

# THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE.

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WM. H. CHANNING, EDITOR.

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From Wilkinson's Life of Swedenborg.

## SPIRITUAL OPENINGS.

A man who can without knot or break receive the flashes of his childhood, is from his rarity a marvellous character, and good may be expected of him. The truths of the connexion of things are those especially that he may declare. Coherent himself from first to last, he will see coherency where others miss it, and establish it where it is wanting. He will in short be a link, affectionate, doctrinal, or real. Swedenborg was such a link, and he and his writings may be looked on, in one point of view, as entirely an organ of communications. Let us regard them in this light with respect to some cardinal topics.

Truths, like the world itself which is one among them, consist of two things—places and roads. The intellectual globe lies round and colored as the material, consisting of continents, countries and counties, or genera, classes and species, and these are the places of the mind. Then between them, linking them in one, there are the truths of connexion, or the analogies that run from subject to subject; these are the roads of the mind. It is in knowledge so regarded that we now trace the presence of Swedenborg's genius.

This view distributes away much of the difficulty that hangs about him, and enables us to treat him in his three-fold character of philosopher, seer, and subject of revelations, without the one element impugning or annulling the other two. The man who is *open*, is *ipso facto* an envoy and ambassador living for amenities and reconciliations which are not dreamt of until he appears.

A new religion is almost necessarily followed by new communications established by mankind with various departments of knowledge and existence; and Swedenborg was the apostle of a new religion. His position of the divine humanity as the sole, and only possible, object of worship, and his identifying of Jesus Christ with that object, amounts to a fresh link between God and man—in other words, to a new religion. The quantity of truth—of way and intercourse that is involved in that tenet, can hardly be estimated. In the highest case it unites the senses with the soul, spirituality with history, divinity with humanity, the private heart and the humblest knowledge and confidence with universal love and the sovereign justice of the Lord. It compounds or realizes the highest truth, and brings it into the world. It is the central at-one-ment, and already puts sight upon faith, and faith into sight, and abolishes miracle, by constituting it afresh as the order of nature. This is the greatest contribution of Swedenborg's books to human weal—the seizure of the fact, and the demonstration of the necessity, of the incarnation, because this makes God approachable through Him who is the Way, and approachable for all alike, children or men, learned or unlearned, sensual or subtle. This we term a new religion, because it leads us to a new God, and through

a way new in its fulness—namely, all our human faculties together.

After this, in which God himself is known to the senses, all other cases of communication and correspondence, being of a lesser nature, are easy and intelligible. Mankind is most estranged from the Most High; if this distance by his mercy be shortened and abolished, the smaller gap that separates man from any created thing cannot be an essential bar to his brotherhood with it. If the space between the Holy One that inhabiteth eternity and the sensual nature of mankind, be actually annulled, there is no space left in the way of hindrance, but only as an organ of communications. The world of truth in this wise is like the great ocean covered with ships, it is all roads and highways, one sublime plain, giving passage to every love, and fair winds to all desirable knowledge.

There is no religion, if it be lively, but tends to open the other life, because every religion prepares us for the future, keeps the spiritual as an end in view, and by consequence realizes it before the mind so far as it is able. Perhaps with the exception of Protestantism, there is not a faith recorded in the world's history but has leant upon supernatural revelations; and these the more bright and frequent, in proportion as we approach towards more primitive ages. A religion that has not the key of the spiritual world, is to this extent a failure, and enjoins its votaries to shoot at a mark that is not put up. Swedenborg's eyes, opened upon the other life, are then nothing extraordinary; they are eyes exercising that function that belongs to every justly religious man, and which is but a minor department of his prerogatives, included in his knowledge of God. It is the order of creation that the ends of actions should be seen in order to the shaping of beginnings, and seen not by intuition or philosophy, but by fair straightforward sight. The current vision of the end guides and steers the means towards their local fitness in the work.—The first communication then which we signalize in Swedenborg, is that between the natural and spiritual worlds, which after being shamefully lost, is logically restored in this plain religious man.

Concurrently with this he is the medium of proclaiming the spirit of the Word, and reconciling it with the letter. This is but part of the former case; or rather it is the whole, because the Word is the divine truth in heaven as upon earth. The spiritual world of the Word is the universal heaven: heavenly truth, heavenly space and heavenly objects are one and the same thing in that sphere. The unfolding of the inward or spiritual sense is then coincident with the entrance of a prepared man into the spiritual world. The science of correspondences arises under these circumstances. The comparison between two harmonious worlds necessarily gives birth to it. Apart from this comparison, truth must be simple and superficial; the spiritual deficient in weight, the natural devoid of fire; but let the two worlds be seen concurrently, and along the harmonies that subexist between them, the one will pass into the other,

and a complemental marriage ensue. The truths of harmony or connexion, the doctrine of correspondences, are the legitimate fruits of that union.

Swedenborg's function is therefore important because of his experience: he had seen both soul and body, and knew their harmony or agreement, which no one *could* know unless he saw both. Some of his allegations founded upon his compound experience may provoke incredulity. He often says that he taught the angels of heaven many truths. Philosophical shoulders shrug at the assertion.—But why so? A man who lived in two worlds at once, would, by his doubleness, learn and teach something that no single-world denizen could suspect. The angels did not know, until Swedenborg's visit, what matter was, or that it was distinct from spirit; they had lost their experience of it in gaining that of spirit; and it was only when a man came, who embraced at once matter and spirit and the difference between them, that an experience was given which taught what the difference is. For positive experience is as needful for angels and archangels, as for chemists, philosophers, and mechanics. In fact, in all wisdom there is no substance but fact, and nothing so divine as experience. He that has it, no matter whether he be high lived or low lived, upon his own subject, is a proper school-master for angels.

Swedenborg, then, as the correspondent between the worlds, and between the soul and body of the Word, in the exercise of his duplex sight and thought necessarily learns, in his own measure, the science of correspondences. This science is the spirit of his communications, regarded in their altitude.

An open mind is at one with itself, and feels itself as a harmony; whatever it thinks, is a thought enriched; whatever it does, is a marriage deed. It is a soul and a body in all cogitation and operation. Its truths are worlds, and its worlds are truths. It is a bundle of centers where the plumb lines of spirit tie love knots with the superficial rays of nature, and lay in colored, living mosaic the ground floor of a solid man. Thenceforth, his doctrines, embodied and illuminated, are sights and voices—things seen and heard. His intelligence is *clairvoyance*; what he thinks, that he sees, and *vice versa*. Most of us are fragments and divorces,—the products of some former violence or convulsion, but such is not he, but rather a fair planet on which Eden continues. Things to us the most irreconcilable, are his sweet harmonies. He is most wilful when he is doing God's will. His human reason is most independent when he is recipient of a divine revelation; his truth and God's truth belong all the more severely to each because they are the other's. The efforts of his genius are his obedience to a divine commission. He does not turn the tables upon his Maker, and discourse of "subject and object," and other illegitimate offspring of divorced soul and body; but he knows that he is something because God is something, and that any preponderance given to himself will make him shadowy and eccentric. Such a man, in his measure, was Swedenborg, and, therefore, at a certain stage of his development, that is to say, of his Divine preparation, his mind became a spiritual eye; his thoughts, experimental traveling; his doctrines, spiritual cities and scenery; and the deep movements of his sympathy, intercourse with departed men and women belonging to all ages and to several universes. The whole was fenced around by the solemnization of the union between religion and good works, whose early divorces had so long precluded the Book of Life.

This is the middle of harmony, the region of self-communications, where heart, and life, and doctrine, and sense, advantage each other and are each other. This is the flavor of humanity, when it is ripe in the hands of God: the

fruit hangs upon the tree, and yet is dead to the tree, for the sun is now the tree on which its ripeness grows.

We see that in a harmonic man there is nothing abnormal, but all that is natural, in supernatural pretensions.—Man is at once a natural and a preternatural being. It is his own fault if he flings away his better half. Divine commissions are intended to be common whenever men can receive them. Worthy men and women departed are angels, that is to say, God's ministers. There is no hereditary nobility in the skies, but the poorest goodness takes its own place. Many of the last are first, and of the first are last. We are not then offended with Swedenborg for claiming a privilege which he asserts is the common privilege of mankind. Every heart is meant to be a vessel of divine sympathies; every intellect an instrument of divine communications; all senses are given that God and heaven may be seen. The strangeness of this man's life is only a criticism upon his age. Had he lived before that flood which drowned the calmest perceptions of the race, he might have passed for a common-place man, too much addicted to worldly sciences, and impeded by mortality. Now he is bright and remarkable from the murkiness of our civilized air.

From the London Weekly Tribune.

### JULES LECHEVALIER.

We have perused a letter addressed to the President and Procureur-General of the High Court of Versailles, by M. Jules Lechevalier, late a member of the Socialist committee, and the committee of the Republican press, and at present an exile in this country, for having signed the protest of the 18th of June.

M. Jules Lechevalier asserts, and proves, that the protest was not only legitimate, legal, and constitutional, and that consequently the committees were justified in making it— but also shows that it was a duty, imperative on them as citizens, to defend the constitution, when violated, as it was by the intervention of France in the affairs of Rome, even by an insurrection, if no other means could be made available. He explains, moreover, that the insurrection was neither prepared nor desired by the organizers of the protest and manifestation.

The logical inference drawn from these facts is: that the signers of the protest are not called upon to submit themselves to the judgment of the Court at Versailles, which is legally and constitutionally incompetent. The moral incompetence of the accusers, court, and jury, is insisted on by M. Jules Lechevalier, particularly as regards himself, for the following reasons:

"The well-known antecedents and principles of the majority of them, as proved by their public life, compared with my principles and antecedents, in my opinion entirely destroyed their competence to decide as to what is good or evil for public order.

"The fact is, that by my antecedents and by the principles of which I have been during twenty years the faithful servant, I am neither a systematic revolutionist, nor a republican of yesterday. While the greater part of those who now pretend to be accusers and judges in the name of public and social order, were hindering and disorganizing the government of 1830, either as legitimists coalesced with elements the most opposite to their principles—or, as members of the opposition, called constitutional, which had so well conducted the affairs of the ancient *Régime*, and of the Republic, of which, in its simplicity, it considered itself the adversary; or, as members of the barren and insincere third party, which counted in its ranks so many advocates, lawyers, and even magistrates: the accused, who is now called to trial at Versailles, made



use of all the means in his power, in his humble position as an editor,

"Firstly, to prevent the too legitimate explosion of 1848.

"Secondly, to serve and consolidate, by means of social reforms and political ameliorations, the government of 1830.

"Thirdly, to give to the worst species of *barbarians* and *savages*,\* those armed by education and capital, who pillaged honors, places, and public business, for their intrigues, ambition and cupidity, to show to them (I say!) the example of a conduct actuated by motives different from those which directed the always contradictory and interested evolutions of their manoeuvres in parliamentary strategy.

