday afternoon from three to four. The object of these meetings is to aid those who are seeking the Higher Life in religious service. The Willard Tract Repository is located under this chapel, where the publications of Dr. Cullis and other kindred authors are kept for sale. The drift of their teachings is to explain and stimulate the

work of entire consecration to God. A "Faith-Training College" was opened at Beacon Hill Place in 1875. The purpose of this school are to assist those young men and women who were unable to obtain a college course, but who are in earnest to devote themselves to the Master's work. In addition to the above, a Deaconess Home has been provided for the use of those women who are engaged in the work with Dr. Cullis; and it might here be remarked that the entire corps of helpers under Dr. Cullis are paid regular wages from the funds which are received as gifts. Besides all this a Foreign Mission has been established, independent of other societies, and sustained by the same system of faith contributions. From October, 1875, to October, 1876, the sum of \$527.30 was received for this purpose. One or two women, sent out by this foreign mission, are already at work among the Eastern nations, and with marked success.

H. W. B.

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1877.

THE RIGHTS OF LABOR.

In printing the article on "The Workingmen's Party," which will be found in another column, we will take occasion to remark, that the formula which the writer puts forward as the sound basis of the new party, viz., that every man has a right to the product of his labor, is not entirely satisfactory; and for this reason: It is absolutely impossible to ascertain in most cases, if not in all, what is the exact product of an individual's labor. For example, one man makes a shoe out of stock furnished by another man: how are you going to apportion things? Obviously the entire shoe is not the product of the shoemaker's labor. The tanner must come in for a share, even if the capitalist does not. Suppose we say that the tanner owns, according to the formula, one-fourth or one-half of the shoe; does the shoemaker own absolutely the rest? He works with tools that others made, and to the tool-makers belong a percentage of the shoe; and who can tell how great a percentage, if we take into account, as in justice we ought, not only the living who have improved the tools used by the shoemaker, but all the past generations that have helped to bring them to their present state of perfection? A strict analysis of the production of a shoe would show that it would have to be divided into a million parts in order to fulfill the formula that "every man has a right to the product of his labor;" and so it is with most of the labor in the world. Take agriculture; a man would have to go back to the most primitive tools, and make them himself, having nothing to do with modern machinery and implements, or even with improved breeds of animals, or new varieties of grains and vegetables, if he would claim the products of his labor as absolutely his own. If men were entitled only to the product of their own labor they would never have evolved much above the "Digger Indians."

In place of the formula made so much account of by workingmen generally, we propose a new one, namely, every man is entitled to a GREAT DEAL MORE than the product of his labor. As we have already shown, this formula more nearly expresses the present condition of things than the other. Most people get more than they produce, and are entitled to it. Suppose we dealt with children on the principle that they are only entitled to the product of their labor! But we are all children of Nature and of God; and are dealt with according to quite a different formula from that of the workingmen's party. The best things in the universe we have very little agency in producing. Let workingmen adopt the new formula, and go to work to realize it, not complaining because some more nearly realize it than others. Even the rich don't get a tenth part of what all men ought to have, and will have when competitive strife ends and universal brotherhood begins.

J. H. N.

THE TURKISH BATH.

It is gratifying to see that the revival of interest in the Turkish Bath, which has taken such a decided impulse within the last three years, is resulting in the multiplication of baths all over the country. We hear of new ones starting in New England and in the West, and a late *Graphic* says of the increase in the number of baths in New York city:

"Luxury is clearly on the increase in this city. One of the evidences of it is the increased fondness of splendid and costly bath-houses. A few years ago the only Turkish Bath was the little one in Lighthouse-street; now there are quite a

number of them; a very fine one in Twenty-fourth street, another large one in Twenty-sixth street, and still another in Lexington avenue, and the other night one of the most luxurious of all Russian baths was opened in Lafayette place. There is also a very excellent one on the Brooklyn Heights. In addition to these there are a number of smaller concerns, but each new building is finer and more luxurious than any which have preceded it. The so-called Turkish and Russian baths are really revivals of the old Roman bath. Some of the finest ruins of Rome and Pompeii are those of the old baths. Curiously enough, the advent of Christianity had something to do with the decay of interest in the human body and its pleasures. May not the increase of modern paganism show itself in the increased attention to personal luxury? By the way, it is literary people and physicians who are the most frequent patrons of the so-called Turkish and Russian baths."

So far as our own experience and observation of the Turkish-Bath movement go, the renewed interest in it is due, not to the "increase of modern paganism," but to a practical revival of faith in the healing power of original Christianity. That was at the bottom of at least five public Turkish Baths that we know of, and they are steadily propagating still. Whoever seriously seeks to trace the subtle, spiritual beginnings of things, will, we are confident, find something deeper than Paganism and the mere love of luxury in the spread of the Turkish Bath.

A *Graphic* of later date contains a very readable travesty of Shakspeare, which is made to serve the purpose of advertising Dr. Angell's Turkish Bath in New York city. Read Hamlet's Soliloquy as a specimen:

HAM.—To bathe or not to bathe, that is the question: Whether 'tis wiser in a man to suffer The aches and pangs of disordered nature, Or to take baths against a sea of troubles And by so doing end them? To strip—to sweat— No more; and, by a roast, to say we end The headache and a thousand natural ills That flesh is heir to—'tis a consummation Devoutly to be wished. To strip—to sweat— To sweat! and be shampooed; aye, there's the rub; And in that heat such evils may remove We need not shuffle off this mortal coil, But save our lives. 'Tis this experience That makes so many take the Turkish Bath; For who would bear the whips and stings of pain, The consumptive's cough, the fat man's obesity, The pangs of dyspepsia or Bright's disease, The torturings of asthma or the woes That alcohol upon the inebriate brings, When he himself might his deliverance take With a bare body? Who would rheumatism bear, And grunt and groan under a weary life, But that an ignorance of Turkish baths, Those re-discovered pleasures, unto which Wise travelers return, doth still prevail, And makes us tamely bear those ills we have, Heedless of remedies that we know not of, Thus ignorance oft makes wretches of us all. And thus the native hue of health and vigor Is sicklied o'er with the pallor of disease. But thus, I ween, it shall not be with me; The good I know, and oft have tried, again I will embrace. Clerk, in thy dressing-rooms Hast thou a place for me?

