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BURT FRANKLIN: RESOURCE & SOURCE WORKS SERIES #255

The Phalanx

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Number 1 - 23

October 5, 1843
May 28, 1845

SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS UNITY.

SOCIAL PROGRESS.—A SOCIAL REFORM UPON CONSERVATIVE PRINCIPLES.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.

ASSOCIATION, ATTRACTIVE INDUSTRY, UNITY OF INTERESTS.

CHARLES FOURIER'S

The Phalanx

OR

JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

DEVOTED TO THE CAUSE OF

ASSOCIATION OR A SOCIAL REFORM

AND THE

ELEVATION OF THE HUMAN RACE.

OUR EVILS ARE SOCIAL, NOT POLITICAL, AND A SOCIAL REFORM ONLY CAN ERADICATE THEM.

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BURT FRANKLIN
NEW YORK

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MR. ETZLER.

There is now residing among us a man, unknown and neglected, who is one of the greatest mechanical geniuses—(we will venture to say, in our individual judgment, the greatest) that the world has produced;—not in minute details, perhaps, of mechanical contrivance, but in grand conceptions relating to the universal application of machinery to the labor which man has to perform. Etzler has discovered the means of making use of all the powers of Nature—the heat of the sun, the air, water, &c.—the powers of which he shows are capable of applications to an infinite extent not hitherto made, and especially to Agriculture and cultivation on a vast scale, and to those great labors, and heavy branches of Industry, which the weak hands of mortals now painfully execute. This idea of applying machinery to great works, like digging canals, draining large swamps, clearing forests, &c., ploughing, sowing and reaping the fields, and of making use of powers of Nature, which cost nothing, and are now lost to man, is a great one, and perfectly practicable to an incredible extent, if men would turn their attention to the subject, and put the plans of Etzler into practice. But it is not alone on Land that Etzler proposes to bring new, or rather, latent, powers into operation in order to aid man in the great work of Industry, but also on the Sea, for the purposes of navigation. We intend to give descriptions of his plans and views, which we consider extremely interesting and important, and do justice to the genius of this remarkable man.

Etzler has seen that a social transformation would grow out of the stupendous application of the powers of Nature and of machinery, and he has embraced the great and fundamental idea of a Social Reform, which is now occupying the attention of so many minds, in his plans.

Etzler is now residing in Philadelphia. A. B.

—

The above notice of Mr. Etzler was prepared for the previous number, and we are pleased to observe by the November number of the Democratic Review, that our design of an extended account of his inventions has been anticipated, and that this remarkable mechanical genius is at length attracting that attention from the press of this country which he so eminently deserves. This able periodical contains copious extracts from his works, which are exceedingly scarce, and we refer our readers to it for much valuable and curious information.

THE PRESENT.

The second number of this Monthly, edited by Wm. H. Channing, fully sustains the high character for lofty sentiment and purity of purpose, of which the first gave an earnest, and deserves from the friends of Association, which it advocates so nobly, and the religious portion of the community, to which it appeals so instructively, the most liberal patronage. Terms, $2 per annum, payable in advance.

THE PRESS.

We are indebted to many of our cotemporaries both in and out of the city for their favorable notices of our first number, and we make our acknowledgements for the courtesy generally extended to The Phalanx, and especially return our thanks to those papers in the interior which have done us the favor to publish our Prospectus. It is worthy of remark that of all the notices of the press in various sections, whilst many have been strong in approbation of our doctrines, others neutral and undecided, merely greeting us with a friendly "God speed," *not one* which we have seen has been hostile. Whether this is a sign of general favor and good will towards a reform so pacific and truly conservative as that which we advocate, or whether our opponents, if there are any, have kept us in the dark respecting their strictures by not favoring us with their *exchanges*, we are not prepared to say. We hope, at least, to gain all the liberal and enlightened portion of the press to our cause, and to this end shall endeavor to be just and courteous to all our cotemporaries—whether friendly or otherwise.

STRIKES FOR WAGES.

There has been a very general "turn-out" in all the atlantic cities among the working classes. In every trade almost there has been a strike for higher wages, and generally the demands of the workmen have been complied with by the "masters." The reaction in the commercial world has stimulated business a little, which has increased slightly the demand for labor, and as the population of this country has not yet become dense and excessive, the working classes by the subversive means of *counter-coalitions* to those which exist under our present false system of Industry and Commerce—leagues of wealth and industrial monopoly—are enabled to obtain a small advance of wages. But how trifling and pitiful an amount of benefit, after all, they receive, by such means, even when and *for the time* they do succeed; and how miserably inadequate to meet their *wants* and satisfy their *rights*, are such *beggarly* additions to their wages. Will not the working classes, the intelligent *producers* of this country, see what a miserable shift and expedient to better their condition is a "strike for wages?" Will they not see how uncertain the tenure by which they hold the little advantage they gain by it? Will they not see how degrading the position which forces them to appeal to and beg concessions of employers? Will they not see this and a thousand other evils connected with a false system of industry, and learn that the only remedy is *union among themselves to produce for themselves*, to associate, and combine, and owning the land on which they live and the tools and machinery with which they work, *enjoy the products of their own labor?* We hope so, and then all such "civilized" *false association*, will be unnecessary. We had prepared an article upon this subject in exposition of this *false* mode of associating among the working classes to better themselves, but it is crowded out.

JEFFERSON COUNTY INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION.