"I have always been an advocate of order and the government, a faithful observer of the laws, and a devoted defender of the political constitution of my country; even in opposition to my personal interest.

"In the name of these antecedents, and of these principles, I contributed to a protest, which is represented as a plot to destroy social order.

"In the name of these antecedents and principles, I associated myself with the acts of a party, which is represented as inciting to a social revolution—to a civil war against the class to which I belong by birth and education.

"My position has no other cause or motive than the energetic sentiment of its justice; this position is not that of disappointed vanity and ambition, nor that of envy and spite—it is still less that of a man who has not accomplished towards his fellow citizens, and towards those of his class, with the abnegation and persevering solicitude necessary in such a case, the duties of repeatedly warning them of the consequences of their actions.

"I will add that at the epoch of the revolution of 1848, I did not hesitate to sacrifice considerable interests, rather than to give way to the outrageous prejudices of the new Pluto-idolatry or Plutocratic Paganism against the new Christianity, the promoter of Fraternal Association.

"In 1829, I became a Socialist of the school of St. Simon. I was, in 1830 and 1831, a preacher and member of the college of that doctrine.

"From 1832 to 1834, I was with Victor Considerant, now my co-accused, and several others, one of the founders of the societary school for the study, propagation and experiments of the theory of Charles Fourier.

"I still regard, as I then did, that theory (with the reservations which I have always made in explaining it), as a great progress in the syntheses and analyses of the rule of association as compared with that of exploitation."

Mr. Lechevalier concludes his letter by proving that Socialism as a school, or the Socialists as a party, had nothing whatever to do with the protest of the 18th of June, for, says he—"Socialism has nothing in common with revolution, opposition, or intrigue. It is a science, a principle of order and organization; it is a religious proceeding from Christianity and Biblical tradition; it is the realization on earth of an eternal ideal, whose type is spiritual. This religion, preached openly, condemns secret societies, conspiracies, and parliamentary or extra parliamentary coalitions. It has always been thus practised by its founders and disciples."

From the London Weekly Tribune.

## GREAT BRITAIN.

### PROGRESS OF THE REDEMPTION SOCIETY.

The Welsh estate is situated ten miles from Carmarthen, and twenty-two from Swansea; it is about three miles from a noted public-house, called *Cragshanda*, and is between

\* These epithets were applied to the Socialists by M. Guizot.

that place and Carmarthen; it is a half a mile from the mail coach-road, and best known by the name of Gore's Community. Any person who should get within a few miles has only to inquire for the Community at Gore, and anybody would tell him. Swansea or Carmarthen may be reached by steamers from Bristol, and "Bradshaw's Guide" shows the days of sailing. Parties going by Swansea have twenty-two miles to walk, or ride by coach, which is high-fared there. Going by Carmarthen, they have only ten, or, as some say nine, miles to walk. Steamers also go from Gloucester (see "Bradshaw") and Liverpool to Swansea. The fare from Leeds to Carmarthen is about twenty-four shillings. We have been again requested to say more about the Welsh farms; and some suggest that parties unconnected with the Society should be sent to examine it. We shall always be happy to give all the information in our power, in order to facilitate people's visits to it; but we think that, after the majority of the board have been for the express purpose of examining it at their *own cost*, it would not meet with the approbation of the Society to *pay the expenses* of another party to do the same thing, though, it must be confessed, that the more that see it, and are satisfied, the more confidence would be created; and this view of the subject has caused some of our friends to suggest this matter. It is expected that, next year, the South Wales Railway will be opened, and, as a matter of course, cheap trips will follow, by which our friends can have a fine day out and see the farm, at a cost of ten or fifteen shillings fare. Meanwhile, we may state again, that the communal land neither belongs to the mountain or plain, but is situated midway between both. Like all upland countries, the soil is generally thinner than the same kind on the plains; still the quality of it is much the same. Being upland, there is, in general, a more humid atmosphere; yet with this drawback, our crops are ripe quite as early as the crops of the midland counties. We speak of it in its present state of cultivation; with superior agriculture it may be made still earlier. Some of the land is very steep, but all this portion of it is very good. This part will always be more difficult to work; but we have always designed it for ornamental gardens, for which its inclination to the south renders it peculiarly applicable. With the above exception, the land may be worked with facility. As we have before stated, there are two great divisions into which the soil may be separated, but these vary and shade into each other; one is red, with a dry bottom, and the other black, with a clayey subsoil. The black soil will grow green crops of all kinds to perfection. With subsoil ploughing, or trenching, a compost of excellent earth of twelve to fifteen inches may be obtained. The red will grow the cereal crops to perfection. Some of the intermediate soils are of the best description for wheat. It is not to be understood that the black soil will grow nothing but green crops. In the year 1847 there was one of the heaviest crops of wheat on the lightest black soil. The drawbacks in an agricultural point are irregularity of surface, upland country, difficulty of approach, and thinness of soil; as contra-distinguished from a perfectly flat country and deep soil. The advantages are easy drainage, lime near, and good water in plenty, with a healthy climate. A road from the mail coach-road may be made, which would be nearly level. This will ultimately be done, and the soil will be deepened and drained; and then it will be nearly equal to a lowland farm, in an agricultural point of view. Another feature, which for a community is of the highest importance, is the stream of water for manufacturing purposes which flows through it. The value of this cannot be properly estimated at present, but it is a power that is always ready for us, and is ever willing to work, when we have anything for it to do. The Anthracite coal is close at hand.

To a person unacquainted with an upland country, the

appearance of the farm is forbidding in winter. With a superior culture the very face of it can be changed. It may be asked, had you had your choice of a locality for a community, would you have chosen Gorse, in Wales? To which we answer, "Certainly not." "An estate, equal in extent, with the same manufacturing facilities, and fully answering our choice in all particulars, might have cost us £12,000 or £15,000, before we could have been in the position that we have already attained. We consider that we shall be able to purchase a second community in some other part of the country, in less time than we could have purchased our first, had we been obliged to purchase in the ordinary way. If our friends come forward with spirit, we shall be able to commence building this next year; these once up, we shall then begin to manufacture—it may be shoes, which will be sold to our outside members, the inside members consuming the farming produce on the spot, and taking a share in the agricultural operations. For this work it matters little whether our farm be upland or lowland; but it matters much that the situation be a healthy and pleasant one, with plenty of good water. These requisites the Welsh Community possesses, and will possess still more when the hand of the laborer hath done its work.

If we can secure land at something like 10*l.* per acre, and, by an outlay of another 10*l.* make it as good as that for which we must give 30*l.*, 40*l.*, or 50*l.* per acre, is it not clear that the difference is clear gain to the community? We have not mentioned its distance from a market, because, in our case, we shall not want an agricultural market, and the matter resolves itself into the cost of import and export of raw and manufactured articles; and we have little doubt but we can convey shoes from the Community to Leeds at one penny per pair.

It must be constantly kept in mind that it is our full intention to employ as many of our members in the community as possible, and in the shortest time.—D. G.

#### MONEY RECEIVED.

Leeds, . . . . .	£2 15 11
London—Arfield . . . . .	0 5 0
Rathwell, Northamptonshire—John Bull . . . . .	0 1 0
Edinburg—Renton . . . . .	0 1 0
Hull—Foster . . . . .	0 5 9
	£3 8 8

From National Evils and Practical Remedies.

#### INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION.

BY J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

Of the power of coöperative or associated labor to produce a much larger amount of abundance and wealth in every form than can possibly result from individual effort in competition against each other, few can be disposed to doubt. But as there may still be some to whom this is not so clear as to others, it may be well to place before them a few facts for their consideration.

In agriculture, it is plain that, if an estate of 10,000 acres was parcelled out into minute sections of an acre each, among 10,000 persons, though the individuals on those acres might be able to work out of them a scanty subsistence on vegetable food, as the Irish peasantry do on their little plots of potato-ground, yet no operations of farming on an economical scale, so as to produce grain of every kind, vegetables and fruits of an equal variety, and to feed cattle of every species, could ever be carried on to advantage, or to profit. In the first place, if every man would cultivate his separate acre, 10,000 sets of plows, and every other instrument necessary for this purpose would be required, with 10,000 pairs of horses, or oxen, to draw them;

and even then, the unaided labor of a single individual for each acre, to drain, fence, weed, plow, sow, reap, and gather into the barn, and at the same time feed and attend the cattle, with the labor and expense of building 10,000 sheds or places of shelter for their residences, would eat up all the profit, and leave the occupants as poor at the end of twenty years' labor as when they began; while nothing but what they grew or produced on their own farms could be ever enjoyed by them, and they would be thus cut off from nearly all the luxuries of life.

But if these 10,000 acres were to be treated as *one single farm*, belonging to an association of 10,000 share-holders, every part of it might be laid out in that for which it was best adapted—some in wheat, others in barley, oats or rye—some in potatoes, others in edible roots and vegetables, some in fruit-gardens and orchards, others in meadows of grass for pasture, and some for mere ornament in flowers. In this case, 1,000 persons would be quite sufficient to cultivate the whole 10,000 acres well; while by their united labor every operation of draining, fencing, plowing, weeding, reaping, gathering in, &c., would be done in the best and most efficient manner. Only 100 plows would be required for this, instead of 10,000, if each man cultivated his own acre; and a corresponding reduction would take place in every kind of instruments required; while instead of 10,000 separate hovels—for these are what the Irish live in, on their acre, and half-acre plots—100 large substantial farm-houses, accommodating ten laborers, and their families each, during the season for farming operations, would be abundantly sufficient.

There would be 9,000 persons whose labor would be available for trades and manufactures; and, by a proper arrangement, training, and classification of these, with the requisite work-shops, tools, and materials, and a systematic organization of their labor in admitting each to do that which they best understood, and liked most to be engaged in, a greater amount of wealth would be produced than by 9,000 persons, each working on his own account, in competition against rivals.

Take as an instance, the case of 50 tailors, 50 shoemakers, 50 bakers, 50 butchers, 20 hatters, 20 printers, &c. in a single town, each having his own house-rent and separate establishment to pay, each competing against the other to work for the smallest profits, and several of each without any work at all; and then, suppose by mutual agreement the whole 50 or 20 of each trade consented to unite their forces for the joint benefit, and having one large house instead of fifty small ones, with a corresponding diminution in the expense of rent and tools, and their labor so well organized and divided that no one was ever idle while others were over-worked, but all were steadily and moderately employed. The difference between the results of these two systems would be, probably, 200 or 300 per cent; for, while all the powers of production would be greatly increased by union and coöperation, all expenses of management would be greatly reduced, and the profit, as well as the comfort, of all concerned, thereby greatly augmented.