It is but justice to Christian Communism to say that its distinctive part in the Turkish-Bath revival has been to lower prices, and thus to put this radical restorer and preserver of health within reach of the working-classes. The price of the Bath in the large cities ranges from one dollar to one dollar and a-half, and can scarcely be afforded by any but the rich. The Oneida Community started two public Turkish Baths, and put the price down to fifty cents for a single Bath or five dollars per dozen baths. Others, following their example and advice, have started Baths at the reduced price in Connecticut, Ohio and Missouri, and we expect that these cheap Baths will spread till they are as commonly enjoyed by the poor as by the rich.

CO-OPERATIVE COLONIZATION.

THE work of Coöperative colonization is going forward. Last week we called attention to a Massachusetts plan for "the systematic planting of Western colonies," and now we have a New York plan to present. A few men in New York and Brooklyn began two or three months ago to agitate the question of planting a colony in Florida, "their modest intention (we quote from the *New York Sun*) being to engage fifty young men, married or unmarried, to organize a colony on the co-operative plan, and buy about two thousand acres wherever they could get it cheapest in Florida, on the condition of paying part cash only. The organizers were surprised and gratified to find offers to join the colony accumulating, and after the number had reached one hundred, the books were closed, officers were elected, by-laws prepared, and committees appointed to prospect in Florida and to secure transportation. Still more applications were made, and it was resolved, last month, to open the books again. The list numbers over one hundred, and the officers hope to close the books with two hundred and fifty names, which will be sufficient to settle the ten thousand acres of land it is

proposed to buy." The colony (which has taken the name of the "St John's Coöperative Colony of Florida") is now negotiating for a tract of 10,000 acres on the St. John's river, and has sent representatives to examine the land, search into the title, etc. We have no reason for supposing the coöperation of the colony is likely to extend further than to the purchase of the land, their emigration in a body, and settlement together; but there is great gain even in this slight co-operation. Not only will the cost of the land and all the necessary expenses of emigration and settlement be reduced, but they will be able in some measure to determine the character of the settlers, excluding the licentious and profligate, and admitting only such as bring proof of good moral standing in society. Some of the most thrifty villages in the Western States were settled on a similar plan. The colonists generally went from New England, and carried with them New England customs and institutions and habits, and from the start secured a homogeneous society that has many advantages over the mixed society which prevails in most Western towns. But the new settlements on the co-operative plan now forming ought to improve on their predecessors, taking still greater advantage of the co-operative principle. As we have previously urged, they ought at least to begin with a coöperative store, which would grow with the growth of the colony, supplying its demands at the minimum cost, and limiting the number of middle-men, who are so ready to fasten like leeches on any such enterprise and suck its life-blood.

ORGANIZATION—HOW SHALL WE BEGIN?

Black River Falls, Wis., Oct. 23, 1877.

EDITOR AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—The proposition of Theo. L. Pitt, in the AMERICAN SOCIALIST of Oct. 11, for a Society to Encourage the Study of Social Science, calls up again the question of a comprehensive social organization. This appears to be the great want, the necessity of the times. Why is it delayed?

It is not the establishment of local Communities, the advocacy of special Socialistic theories, nor the formation of social clubs, that seems to be the necessity of the present hour—these will all follow in the wake of a better social culture—but it is the organization of a Society of the Friends of Social Harmony, broad enough to comprehend all, and with system and method enough to combine our present discordant efforts in one grand concerted movement against "the all-pervading evils of competition," the robberies of hoarded wealth, and the degradations and miseries of poverty and pauperism.

Some months ago, Mr. J. G. Truman, in a letter published in the SOCIALIST of June 14, suggested the organization of "an Association for the Study and Improvement of Society;" and closed his letter with this question: "What philanthropist will say a word about the means of starting such an organization?"

As no other suggestions immediately followed this, the writer of this article, in a letter to the SOCIALIST, published Aug. 30, named Messrs. J. G. Truman, F. Wayland-Smith and G. E. Tufts, as a committee to draft articles of Association, and start the much-needed organization. This committee has delayed its report, but still leaves us the hope that it has not declined to act. And now the proposition of Mr. Pitt, while it urges anew the importance of this movement, makes valuable suggestions as to the nature and the methods of the society. His suggestion that, to encourage the study of Social Science, "some simple and easy methods are needed—methods adapted to all classes in their present conditions and homes"—goes right to the heart of the case.

Let us then renew and, if possible, strengthen the appeal for an immediate organization. Let the gentlemen named give us a start in this work, and earn for themselves the proud title of benefactors. Let them set forth distinctly, as the basis of the organization, the Golden Rule and the second great commandment as embodying the highest precepts of Christianity and the noblest possibilities of Humanity. Let them inscribe upon their banners, "Peace on earth and good will toward men." Let the association be open to all who willingly subscribe to its principles and comply with its conditions; and let the conditions require no one to leave his home or change his laudable business. Let the society be the advocate of no special form of Socialism or pet Community, but endeavor to count among its members the good and true of all these as well as all the honest friends of social reform in their scattered homes and homeless lives. Let it be the work of the members to obtain information, and to mutually instruct each other, and all thinking people willing to be instructed, upon the just and harmonious relations of man to his fellows. As an important means to this end, let them give circulation to the best Socialistic Journals and, as far as practicable, make easily accessible the highest thoughts and teachings of philanthropists of all times.

To start the movement let us have a central committee located somewhere, and sub-committees located every-where that good material can be found; and let them extend and

increase as fast as possible. The times are ripe and the work already moving. It wants but systematic direction to carry us over from competitive strife and brutal warfare to brotherly love and mutual help.

E. S. WICKLIN.

REMARKS.

