

THE

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WM. H. CHANNING, EDITOR.

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Selected Poetry.

From the National Era.

THE MEN OF OLD.

Well speed thy mission, Iconoclast !
 Yet all unworthy of its trust thou art,
 If with dry eye and cold unloving heart
 Thou tread'st the solemn Pantheon of the Past.
 By the great Future's dazzling hope made blind
 To all the beauty, power, and truth, behind.
 Not without reverent awe should'st thou put by
 The cypress branches and the amaranth bloom,
 Where, with clasped hands of prayer, upon their tomb
 The effigies of old confessors lie,
 God's witnesses; the Voices of his will,
 Heard in the slow march of the centuries still !
 Such were the men at whose rebuking frown,
 Dark with God's wrath the tyrant's knee went down :
 Such from the terrors of the guilty drew
 The vassal's freedom and the poor man's due.
 St. Anselm (may he rest forevermore
 In heaven's sweet peace!) forbid of old the sale
 Of men as slaves, and from the Church's pale
 Hurled the Northumbrian buyers of the poor.
 To ransom souls from bonds and evil fate,
 St. Ambrose melted down the sacred plate—
 Image of saint, the chalice and the pix,
 Crosses of gold, and silver candlesticks.

"MAN IS WORTH MORE THAN TEMPLES!" he replied
 To such as came his holy word to chide.
 And brave Casarius, stripping altars bare,
 And coining from the Abbey's golden hoard
 The captive's freedom, answered to the prayer
 Or threat of those whose fierce zeal for the Lord
 Stiffed their love of man: "An earthen dish
 The last sad supper of the Master bore:
 Most miserable sinners, do ye wish
 More than your Lord, and grudge His dying poor
 What your own pride, and not His need requires?
 Souls, than these shining gauds, He values more;
 Mercy, not sacrifice, His heart desires."

Oh faithful worthies! resting far behind,
 In your Dark Ages, since ye fell asleep
 Much has been done for truth and human kind—
 Shadows are scattered, wherein we groped blind,
 Man claims his birthright, freer pulses leap
 Through peoples driven in your day like sheep;
 Yet, like your own, our Age's sphere of light,
 Though widening still, is walled around by night;
 With slow, reluctant eye the Church has read,
 Sceptic at heart, the lessons of its Head;
 Counting, too oft, its living members less
 Than the wall's garnish and the pulpit's dress;

World-moving zeal, with power to bless and feed
 Life's fainting pilgrims, to their utter need,
 Instead of bread, holds out the stone of creed;
 Sect builds and worships where its Wealth and Pride
 And Vanity stand shrined and deified,
 Careless that in the shadow of its walls
 God's living temple into ruin falls.
 We need, methinks, the prophet hero still,
 Saints true of life, and martyrs strong of will,
 To tread the land, even now, as Xavier trod
 The streets of Goa, barefoot with his belt
 Proclaiming freedom in the name of God,
 And startling tyrants with the fear of hell!
 Soft words, smooth prophecies are doubtless well,
 But, to rebuke the Age's popular crime,
 We need the souls of fire, the hearts of that old time.

J. G. W.

For The Spirit of the Age.

THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTION.

MR. EDITOR,—

I find in a late *Spirit of the Age*, the following passage relating to the Revolution of 1848:

"The whole movement was a mistake. Rashly its prime leaders threw a red-hot ball into the magazine of the citadel of arbitrary power, which was all but ready to capitulate, and their own followers have been crushed by flying fragments of the explosion. Far better would it have been to let the old bourgeois, Louis Philippe, die on his crumbling throne, and occupy the interval in training the people to habits of co-operation. Emancipation would inevitably have followed the fall of that rotten dynasty. And infinitely better would it have been gently and firmly to stand by Pio Nono, in his hard struggle to right the wrongs of ages, suggesting not commanding, following not leading that truest, most trustworthy and magnanimous of rulers, instead of playing into the hands of tyrants by precipitancy, usurped power and abortive violence."

Now with all deference it strikes me that this is a rather hasty judgment. In the first place the movement in question has all the features of a providential one. It was not arranged before hand; its day and hour were not fixed by any plotting conspirators; no man designed or conducted it; no party took counsel as to when or how it should come off; it had no prime leaders except such as obeyed the great necessities and the great inspiration of the hour and did its work. In short, it was the product of historical causes and if it was a mistake it would be hard to find the man or the party at whose door it could be laid. It is true that had there been no headstrong, intriguing, selfishness like that of Louis Philippe and Guizot it would not have taken place; and had there been no progressive ideas like those of Rousseau, St. Simon, Fourier, and no progressive men like Louis Blanc, Lamartine, Rollin it would also not have taken place. But this does not prove that it was not more a providen-

tial movement than a human plot. These men and these ideas were some of its causes but they did not make it; it happened when its time came, and if it was set off by a throwing of red-hot balls, who threw them?

And how could the French people be trained to habits of co-operation while the dying and crumbling process was going on? Such were the laws and so vigilant the police under Louis Philippe that a cheap newspaper was impossible, a public meeting impossible, except in secluded places, or by great management, a lecture to the people impossible, and everything looking towards cooperation was pursued with all the severity of despotism and all the malignity proper to robbers feeling that their craft is in danger. Why, twenty persons could not associate for purposes of mutual instruction, or amusement, or business, or industry without being liable to be beset and scattered by the gens d'armes. When Arthur Young founded his association at Cîteaux, instructions were sent to the prefect of the department to let the establishment break itself down without interference if it should exhibit the indications of such an end; but if it promised to thrive he was to shut it up legally without delay.

Thus the whole power of the nation was wielded so as to prevent such a training of the people, and before anything could be done for them that power must change hands and assume a new character. The only party that hoped to get on without a political revolution was the Phalansterians and they never expected to do anything directly with the people. They held on to the mistaken idea derived from Fourier, that the delights and glories of the Phalanstery were going to induce some millionaire or potentate or some half dozen capitalists to give them the means of trying their experiment. But they have long since abandoned that view and I do not know one of them who now holds it. They not only admit but assert the providential necessity of the Revolution; experience teaches them that Socialism presupposes Republicanism and that one cannot be realized outside of the other. And in this connection I maintain as a fact that the last year has done more for the education of the French people and their training to habits of cooperation than any ten years could have done under Louis Philippe. Ask any man who knows on this subject and who is not disqualified to judge by prejudice and he will go rather over than under this estimate.

For one I cannot feel justified in pronouncing a dogmatic opinion on many recent events. Europe is not now as plain as a chessboard of whose moves we can say with certainty that this is wrong and that right. Even without considering a certain Divine Fatality which governs the complication, our knowledge is often so imperfect that we must rather wait than pronounce decidedly on the action of the People and the men who stand for the movement. For instance, how different were our impressions of the thirteenth June, at Paris before and after the statement of Victor Considerant. We may still regard that affair as in a sense a mistake and a disaster, but yet a prominent and clear-headed socialist speaks of it in a private letter to me as on the whole an advantage.

A word about Pio Nono. Did not the People and the Liberal Party gently and kindly stand by him in all the efforts he ever made to right the wrongs of ages? It is my decided impression that they did, rendering him all the love and reverence that a benefactor of humanity could receive. No leader was ever more truly followed as long as he was a leader. Nor when he ceased to advance was there any commanding from them. They suggested, they entreated, they hoped. But he, supposing that he could deal out to his people such a measure of liberty as suited himself, replied by the declaration that he would keep and transmit intact and undiminished the absolute royal power which his predecessors usurped ages before. With all the good he did, he was resolved to establish no guarantee against its being undone by the next man that chance or intrigue should

place on the Pontifical throne. The Roman people asked for such guarantees and they were perfectly, wholly, undeniably right in so doing. Was there any "hard struggle" on the part of Pio Nono to give such guarantees? No. The struggle was the other way. Would it have been "infinitely better" to stand by him in that determination? Not so thought the Roman People and at last Pius was forced to yield and grant a constitution. And so of the whole difficulty, but there is not time nor space to go over it.

But if I do not misconceive the paragraph I have quoted, it goes farther and charges the leaders of the Roman Republic with usurpation and abortive violence. Where is the evidence of this? Perhaps in the *Paris Univers*, or *Assemblée Nationale* or the *New York Freeman's Journal*, or Mr. Walsh's letters in the *Journal of Commerce*. First for the usurpation: When the Pope fled, unnecessarily deserting his post, there was no government left behind. An election was in due time called for the people to supply this deficiency. They supplied it and their government continued with their unanimous support to the last. Was that usurpation? If not, there was none in the case. And as for the abortive violence: The only violence that I can think of was the defence of the city against the French. And it was an abortion of a very living, powerful and efficient character. That defence has regenerated Italy! It has shown that there is some of the old steel, some earnestness, some reality, some manly force in the Italian character, and has begot in Italian hearts a hope that cannot die out. The violence of the French may well be called abortive, but the Romans won in that siege a battle for whose triumph humanity shall yet be thankful. Did they play into the hands of tyrants? Ah no, my friend! Let us not believe that the end has yet come. The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church. God works in a mysterious way.

Would to God that this hot and bloody struggle were over, and that Peace might come at last to the world! And yet I invoke no seeming peace that the weaker may ever anew be plundered, but a peace with Liberty, Equality and honest man's and not robber's Order for its condition. What is the way to such a peace? Through war and destruction, through such war as that at Rome, and that in Hungary, perhaps too, through such as that of June 1848, in Paris. The history of the past and the examples of the present instruct us that the privileged and powerful, by whatever name they are called, do not yield their privileges except as they are compelled. When will Russia lay aside the pretension to dictate darkness and despotism to Europe? When she is compelled. When will the bourgeoisie consent to live by their own labor, and not by the labor of others? When they are compelled. How can that compulsion be exercised? In a free State through the ballot and the independent action of the people under the influence of ideas. How shall States be made free, so that ideas and the people may act? Hitherto Providence has freed them by revolution, nor is it apparent that other means are now to be employed. It may be that the day of revolutions is past, but if so why are they there in such abundance? For one, I am compelled to think that Providence makes the best use of the means at hand. Moreover as a public writer I cannot theorize on a contest of such a nature from the moralistic stand-point of a more remote wisdom than that of those earnest champions of human rights. There may be broader principles than they battle for, and a greater good than they all conceive, but those principles and that very good are involved in the present struggle, and I now desire to encourage and strengthen, and not distract the men on whom God has laid a duty like theirs. Let others give aid and comfort to despots. Be it ours to stand for Liberty and Justice, nor fear to lock arms with those who are called hot-heads and demagogues, when the good cause requires.