It is thus, that while a hand-loom weaver working in his solitary chamber 16 hours a day, ekes out for himself a miserable pittance, and never knows the enjoyment of sufficient food, repose, or recreation, a master manufacturer associates 1,000 men and women in a factory, and by the organization of their labor, not only pays them on the average double the wages which the hand-loom weaver can make for himself, but accumulates from £100,000 to £500,000 of fortune out of the profits made by the labor of others. So also, while a miserable cottier, on his acre of potato-ground in Ireland, even in the best years, earns but a scanty subsistence, and in bad years is only kept from perishing of hunger by alms of charity, the Irish landlords,



such as many of the nobility of England, who hold large estates there, derive from their large farms, worked by the united labor of numerous peasants and tenants, incomes of £50,000 or £100,000 a year and more, without themselves ever touching the soil, or even going to look at it, except at intervals of some years apart.

Surely, then, what these large land-owners and large manufacturers effect for themselves by the labor of others, can be quite as easily effected by the laborers, under a proper organization, for their own benefit; and that is what a great number desire to see attempted at least, stimulated as they are by the sight of so many large establishments giving such enormous fortunes to their masters, out of the profits of their own labor.

They perceive, for instance, the immense power to effect the greatest undertakings, conferred by coöperation or association, as in the case of Railroads, Insurance Companies, Mining Associations, &c. The wealthiest man in England could not of himself, and out of his own means, have constructed the Great Western Railway; but, by a union of capital, skill and labor, in such proportions as to be readily recognized, for dividends and payments, the work was easy; and now the heaviest goods can be transported the longest distances in a short space of time, and at very trifling expense, compared with the enormous cost of conveying a bale of heavy goods on horseback from London to Edinburgh, by several weeks' journey, which it required for a single horse, a few centuries ago.

In short, it is like the difference between carrying a cargo of 10,000 bales of cotton from India to England in one large ship of 2,000 tons burden, compared with the conveyance of the same bales, each in a single canoe, requiring 10,000 separate boats, and 20,000 men at least to navigate them—the latter showing the costliness of individual, and the other the economy of associated labor.

But in nothing, perhaps, is the superiority of organization and association more powerfully seen than in the arrangements of the Post Office, where the greatest degree of dispatch, punctuality, economy, and productiveness are exhibited. If each individual had to send his own letters by special messengers, as was formerly the case, to different parts of the kingdom, in all probability the average cost of each letter would be at least a guinea, and those to remote parts of the world a hundred guineas each, while the process would be as long dilatory as it would be insecure, as all would be a long time on the road, and many would never reach their destination at all. Now, however, by the power of organization and association of labor, 252 letters, at a penny each, can be carried for a guinea, (the estimated average price of one, if sent by individual messengers,) within the kingdom; and the proportion of difference is still greater in foreign letters, supposing them at present to average a shilling each; while such is the punctuality and precision with which all the operations of this great example of the "organization of labor" in the General Post Office are carried on, that, no matter how obscure the individual to whom a letter is addressed, if its superscription be legible, and the person addressed be in existence, the letter is ultimately almost sure to find him out.

Notwithstanding these remarkable proofs of the powers of both governments and individuals to establish the most perfect "organization of labor" for certain purposes, in which they perceive they have a clear benefit—yet, whenever this is proposed to be done for the purpose of forming an associated community, by which, under a proper union of agriculture and manufactures, and by a well-adjusted proportion between labor, skill, and capital, the unemployed laborers of the country are to be put in a position to maintain themselves, and even accumulate wealth by their labor—the answer commonly is, "that it is an impracticable

scheme," or "a visionary or utopian dream of an enthusiast."

Yet the Government finds no difficulty in organizing a fleet and an army, with such ease and in such perfection, that every movement of each is regulated at the Admiralty and the Horse-Guards; and if you desire to obtain any information about any one individual in either of these vast bodies, you have only to apply to the Admiralty or the War-Office, and they will give you his name, age, height, complexion, the color of his eyes, the peculiarities of his countenance, and tell you in what ship or what regiment he is, where stationed, in what company, what amount of pay is due to him, and every other particular. The Government can organize a large army of custom-house and excise officers, coast-guard, tax gatherers, and police, with a discipline so perfect, that they will find out every man, and ascertain his income and even his political opinions, if desired. They can organize labor to build useless ships of war and extravagant royal yachts, to kill oxen and hogs, prepare salt-beef and pork, and even bake biscuits in their own ovens, for the fleets at Plymouth and Portsmouth, besides making ropes, sails and blocks by machinery, and every other thing needed for their naval arsenals. They can cast cannon and cannon-balls, bombs and shells, make gun-powder and Congreve rockets, and store up at the Tower 100,000 stands of arms, muskets, bayonets, pistols, spears, and tomahawks, to shed the blood and take the lives of our enemies when needed. They can swear in nearly the whole male population of London as special constables, to resist an apprehended insurrection, and marshal every division in its most appropriate place, enrolling old men of seventy, and young boys of fifteen for this purpose.

They can do all these things in the way of "organization and association of labor;" but alas! they *cannot* (as they say,) or they *will not* (which is perhaps nearer the truth,) undertake any organization and association of labor, to employ the unemployed portion of the population, and place in their own hands the means of not merely earning their own livelihood, but adding largely to the health, wealth, morality and happiness of the whole nation. The old proverb says truly, "Where there's a will, there's a way;" and the absence of the *will* seems, in this instance, the only solution of the problem why the *way* has never yet been found, and why it is deemed, by the Government at least, to be beyond the power of discovery.

## MUTUAL BANKING.

Concluded.

A bill of a Mutual Bank cannot reasonably profess to be a standard or measure of value. *The SILVER DOLLAR is the measure of value; and our bills suppose the prior existence of this measure*, for they are receivable in lieu of so many dollars. One of our bills produces as much effect upon the measure of value as does a bill of exchange, and no more; that is, it produces no effect at all upon that measure.

The establishment of a series of Mutual Banks would be very advantageous to the community: for (1) Such banks would furnish an adequate currency; for whether money were hard or easy, *all* legitimate paper would be discounted by them. At present banks draw in their issues when money is scarce, (the very time when a large issue is desirable,) because they are afraid there will be a run upon them for specie; but our banks having no fear of a run upon them, since they have no specie capital, and never pretend to pay specie for their bills, can always discount good paper. (2) There can never be any over issue of such money, for it is issued only against good and sufficient commercial paper, and the bills must be continually returning to the banks as may be determined in the charters,

every 30, 60, or 90 days, or longer period. (3) It is of no consequence how much of the new money goes out of the country, for it can never draw specie after it, since it is redeemable only at the workshops, stores, hotels, &c., of private individuals at the place where it was issued. We might lengthen out this list to almost any extent, but prefer to invite the reader to reflect for himself upon the manifold advantages of a system of Mutual Banks.

In reply to objections which may be urged by persons who have failed to obtain a clear comprehension of the principle on which a Mutual Bank may be organized, we say,—No analogy whatever exists between the money we propose, and the bills of Banks established on the old principle, but which have suspended specie payments. (1) Bills issued by "specie paying Banks which have suspended specie payments," profess to be based on specie existing in the vaults of the banks, which specie does not exist there, as is made evident by the very fact of the suspension; while our money has a perfect guarantee, since it is based not on specie at all, but on actual property really pledged, and is secured by actual commodities really existing in one hundred workshops, hotels, stores, &c., which commodities are also indirectly pledged as security for the bills, since the owners of these commodities have bound themselves to receive the bills at their full value in all the transactions of trade: (2) The bills issued by "specie-paying banks which have suspended specie payments," pretend to represent gold and silver, and therefore derange the currency; for, since specie is in communication with itself throughout the world, and seeks, like water, its own natural level, every paper representative of a silver dollar that gets into circulation, drives a real silver dollar out; while our money, which does not pretend to represent specie (it represents, not silver dollars, but the VALUE of silver dollars) has no more influence on the value of the precious metals than it has upon the value of any other commodity. The bills issued by a Mutual Bank do not in any way affect the standard and measure of value. Again, our money has no analogy whatever to the old Continental money; for (1) the Continental money was a promise to pay specie, while our money is not a promise to pay specie; (2) the Continental money was guaranteed by the government, which guarantee was not good, because the government could not pay its debts; while our money is guaranteed by the actual property pledged for its security, and by the promise of each individual member of the company to take it in the transactions of trade; &c., &c. We might go on to show, if we did not think it unnecessary after what has been said, that no analogy exist between our money and the French Assignats.

Some persons are accustomed to appeal to experience, whenever any new thing is presented for their consideration: we would remark to such persons, that experience throws no light whatever on this question of Mutual Banking; for the money we propose differs essentially from any that has ever been issued in the world since Adam was expelled from the garden of Eden. Our system is one that has never as yet been seen in operation, and must be judged, therefore, not by the light of experience, but by that of reason.

We close by adducing a brief argument in favor of the immediate establishment of a system of Mutual Banks. There are, at the present time, in the State of Massachusetts, 123 stock banks, with actual and authorized capital of \$34,583,330. How much are the people annually called upon to pay in support of these institutions? Let us say that the banks make annual dividends averaging 7 per cent on their capital: 7 per cent of \$34,583,330, is \$2,420,833.

The banks have also to pay their rent, their officers and lawyers, the tax to the State, their losses resulting from bad debts, &c.: let us say that all these annual expenses would be covered by an average of 4 per cent on their

capital: 4 per cent on \$34,583,330 is 1,383,333, which, added to the foregoing \$2,420,833, gives us \$3,804,166, the annual amount which the people are obliged to pay for the use of a currency—probably about one-third of the annual profits of the industry of the commonwealth. A system of Mutual Banks would furnish a better currency at one-tenth of the expense. All persons who *borrow* money, are interested in favor of a Mutual Bank; all persons who *lend* money, are interested in opposition to such a Bank.

One great State Mutual Bank, would do the whole work. It is not necessary to explain the details of the organization of such a Bank; we would merely remark that it is by no means necessary that any actual property whatever should be positively and specifically pledged as security for the bills; the mutual promise to take the bills in the transactions of trade, would be a sufficient guarantee. If anything further should be required to give the public confidence in the bills, the members of the Company might give their notes to the bank, binding themselves to meet all assessments that might be made to cover losses from bad debts, &c.