The following statement taken from the Black River Journal of October 6th, exhibits the affairs of this Association in a gratifying light, and shows that so far it has been extremely prosperous and successful. The fact alone of a profit having been made, whether much or little, affords a strong proof of the advantages of associated effort, for we apprehend that either farmers or mechanics working separately, would, generally, find it difficult to show a balance in their favor upon the settlement of their accounts. But a net profit of nearly thirteen thousand dollars, or twenty-five per cent upon the capital invested, for the *first six months* that a small association has been in operation, under circumstances by no means the most favorable, is striking and incontestible evidence to that effect. Before a great while we shall have many such cases to record

ABSTRACT OF SEMI-ANNUAL REPORT.

The first Semi-Annual Report of the property, expenditures and proceeds of labor of the Jefferson County Industrial Association was submitted to a meeting of the stock-holders, on Monday the 2d instant.

Since the organization of the Association in April last, the real and personal property acquired by purchase and subscription, has reached the amount of	$54,882.10	
This is subject to reduction by the amount of subscribed property applied to the purchase of real estate,	5,458.28	
Total property on hand,		$49,373.82
The aggregate product of the several departments of business, to September 28d,	$20,301.67	
Expense of same including all purchases of goods and supplies,	7,331.95	
Net proceeds,		$12,969.72
Of this has been expended in improvement of buildings, making a brick-yard, and preparing summer fallows,		1,365.00
Balance on hand,		$11,604.72

This balance consists of agricultural products in store, brick manufactured and now on hand, proceeds of jobbing contracts, earnings of mechanic's shops, &c.

Published by order of the President and Board of Directors.

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VOLUME I. NUMBER 3.

TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM.

SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS UNITY.

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I. The Phalanx will explain the system of universal Association or principles of a new Organization of Society, discovered by CHARLES FOURIER, in regard both to practical details and universal theory, and will enter into an exposition of the higher and more scientific parts of Fourier's discoveries, which have not hitherto been made known in this country, or published to any extent in English.

It will contain copious translations from Fourier's works, the whole of which it is designed in time to give, and will contain extracts from the Paris and London Journals, "LA DEMOCRATIE PACIFIQUE," and the LONDON PHALANX, which are devoted to the cause of Association.

II. The Phalanx will enter into a frank and impartial criticism of the present false system of Society, and will expose its evils, and the defects of its leading social Institutions—among others:—Its repugnant, ill-requited, and degrading system of Industry:—Its system of Free Competition or false rivalry and envious strife and anarchy in Trade and Industry:—Its system of anarchical Commerce:—Its menial system of Hired Labor or labor for Wages:—The unjust and unnatural relation which it establishes between Capital and Labor:—Its defective and partial systems of Education:—Its permanent conflict of the individual with the collective Interest—and its system of separate or isolated Households.

III. The Phalanx will discuss political, social, and religious questions on the broadest grounds of universality and impartiality, and with reference to their practical bearing upon Social Progress and the Happiness of Mankind.

IV. The Phalanx will keep a general record of the progress of the doctrine of Association, and of social movements in different parts of the world, and will furnish details and information in relation to the Associations now organized in this country, and of new ones which may hereafter be established. It is designed to make THE PHALANX the principal medium of communication between the Associations themselves, and between them and the Public.

NEW YORK:

GENERAL AGENCY AT THE OFFICE OF THE SUN,
Corner of Fulton and Nassau Streets.

ZIEBER & CO., AGENTS, PHILADELPHIA.

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LECTURES ON ASSOCIATION AND MEETINGS FOR THE DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEM OF A SOCIAL REFORM AND THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL SCIENCE DISCOVERED BY CHARLES FOURIER, AT BOSTON.

Mr. Channing and Mr. Brisbane are now in Boston, holding meetings in the evening for the above purpose. After a lecture, explanatory of the doctrines of Association, public discussions are to take place. It is expected that many prominent thinkers will take part in them. The social principles discovered by Fourier will be more thoroughly investigated than in the Convention that has just closed, which was too large an assemblage and composed of persons generally too little acquainted with the subject for a regular discussion of the principles of Social Science.

MESSRS. EDITORS—

I am instructed to announce through the Phalanx, the following list of officers of the Fourier Society of this city. They were made choice of at the regular semi-annual meeting held for that purpose on the 5th instant:

R. G. MURRAY, President.

WILLIAM MORGAN, WILLIAM LAMB, } Vice Presidents.

E. A. STILLMAN, Corresponding Secretary.

WILLIAM MITCHELL, Recording Secretary.

JOHN DAVIS, Treasurer.

JOHN FISK, DANIEL J. HALSTED, GEORGE MORGAN, M. F. WHITNEY, JOHN FENNER, } Executive Committee.

The Society, several weeks since, as stated in the last number of the Phalanx, resolved on taking measures to organize, in the neighboring towns, societies auxiliary to this, and appointed a committee to carry those measures into effect. Several members of the committee having since resigned, the appointment was, on the 12th instant, revoked, and its duties referred to the Executive Committee. Our friends will therefore please address all communications of an official or business character to the Corresponding Secretary as usual.

You were in error in supposing that the *Tract* printed here was an official publication of the Fourier Society. It was got up by individuals, but one of whom is now a member of the Society. This explanation is due equally to both, that the credit of its excellences or defects may be bestowed in the right quarter.

By order of the Board. E. A. STILLMAN, Cor. Sec.

ROCHESTER, Dec. 20, 1843.

[From the Dansville Republican, Dansville, Livingston Co., N. Y.]

FOURIER MEETING.

Agreeably to a notice previously given, the friends of Association met in the public school-house on the 8th inst., and organized by electing officers pro. tem. A. J. PECK, was appointed President, and N. SLACK, Secretary.