C. A. D.

Written originally for The Universalist.

OBJECTIONS PROPOSED.

MARTHASVILLE, WARREN Co., Mo., June 25, 1849.

Although living near the boundary of the civilized world, (probably farther to the West than any other of your subscribers,) I take not a less lively interest in the holy cause of human progress which you are so manfully battling for. What is most needed in our time is this: to emancipate mankind from the fetters of hereditary religious superstition and sectarianism, and to enable every one to think for himself; to secure and save to man at the same time his true sanctuaries, attacked by a hollow modern philosophy, viz: his belief in a holy God and a future life,—and last, to ameliorate the moral and social condition of our race in the true spirit of humanity. One may really appreciate your noble efforts to further these ends, without necessarily subscribing to all the views expressed in your paper. Relative to the former, one may believe that the tales of visions, apparitions, &c., as yet extant, do not justify the building up of a *ghostly system*, of the reality of which the great mass will never have a chance of being convinced by their own experience. I have lost friends as dear to me as man can be to man; I have longed and yearned to get some sign of their being still near to me, to have one moment's intercourse with them by any means; I know they would make themselves seen or heard by me, if it were in their power; I have stretched my hands, my heart and soul towards them,—but all was in vain. Relative to psychological questions, one may by his studies have been led to results different from the views adopted by you. I hope, however, that you are liberal enough to allow so much freedom to those who profess to go hand in hand with you in the great effort to elevate our race to a higher degree of perfection and happiness, as to follow their own path in respect of such abstract questions, which to say the least, instead of being finally concluded by your system, are yet open for further investigation.

Let me state some of my objections to the psychological views proposed in your paper; thus giving an opportunity to all of considering this interesting subject from more than one side.

Your doctrine is this: The human Soul (Mind, Spirit) must be something; to be something, it must be Matter, must consequently have a form, must be composed of parts, be expanded, &c. The soul is an individualized aggregation of the most refined elements which constitute the Universe,—an indissoluble unity of the finest particles (or atoms) of matter,—a combination and perfection of all form and substance, or a perfect combination and individualization of all the substances, essences and qualities of nature in perfect proportion, which can no more be separated,—a Oneness above the plane of change and disorganization, &c.

Thus you pretend that there is nothing *essential or substantial* but Matter, that is, the sensual, the tangible, the composed, the expanded. You make the human spirit, you make—as a matter of course—the Spirit of the Universe (Deity) a composition of material elements. But you speak of *refined matter*. To the chemist there is nothing gross, nothing refined in nature. Suppose there exist four, or fifty, or one hundred primitive elements, of which the whole material world is composed; what would you call a more refined single thing or substance, that which is composed of only two elements or the other which is an aggregate of a dozen? Or is there a superiority of one primitive element over the other? Is oxygen by itself more refined than hydrogen, &c? Dissolve chemically the brains of a Socrates, and you will meet with the same primitive elements that occur in the egg, in the oyster, and are far spread in all kingdoms of nature.

But you say, "The soul is a compacted unity of all the elements of nature." How do you know that? Our chemists have not yet been able to state the precise number of elements occur-

ring on this earth, much less do they know of the elements forming other celestial bodies, or—the infinite whole. We should not make bold assertions relative to things about which we are so ignorant.

What is God? You say, "He is the aggregate of all the refined matter extant." Then, what is the relation of the human soul to God? A numerical one,—the relation of one single unit to the whole sum; the difference between man and his Creator is in the number of particles composing the one and the other, in the expansion, in the *volumen*, in the form. This is rather too prosaic, nay too chemical a view to satisfy any exalted feeling of the heart.

I was taught and still believe—all visions and trances to the contrary notwithstanding—that every thing being a composition of elements, may be chemically dissolved, or being an aggregate of particles, may be mechanically separated and divided,—that every form may be altered, that organized beings may be disorganized again; I believe that every thing composed or organized bears the germ or principle of dissolution within itself, which latter is in fact constantly going on. These seem to be general laws of nature to which no exception is known. If the soul be matter, it is liable to decomposition, or two and more souls may be joined and melted together, &c.

And how may you pretend to say, that the human mind is the *crowning work of all nature*?—that it is matter in the *highest possible state of refinement and organization*? There is an undeniable order of beings on our earth from the lowest up to the most perfect, which is Man. But "all nature" comprises the whole Universe, which must be thought to be endless. What do we know of the Universe and the beings occupying the untold myriads of the celestial bodies, or the immense space, beside those on our own dark little globe? Can we even make a guess about their nature? Have we any means of comparing ourselves with them? Our earth is the third in the order of the planets. Those nearer the sun are known to be smaller and of a denser and heavier (grosser?) composition; those more remote are larger and lighter (more refined?) The nature of the beings on the different planets must be in accordance with the peculiar nature of each. Now, may we justly suppose, that the crowning work—not of creation, but even of our planetary system—be found on our earth, and not rather on Jupiter or Saturn, &c? And what must the inhabitants of the Sun (being one and a half million times larger than our earth, and the source of light and life of the planets depending thereon, being consequently a far more perfect celestial body than any of the planets,) or of Sirius, &c., think of our presumption to be the firstlings of all God's creatures? Reason and intelligence are the distinguishing character of man; but in the gradation of intelligent beings we stand perhaps not higher than the mushroom in the series of organized creatures.

You say, "The organization of mind is subject to no further change." And what do the undeniable mighty changes, constantly—and from the earliest childhood to our last hour—going on in the human mind, result from? The advocates of the soul's material organization can not account for this fact otherwise than by a constant modification, change, expansion or contraction, &c., of the mental organism, or even a chemical change of the particles composing mind.

Is there in fact nothing real, essential and substantial but matter? Davis says, "Electricity is matter." Newton taught that Light is matter. The greatest natural philosophers of our time have been compelled by incontrovertible facts and phenomena, to abandon Newton's doctrine, and neither Light, nor Electricity, nor even Warmth, are any longer considered as matter, (as either chemical elements or compounds.) Yet Light and Electricity are something, something real and essential; they are powers, moving principles attached to matter. "All must be matter" you say, "or be nothing." This seems to me

a fundamental error. What do we know of the nature of matter? Really nothing. Some of its attributes, of the powers attached to it we know,—that is all. How imperfect and limited are our means of penetrating into the essence of matter! These means are our senses (imperfect organs;) of course an immediate knowledge is impossible, and what we know about matter, may be true to us on our present low, sensual stand-point, but mere childish fiction on a higher point of view. The *appearances* of things is all we can possibly observe,—their *essence* evades our lightest touch; we are conscious of certain impressions made by outward objects upon our senses,—of the nature of those objects we know nothing, the inward impression is the only thing certain.

But we have another, and immediate source of knowledge: it is our rational self-consciousness. If we go to this pure fountain, we are above all possible delusion. The only truths incontestible to each individual are therefore the facts of his own conscious mind. Now, the Oneness or Unity, the indissolubility, the immateriality, the spiritual character of our soul are facts of our self-consciousness. Our soul is a self-conscious, self-moving, self-active, self-dependent power, is the immaterial life-principle of our physical organism, not one with it, but attached to it temporarily, and—so we hope—destined to be attached to a more perfect organism, when the present will decay. About the essence of mind (in a chemical sense) it is beyond our present means to get any light, because the thought, as the product of the soul, can not comprehend the source from which it has flowed. It is useless to beat our brains about such questions. American writers often speak somewhat disparagingly of metaphysics, as something merely visionary, hollow and useless for practical purposes. But that science rightly understood is rather the true fountain of the most important and most indubitable truths. By it man ascends above outer nature (*natura physica*), that is above mere sensuous contemplation, and explores the treasures hidden in the depths of the self-conscious mind, analyzing, combining and thoroughly investigating the inborn truths. This is rather hard work, not liked by many; but it is of more importance for the development of our spiritual capacities and for the true knowledge of man, than to indulge in the mere observation of outward appearances.

This much may suffice for this time. I am willing to give my views more at large, if your readers should desire it.

FREDERICK MUNCH.

For The Spirit of the Age.

PSYCHOMETRIC EXAMINATION OF SMITH O'BRIEN.

THIS man feels bad—he bows his head—it seems as if he would hide his head in the dust—such a strange feeling as this I never before experienced or heard of—(the head of the psychometer, while thus speaking, was bent very low, even below the knees)—*O dear!* how bad he feels—there is no language to express his wretched feelings—What is it he feels so bad about? *O dear!* he is weighed down with grief—I should n't wonder if he had wept—he is perfectly prostrated—seems to be almost paralyzed—poor fellow! he is full of sorrow.

Now let me get hold of his character—I should be interested in this man—he has heart—a great heart—he sympathizes with other—and the grief of others added to his own help to weigh him down—he seems to feel all the sorrows that others feel—he makes them his own and is weighed down by them—he is humble—he has deep aspirations for better things for others, not for himself—he embraces in his great heart the whole race—it seems as if his heart would break out of his body in his earnest wish for the world—he would speak with great feeling—there would be the eloquence of feeling and real pathos in his speech—

es—not a word would he say that he did not feel to be true—his deep heart is a fountain of eloquence—this man is a true patriot—all that he has is devoted to his country, and all that he can do he will do for his country's good, these deep feelings have weighed him down so—it almost breaks his heart to see his countrymen act so wickedly, foolishly and trickishly—he wants to see them good—there is such truthfulness here! such earnestness and sincerity!—he is magnanimous, I know—he is not thinking of his own happiness—this is bound up in his country and mankind—he would entreat, plead, beg, implore them to do right; to wake, to rouse themselves to better their condition—O how he would mourn to see them wedded to their bad practices—as a mother over a wayward child, or a wife over a wandering husband that she loved.

