

SPIRIT OF THE AGE.

VOL. I.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1849.

NO. 13.

WM. H. CHANNING, EDITOR.

OFFICE, CLINTON HALL.

FOWLERS & WELLS, PUBLISHERS.

Selected Poetry.

From The National Era.

CALEF IN BOSTON.*

In the solemn days of old,
Two men met in Boston town—
One a tradesman frank and bold,
One a preacher of renown.

Cried the last, in bitter tone—
"Poisoner of the wells of truth,
Satan's hireling, thou hast sown
With his tares the heart of youth!"

Spoke the simple tradesman then—
"God be judge 'twixt thee and I;
All thou know'st of truth hath been
Unto men like thee a lie.

"Falsehoods which we spurn to-day
Were the truths of long ago;
Let the dead boughs fall away,
Fresher shall the living grow.

"God is good, and God is light,
In this faith I rest secure;
Evil can but serve the right,
Over all shall love endure."

When the thought of man is free,
Error fears its lightest tones,
So the priest cried, "Sadducee!"
And the people took up stones.

In the ancient burying-ground,
Side by side the twain now lie—
One with humble grassy mound,
One with marbles pale and high.

But the Lord hath blest the seed
Which that tradesman scattered then,
And the preacher's spectral creed
Chills no more the blood of men.

Let us trust, to one is known
Perfect love which casts out fear,
While the other's joys atone
For the wrongs he suffered here. J. G. W.

ON THE PROBABLE FUTURITY
OF THE LABORING CLASSES.

BY JOHN STUART MILL.

SECOND ARTICLE.

It is on a far other basis that the well-being and well-doing of the laboring people must henceforth rest. The poor have come out of leading-strings, and cannot any longer be governed or treated like children. To their own qualities must now be commended the care of their destiny. Modern nations will have to learn the lesson, that the well-being of a people must exist by means of the justice and self-government of the individual citizens. The theory of dependence attempts to disperse with the necessity of these qualities in the dependent classes. But now, when even in position they are becoming less and less dependent, and their minds less and less acquiescent in the degree of dependence which remains, the virtues of independence are those which they stand in need of. These virtues it is still in the power of government and of the higher classes greatly to promote; and they can hardly do anything which does not, by its own efforts or those of its example, either assist or impede that object. But whatever advice, exhortation, or guidance is held out to the laboring classes, must henceforth be tendered to them as equals, and accepted with their eyes open. The prospect of the future depends on the degree in which they can be made rational beings.

There is no reason to believe that prospect other than hopeful. The progress indeed must always be slow. But it is a spontaneous education going on in the minds of the multitude, which may be greatly accelerated or improved by artificial aids. The instruction obtained from newspapers and political tracts, is not the best sort of instruction, but it is vastly superior to none at all. The institutions for lectures and discussion, the collective deliberations on questions of common interest, the trades unions, the political agitation, all serve to awaken public spirit, to diffuse variety of ideas among the mass, and to excite real thought and reflection in a few of the more intelligent, who become the leaders and instructors of the rest. Although the too early attainment of political franchises by the least educated class might retard, instead of promoting their improvement, there can be little doubt that it is greatly stimulated by the attempt to acquire those franchises. It is of little importance that some of them may, at a certain stage of their progress, adopt mistaken opinions. Communists are already numerous, and are likely to increase in number; but nothing tends more to the mental development of the working classes than that all the questions which Communism raises should be largely and freely discussed by them; nothing could be more instructive than that some should actually form communities and try practically what it is to live without the institution of property. In the mean time, the working classes are now part of the public; in all discussions on matters of general interest they, or a portion of them, are now partakers; all who use the

*R. Calef was the author of a spirited pamphlet, exposing the Witchcraft delusion, in 1692, and condemning the conduct of some of the clergy of Boston in respect to it. He was proscribed and bitterly denounced by Cotton Mather and other strenuous defenders of the Witch mania.

press as an instrument may, if it so chances, have them for an audience; the avenues of instruction through which the middle classes acquire most of the ideas which they have, are accessible to, at least, the operatives in the towns. With these resources, it cannot be doubted that they will increase in intelligence, even by their own unaided efforts; while there is every reason to hope that great improvements both in the quality and quantity of school education will be speedily effected by the exertions of government and of individuals, and that the progress of the mass of the people in mental cultivation, and in the virtues which are dependent on it, will take place more rapidly, and with fewer intermittences and aberrations, than if left to itself.

From this increase of intelligence, several effects may be confidently anticipated. First: that they will become even less willing than at present to be led and governed and directed into the way they should go, by the mere authority and prestige of superiors. If they have not now, still less will they have hereafter, any deferential awe, or religious principle of obedience, holding them in mental subjection to a class above them. The theory of dependence and protection will be more and more intolerable to them, and they will require that their conduct and condition shall be essentially self-governed. It is, at the same time, quite possible that they may demand, in many cases, the intervention of the legislature in their affairs, and the regulation by law of various things which concern them, often under very mistaken ideas of their interest. Still, it is their own will, their own ideas and suggestions, to which they will demand that effect should be given, and not rules laid down for them by other people. It is quite consistent with this, that they should feel respect for superiority of intellect and knowledge, and defer much to the opinions, on any subject, of those whom they think well acquainted with it. Such deference is deeply grounded in human nature; but they will judge for themselves of the persons who are and are not entitled to it.

It appears to me impossible but that the increase of intelligence, of education, and of the love of independence among the working classes must be attended with a corresponding growth of the good sense which manifests itself in provident habits of conduct, and that population, therefore, will bear a gradually diminishing ratio to capital and employment. This most desirable result would be much accelerated by another change, which lies in the direct line of the best tendencies of the time, the opening of industrial occupations freely to both sexes. The same reasons which make it no longer necessary that the poor should depend on the rich, make it equally unnecessary that women should depend on men, and the least which justice requires is that law and custom should not enforce dependence (when the correlative protection has become superfluous) by ordaining that a woman, who does not happen to have a provision by inheritance, shall have scarcely any means open to her of gaining a livelihood, except as a wife and mother. Let women who prefer that occupation adopt it; but that there should be no option, no other *carriere* possible for the great majority of women, except in the humbler departments of life is one of those social injustices which call loudest for remedy. Among the salutary consequences of correcting it, one of the most probable would be, a great diminution of the evil of overpopulation. It is by devoting one-half of the human species to that exclusive function, by making it fill the entire life of one sex, and interweave itself with almost all the objects of the other, that the instinct in question is nursed into the disproportionate preponderance which it has hitherto exercised in human life.

The political consequence of the increasing power and importance of the operative classes, and of the growing ascendancy of numbers, which even under the present institutions is rapidly giving to the will of the majority at least a negative voice in the acts of government, are too wide a subject to be discussed in this place. But, confining ourselves to economical considera-

tions, and notwithstanding the effect which improved intelligence in the working classes, together with just laws, may have in altering the distribution of the produce to their advantage, I cannot think it probable that they will be permanently contented with the condition of laboring for wages as their ultimate state. To work at the bidding and for the profit of another, without any interest in the work—the price of their labor being adjusted by hostile competition, one side demanding as much and the other paying as little as possible—is not, even when wages are high, a satisfactory state to human beings of educated intelligence, who have ceased to think themselves naturally inferior to those whom they serve. They may be willing to pass through the class of servants in their way to that of employers; but not to remain in it all their lives. To begin as hired laborers, then after a few years to work on their own account, and finally employ others, is the normal condition of laborers in a new country, rapidly increasing in wealth and population, like America or Australia. But something else is required when wealth increases slowly, or has reached the stationary state, when positions, instead of being more mobile, would tend to be much more permanent than at present, and the conditions of any portion of mankind could only be desirable, if made desirable from the first.

The opinion expressed in a former part of this treatise respecting small landed properties and peasant proprietors, may have made the reader anticipate that a wide diffusion of property in land is the resource on which I rely for exempting at least the agricultural laborers from exclusive dependence on labor for hire. Such, however, is not my opinion. I indeed deem that form of agricultural economy to be most groundlessly decried, and to be greatly preferable, in its aggregate effects on human happiness, to hired labor in any form in which it exists at present, because the prudential check to population acts more directly, and is shown by experience to be more efficacious; and because in point of security, of independence, of exercise for the moral faculties and for the intellect, the state of a peasant proprietor is far nearer to what the state of the laborers should be, than the condition of an agriculturalist in this or any other country of hired labor. Where the former system already exists, and works on the whole satisfactorily, I should regret, in the present state of human intelligence, to see it abolished in order to make way for the other, under a pedantic notion of agricultural improvement as a thing necessarily the same in every diversity of circumstances. In a backward state of industrial improvement, as in Ireland, I should urge its introduction, in preference to an exclusive system of hired labor; as a more powerful instrument for raising a population from semi-savage listlessness and recklessness, to habits of persevering industry and prudent calculation.

But a people who have once adopted the large system of production, either in manufactures or in agriculture, are not likely to recede from it; nor, when population is kept in due proportion to the means of support, is there any sufficient reason why they should. Labor is unquestionably more productive on the system of large industrial enterprises; the produce, if not greater absolutely, is greater in proportion to the labor employed; the same number of persons can be supported equally well with less toil and greater leisure; which will be wholly an advantage, as soon as civilization and improvement have so far advanced that what is a benefit to the whole shall be a benefit to each individual composing it. The problem is, to obtain the efficiency and economy of production on a large scale, without dividing the producers into two parties with hostile interests, employers and employed, the many who do the work being mere servants under the command of the one who supplies the funds, and having no interest of their own in the enterprise, except to fulfil their contract and earn their wages.

Provide for the wants of the body, but so as not to trench on those of the soul; as regards pomp and luxury, eschew them.

THE PRESENT AGE.

BY J. G. FICHTE.

WHATEVER may be our judgment upon the Present Age, and in whatever Epoch we may feel ourselves compelled to place it, you are to expect here neither the tone of lamentation nor of satire, particularly of a personal description. Not of lamentation:—for it is the sweetest reward of Philosophy that, looking upon all things in their mutual dependence, and upon nothing as isolated and alone, she finds all to be necessary and therefore good, and accepts that which is, as it is, because it is subservient to a higher end. Besides, it is unmanly to waste in lamentation over existing evil, the time which would be more wisely applied in striving, so far as in us lies, to create the Good and the Beautiful. Not of satire:—an infirmity which affects the whole race, is no proper object for the scorn of an individual who belongs to that race, and who, before he could expose it, must himself have been its slave. But individuals disappear altogether from the view of the philosopher, and are lost in the one great commonwealth. His thought embraces all objects in a clear and consequential light, which they can never attain amid the endless fluctuations of reality;—hence it does not concern itself with individuals, and never descending to portraits, dwells in the higher sphere of idealized conception. As to the advantages derivable from considerations of this kind, it will be better to leave you to judge for yourselves after you have gone through some considerable portion of them, than to say much in praise of them beforehand. No one is further than the philosopher from the vain desire that his Age should be impelled forward to some obvious extent through his exertions. Every one, indeed, to whom God has given strength and opportunity, should exert all his powers for this end, were it only for his own sake, and in order to maintain the place which has been assigned to him in the ever-flowing current of existence. For the rest, Time rolls on in the steadfast course marked out for it from eternity, and individual effort can neither hasten nor retard its progress. Only the co-operation of all, and especially of the indwelling Eternal Spirit of Ages and of Worlds, may promote it.