NOTE: The assessors' valuation for 1830, of the total taxable property then existing in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, was \$208,360,407: the valuation for 1840, was \$299,878,339. We may safely estimate that the valuation for 1850 will be to that of 1840, as that of 1840 was to that of 1830. Performing the calculations, we find that the total amount of taxable property possessed by the people of Massachusetts in the present year, is about \$431,588,724. The excess of this last valuation over that of 1840, i. e. \$131,710,395, is the net gain, the clear profit of the total labor of the people in the ten years under consideration. The average profit for each year, was, therefore, \$13,171,039. In the year 1849, the Banks of Massachusetts paid their tax to the State, their losses on bad debts, their rents, their officers and lawyers, and then made dividends of more than 7 per cent on their capitals: the people must, therefore, in the course of the past year, have paid interest money to the Banks, to the amount of at least 10 per cent on the whole Banking Capital of the State. At the close of the year 1848, the Banking Capital in the State amounted to \$32,683,330:—10 per cent on \$32,683,330, is \$3,268,333, the amount the people paid during the year 1849, for the use of a currency. If the material of the currency had been iron, \$3,268,333 would undoubtedly have paid all the expenses of carting and counting; what then is the utility of our present paper-money? We have estimated the total profits of the whole labor of the people of the Commonwealth, for the year 1849, at \$13,171,039: it appears, therefore, that the total profits of nearly one-fourth part of the whole population of the State, were devoted to the single purpose of paying for the use of a currency. Mutual Banks would have furnished a better currency at less than one-tenth of this expense.

\$34,583,330, are, at the present moment, invested in this State in Banking Capital: \$34,611,384 capital have already been paid in to the various Railroad Companies: there are simple business Corporations in the State, authorized to hold and employ capital amounting in the aggregate to \$86,472,000. Total capital held by Incorporated Companies, and yielding dividends, \$155,666,714. If now the institutions operating on this aggregate capital, make annual dividends of 6 per cent, (mere legal interest,) the total amount thus divided will be \$9,340,002. The total profits of the whole labor of the commonwealth, are, as we have seen, \$13,171,039, of which sum \$9,340,002 go to the clear profits of capital while only \$3,831,037 remain to be distributed as profits among the laboring people.

A Mutual Bank holding real estate in pledge to the value of, say \$10,000,000, and located in Boston, (where there is no lack of houses, and other property that might be pledged,) would immediately relieve the present pressure in the money market; for such a Bank would furnish an excellent local currency for the whole State, to at least as far back as the Connecticut River, thus leaving the bills of the old Banks to serve exclusively for COMMERCIAL PURPOSES: and the old Banks would soon show themselves—that is, as soon as the relations of EXCHANGE



could have time to become regulated—to be the fifth wheel in even the commercial coach.

Where a man has a right to borrow \$100 on pledge of real estate, and on his own note running to maturity, he can, at any time, and without running any risk whatever, borrow \$50; for, when his note falls due, he can borrow the other \$50, and take up his first note; and he may repeat the operation when the second falls due, thus renewing his note at pleasure, and without asking any favors of anybody.

The idea of a Mutual Bank is borrowed from William Beck of Cincinnati, the process for the redemption of the bills is borrowed from P. J. Proudhon, and the form of organization from the Mutual Insurance Companies. In Mr. Beck's book on "Money and Banking," and in Proudhon's "Economic Contradictions," the petitioner desirous of further light may find all the information he requires.

From the London Weekly Tribune.

## THE CONFESSIONS OF A REVOLUTIONIST.

BY P. J. PROUDHON.

(Continued.)

### THE NATURE AND DESTINATION OF GOVERNMENT.

The Scriptures declare that "there must be divisions (i. e. parties) among men," and the priest exclaims, "terrible necessity," arising from the original sin! But a little reflection has shown us the origin and signification of parties; we have now to learn their object and final destiny.

All men are born free and equal;—society is therefore by nature self-governing, i. e. ungovernable; and he who lays his hand on me to govern me is a usurper and tyrant; my declared enemy. But this idea of equality did not appear in the earliest phases of society. When men met together the first thing they agreed to do was to appoint a ruler, *Constituamus super nos regem!* some one in AUTHORITY. Such then was the first idea of human society, and the next was immediately to overthrow this society, each wishing to use it for his own liberty, against that of others. All parties have been eager for the possession of power, to work their own ends; hence the aphorism of the radicals, to which the absolutists would willingly subscribe. *Social revolution is the end, political revolution (i. e. the transference of authority) is the means*; which simply means;—give us power of life and death over your persons and property and we will make you free! what kings and priests have repeated for six thousand years.

So that government and party are reciprocally to each other cause, end and means, beginning middle and end; and, *thou shalt not do this, thou shalt not do that*, has been the sole education of man by governments from the time of Adam and Eve; but when mankind shall have arrived at years of discretion, parties and governments will disappear; thus liberty will grow out of authority, as we have seen Socialism result from absolutism. Philosophy therefore shows us that the establishment of authority over a people can be but a transition state, and must continually diminish until it is swallowed up in industrial organization; the aphorism, therefore, must be read inversely *Political revolution, that is, the abolition of authority among men is the end, social revolution is the means*. There can be no liberty for citizens, order for society, or union among producers, until there be

*No more parties;*

*No more authority;*

*Absolute liberty of the individual and the citizen.*

In these three sentences I have made my profession of faith, political and social. M. de Girardin says, he is a revolutionist *par en haut* (from above) and never will be a revolutionist, *par en bas* (from below.) Now he thinks he has said something very original and profound in these ex-

pressions *par en haut, par en bas*, which are nothing more than the old idea of the demagogues. By the former he means evidently the government, and calls it revolutionizing by instruction, intelligence, progress and the extension of ideas; by the latter he means the people, and terms it revolutionizing by insurrection and despair: but the contrary is the truth. For let us examine which of the two is the most intelligent, progressive and peaceful, that by the government or that by the people. The former is manifestly revolutionizing according to the pleasure of the prince, the impulses of an assembly, the violence of a club, the whim of a dictator or a despot, Louis XIV., Napoleon, Charles X., and practiced it after this manner; and Guizot, Louis Blanc, Leon Faucher, wish to try the same mode.

The other way, however, by the people is revolutionizing by the common consent of all citizens, by the experience of the laborer, by the progress and diffusion of knowledge; it is the freedom of revolution, such as Condorcet, Turgot, and Robespierre desired.

The greatest revolutionist in France was St. Louis, when he was only the register of the public will.

The socialists have fallen into the same error as the radicals; St. Simon, Fourier, Owen, Cabet, Louis Blanc, are all for an organization of labor by means of the state, or by capital; or by some other form of authority: instead of teaching the people to organize themselves, and to appeal to their own reason and experience; they say "give us power." They are utopians, like the despots.

Governments from their very nature never can be revolutionary. Society, the whole mass of the people elevated in intelligence, can alone revolutionize itself. Governments are the scourges of God to discipline the world; for them to create liberty would be to destroy themselves. Every revolution in the world, from the crowning of the first king down to the declaration of the rights of man, has been accomplished by the spontaneous will of the people. Did government possess the science of revolution and social progress they could not apply it; they must first transfer it to the people, and then gain their consent; which would be a contradiction, in terms, and a complete misconception of the meaning of power and authority.

Look at the countries that are the freest, are they not those where the power of the government is the most restricted—where the people generally take the initiative; the United States of America for instance? England, Switzerland, Holland; and those are the most enslaved—where the governing power is the best organized and the strongest; ourselves for example! and yet we are always complaining of not being governed, and asking for a stronger arm at the helm of state.

The Church, like an affectionate mother, came first; and said "everything for the people, but all by the prince."

Then came the monarchy, "everything for the people, but all by the prince."

Next the doctrinaires or liberals, "everything for the people, but all by the middle class."

The radicals, though changing the formula, have retained the principle, "everything for the people, but all by the government."

Always the same communism, the same governmentalism.

Who then will say! everything for the people, and everything by the people, even the government!

According to M. Lamartine, the government has to issue its commands, and the country only to yield its consent. Whereas all history tells us that that government is the best which comes nearest to making itself useless. Do we want parasites to labor or priests to speak to God! neither do we want representatives to govern us. It has been said by some one, that for man to speculate in his fellow-man is open robbery. And the government of man by man is

slavery; so every religion founded upon any form whatever of papal infallibility is sheer idolatry, the worship of man by man.

And yet after all these fruits of the absolutist principle we have still,

The judgment of man by man.

The condemnation of man by man.

And to crown the list, the punishment of man by man.

All these, however, we must submit to, until in the progress of time they grow old, perish, and fall off like ripe fruits in their due season; they are the instruments of our apprenticeship. Philosophy repudiates these symbols of a barbarous age, and yet admits not the rights of any one to compel a people to be free, who wish to be governed.

It has no confidence in any social reforms that do not arise spontaneously from the people, and acknowledges no revolutions that do not receive the initiative from the masses.

I have made my profession of faith. You know the personages who are to play the principal parts in this drama of my political life; you know the subject of the piece, listen attentively to what I now relate.

## THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1850.

### THE NEW CHURCH.

In essays on the "Judgment of Christendom," and the "Church of God with us,"\* an attempt was made to state the essential faith of that increasing body of believers who, casting aside sectarian theology, and drawn into union by earnest aspirations, are assured—that Christendom has been, is, and will be in yet fuller measure, a *Centre of Life* amid the nations; that it is quickened by a UNITARY SPIRIT OF DIVINE HUMANITY, communicated from a world of light and love, where disembodied men are ranked in order of affinities around the Christ; that a *Crisis* has arrived in the development of our race, when societies upon earth are to be reorganized after the model of those heavenly societies; that a relationship, destined to become progressively more intimate, is perpetually renewed between Humanity in the Spiritual world and Humanity on the surface of the planet; that an influence from this "cloud of witnesses," now urges religious persons to consecrate themselves to the work of universal practical reform, as the means for purer spiritual communion; finally, that within this reconciled race, upon this their glorified globe, the Divine Being designs to dwell with a fullness of love, truth, beauty, far transcending the brightest visions of poets and prophets, and that this unfolding *manifestation of God in Man* is the *New Church*.

In justifying a faith so positive and urgent, appeal must be made to two authorities, *EXPERIENCE* and *REASON*.

I. What then says Experience, through the Religious Life of Christendom? In answering this question, let us briefly trace several phases of development in the spiritual growth of the nations, who christened, though not yet christianized, are to be organized into a consummate confederated unity.

Vol. I, pp. 264, 280, 296 344.