He can write, I am sure; I feel that he has poetry in him. It would be written almost with tears and blood—full of earnestness, persuasion, heart, love. He is too much impressed with the sufferings of his friends and other people to be very cheerful and happy—he can not be light hearted, because he feels so much—he will never be cheerful and happy till his countrymen are so—he is remarkably disinterested. He is fitted to enjoy social life in a high degree,—is fond of the intercourse of friends—still he wants to talk with them of the best means of doing good. He is capable of the most devoted love in the conjugal relation—his mind is so much occupied with the sufferings of others that he would not be unhappy with a wife who was not suited to him—he would be beyond the reach of domestic unhappiness—he is a man who would be much benefitted by being well matched. He is fitted to enjoy music in a high degree—would like deep, passionate, mournful music—light, happy and joyous music he does not want until earth is in a better state. I could almost weep, myself, feeling as he does. I don't think that his mind is as great as his heart, though I should think him a man calculated to do a great deal of good. He will be eloquent—will make people love him—will lead by persuasion—he will win hearts—people can't help loving him. He has the qualities of a true and constant friend, but his friendships can not be confined to a small circle, he loves so many—he loves the race. He does not often indulge in a great deal of wit—he isn't buoyant—he must have been surrounded by a great deal of misery all his life to have made such a deep impression on him—he has seen very little of the sunny side of life.

You may trust him fully—he loves to befriend people. O what a world of feeling there is in him—I am sure he can write poetry very well—it would be full of pathos, perhaps sublimity—but he could n't express the half that he feels. I should think that he was not formed to be at the head of political affairs—his judgment might be too much biassed by his feelings. He is formed to be the poor man's friend—he has no ambition to be a statesman—he only wants to do good. He can not burthen himself with forms of law—it is all stuff—he feels it to be mockery of justice. He would rather go down to the prisoner in the box than sit beside the judge on the bench—would go and cheer that prisoner and persuade him to be better. He is the only man I know of whose character I feel like comparing with that of the Savior. He is a man fit to stand by the side of Washington.

The question was asked, Would he fight? He does not lack courage, he is manly and brave, but he would shrink from shedding blood—he could not bear to kill—he might fight on the defensive, but would be sorry to do even that.

When thou beholdest any one loaded with honors, dignities, and all seeming prosperity, see that mere externals do not lead thee to pronounce him happy. For if happiness depend on things within thy reach, envy and emulation are alike superfluous. Therefore, desire neither station nor dignities, but to be free. Now there is but one road to this, that is, not to set a value on what is beyond thy power.

From the Cleveland True Democrat.

SOUTHERN DESPOTISM—J. M. BARRETT.

We gave, July 12th, an account of the seizure, and imprisonment of J. M. BARRETT, of Indiana, in the Spartanburg jail, South Carolina, upon suspicion of his being an abolitionist, and we proceed now to show the main ground of that suspicion.

There has been an old quarrel in the Palmetto State, between the "Low and Up country," on the question of the State Apportionment. That question Mr. CALHOUN has silenced by overshadowing it with the greater issue of slavery. Yet, with all this, the "Up Country" is dissatisfied; likes not the distribution of power; is restive under it; and would break its vassalage, if it dared.

A writer, a native of South Carolina, participating in this feeling, wrote a tract, and alleged that politicians, by affecting to be the special champions of Southern interests, meant to perpetuate their supremacy, and that of a few men in the State. He proceeded to show:

—That South Carolina had no republican government.

—That the form of the one only existed.

—That the interests and rights of the mass of her citizens were not protected.

And this writer, "Brutus" did all this without once insinuating that slavery was wrong, or even appearing to know that it could be so considered. His address was to the whites. Of them he spoke. For them he wrote. It was, in short, a political tract, which, under the Constitution, any man could write, without having his motives questioned, or his rights assailed.

His main position was, that South Carolina was governed by a privileged class.

Nor is this very difficult to make palpable. The Constitution of the State settles that. It fixes the apportionment bill, as follows:

Districts of South Carolina arranged in the order of the relative number of Whites to Slaves.

DISTRICTS,	Whites to Slaves.	Whites	Slave s.	Free Colored.	Senators.	Reps.
Georgetown, . .	1 " 7.64	2,093	15,993	188	2	4
Beaufort, . . .	1 " 5.25	5,650	29,682	462	4	6
Collet, & Charl.,	1 " 2.90	26,795	77,785	3,629	13	32
Sumter, . . .	1 " 2.18	8,644	18,875	373	2	5
Williamsburg, .	1 " 2.09	3,327	6,968	32	1	1
Kershaw, . . .	1 " 2.01	3,988	8,043	250	1	2
Richland, . . .	1 " 2.00	5,326	10,664	407	1	4
Orangeburg, . .	1 " 1.88	6,321	11,934	264	2	3
Fairfield, . . .	1 " 1.64	7,587	12,505	73	1	4
Newberry, . . .	1 " 1.20	8,208	9,904	238	1	3
Edgefield, . . .	1 " 1.16	15,020	17,538	294	1	6
Abbeville, . . .	1 " 1.09	13,880	15,148	323	1	5
Darlington, . .	1 " 1.05	7,169	7,560	93	1	2
Barnwell, . . .	1 " 0.99	10,533	10,503	435	1	4
Marlboro', . . .	1 " 0.98	4,188	4,118	102	1	2
Union, . . .	1 " 0.79	10,485	8,351	97	1	4
Chester, . . .	1 " 0.78	9,889	7,722	136	1	3
Laurens, . . .	1 " 0.76	5,565	4,235	107	1	2
Laurens, . . .	1 " 0.70	12,572	8,911	101	1	4
Lexington, . . .	1 " 0.63	7,401	4,685	25	1	2
Marion, . . .	1 " 0.61	8,593	5,251	88	1	3
York, . . .	1 " 0.59	11,449	6,825	109	1	4
Chesterfield, . .	1 " 0.51	5,537	2,871	166	1	2
Greenville, . . .	1 " 0.42	12,491	5,305	43	1	4
Hoory, . . .	1 " 0.37	4,154	1,574	27	1	1
Anders. W. Pick.,	1 " 0.34	24,295	8,398	156	1	7
Spartanburg, . .	1 " 1.32	17,924	5,687	58	1	5
Total, . . .	1 " 1.26	259,084	927,038	8,276	45	124

Now consider this table for a moment.—Compare the first eleven named districts, with the next eighteen, and see how power is distributed:

	Whites.	Senators.	Reps.
Eleven districts . . .	77,930	28	64
Eighteen districts . .	181,145	17	60

Here one-third of the whites control. And who are they? The heavy rice and cotton planters of the low country! Indeed, six of the districts therein, viz: Charleston, Colleton, Georgetown, Beaufort, Orangeburg, Sumter, have a majority vote in the Senate of the State! Forty-nine thousand nine hundred and three souls, can over-balance the whole population, and veto any law, or policy, which they may desire!

Take another view!

The thirteen last named districts, in the table above, are in the "Up Country," and have the majority of the white population of the State. If war or insurrection come, they alone can defend it. They are its bone and sinew. Yet the two districts of Charleston and Colleton, with hardly a population of twenty-seven thousand souls, master and manacle them as they will. These two districts—the home of the rice and cotton planters—have thirteen Senators; the thirteen up country districts, consisting mostly of small farmers, mechanics, and non-slaveholders, and numbering one hundred and thirty-four thousand five hundred and forty-three souls, have only twelve! In figures they stand thus:

	Population.	Senators.
Two Districts . . .	26,795	13
Thirteen districts .	134,543	12

This power, thus centralized, makes monarchs of the few. For instance. The Legislature elects nearly all public officers—Presidential Electors, Governor, Judges, Solicitors, Justices of the Peace, &c. The ambitious men of the "Up Country" know this, and are silent, or else ultra, in whatever the "Low Country" may demand. Thus the majority has no voice, and no way to express it, if they desired ever so much to do so.

But, like all men born to station, or having it, these "Low Country men" have so worked the political machinery as to keep down the poor and the humble, and pull up only the wealthy and the strong. Thus:

—To obtain a seat in the Legislature, a man must be clear of debt, have real estate worth seven hundred dollars, or five hundred acres of land and ten negroes.

—To be a Senator, double this amount of real estate.

—To be a Governor, seven thousand dollars is required, in settled estate.

Now, for having on his person two tracts, giving this information, and appealing to the People, to the majority, to assert their just rights,—mind, reader, not for distributing them, as that was neither alleged or proved,—J. M. BARRETT was seized, imprisoned, and treated as a felon in South Carolina!

Judge ye, honest men, whether this is a despotism which yields, or whether it is not a despotism which must be met, and made to know that wrongs of this kind, will not be tolerated, and that slavery itself, which feeds and fosters them, must not only be limited—but ANNIHILATED.

From the French of Jules Janin.

THE CARDINAL, THE MINISTER, AND THE KING'S PHYSICIAN.

Early one delightful morning in April, a young man stopped at the door of a little road-side inn, situated near Paris. Though he had not reached his eighteenth year, yet his person was tall and vigorous, his large black eyes were full of fire, and his countenance at once open and agreeable. On his entrance he accosted the landlady with a cheerful "Give me some breakfast my fair hostess, for I have been walking since day-break, and I am very hungry." While he was speaking, there came in another traveller, more youthful in appearance than the first. Like him, he was on foot, and seemed much fatigued. He was small in stature, with a complexion of red and white, and possessed the voice and hands of a young girl. "Madame," said he with great timidity, "will you please to give me some breakfast?"

THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 18, 1849.

THE FIRST OF AUGUST.

This sacred anniversary—whose every return proves more conclusively that Principle and Policy are one and inseparable—is the fitting occasion for flinging to the breeze the

ANTI-SLAVERY FLAG.