The life of the Human Race does not depend upon blind chance, nor is it, as is often superficially pretended, everywhere alike; so that it has always been as it is now, and will always so remain; but it proceeds and moves onwards according to a settled plan which must necessarily be fulfilled, and therefore *shall* certainly be fulfilled. This plan is—that the Race shall in this Life and with freedom mold and cultivate itself into a pure and express Image of Reason. The whole Life of Man is divided—I am now supposing that the strict derivation of this has not been thoroughly understood, or has been forgotten,—the whole Life of Man is divided into five principal Epochs:—that in which Reason governs in the form of blind Instinct;—that in which this Instinct is changed into an external ruling Authority; that in which the dominion of this Authority, and with it that of Reason itself, is overthrown; that in which Reason and its laws are understood with clear scientific consciousness; and finally, that in which all the relations of the Race shall be directed and ordered by perfect Art and perfect Freedom according to Reason;—and in order to impress these different Epochs firmly upon your memory by means of a sensuous representation, we made use of the universally known picture of Paradise. Further, he must understand that our Present Age, to which especially our present purpose refers, must fall within one or other of these five Epochs; that we have now to set forth the fundamental Idea of this Epoch, distinguishing it from the other four, which, except for the purpose of illustrating our own, we may here lay out of view; and that from this fundamental Idea we must deduce the peculiar phenomena of the Age as its necessary consequences. At this point our second lecture begins.

And so let us set forth with declaring at what point of the whole Earthly life of the Race we place our Present Age. I,

for my part, hold that the Present Age stands precisely in the middle of Universal Time,* and as we may characterise the two first Epochs of our scheme (in which Reason rules first directly as Instinct, and then indirectly as Instinct through Authority) as the one Epoch of the dominion of blind or unconscious Reason;—and in like manner the two last Epochs in our scheme (in which Reason first appears as Science, and then, by means of Art, enters upon the government of Life) as the one Epoch of the dominion of seeing or conscious Reason;—so the Present Age unites the ends of two essentially different Worlds,—the World of Darkness and that of Light,—the World of Constraint and that of Freedom—without itself belonging to either of them. In other words, the Present Age, according to my view of it, stands in that Epoch which in my former lecture I named the *transitional*, and which I characterized as the Epoch of Liberation—directly from the external ruling Authority,—indirectly from the power of Reason as Instinct, and generally from Reason in any form; the Age of absolute indifference towards all truth, and of entire and unrestrained licentiousness:—the state of completed sinfulness. Our Age stands, I think, in this Epoch, taken with the limitations which I have already laid down, namely, that I do not here include all men living in our time, but only those who are truly products of the Age, and in whom it most completely reveals itself.

The Present Age, I have said, without further explanation; and it is sufficient at the outset if, without any stricter definition these words shall be understood to mean the time in which we, who live and think and speak to each other, do actually exist and live. It is by no means my purpose at present to mark out the centuries, or even cycles, which may have elapsed since that which I call the present Age first appeared in the world. Obviously, an Age can only be judged and understood by observation of those nations who stand at the head of the civilization of their time; but as civilization has wandered from people to people, so, with this civilization, an Age too may have wandered from people to people remaining unchangeably one and the same in principle amid all variety of climate and of soil; and so likewise, in virtue of its purpose of uniting all nations into one great commonwealth, may the idea of some important portion of chronological Time be arrested and detained upon the stage, and thus, as it were, the Time-current can be compelled to a pause. Especially may this be the case with an Age like that which we have to describe, throughout which adverse worlds meet and struggle with each other, and slowly strive to obtain an equilibrium, and thereby to secure the peaceful extinction of the elder time. But, it is only after we have acquired a more intimate knowledge of the principle of the Age, and have learned at the same time how history is to be questioned, and what we have to seek from her, that it will be useful or proper for us to adduce, from the history of the actual world, whatever may be necessary for our purpose, and may serve to guard us from error. Not whether our words, had they been uttered centuries ago, would then have depicted reality,—nor whether they shall picture it forth after centuries have passed away,—but only whether they now represent it truly is the question which is proposed for your final decision.

So much by way of preface to our first task—to unfold the principle of the Age;—now to the solution of this problem. I have laid down this principle as *Liberation from the compulsion of the blind Authority exercised by Reason as Instinct*;—*Liberation* being understood to mean the state in which the Race gradually works out its own Freedom,—now in this, now in that individual,—now from this, now from that object with respect to which Authority has hitherto held it in chains; not that in which it already is free, but at most only that in which those who stand at the head of the Age, and seek to guide, direct and elevate the others, are, or imagine themselves to be, free. The instrument of this liberation from Authority is Understanding; for the characteristic of Instinct as opposed to Understanding consists in

*1804-5. [Ed.]

this,—that it is blind; and the characteristic of Authority, by means of which Instinct has governed in the preceding Age, is this,—that it demands unquestioning faith and obedience. Hence the fundamental maxim of those who stand at the head of this Age, and therefore the principle of the Age, is this,—to accept nothing as really existing or obligatory, but that which they can understand and clearly comprehend.

With regard to this fundamental principle, as we have now declared and adopted it without farther definition or limitation, this third Age is precisely similar to that which is to follow it,—the fourth, or Age of Reason as Science,*—and by virtue of this similarity prepares the way for it. Before the tribunal of Science, too, nothing is accepted but the Conceivable. Only in the application of the principle there is this difference between the two Ages,—that the third, which we shall shortly name that of *Empty Freedom*, makes its fixed and previously acquired conceptions the measure of existence; while the fourth,—that of *Science*—on the contrary, makes existence the measure, not of its acquired, but of its desiderated beliefs. To the former there is nothing but what it already comprehends: the latter strives to comprehend, and does comprehend, all that is. The latter—the Age of Science—penetrates to all things without exception;—to the Conceivable, as well as that which still remains absolutely Unconceivable:—to the first, the Conceivable, so as thereby to order the relations of the Race;—to the second, the Unconceivable, in order to assure itself that all the Conceivable is exhausted, and that it is now in possession of the limits of the Conceivable. The former—the Age of Empty Freedom—does not know that man must first through labor, industry, and art, learn how to know; but it has a certain fixed standard for all conceptions, and an established *Common Sense of Mankind* always ready and at hand, innate within itself and there present without trouble on its part;—and those conceptions and this Common Sense are to it the measure of the efficient and the real. It has this great advantage over the Age of Science, that it knows all things without having learned anything; and can pass judgment on whatever comes before it at once and without hesitation,—without needing any preliminary evidence:—"That which I do not immediately comprehend by the conceptions which dwell within me is nothing"—says Empty Freedom:—"That which I do not comprehend through the Absolute, Self-comprehensive Idea is nothing"—says Science.

You perceive that this age is founded upon an actually present conception—an inborn Common Sense, which pronounces irrevocably upon its whole system of knowledge and belief; and if we could thoroughly analyze this inborn conception or sense, which is thus to it the root of everything else, we should then, undoubtedly, be able to take in the whole system of the beliefs of the Age at a single glance, perceive the inmost spirit beneath all its outward wrappings, and bring it forth to view. Let it be now our task to acquire this knowledge;—and for this purpose I now invite you to the comprehension of a deep-lying proposition.

This namely:—The third Age throws off the yoke of Reason as Instinct ruling through the imposition of outward Authority. This Reason as Instinct, however, as we have already remarked, embraces only the relations and life of the Race as such, not the life of the Individual. In the latter the natural impulse of self-preservation and personal well-being alone prevails;—this assertion follows from our first. Hence an Age which has thrown off the former, or in other words, Reason as Instinct, without accepting Reason in any other form in its stead, has absolutely nothing remaining except the *life of the Individual*, and whatever is connected with or related to that. Let us further explain this mighty conclusion, which is of essential importance to our future inquiries.

We have said that Reason as Instinct, and generally that

*This is the age just opening; we are leaving behind us the Third Age.—[Ed.]

Reason in any form, embraces only the life and relations of the Race. To wit,—and this is a principle the proof of which cannot be brought forward here, but which is produced only as an axiom borrowed from the higher philosophy, where the strict proof of it may be found,—there is but *ONE LIFE*, even in reference to the existing subject: i. e., there is everywhere but *ONE* animating power, *ONE* Living Reason;—not, as we are accustomed to hear the unity of Reason asserted and admitted, that Reason is the one homogeneous and self-accordant faculty and property of reasonable beings, who do nevertheless exist already upon their own account, and to whose being this property of Reason is only superadded as a foreign ingredient, without which they might, at any rate, still have been;—but, that Reason is the only possible independent and self-sustaining Existence and Life, of which all that seems to exist and live is but a modification, definition, variety and form. And now to explain this principle somewhat further, so that I may at least make it historically clear to you, although I cannot prove it in this place:—it is the greatest error, and the true ground of all the other errors which make this Age their sport, that each individual imagines that he can exist, live, think, and act for himself, and believes that he himself is the thinking principle of his thoughts; whereas in truth he is but a single ray of the *ONE* universal and necessary Thought.*

The *ONE* and homogeneous Life of Reason of which we have spoken, dividing itself, to mere Earthly and Finite perception, into different individual lives, and hence assuming the form of the collective life of a Race, is, as above stated, founded at first upon Reason as *Instinct*, and as such regulated by its own essential law;—and this continues until *Science* steps in and clearly comprehends this law in all its varied aspects, demonstrates and establishes it, and so makes it evident to all men;—and after *Science* has done its part, then by *Art* it is built up into *Reality*. In this fundamental law lie all those higher Ideas which belong to the *ONE* Life, or to the form which the *ONE* Life here assumes—viz. the Race:—which Ideas altogether transcend Individuality, and indeed radically subvert it. Where this fundamental law does not prevail under one form or another, there can Humanity never attain to the *ONE* Life,—to the Race; and hence nothing remains but Individuality as the only actual and efficient power. An Age which has set itself free from Reason as Instinct, the first principle of the Life of the Race, and does not yet possess Science, the second principle of that Life, must find itself in this position;—with nothing remaining but mere naked Individuality. The Race which alone possesses real existence is here changed into a mere empty abstraction which has no true life except in the artificial conceptions of some individual, founded only on the strength of his own imaginings; and there is no other Whole, and indeed no other conceivable Whole, except a patchwork of individual parts, possessing no essential and organic Unity.

This individual and personal life, which is thus all that remains in such an Age, is governed by the impulse towards self-preservation and personal well-being; and Nature goes no further in Man than this impulse. She bestows upon the animals a special Instinct to guide them to the means of their preservation and well-being, but she sends forth Man almost wholly uninstructed on this point, and refers him for guidance to his Understanding and his Experience; and therefore it could not fail that this latter should in the course of time, during the first two Epochs, assume a cultivated form, and gradually become an Established Art;—the Art, namely, of promoting to the utmost self-preservation and personal well-being. This form of Reason—this mass of Conceptions—the results, present in the general consciousness of the Time, of the Art of Being and Well-Being, is what the third Age encounters at its advent;—this is the universal and natural Common Sense, which it receives

*Let all advocates of Ultra Individualism heed well this all important passage.—[Ed.]

without labor or toil of its own, as its hereditary patrimony; which is born with it like its hunger and its thirst, and which it now applies as the undoubted standard of all existence and all worth.

Our first problem is solved;—the significance of the Third Epoch is, as we promised that it should be, dragged forth from its concealment and brought forward into open day, and we cannot now fail in reproducing its systems of faith and practice with as much accuracy and sequence as it could itself exhibit in their construction. In the first place—the fundamental maxim of the Age, as already announced, is now better defined, and it is clear that from its asserted principle “What I do not comprehend that is not,” there must necessarily follow this other:—“Now I comprehend nothing whatever except that which pertains to my own personal existence and well-being;—hence there is nothing more than this, and the whole world exists for nothing more than this,—that I should be, and be happy. Whatever I do not comprehend as bearing upon this object, is not—does not concern me.”

This mode of thought is either operative only in a practical way, as the concealed and unconscious, but nevertheless true and real motive of the ordinary doings of the Age—or it elevates itself to theory. So long as it only assumes the first form, it cannot be easily laid hold of and compelled to avow its real nature, but generally retains a sufficient number of lurking holes and ways of escape; it has not yet become a specific Epoch, but is only in the early stages of its development. So soon however as, having become theory, it understands itself, admits its own proper significance, and loves, approves, and takes pride in itself, and indeed accounts itself the highest and only truth, then does it assume the distinct Epochal character, reveal itself in all the phenomena of the Age, and may now be thoroughly comprehended by its own admissions.

From The Bhagvat Gita.

THE PIETY OF ALL AGES.