1. How shall we account for the prominence of the doctrine of the *Resurrection* in the primitive, Apostolic Church? Grant, that criticism has detected in the narratives of the reappearance of Jesus to his disciples, inconsistencies, exaggerations, and deficiencies, which are apparently inexplicable; still, without admitting the fact of sensible, intelligent communion between this scattered band and their late crucified, now risen master, the zealous faith of the apostles is yet more inexplicable. If enthusiasm is assigned as the cause of their assurance of his mysterious presence, the question arises, what caused that enthusiasm, revived their drooping hopes, recreated them out of panic-struck renegades into indomitable heroes, and enlarged their exclusive fanaticism into a world-wide love of man? What so illumined their intellects and characters, with the truth of goodness, that spite of obscuring prejudice and perversity, their homely eloquence became radiant with a new moral day? What filled them with such a vivid *consciousness*—one might almost call it—of Christ, as pouring in upon them exhaustless streams of courage, thought, beneficence? The Essenes and the Pharisees held a theoretic doctrine of immortality, paradise, the millennium, &c., it is said. True, such speculations were cherished. But the peculiarity of primitive Christians was the warm vitality of their convictions. Between the time when Jesus was moving among them in the body, and the time when the epistles were written, his early companions had undergone a transformation like that of receiving a new sense—the sense of an invisible world. Deceived or not, their central belief was that the ascended Messiah lives; lives in glory and power; lives to inspire and guide his followers; lives to comfort, bless, enlighten all who trust him; lives as the guardian, brother, friend, justifier, ever prompt and patient ruler of mankind. The intensity of this faith, the practical exaltation in purpose and conduct which it produced, are not explained by saying—that bereaved men, disappointed in immediate hopes of an earthly Messianic kingdom, trained their minds to conceive of this kingdom as transferred beyond the grave. Their energy of expression, their steadfastness of action, prove that the impelling motive was derived, not from contemplation of an ideal, but from experience of a reality. The emphatic assertion of the Resurrection in the New Testament must rationally be referred to the *fact*, that the writers were living in communion with a heavenly world, wherein the prophet of Nazareth, rejected on earth, had been welcomed by spirits of by-gone ages, as a long waited-for and adored head.

2. The next phase in the experience of Christendom is the Catholic faith in the *Communion of Saints*. Of course, a ready mode for sceptics to dispose of this is, to attribute such belief to priestcraft and superstition. But who are the persons who, through eighteen centuries past, have borne witness to superhuman influences from the just made perfect? Not the vulgar, timid, slothful, selfish, chiefly have trembled before, or trusted beings higher than man. Profound scholars, untiring aspirants for purity and peace, martyrs to duty, serene seers, sanctified ministers of charity, are they who, with calmest confidence, have de-



clared their consciousness of spiritual companionship. Not by spasms of nervous excitement, but by severe continuous sacrifice, were they prepared for such high intercourse. And the very strength of will, which has exalted them out of the sphere of weakness and temptations, and enabled them to walk unscathed through the flames of injustice, they refer to influx of preternatural power from guardian angels. If it is said, that equal wonders of moral exaltation have been wrought by holy places, sacramental rites, relics, &c., the answer is, who, in our actual ignorance of the laws of spiritual association, is prepared to deny that every instrumentality, which subdues feelings of animality and worldliness, concentrates attention, quickens imagination, heightens the sensibility of heart and conscience, awakens awful apprehensions of realities sublimer and more substantial than those revealed by sense, and puts the highest energies into fullest action, may be a means of establishing relationships between spirits on earth and spirits in heaven? One mystery is not explained by superadding another; and a denial of veracity or sound sense to all whose experience is unlike one's own, is but a way of imprisoning oneself within the cell of private conceit. Here is the fact of thousands upon thousands, of men and women of intelligence, rectitude, courage, sanity bodily and mental, who assert the nearness of particular saints to those who in guilt, perplexity, sorrow, struggle, seek believingly their aid, and the incessant interworking of the whole Church Triumphant with the whole Church Militant. Shall we scoff at peers, it may be superiors, as visionary fools, self-deluded and false, because they fling wide before us the palace doors of a higher world, where hosts of harmonious beings, once frail mortals, now glorified immortals, are busied in benign service for the sunken and squalid, half brutalized by habit, yet in capacity god-like race upon our globe?

3. But excesses incident to a faith, so congenial to man's instinctive desires, as this of ministering spirits, by reaction introduced a new era of religious experience, which rising from the demands for justification by faith culminated in *Revivalism*. What means this highest phase of Orthodox Protestantism? Here again, he who thinks it wise to cramp phenomena, however grand, within the mould of his natural understanding, and to condemn as morbid all feelings which surpass the level of complacent common-sense, easily disposes of the subject, by tracing up the emotions of grief and joy, the flashes of contrition and triumphs of hope, manifested in periods of religious excitement, to electric influences transmitted through a crowd from a powerful mesmeriser. But granting that the naturalist does hereby indicate a law which governs man's collective life, the question rises, whether, when thus exalted by enthusiasm above the average meanness of sloth and selfish strife, into an atmosphere of sympathy, men are not more competent to gain visions, however transient, of spiritual realities, than when immersed in care and confusion? May it not be, that in such genial seasons, men apprehend truths which afterwards they distort and doubt of, because, amidst the worlds collisions, they cannot be true to them? Familiarity, ambition, vanity, passion,

rant, most repulsive and shocking to enlightened spirits, doubtless, are manifested amid revivals but too often. What then? Will any single-eyed observer, yet more, will any sincere participant in such scenes hesitate to assert, that to bodies of assembled believers, roused by eloquent outpourings of inmost convictions, made conscious by appeal and confession of moral needs yet longings for perfection, heaven has opened, and revealed Christ sitting at the right hand of power? Not from instances, few or many, of hypocritical inconsistency and self-delusion among converts, are we to judge of Revivalism; but from the constant in duty, the humbly wise, the great-hearted, the sanctified, are we to ask an explanation of the new life which shines through and enfolds them in the beauty of holiness. And their answer is, "it is our experience that we are not alone, but that a celestial grace quickens us, which is more fully shed abroad when many believing hearts are brought to full accord by the spirit of prayer."

4. But alternations of rapture and coldness, and yet more a separation between spiritual affections and actual life, were continually observed to accompany pietistic excitement. "Is not this a sign that the highest laws of man's nature are thereby transgressed?" was asked by earnest men. And so appeared a new phase in the religious life of Christendom, *Rational Morality*. "The essence of religion," it was said, "is love, the love of God, the love of man; our true inspiration is goodness. It is not well for man to be conversant with methods of spiritual communication, for the instinct of the marvellous is thus stimulated unduly, at the sacrifice of reverence and charity. Gratefully do we own that Jesus is the Mediator of this new moral life, not only by his example and teachings, but by his spirit. Yet it is best to concentrate all powers of will and thought upon our own character and conduct. Love was the essential life which made the carpenter of Galilee so divinely beautiful and mighty to redeem mankind from selfishness; love is the only befitting temper which can prepare us for heavenly intercourse; love is really the life of the Holy Ghost within us. Not collectively, but individually, must we seek to be made anew in the image of the Infinite One. Our school of discipline is earth; our important relations are those of common humanity; what we should most seek from the Divine Being in prayer, is participation in that pure and perfect disinterestedness which is his own eternal good, and which makes every one whom it enlivens a child of God. Cold, tame, isolating, may be the tendency of this rationalizing moralism, but who, that has witnessed the truly Christ-like benignity, radiant alike in home circles and widest spheres of philanthropy, not rarely called out by this form of religious experience, can doubt whether such a mingled spirit of filial and fraternal love is an influx from Heaven?"

5. Evidently, however, there was another degree of religious life, latent and waiting conditions of development in this faith, that goodness is the indwelling life of God. "Why did Jesus open a new era in human history; why did his followers gather round him the cloud of tradition, where the man is swallowed up in divine splendours; why

have worshipping ages imagined him as head over all in Heaven! Simply because he trusted so implicitly to the infinitude of his powers of love and intuition." Hence, *Transcendentalism*. "In the strictest sense it is true," was declared, "that man is incarnate deity, is the Infinite Unity manifested in Finite Multiplicity. Goodness, Truth, Beauty, are the eternal essence, revealing itself in transient existence. Not Jesus alone, but every spirit in human form is divine. True piety is to be purely one's own self, for this inmost power of life is God; the highest prayer is to put forth in beneficent action the profoundest impulse of good-will; every man is a Christ in Heaven in degree as his internal inspiration and external action are harmonious; we are all mediators, just in so far as the One Good, distributed through each, is reunited by freest interchange of joyful conscious sympathy. "Let us waste no time or power on fanciful theories of a heavenly hierarchy, on impertinent investigations into the mysteries of God; our true end is to be manly—and in that manliness to reveal, here and now, divinity." Extravagant enthusiasm, caprice, arrogance, may be oftentimes the result of a creed which teaches a finite creature to slight the relations whereby he lives; but Transcendentalism has been a means of unfolding to many a mind, experimentally, a most sublime significance in the words, "I am in the Father, and the Father in me."

There remains but one further development of the religious life of Christendom to complete the scale; and this now enters into the sphere of experience. It is the faith sketched briefly in our opening paragraph. It accepts the partial forms of faith now passed in review, and, by harmonizing, transmutes them. It declares The Christ, a Central manifestation of God in Man, a Head of Humanity, a chief medium between our race, the Heaven of Heavens, and the Absolute Being; it acknowledges incessant influences from Spirits, arranged in a hierarchy of providential ministrations in the heaven of this planet, upon mankind on the surface of our globe; it recognizes that spiritual influx is received most amply by groups and societies of accordant persons, quickened to high moral and mental action by communion; it regards the essence of spiritual life, thus inflowing, as being goodness, wisdom, beneficent and beautiful energy, joy, humanity, holiness; it asserts that love, reason, and creative power, are really the Divine Life within us, which, by direct inspirations, is forming every spirit into an immortal image of the Infinite One; in a word, it announces that Man, individual and collective, lives in the midst of a boundless system of Mediation, whereby is evermore fulfilled the sublime benediction: "That they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us; one even as we are one, I in thee and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in One."

W. H. C.

## PROTECTIVE UNIONS.

### NUMBER ONE.

No movement among us more decisively indicates the Spirit of the Age, its Idea and Tendency, than the formation of these societies; and none gives clearer evi-

dence of the intelligence of the working classes. By it they exhibit an independent self-reliance, which is an earnest of their speedy and permanent elevation, and manifest a true, though it may be imperfect, apprehension of the only method by which their rights are to be secured and maintained. It differs widely from any former movement of these classes, when awakened to a sense of their condition and their grievances so patiently borne, and shows a spirit essentially unlike that which has actuated them in efforts to overcome the various forms of oppression to which they have been so long subject. Therefore it is that we advocate it, and assert that no movement is more admirably calculated to benefit mankind, or promises more lasting results.

The Protective Union movement is calm, peaceful, and constructive; and is not open, therefore, to the condemnation of those even who have little faith in the world-wide application of the principle which it involves. Of its utility to the class to whose benefit it is specially directed there cannot be a doubt; and as a transition step between competitive strife and coöperation, its importance can scarcely be over-estimated. It naturally precedes the simplest form of associative life, and contains the *germinal principle* of the most complex organizations; for the principle which it embodies may be applied, without limit, to all human relations.