It would be a pleasure to speak of the triumphant progress of Emancipation in the English West India Islands, and to bear a tribute of honor to the successful efforts of our colored countrymen to assume their rightful position, industrially, socially, religiously, in the Free States of the Union. But the urgency of the times presents other topics. The end of this article is simply to take ground on the question of *Slavery Extension*, now forced upon the People of this Nation, and to open one plain path of political duty.

FACTS AND PROBABILITIES.

The pouring in of a flood of freemen upon California—the professed desire of the Administration to devolve upon citizens already there the responsibility of forming institutions for the new state—the growing expectation that this state will apply to Congress, next winter, for admission to the Union—the action of Mr. Clay, Mr. Benton, and other leading statesmen of both the great parties in favor of the Jefferson or Wilmot Proviso—the progressive development of right principle in Kentucky—the augmenting numbers, spirit, resolution of the Free Soil Party—the seeming trepidation of the Slave-Power—the manifestation of popular feeling and purpose throughout the Free States—and the tone of the Public Press,—are certainly encouraging omens. And were it not for the incredible artifices and successful trickery of the past ten years, whose bitter experience is fresh in memory, a sanguine person might be ready to exclaim: "Thank God, the beginning of the end has come; Slavery is shut up, and so will surely, speedily die."

But, on the other hand, when he calls to mind Texas Annexation and the Mexican War, whose monstrous inhumanity this People was tempted to swallow by the coating of gain wherewith the poison was candied,—listens to the insidious whisper of "Cuba,"—considers how easy it is to breed a litter of pretexts for further spoliation of Mexico by the famous, or infamous, Protocol and otherwise,—observes the desperation of the Slave-Power, put at bay and fighting for very life,—reflects on the innumerable lures, bribes, intrigues, which by correspondence and conversation are brought to bear upon all expectants of political preferment—remembers the Unity of Wrong and Interest that holds together the Slaveholding Oligarchy, and the Variety of Rights and Interests which distract Freemen of the South, North and West, while one party is strong in the prestige of ruling by the established precedent of "divide and conquer," and the other party is weak from habits of concession and connivance—finally, when he looks the fact fairly in the face that President Taylor was the Slaveholders Candidate, and that Mr. Compromise Clayton is prime minister—he can not but feel that the hour is fraught with perils, which call for vigilance, courage, determination, such as Freemen of the United States have never yet exercised.

Probable triumph, one dares to hope, is on the side of Justice and Humanity; and before a year is passed it may be the privilege of this People to congratulate one another on the assurance, that some atonement has been made for the Nation's crime of Conquest and Usurpation, and some pledge of practical penitence offered to mankind by hypocritical professors of Republicanism, whose Free Institutions are based upon Oppression.

But let us not be sluggish, or self-confident; for then the tragedies of eighteen forty-nine will be consummated in a catastrophe more dark and dreadful even than the triumphs of Absolutism in Europe—by spreading over the once free regions of Mexico the black and bloody shroud of Slavery.

PROSPECTIVE POLICY.

If one could believe that the Administration are really impartial; if there was not ground for fearing that the dubious phrase of General Riley's Proclamation,—several times repeated,—"*Laws not inconsistent with the Constitution and Laws of the United States*" is meant to cover the slaveholding "Compromises;" if there was reason for supposing that the People of California would be left really free to organize their own institutions, and to apply, in their own way, for admission to the Union; or if, in the event that such application shall be found premature next winter, the naked question of Slavery Extension or Slavery Limitation could be presented to Congress,—the way would be plain. Then, it might be briefly settled, that Slavery shall bring its long tolerated aggressions to an end. But it would be childish credulity to expect that any such simple problem will be offered for solution. No! The Slave-Power knows its own weakness too well for straight-forwardness,—reckless, haughty, presumptuous though it is. Its policy will be to complicate the question, wrap it about in a web of constitutional sophistries, mix it up with party issues, overlay it with all manner of delusive projects, and hide the single aim of Slavery Extension amidst specious professions of regard for National interests. What pathos, indignation, logic, paternal love of California, protestations of patriotism, conservative appeals in behalf of the violated constitution, &c., will the walls of both chambers of the capitol echo, next winter; and beneath what tons of printed twaddle will stages, steamboats, railroads, groan on every mail route.

True wisdom is to be prepared for any possible crisis. Are we prepared? Let us look at some of the combinations which may be offered to the deliberation and decision of the People and Statesmen before six months are over:

1. California offers itself with a *Slaveholding Constitution*; or what amounts to the same, a Constitution *not positively prohibiting Slavery*. What shall the Party of Freedom do? Reject it instantly, uncompromisingly. Are we ready for that course, with *all* the consequences? Before answering, let us consider what these consequences are.

2. Congress can not be brought to *reject* such a Constitution. What shall the Party of Freedom do? Retire, Senators and Representatives; announce to their respective States and Constituencies that the Union is broken; and summon in legal modes private assemblies of the People to form a *New Union of Freemen*.

3. Congress will not pass the *Anti-Slavery Extension Proviso*. What shall the Party of Freedom do? Declare that the old States will be in no way participants in the crime of Slavery Extension over new States; call upon the Californians to preserve their free institutions; and if necessary, take measures, as in the previous case, for organizing a *New Union*, including California.

4. Congress accepts California with a Free Constitution, or else passes the *Anti-Slavery Extension Proviso*; and one, two, three, of the slaveholding States *nullify or secede*. What shall the Party of Freedom do? Take them at their word; proceed instantly to confirm and carry out a decisive policy of Slavery Limitation, and admit the self exiled States again, only on condition of their adopting Constitutions based upon Emancipation, Equality and Justice.

The simplest combinations have been purposely presented for the end of bringing clearly out this one thought—that any successful attempt to extend Slavery over the Territories, newly sub-

mitted to our guardianship, should be treated as a VIRTUAL DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION.

Unless the Party of Freedom is prepared to take this firm ground of Principle, it is to be feared—and it would be false to hide the fear—that once again the Freemen of this Nation will find themselves cajoled, brow-beaten, and entrapped into suicidal and criminal subservience to the Faction of a Slaveholding Oligarchy, which has tyrannized over the United States for a half century. Slavery must, on no consideration, be allowed a hair's-breadth of standing room in these new countries. It would be fatal folly to talk of abolishing it if once allowed to show its head there. Let not "REPEAL" of Slavery extending legislation be dreamed of or mentioned as a possibility. "The Proviso" or a "Free Constitution" should be the calm, unflinching, inexorable demand.

This course is the only conservative one, and throws the blame of destructive policy where it rightly belongs, on the aggressive Slave-Power. It is the only righteous one according to the acknowledged Principles of our Government, the Religion professed by our Nation, the plain dictates of Humanity, and the Law of God.

Had Freemen been deliberately, firmly ready, at the time of the Annexation of Texas and the Mexican War, to say to the Slave-Power, "Put your plots in execution at your peril; their consummation will be held by us to be a virtual dissolution of the Old Union, and we shall straightway summon the People to form a New Union,"—this Nation never would have been plunged upon its infamous career of Robbery and Murder.

Now, at last, then let us be prepared. Let the People in their primary assemblies, let Legislatures and State Conventions, let Representatives and Senators in Congress announce their absolute resolve in the brief words:

SLAVERY LIMITATION OR THE NEW UNION OF FREEMEN.

W. H. G.

TOPICS AND THEIR TREATMENT.

NUMBER THREE.

Our starting point, as we have shown, is Christendom in its actual crude condition, and here we are Critics.

The Standard whereby we judge existing institutions, as we have also shown, is the Ideal of Divine Order, which pervading Christendom for centuries, in this age distinctly embodies itself in Central Principles.

And now guided by the tests at once positive and negative with which Social Science thus provides us, we are prepared to comprehend the means for transforming present antagonisms into future co-operation. To day then let us consider

III. TRANSITION.

Metamorphosis is the universal mode of growth, throughout the vegetable and animal kingdoms; and for the Race of Man we are taught by all analogy to expect a series of mutations, complex, various, and proportioned in their scale to the grandeur and rich endowments of an existence so majestic. What absurdity is it to suppose that any institution has reached its final perfect form! How obvious by a glance over history, or a wide comparison of nations and communities now existing, that all institutions are passing through a process of progressive development! Does it need argument to prove, do we not know, that there is a latent life of Love, uniting while animating the confederacy of civilized states called Christendom, which is at this very instant seeking new organs, freer action, more symmetric proportions? The only question then, for a truly religious mind, is this, "What transformation does Providence now intend?"

We can but denote some of the impending changes which Humanity plainly commands and Heaven sanctions—thus present-

ing germs to be hereafter unfolded; and we invite the aid of practical persons in marking out the stages of this next era of *Guarantees*, as it was denominated by Fourier, or *Mutualism*, as Proudhon calls it.

1. **LABOR.** Man's lowest state is passive submission to nature; his highest will be Attractive Industry, when Work of all kinds is purified into Art. Between these extremes are Slavery, Serfage, Hired Labor, Partnership, Simple Association. The majority seem to cherish the conceit that work for wages is the culmination of practical freedom. This absurdity may be best exposed by showing how instinctively and inevitably the civilized nations are even now passing on to the higher level of co-operation. We wish this paper to explain the successive steps, by which in each and every branch of production, workmen and workwomen may become their own masters and mistresses, by being each others assistants.

2. **PROPERTY.** Grabbing and plucking in the wilderness is man's first mode of appropriation; Graduated Distribution and Joint Ownership in domains, cultivated to the highest point of richness and beauty by combined energy and capital, is the manifest destiny of our race when wholly humanised. Between these extremes are Tribal and Patriarchal ownership; forcible seizure and the exclusive possession of Nobles and Monarchs, including fiefs of all kinds; then Legalized private property in its endlessly varied modes, at which stage of development modern civilized and christian states have very generally arrived—woman's rights being at length announced, though not established. Far however, from there being reason to consider isolated, individual appropriation, the highest possible form of holding wealth, observation satisfactorily shows that Society has so much outgrown this usage, that inconveniences in the present system of Land Tenures, Real Estate, Rents, &c., have become almost intolerable in advanced communities. And at once by necessity and attraction companies of efficient persons are every where substituting combined for separate ownership. This principle of corporate appropriation is evidently immensely prolific, and no one can yet conjecture its issues. Let the problems involved in this transformation be patiently solved.