A mutual interchange of remarks then took place by different individuals, expressive of their views of the principles of Association originating with Charles Fourier—and advocated by intelligent and philanthropic men in England, France, Germany and the United States—and the adaptation of those principles to the present wants of the human race as an antidote to the political, social, moral and religious evils that are inseparable from the present organization of society, and are spreading their baleful influence throughout the social compact, visiting in the most afflictive manner the producing classes who ought in justice to be the freest from them.

After which they proceeded to the election of officers for the next meeting. A. J. Peck was elected President, A. Stevens Vice President, N. Slack Secretary. The following committees were appointed: A committee of five to draft resolutions to present to the next meeting, consisting of S. Hubbard, N. Slack, A. Stevens, S. Fisk and T. Campbell; a committee of three to receive subscriptions for investment in the Ontario Phalanx Association, consisting of A. J. Peck, S. Fisk and A. Lewis. Adjourned to meet at the lower school-house on Saturday evening the 16th inst.

The following Preamble and Resolutions were adopted:

Whereas society, organized in its present form, fails to secure to the great majority of its members that harmonious development of the powers of their nature, and that amount of happiness which the munificence of an All-wise Creator has vouchsafed to them; and believing that it is our privilege and duty to have a more perfectly organized social compact, in which each member will enjoy higher privileges and greater freedom from the varied and overwhelming social evils that now afflict us—therefore

Resolved, That the principles of Association as presented to the world by Charles Fourier, appear consistent both in their practical details and universal theory, and adapted to the wants of the human race, as well as calculated to secure to them those high attainments in civil polity and social good, which the abundant means of a beneficent Providence has led them to anticipate or even desire.

Resolved, That we regard the practical test of the theory of Association that is now being made by the Ontario Phalanx and others as indicative of an enterprising, manly, and philanthropic spirit, that has risen above the shackles of prejudice and long-established custom—seeking, in the new and untrodden fields of social science, a higher destiny for the great family of man, than has yet been attained; and still farther, that we coöperate with, and aid them in this noble enterprise, so far as our several circumstances will permit.

Resolved, That the preamble and resolutions of this meeting and the report of the former meeting be published in the Dansville Republican, and that a copy of the same be sent to Mr. A. Brisbane of New York, and one to the Secretary of the Ontario Phalanx.

N. SLACK, Sec'y. A. J. PECK, Pres't.

THE *Communitist* is the name of a paper published at Community Place, the first number of which is just received. Community Place is situated in the town of Skaneatales, Mottville, Onondaga County, New York, and is the establishment lately formed by Mr. John A. Collins and others. The paper contains some excellent remarks upon a variety of subjects, and, as we are not sorry to see, attacks "*Fourierism*" quite ferociously enough to draw a broad line of demarcation between our doctrines and those of these Community of Property people. The sooner the public is disabused on this head the better. Whilst we sympathise heartily with those persons, who, having had their eyes opened to the falseness of present social arrangements, view with horror the iniquitous evils of society, we cannot approve of universal denunciation based on universal *negation* or denial. But we cannot discuss this matter now. As the Communitist is published "without money and without price," those who wish it need only send their names as subscribers (?) as above, *post-paid*.

J. S. REDFIELD,

BOOKSELLER,

CORNER OF BEEKMAN AND NASSAU STS., NEW YORK.

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REVUE GÉNÉRALE

DE

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TWO DOLLARS A YEAR. AGENCY AT THE OFFICE OF THE SUN. PAYABLE IN ADVANCE.

VOLUME I. NEW YORK, FRIDAY, JANUARY 5, 1844. NUMBER 4.

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☞ The next number of The Phalanx will appear on the fifth of February, one month from this time.

NOTICE:—Mr. T. C. Leland is our Agent for the Western part of New York, and is authorized to receive subscriptions for the PHALANX.

☞ Through the liberality of a gentleman in Louisiana, a Planter, we are enabled to send the Phalanx to the Senior Class of every College and University in the United States. He has authorized us to draw on him for one hundred dollars as a subscription for six months for that purpose. According to the census of 1840 there are in the United States one hundred and seventy-three Colleges or Universities, but we can find the names of one hundred and three only in operation.

GRADUAL ABASEMENT OF THE PRODUCING CLASSES.

WE have explained in the two preceding numbers of the Phalanx two of the great social evils with which we believe this country is threatened:—*first*, violence, sectional dissension, and revolutionary ferment growing out of the question of SLAVERY in the South; and *second*, a COMMERCIAL FEUDALISM, and the subjection of the producing classes to the absolute control and tyranny of capital—to a vast financial and commercial Oligarchy—and the indirect slavery of the mass; and we pointed out some of the elements at work in society to bring about these great social calamities.

We will point out in the present article the third great Evil which menaces this country; it is the gradual sinking of the great body of the people into poverty and a state of degrading dependence—a result of the present false system of Industry, based upon competitive strife, conflict of interests and an inequitable division of profits. To a great extent the laboring classes are already poor, and the serfs of capital, but when we speak of the poverty and degradation which the future has in store for the laboring or producing classes we mean a far more extended state of poverty and servile dependence than that which now exists; we mean that the great majority of the people, the *producing classes*, the farmers, the mechanics and the laborers, will all be gradually despoiled of the property they now possess and become the poor dependants of a small minority who will absorb and concentrate in their own hands the wealth of the country. The producing classes, the great body of the people in this country, are tending—slowly it may be, but surely—towards that poverty, pecuniary dependence, and industrial bondage, which exists in Europe, and which will necessarily bring with it that degradation of the masses, and that industrial oppression, which characterize the older countries, where the pernicious influence of the false system of society, called Civilization, under which we live, has been more fully realized in practice. The causes which are to produce this result are clearly to be seen in action; the principles at work in society to produce it are evident, and although the practical effects are not so numerous and striking as to attract general attention or gain credence when pointed out, yet the discerning mind cannot but perceive the *tendency* of things, nor fail to note the great and all-important fact, *of a gradual abasement of the Laboring Classes in this country.*

We might cite many facts in proof of this, but our object at present is more to illustrate from principles, which are universal and uniform in their action and effects, than to point out facts of a fragmental nature and bearing.