MR. WICKLIN'S letter naturally leads to a discussion of the question whether *general* organization is first in order, or *local* clubs and societies. We believe with him that "the times are ripe and the work already moving;" but our impression is that in organizing, the local must precede the general. As a knowledge of Socialism spreads, individuals will first begin to study it and read its literature; then, after several persons in a locality have become interested, little informal meetings will be had to talk over the subject, and when sufficient acquaintance has grown to warrant it, some kind of voluntary organization will take place naturally and spontaneously. That is, local clubs will be formed, the members of which will at once begin to assist each other in a variety of ways. And when a sufficient number of such clubs shall have dotted the country and attained some capacity for united and harmonious action within themselves, there will come a day when they will desire and need some general organization through which the various small organizations can get acquainted with one another and learn to cooperate in a larger way. When this condition shall have been reached the people engaged in the movement will have become well-advanced in their preparation for associative life in Enlarged Homes. This seems to us the easiest, most natural, and safest course to pursue.

There are several ways in which the spread of Socialistic knowledge and the formation of local clubs might be hastened forward. Much has been done for the extension of the cooperative movement by lecturers who went about from place to place, talking with the people, explaining the advantages to be gained, and showing them the best way to begin their organizations. In this way the Grangers, the Sovereigns of Industry, and other orders have grown very rapidly. In the same way much may be done for the cause of Socialism when there is a sincere and large demand for it. Suppose there were to-day, in a considerable number of towns and villages in the several States, little groups of Socialists who were acquainted with each other and read the AMERICAN SOCIALIST regularly. These people could easily arrange, through the SOCIALIST, for some good lecturer to visit them and communicate all possible information. Many questions could be asked and answered, and a fair, intelligent start made. Of course the conductors of the SOCIALIST could not assume the responsibility of managing such organizations, but the paper itself would be the medium through which all the clubs could communicate. We would like a short, spicy letter every week from a hundred such clubs. When a general organization is needed, such as Mr. Wicklin suggests, a meeting of delegates can be had, or the nomination and election of officers can be done through the SOCIALIST.

If this plan commends itself, work may be begun upon it at once. Any man or woman can begin to study Socialism and preach it to neighbors and friends. Form little clubs as soon as possible. If you can be united and harmonious much may be done soon; but if there is more discord than unity you may know that you are not yet prepared. When a few of you begin to hold little meetings to talk over matters, by all means write to us about it. Tell us how many of you there are, how you get along, what you talk about, etc. Make your letters short and to the point, and we will make any comments on them which we think will be useful.

While we are hearty in proposing this plan we must at the same time caution the people who undertake to carry it out that our abilities and resources are very fully taxed in the support and management of the SOCIALIST, and that, therefore, the clubs must not lean on us for aid other than the advice and encouragement we shall give in the paper.

F. W. S.

THE "STRIKERS" AND THE GOVERNMENT.

DEAR AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—The late struggle between laborer and capitalist shows an appalling state of things in our present Government: that it is copying all monarchist or tyrannical characteristics of that Government which, in a similar case, answered the hungry multitude by sword, powder and bullets. I ask, is this progress? Is it the benevolent Government of America that tells its legislators, "You shall cause to be printed a law, which in the event of the uprising of the multitude (from causes referred to above), it shall be ordained to desist in its enterprise! and if it take no heed to the law, let justice have sway!"

Justice! justice to the hungry! to the suffering! to the widow! to the orphan! to the fatherless in despair! to the agonizing mothers! to the broken-hearted sons and daughters! Nay, but rather justice to the plentiful! to the strong!

to the smiling wives! to the rosy youths—in a word *justice to the oppressors!*

Through deep and blinding ignorance our Government is acting the part of the oppressor. The so-called rioters are imploring America for the simple necessities of life—not more. And what do we see? Does she lend a listening ear to her pleading children? Does her countenance soften? Do tears begin to flow down her motherly cheeks? Does she hide her face in her hands and between sobs answer, "My children—for a long time I have allowed you to suffer; some of you are starving, while others have plenty—oh! my children, is this a fact? Have I allowed this state of things to pass? Have I thus winked at iniquity? Ah! this state of things shall be no more—if so, then am I an unnatural mother." Then, taking the homeless ones by the hand, does she bid them come to her heart, giving them food and clothes, land to till, and above all bidding them a "God-bless-you" and prosperity? Is this, I ask, her response? Not yet. But in the years to come it ought and will be.

Not that I mean to preach or announce Communism for the future—though practically I am a Communist—but I believe that our Government is bound, sooner or later, to take heed of the murmurings of the multitudes, because they are growing louder and louder every day. The late strike is only the precursor of great events. The murmurs may be compared to the slow, but steady rising of an immense body of water, which in its course to the ocean has been momentarily checked by a falling mountain-top. By this freak of nature, the mighty stream is made to quiver with rage at the sight of its intruder. However the waters are stopped, and unmolested stands the mountain-top in and above the water. While the stream is studying means to overcome the intruder, nature comes to the rescue and whispers, "Rise steadily, but slowly." The advice is good. The stream begins to rise. A week elapses—the giant is still standing, obstructing the stream, but only its head is visible. The waters have steadily risen. The winds combining their strength with the water at last wash all accessible surfaces; until at length a noise resembling a shout of triumph is heard—the waters have conquered, and flow unhindered to the ocean. The intruding mountain-top is beneath, helpless, woe-begone! In vain it longs to regain its position on the mountain, but having made itself a tyrant, it must suffer the consequences. In the course of time it will be washed away and the waters will become smooth. The mountains will be carried piece by piece to accessible valleys, and there will help to fertilize the laborer's farm.

Here ends for to-day my pen work. A COMMUNIST.

REMARKS.

WE publish this eloquent plea in behalf of those engaged in the recent railroad strike and against the action of Government, partly for the sake of correcting some of its statements.

The writer assumes—

1. That the so-called rioters were only asking for the necessities of life;
2. That Government was tyrannical in quelling the strike by military means;
3. That Government by its action showed that its power was exercised in behalf of the well-to-do classes, and against the poor and needy;
4. That Government ought to see that the people all fare equally well;
5. That benevolence ought to be a principal function of Government.