3. **EXCHANGE.** Barter in kind between savages is the simplest mode of commerce; and any one, however dull in imagination, can foresee a period, when nations and communities, no longer jealously competitive but fraternally confederated around the globe, will consider it the highest duty of external administration swiftly and securely to interchange the varied productions of soils and climates, and so most equitably to blend earth's countless means of health, gratification and refinement. Between these extremes are government monopolies, trade restricted by tax-duties and tariffs, free-trade, &c. Experience has brought modern societies to the point of understanding that arbitrary and exclusive privileges on the one side, and wholly unregulated exchanges on the other, are alike calculated to enrich the few, embarrass the many, and entangle communities in a mesh of speculation, petty pilfering, adulterations, bankruptcies and alternate fevers and stagnations. The next step plainly is to use the highest collective information and judgment as to crops, manufactures and markets, for the largest collective benefit,—by establishing a system of inter-communal, international commercial unions.

4. **CURRENCY.** From the rudest portable article of worth, gems and precious metals, up through bills of credit, bank bills, promissory notes, checks, and all conceivable and as yet inconceivable modes of representing actual and possible values, must mankind pass to a period when for hard money will be substituted a wholly spiritual pledge, and the Word of a community or state or man will be considered the most safe, sovereign and convenient form of credit. But the next step in the ascending series manifestly is, to open to the mass of men, and especially to producers,—whether by People's Banks or otherwise—facili-

ties as great as are now enjoyed by the few capitalists for obtaining loans, advances and means of transfer. Confidence, reposing upon unquestionable evidence of accumulated possession, skill and energy, must be more and more, as society advances, the indispensable condition of secure and abundant currency. Openness of accounts and transactions, and approved honesty and honor, must precede such confidence. Pledges of collective responsibility for associated persons confiding in each other; and communal pledges for all who prove that they are entitled to the confidence of the community, are elements of the System of Mutual Currency which is forming itself. Who has the sagacity to work this system out?

5. **MUTUAL INSURANCE.** From the protection of the tribe and family up through barbarous modes of allegiance and patronage, civilized independence, legal charities, benevolent associations, and voluntary unions, must mankind ascend to that Organic intercommunism, when all human beings, male and female, old and young, will feel themselves upheld, guarded, guided by an allied Race. But the special characteristic of our era is a tendency, all but universally manifested, to form relations for mutual aid more intimate and tender than can be provided by legislative enactments and political contracts. Societies for Insurance on Life and Health, following Fire, Marine and Mercantile Insurance Companies, are evidently but filaments of a complex system of Guarantees, which will soon become coextensive with all the risks, responsibilities and relations of life. He who presents a new mode of mutual insurance, secure, practicable, profitable, is doing the very work which the Race most demands of its children in this generation.

6. **EDUCATION.** Public attention throughout the leading nations seems now to be thoroughly awakening to the obvious truth, that earthly life has as its main end spiritual culture. The first stage of society, where the man of power and science claimed superhuman right to rule over the credulous and imbruted multitude has passed; close corporations and exclusive aristocracies of learning are transmuted by the spirit of diffusion; and instrumentalities for elevating the popular mind to a grand table land of intelligence multiply each year; though we are yet far away from that refulgent era, when every form of genius and talent, alike in women and men, will be revered as God's holiest gift, and when the finest wisdom of society will be concentrated upon the divine art of making man wholly manly. What is next to be done is obviously to introduce the most symmetric and well proportioned training possible in modes of life so partial and imperfect as those of this age are; and by agricultural, mechanical, scientific schools to plant in the natural world a vigorous root for all higher philosophical, moral and spiritual development.

7. **SOCIAL POSITION.** Wild men honor each other for physical prowess, insensibility to pain, fierce passions and animal courage, making the weaker sex their toys and tools, and taking him for their chief who combines intellectual power with propensity to rule. We can all foresee a period, when disinterested unconsciousness of personal claims will allay the feverish thirst for distinction that now eats up the finest energies, when desire for useful ministry will absorb haughty demands for the service of fellow-men, when loyalty and liberty will be felt to be inseparable, when justice and interest will combine to assign to every one due rank and function, and endowments of all kinds will be religiously revered. But before that happy age great transformations must remove privilege, caste, and other excipients of morbid ambition. The next step of progress is to form social alliances proportioned to growing refinement, to raise woman to her just co-sovereignty, and in every way to develop dignity and courtesy. Public Lectures, Music Halls, Galleries of Art, Libraries, Reading Rooms, Assembly Rooms, Gardens and Pleasure Grounds, Children's Excursions, &c., are ready means for binding all classes and both sexes in kindly inter-

course, clearing brows of the old scowl of jealousy, and softening faces grown rigid in pride. Then will follow generous distribution of municipal and political trusts to the workiest of every vocation. And so we shall emerge from the dark, cold valleys of established inequality upon sunny lowlands of good-fellowship, where character is recognized as the only crown.

8. **RELIGION.** Rites of superstition enforced by fear are the first degrading form of worship. Far in the future we catch glimpses of a sacred era when beautified earth will be man's altar, forever wreathed with freshest flowers and ripest fruits, whereon the grateful race will testify their thankful trust by mutual kindnesses. Slowly, yet surely symbols are interpreted into the living realities to which they correspond; and gradually the most refined nations are learning, that the spirituality which truly sanctifies is love, that holiness and humanity are inseparably one. The next transition will be a unitary interpretation of all creeds,—a positive affirmation of Man's communion with Superhuman Realities by Mediation,—and a practical embodiment of the Spirit of Divine Humanity in communal institutions and private relations. How to make churches really Brotherhoods of God's Children, is the urgent question which stirs the heart of Christendom to-day.

Thus then—

Our Center is the DIVINE IDEAL OF SOCIETY.

Our Descending Wing is CRITICISM.

Our Ascending Wing is TRANSITION.

We have marked out the field which The Spirit of the Age will seek to plough and reap. Come on, fellow laborers, it is spring-time and the sun is up.

W. M. C.

Erratum. In the article on Central Principles, No. 5, a mistake in the use of Italics and Capitals under the first head, makes the writer appear to be what he is not, a Pantheist. The clause referred to should be printed thus "THE ONE; the ONE in Many; the Many in ONE." The Divine Being must always be conceived of by us, as self centered, self ordered, self comprehended UNITY.

TALKS ON THE TIMES.

II.—SOCIALIST AND CATHOLIC.

SOCIALIST. "Shall I congratulate, or condole with you, that bomb-shells and bayonets have opened the way to St. Peter's for the viceroy of the Prince of Peace? What benediction in bullets! How grateful must the Romans be for the Pope's paternal fidelity to the scriptural lesson: 'Ask and it shall be given unto you; for what father is there who when his children ask for bread will give them a' cannon-ball! How weeping widows and orphans must welcome back the benefactor who has redeemed them from tyrannical husbands and fathers, by battering out their brains! My friend! pardon these bitter words, for they are but oozing drops from a most bitter well of disappointment. *I have lost faith in Pio Nono.* That fatal letter expressing his 'sentiments of paternal affection' for the butcher Oudinot proves that he is perverted."

CATHOLIC. "Judge not rashly, speak not lightly, of the Holy Father. You view this matter through the obscuring fumes of your prejudices. Consider the facts truly. Rome is the consecrated city of Christendom, entrusted,—with all its hallowed associations, its treasures of religious art, its temples and relics, colleges and libraries,—to the charge of the Church, from generation to generation. What right had Pope Pius to abandon it into the hands of infidels? Is he not pledged by loyalty to all past ages to hand it down safe, ay! enriched, to posterity? Again Rome and the Roman States are the patrimony of the Church, not the property of any pope. From Charlemagne downwards they have been set apart from the world for the central spiritual service of all mankind. Was Pope Pius at liberty, even if he personally preferred spoliation to war, to allow

this transmitted wealth to be devoted to secular uses? Again the Supreme Pontiff, must feel that he is independent of the patronage or constraint of all earthly monarchs and people;—and all nations must recognize his independence as the guarantee of his impartiality. Could the Chief Potentate consent to become the pensioner of tyrants or of mobs? Plainly there was no alternative. It was the manifest duty of Pope Pius to reclaim Rome. This was his sole wish and purpose. He never authorized bloodshed. His hope was, that when the madmen who had seized upon the estates of the Church should see themselves surrounded by a combined force of the chief Catholic Powers they would yield without a blow. The rash vanity and selfish policy of the French inflamed the desperate fury of the rebels; and on these misguided hot-heads, not on the Holy Father, should rest the blame for horrors which he mourns, as all must. And one word more, why bestow all your sympathy on the violent and unjust? Do you forget the exiled, imprisoned, outraged ministers and servants of religion, the peaceable, pious multitude subjected at once to a lawless soldiery within and bombardment from without?"