We will speak in the present article of four principal influences which are operating to produce the gradual abasement of the working or producing classes of this country and their subjection to a state of poverty and abject industrial servitude.

1st. The power of Capital, and its control over Labor.

2d. Free-competition or hostile strife among the working classes to obtain the work which capitalists and employers require, the effect of which is a constant reduction of wages, or a decrease in the price of Labor, which is the poor man's only property.

3d. Machinery owned by the few, which works AGAINST the Laboring Classes instead of FOR them.

4th. Isolation; want of combination and concert of action among the working classes, and consequent weakness and helplessness, which make them an easy prey to the combined and more intelligent action of those wo have the capital and credit of society in their hands.

I. The power of Capital and its control over Labor.

The power of Capital is almost boundless and absolute, and as it controls Labor, it controls indirectly as a consequence the Classes who live by labor. Now, the question is, to what end will this power of Capital and its control over the laboring classes be exercised? The answer is simple; the owners of capital will aim to obtain complete and absolute supremacy. By every means that have the least coloring of legitimacy, direct and indirect, by legislation of which the moneyed interests are now the masters, by monopoly, usury and extortion, by every device of cunning and legalized fraud and hidden injustice and oppression, Capital will seek to obtain the largest portion possible of the fruits of Labor, and to reduce the producing classes to that state of dependence and subserviency, which will render it undisputed Sovereign of Industry, and the classes, the small minority who possess it, the Rulers of Society. And it will succeed, for its power is as inherently irresistible as it is selfishly unscrupulous. As society is now constituted, with "individualism" for its basis, and the *right* of every man to take care of himself at the expense of his neighbor acknowledged and acted upon universally, the class of persons who are benefited by the usurpation of Capital will neither be blamed nor blameable—the wealth and power which accident of birth or good fortune confer are possessions which all desire and all would obtain if possible.

The aim of Capital is to amass, to accumulate; and ambition and cupidity combine to give intensity to the desire of accumulation. In this modern Age, riches confer respectability and stand-

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ing, as did in former days military skill and exploits, and men now combat for fortune, especially in this country where hereditary rank does not exist, and the glory of war has departed, as they did formerly for the bloody laurels of carnage. Wealth is now the main standard of distinction in society, and as a consequence the desire to possess it is strong, and the struggle to obtain it fierce and unrelenting.

Whence do riches come? from what source does capital draw its income?—From LABOR, from productive, creative Labor, which is the sole and only source of wealth. From Labor must be drawn the riches which are to satisfy the cupidity or the ambition of the men of this age,—an age of financial and industrial war, in which the laurels are money bags, and the victims the poor toilers of Industry.

The object of Capital, therefore, is to draw all it can from Labor, to amass, to absorb as much as possible of the wealth created by human industry. We find, consequently, Capital arrayed against Labor, and Labor in its despair endeavoring to react against Capital, and conflict and opposition, or a regularly organized warfare is waged between them. On the one hand Capital seeks to oppress and spoliate Labor, and on the other hand Labor strives to resist the encroachments of Capital. Capital is represented in this country by the merchants, bankers, financiers and master-manufacturers; in Europe, by these classes and the nobility: Labor is represented by the agricultural, manufacturing and mechanical classes. This relation of the two classes of capitalists and laborers, renders them opponents and enemies of each other, and while the first class is prosecuting extensive speculations, securing privileges and planning monopolies, the second class by feeble and impotent shifts are endeavoring to increase slightly the price of wages or maintain the pitiful modicum which they receive. But Capital is all-powerful, and as it accumulates, Labor must be impoverished, and the result must inevitably be that Capital will absorb and monopolize the wealth of society, whilst the immense majority who perform the labor will be deprived of everything and sunk into dependence and destitution.

How can it be otherwise? Labor cannot maintain its ground against the encroachments of powerful Capital. The only property of the working classes is their Labor, which they must sell day by day in order to obtain the means of existence. Employment and life are one with the laboring classes; the laboring classes cannot wait and force capital to buy their labor at a fair price; they must have work, and the labor of their hands must be realized at once in a shape which will give them the means of subsistence. Not so with the class of Capitalists; they can afford to wait, having ample means of living, and thus while half-starved Labor is urged by WANT to sell itself at any price, Capital at its leisure can plan schemes and dictate terms, which suit its own interests. Labor must accept the terms which Capital lays down; the producing classes must either take the wages which Capital will give if they are its hirelings, or they must *sell* the products of their Industry at the prices which Capital establishes and will pay, and *buy* what they consume at the prices it asks. In either case the effect is the same, to impoverish the producing classes In regard to the effect upon wages, where capital operates upon masses of hired laborers, the result is well known, but in all the ramifications of business, agricultural and manufacturing, the process of *spoliation* is constantly in operation. The *producer* everywhere is forced to sell the products of his Industry cheap and to buy what he consumes dear. Thus he pays a tribute to Capital, whether employed in finance or commerce, which in time enables it to eat up his substance. Do not mechanics and small manufacturers see and know this when they take their wares to a market to sell? Do not farmers see and *feel* it when they take their products to the country merchants to dispose of? to say nothing of the extensive and powerful leagues among millers, drovers and butchers, which fleece them upon a large scale out of their heavier products, their corn and their cattle, by taking every advantage which circumstances offer?