We are unable to take the same view as "Communist" on any of these points. The theory of Government in this country is that it exists by the consent of the governed, *i. e.*, the people, and for the discharge of such duties as the people impose upon it. The preservation of order and of the rights of property stand first among these duties. If the so-called rioters had simply, as "Communist" says, asked for the necessities of life, or had confined their action to refusing to work at the wages offered, Government would have had no right to interfere; but they proceeded to violence, obstructed the channels of trade, destroyed millions of property, and compelled those who chose to work even at the wages offered, to conspire with them against the employers and capitalists: and it became the duty of the Government to open the obstructed channels, stop the destruction of property, and protect the rights of free labor. The State Governments were instituted by the people for this express object; and the people made it the duty of the General Government to assist the State Governments in accomplishing this object when the latter have not themselves adequate means. There was no tyranny, no invidious distinctions in favor of the rich against the poor; there was simply the discharge by the Government of the duty which the people had imposed upon it. The people have a right to modify or increase the duties of their Government at any time. They may choose sometime to make the Government more benevolent and parental in its functions; and then it may be able to "take homeless ones by the hand, and give them food and clothes and land to till:" but we must wait for these things awhile.

Our contributor, we fear, is working at the wrong end of the snarl. The best way to improve the Government is by improving society; and the best way to im-

prove society is by improving the individuals composing it. If workmen will begin by eradicating selfishness from their own hearts, and cultivating brotherly methods of cooperation even in such limited ways as are now possible to them, they will start a movement which will in time modify general society and the State and National Governments; and in the end sweep away all oppressive monopolies, all distinctions not based on character, all injustice in the relations of man to man.

Let it not, however, be supposed, from what we have said, that we approve of war, or that we think there was no better way to deal with the "strikers" than that which was pursued. We only urge that the Government was not necessarily chargeable with tyranny because it resorted to military measures. For ourselves, we are thorough believers in the wisdom and efficacy of peace measures, and regard war as the worst phase of the old system of antagonisms we would have displaced.

Since writing the above, the following paragraph in point has come to our notice, and we commend it, in conclusion, to the attention of all who, like "Communist," look to Government to correct the existing sins of society:

"CAPITAL AND LABOR.

"Editor of the Boston Herald:—I have read with much interest all articles in your paper on the above subject, and am very much struck with 'J. D.'s' pertinent question to the Mayor of Boston, in your issue of Feb. 5. I will tell 'J. D.' that ninety per cent. of our people must die poor or paupers if he or any one else expects permanent relief for labor through the legislation of our present civilization, which is based on individual antagonism and an artificial medium of exchange. Empires have been obliterated from the face of the earth in the past by this 'paternal government' he asks for. When man can look his fellow-man in the eye as a brother, and look up to God as a father, he will cooperate in mutual labor for the benefit of all. The want of faith and wisdom on the part of the majority of men is the cause of all the crime, poverty and woe on this earth. I know there are and must be thousands of human souls sacrificed daily in this maelstrom of civilization, and the only remedy that I see for it is that the few, as they have wisdom and faith, will go outside of it in their cooperative capacity as workers and producers from the earth. They will gradually be reinforced by others from civilization, as they have faith and wisdom to see. DIOGENES."

BARBARIC TASTE.

THOUGH living amidst the quiet of a Community home-where French milliners and fall and spring fashions are unknown, I yet catch occasional glimpses of the ever-changing fashions of the gay world, and am impressed with their general uncomeliness and uncomfortableness, to say nothing of their almost barbaric display of colors, styles and gew-gaws. Amidst the amazement in which my simple tastes are often thrown, I find myself wondering whether these strange fashions do not bring their votaries into rapport with the realms where the genius of barbarism is supreme autocrat.

Travelers assert that the fashion of wearing the hair, called "the waterfall," has its counterpart in a similar fashion among the women of some savage African tribe. Certainly the belle who rouges and uses pearl-powder and French enamel, can not but remind one of an Indian chief with his coarse war paints; besides, are they not both warriors—men-killers—going forth "conquering and to conquer?"

Vámbery, in his "Travels in Central Asia," gives an interesting description of the Bokhariot bazars; and, in speaking of that department of the bazaar which is devoted to "the products of Asiatic soil and native industry," he says: "Manufactures in leather play a preëminent part; in this department the skill of the leather-cutters, and still more that of the shoemaker, deserves commendation. Boots, both for male and female wear, are tolerably well made; the former having *high heels, terminating in points about the size of a nail's head*. The clothes, exposed to tempt the eyes of the purchasers, consist of articles of attire of brilliant colors. The Oriental, only here to be met with in his original purity and peculiarity, is fond of the *tchakh-tchukh*, or *rustling tone of the dress*. It was always an object of great delight to me to see the seller parading up and down a few paces in the new *tchapan* (dress), to ascertain whether it gave out the orthodox tone."

Now look at the grand lady who rustles down the aisle of her fashionable church, or lounges through some gallery of art, her silken train coiling in many a sheeny fold after her; has she not as much life in her dress as these wild Asiatics? And the dainty Saratoga belle, with her passion for "French heels," has she not something in common with the filthy, grasping Afghan, and frouzy Kiptchak?

G. W. Smalley, in a recent letter to the *Tribune* on French politics, gives a peep at the secret causes of the

coup of the 16th May, and in so doing proves how mischievous are the envyings and strifes incited by fashion. A political perplexity precipitated, a nation in trouble, and all, forsooth, because of a pair of high heels and a saffron-colored gown! Have the annals of the savage Indian or the unlettered Asiatic any thing to equal this?

A. E. H.

THE FATHER-LAND.

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

Where is the true man's father-land?
Is it where he by chance is born?
Doth not the yearning spirit scorn
In such scant borders to be spanned?
O, Yes! his father-land must be
As the blue heaven, wide and free!
Is it alone where freedom is,
Where God is God and man is man?
Doth he not claim a broader span
For the soul's love of home than this?
O, yes! his father-land must be
As the blue heaven wide and free!
Where'er a human heart doth wear
Joy's myrtle-wreath, or sorrow's gyves,
Where'er a human spirit strives
After a life more pure and fair,
There is the true man's birth-place grand,
His is a world-wide father-land!
Where'er a single slave doth pine,
Where'er one man may help another—
Thank God for such a birth-right, brother—
That spot of earth is thine and mine!
There is the true man's birth place grand;
His is a world-wide father-land!