S. "I am unconscious of prejudice against Pope Pius; on the contrary my heart went out to him two years since with a fullness of gratitude and hope, such as I have felt towards no public man in this generation. Nothing can ever persuade me that he was not *perfectly sincere* in his purpose of reform. And I believe you when you say, that his kind soul is keenly pained to enter Rome over the mangled corpses of those whom he honestly considers the enemies not of himself but of the Church. But I take his own word for it, 'He continually offers up prayers for the French Army!' Enough, enough! He stands before the Infinite Judge. Let us remember that once he was large, magnanimous, humane, hopeful. God grant that he become so again. But that the crafty tools of Absolutism, who have clustered round him, have blocked up every avenue to his heart, with their devices, no calm observer can doubt. Read his 'Allocution.' How absolutely ludicrous is its bombastic extravagance in perverting the truth. Is Pio Nono chargeable with this? No! The deceivers around him have overclouded his gentle, devout affections, with their hideous lies about the Communists, Socialists, and what not, until his native good sense is eclipsed. But perhaps I use too strong words of condemnation even towards his counsellors. Let it be granted, if you will, that hoodwinked, cramped, fettered, as they are by superstition, degrading fears and formalities, they *can not* comprehend or even catch a glimpse of the real purpose of the Socialists. Still, I say to you with unfaltering confidence, never was a greater blunder in mere *policy* committed, than when the Catholic Church opposed itself to Socialism. Had the Pope, Cardinals, Bishops, Priesthood of that Church alone taken up the problems presented by Socialism,—adopted whatever of its plans for elevating Labor and relieving Pauperism seemed practicable—announced to Monarchs and Nobles, to Bankers and Merchants, that the time had come for a great transformation in industry and property—approved themselves thus the Fathers and Friends of the People—the world would have seen a more glorious resurrection than the boldest dares to dream of, and mankind would have blessed the name of Pio Nono for ages! Alas! how causelessly has been thrown away a divine opportunity for bringing back again the UNITY OF CHRISTENDOM."

C. "You demand impossibilities. Light and darkness, good and evil, Heaven and Hell can not be mingled. The Church and Socialism are antagonist. One is Supernatural, the other Natural; one spiritual, the other carnal; one of the Eternal world, the other of this world of sin and death. In principles, methods, ends, they are radically opposed. The Socialists never would submit to priestly guidance, accept the creeds, receive the sacraments. Their word is license not obedience, indulgence not purifying restraint, self-will not self-sacrifice. All that is

good in Socialism has been and is practiced by Catholics *nam*,—witness the Religious Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods in all ages. Who ever taught such lessons of charity to the rich, of humility to the haughty, of unlimited fraternity and equality, as Catholics? What but the Spirit, which is fed from fountains of living water by mediation, and whose issues mingle with the ransomed race beyond the grave, can raise persons enough above the allurements of sense and pride, to make them in deed and in truth, what Socialists profess to be,—Lovers of Collective Humanity, Lovers of the lowliest creature that wears the human form? Look for yourself; read the books of Socialists, observe their actions; are they not to a man, in France, Germany, Italy, professed infidels or mere pantheists? How could the Church do any thing with them, but summon them to instant repentance?"

S. "'Oh ye of little faith;' and 'ye know not what spirit ye are of,' are two of the Master's sayings which should be sounded freshly in the ears of all Christians to-day. The very cause of unbelief is the faithlessness of the Church. God knows it is not in my heart to cavil and criticise. I grant what you say of the almost superhuman humanity manifested by *sanctity* souls in every generation. But where are the thunders of the Church against the oppressions of tyrants, the frauds of commerce, the spellation of financiers, the wrongs done to labor, the neglect of the poor, the spirit of caste, ostentation, extravagance? Oh for a clergy, who from the high ground of Absolute Rectitude would speak to the Mighty and Great, in such a tone of deep, soul subduing humanity, and commanding trust in Universal Providence, as would strip them of their vain disguises and show their bare enormities to their astonished gaze. Oh for the will of a Gregory in the heart of a Fenelon. The path was broad before you in this generation. What if leading Socialists will not accept the Church? Let the Church then take the work,—which the narrow, bitter, opinionative, self-willed conceit of these men vitiates and distorts—into her own keeping, sanctify it, sweeten, purify it. That is just what the world longs for, what the people crave, what God commands, a *Politics pervaded by Religion, a State spiritualized by a Church*. By neglecting this grand opportunity Catholicism has sealed its fate. The bloody tracks of Pio Nono, as he reascends the chair of Peter are printed into the very heart of Humanity, and will never be washed out. Ichabod is written on the walls of Rome. The world can henceforth look only to the New Church of Universal Unity."

W. H. C.

THE COMING ERA OF MUTUALISM.

From the "System of Contradictions in Political Economy,"
BY P. J. PROUDHON.

If I am not deceived, my readers must be convinced at least of one thing, that Social Truth is not to be looked for either in Utopia or in the Old Routine; that Political Economy is not the Science of Society, and yet that it contains the elements of such a science, even as chaos before creation contained the elements of the universe; and finally, that in order to arrive at the definitive organization which would appear to be the destiny of our race upon this globe, it is only necessary to make a general equation of all our contradictions.

But what shall be the formula of this equation?

Already we have been enabled to perceive, that it must be a Law of *Exchange*, a theory of *MUTUALISM*, a system of Guarantees, which dissolves the old forms of society civil and commercial, and satisfies all the conditions of efficiency, progress and justice, which criticism has pointed out; a Society no longer merely conventional, but *real*, which substitutes for the present piecemeal divisions of property a scientific distribution; which abolishes the servitude machinery, and prevents the origin—gendered by new inventions; which converts competition into

benefit and makes of monopoly a pledge of universal security; which by the power of its principle, instead of demanding credit for capital and protection for the state, subjects both capital and the state to the uses of labor; which by the truthful honesty of its exchanges produces a real solidarity among nations; which without interdicting individual enterprise and without prohibiting domestic expenditure, incessantly restores to society the wealth that private appropriation diverts from it; which by the rapid turning over, the outflux and influx of capital, insures the political and industrial equality of citizens, and by a grand system of public education produces,—while constantly elevating the general level,—an equality of functions and an equivalence of skill; which regenerating human conscience by justice, well being and virtue, ensures harmony and the equilibrium of generations; a society, in a word, which being at once organized and transitional, avoids what is merely provisional, guarantees all, yet leaves the way open for improvement.

This theory of **MUTUALISM**, that is to say of exchange in kind, of which the simplest form is the loan of articles of consumption is, when the collective being of society is regarded, a synthesis of the two ideas of appropriation and of communism; a synthesis as ancient as the elements of which it is composed, inasmuch as it is only a return of society to its primitive practices, across a labyrinth of inventions and systems, the result of six thousand years of meditation upon this fundamental proposition, **A equals A**.

All is prepared to day for this solemn restoration; every thing announces that the reign of delusions is ended, and that society is about to return to its natural sincerity. Monopoly has swelled to a world-wide size; and monopoly embracing the world can not remain exclusive; it must either popularize itself or explode and disappear. Hypocrisy, venality, prostitution, robbery, form the very foundations of the public conscience, and unless humanity learns to live upon that which is its bane, we must believe that the era of justice and expiation draws nigh.

Already Socialism, feeling the unsatisfactoriness of Utopian dreams, applies itself to realities and facts; laughs at its own follies in Paris; plunges into discussions in Berlin, Cologne, Leipsic, Breslau; rages in England; thunders from across the Atlantic; stands ready for martyrdom in Poland; makes governmental experiments at Berne and Lausanne. Socialism, penetrating the masses, has become transformed; the people care little for the honor of particular schools; they demand work, knowledge, well-being, equality. Little reck they of systems, if only the end they seek is gained. When the people have set their will upon a certain good, and the only question is how to obtain it, we have not long to wait before it comes; prepare to see the grand masquerade break up and vanish.—Translated for *The Spirit of the Age*.

HEBREW LEGEND.—"You teach," said the Emperor Trajan to a famous Rabbi, "that your God is everywhere, and boast that he resides among your nation. I should like to see him."

"God's presence is indeed everywhere," the Rabbi replied, "but he cannot be seen, for no mortal eye can look upon his splendor."

The Emperor had the obstinacy of power and persisted in his demand.

"Well," answered the Rabbi, "suppose we begin by endeavoring to gaze at one of his ambassadors."

Trajan assented, and the Rabbi leading him into the open air, for it was the noon of the day, bade him raise his eyes to the sun then shining down upon the world in its meridian glory. The Emperor made the attempt, but relinquished it.

"I cannot," he said, "the light dazzles me."

"If then," rejoined the triumphant Rabbi, "thou art unable to endure the light of one of his creatures, how canst thou expect to behold the unclouded glory of the Creator?"

EUROPEAN AFFAIRS TO THE WEEK ENDING AUG. 11,

Latest Date, July 28.

THE most prominent event of the week in ENGLAND is the large meeting held in the London Tavern on the 23d of July, for the purpose of giving a public expression of sympathy to the struggling patriots of Hungary. A more numerous or enthusiastic assembly has seldom come together on any occasion in England. Among the distinguished persons present were Mr. Cobden, Lord Nugent, Lord Stuart, William Howitt, and a large number of Poles, Hungarians, Germans, and other representatives of free principles from foreign countries. The doors were thronged at an early hour, and multitudes were obliged to withdraw, unable to gain admission.

A peculiar interest was given to this meeting by the fact that it was held on peace principles, although in behalf of a nation whose only resource seemed to be in the weapon of war. The first resolution was proposed by a gentleman belonging to the Society of Friends, who said that he came to the meeting as an advocate of universal peace, and probably on that account had been placed in the position in which he stood. Still, he felt himself called on, to express his feelings of sorrow and indignation, in regard to the unjust and cruel war, which Austria and Russia were now waging on Hungary. The resolution which he propounded was to the effect that without compromising individual opinions on the subject of war, the meeting regards the noble resistance of Hungary to the tyrannical encroachments of Austrian despotism, with sincere admiration and sympathy. The great speech of the occasion was made by Mr. Cobden, the celebrated leader of the Corn-law reform. It was a thrilling piece of argument and eloquence. The effect on the enthusiastic audience was in the highest degree electrical. Mr. Cobden maintained that the Russian power could be more effectually put down by moral force than by grape shot. The effect of a true public opinion would be to stop the supplies. Russia has an immense physical force at her disposal, but pecuniarily she is a beggar. She cannot carry on two campaigns in Hungary without coming to Western Europe for a loan, unless indeed, she should undertake to rob the bank at St. Petersburg. The peace party are bound to prevent Russia from borrowing money in England. It should denounce the blood-stained project. It should doom the house or the individual who would employ his money for that purpose to the crushing weight of universal scorn. Russia is the poorest country of Europe. The idea of her strong political power is the most gigantic imposture. If Russia should expose herself to the hostility of England, or any other great maritime power, like the United States, they would fall upon her like a thunderbolt. In six months, they would crumple up that empire in their hands, like a piece of worthless paper. The power of Russia consists in an army on paper without a commissariat, a navy without sailors, and a military chest without a farthing. The resolutions, which breathed the strongest spirit of sympathy with Hungary and of indignation at her invaders were adopted by acclamation.