[CONTINUED.]

OF FORSAKING THE FRUITS OF WORKS.

Krishna Speaks.

BOTH the desertion and the practice of Works are equally the means of extreme happiness; but of the two the practice of works is to be distinguished above the desertion. The perpetual recluse, who neither longeth nor complaineth, is worthy to be known. Such a one is free from duplicity, and is happily freed from the bond of action. Children only, and not the learned, speak of the speculative and the practical doctrines as two. They are but one, for both obtain the self-same end, and the place which is gained by the followers of the one, is gained by the followers of the other. That man seeth, who seeth that the speculative doctrines and the practical are but one. To be a *Sannyasee*, or recluse, without application, is to obtain pain and trouble; whilst the *Moonee*, who is employed in the practice of his duty, presently obtaineth *Brahm*, the Almighty. The man who, employed in the practice of works, is of a purified soul, a subdued spirit, and restrained passions, and whose soul is the universal soul, is not affected by so being. * * *

The man who, performing the duties of life, and quitting all interest in them, placeth them upon *Brahm*, the Supreme, is not tainted by sin; but remaineth like the leaf of the lotus unaffected by the waters. * * *

The Almighty createth neither the powers nor the deeds of mankind, nor the application of the fruits of action: nature prevaleth. The Almighty receiveth neither the vices nor the virtues of any one. Mankind are led astray by their reasons being obscured by ignorance; but when that ignorance of their souls is destroyed by the force of reason, their wisdom shineth

forth again with the glory of the sun, and causeth the Deity to appear. Those whose understandings are in him, whose souls are in him, whose confidence is in him, whose asylum is in him, are by wisdom purified from all their offences and go from whence they shall never return.

The learned behold him alike in the reverend *Brahman* perfected in knowledge, in the ox and in the elephant; in the dog, and in him who eateth of the flesh of dogs. Those whose minds are fixed on this equality, gain eternity even in this world. They put their trust in *Brahm*, the Eternal, because he is everywhere alike, free from fault.

OF THE EXERCISE OF SOUL.

Learn, O son of Pandoo, that what they call *Sannyas*, or a forsaking of the world is the same with *lyog* or the practice of devotion. He cannot be a *lyogee*, who, in his actions, hath not abandoned all intentions. Works are said to be the means by which a man who wisheth, may obtain devotion; so rest is called the means for him who hath attained devotion. When the all-contemplative *Sannyasee* is not engaged in the objects of the senses, nor in works, then he is called one who hath attained devotion. He should raise himself by himself, he should not suffer his soul to be depressed. Self is the friend of self; and, in like manner, self is its own enemy. Self is the friend of him by whom the spirit is subdued with the spirit; so self, like a foe, delighteth in the enmity of him who hath no soul. The soul of the placid conquered spirit is the same collected in heat and cold, in pain and pleasure, in honor and disgrace. The man whose mind is replete with divine wisdom and learning, who standeth upon the pinnacle, and hath subdued his passions, is said to be devout. To the *lyogee*, gold, iron and stones, are the same. The man is distinguished, whose resolution, whether amongst his companions and friends; in the midst of enemies, or those who stand aloof or go between; with those who love and those who hate, in the company of saints or sinners, is the same.

* * * * *

This divine discipline, Aigoon, is not to be attained by him who eateth more than enough; neither by him who hath a habit of sleeping much, nor by him who sleepeth not at all. The discipline which destroyeth pain belongeth to him who is moderate in eating and recreation, whose inclinations are moderate in action, and who is moderate in sleep. A man is called devout when his mind remaineth thus regulated within himself, and he is exempt from every lust and inordinate desire. The *lyogee* of a subdued mind, thus employed in the exercise of his devotion, is compared to a lamp, standing in a place without wind, which waveth not. He delighteth in his own soul, where the mind, regulated by the service of devotion, is pleased to dwell, and where, by the assistance of the spirit, he beholdeth the soul. He becometh acquainted with that boundless pleasure which is far more worthy of the understanding than that which ariseth from the senses; depending upon which, the mind moveth not from its principles; which having obtained, he respecteth no other acquisition so great as it; in which depending, he is not moved by the severest pain. This disunion from the conjunction of pain may be distinguished by the appellation *lyog*, spiritual union or devotion. It is to be attained by resolution, by the man who knoweth his own mind. When he hath abandoned every desire that ariseth from the imagination, and subdued with his mind every inclination of the senses, he may, by degrees, find rest; and having, by a steady resolution, fixed his mind within himself, he should think of nothing else. Where-soever the unsteady mind roameth, he should subdue it, bring it back, and place it in his own breast. Supreme happiness attendeth the man whose mind is thus at peace; whose carnal affections and passions are thus subdued; who is thus in God, and free from sin. The man who is thus constantly in the exercise of the soul, and free from sin, enjoyeth eternal happiness, un-

ed with *Brahm* the Supreme. The man whose mind is endued with this devotion, and looketh on all things alike, beholdeth the supreme soul in all things, and all things in the supreme soul. He who beholdeth me in all things, and beholdeth all things in me, I forsake not him, and he forsaketh not me. The lyogee who believeth in unity, and worshippeth me present in all things, dwelleth in me in all respects, even whilst he liveth.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

The loan contractors are the moving spirits of this mighty mass of military force. Such a body could not live without material supplies, and money is the nerve of war. Money is the monarchy of the world which is about to die, and threatens such convulsive throes in its expiring agony.—Monarchs are no longer idolized. The money monarch is as little thought of as the military monarch. The Railway King has lost his throne in England, and the awful question has been put, of, who is the LOAN CONTRACTOR? and whence his power? The dread reply is uttered forth—he is an INTERMEDIARY—another useless and expensive monarch who may be dethroned without delay and without danger to the commonwealth. Cobden has embodied forth his answer to the members of the Congress of the Friends of Universal Peace, recently assembled here in Paris. Another revolutionary phantom has been manifested to the minds of men and cannon balls can do it no material injury. The loan contractors do not make the money which upholds their power; they only draw it from the small proprietors and manufacturers, who produce it from the fields of labor. Let us do without these intermediaries who furnish loans to military monarchs to engage in war, says Cobden, and the whole assembled body of Peace Democrats acclaims—"Let us abolish money monarchs, (loan contractors)—the supplies of war!" The fiat has gone forth: Monarchy is dead in spirit; military monarchy and money monarchy are dying in the minds of men, and soon will sink to rise no more. Mammon worship is declining; the golden calf is desecrated and the Spirit of truth illumines the horizon of the mental world. What can the European army of the Russians, and the Prussians, and the Austrians, and all their tributary vassals, do against the Phantoms of the Mind! the workings of the spirit! RENT is abolished! LOANS are abolished! THRONES are abolished! in the world of Mind.—How long will they survive in the world of Matter? Twenty years? fifteen years? ten? or three? I cannot give an arithmetical answer to these questions, but I think a rapid cycle will entomb the Anti-Christian World. Labor is the mother of Virtue, Idleness the mother of Vice, and Rent the mother of Idleness. "Those who will not labor shall not eat." They cannot be allowed to live in the new reign of Christianity. Thus saith the Gospel, in which many heathens and not a few Christians have no faith as yet. They laugh at faith, and all such folly. Eighteen hundred years of practical experience has taught them scepticism, but they do not like it to be mentioned crudely. Jews and Gentiles have a secret liking for all sorts of Rent in preference to Labor. Faith and works are only good in theory for dreaming Christians and Utopian Philanthropists. The Gospel theory, however, has created a morbid faith in Justice, and a craving for the fruits of one's labor, which disturb the reign of Jews and jobbers, stockholders and landholders, who undertake to govern the world for the small amount of two-thirds of the whole produce of labor in the community. This morbid state of mind must be put down by force of arms, or it will ruin all the privileges of the wealthy part of nations, and produce an unknown state of anarchy. It is easy now to understand why Christ was crucified by the conservative Jews. His Gospel theory was evidently revolutionary.—[Cor. Tribune.

LET it be thy delight to go from one good turn to another.

HOMESTEAD EXEMPTION.

MR EDITOR,—I have but a faint idea of the motives which impel others to the advocacy of Homestead Exemption, never having exchanged views with any one on the subject; but I would say to "T." that my opinions are based on the following, which appear to me self-evident, propositions:

The elements are the common property of God's sentient creatures—Man having precedence.

The present organization of society forbidding an equal division, or a community of interests, legislation can only approximate the right.

The exemption of the Homestead from levy and distress for debt, wrongs no man: for no man can of right deprive another of the means of subsistence, any more than he can rightfully take away his life or liberty; nor can any man rightfully yield the one or the other. Hence I doubt the authority of any man to sell his homestead, except to obtain one better adapted to his tastes or wants. Existing land monopolies must eventually succumb to the principle of Homestead Exemption—for the time is coming when laborers will demand an interest in the soil they till. Those demands must be conceded; and patroons will, in due course of time, become proprietors only of so much of the land as their real wants require.

As an Anti-Slavery man, I have strong faith in this measure, to mitigate, and finally to abolish, Slavery. Gangs of slaves can only be profitable on large plantations; and free labor is cheapest on small farms.

"Communities" will, of course, hold land in extent proportionate to the number of individuals composing them.

[National Era.

EMIGRATION.—There is no subject of which a merely one-sided view is more commonly taken than of Emigration. The evils arising from the crowded state of the population, and the facility with which large numbers of persons may be transferred to other countries, are naturally uppermost in the minds of landlords and rate-payers; But Her Majesty's Government, to which the well-being of the British population in every quarter of the globe is confided, must have an equal regard to the interests of the emigrant and of the colonial community of which he may become a member. It is a great mistake to suppose that even the United States have an unlimited capacity of absorbing a new population. The labor market in the settled districts is always so nearly full, that a small addition to the persons in search of employment makes a sensible difference; while the clearing of new land requires the possession of resources, and a power of sustained exertion not ordinarily belonging to the newly arrived Irish emigrant. In this, as well as in the other operations by which society is formed or sustained, there is a natural process which cannot with impunity be departed from. A movement is continually going on towards the backwoods on the part of the young and enterprising portion of the settled population, and of such of the former emigrants as have acquired means and experience; and the room thus made is occupied by persons recently arrived from Europe, who have only their labor to depend upon. The conquest of the wilderness requires more than the ordinary share of energy and perseverance, and every attempt that has yet been made to turn paupers into backwoodsmen by administrative measures, has ended in signal failure. As long as they were rationed, they held together in a feeble, helpless state; and when the issue of rations ceased, they generally returned to the settled parts of the country.—[Eng. Review.

THERE is but one sun, though light be broken and diffused by so many objects; one substance, though divided among so many bodies; one life, though living beings be numberless; one God, though so many share his bounty.

For The Spirit of the Age.

SUNDAY MUSINGS IN THE COUNTRY.

Our little village is one of New England's sweetest and purest spots. It stands somewhat high—so that its white steeples betoken your approach to it from afar—yet the hills rise still higher about it on almost every side, and give it an air of home-like quiet and comfort, while by climbing their summits the view expands, and you may see the rich massy form of Old Wachuset—trace the varied line of Monadnock and the Peterborough hills—look over the unequalled valley of the Nashua, with its graceful woods and lovely meadows—or upon a range of distant mountains, mingling with the mists in such close union, that they may carry your thoughts to an infinite distance, and remind you of Turner's back-ground to the temptation. I can look on our village as a picture of life. We have the whole of New England life here gathered in little—the temperance house which dispenses its hospitality with a certain liberality and heartiness that does not seem to have an eye to the bill,—the Town House, occasionally the scene of a justice trial or a town meeting, the two stores not overwhelmed with business, but having sometimes their hurried seasons; the little village school overflowing with children, who on some rainy mornings come literally by the cart load—the blacksmiths and the carpenters, the lawyer's office and the doctor's house—the three rival churches, and many neat and commodious dwelling houses are all grouped around our wide open common, in the center of which stands that universal benefactor the town pump, and around which we walk in the shade of the noble elm trees, for which we love to remember that we are indebted to a former pastor of the place, the father of our poet philosopher, R. W. Emerson.