In the short series of articles concerning the origin and progress of these Unions, which we propose to contribute, we shall endeavor to estimate their relative importance by comparing them with other movements, and to show the proper application of their principle. We desire to secure the attention particularly of those classes who have felt most deeply the evils of our present system of trade and industry, and whose time is so constantly occupied in relieving pressing wants, that they have little opportunity to devise means for their own and their brethren's elevation. Yet, not alone to this class do we address ourselves, for all classes are, or should, and soon will be interested equally in any plan for the real advancement of humanity. We have no intention of recommending any change in business, or other relations, which shall be prejudicial to the true good of any individuals or the well-being of society at large. We would not forget the general in special interests; and neither do we desire that particular interests should thrive at the expense of others. This paper, which is our medium of communication with the public, is established for the avowed end of harmonizing all interests, and to this end, which we most heartily approve, all our efforts shall be aimed.

We know that the elevation of the People is dependent upon their opportunities for education and development, and that no condition is so unfavorable for the attainment of these as poverty. We know that the alternative presented to the poor is unremitting toil or dependence upon charity, and that such a position is a prolific source of ignorance and crime. We know that poverty is the result of a most inequitable distribution of the product of labor, and that there is wealth enough created by labor in the world to afford every person time and means for sup-



port and education. Why the working classes should, for so long a time, have been denied their fair portion of this ample provision, upon any principle of justice, it would be difficult to show; and no law of equity can authorize such an entire abrogation of natural right. The most conservative will not deny that the laborer is justly entitled to at least as much of the wealth he produces as is necessary to supply his material wants; for it is undeniable that labor creates all wealth which is *not furnished by nature* from her laboratory. If the right to what one produces or creates should be held as inviolable as the right to life, surely the right to that development, expansion and refinement, of which wealth is but the means, should be held equally sacred. It is the end of the Protective Union, as of all the *Social* movements of the Age, to place man in possession of these rights and to guarantee their enjoyment.

Translated from the Last Word of Socialism.

## THE LANDLORD AND HIS TENANTS.

### A DIALOGUE.

A man possessing real estate in the country—an excellent landlord for the most part—rents it to a number of small farmers, and clears, annually, a profit of six per cent. At the close of fifty years the farmers seek an interview with the landlord, and the following dialogue ensues:

FARMERS. Mr. Landlord, what do you consider your lands worth?

LANDLORD. Five hundred thousand francs, my friends, not a sou more or less. Do you want to buy?

F. Why should we not?

L. Very good; count me down the sum in good gold, and the lands are yours.

F. But, Mr. Landlord, we have been reckoning up the amount which we have already paid you since we have been your tenants, and do you know, we find that it comes to at least one million five hundred thousand francs; that is to say, to three times as much as the value of your property.

L. Ah, indeed! well, that proves that I made no mistake in entrusting my lands to you.

F. No doubt of that! But tell us, if you please, would you, fifty years ago, have given us this property for the price you mention?

L. Certainly, and much more readily than to-day—for meanwhile they have increased a tenth in value.

F. But since, according to your own acknowledgement, we have paid you for these lands three times what they were originally worth, they should in justice belong to us, and you would still owe us a million of francs. The sum is very simple, thus:

From	1,500,000 fr. paid by us,
Subtract	500,000 fr. the worth of the property,

and there remain 1,000,000 fr. due from you, for what we have made over as rent.

L. Eh! Your arithmetic puzzles me. Do you pretend that I have appropriated anything of yours?

F. Judge for yourself; your fortune was 500,000 fr.; you have not added a centime to its value by your own personal toil, and nevertheless you might have expended, during these fifty years, 1,500,000 fr., the product of our labor, while preserving undiminished, and even increasing, your original property.

Now, he who is in possession of - 2,000,000 fr.

While his own property and labor amount only to - 500,000 fr.

Has evidently taken from others - 1,500,000 fr.

L. But you should have had, fifty years ago, the 500,000 fr. to give me; then, instead of hiring, you might have bought my lands.

F. That is to say, being poor, we ought to give you three times the value of your estate, without having the least claim to an inch of your land, while, on the contrary, if we had been rich, for a third part of what we have actually given, we might have been owners of the whole. Thus the poor man is obliged to pay three times, ten times, a hundred times, the worth of any property, without taking possession of it after all; while the rich man may receive three times, ten times, a hundred times, its value, without parting with it. And this is justice! this is equality!

L. What would you have? Have you become communists, and would you rob me of the patrimony of my ancestors?

F. By no means; we respect your property, but we wish you to respect ours. All that we desire is, that the poor man should stand on the same level with the rich—that instead of paying a hundred and thousand times over, under the name of interest, for estates of which he never becomes proprietor, each payment made by him should entitle him to a proportional part of the property, and thus that both contracting parties should be invariably subject to the same reciprocal conditions of justice and equality.

L. But you have had the use of my lands, worth 500,000 fr.: you owe me, then, interest on that amount.

F. You, on your side, have had the use of our money, which now amounts to 1,500,000 fr.; you owe us, then, interest accordingly. Either, then, interest should be wholly abolished, when you would owe us the property and a million francs, or else both sides should pay interest, when your debt would swell to a much larger sum.

L. Why, at this rate, you would have become landlords in my place more than thirty years ago, and I should have been compelled to work for my living.

F. That might have been very unpleasant, perhaps; but, we ask you, is it fair and right that we and our children should be everlastingly condemned to labor, in order to give you and yours the opportunity of living everlastingly in idle leisure? Or look at the matter thus: how much do you need annually for support?

L. Say 5,000 fr.; with my simple taxes, that sum might suffice.

F. Not counting the interest, then, you would still to-day, at the end of fifty years, have had laid aside 250,000 francs, though doing nothing, and spending 5,000 francs

a year—while we, who have poured into your coffers 1,500,000 francs, would not have in hand a single red cent, though spending only 300 or 400 francs a year, and working, all the time, 16 or 18 hours a day.

L. Well, what conclusion do you draw from that?

F. This is our conclusion. Fifty years ago, at the era of your majority, your fortune amounted to 500,000 francs; you have acquired nothing, meanwhile, by your own labor; and yet, after having spent 5,000 francs a year, which makes 250,000 francs for the whole period, you will leave to your heirs, by means of the 25,000 francs annually saved, and the interest upon them, more than 2,000,000 francs; that is to say, your original patrimony has been increased five-fold by our labor; and the product of this labor has been pocketed by you, because you were rich, while we have been forced to pay it over, because we were and are poor. Well! we want no more of this social order, where the poor man is thus condemned to support the rich, and incessantly to heap up his wealth; henceforth we want justice and equality; and these can be secured only by a law declaring that all payments of RENT shall be reckoned as PURCHASE-MONEY.

L. It will take you some time to get such a law passed.

F. That may be, but we shall obtain it at length; for God's kingdom upon earth is justice, and God himself is on our side.

## Literature and Art.

PHILO: AN EVANGELIAD. By the Author of "Margaret, a Tale of the Real and Ideal." Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1850.

On first running the eye through this elegantly printed volume, the reader might be prompted to utter "Festus, adapted to American and Unitarian taste;" but, presently he lingers over a passage and amends his criticism: "No! a genuine book, fresh out of a single heart and lively brain." Mr. Judd may have unconsciously derived the form of his poem from Mr. Bailey; or both may have yielded to an impulse acting through our age, which makes all wakeful persons aspire to nearer communion with the spiritual world; or, perhaps again, our friend has been visited by angels. Certainly, the celestial guests who figure on his pages have a most homely air and tone, and seem like family friends. But whether ministers from heaven have actually come to dwell with him or not, this Evangeliad proves that such strangers would find quite pleasant accommodations. Indeed, whatever one may think of the book, he cannot but feel attracted to the healthy, genial, thoughtful and earnest writer, even though his eccentricity be a little wilful. Under a quaint mask smiles a face of beaming truthfulness and good will.

Our limits will not permit us to do more than to say, that this poem is a survey of the Times and their tendencies, from the heavenly side. Earth, its crimes and follies, are looked at from the sun, and shadows are swallowed up in light. Its atmosphere is radiant with hope. Oppression in all its hideous forms stands broadly exposed; but among the ruins, and over the deserts new life is springing. A Christmas peaceful benediction, and a New Year's mingled tone of forgiveness and welcome pervade this poem; and child-like delight in natural beauty, with sportive humor, relieve the stern justice of its

ethics. With strong, yet gentle hand, the author draws aside the veil of sense, and reveals the heaven that lies around the pure and loving everywhere. A few extracts, by no means fair specimens, from different parts of the volume will best show its quality and scope:—

### OF CHRIST.

Gabriel.—"His mission, plan,  
Idea, was Unity in Trinity;  
Atonement of himself, and man, and God;  
Accordance of all earthly interests;  
To smooth the face of inequality;  
And by reflective, mutual furtherance,  
With just restraint, the progress of the race,  
And its perfection ratify. Christ saw  
And did, what Orpheus sung, Isaiah wrote;  
Carried himself with majesty proportioned, &c." p. 11.

### OF ANGELS.

Gabriel.—"O'er will of mortals we do not preside,  
That is prerogative of God alone. \* \*  
An influence we like memory of youth, \* \*  
Charming the soul with an immortal hope.  
Anon as midnight music, we arrest  
The ear of sin and make the wanton pause \* \*  
The conscience hears our voice in sister tones,  
And hatred melts into pure human love.  
We brood o'er helpless steps of orphanage,  
As sunbeams flicker on that alighted moss.  
All souls have guardians that follow them,  
As hopes of fathers hover round their sons." p. 22.

### OF WOMAN.

Philo.—"Man does his mission; Woman is herself  
A mission like the landscape. \* \*  
Woman is Poetry to man's dull prose,  
The hopeful Christian to his Heathenism,  
And unity to his malign dissent." p. 55.

We should like much to give the whole sketch of Charles, which is perhaps the most life-like passage in the book; but it is too long.

The Poet.—"I knew a poet once  
As he himself; and who could know him better?  
His secret was a woman, mystery, \* \*  
Man's undeveloped and unfinished self,  
His better self within himself not born. \* \*

Philo.—"What was his after life?

The Poet.—"A Semitone; \* \*  
Some conscious worth dropped oil on his unrest.  
There was a sense of deepest truthfulness  
Whereto he moored himself, and went ashore,  
And paced along that solemn sounding strand.  
Sometimes adown his lone and empty soul  
Tears trilled and clicked, as water in a cave.  
But still the Poet loved, as was his nature;  
He kept the image of his captive love,  
And wrought on it as an ideal bust,  
Invoked its aid, as Papists do their Mary's." p. 130.

### OF THE EVANGELIAD.

Philo.—"Christ saves,  
The earth brims with a pure enthusiasm.  
Hilarious all and holy. Heart to heart  
Its signals hoists, eyes dawn on eyes, the streets  
Redemptive look, the folk Redeemed. \* \*  
And children on the mountain tops will pluck  
The good and true, as I this bunch of grapes." p. 244.