A PEEP AT NATIONAL POLITICS.

MR. CHARLES NORDHOFF, special correspondent of the *New York Herald* at Washington, gives some very spicy descriptions of the position assumed by President Hayes in regard to Congress and the political parties, and of the difficulty the "machine politicians," as they are styled, have in comprehending the situation. Previous to the last Presidential election both Republicans and Democrats took "Civil-Service Reform" as their campaign cry. So much stress was put on this plank of their several platforms that the country had every reason to believe that the party leaders were mightily sincere about it; and when President Hayes, being duly installed, actually set about reforming the civil service as he had pledged himself to do in his letter accepting the nomination, he only did what plain, straightforward men expected of him. But his manner of doing it seems to have been a surprise to the politicians. Mr. Nordhoff sketches the situation so happily that we quote from one of his letters to the *New York Herald*, written last month:

"The administration is trying a policy which has at least the merit of novelty, the policy of having absolutely no policy so far as Congress is concerned. The President has not only, so far as can be discovered, no party in either house, but all the signs show that he does not mean to have any. All the expressions made in conversation by members of the administration confirm this somewhat startling view, and make it appear that the President's theory is that he shall execute the laws, but that he will absolutely refrain from the least attempt to influence the action of Congress or of any member of it on any subject; that he will make appointments and removals where the good of the public service requires it, but leave the question of confirmation absolutely to the Senate without the slightest attempt to influence anybody's conclusions. For instance, it is generally granted that the admission of the two Louisiana Senators would be an approval by the Senate of the President's Southern policy, and what one would call an administration success. It is certain that if the President should express a wish on the subject enough republicans would vote for their admission to secure it, and if he desired it, more than one republican Senator would at once present and advocate, as an administration measure, a resolution for the immediate admission of Messrs. Spofford and Eustis. But there is no doubt to-day that the President has entirely held aloof. He has not asked any Senator to vote for or take any steps for their admission. It is said this evening that the two cases will undoubtedly be referred to the Committee on Elections, there to rest, it is now believed, for a long time. And if one asks in bewilderment whether this will be an administration defeat, the calm answer of the President's friends is:—

"Not at all. It is the business of the Senate and not of the President. If a majority of Senators choose to deprive a State of its constitutional representation in one branch of Congress that is their adventure. They do it on their own responsibility. The President has nothing to do with it. It is a matter which lies between these Senators and the country."

"If, again, one asks these gentlemen what the adminis-

tration thinks about getting its nominations confirmed, and whether it will not get its friends to advocate them, the answer again is:—

"Not at all. The Senate ought not to be influenced. Senators' must use their own judgments, acting on oath. It is the President's duty to name fit men. If the Senate rejects them that is its business. It ought not to reject fit and proper men, but if it does the President must submit and will doubtless try to find others."

"If one asks, 'But will not the administration try to conciliate some Senators?' The reply is:—

"Of course not. What has it to do with conciliation? It has a duty to perform toward the nation—to select proper persons for the subordinate executive functions. It means to do that duty."

"But political considerations might have weight," you say, and the President's friends reply, 'Good Heavens! what have politics to do with hunting up and appointing to office the best men you can get to accept?'

"This theory of non-intervention in fact is perfect at all points. The President will do his constitutional duty, but he will not seek for friends, allies, supporters or partisans in either House of Congress. He will not disoblige any Senator or member if he can properly avoid it, but he will not seek either to conciliate or influence any. He leaves them to the absolutely unrestrained exercise of their judgment and to the entire responsibility of what they may see fit to do, and, if he is rightly reported, he holds that the Senators who, under the constitution, have to sit in judgment upon appointments, who are made judges to decide on oath, can not properly urge or instruct him beforehand as to nominations to office; that he has a right to ask advice and information on such subjects from members of the House, but not from Senators, who are a court to sit upon his nominations after they are made. To the average Senatorial mind this theory is utter nonsense and foolishness, but there are persons who believe that if it should be faithfully adhered to it might prove embarrassing to the anti-administration republicans, who are itching for a fight, and fully intend to 'smash' Hayes, but who need, of course, somebody to fight against them and something to fight about. As some one said here to-day, speaking of this matter:—'They are ready to tread on the administration's coat-tails, but the administration is just now wearing a jacket.' It would be a hit for the anti-administration republicans to put the President in the attitude of Johnsonizing, but if he asks nothing, seeks nothing, but leaves them to the unrestrained performance of their own sweet wills, they can hardly make this point against him. At present they have the impression that he is intimidated, but in that they are probably mistaken. The few Senators who are generally spoken of as especially administration men have certainly the appearance of being intimidated, but it is quite possible they are only bewildered at the discovery that the President has no work for them to perform and no policy for them to defend."

ORGANIZATION AMONG SPIRITUALISTS.

THE great body of believers in Spiritualism in this country are thinking about and discussing the subject of organization. At present they are without any thing of the kind; and in this respect are far behind their brethren in England, where National Associations of Spiritualists and Psychological Societies exist, which have large membership and influence, and take the lead in promoting investigation, and making known facts and discoveries. While in this country there are many more believers in Spiritualism than in England, there is in the latter country a far greater tendency to unitary action and scientific methods of investigation. To remedy this defect among American Spiritualists is the desire of many leading minds. This is especially the case with all those who believe in the harmony of true Spiritualism with true Christianity, and who recognize in Jesus Christ the greatest spiritual leader that has appeared. An attempt was made several years ago to organize a National Association of Spiritualists, on the basis of such a recognition of Christ's leadership. But the movement was not practically and permanently successful. The attempt, however, served to call attention to the subject of organization, and stimulate discussion of its desirability. At the same time there has been growing a demand for a higher standard of life and character among Spiritualists, for a weeding out of fraud, and for purity of spiritual and physical life as of more importance than special wonders of mediumship. Among those who are laboring for organization among American Spiritualists on a broad, Christian basis, a leading one is Samuel Watson of Memphis, Tenn., editor of the *American Spiritual Magazine*. He was formerly a Methodist minister of high standing and ability. As a spiritualist he seems to be an honest, fearless and careful investigator, as well as a firm believer in the spiritual leadership of Christ.