Our village has some of life's darker shadows too; the voice of a crying child may be heard about the school—the lash sometimes falls heavily on an overworked animal, and the poor cripple as he goes painfully across the common, reminds us of suffering humanity. But there are no beggars here—thank God for that! ah, yes, the wandering Irishman asks you for work, and is refused, for the prejudice is strong against him; but the good farmer's wife gives him a bowl of buttermilk and bread, and his strong Irish heart bears him manfully on his way. He is the connecting link between our comfortable farming life, and the degradation of the poor of cities. But one feature strikes a traveller strangely in our village, and yet is the key to its whole meaning. Opposite our common—so that the school children look into it from their windows—one of the churches standing on its borders, and the path to the oldest and most beautiful farm in our town with its three long avenues of elms, and its look of old English refinement and plenty—its directly through it—is the grave yard. The grave yard with its memorials of affection, with its simple tales of households made desolate, of sons who died in far off lands, of babes who died in the arms of a mother's love, of the old and the young, the rich and the poor, and the warm-hearted slave who won from the descendant of his master, the well deserved epitaph—

Here lies his Othello, the faithful friend * * * * *
is not this a sad feature in the quiet and happy life we have striven to portray? Should we not have put our grave yard in some of these dark, distant woods, that we might enjoy life, and do our work without being constantly reminded of this terrible contrast? Yet let us pause and ask what were life without death? Is it not meet those little children should play among the tomb stones? It speaks of the constant removal of life, the ever vigorous power of nature to supply what is taken away. The hard toils of the week are better borne, for the thought of the Sunday's rest and the Sunday's teachings, and what were these but for the thoughts of that eternal life into which we enter through the gates of the grave? There are aching hearts

in our village whose life is not mirrored by the beautiful lake as it lies amid its green hills, for they are tossed and worn by passions and sorrows—they have conquered the tempters, but the marks of fire are left—do they not look for that baptism of the spirit in the hour of death, which shall restore them to virgin purity again? There are hearts who feel no likeness to the strong trees which wave so gladly in the summer wind, the fires of life are burned out, they have mistaken their path, and casting their lot upon one affection, or one hope of success, have lost, and the spring of life is never to be regained; yet can they look into the open grave, and feel that a new birth awaits them. Who does not need the thought of death to make life full and clear? Is it the student of God's outward works? what when his eyes are baffled by the distant nebular, no telescope can resolve—when he strives in vain to steal the inner secret of life from one single blade of grass, does not he need to remember a time when all secrets shall be made known? We need to have the idea of death familiar that it should not be terrible; let it be received as the friendly angel who will not bear us hence, while we have power to do our work here, but who comes even like the winter to prepare us for a new spring, fuller of hope and beauty than the last and promising more abundant fruit.

The village bells are ringing for church. Quiet as we are on all days, there is a deeper stillness, a sweeter gladness to day; the earth is fresh from her yesterday's shower of blessings, and the pond lilies which a young man gathers and throws into the carriage as we pass him on our way to church, seem fuller and sweeter than ever before, and we feel that he has at least performed one beautiful and acceptable act of worship. Will the church have aught so full of meaning for us? Let us go in faith and see; at least we shall draw near to our fellow beings, we may look into their faces, and join with them in a communion imperfect indeed, but not without a blessing. Oh, would that this great blessing of worship were truly felt, that the minister were indeed a bringer of glad tidings, speaking the earnest thoughts of his soul, instead of the doctrines of his sect, and that the church were truly none other than the house of God, and the gate of heaven.

DEAN SWIFT'S HATRED OF FOPPERY.

Dean Swift was a great enemy to extravagance in dress and particularly to that distinctive ostentation in the middling classes, which lead them to make an appearance above their condition in life. Of his mode of reproving this folly in those persons for whom he had an esteem, the following instance has been recorded:

When George Faulkner, the printer, returned from London where he had been soliciting subscriptions for his edition of the Dean's works, he went to pay his respects to him, dressed in a laced waistcoat, a bag, wig, and other fopperies. Swift received him with the same ceremonies as if he had been a stranger. "And pray sir," said he, "what are your commands with me?"

"I thought it was my duty, sir," replied George, "to wait on you immediately on my arrival from London." "Pray, sir, who are you?" "George Faulkner the printer, sir." "You George Faulkner, the printer! why you are the most impudent, bare-faced scoundrel of an impostor I have ever met with! George Faulkner is a plain, sober citizen, and would never trick himself out in lace, and other fopperies. Get you gone, you rascal, or I will immediately send you to the house of correction."

Away went George as fast as he could, and having changed his dress he returned to the Deanery, where he was received with the greatest cordiality. "My friend George," says the Dean, "I am glad to see you returned safe from London. Why, here has been an impudent fellow with me just now, dressed in a laced waistcoat, and he would fain pass himself off for you, but I soon sent him away with a flea in his ear."

THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1849.

PARIS PEACE CONVENTION.

THE reports of the Paris Peace Convention have been doubtless read ere this, by all students of the signs of the times.

Amidst Hungary crushed beneath the Russian avalanche; Rome tamed into momentary submission to her monarch-pontiff; France with troops of the line and national guard by hundreds of thousands ready to set up or pull down Louis Bonaparte as President for ten years or for life, Consul, Emperor, Dictator, as the tide turns; England trembling between conscious exhaustion, and seeming necessity to fight for her very political and commercial existence, and ready to slip the leash from army and navy, if a chance comes for the lucky blow; and finally all Germany seething and fuming with half smothered revolution; in a word, amidst the tokens of Universal War,—does this select little Peace Coterie look sublime or absurd?

How does it appear to Humanity, to Heaven, to God?

By what authority was this assembly of the friends of Peace assembled; what right ruled in its deliberations; in whose name did it consult and propose courses for action?

In so far as fancy, enthusiasm, blindness to facts, fear of bold and patient struggle with evil, any form of selfish policy or personal feeling instigated those delegates,—by a justice present and instant like the sun was their speech confounded, and their frivolous debates will become through shameful failure a laughing stock to future ages.

The justification for such a meeting, at this era, must be found in its PROVIDENTIAL sanction. If *untimely*, then was it a preposterous farce; but if *timely*, how grand the reality represented by that small gathering of thinkers amid Europe bristling with arms!

Surely it behoves us to settle decisively in our own consciences,—and to make the most public confession accordingly—whether we belong to the Party of Peace or the Party of War. In an age of such terrible sincerity, vacillating dreamers merit no better fate than to be ground to dust between the upper and the lower millstones of Reaction and Revolution. If the Paris Convention, if its members, if we who judge it, are double-minded, double-tongued, double-faced, may it, may they, may we, encounter from outraged humanity the utter contempt so righteously deserved.

The plain question is: What is the Will of the Sovereign Ruler in the actual crisis of Christendom?

Either Dem and Garibaldi, Mazzini and Kossuth, are God's commissioned leaders,—or, the heralds of an age of harmony are his appointed prophets. There is however this great difference in their relative position. Respect, admiration, love, may be still cherished in full measure for men so faithful as the Roman and Hungarian heroes have been, even if the spirit by which they are quickened, is of the *past*; their loyalty at least is venerable. But if they who have thus given and are ready again to give their blood, their all, for freedom, are doing THE WORK allotted to this generation by Heaven, then are Peace-Keepers and Peace-Makers but feeble abortions, fit only for death, burial, and swiftest oblivion.

Are we then for Peace or War?

We cannot be for both; we cannot make one a means to the other, or mingle the two, or alternate between them. All such half-wayness is paltry and pusillanimous, however plausible; and they who practice it are at heart, and will become in deed, treacherous friends and cowardly foes. He who is for War today, in Christendom, war between Absolutism and Liberalism, on any terms, or in any measure,—meaning by war of course

the exercise of military force—is not for peace. He who is for Peace, if he really has principle, and knows the true means to his end, is not for war.

No question of the age is so urgent, as the one now proposed. Heaven grant us solar light in settling our duty in this matter. May we be saved alike from the sooty glare of a torch-light procession of popular passion, or the feeble glimmer of private tapers of conceit.

Death on a battle-field or in a besieged city is a transient trifle: is it best thus to die? Length of life is of small, comparative moment; but how will Spirits welcome those who consent to toil peacefully on in this tantalizing age? What is the right, the manly course in this trying era?

Oh! for God's word of command!

I. NEGATIVE ARGUMENTS AGAINST WAR.

1. Forcible propagandism of Liberal Policy cannot be made effective.

In order to meet Absolutism on even terms by war, this Republic should place herself at the head of the bands of Freedom as Russia is chief of the hosts of oppression. For if a strife of extermination is to be waged between Autocracy and Democracy—this is the only Nation in which unanimity could be found; all other Liberal States are and will be rent with civil dissensions.

Again, Liberty should rather take the onward course than wait to be attacked. There should be no temporizing, but prompt, persevering execution, by fomenting rebellions and readiness to support every revolutionary movement. Surely it needs but little reflection to satisfy us, that no such struggle is in store. Very improbable is it, that any one nation in Europe could be brought to adopt a persistent, aggressive policy against Absolutism; yet more improbable that several such nations could be organized into a League; most improbable that the People of these United States could be transformed into a race of war-like missionaries.

Be it clearly understood, that if the purpose is to destroy Absolutism by force, no sudden outbreaks must be relied on; but munitions should be stored, armies drilled, officers trained, the military spirit fostered, and above all, fiery zeal kept glowing in the people's hearts. Now, it is easy enough to understand how indignant refugees from tyranny, Poles, Hungarians, Italians, Germans, can find food in exile for undying hate; but to expect that whole nations, at home, amidst their usual civil and domestic interests, will cherish such fierce enthusiasm, is irrational, in the extreme. The utmost to be looked for, is that sudden impulse may prompt them to swell the flood of a triumphant popular uprising. Indeed, the history of 1830, and yet more of 1848, would seem to show that the Liberal States are unprepared and indisposed for even such transient aggression.

The reason is plain. It is to be found in the fact:

2. That the character of all Liberal Nations of Christendom is constantly becoming more averse to war.

Just in degree as productive industry is honored, destructive violence is revealed in all its infernal ugliness. With deepening respect for justice, and awakened sense of the wonderful balance of duties and rights which God has designed, contemptuous horror is felt for arbitrary arrangements of force. As glimpses of man's destiny and spiritual relations open with floods of light from a higher world, the brutal passions let loose by war are recognized as hideous deformities. Even the noblest traits developed in military life come to be considered but exaggerated tendencies, as unfit for high periods of society as Saurians would be in an earth made habitable for man. And the popular demoralization invariably following in the train of war appeals to benevolence and good-sense, to prudence and piety alike, once and forever to put an end to a system so fatal to humanity.

Such generous views gain nutriment each day from more economical experience. War is found to bring utter confusion

into all channels of trade, all mediums of exchange, all branches of industry. Its insatiable drain upon population is felt alike in the remotest country home and the crowded city, as bleeding enfeebles every bodily fibre. Its enormous extravagance, by stores expended, loans contracted, incessant outgoes without return to the rank and file, honors to successful exploits, half pay for officers, and pensions for the crippled, impoverishes even the conqueror; while trampled crops, neglected fields, prostrate orchards and forests, conflagrations, bombarded cities, churches, galleries of art, libraries crumbled and ruined, and above all, manhood and youth swallowed up by the devouring monster, blight the conquered with premature decay.

These considerations are brought to a head, by one most obvious yet instructive suggestion. Just in degree as governments are Absolute, is it easy to maintain the War system, wasteful as it is,—at once because the subject many get accustomed to crushing burdens of taxation and misery, while the ruling few are trained to prodigal expenditure, and because domestic tyranny fashions fit tools for foreign spoliation. While on the contrary, just in degree as governments are Liberal, the exactions and sacrifices incident to War become disgustingly irksome—at once because a Free People grow sensitive to wrongs inflicted upon even the humblest members of their communities, and because justice and interest combine to lay restraints on the passion for conquest and plunder.