But asking the Poet's pardon for wrong done, by thus breaking from the bough a flower or two, we refer our readers to the volume.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SPECIAL PROVIDENCES: A Vision. By Andrew Jackson Davis, author of "Nature's Divine Revelation," &c. Boston: Bela Marsh, 25 Cornhill.

Such is the title of a pamphlet of fifty-five pages, just published. To those who are interested in that peculiar formation of truth for which Mr. Davis is distinguished, this little work comes welcome. It is certainly a very remarkable statement, from a very remarkable source. It will not do, however, to laugh at visions and still believe the prophets. And in the present instance, we see, at least, how every person is distinguished by that peculiar *kind* of vision for which alone he is fitted by natural constitution. We suppose there are those who will demur at the very idea of such powers of mind as are claimed by this author in this pamphlet. All we have to say is, they can read it, and they will find much to interest, much beauty and truth, very surprising accounts of actual providential occurrences, and not a little good argument and application. Sure we are, whether the author is right or wrong in his facts and visions, his *philosophy* is substantially correct.

The author remarks:—"In considering special and universal providence with a belief of the understanding, the highest and greatest comfort flowing therefrom is based upon the glorious and (to me) already demonstrated *truth*, that our earth is environed by a Spiritual World. And not only is our earth thus surrounded, but so also are all the earths or planets belonging to our solar system. In truth, there is a *great* sphere of spiritual existence which, touching it, girdles the material sphere, a part of which we are at present existing in; and again, encircling that sphere, is a galaxy of *greater* spheres, more refined and more magnificent, which are inhabited by spirits, drawn onward by the eternal magnet of Supreme Goodness. Thus, there is a chain extending from man to Deity! And all that we can desire in the form of attention and dispensation is abundantly supplied, and handed down to us, by and through the spiritual inhabitants of higher spheres—the links in that chain of Love!"

W. M. F.

IRELAND, AS I SAW IT: The Character, Condition, and Prospects of the People. By William S. Balch. New York: George P. Putnam.

The subject of this book alone would give it interest; but the hearty humanity, justice, and good sense with which the author has treated it, makes it truly valuable. If one were disposed to criticise, he might say, indeed, that a disproportionate part of the volume is occupied with descriptions of material objects, and that the reader would have been better satisfied, if not the surface only, but the very depths of Irish Society had been laid bare. But perhaps it was wise thus to relieve the tragic impression of poor Ireland's social miseries, by showing how ever fresh and beautiful nature is, notwithstanding human injustice; and certainly the views which Mr. Balch has presented of British misrule and the consequent moral deterioration are profoundly instructive. A sadder chapter than this living death of a most noble-hearted, highly-endowed nation, history does not show upon its team-stained pages; and all who would thoroughly understand the tendencies of modern civilization should learn by heart the terrible lessons here given.

The following passages show that Mr. Balch has an eye,

which the bandages of conventional cant and custom cannot blind:—

"They tell us 'the famine, a visitation from God, which fell so severely upon this part of the Island, last year, was the principal cause of the misery we still see; the failure of the potato crop, upon which many thousands depended for their subsistence, prevented those in possession of little properties from meeting their rents and taxes, and supporting themselves!' Indeed! That begins to let us into the secret. The rents and taxes *must* be paid, to support landlords in ease and luxury, and the government in its ability to oppress this and other nations, even though wives and children perish of starvation! In default of payment, the bailiff is directed to dis-train and take from the poor tenant the last resource of life and comfort, and then evict him, and send him out penniless and ragged, to seek by beggary a chance to live, or a place to die. The country, it is said, is overstocked with laborers, and there is no chance left for this new reinforcement, and so they are compelled to wander about with the hosts of *idlers*, about whose indolence landlords and Englishmen prate so much. They can find nothing to do, and so they do nothing but beg or steal—the former failing to support life, we could hardly find it in our hearts to blame them for the latter. Their condition is indeed deplorable. I never understood the depth of their miseries before. I shall hereafter feel more compassion for the poor, ignorant, suspicious Irish, than I have ever felt for those who seek an asylum in our blessed land. Instead of blame and reproach, they deserve the sincerest pity for their untoward fate. They have been reduced to a state of dejection and helplessness from which it is impossible for them to deliver themselves."

"Near the town stands the plain old mansion of Lord Kenmare, the bankrupt proprietor of an immense tract of land, divided into pleasure grounds, deer parks, hunting forests, pastures, meadow and tillage lands, tenanted by ten thousand hard-working, miserably-clad, and worse-fed human beings. By the sweat and blood of these oppressed and depressed people, the proprietor and his Shylock agents and underwriters are enabled to live at their ease in London, Paris, Italy, Switzerland; anywhere except in Ireland, where they belong, and whence they draw their nutriment for their extravagance, and where, of right, it should be distributed again."

"Such is the rottenness and injustice of the English system of government, that the real estate of a nobleman cannot be encumbered under any circumstance whatever by the act of a creditor. He may be a miserable, worthless scoundrel, indebted to any amount, but so long as he lives there is his title and property, which none but the crown may touch; and when he dies, it goes to his oldest male heir, who may be, if possible, more involved and abandoned than himself; and there it remains, secure for the next generation.

We wonder at this state of things, unused as we are to see such wrong and injustice in our Republic, where the feudal claims of entail and primogeniture are denied, and a perfect equality secured to all. But we should remember that the safety of the British government rests upon this provision.

At the time of the conquest, the country was divided into immense estates, and given to the most devoted sycophants, who were thus constituted the aristocracy—who were invested with the right to govern the nation. The possession of the land was entailed, and made hereditary in the oldest male heir. The younger members of the family were left to shirk for themselves. This condition of things exists under the boasted Constitution of England, and operates every year worse and worse, as the increasing poverty and misery of the people shows. Enterprise is paralyzed by it, and industry starves. Any change, though loudly demanded, is feared, as destructive to the hereditary nobility of the nation; for if creditors could secure the payment of their debts by the partition and sale of these estates, or should they be divided among the different members of the family, the title must soon be lost. Nearly every nobleman has so covered his property with encumbrances, that, was justice done, he could not retain a claim to the wretched hovel of his poorest tenant. The nobility, the exchequer, and, for aught I know, the royalty itself, are so deplorably bankrupt that the demands of justice can never be met; yet the force of habit, the terrors of the government, and various expedient of cunning men, continue to cheat justice of her claims, and the honest people of their rights, and

keep the masses in a condition of most abject vassalage and suffering. But all this only serves to procrastinate and make more terrible the certain and fearful retribution which shall overwhelm this country, sooner or later."

**THE EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE.** An Oration delivered before the Onondaga Teacher's Institute, at Syracuse, N. Y., Oct. 14th, 1849. By Theodore Parker. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. For sale at Bela Marsh's, 25 Cornhill.

This is a plain and truthful production, characteristic of its author. It is a statement of theocratic and aristocratic contrasted with democratic motives, character, and methods of education. Politics, Industry, Church, and Press come in for their share of notice; and Free Common Schools, Free High Schools and Free Colleges, are the means urged by the orator for the universal education of the People. It is a plain, truthful, candid representation of the shams and realities of present conditions. The author tells us, truly enough, that there has not been a great question before Congress since the Revolution "which could not have been better decided by seven men, honest, intelligent and just, who loved man and God, and looked, with a single eye, to what was right in the case. It is our business to train up such men."

W. M. F.

## Reform Movements.

**IRISH EMIGRANT PROTECTION SOCIETIES.**—In the Third Municipality a society, we are glad to perceive, has been formed, for the relief of the distress of poor emigrants on their arrival here; when, alas! with heart-rending sorrow depicted on every lineament, destitute of means, and ignorant of the mode—though most willing to labor—best calculated to win honest bread in this hospitable land are but too often an eyesore to their countrymen, and a burthen to themselves.

To mitigate the suffering, to relieve the distress, and to give good counsel to their brothers and sisters, who, driven by hard necessity, or obeying the promptings of willing hearts, seek in this glorious land, the bread of industry, and the rights of free-men, a few energetic and zealous individuals have united themselves and formed the Irish Union Emigrant Society of the Third Municipality.

Honor to the men who have embarked in this benevolent and excellent work; we know them well, have known them long, and have ever found their hearts ready to sympathize, and their hands to give, to meet the claims of distress or the appeals of suffering.

They remind the First and Second Municipalities of their greater ability, and their not less bounden duty, to come forward and follow the good example, by the organization of branch "Unions," in connection with the Parent Society.

Without wasting words on this subject, or desiring to find fault, we call upon the Irish residents to be up and doing in the First and Second, and we will be bound for it, that with an expenditure not amounting to one-half that is now uselessly and unproductively fritted away in private charity, five times as much good will be accomplished; while an end will be put to the offensive system of street-begging, now so extensively practiced in our thoroughfares.

We shall cheerfully co-operate with the society of the Third Municipality, until the others are set in motion, if it only points out the way in which we can be useful in promoting the good end in view; and we tender to this society, and to all other societies formed to assist with money or advice, the emigrant arriving from Europe, to seek a home amongst us, the aid of our columns. All are welcome here who bring industry,

integrity, and a disposition to labor; to aid in making these qualities conduce to the comfort and support of the emigrant, and of service to the country, should be the aim of all benevolent societies, and not merely to give temporary aid, often for the encouragement of idleness, or the ease of the deprived.

We have long thought it desirable, that the corporate authorities of the city should devise a plan for the employment of the surplus labor occasionally to be found in this city, at rates just sufficient to find in actual necessities the persons so employed, who should be at liberty to leave the works at the close of any day's labor, on expressing a wish to do so; but, at the same time, having a law to punish as vagrants any one able to work who might be found begging in the streets, which, of late years, has become an intolerable nuisance.

A law of this character would be both humane and salutary, and, taken in connection with the immigrant societies, would, we think, be all-sufficient to check mendicancy, and relieve all proper objects of charity willing and able to work.

**OUR PUBLIC LANDS.**—"The land shall not be sold forever—for the land is mine, saith the Lord, for ye are strangers and sojourners with me."—*Leviticus*.

To the Editor of the Tribune.

The claims and the necessities of the gallant Hungarian Refugees have come prominently up before the public mind; and they have dragged up with them, out of their neglect and oblivion, the claims and the necessities of our own homeless people.

Now is the time for every Republican, of every political party, to signify his will to Congress that our Public Lands should at once be made free to actual settlers, under restrictions that will forever preclude the principle of monopoly. From every street and lane, and hill and valley, and sea-shore—wherever there dwells common sense and Republican feeling, let memorials to Congress (both Houses) go forth at once. There will undoubtedly be a liberal grant—as there should be—made to the brave Hungarians. Whether our own people will be included in that grant will mainly depend on their own action.