They who have the active capital and wield the credit of society —the bankers, merchants and master-manufacturers—buy and sell the products of labor; and they are thus enabled to levy a tax upon both producer and consumer, and in time to become the possessors of the *means of production and distribution*, the whole capital of society—the soil, workshops, &c., the means of transportation, ships, steamboats, canals and railroads—besides controlling and directing the money power through the agency of banks and other moneyed institutions, which they also own. Thus they have completely in their power Labor or Production, *and those who are engaged in it.*

With this power and these advantages possessed by Capital, and the weakness and the dependence of Labor, it is evident that the producing or laboring classes who compose the great body of the people must in time be impoverished, reduced to dependence and become the lowly hirelings and serfs,—the "living machines" of Capital.

Our remarks upon the other three divisions of this subject are postponed to the next number.

SOCIAL REFORM CONVENTION AT BOSTON.

(From the Tribune.)

BOSTON, Dec. 30, 1843.

I take my pen to give a hurried and most inadequate account of the Convention of Friends of Association, which has been held, according to previous notice, in this city the present week. The Convention assembled on Tuesday morning in the spacious hall under the Tremont Temple, (late Tremont Theatre,) and was organized as follows:—WILLIAM BASSETT of Lynn, President; ADIN BALLOU of Hopedale, G. W. BENSON of Northampton, GEORGE RIPLEY of Brook Farm, and JAMES N. BUFFUM of Lynn, Vice Presidents; ELIZA J. KENNY of Salem, and CHARLES A. DANA of Brook Farm, Secretaries. Professor WALKER of Oberlin, being present, was invited to preside; but, on account of the immature state of his mind on the great questions to come before the Convention, he deemed it his duty to decline, though he manifested a deep interest in the subject, and subsequently took part in the debates. The following gentlemen were appointed a Committee of Business, to prepare resolutions, &c.: W. H. CHANNING of New York, GEORGE RIPLEY of Brook Farm, JOHN A. COLLINS of Skaneateles, N. Y., DAVID WILDER, G. W. BENSON of Northampton, JOHN ALLEN and FREDERICK DOUGLASS. All persons interested in the question of Association, whether Fourierites or the advocates of any other plan of Social Reorganization, were invited to participate in the discussions. The Convention was thus organized and conducted on the most enlarged principles of freedom and toleration, and the effect of this course was seen in the loving and charitable spirit which, with few and slight exceptions, characterized the proceedings. Persons of widely different opinions in respect to the best mode of Social Reorganization, but who felt a common conviction of the necessity of Association in some form, met as brethren to impart and receive light on this great and important question. The sentiments put forth, as might be expected in a convention thus composed, were various and conflicting; but the spirit of Love and Harmony was strikingly manifested from the commencement to the close. The deep and absorbing interest felt in the discussions will be apparent when it is considered that the Convention was constantly attended by a numerous and highly intellectual audience from its commencement on Tuesday morning till its close on Friday evening, a period of four days. That the debates were worth hearing you will readily believe, when I give you the names of the prominent speakers as follows:—Adin Ballou, Professor Walker of Oberlin, Dr. Walter Channing, Chas. A. Dana, Wm. H. Channing, George Ripley, Albert Brisbane, O. A. Brownson, John A. Collins, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, J. S. Dwight, John Pierpont, A. B. Alcott, G. W. Benson, James Boyle, Henry Clapp. It will not be invidious to remark that, of all this number of eloquent and effective speakers, Rev. W. H. CHANNING of New York was decidedly the favorite of the Convention. He spoke frequently, sometimes at considerable length, but always with such eloquence of manner and warmth of heart, that the audience never tired of listening to him.

The debates took the widest possible range, and embraced almost everything connected in any way with human welfare. The present false institutions of Society, were probed with a fearless hand, and their inadequacy to the wants of the race fearlessly exposed. Many crude notions were of course put forth, but the men who guided the deliberations of the Convention were eminent for intelligent attainments and practical good sense. The question of Association, depend upon it, is taking strong hold upon thinking minds in New England, and the fruits will ere long appear.

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The question which created the strongest excitement in the Convention was that of a Community of Property as presented and defended by Mr. Collins. On this subject the debates were earnest, and marred occasionally by two great vehemence and impatience. Mr. Collins stood forth alone in defence of his view, and spoke with his usual ability; but I think the Convention generally had little sympathy with his peculiar opinions.

The following resolutions, I believe, are all the Convention adopted, its object having been mainly to afford men of different views to meet each other in free and earnest discussion, rather than to sanction any particular scheme of Association:

Resolved, That the movements now in progress in various parts of the country, designed to promote a Social Reorganization, are the legitimate results of the spirit of *Christian Brotherhood*, of *Liberty*, and of *Peaceful Reform;* and that the inefficacy of all modes of Public Charity to relieve or prevent *Pauperism* with its attendant degradations; the injustice of our common system of *Wages;* the tediousness, oppressiveness, and unhealthiness of our habits of *Labor;* the unequal distribution of means and opportunities for *Culture, Refinement, Recreation and Social Pleasures;* the imperfect character and degree of *Popular Education*, both for children and adults; the unnatural subservience of *Woman;* the distinctions of *Caste* based upon outward and artificial circumstances; the universal war of *Competition;* and finally the tendency of our Industrial, Commercial, and Financial transactions to the establishment of a MONEYED FEUDALISM—call urgently upon all to aid by their counsel, energies and means, these movements, and others having the similar end in view of *Uniting all Conflicting Interests*, and of establishing the relations of Society on the basis of Universal Justice and Love, thus securing for each human being the highest possible Social Good.