This contrast between the comparative aptitude of these two forms of government for war, leads to the yet more important remark,

3. That the organization of Republics is unsuitable for violence, offensive or defensive.

Autocracies, Aristocracies, Tyrannies of all kind tend necessarily to centralization. Every army, battalion, regiment, company, squad, is Absolutism on a small scale; every drill, parade, march, encampment, teach severe lessons of subordination, passive obedience, graduated preferment. Autocracies and standing armies are inseparable correlatives. Of all contrivances for breeding soldiers none was ever conceived more admirable than large empires under one head. And wars of conquest are the very means for strengthening Absolutism internally and externally, by presenting stimulants to ambition, and gratifying the lust for gain. Peace enervates a tyranny: war strings anew every lax muscle of rule. How Russia rejoices to rouse the pent up passions of her armed swarms from brooding over plots of rebellion, and to let them loose under iron thongs to ravage and gorge their thirst for blood. Well does she know how "demoralizing" is rest.

The opposite of this is true of Liberal Governments, and especially of Republics. They tend to the equilibrium of balanced rights. Enthusiasm for freedom, honor, magnanimity, love of home, patriotism, may animate Republicans with indomitable heroism for short periods; though the history of many a state,—alas! need we point to Poland and Hungary as proof—gives warning that in proportion as war becomes a science and mechanical art, but little reliance can be placed on mere moral force. As a permanent policy, War is utterly hostile to the genius and spirit of Liberal governments. Their ideal is to harmonize individuals by assuring them the freest exercise of every power, the fullest enjoyment of every right. Constraint then in all modes and degrees contradicts the end of representative rule,—the whole aim of which is to combine the highest judgment and aspiration of all members of the body politic.

Quiet at home and abroad is the very atmosphere in which Republics prosper: as this alone ensures universal well being, equalization of good, unrestrained inter-communion, physical, mental, moral. In a word, while Peace paralyses Absolutism whose element is Coercion, War cripples Liberalism whose element is Harmony.

From suggestions of Expediency have we thus been led gra-

dually up to high views of Principles. We are prepared then to consider, as we will do next week, the

POSITIVE ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF PEACE. W. H. G.

INDUSTRIAL FEUDALISM.

We have shown that the Balance of Power throughout Civilized Christendom is now in the hands of the Middle Class; that their Providential position is to be steward of all good transmitted by the Privileged, and guardian to the People; that the present era is their Trial Hour; that the Alternative is:

Industrial Feudalism and Social Revolution;
Organised Industry and Social Reformation.

Here is presented in tangible shape, the Political Problem of our age.

No person, man or woman, can practically hold aloof from its solution. In our whole tone of temper and conduct, through all domestic and civil intercourse, we must take one side or the other, and become enlisted under the banner of fate or of freedom. We cannot buy stock in a rail-road or fruit at a market-stall, employ a hundred "hands" in a factory or a single washerwoman, cultivate a farm or build a cottage, cast a vote at election or pay a pew tax, give a party or aid a poor neighbor, without helping or hindering the Social Transformation, through which the nations of Europe and the United States are destined to pass. Whether we are deaf or listen, the question comes home to every conscience every hour of every day: "Will you submit to Nature, or co-operate with God?"

Let us then, so far as brief space permits, unfold the significance of this choice between INDUSTRIAL FEUDALISM and ORGANIZED INDUSTRY.

To day of the former.

I.—ITS RISE AND PROGRESS.

All know, how when society settled into shape, after the irruption of barbarians, there appeared three bodies of ruling men,—the Catholic Hierarchy, descendants of Roman Officials, and Chiefs of the conquering tribes; and how, while each had its peculiar spirit, method, aim, one attraction still tended gradually to organize them into the Theocratic Confederated Aristocracy, called FEUDALISM.

Various, according to relative preponderance in numbers or power, and territorial and national jealousies, did these elements combine in the formation of governments; yet similar traits characterized all members of the Commonwealth of Christian States. German chieftains brought with them from plains, forests, mountains of the North a gigantic energy, wonderfully combined of loyal haughtiness and indomitable independence. Roman nobility, military and municipal, retained though prostrate the prestige of former greatness, pride in citizenship, political skill, memories of world-wide unity, and habits of thought and action cast in massive molds of imperial jurisprudence. And last, through an Oligarchic Clergy, and servile Laity—though developed as yet in embryo only—were growing to full proportions the spirit of brotherhood, hopes of equal destiny, and longings for oneness with Humanity and God. Freedom—Law—Love—into what a mighty Order of Honor did they mold the Privileged, who became centres of influence to Europe. In war, statesmanship, and throughout the range of public and private relations—spite of fierceness, sternness, boisterous license—they exhibited a masculine vigor of passion, a breadth and soundness of intellect, an efficiency, most commanding. Their style of character, so largely alive, so fresh and healthful, attested right to rule; and grateful reverence in the hearts of vassals was the seal of their legitimate sovereignty. One sees how manliness and heroism might thrive in societies like those of the Middle Age, and romantic charms yet hover about that old Feudalism like golden sunset round a ruined castle.

What wonder now, that Privileges, founded so much upon force, and so legitimate while suited to the times from which they sprung, should have been prolonged into an intolerable tyranny! And how inevitably did European institutions, laws, customs, manners, language, literature, become pervaded thereby with the *spirit of Aristocracy*. The history of Christendom has been a progressive expansion of this spirit. Gradually, by royal bounty or struggles for power, by party manœuvres or economical necessities, was raised to the peerage a new order of Inferior Nobles, made up of successful commanders in army and navy, bold and artful politicians, eminent lawyers, enterprising discoverers and dashing adventurers—government contractors, miners, usurers, and monopolists. And finally, as industry, commerce, wealth expanded under the influence of peace, was added the body of Citizen-Nobility, composed of large landholders, bankers, inventors, manufacturers, and merchants. It was by this interlocking of promoted leaders from the Middle Class with lower grades of the old Nobility, that Industrial Feudalism was generated; and by this it has multiplied with prolific increase, till it now threatens to absorb all rule throughout Christendom.

This order of Citizen-Nobles is rightly denominated INDUSTRIAL FEUDALISM. It has imbibed the haughty exclusiveness, appropriate to ancient Aristocracy, while superadding an insolence peculiar to upstarts insecure of position; and from uneasy sense of injustice, timidity connate with oppression, presumptuous power, and unscrupulous covetousness it wields a tyranny over unwilling serfs of toil, harder to bear, and more degrading than the service due from vassals to liege lords. Truly is it an Oligarchy, grudging to render, eager to claim fealty, at feud with the Privileged and the People, with the Middle Class and among themselves.

The present aim is to lay bare the peril to which society is exposed from the usurpations of this Order. It behoves us, then, with the eye of negative criticism unsparingly to scrutinize

II.—ITS TEMPTATIONS AND FAULTS.

How natural it was, that the "Parvenus" and "Nouveaux Riches" should seek to mingle their boorish blood in marriage with families made famous by long lines of ancestry; that they should hasten to veil plebeian extraction under mysterious prefixes and affixes to their names, antiquated spelling, and fancy titles; that they should painfully trace their descent to some notorious pirate or freebooter, and hunt up coats of arms in the college of heralds, wherewith to hide in decoration the blacksmith's forge, and the weaver's shuttle. It was a matter of course that they should build mock-gothic castles hung round with suits of mail, spears, swords, maces; grasp immense estates dropping from the hands of spendthrift lords; send their children to fashionable schools and colleges with an eye to future contracts of alliance between wealthy commoners and impoverished patricians; ply every art for securing diplomatic appointments and official preferment; bribe the great by splendor and luxury for admission into their charmed circle; surround themselves with a retinue of servants, and in every way ape the manners, gestures, tone, look and outward polish of the highly born and idly bred. Above all, was it necessary, that they should cut off their native caste by strictest barriers to social intercourse, and prove by *opulent leisure* their entire independence of LABOR.

Triumphantly indeed have these temptations been surmounted by not a few; but our business now is with the faults of Industrial Feudalism. And how obvious is it, at a glance over European or American society, that in a vast majority of instances the *Aristocracy of Wealth* blends the defects of both Privileged and People, with but a saving remnant of the traces of either. Instead of being magnanimous from conscious ability to lead, it is mean from restless craving for undeserved honors; without the refinement drawn from culture amidst beauties of

art, intellectual society, ennobling mementos and gentle influences, it retains the rudeness contracted from care, drudgery, petty savings, sharp conflict, and jealous pretensions; it is cringing rather than loyal, capricious rather than condescending. It pays allegiance to superiors not from reverent love but as the price due for patronage; its peers are regarded not with self balanced dignity freely rendering the courtesies which it modestly claims, but with the stinginess of a pedlar bargaining for civility; and deference is insultingly asked of dependents as the means of making distinctions, when benignant respect should bless the depressed classes, whose trials it has shared.

Few words indeed are needed to describe what is so notorious as the defects and extravagances of the Money-Lords. The important point to be illustrated is, that this passion for Wealth as means of Power is the very *atmosphere of ACTUAL SOCIETY* throughout Christendom; and that its subtle infusions prompt all,—from children promenading in nurses arms through city pleasure grounds to parents bespeaking funeral monuments for rural cemeteries, from youth in school-studies and sports to manhood in worldly scrambles, passively to connive at or actively to conspire with the complete organization of Industrial Feudalism. This tendency we shall next proceed to trace.

W. H. C.

LETTERS TO ASSOCIATIONISTS.

NUMBER ONE.

As Corresponding Secretary of the "American Union of Associationists," allow me thus publicly to present a view of our duties in the Social Movement.

Judge, each reader, of the truth of what is said! Freely challenge and correct errors! Let us commune together!

Thus will the latent spirit be prepared for outward manifestation.

Your thoughts are invited to consider

I. OUR POSITION.

1. In ACTUAL LIFE, we take the ground of mediating between Revolutionary and Conservative tendencies. We propose a detailed scheme of practical reconciliation, whereby Capital and Labor may combine in a work of progressive reform; and thus take the initiative step to introduce that era of Organised Society, which we are sure will be the *RIGHTNESS* of God's Kingdom upon Earth, the *DOING* of His Will.

2. In SCIENCE, we take the ground of accepting with discriminations the experience and discoveries of the past and present,—balancing, contrasting, combining them, and thence unfolding the Law of Serial Order, whereby all existences are hierarchically bound together and to the Absolute Being. This we assert is the Method of Society,—the Natural, Human and Divine Logic—the Word and Wisdom of God.

3. In RELIGION we take the ground of admitting a graduated scale of spiritual illuminations; and give a symbolic interpretation of each of these, by declaring the Central Source of Love from which they radiate. Our aim is to show, that harmoniously distributed charities are the body of Humanity wherein Divine Holiness is forever newly incarnate. Thus responding to the aspirations of all ages, unfolding the laws of heavenly intercommunion, and presenting the image of earthly life transfigured by indwelling God, we seek to be made *AT-ONE* with Man and God by Universal Mediation.

Briefly, here is an outline of our Principles, Methods, Ends. Most comprehensive, exact, vital, is this movement. Can so sublime a purpose be fulfilled?

In order to answer wisely we should survey

II. SURROUNDING DIFFICULTIES.

From present appearances throughout Christendom, does it not at first look as if the Associative Reform was premature,

some quarter of a century or more before the times? Must there not intervene between existing Chaos and future Order a period of intensest struggle in all departments of Social Life? In what one sphere, is one grand problem so thoroughly solved, and the truth involved therein so clearly brought out and firmly established, as to serve as an Ararat amid the deluge of doubt?

1. In the CHURCH. Catholicism, Roman, Greek, Anglican—Protestantism, Orthodox, Liberal, Rational—New Churchism, Humanityism, Universal Unity! Are the long standing controversies one hair's breadth nearer to settlement? And looking beneath surfaces to living currents of thought and feeling,—who as yet has revealed the relations of Naturalism, Supernaturalism, Mediation—the respective functions of Priesthood, Congregation and Elders—the just significance of Asceticism, Optimism, and United interests? How many among the Seers even of this generation have earnestly consecrated themselves, by besetting purity, to become transparent media of the Light of Infinite Love?