In late papers on organization in Dr. Watson's maga-

zine are several by A. E. Newton, of Ancora, New Jersey, from which we quote the following suggestive paragraphs:

"So long as persons differ about questions of vital import in life and duty, antagonisms will arise which paralyze all coöperative efforts, and rend asunder associated bodies. There must be unity of conviction on all matters deemed essential, unity of heart in a full recognition of the ties of brotherhood and sisterhood, and unity of purpose in some absorbing object or objects, proposed for accomplishment. Without these, there can be little use or effectiveness in organizations."

"The object of merely promulgating and upholding a system of philosophy, or a certain set of ideas or truths, no matter how well established, or how important, independent of any effort to reduce such philosophy or truths to practice in a true life, is unworthy of sincere men and women. Such efforts can only result in the establishment of another barren sect, of which the world has enough already. Christendom is full of theory-propagating organizations, while millions are hungering for the real bread of life—that which feeds the body as well as that which feeds the soul. What is wanted is true living, noble practice, as well as true teaching—a gospel which reaches the daily avocations, the industries, the homes and firesides of the people, elevating, purifying, cheering, ennobling all, dispelling want and crime, thus bringing heaven to earth. This, I believe, is what the angels and all good spirits are seeking to bring about, and we shall do well to coöperate with them. I incline to think they intend to defeat every attempt to organize for less worthy purposes than these."

* * * * *

"There are those who have passed the stage of mere inquiry—those who have become thoroughly convinced not only of the facts of spirit-manifestation and communion in various forms, but also of certain fundamental spiritual truths and underlying principles of a true life, the practice of which they feel to be desirable and obligatory to a greater or less degree. Others are doubtless advancing towards similar convictions. Among these principles is that of *Universal Brotherhood*, from which follows the duty of *living in all things for the good of all, and abstaining from all things harmful to any*. We all know that the practice of this one principle to its full extent would greatly modify if not revolutionize human society and its institutions and bring the angelic life on earth."

"Why should not those who have arrived at such convictions unite, organize to aid, encourage and sustain each other in true living? This seems to the writer eminently desirable, and it is urged upon the thoughtful consideration of all earnest Spiritualists. True the proposition, when fully apprehended, means much; but is it any too much for those to attempt who profess to have received the heavenly light, and to have been brought into realized communion with 'spirits of the just made perfect?'

"It would devolve, of course, upon each society or organized body to determine by what methods and to what extent its members would engage to aid and encourage each other in true living. Some might chose to do this only to the extent of maintaining meetings, private or public, as circles, lectures, etc., in which the principles agreed upon shall be discussed, expounded, and their applications pointed out, with appropriate exhortations to good practice, by competent teachers in or out of the body. Others might wish to go farther, and institute measures for mutual kindly criticism among the members (a good substitute for the unkindly fault-finding, back-biting and tale-bearing, so generally prevalent), as a means for improving character."

"Other methods of useful action might be—the providing of measures, through committees or otherwise."

"(a) For the instruction of the young in right principles, in lyceums or other schools."

"(b) For looking after, protecting and aiding worthy mediums when they may need it, in order that they may be kept in the best conditions for their work."

"(c) For caring for the sick and destitute in the neighborhood."

"(d) For affording counsel to the tempted and unfortunate, and a helping hand to uplift the fallen."

"(e) For assisting by advice or material aid the unsuccessful in life, that they may 'keep the wolf from the door.'"

"(f) For affording mutual protection to the members against wrong, and in doing right."

"(g) For promoting efforts at coöperation in industries, in legitimate business, and in housekeeping—thus to some extent combining material as well as spiritual interests."

"(h) For any other good work that circumstances may call for, or the love of humanity may prompt."

"Some may be prepared to go further still, and endeavor to institute a practical *Brotherhood of the New Life*, in which all interests shall be one, and the law of which shall be the law of Heaven—doing unto others as we would have others do unto us—or living for the universal good."

These thoughts are as good in the line of Socialistic organization as in Spiritualistic. Indeed, we do not see why Spiritualism and Socialism should not merge into a

common movement. Socialism needs the séances and attention to the invisible worlds and life which Spiritualism calls for. And, on the other hand, Spiritualism needs the enlarged homes and the practical human brotherhood which Socialism seeks. Spiritualism and Socialism, both broad, charitable, and scientific, and both joined to Revivalism and Jesus Christ, would conquer the world and death itself, and bring in the long-sought age of Eternal Life and Eternal Love. Will they join hearts and hands and accept the task?

THEO. L. PITT.

"SOCIETY AND HER TRAMP."

PROF. W. D. GUNNING, who is now in California, lectured lately in San José on "Society and her Tramp." As reported in the San José Mercury, he made the following points in favor of Socialism:

"The Aryan race began with the ideal of an isolated home; one husband, one wife, one loom, one hearth. It was a grand ideal, producing grand results; nevertheless, carried to its ultimates, great evils follow. Societies and political systems based upon this ideal are verging toward extinction. The isolated home increases labor and care; its life, being solitary, is joyless; its incessant toil is breaking the heart and wearing out the frame of woman; out of lonely ranches and solitary shepherd's huts come the enormous majority of the maniacs that crowd our lunatic asylums. Out of this ideal of selfish individual interest come the strikes, the widespread suffering, the mal-adjustment of the forces of labor and capital.

"The social structure of the Aryan was individualism, that of the American Indian was Socialism. Whether as a wanderer over the plains, or as a semi-civilized man in ancient Peru, the method was the same. Tribal life was social and Communitistic.

"We must add to the Aryan ideal that of associated labor, coöperative housekeeping, the common laundry, the common library.

"If every beaver should insist upon building his own dam, every bee upon owning his own hive, bee and beaver would cease to exist. Preserving the purity of the monogamic family we must let the lines of development bend inward toward the Indian ideal."