Resolved, That, grateful for the light which we believe that the Social Science discovered by Charles Fourier has cast upon the existing evils of Society and their true remedies, we desire to see a thorough test of the actual working of his principles in an Association, organized upon them as a basis; and meanwhile commend to the efficient encouragement and aid of all the friends of Human Progress, the various Associations for Social Reform already partially established, which recognize *Individual Rights* and the *Religious Sentiment;* and wish success to all who in any way are seeking the removal of Social Evils, in the modes which they may deem most true to the Nature of Man and the Laws of God.

Resolved, That in order to give expression to the interest now awakened on the subject of SOCIAL REFORM, of enlightening the public mind upon the principles and means involved in the proposed movements, and of establishing between existing Associations and the public the freest communication, we recommend the formation of Societies in different Towns and Counties of the friends of this cause, united under such an organization as may seem to them best for the purpose of disseminating their principles by Lectures, Tracts, Conventions or otherwise; and lastly, by the widest possible circulation of all publications which advocate these Reforms. And the Convention earnestly recommend to the friends of Human Progress, 'THE PRESENT,' and 'THE PHALANX,' as worthy of their most cordial support.

Yours, REVILO.

By the foregoing account of the Convention of the Friends of Social Reform in New England, held pursuant to the Call in our last, it will be seen that the movement is one of deep interest and pregnant with the most important and valuable results. The prognostication of the "Present" has been fully realized, for many of the "finest spirits of New England" were present at the Convention. The earnest zeal with which some of the most distinguished and influential persons attended and took part in the proceedings of the Convention affords gratifying evidence that the great work of Social Reform has fairly begun in New England. The Idea of Association has taken root, and it will grow until it spreads over the whole land and finds a home in the hearts of all the people.

One year ago the question of Social Reform scarcely attracted the least attention in New England, and now, as if by magic influence, it has become to a great extent a subject of deep interest. If in the very outset of its discussion by a few earnest advocates, and with limited means of information it has enlisted so much attention, we cannot doubt but that with the superior advocacy it will henceforth command, the Social Reform movement will soon become one of absorbing and all-engrossing interest. The people are fully prepared for the Idea of a Social Reform;—political and other minor reforms have been so often tried, and have produced such meagre and inadequate results, that it is readily perceived, and the truth is strongly felt, when the fact is properly presented, that—*our evils are social, not political, and that a Social Reform only can eradicate them.* The desire is strong in many minds for a *universal* reform, one which will embrace in its broad scheme all partial and minor reforms, and in its beneficent design satisfy all hopes and all aspirations. So true is this, that Association may be called the aspiration of the age. Association, too, is the broad platform on which all can meet, and extend the right hand of fellowship. To coöperate and labor for the general good all will find a place.

We are pleased to record the fact, that all the speakers from the small Associations in Massachusetts, the Roxbury, the Northampton and the Mendon, declared their deep conviction of the truth of the principle of Association from *the practical experience they have already had.* The union of families even under their imperfect organization, did not engender those discords and disorders, which some persons have supposed must be the result of people living together in Association, with united social and industrial relations. On the contrary, peace and harmony reign, and the only difficulty that these little establishments labor under, which we hope will not long be the case, is want of means to extend their industrial operations and place them upon the true basis of Association—*a well organized system of Industry.*

The all-important question of a reorganization of Industry was touched upon several times in the debates, and considering that this is an intricate and complicated subject which has been but little discussed as yet in this country, it occasioned an agreeable surprise to see that it was quite well understood and its importance properly appreciated. It is to be hoped that this great problem, which the men of the present age must solve, and which now before all others courts and demands the attention of statesmen, men of science and all men of enlarged minds, will be considered and made a topic for popular discussion, and as it has been in France through the untiring efforts of the Disciples of Fourier, be debated in the Halls of Legislation, and discussed by the public Press.

We close our remarks with the expression of our strong approbation of the Resolutions adopted by the Convention, and especially on account of the decided and explicit declaration of principles opposed to Community of Property and doctrines of an Irreligious character, which some misguided men are advocating, and as we fear to the great detriment of true Association; for silly and ignorant and bad men confound the crude notions of those who wish Community of Property with the doctrines of Association, either blindly or wilfully, and mislead the multitude. *Individuality* and Individual Rights must be fully and entirely preserved in Association, and this is a fundamental doctrine of Fourier, upon which the whole scheme of Association is based; the *Religious Sentiment* is the rock upon which the whole edifice must stand, and around which is grouped all other sentiments

LINES FROM THE POEMS OF PRINCE.

THE following lines from the poems of John Critchley Prince, the poor weaver-poet, will be admired for their melodious beauty, and the deep fervent spirit of sympathy for the sorrows of the race, the lively joyful hope and the earnest faithful trust in the goodness of the Creator, which they show to have dwelt in the breast of the poet and struggled for utterance. The history of Prince is highly interesting. Parke Godwin, Esq., has presented him to the American public for the first time, in a way to do justice to the genius of the poet and the character of the man, by giving through the pages of the Present a sketch of his life and selections from his writings, both in poetry and prose. In future numbers of the Phalanx we will avail ourselves of Mr. Godwin's labors, and make our readers acquainted with this fine poet.

Did God set his fountains of light in the skies,
That Man should look up with the tears in his eyes?
Did God make the earth so abundant and fair,
That Man should look down with a groan of despair?
Did God fill the world with harmonious life,
That Man should go forth with destruction and strife?
Did God scatter freedom o'er mountain and wave,
That man should exist as a tyrant and slave?—
Away with so hopeless—so joyless a creed,
For the soul that believes it is darkened indeed!

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THE PRESENT.