2. In the UNIVERSITY. Survey the highest philosophy of Germany, France, England,—from Leibnitz to Hegel, Des-Cartes to Leroux, Bacon to Hamilton,—and answer, is there one system which abides the test of searching criticism? Or in natural science read the ablest exponents of universal method, from Swedenborg to Humboldt, do we anywhere find such an adequate interpretation of the Divine Symbol of Creation, that Man can thereby hold intelligent converse with God, and comprehend his Law of Life. How many among the thinkers even exhibit that grand combination of accurate Analysis and unifying Synthesis, balanced by consummate Judgment, which is the indispensable requisites in finders and teachers of Truth, One and Universal?

3. In the STATE. What peaceful settlements of conflicting claims—or else what exterminating wars await Legitimacy, Liberalism, Socialism, throughout every township, department, nation of the civilized world, throughout Christendom as a whole! How countless, how complex the questions which press forward for adjustment, in every sphere of active interests—from Woman's Freedom to Equitable Exchange—from Apprenticeship of minors to Industrial Congresses—from healthful Gymnastic training to Colleges of Art. Politics indeed at present is a skillful trick of expedient combinations rather than a Scientific System of Organization. Who can solve even the first simple problem of government,—finding fit leaders in every function, from shaping pins to superintending continents? Hereditary honors, popular elections alike fail. Where is the Scale of Trusts sanctioned by the Sovereign Ruler?

Is it not visionary in an age so confused to prophecy Harmony?

What then,—confess that we are dreamers, boasters, liars?

Dare we thus eclipse our clear convictions,—mock at the Spirit of Humanity prompting us to faithful efforts,—grieve the Spirit of God working within us, by mighty promises?

No! Brethren! "We are not of those who draw back unto perdition." "Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." "We are compassed about by a great cloud of witnesses." "We are come unto the City of the Living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, to the innumerable company of angels, to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus, the Mediator of a New Covenant." Thus "Receiving a kingdom which cannot be moved, let us have grace, whereby to serve God acceptably, with reverence and godly fear." w. h. c.

EVENTS rush onward like a torrent; 'tis not so easy to live in public and love wisdom the while. What thou doest, O man, let it be as nature requires. Begin, then, according to thy ability; thou need'st not gaze round to see who is standing by. It is enough, nor esteem it a small matter, if thou dost prove successful in aught.

THE FREE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

THE Free Soil Convention of Massachusetts was held at Worcester on the 12th inst. The gatherings of this party are of interest and significance, comprising within itself, as it does, the elements of the former Workingmen's party, and implying by its very existence a recognition of the sacredness of labor, and the danger to a nation, growing out of any infringement of the rights and guarantees of industry. It was thought by superficial economists that no social injury could result to the white race from the oppression and servitude of the black. Experience has taught us the error of this, and the impoverishment and discord which have followed the steps of slavery have induced the recurrence to general principles, which marks the era of the Free Soil Party. How then shall this party meet the great problem of labor, with which it has to do, and which looks to it, in all political aspects, to be solved?

The democratic party, who took up the same problem, either disbelieved in the universality of the principle, or in God, and formed a cross alliance with a section of the slaveholders of the country. Hence resulted a falsification of every issue presented by that party, however good inherently, and a disturbing element in its councils, which could with difficulty be traced, and which ended in its disruption.

A parallel course is possible for the Free Soil party. The demoralizing effects of slavery, and the danger in which it has involved our institutions and union, are now glaring out of history, and it might be possible in the indignant protest against this system to overlook the wrongs of free labor, and the injustice of the present distribution of its products. It might be possible to form a cross alliance between the champions of Southern Free Labor and certain conservative interests of the North, as for instance that of manufacturing capital. What indications then have we of the tendencies and purposes of this party? The Worcester Convention furnishes us the following among other resolutions:

Resolved, That Protection to Man should be hereafter the true American system.

Resolved, That Labor is universally dishonored and its interests compromised by the existence of Slavery in this country, and that the first step for its elevation must be the limitation and extinction of Slavery.

Resolved, That a party professing to represent the interests of Labor, which leagues itself with an aristocracy, enslaving the colored laborer at home, as a means of wealth, and preaching democracy abroad as a means of power, degrades Labor everywhere, betrays the interests of universal freedom, and deserves only the condemnation of the American people.

Resolved, That we demand a cheaper system of postages; the abolition of all unnecessary offices and salaries; the election of Post Masters and other civil officers, so far as may be practicable, by the people; a retrenchment of the expenses and patronage of the Federal Government, the improvement of Rivers and Harbors; and that we recommend the free grant to actual settlers, of reasonable portions of the public lands.

Resolved, That we adopt as the only safe and stable basis of our State, as well as our national policy, the great principles of Equal Rights for all, guaranteed and secured by Equal Laws.

Resolved, That it has been too much the tendency of the legislation of the Commonwealth to consolidate wealth in corporations, whereby a comparatively few individuals are enabled, through the facilities of corporate credit, to absorb a large proportion of the capital required in private enterprise, and also to wield the vast power, social and political, inherent in combined wealth.

Resolved, That the Cities and large towns of this Commonwealth are able to exert an influence beyond the legitimate influence of their population, through their numerous and united

delegations to the Legislature chosen by general ticket—that in this way the influence of the country is neutralized by inferior numbers in the cities, and the city delegations are enabled to control the Legislature; that this abuse ought to be corrected, and such a system be established by the Constitution and Law as shall prevent any portion of the State from possessing an undue advantage, and shall best promote the fullest and truest representation of the people.

The intention and the course of the party are sufficiently marked in these declarations, however cautiously expressed. The necessity of occupying the ground of universal reform was recognized and borne out by the whole temper of the convention. Are the Free Soil party prepared to accept the solution of the social problem as it gradually works itself out in this country, in protective unions, in co-operative associations and enterprises of all descriptions? This question history only can answer. In the mean time may we not assert that it fulfils the conditions of the party of progress belonging to the present? What are these conditions?

We have arrived at a point in our political history when the unnatural union of parties can no longer hold. The conservative interests of the North and the South have struck hands. Only the faintest hope remains of preserving for a short space the lawless connection of the Northern democratic body with the slave-power. Very soon, then, a party of consistent progress and reform must grow up, representing the religious hope and the best wisdom of the people of all sections. Such a party must occupy the intermediate position between the past and the future. Its reforms must be wise, and though more searching, more healthful than those of the late democratic party. It must be as free from a fanaticism which disregards the law of time, by which Providence works, as from the faithlessness of a selfish conservatism. It must acquire this position by the consistency and justice of the principles which compose its platform. How far does the present position of the free democratic party conform to this standard? Is it too much to say, that if not destined itself to reach the mark, it is pointing out the path for the future party of reform and progress? F.

THE NEW "NATION."

MOST heartily do we rejoice once more to welcome back CHARLES GAVAN DUFFY, to the sphere which he so magnanimously, bravely, wisely filled, the Editorship of the Dublin Nation. No writer in Europe or America wields a more vigorous pen; no stronger brain or more generous heart has in our day found utterance through the press.

From the eloquent leader of his first number we select the following paragraphs:

"It would be our duty to draw Ireland out of this incredible slough of misery if her deliverance only resulted in social security. But I believe through this path, and this alone, she can reach political independence. By a mysterious arrangement of Providence there are mixed with her very decay elements of new life and hope unknown before. And recognising her utter prostration, cloaking no part of it, but proclaiming it to all men as another motive to action, I repeat my firm conviction that the time has come when it is necessary to renew the struggle for her life, and when it may be renewed with good prospect of success.

"If the struggle is to be renewed, for what object is it to be renewed, and by what ways and means? I answer without hesitation, that the struggle of '48 to win our independence by arms cannot be taken up now. All bluster and bravado are more repulsive and mournful to me than a deathbell. They sound more falsely, more offensive, than even the glosses of stimulated loyalty. It is true that no man can presume to fix limits to the endurance of a nation, or to bar its rights of resistance—and God forbid that I should try to do so—but to me who am not

ignorant of any part of what has been done or attempted since February, 1848, nothing is more certain than that Ireland is not prepared to walk in that path; and that it is a mischievous and misleading falsehood to pretend that she is. For nations have generally an alternative, and it is only choosing *neither* course that they perish.

"For a renewal of the contest on the old grounds we are very plainly disabled. We can no more go back at a leap to the year '48 than to the year '82. We cannot even go back to the Irish League at this moment. Our first practical effort ought to be to bring back Ireland to health and strength by stopping the system of extermination—by giving scarcity of tenure to the people—by plucking down the sectarian ascendancy that separates the Irish people into two hostile camps—by purifying the popular representation, and occupying with wise men, and for wise and generous purposes, the institutions which the country still possesses; and for such a contest circumstances, I repeat, are singularly propitious.

"Ireland must win her battle point by point, but beginning with that which is fundamental—that on which we all, directly or remotely, rest—the Land. The scenes I have witnessed leave me no doubt that the first point to be attacked and carried is this fortress of the Oligarchy. When we have a people who can live on their own soil, they will be fit for higher achievements—but this is primary and fundamental. The time and the circumstances, the horrible necessities of the case, and the state of men's minds in England and Ireland conspire to overthrow it; and they shall.

"I do not propose to consider the specific remedy to day, but plainly it must be one practical and practicable. A vague whine for *some* cure will not do; we must be prepared to propose *the* cure, that which will have the vital force of truth in it, and commend itself quickly to men's convictions. Surely there is such a one; this is not a hell out of which there is no redemption.

"The fault of our present condition is our own. If we search the whole universe for reasons we must come back to this. We failed because we did not deserve to succeed; because we did not win success by fidelity and wisdom. But all failure is but temporary and accidental where the spirit is not quenched—all failure short of this is but training to win hereafter. In reverses nobly borne and wisely used victories take their root. And now it seems we have one more chance for the life of the country. If we use it wisely, 'tis good; if not, the decree is written—"another people shall possess your place, and inherit your patrimony, and you shall be brought to utter desolation."

CANDOR.—Nothing more beautifies the human character—the christian profession, than frankness; an honest life is the truest life man can live. All short of this is dissimulation—sin. The first sin is represented as deception. It should be borne in mind that neither ourselves nor God is to be served by such courses as the world practices in its sins of pretence merely. Ultimately nothing is gained by it but much lost. It is the wiser, the more politic course, to act truly to every conviction of conscience.

Z. B.

WHEN, O my soul, wilt thou be just, and simple, and true, undisguised, and easy of approach, as the body which surrounds thee—when manifest a sweet and loving temper; ever content, wanting nothing, living or dead; neither seeking after pleasures, nor time to enjoy them—nor place, nor spot, nor good fellowship; satisfied with what thou art and what thou hast; believing that God hath done well by thee and by the world—God, the good, the just, the beautiful—Father, Comforter, Sustainer, Friend—from whom all things come, and to whom every change is owing; in a word, so comport thyself in the sight of God and man, as neither to blame nor be blameworthy?

EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
TO THE WEEK ENDING SEPT. 22,
Latest Date, Sept. 8.

THE hopes of European liberty, to all outward appearance, are buried in the grave of HUNGARY. The noble patriots and heroes, who have shed their blood in the cause of popular freedom, must await the day of resurrection. Hungary has fallen; but not so the fame of her great Kossuth. Every act of his, even to the last surrender of his native land, has been marked with the most signal courage and self-devotion. Deserted by those on whom he most relied for support, his councils divided, his supplies withheld, his army on the brink of starvation, he was no longer able to wage the unequal contest. His valedictory letter, of which we now add the postscript, breathes the genuine spirit of the martyr and shows that he thought less of securing his own life than of shielding the Polish and Italian legions from exile into Siberia. The original letter which we published last week is dated Teregova, Aug. 14, and is addressed to Bem.