According to this view America is the true ground on which to begin the founding of Enlarged Homes and the Social Brotherhood, which the evolution of civilization now demands.

A GOOD EXAMPLE.

The Omaha (Neb.) Bee gives the following particulars concerning an installment land purchase: "The employees of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad have formed an association for the purpose of buying 50,000 acres of Nebraska land from the Burlington and Missouri River Land Company. The objects in view are: First, the obtaining of good, secure investments for savings; second, the securing of lands at the present very low prices; third, to obtain by combination wholesale prices on the lands. The association has made a proposition to the Land Department to buy 50,000 acres of land in different counties south of the Platte river, Nebraska, with an average appraised credit price of \$4 per acre, the same to be turned over to the association at the rate of \$1.80 per acre, payable in monthly installments extending over two years. Under this plan any Chicago, Burlington and Quincy employee can buy, say eighty acres of land, appraised at \$4 per acre, credit price, for \$1.80 per acre, total \$144, which would probably be paid in monthly installments of \$6 per month, extending over two years, without interest. Thus a man can get a farm for the small payment of \$1.50 per week for two years."

Chancellor Froude, in his inaugural address at Glasgow, said: "The present system of trade is too demoralizing to be much longer endured. It rewards men for roguery and pays them in proportion to their villainy."

It is said that John Wesley once, in the visions of the night, found himself, as he thought, at the gates of Hell. He knocked, and asked who were within. "Are there any Roman Catholics here?" he asked, "Yes," was the answer; "a great many." "Any Church of England Men?" "Yes; a great many." "Any Presbyterians?" "Yes; a great many." "Any Wesleyans?" "Yes; a great many." Disappointed and dismayed, especially at the last reply, he turned his steps upwards, and found himself, at the gates of Paradise, and here he repeated the same questions. "Any Wesleyans here?" "No." "Any Presbyterians?" "No." "Any Church of England Men?" "No." "Any Roman Catholics?" "No." "Whom have you then here?" he asked in astonishment. "We know nothing here," was the reply, "of any of those names that you have mentioned. The only name of which we know any thing here is Christian: we are all Christians here, and of these we have a great multitude which no man can number, of all nations, and kindreds, and peoples, and tongues."

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All the above from L. Prang and Co., Art Publishers, Boston, Mass.
Report of the Commissioners of Agriculture of the operations of the Department for the year 1876. 1 vol 8 vo. Cloth, pp. 447. Washington: Government Printing-Office, 1877.

ITEMS OF NEWS.

HOME.

Mr. Blaine is sick.
No more subsidies.
Mr. Morton is no better.
Congress is moving very slow.
The President is said to have an amiable obstinacy.
Gen. Fremont is going to dig copper in North Carolina.
Sitting Bull is a "medicine man"—a sort of inspired baste.
Sitting Bull has a policy. It is "America for the Sioux."
Mrs. Fremont is writing for Harper's Monthly. Her sketches will be interesting.
Chief Joseph understands the use of rifle-pits. In this he is far ahead of the savages generally.

Gen. Joseph E. Johnston thinks the small farmers of the South are doing better than before the war.

Sitting Bull was just "sassy" to Gen. Terry and his commission. Would'nt have any thing to say to him.

The number of votes the workingmen are piling up begins to draw attention as one of the signs of the times.

One Pittsburg rioter has been disposed of—a lad of seventeen, and gone to the penitentiary for three years.

They have to admit that there is an atmosphere of modesty, intelligence and self-respect about the White House.

General Humphreys, the chief of Engineers, U. S. A., wants \$100,000 to spend on torpedoes for our defenseless harbors.

The law of periodicity applied to business give us a panic in this country once in about twenty years; in England once in about ten years.

There are 210 colored men who want to get out of this. Mr. Garfield has presented their petition asking Congress to aid them to go to Liberia.

The Republicans in Congress are determined to be a happy family. If they quarrel with the President the Democrats will get all the plums, they think.

The Democratic enthusiasm for McClellan passeth all understanding. We used to suppose success was necessary to bring out the hearts of the people.

One hundred students have enrolled their names to go on the Woodruff Expedition. A thousand more have made application to go. Only 250 can be accepted.

The Rev. R. W. Dale's, "Lecture on Preaching," as just delivered at Yale College, will be published on Saturday, Nov. 3d, by A. S. Barnes & Co., New York.

"But reformers," says George Alfred, "never have any manners. Martin Luther, Dr. Francia, Tom Paine, Wendell Phillips—all reformers, but with the politeness of dogs."

Prince Troubetskoy has been purchasing arms and ammunition in this country for the Russian Government. He is reported to have made contracts for the shipment of grain to Russia.

The Presbyterian Synod of New Jersey are at work trying the Rev. John Miller for heresy. One of his ideas is that the soul dies with the body and does not come to life again till the resurrection.

Secretary Evarts made the Pennsylvania delegation free to name a person for the English Mission, and he got more than he wanted. They suggested Simon Cameron, and now they say they don't like jokes.

The Sing Sing Prison has 1,600 convicts within its walls. And the beauty of the thing is that the managers of that institution are coming nearer and nearer to the point of making the rogues support themselves.

The Canadian authorities have given Sitting Bull notice that he and his "Injuns" musn't be raiding across the line into the United States. If they do they will see trouble. S. B. says he will take board on those terms.

We are all looking to see what the Republican Congressmen and Senators are going to do with the President. They are sulky and ready to fight, but the painful thing is that they can't find much to pin a quarrel to.

Professor Loomis says the greater part of our storms originate within the United States—near the Rocky Mountains. A few, however, take origin in the Pacific ocean in the latitude of Northern Oregon, and a very few below that of Southern Oregon.

The Free-Thinkers organized at Rochester on the 26th by the election of F. E. Abbott, Boston, president, and forty vice-presidents including, O. B. Frothingham, R. Collyer, R. G. Ingersoll and Elizur Wright. They call themselves the National Liberal League.