In FRANCE, the Legislative Assembly has been employed in the discussion of the bill on the Liberty of the Press. Reports are in circulation of an attempt in high quarters to change the form of government. It is said that the Parisians will soon see the walls of Paris covered with placards announcing that it has been deemed absolutely necessary to establish a solid and permanent form of government, both for the internal good of France, as also to qualify her to be received among the European nations where royalty is still respected; and that for some weeks past skilful artisans have been secretly employed in the fabrication of a vast number of bronze eagles, which on a given morning will be distributed to the troops, who are thereupon to worship with enthusiasm the emblem of the imperial victories,

and proclaim the nephew of their old chief their Emperor. This great day is stated to be the 15th of August, the anniversary of the birth of the Emperor Napoleon; and it is for this reason that Ministers support earnestly the proposition for the prorogation, and wish it to commence on the 1st of August. In the meantime the President of the Republic is to make a tour in the departments, ostensibly to assist at the opening of various sections of railroads, but with the real object of acquiring popularity, and distributing his eagles. Those who affect to believe in all these important events think, however, that another party will share the glory and the peril of a *coup d'etat*. This other party is the Legitimist, who, according to the same authority, are also working for the restoration of their chief, while the Imperialists are laboring to crown theirs. Such are the important events predicted by some of the Parisian journals for the month of August.

At Rome, on the 10th of July the high dignitaries of the clergy repaired to the Palace Rospigliosi, to thank Gen. Oudinot for the important services the French army had rendered the population of Rome. The General-in-Chief replied to the address of the deputation:

"GENTLEMEN: I had the intention of anticipating your visit; but you know the occupations of a General-in-Chief, charged at the same time with new administrative functions, are engrossing. They have taken up all my time, and I was accordingly obliged to sacrifice pleasure to duty. I thank you in the name of France and the army for your good wishes. For my part I am proud of having defended the military honor of France and re-established order. I am equally delighted to have had it in my power to serve the Church and you, gentlemen, who must have suffered so severely during the evil days which you have passed through. Let us cast the veil of oblivion over those times of disorder, and labor to re-edify what has been destroyed. Your long experience, your valuable knowledge of the wants of the country, are necessary to me. I rely on your co-operation and talent. *The army, gentlemen, and the clergy are the two great bodies called to save society. United by the same tie that constitutes our power, united by discipline, it is only from the religious sentiment and the respect for authority that shaken society can derive its strength and salvation.*"

On July 16, last, Rome was again brought under the Papal sway. The yellow and white banner, emblazoned with the keys of St. Peter, was the day before hoisted before the castle of St. Angelo, and saluted by 100 guns, while the respect of the people was imperiously enforced by the ostentatious display of the whole French garrison. The notifications of the ceremony were characteristic of the sources from which they came. That of Gen. Oudinot announces that "a solemn *Te Deum* will be celebrated at St. Peter's on Sunday, the 15th July, to return thanks for the success of the French arms in Italy, and for the re-establishment of the Pontifical authority." The great piazza of St. Peter's was filled with troops, and the church itself could not have had less than 5,000 or 6,000 soldiers in its ample nave and aisles. Oudinot, with a numerous and brilliant staff, arrived about five o'clock, and was received on the church steps by a complimentary deputation of ecclesiastical dignitaries, who conducted him up to the high altar, and installed him in an eminent position previous to the commencement of the *Te Deum*. The flute notes of the Papal choir, alternated with the clangor of martial bands, in wafting praises to Heaven for the restoration of priestly dominion, and the French troops went through the manœuver of kneeling to receive the benediction, as skillfully as if they had been born Romans. A Cardinal, either Tozzi or Castracane, read an address, to which the latter replied in terms of high commendation toward his own troops, and concluded by crying, "*Viva l'Italia! Viva la religione! Viva la Francia!*" Shouts of applause followed this interlocution. While these rejoicings were going on under the auspices

of the French generals and cardinals, a numerous band of young Romans repaired to the gate of San Pancrazio, and visited the fatal scene of so many murderous engagements, the graves of so many of their friends and companions in arms. They visited the principal repositories of the dead, as well as the church of St. Pancrazio, where they chanted a *miserere* in honor of the departed. Many other persons, averse to the re-established order of things left Rome for the day, and two hundred carriages full went to Frascati alone. In fact, the attempt to render the *Te Deum* a popular thing entirely failed; the priests have evidently lost all sympathy, and will be obliged to adopt despotic measures on their return to power.

The following was addressed by the Pope to Oudinot, on being presented with the keys of Rome:

"Monsieur le General:—The well-known valor of the French arms, supported by the justice of the cause which they defend, has reaped the fruit due to such arms—victory. Accept, Monsieur le General, my congratulations for the principal part which is due to you in this event, congratulations, not for the blood which has been shed—for that my heart abhors—but for the triumph of order over anarchy, for liberty restored to honest and Christian persons, for whom it will not henceforth be a crime to enjoy the property which God has divided among them, and to worship with religious pomp, without incurring the danger of loss of life or liberty. With regard to the grave difficulties which may hereafter occur, I rely on the Divine protection. I think it will not be without use to the French army to be made acquainted with the history of the events which occurred during my Pontificate; they are traced out in my allocution, with which you are doubtless acquainted, but of which I nevertheless send you a certain number of copies, in order that they may be read by those who you may think useful should be acquainted with them. This document will sufficiently prove that the triumph of the French army has been gained over the enemies of human society, and will of itself awaken sentiments in the minds of every right-thinking man in Europe and the whole world. Colonel Niel, who with your honored dispatch presented me the keys of one of the gates of Rome, will hand you this letter. It is with much satisfaction I avail myself of this opportunity to express to you my sentiments of paternal affection, and the assurance that I continually offer up prayers to the Almighty for you, for the French army, for the Government, and for all France. Receive the apostolic benediction, which I give you from my heart."

The accounts from the seat of war in HUNGARY are more favorable than were anticipated from the character of the late advices. The heroic Magyars still maintain the desperate struggle with energy and indomitable valor. An incident is related by the London Correspondent of The Tribune illustrative of the fearlessness and self-devotion of the Hungarian soldiery. "It was during the retreat of Windischgratz some four months ago, when the Hungarians, under Gorgey, were pursuing him, that the two hosts came near together; the Austrian artillery being posted upon a well-worked hill, in which also their sharpshooters were concealed in great numbers. General Gorgey was aware of this disposition of the enemy, and riding up to a body of his huzzars which was stationed in advance, he inquired aloud, who was the commanding officer.—A grey-headed old man answered to the summons, and when interrogated about the other officers, said that they had all been killed. Gorgey, addressing him, pointing to the hill, 'You must take that position,' said he, 'it will cost you half your men, but you must take it at all events.' The old man heard his orders, and in his turn spoke to his huzzars. 'The General says we must take that hill; it will cost us one-half of our numbers, but it must be done at all events.' Then raising his hands to Heaven, and addressing God under the old Hungarian style, he continued his words in saying; 'I will not ask thee to help us, and I know

them will not help the Austrians, but if thou wilt go and sit upon that hill, thou shalt be satisfied with thy children.' Then they all leaned their heads down over the saddle-bows and made the onslaught, taking the hill, but losing two-thirds of their force. Kossuth was on the field and saw it all, and fell upon Georgey's neck and wept. It may be that the Peace movement is a good thing, but surely war furnishes us as yet with the most splendid ideal of devotion and heroism, and it will be a long time before Mercantile Pacifists can provide our want for the heroic with such glorious traits as these."

News of the Week.

WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION; CELEBRATION AT WORCESTER.

The anniversary of the abolition of Slavery in the British West Indies, was celebrated in this city, on Friday of last week, by appropriate exercises, under the auspices of the American Anti-Slavery Society, at the Hospital Grove. The meeting was held through the day with only one hour's intermission at noon, and the attendance was very large. A special train from Boston consisting of fourteen long cars brought about 1000 delegates from the eastern part of the State, and multitudes came in from the adjoining towns. Mr. Garrison presided, and upon taking the chair briefly addressed the multitude upon the subject of the interesting event they had met to commemorate, after which Rev. Samuel May, one of the Secretaries of the Society, read letters from John G. Palfrey and Charles Sumner, Esq., in reply to the invitations which had been extended to them to be present upon the occasion. Mr. Charles C. Burleigh then addressed the meeting in a strain of eloquent remarks for nearly an hour, and was followed by Rev. Theodore Parker, of Boston, who enchained the attention of the audience for some time by the power of his eloquence, the originality of his ideas, the vigor of his thoughts, and the beauty of the language in which they were clothed. Anti-Slavery songs were then sung and the meeting then adjourned for an hour. In the afternoon the exercises were commenced by a speech from Rev. Adin Ballou, of Hopedale, which we were not so fortunate as to hear; he was followed by Wendell Phillips, Esq., of Boston, Ralph Waldo Emerson, of Concord, James M. Buffum, of Lynn, and Wm. Lloyd Garrison, of Boston. Mr. Phillips was suffering from ill health, but he did full justice, notwithstanding, to his high reputation as an orator. Mr. Emerson was too unwell to speak, but upon being called on, he said he felt it his duty to make some sort of a response to the call. Unaccustomed as he is to addressing mass meetings of the people *extempore*, he seemed to find much difficulty in getting his great ideas into a proper clothing of words. Several times he looked up into the sky and far off into the woods and fields as if for help in his difficult and unaccustomed task; but the ideas only seemed to put on more fantastic airs in the scholar's brain, and saving a remark or two, the audience only caught a glimpse of what he was striving to express. However, all knew that the root of the matter was in him, and that you had only to let him sit down by himself in his study and put his hand to paper, and his thoughts would run as clear as a fountain, and his great loving heart would expand with the kindest sympathies for humanity after quite another fashion, and so all were satisfied.—[Christian Citizen.