"P. S.—MM Zamoiski and Biazoranowski tell me that it were a duty of honor for us Hungarians so to dispose the application of the Polish Italian legions that they may do the country important service, but, if the worst comes to the worst, avoid being deported to Siberia. I feel this duty, and at my request General Guyon employed those legions to cover the communication with Turkey, through Orsowa; but here I learn that you have ordered the garrison of Orsowa into Transylvania. It consists only of two companies, which in three days will be destroyed by the Servians. To-day they are in Kornya (a post nearer to Orsowa than Teregova, whence the letter is dated), where they arrived after a march of twenty-four miles, and got nothing to eat. So these two battalions will also be ruined, and Orsowa in a few days be in the enemy's hands."

The course pursued by Gorgey is open to suspicion, but we need further evidence before condemning a man whose courage and patriotism have been above reproach.

FRANCE remains in a state of tranquility. Louis Napoleon is exercising all the arts of popularity to strengthen his position and further his ulterior views. He loses no opportunity to mingle with the people at public fetes and celebrations, and never fails to give a distinct expression of his anti-progressive sentiments. At a grand banquet given by the exhibitors of national industry, he placed the rock of salvation in the triumphs of trade.

"GENTLEMEN: The real Congress of Peace is not in the Salle St. Cecile. It is here, and you compose it, being, as you assemble here, the *elite* French industry. In other places desires have been expressed; here are represented all the great interests which peace alone can develop. When one has admired, as I have done, all the prodigies of industry laid out before the eyes of all France, when one thinks how many hands have united to produce them, it is a consolation to know that we have reached that time to which is reserved another glory beside that of arms. Now, indeed, it is by the perfecting of industry, by the conquests of trade that we must struggle with the entire world, and in that struggle you convince me that we shall not fall. But do not forget to spread among your workmen the doctrines of political economy, by giving them a just share in the retribution of work; prove to them that the interests of the rich is not hostile to that of the poor."

The same vein of thought runs through his speech at the inauguration of the Epernay Rail-Road.

"Gentlemen, The inauguration of a railway is always a national *fete* with which I am happy to associate myself; but the inauguration of the railway from Paris to Strasbourg is, in my opinion, a specially important event, on account of the district through which it passes. In fact, in seeing Chateau Thierry, La Ferre, Epernay, one calls to mind the last and heroic struggles of the empire against coalesced Europe; and I said to myself,

that if railways had existed at that time, if the Emperor Napoleon had known of steam, never should we have seen foreigners invade the Capital of France. Honor, then, to railways; for in peace, they develop commercial prosperity, and in war, they assist in strengthening the independence of the country! Honor, also, to the town of Epernay, which has preserved intact the sentiments of patriotism and nationality!"

The deputation of the Peace Congress had an audience of the President of the Republic on the 1st inst. It consisted of M. Victor Hugo, Mr. C. Hindley, M. Visschers, M. Surling, M. de Cormenin, the Abbe Deguerre, M. E. de Girardin, &c. The President conversed with them for some time on the possibility of a general disarming among the principal nations, and on the numerous advantages which would result therefrom for the finances, manufactures, morality and tranquility of the populations. He declared more than once that he should be delighted to see the moment arrive when it would be possible not to keep up so heavy a force. M. Victor Hugo and M. E. de Girardin principally kept up the conversation with the President. M. Visschers repeated to the President how pleased the foreign delegates were at the cordial reception given to them in Paris, both by the Government and the population.

M. Proudhon has written to the *Temps* a letter, dated "The Conciergerie, Sept. 1," in which he declared his opinion very summarily on the late Peace Congress at Paris. A letter had appeared in a country journal, purporting to be from him, and giving in his adhesion to that scheme of universal peace. M. Proudhon writes to declare that the letter in question was a forgery.

"I wrote no letter" he says, "to the Peace Congress or its honorable President. I am not, thank God, a favorer of the folly of the Abbe de St. Pierre; and, if I believed that war is some day or other to be abolished among men, I should look for such a result from causes somewhat more profound than the mystical tolerance of which M. Coquerel and the Abbe Deguerre have given so edifying an example, or the free trade preached up by Cobden. Universal peace is like universal richness; it will exist when there will be neither oppressed nor *exploites*; but that is what the Pope, and his beloved sons the kings, have taken good care to prevent. The Congress of Peace, in my opinion, is only the commencement of a *doctrinaire* and *Jesuitical* holy alliance against the invasion of democratic and socialist ideas, a piece of Malthusian juggling. On this account, you may be certain, sir, that I reserve it for something else than compliments."

La Patrie has announced that the Democratic and Socialist Committee had invited MM. Ledra-Rollin, Considerant, Felix Pyat, Boichot, Rattier, and others implicated in the conspiracy of the 13th of June to come forward and stand their trial. The Reform contradicts the statement.

A religious council of the heads of the clergy of the provinces to discuss religious matters, some of which have a political bearing, is to be held in Paris about the middle of September. Several archbishops and bishops will be present. It is said that one of the chief topics of discussion will be the liberty of instruction.

The Democratic Socialists of Paris have formed an association for the purpose of sending out delegates into the Provinces, under pretext of seeking for waste lands which the association could cultivate, but with the real object of spreading Socialist doctrines among the peasantry.

The Montagnards are about to muster their forces for a grand demonstration. The general rendezvous of the exiled Democratic party is to take place at Geneva, as being only the distance of a cannon-shot from Lyons and from Chalons-sur-Saone. According to letters received from the Swiss frontier, the number of Democrats there assembled amounts to three hundred, and it is hoped that the number will be tripled by the arrival of Italians, Poles, &c. It is, nevertheless, positively stated that

Louis Blanc will remain in London, and that he will not join his brethren, the nature of the work which he has undertaken to write demanding the most absolute retirement.

In consequence of the rumors which have been current respecting the health and pecuniary position of M. de Lamartine, we are assured that several influential persons have met with a view to open a national subscription, in order to prevent the necessity of the sale of M. de Lamartine's patrimonial property. A Committee having been formed, the members waited on the illustrious poet, to whom they stated the object of their visit. M. de Lamartine thanked the Committee for their kindness, but refused to accept the offer of a national subscription, on the ground that the produce of his literary labors is more than sufficient for his wants.

On the 21st ult. General Oudinot officially announced his departure from Rome, by a proclamation wherein he tells the Romans that he has obeyed his duty as well as his feelings in preserving them from political reactions. General Rostolan would assume the command of the French troops, part of which would leave Rome on the 27th. M. Savelli, the Pope's Minister of the Interior, has arrived and installed himself as head of the police, but entirely under the control of the French authorities. His first decree was regarding the paper money, which all the shopkeepers refused to take except at an enormous discount, on the plea that the Government were going to make a further reduction of fifteen per cent. on its value. General Rostolan has assumed the command of the French army of occupation.

In ENGLAND, the progress of the Cholera is exciting great alarm. The weekly deaths from this disease have increased in London from 823 to 1663 within the last month, and the mortality from all causes for the week ending Sept. 8, was 2796. This is the greatest number ever reported since 1840, the largest number having been 2151 during the influenza in December, 1847, and is about three times the ordinary average. In London alone no less than 9219 lives have been destroyed by this fatal scourge.

News of the Week.

HAYTI NO LONGER A REPUBLIC.—Accounts from Port au Prince to the 3d inst. state, that on Sunday, the 26th of August, Hayti ceased to be a republic, Faustin Soulouque, late President of the Haytian republic, having been, on that day, formally proclaimed Emperor of Hayti, under the name of Faustin I.

It seems that, for several days previous to the 26th, there had been circulated for signature in Port au Prince petitions to the Chamber of Representatives and to the Senate, demanding the title and dignity of Emperor for the President. In accordance with these petitions the Chamber of Representatives, on the 25th of August, passed the following decree, which was approved the next day by the Senate, and having been signed by all the officers of both bodies, was forwarded to the President, who accepted the title, and ordered the decree to be promulgated throughout the territory of the empire.

"Considering the wish manifested by the majority of citizens and officers of every rank, and addressed to the Chamber of Representatives and to the Senate to receive the sanction of the Legislative body:

"The Chamber of Representatives and the Senate uniting in the wish of the people and the army,

"Decree as follows:

"Art. 1. The title and dignity of Emperor are conferred on the President of Hayti, Faustin Soulouque, as a mark of gratitude for the eminent services which that illustrious Chief has rendered to the country.

"Art. 2. The present laws and institutions will remain in force until the Legislative body shall be called on to revise them in order to render them conformable to the new state of things."

On the same day on which this decree was passed, the Repre-

sentatives, with the Senate, and all the principal civil and military functionaries at the seat of government, assembled at the palace, for the purpose of witnessing the coronation. The President of the Senate placed the imperial crown on the head of the new Emperor, a cross of Gold at his button-hole, and a chain of great value around the neck of the Empress; after which shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!* resounded through the hall. The public functionaries then accompanied their majesties to the Catholic church, where a *Te Deum* was chanted, and the ceremony of consecration performed, under the superintendence of a Jesuit, who had been created bishop for the occasion. The city of Port au Prince was illuminated for several nights subsequent to the coronation; but this must not be regarded as evidence of the real sentiments of the people; for they are represented by some who are well acquainted with them, as generally dissatisfied, and dreading the name of Emperor, which they associate with the cruelties practised under their old sovereign with this title, the famous Dessaline.

THE TROUBLE WITH THE FRENCH MINISTER.—A good deal of excitement was caused through the City by the report that Mr. Poussin, the Envoy from France to our Government had received his passports without having asked for them, and stocks fell in consequence.

The facts, as we have them on good authority, are as follows; Some weeks since Mr. Poussin made upon the Government at Washington a demand for indemnity for a French ship damaged or captured at Vera Cruz in the Mexican War. Several letters were exchanged between the Envoy and Mr. Clayton on the subject, in the course of which the former indulged in remarks which were deemed positively insulting to our Government. In consequence of this the correspondence with him was suspended and a copy of the offensive letter was transmitted directly to Paris, with the expressed wish that he should be recalled without delay. We are informed that Mr. De Tocqueville, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs replied, maintaining the same ground as had been taken by Mr. Poussin, and declining to recall him. It is, however reported, on the other hand, that no answer has been received from Paris, but that, having waited a sufficient time in vain, the dismissal of the Envoy has taken place; but we have reasons for supposing the version we have given above to be more authentic. It was, no doubt, this very matter which carried the President so suddenly back to Washington from his Northern tour. We are told that the question of Mr. Rives's reception at Paris was not involved in the affair.

GRATIFYING RESULT OF AN INTERESTING OPERATION.—The New Albany (Ind.) Bulletin has an interesting account of an operation performed by Dr. Sloan, of New Albany, upon the eyes of Rev. N. Hoskings, of Crawford County, Ind., who had been blind from birth. The Bulletin says:

Mr. Hoskings was taken home to Crawford County before the bandages were removed, and when this was done, we are informed by a gentleman residing in that neighborhood, the operation was found to have been eminently successful. He describes the emotions of the patient when suddenly possessed of a scene so novel to him, to be of the most enthusiastic description. Things with which he had long been acquainted through the medium of the other senses became possessed of a new and surpassing beauty, and roads which he had been used to travel fearlessly when blind, had to be again learned. His wife and children, whom he had never seen, his friends, his parishoners, his home, everything endeared to him, became an unending source of delight and new-born gratification. He had the same confused notions of distance which we see the smallest children manifest, and took the liveliest pleasure in beholding the great variety of colors. In short he was compelled to learn to see, in precisely the same manner that the smallest child does, and to him it was an occupation of the most gratifying nature.