The Selma (Ala.) Times says uncle Aleck and his wife live on 81½ cents' worth of provisions a week. "I tell you, sah, we lives as well as most colored people I knows of. We have 'greens' from the garden, and sometimes I eat de gravy and leaves all the meat to de ole 'oman."

Professor Marsh of Yale is about to publish a monograph on the "Odontorniths, or Birds with Teeth." These are fossil birds occurring in the cretaceous or chalky formations of the West, and are, as we understand it, the connecting-link between the reptiles and birds proper.

A new weekly Journal devoted to Spiritualism, named "The Voice of Truth," will be started at the beginning of 1878, in Memphis, Tenn. It will be edited by Mary Dana Shindler and Anna C. Torrey Hawks. Both editors are Southern ladies, and Mrs. Hawks has won much reputation as an inspirational speaker and medium.

John T. Trowbridge, the poet and story-teller, is a good

example of grit and genius and the power of work. He was not well educated, but "he wrote for any body or any thing that would yield him money, sometimes working ten and twelve hours a day for what brought him \$4 or \$5 a week. He toiled on in this way three or four years, often reduced to his last penny, and not infrequently going hungry. He lived in a garret, and his meals sometimes consisted merely of a loaf of bread which he would carry to his barren chamber and eat in solitude."

Mr. Tilden has got back from Europe. He says he confined himself to the by-places and went much on foot. In England he was, according to Mr. Smalley's London letter, "called very like an Englishman. That is the highest form of compliment an Englishman can pay a foreigner. They bestow it readily on an American who has quiet manners, who is not anxious for display, who is confident in himself, without caring to assert himself, who knows the usages of good society, and who will keep those powers of conversation which every American is understood to possess, under control, and not make an unmerciful use of them."

Cook on Bioplasm, or otherwise called Protoplasm, or germinal matter—1, It "is transparent; 2, colorless; 3, viscid, or glue-like; 4, under the highest microscopical power is apparently structureless; 5, exhibits these characteristics at every period of its existence; 6, shows itself under all the tests known to physical science, to be the same in the animal and in the plant, in the sponge and in the brain; 7, is capable of throbbing movements, or of advancing one portion of itself beyond another portion; 8, is capable of rectilinear movements; 9, executes so many movements, that the same probably never twice in its life assumes the same form." * * * If you want the thirty-three particulars you must read the book.

The Utica Daily Republican is a new Republican paper just started in our neighboring Oneida city. It is a very handsome sheet, abounds in entertaining matter, and evidently has practised editorial hands at the helm. Dennis T. Kelley, recently of the Tribune, is the proprietor and publisher. John F. Mines, for many years connected with the N. Y. Commercial Advertiser, is understood to be the editor-in-chief; William F. Foot, a graduate of the Utica Observer office, is local editor, and Edward M. Allen is connected with the news department. The Republican has been started by the friends of Senator Conkling, and will undoubtedly advocate the principles of party and national policy which the Senator represents. Its conductors say: "Our purpose is to publish the best newspaper in Central New York, and to furnish it at the lowest price. We have no grudges to cherish, no quarrels to pursue. As Republicans we shall uphold the Republican party. We shall uphold the Republican President. We shall advocate Republican principles, and shall discuss Republican measures." Besides its political character, the new paper has bright, newsy and literary features, and is remarkably well printed.

FOREIGN.

The Turks are trying to raise \$25,000,000 in London.

The French polled 7,793,000 votes at their late election.

The Duke of Argyle has lost his splendid Inverary Castle by fire.

The Turks think the Russians have taken 18,000 Bulgarians into their army.

The Russians are trying to fix things so they won't have to winter in Bulgaria—it is an uncomfortable place.

There has not been a bank-failure in Holland for forty years. How slow those 4,000,000 Dutchmen are.

General Grant called on the French President last Thursday and received an invitation to dine that day week.

The story is that after giving the Russians a plan of campaign Von Moltke also gave the Turks a plan, and is now watching the development which results.

The British have just concluded a treaty with the United States protecting trade-marks and labels. This is for the encouragement of honest men and business.

The exports of Martinique to the United States are a little over \$1,000,000 a year. Her imports from the same are just a little more. She takes flour and salt fish principally, and sends back muscovado sugar.

The Russians think they must build some railroads in Bulgaria before they can be comfortable. They have contracted for the construction of a road from Sistova to Gorny Studen, with branches to Plevna and Tirnova.

The French Legitimists talk pretty big while the Republicans still counsel moderation. When the new Deputies meet we shall see whether MacMahon and the Ministry will play the game of government according to the rules, or whether they will undertake to smash the machine.

It is believed that MacMahon will ask a vote of confidence from the Senate, and if refused, the Ministry and the Marshal will resign. If it is accepted the Assembly will be asked to vote their budget, and, in the event of their refusal, the Marshal will ask the Senate to agree to a second dissolution.

The account of Mukhtar Pasha's rout and losses at the great battle of Aladja mountain are more than confirmed by the latest reports. He is not, however, besieged in Kars, but is as far as Koprokoi on his way to Erzeroum. He was expecting to be joined at Zewin by Ismül Pasha, who has been driven out of a part of Russian Armenia occupied by Turkish troops. There is great consternation at Erzeroum, and Turkish soldiers are hurrying up from Trebizond, Constantinople and Batoum. Up to this time the Russians have made only one indifferent attempt to surprise Kars. They have advanced in hot pursuit as far as the western slope of the Soghaula Dagh on the track of Mukhtar Pasha.

In Bulgaria the Russian star is now in the ascendant. Suleiman Pasha has been compelled to make a reluctant retreat from the front of the Czarevitch, who has pushed on towards Rasgrad on the road from Rustchuck to Varna, and fought the Turks near Kosova on the Lom. Plevna is now believed to be completely invested and cut off from its communications with Sophia. General Gourkko made a movement around to the south and west while the Roumanians made another to the north and west. The result was the capture and holding of Dubnik, fifteen miles west of Plevna. Eighty officers were captured, together with 3,000 Turks and more or less supplies and cannon. The Russians are elated with their victory, although it has cost them 2,500 men.

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