No matter how simple, or even illiterate, may be the language of each memorial—no matter how uncouth, if respectful, may be its form—no matter if each paper be not signed by half a dozen names—send them in, crowd them in, from every quarter. Strike, "strike while the iron is hot!"

THOS. ANGE DEVER.

**HOUSES FOR THE POOR.**—The *Salem Freeman* has the following notice of the first operations of the Salem Building Association, the object of which is to furnish decent cheap dwellings for the poorer class of people. Lowell has need enough of an operation of this kind. Who among her capitalists will have the honor of starting the enterprise?

**Salem Building Association.**—The block of cheap tenements erected by this society, was thrown open to the public on Wednesday. It affords neat, convenient and cheap tenements for the poor, and is highly creditable to the projectors.

The new building is in the rear of the street, upon a lot of land 200 feet by 80. It is divided into 12 separate tenements. Partition walls running across the building divide it into three parts, each containing four tenements. An entry runs through each part, from the front yard to the back. Upon each side of this entry, upon the lower floor, is a tenement consisting of a keeping-room 14 feet square, an adjoining sleeping room and also a pantry. The arrangements of the second story is pre-



## Miscellany.

cisely the same. There are therefore 6 tenements below on the opposite sides of 3 entries, and 6 tenements above on the opposite sides of 3 other entries. Each tenement has also accommodations in the attic and ellar. All the rooms are neatly painted and papered. The yard room is distinct and commodious, and wood-sheds are provided.

On each side of a passage way of 30 feet, which leads into the building from the street, is a building also belonging to the Association. These two front buildings—which are not new—contain 6 tenements, making 18 in all upon the company's land.

We understand that the original suggestion of this project was made by a venerable lady of this city, who has liberally aided and advanced the scheme. The company has a stock subscribed of \$7,000, and its affairs are in the management of liberal and judicious men.

We trust the experiment may be sufficiently successful to warrant other undertakings of the same kind. The questions connected with the permanent relief and extinguishment of poverty are amongst the most important of the age.

**RIGHTS OF MARRIED WOMEN.**—The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania has decided recently, that a husband has no claim to the possession of any property owned by his wife previous to marriage, or which may accrue to her after marriage; and that even the consent of the wife, that her husband should have possession of her property, is of no avail while the wife is a minor. This decision is based on the law of 1848, which has wrought a radical change in the condition of married females.

**THE ICARIAN EMIGRANTS** continue to arrive at Nauvoo, Illinois, from France. Forty-six arrived there lately, eighteen more were daily expected, and in the spring a large emigration is looked for.

**RUSSIA.**—The *Tribune* translates from the *Koynische Zeitung* a letter on the Censorship of the Press.

Petersburg, Dec. 11.

"The censorship of the press is now introduced into the East, in which patriarchal region it belonged from the beginning. The Emperor has ordered that the censors in Circassia shall take the supervision of all books, journals, and pamphlets appearing in the Oriental languages. Travelers who are passing over the Caucasus into Asia are allowed to take with them commercial and agricultural works, and topographical descriptions, but only one copy of each. The Emperor has entrusted the banner of St. George to the army of the Don, as a remembrance of their noble participation in the war with Hungary."

**WORKING MAN'S HALL IN LONDON.**—MUNIFICENT GIFTS.—A benevolent testator named Jenkins has left the munificent sum of £10,000 for the erection of a Working Man's Hall, to be built in some convenient part of the metropolis. The building is to be for the free use of working men of all denominations, under the control of twelve directors, who have been nominated. It is added that Mr. Saul, the geologist, has expressed his intention, on the completion of the building, to present to it his magnificent museum: and further, that a gentleman, whose name did not transpire, would furnish a library of one thousand volumes.

**MUNIFICENT DONATION.**—Alexander Duncan, of Providence, R. I., has presented \$20,000 to the Butler Hospital for the insane.

**PORTRAIT OF THE FRENCH PRESIDENT.**—The reflective look of Prince Louis is well known to all those who have frequented London within the last five or six years. The seven years which he passed in prison did much toward the formation of his character. That

"No giant frame sets forth his common height,"  
is quite true; but it is equally true,

"That they who pause to look again,  
See more than marks the crowd of vulgar men."

His countenance expresses a great deal of character and decision; and, but for a certain vacuity of expression, might be termed highly intellectual by his partisans. He is neither easily excited nor easily depressed; he has passed the age when men's passions are most easily roused, and attained that when practical ambition and the material advantages of life are most prized; but when, among men of reflection, ambition turns toward the result of great actions, rather than toward the mere objects of personal aggrandizement. In his conduct he is remarkably simple, unaffected, and unelated; courteous, and at all times desirous of pleasing; accessible, frank, and open-hearted. His character is one which, however opposed they may be in politics, all men must admire for its single-heartedness. He has read much, steadily, and to a good purpose; has a retentive memory, and does justice to the information that he possesses; he is as much superior to the general opinion entertained of him, prior to his attainment to power, as he is inferior to that vast mind to which some of his flatterers have the audacity to compare him—Napoleon the Great. The Prince Louis possesses at least one quality which is invaluable in these days when it is most rare (for the material life which is the characteristic of the times is not the best calculated to develop it) courage—not merely physical courage, the power of endurance and of performing deeds of daring, which is the result of a bodily accident—but that strong mental courage, more rarely found, and more rarely still, found associated with physical courage. He has also that quality, precious in all men, most rare and precious in a prince—the faculty of silence. It is a quality which, in general, proves a man to have great confidence in himself; for whereas they who mistrust their own opinions, and the fixedness of their own resolutions, are invariably speaking of what great things they will do, the man who really feels himself capable of high resolves and noble purposes rarely alludes to them. It is quite undeniable that the Prince President possesses more enterprising qualities than the Duke of Bordeaux; he is capable of taking a far more active part in the public service, if circumstances should compel him to do so; he possesses a greater knowledge of the world, both of books and men; a readier faculty of adaption into whatever society he may be thrown. In fact, he is a man who exemplifies the wisdom of Shakspeare, when he tells us that the uses of adversity are sweet. In solitude he learned to correct those faults of character which in early life led him into so much folly and error; and which were the origin of all those mistrusts by which he was surrounded.—*Frazer's Magazine.*

**BIRDS.**—THEIR HYDROPATHIC HABITS.—Our merry Canary is regaling himself with a bath, in a basin of water near our table; a daily custom he has learned we suppose in the school of nature, as it can hardly be presumed that he does it from sympathy with us in our labors for hydropathy, as, according to our best information on the subject, nearly every bird in ex-

istence seeks the water daily, or several times in a day, in which they lave themselves thoroughly, and that they would sicken and die without obeying this instinct of their nature. We do not speak of aquatic species, but those joyous songsters of the grove which carol, untaught and unchecked, their matin songs and evening melodies.—*Water-Cure Journal*.

**SIMPLE CURE FOR CROUP.**—We find in the *Journal of Health* the following simple remedy for this dangerous disease. Those who have passed nights of almost agony at the bedside of loved children, will treasure it up as an invaluable piece of information. If a child is taken with croup, instantly apply cold water, ice water if possible, suddenly and freely to the neck and chest, with a sponge. The breathing will almost instantly be relieved. So soon as possible, let the sufferer drink as much as it can; then wipe it dry, cover it up warm, and soon a quiet slumber will relieve the parent's anxiety, and lead the heart in thankfulness to the power which has given to the pure gushing fountain such medical qualities.

**NATURE THE BEST LOGICIAN.**—The instincts of animals are stronger arguments to establish truth than can be elaborated in all the schools of logic ever founded by man.

**Animal Instinct.**—*The Swine.*—The following fact illustrates the efficiency of the water-treatment of disease, and the almost infallibility of animal instinct.

Mr. Curtis Black, a farmer in Becket, Mass., had several large swine, which sickened, and refused food, until they became emaciated to mere skeletons, and one of them had died, when the remaining ones were turned out to die. They wandered away, and disappeared, and were supposed to have died. Several days afterwards, they were found under a ledge of rocks, in a large spring of cold water, entirely covered with water and mud, except their noses. The next day they returned to their sty, restored to health, and fattened finely. Such had been their fever, however, that every bristle and hair of their bodies fell off.

It should be observed that these swine were not confined to a close pen, with a floor, but had a large enclosure connected with the sty, and had free access to the ground.—N. SIZER, in *Water-Cure Journal*.

**VALUABLE DISCOVERY.**—It has been discovered in England, that the golden Sulphuret of Antimony, mixed with India Rubber, and submitted to the action of heat at 280 deg. in a boiler under pressure, from four to six hours, will produce what is known as Metallic Rubber, after which the goods will resist the action of extremes of heat or cold, yet retain for on indefinite time, a much greater degree of elasticity than those produced by the melting of sulphur with lead-mixed rubber. Fabrics prepared according to this invention can be made to take all the most delicate tints of color, quite free from the odor of sulphur, so objectionable in other modes of vulcanizing. Mixed with Gutta Percha images, the entire features of the face, which are capable of being distorted into innumerable and grotesque forms have been produced. Overcoats have been made by this process to weigh but twenty-two ounces, and capable of being crammed into the pocket. A single thread of the elastic fabric, no larger than a knitting-needle, suspended the weight of fifteen pounds, after being stretched nine times its quiescent length, so strong is the substance after being submitted to the process. It is said to be the most valuable discovery yet made in connection with India Rubber.—*Courier & Enquirer*.

## CONTENTS.

Spiritual Openings.....	65	Philo: An Evangelist.....	76
Jules Lechevalier.....	66	Philosophy of Spiritual Provi-	
Great Britain—Progress of		dences.....	77
the Redemption Society..	67	Ireland, as I saw it.....	77
Industrial Association.....	68	Irish Emigrant Protection	
Mutual Banking.....	69	Societies.....	78
Confessions of a Revolutionist	71	Our Public Lands.....	78
The New Church.....	72	Houses for the Poor.....	78
Protective Unions.....	74	Miscellany.....	79
The Landlord and his Tenants	75		

## THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE.

## PROSPECTUS FOR VOLUME SECOND.

THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE is designed to be a medium for that *Life of DIVINE HUMANITY*, which, amidst the crimes, doubts, conflicts, of Revolution and Reaction, inspires the hope of a Social Reorganization, whereby the Ideal of Christendom may be fulfilled in a Confederacy of Commonwealths, and MAN become united in Universal Brotherhood.

Among the special ends, to whose promotion the Spirit of the Age is pledged, the following may be named:—

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By notices of Books and Works of Art—records of Scientific discoveries and Mechanical inventions—and summaries of News, especially as illustrating Reform movements at home and abroad—the Spirit of the Age will endeavor to be a faithful mirror of human progress.

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