OUR MINISTER TO CONSTANTINOPLE.—The Hon. George P. Marsh, of Vermont, our new Minister to Constantinople, took passage with his family in the packet-ship New-York, Captain Lewis, which sailed from this port for Havre on Thursday. Mr. Marsh is admirably qualified to do credit to his country in this important station. During his college life he was distinguished for the facility with which he acquired a knowledge of languages, and he now reads with ease, we believe, not only Latin and Greek, but the French, Spanish, Italian, German, Swedish, Russ, Modern Greek, Sanscrit, Arabic, and Icelandic. Of this last language, Mr. M. has prepared a grammar, and his library is said to contain a more valuable collection of Scandinavian literature than is to be found elsewhere in America. Educated for the bar, Mr. M. has obtained a thorough knowledge of law in all its departments, basing his knowledge on a profound acquaintance with universal history. Mr. M. has also devoted special attention to a history of the arts and sciences, and has an invaluable fund of information on this subject.

CONSUL WALSH'S REMOVAL.—We announced on Monday, in the letter of our regular Correspondent at Washington, the fact of Mr. Walsh's ejection from the Consulate at Paris. It has since been contradicted by several writers, among them "Asmodeus" in our columns, but that does not matter—Walsh is out. *The Courier and Enquirer* says;

"We learn that despatches went forward by the last steamer, removing Mr. Robert Walsh from the office of U. S. Consul at Paris, which he has held for some eight years past. It has always been a point conceded by all parties, that the representatives and agents of the country abroad, should agree substantially in sentiment and political sympathy, with the Government at home. The present Administration, though not disposed to insist rigorously upon this safe rule, with reference to our domestic politics, has felt that in the existing state of opinion in Europe, a just regard to the character of our country requires it to be enforced, so far as the essential principles of REPUBLICAN institutions are concerned. Mr. Walsh, therefore, has been removed mainly because his sentiments and sympathies in regard to the struggles for popular rights and Republican institutions in Europe, are not in harmony with those of Gen. TAYLOR and his Cabinet."—[Tribune.

Town and Country Items.

✠ The prediction of Napoleon is being rapidly fulfilled, not as we had hoped by the triumph of Democracy, but by the victory of Despotism. The reaction is, everywhere triumphant. The bourgeois terrorists reign in France, the monkish terrorists rule in Rome, the royal terrorists are masters of Germany; and now Hungary lies writhing, bleeding at every pore, crushed under the heel of the Cossack. In France dungeons, in Rome the Inquisition, in Germany murders by martial law, in Hungary desolation and massacre, menace the defenders of Democracy with universal destruction.

But defeat, ruin, despair, lends new force to our hatred of the tyrants, against whom we invoke the vengeance of the human race. By our frustrated hopes, by our proscribed and slaughtered brethren, and by the hatred we cherish towards their destroyers, we cry ONWARDS! There are wrongs to avenge as well as rights to win, therefore ONWARDS!—and remember that—

Freedom's battle once begun,
Bequeathed by bleeding sire to son,
Though baffled now shall yet be won.

[British Democratic Review.

A NEW-YORK POLICEMAN IN PARIS.—A singular scene took place in the Rue St. Florentin, before the former hotel of M. Talleyrand.

Mr. Hormann, Sub Chief of Police at New-York, who is at Paris to arrest two celebrated counterfeiters from the United States, was passing through the street at about 1 o'clock, when, taking a lithograph from his pocket-book, he cried, "It is he!" and at the same moment, with the help of an agent who accompanied him, he laid hands on a good-looking foreigner who was passing, and said: "You are one of the New-York counterfeiters, and I arrest you." The gentleman greatly astonished at this apostrophe, said to Mr. Hormann that it was a mistake—that he was Mr. John Norton of London, a member of the Peace Congress—had never been in America—that he was at Paris with his family, in a hotel of the Rue Neuve St. Augustin.

Mr. Hormann in reply, showed him the fatal portrait, and the resemblance which existed between Mr. John Norton and the counterfeiter were perfect. A crowd collected, and the Sub Chief of the New-York Police mounted in a carriage with his prisoner. When they reached the hotel, Mr. Hormann was obliged to admit, with many apologies, that he had been deceived by a most striking resemblance.

ESCAPE OF MR. CLAY'S SERVANT LEVI.—We understand that a telegraph communication has been received from Mr. Clay, by Mr. Hodges, of the American, stating that on arriving at Sandusky, his servant Levi, was no where to be found. It is supposed that he was either accidentally left behind here, or has voluntarily escaped—the latter most probably. It will be recollected that he was once before induced to leave by the offer of \$300, but refunded the money and returned to his master at Newport. We learn that Mr. Clay has authorized Mr. Hodges to pay his expenses home, if he again repents of the step he has taken, and wishes to return.—[Buffalo Commercial, 17th.

✠ The late Fair at Syracuse was far more numerously attended than on any former year. Upwards of 80,000 tickets to the great tent were sold, and more than 100,000 persons entered the tent. It was a windfall for the railroads even at commutation prices, and for Syracuse hotels and boarding houses. The Syracuse Journal estimates the amount of money left there by the visitors at the fair, at \$500,000.

PEACHES—WHERE THEY GO TO.—The New-York Tribune says the steamboat Antelope has conveyed from New-Brunswick to this city 30,000 baskets of peaches during the past fortnight. Last Monday week she brought 3,474 baskets, the largest amount that has been landed in any one day. Some of the New Jersey farmers, it is said, will not between \$1,500 and \$2,000 from the sales of the present year.

CONTRAST IN MECHANICS' WAGES.—In California, a blacksmith gets \$24 for shoeing a horse. In Germany thousands of stocking-weavers, make only 50 cents a week at their business, their daily meals (poor enough) being allowed them in addition. What a contrast is this! Give the blacksmith constant work, and he will make more than six hundred dollars to the weaver's one.

THE AMERICAN BOARD, which wants to convert the world to a religion which can get along quietly and peaceably with chattel slavery, is in want of thirty-eight missionaries to sustain its operations, but can get only seven. Our wonder and affliction is that it can get so many as seven. We don't believe it is worth any young man's while to expatriate himself for the promotion of such a sort of Christianity.—[Chronotype.

BUTLER DIVORCE CASE.—The Court of Common Pleas has decided in favor of the petition of Pierce Butler, asking for a divorce from his wife, Mrs. Fanny Kemble Butler. The decision was made on Saturday last. The divorce is absolute, and gives to each entire freedom, as if no marriage had ever taken place.

SENATOR BENTON.—The gallant style in which the great Senator sustains his fight in his campaign against four-fifths of the more busy Democratic politicians of the State, is calculated to excite admiration in the mind of the most indifferent spectator. (St. Louis Organ.)

THE COFFIN BUSINESS AND THE CHOLERA.—It is said that one undertaker in Cincinnati has sold over twelve thousand dollars worth of coffins since the breaking out of the cholera. During the two months when the epidemic was at its greatest height, his labors in that field of operation amounted to more than eight thousand dollars.

An article in Blackwood says that at least 250,000 persons perished by famine in Ireland, in 1847, in consequence of the loss of the potato crop, notwithstanding the British government expended fifty millions of dollars in purchasing food for the population, and extensive donations were received from abroad.

Mr. Popham when he was speaker, and the house had sat long and done in effect nothing, coming one day to Queen Elizabeth, she said to him; "Now, Mr. Speaker, what hath passed in the Commons House?" He answered: "If it please your majesty, seven weeks."—[Bacon.]

THERE is a new sect springing up in Ballinrobe, Mayo, Ireland, called "The Sun-worshippers," who celebrate or offer their sacrifices in the unfinished walls of a chapel, they having seceded from the parish chapel within the last month."

AN OFFICE BEGGING.—The *Mobile Tribune* mentions, as a somewhat remarkable fact, that no man can be found in Mobile notwithstanding the general fondness for office—to assume the responsibility of becoming a tax gatherer.

BRANDY.—The French have raised ten cents a gallon on brandy exported to England, in consequence of the substitution of brandy for malt liquor. 1,000 gallons a day have been consumed beyond the average of former years.

THE GERMAN PAPERS say the Pope is going to Naples, it is said, to assist at the miracle of the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius, which takes place annually in September.

GRAPHIC.—A western notice, noticing the disappearance of the cholera, says it has "gone glimmering through the dream of things that were."

VERY BAD INDEED.—An exchange paper says, "the girls in some parts of Pennsylvania, are so hard up for husbands, that they sometimes take up with printers and lawyers."

MADAME RACHEL, who was engaged to play in Jersey, refused to visit the island, because she would not be allowed to give one of her performances on a Sunday.

WHAT A NAME.—A new paper in Pennsylvania rejoices in the title of the "*Concochague Herald*."

THE SHOE BUSINESS must be very good; for not a pair are made and got ready for the market before they are sold.

NOTICES.

BACK NUMBERS, from No. 1, can be supplied to new subscribers. We hope all, who intend to take this paper, will remit promptly.

POST OFFICE STAMPS may be remitted in place of fractional parts of a dollar. Stamps may be obtained of all Post Masters.

PAYMENT in advance, is desirable, in all cases. \$2 will pay for one year.

SIX MONTHS.—Should it be preferred, payment in advance, (\$1.00) will be accepted, for a subscription of six months, to the "*Spirit of the Age*."

SUBSCRIBERS will please be particular in writing the NAMES, POST OFFICE, COUNTY, and STATE, distinctly, in all letters addressed to the publishers, as this will prevent delays, omissions, and mistakes

MARRIED—In Madisonville, Jefferson Co., N. Y., by Rev. Luther Rice, Mr. T. C. LELAND, of this city, to Miss MARY J., daughter of J. K. Hill, of East Troy, Wisconsin.

On the Probable Futurity of the Working Classes, -	193	Paris Peace Convention, -	200
The Present Age, -	195	Industrial Feudalism, -	201
Piety of all Ages, -	197	Letters to Associationists, -	202
Signs of the Times, -	198	The Ereo Democratic Party, -	203
Homestead Exemption, -	198	The New "Nation," -	204
Sunday Musings in the Country, -	199	European Affairs, -	205
Dean Swift's Hatred of Foppery, -	199	News of the Week, -	206
POETRY—Cafe in Boston, -	199	Town and Country Items, -	207
			199

PROSPECTUS

OF

THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE.

THIS Weekly Paper seeks as its end the Peaceful Transformation of human societies from isolated to associated interests, from competitive to co-operative industry, from disunity to unity. Amidst Revolution and Reaction it advocates Reorganization. It desires to reconcile conflicting classes, and to harmonize man's various tendencies by an orderly arrangement of all relations, in the Family, the Township, the Nation, the World. Thus would it aid to introduce the Era of Confederate Communities, which in spirit, truth and deed shall be the Kingdom of God and his Righteousness, a Heaven upon Earth.

In promoting this end of peaceful transformation in human societies, *The Spirit of the Age* will aim to reflect the highest light on all sides communicated in relation to Nature, Man, and the Divine Being,—illustrating according to its power, the laws of Universal Unity.

By summaries of News, domestic and foreign,—reports of Reform Movements—sketches of Scientific discoveries and Mechanical inventions—notice of Books and Works of Art—and extracts from the periodical literature of Continental Europe, Great Britain and the United States, *The Spirit of the Age* will endeavor to present a faithful record of human progress.

EDITOR,

WILLIAM HENRY CHANNING.

PUBLISHERS,

FOWLERS & WELLS,

CLINTON HALL, 129 and 131, NASSAU STREET, New York.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY:

TERMS,

(Invariably in advance.)

All communications and remittances for "*THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE*," should be directed to Messrs. Fowlers & Wells, Clinton Hall, 129 and 131 Nassau Street, New York.

LOCAL AGENTS.

BOSTON. Bela Marsh, 25 Cornhill.	CINCINNATI. J. W. Ryland
PHILADELPHIA. J. P. Fraser, 415 Market Street.	BUFFALO. T. S. Hawks
BALTIMORE. Wm. Taylor & Co., North Street.	ROCHESTER. D. M. Dewey
WASHINGTON. John Hitz.	ALBANY. Peter Cook, Broadway
	PROVIDENCE. P. W. Ferris
	KINGSTON. N. Y. T. S. Channing.

OTHERS, who wish to act as agents for "*The Spirit of the Age*," will please notify the Publishers.

MACDONALD & LEE, PRINTERS, 9 SPRUCE STREET.