The following additional notices of the above celebration, are given by the Boston Correspondent of the Anti-Slavery Standard.

The speeches were extremely good, but the grove was not favorably made for hearing them. In the first place, there was a scarcity of an article usually thought important to a grove, to wit, trees, and, consequently, rather a short allowance of shade.

In the second place, the pitch of the hill, on the side of which looking up, the platform was placed, was so steep that a small part of the numbers in attendance could see the speakers. On that occasion, as least the old proverb was verified, for Truth was certainly at the bottom of a Well. In the third place, the seats provided were not strong enough to endure the pressure of so many "weighty friends" who sought their relief, and every now and then the flow of eloquence was interrupted by the crash of a row of temporary benches, and the scenery varied by the sudden prostration of a long line of admiring listeners. Recovering strength, however, from the embrace of their mother earth (to use an entirely new classical allusion,) they arose like so many Autouses and took up the thread of the discourse with refreshed attention. This running accompaniment was continued at intervals until all the seats had been reduced to their original elements. But with all these drawbacks, it was an extremely successful occasion. From the numbers we left on the ground when the endless Special Train departed, there must have been a very large attendance from Worcester and the country round about. We, at least, had the satisfaction of knowing that we had kept, not the Fast which Zachary Taylor had appointed, but that which the Lord hath chosen.

The most piquant portion of the proceedings was Mr. Garrison's account of his interview with Father Mathew as a Committee to invite him to attend this meeting. He, Mr. Phillips and Dr. Bowditch were a Committee to wait upon him for this purpose. When he was introduced to him, Father Mathew said:

"Your name is very familiar to me, Mr. Garrison, though I have never seen you before!"

"Yes," replied Mr. G. "My name is sufficiently notorious, but not yet popular."

After some civilities touching common friends at Cork, Mr. Garrison broached his business, which evidently produced no agreeable impression on the Apostle's mind.

"He could not meddle in matters of this sort; he came merely for the specific object of advancing temperance; he was besides a Catholic Priest and could not engage in proselytism."

"It was true," Mr. G. replied, "that he could not with propriety engage in proselytism; but this was not a matter of theological opinion, but of common humanity like his own Temperance Movement, and so not incompatible with it."

Father Mathew still persisted in his refusal of the proposition, and intimated that he was not sure that there was any prohibition of Slavery in the Scriptures."

"But there is a very plain one here!" replied Mr. Garrison, pointing to his own breast.

He then reminded Father M. that he had signed an Address once, together with Daniel O'Connell, urging his countrymen in America to identify themselves with the Abolitionists and to be true to the slave.

"Yes," replied he "I remember it, and I recollect, too, it brought upon me a good deal of odium!"

The interview ended by the Committee placing their letter in Father Mathew's hands, asking his consideration of it, and such reply as he thought fit to give it. As he has never given any reply, Mr. Garrison felt himself called upon to relate the particulars of this interview as the only answer that could be expected.

SCHOOL FOR COLORED CHILDREN.—An elaborate Report has been made on this subject by a Committee of the Board of Education. Under the existing ordinances, colored children are prohibited from entering the several public schools of this city, and a separate school has been maintained for their accommodation. The Report shows strong pecuniary reasons for abandoning the separate school, and argues with much force that many advantages would result from permitting colored children to be received in all the schools on the same footing as those who are white.—[Rochester American, 10th.

THE PEACE CONVENTION.—A letter from Mr. Edmund Fry to Prof. Walker appears in the last *Christian Citizen*, stating that Messrs. Burritt and Richard had gone to Paris to make the closing preparations for the Convention on the 20th of August. They will then, accompanied by Mr. George Sumner, "take a short run through Germany and perhaps Holland to beat up for an influential delegation." The plan of proceedings for the English and American delegations is as follows:—

"The delegates are all to assemble in London on Monday the 20th August, and we shall have a sort of social meeting that evening, for the purpose of mutual introductions, and to settle the regulations for the journey, and to announce the programme for the proceedings of the Congress. The party will start by special train, early on the morning of the 21st, and will reach Paris that evening *via* Folkestone and Boulogne. There will be most likely something in the shape of a jubilee reception at Boulogne, to welcome us to France. The business of the Congress will probably occupy the remaining four days of the week, and on Monday, the 27th, the friends of Peace will give a grand soiree in the largest hall that can be obtained in Paris. The bulk of the party will return to London on Tuesday the 28th; but arrangements will be made for those who may wish to remain a few days longer in Paris, to return to London by any train within three weeks, without extra charge."

SELF-DEVOTION.—A telegraphic despatch in noticing the dreadful ravages of the cholera at Sandusky city, Ohio, stated that almost all the physicians had fled the city, and that their places were supplied from Cincinnati. The Cincinnati Gazette of the 3d says, of those who thus nobly volunteered their services: The party consisted of Drs. Strader and Caraland, Mr. Bailey, Mr. Hughes, and two or three nurses.—Dr. Strader telegraphed back a request for more help, which was responded to by Drs. Hughes, Banks, Foote and Stephens, who all left immediately for Sandusky on their errand of mercy. This noble self-devotion is not confined to this city. Drs. Ackley, Delamater and Spencer, with several students of medicine, influenced by like considerations went up to Sandusky from Cleveland. What a lesson is thus taught to the panic-stricken who fled from their homes and friends, on the first appearance of the disease!

Drs. Quinn, Lindsay, Ocheltree, and J. L. Hinesdale, went up in the cars last evening, to aid the sick and afflicted at Sandusky. God speed their efforts.

TIME WORKS WONDERS.—About 12 or 15 years ago, two persons, who have since become very distinguished, pursued in the city of Cincinnati, occupations one would have thought not very likely to form generals, statesmen or soldiers, but who have each occupied no small portion of the attention of the world. The first of these, a working tinman and brass-founder, became the distinguished Gen. Arista of the Mexican army; and the second is the famous Garibaldi, then keeper of a cafe. At the same time Maroncelli, the companion of Silvio Pellico, taught music in New-York, Louis Napoleon was writing his treatise on artillery at Geneva, in Switzerland, and Achille Murat was practicing law and planting sugar in Florida. There are certainly ebbs and floods, in every man's fortune.—Washington Republic.

THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA INSANE.—The correspondent of the Daily News says, "The Russian emperor has shown latterly unequivocal symptoms of insanity. His head seems to have been turned by the unexpected successes of Russian arms in Hungary. After receiving the despatches which announced the occupation of Debreczin by Ceodajeff, the czar was found dancing in his shirt. It is said that he continued for three whole hours to exhibit in this extravagant way the joy with which the news of so quick a triumph had inspired him."

Town and Country Items.

LOCUSTS IN THE UNITED STATES.—A short time ago the Western Star made a statement to the effect that the seventeen year locusts might be looked for this year, in portions of Eastern Ohio and Western Pennsylvania and Virginia, where they appeared in 1832, seventeen years before, and seventeen years before that time in 1815. The Star gave this as the opinion of persons who had studied the history of this insect. Already the suggestion is being verified. The Pittsburgh Gazette, of the 5th instant, states that the insect has appeared in that vicinity in vast numbers. The ground, it says, in woods, orchards, and gardens, is perforated with countless bodies, from which they have emerged to the light of day, and the trees, fences, &c. are covered with the skins they have shed. By examining the trees they are found in immense numbers, about half-grown and very active. The usual destruction of vegetation, sometimes immense on the appearance of these insects, is of course looked for now.—Buffalo Advertiser.

NECESSITY OF KNOWING SPANISH.—The adventurers bound to California should acquire some little knowledge of Spanish, or they will be puzzled when they get into the Spanish country where the mules understand no other language. One of a company who started from Vera Cruz could not get his mule to budge, though he kicked, beat, and cursed him in the choicest English. The mule only pricked up his ears at the strange sounds. At length a Mexican gave him the word, "*mulas zamos, eet, eet,*" and away the animal went at the top of his speed. The rider now had great difficulty to stop him, for he knew no Spanish word, and was obliged to hire an interpreter between himself and his mule.

LADY BLESSINGTON AND THE BASKET-MAKER.—On more occasions than one, Lady Blessington showed herself the friend of obscure but deserving genius. Of this her notice of Thomas Miller, the basket-maker, author of *Royston Genoe*, affords a remarkable instance. As soon as he became known by his writings Lady Blessington sent for him, recommended his book, and did him substantial service. "Often," Miller himself says, "have I been sitting in Lady Blessington's splendid drawing-room in the morning, talking and laughing as familiar as in the old house at home; and, in the same evening, I might have been seen standing on Westminster Bridge, between an apple-vender and a baked potato-merchant vending my baskets."

[Tait's Magazine.]

A FAVORED TENANT.—The lady of a Yorkshire baronet solicited her lord for a dairy farm with which to employ and amuse her leisure hours. Her prayer was granted; and, being an intelligent and industrious farmer, her ladyship thrived mightily, realising handsome profits by her eggs, her butter, and her poultry. "I am sure, Sir—," said she one day to her indulgent spouse, "I don't know why tenants grumble as they do: I find farming very profitable. "Yes my dear," he replied, taking her playfully by the ear, "but you pay me no rent." "Ah!" rejoined the lady—, after a pause, "I'd forgot the rent.—Gateshead Observer.

NATIONAL ECONOMY.—An eminent member of Congress from the West, writing to a friend in Massachusetts, says. "A vigorous effort will be made at the next session of Congress to disband our army, and lay up most of our ships, and discharge most of our seamen. I am advising our people to petition for these objects. If it should meet the views of our New-England friends, would it not be well to send our petitions to Congress?"

☛ Whatever thou doest, let it evoke thy utmost skill.