The last number of this magazine is peculiarly interesting and able. Among its contributions, all of which are characterized by lofty sentiments and vigorous thoughts, one especially, by Parke Godwin, Esq., commands our strongest admiration. Without denunciation or declamation, it is an eloquent and powerful commentary, a sweeping, scathing critique, on the evils and falseness of society, and an appeal for "reconstruction," of the most convincing argument, in regard both to the necessity of change, and the means by which it shall be accomplished. This excellent article is entitled "Constructive and Pacific Democracy," and although it is in part a condensed translation of the "Manifeste" of Victor Considerant, Mr. Godwin has impressed it with much originality, and, in his adaptation of it to our own country, been very successful. In our next number we shall publish it.

The Editor makes some forcible and pertinent remarks suggested by the "Call to the Friends of Social Reform," in our last number, which we republish. And he takes occasion to reply briefly, in a note annexed, to our criticism of a previous remark in regard to Fourier; in a way too that gives us much satisfaction, although we cannot fully assent to all that is said,—at least, without explanation.

This call, which will doubtless be responded to by a large assemblage of the finest spirits of New England, is one of the many signs every day multiplying, that the doctrine of "Association" has made itself a home in the conscience of our people. The truth of the "Unity of the Human Race," is destined to a speedy and most fortunately a *varied* illustration, in all parts of the country. Our whole history has admirably prepared us for such an effort to actualize the idea of Union. This Nation was born, it may be said, in our system of Townships. It has grown into a systematic whole of Counties, and States, bound in one by a central Constitution. We have but to apply the true principle of organization to our towns, and the United States may at once place itself in the "Combined Order." The Representative system; the independence of the several parts, states, counties, towns; the concentration of power for common uses in one Legislature, Judiciary and Executive, imperfect doubtless though such arrangements are, have accustomed us, in our habits of thought and action, to that law of communion, by which a Nation may become a living whole, a "Grand Man." And our recognition of the mutual rights and duties of the State and the Individual, though existing rather in our popular doctrines than in practice, rather in our democratic theory than in our modes of business, our courts of law, and our social relations, has opened the American Intellect to the conception of true justice. How sublimely *Providential* in this view has been the discipline of our Nation!

Equally remarkable has been our preparation for these movements, which aim at securing Attractive Industry by United Interests, through our freedom from legalized castes, and established distinctions between the noble and the serf. *We are a people of* working-men. The disproportionate influence of capital, the exaggerated estimate of wealth, the caprices of fashionable exclusiveness, with their attendant corruptions, which it must be confessed do actually exist, are foreign diseases, imported by contagion. Character, and Intelligence, and Usefulness, are the only patents of nobility, which the Genius of this Nation sanctions. Labor is here, by the necessity of our condition, as well as by our moral maxims, a title to *honor*. Our truest Aristocrats, our only Aristocrats, are our Producers. Rich loafers, pampered exquisites, voluptuaries and fops, are only tolerated drones among us. We hold in contempt the creatures who live to waste upon self the stores which the past has garnered, instead of expending their energies for the increasing welfare of the race. And yet, so far from being ascetic or niggardly, we tend rather to profusion in our longing for widely diffused beauty. Our modes of life are fitting us to prove the possibility of uniting hard toil with high culture, robust vigor in creating, with delicate refinement in expenditure. Our commercial and financial perplexities have grown out of our absurd inconsistency in seeking to secure monopolies and enormous gains for the few, when every professed principle of the nation should have prompted to the most universal enrichment. And to complete this preparation for "Association," the terrible experience of those very bankruptcies and embarrassments had taught our people quite generally that a selfish commerce, and a selfish industry, necessarily defeat themselves. Are we not ready, nationally, socially, individually, to act out the faith of the Unity of Man.

It is well that attempts to embody this truth will be so various; well, that Communitists are found laboring shoulder to shoulder with Associationists; well, that men of practical good sense and business habits are willing to co-work with scholars and men of science in efforts to test the feasibility of United Interests. There may be many failures; probably there must be some; but in the end, success will be surer, from such accumulated experience. And it is well, exceeding well, that the prospect becomes so encouraging, of making several thorough trials of the system of Passional Harmonies of Charles Fourier. More or less, the views, at once so vast and exact, of this great man, will give direction to the efforts of all kinds of Social Reformers. He had lived so long in thought, in the "World of Harmony," and had so consecrated his powers to the study of the analogies of the Universe, that his judgment on many points may be safely trusted as a compass, and his arrangements as a chart.* There is reason yet more to rejoice, that the disciples of Swedenborg will probably concentrate upon the experiments of the Fourierists the light which the sublime genius of their "illumined scribe" has poured on human life and destiny. The "New Church" is beginning to feel, that it has been too long unembodied; that its outward organization has done imperfect justice to its spirit and truth. The correspondence between the doctrines of these two great teachers of the Science of Unity, authorizes the combined efforts of their followers; certainly their systems do appear in many respects to be a beautiful complement to each other; and may it be found that they are so actually and indeed.

They are to be congratulated, who, with implicit trust in one or both of these modern Seers, have the will and the means to carry their faith instantly into their works. All are to be congratulated indeed, who are actively engaged in these promising efforts for Social Reorganization. This is the present command of Providence. Meanwhile, for the large number, who feel that they see as yet only through a glass darkly, who still sit watching for the morning, who receive the doctrines of the "New Church," and of "Association," with all the higher philosophy of Germany and France, as streaks of the dawn, rather than as full day, and who are conscious that the whole age, through its religion, policy, science, industry, benevolent reforms, social manners, is becoming more and more inspired with a Spirit of Life, how solemn and glad is this era of promise. What a call is there for patient investigation, for self-sacrifice and justice. To live amidst one of these rising communities of friends, in simple, frank, kindly, honest relations, alternating hard work in manual labors, with the study of Nature, Man, and the Divine Being, under the guidance of Plato, Swedenborg, Fourier, Schelling, Hegel, Leroux, La Mennais, and all the while humbly seeking the light of Love from the Supreme Goodness, would be a foretaste of Heaven on Earth.

ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION OF THE AMERICAN PHALANX.

ARTICLE I.

Section 1. The name of this Association shall be the American Phalanx.

Sec. 2. It shall be located in the county of Belmont, in the State of Ohio, and shall commence operations on a tract of land recently selected for that purpose on the Ohio river.

Sec. 3. Its object shall be the organization of its members and the prosecution of Industry, Science, and the Arts, according to the system of Association of Charles Fourier, and the *Ecole Societaire* of France, being the system which has been, in its more practical features, published in the United States by Albert Brisbane.

ARTICLE II.

CAPITAL STOCK.

Sec. 1. The Capital Stock of the Phalanx shall consist of the original investments made for the purpose of procuring the Domain, and of preparing, improving, and furnishing it for the occupation of the members, with the incidental expenses thereof, and of such subsequent investments made for enlarging the Domain, or further improving or furnishing the same, or for paying any expenses or liabilities of the Phalanx which may accrue within the first two years of its operations, as may not be otherwise provided for.

Sec. 2. The Regency may direct the issue of certificates of stock for the purpose of providing means for any of the objects specified in the preceding section, but such stock shall in no case be sold, given in payment, or otherwise disposed of, for less than its *par value*.

Sec. 3. Subscriptions to Capital Stock shall in all cases be deemed payable in money, but labor or any description of property, which the

* A writer in the last Phalanx ascribes to "misapprehension or inadvertence" my use of the terms, "Fourier with a Frenchman's confidence, throws down scornfully his piles of manuscripts, and says, 'There, you blind fools, there is the science of universal unity that you are all asking for;' and gives in answer a justly eulogistical notice of his honored master by Hugh Doherty. With respectful sympathy for the feelings of these disciples, who exhibit a love for their teacher, as rare as it is interesting in these days of irreverent individualism, I still feel bound, being thus "corrected," to repeat that, wholesale condemnations of ancient and modern philosophers, as Sophists, sweeping censures of existing society, utter contempt of his critics, remarkably characterize Fourier's printed works. He was "confident" not only that human reason cou'd discover, but that *his* reason *had* discovered, universal principles and the laws of divine order; and felt and expressed a "scorn" for the "blind folly" of common modes of investigation and social action, to which it would be difficult to find a parallel, and which would be intolerable in a man of inferior character and genius. Let us admire heartily Fourier's comprehension and accuracy, his stupendous and gorgeous imagination, his humanity, conscientiousness, brave trust, perseverance; but let us neither defend nor imitate his "*morbid impatience*" with what *he* thought error, hypocrisy or pretension.

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Phalanx may require, may be received in payment at its *cash* value (to be determined by the price for which the article may be purchased for ready money) under such regulations as the Regency may prescribe.

Sec. 4. All subscriptions to Capital Stock made prior to the first day of April, 1844, shall be payable one fourth on said first day of April, and the residue in three equal instalments—six, twelve, and eighteen months thereafter, and all subscriptions made after said first day of April shall be payable one-fourth at the time of subscribing, and the residue in such instalments as the Regency may direct; Provided that the time given for the payment of the several portions thereof shall not exceed the time herein allowed after the said first day of April for the payment of stock subscribed prior thereto.

Sec. 5. If any subscriber shall fail to pay the first or any subsequent instalment of the stock subscribed by him, when due, the Regency may at their option declare his subscription void, or so much thereof as remains unpaid; and he shall forfeit to the Phalanx the next dividend which would otherwise be made to him on the portion of his stock already paid, unless the Regency, being satisfied that the failure aforesaid has arisen from misfortune or other sufficient cause, shall otherwise determine: but in no case shall the forfeiture for nonpayment of stock subscribed exceed the next ensuing dividend on such portion thereof as may have been previously paid.

Sec. 6. The Capital Stock shall be represented by SHARES of fifty dollars each, and *coupons* which shall be issued for such sums less than fifty dollars as any person may be entitled to as stock under the rules and ordinances of the Phalanx: Provided that for all sums less than ten dollars the Regency may at their option direct the payment of money instead of issuing coupons for the same. Shares and coupons of stock shall be transferable under such restrictions and subject to such liens in favor of the Phalanx as the Regency shall prescribe.

Sec. 7. Dividends shall be made only on the amount of stock actually paid in, and in making the first dividend, shall be proportioned to the time which may have elapsed since its payment; and the same proportion shall also be observed in making any subsequent dividend in respect to stock which may have been paid in since the making of the next prior dividend.

Sec. 8. The first dividend, or any part thereof, may, at the discretion of the Regency, be deferred until the first day of October, 1845, and the second until the first day of January, 1847; after which, dividends shall be made at least once every year at such times as shall be found most convenient for the Phalanx.

Sec. 9. Resident Stokholders may be required to receive the whole or any part of the two first dividends in stock, if in the opinion of the Regency such mode of payment will promote the interest of the Phalanx.

Sec. 10. The Regency shall have authority to prescribe the mode of issuing stock and the form of the certificates therefor; and to limit and regulate the amount thereof. All stock which shall be paid with their consent prior to the first day of April, 1844, shall be entitled to a proportionally increased dividend in consideration of such advance payment.

ARTICLE III.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE PRODUCTS OF THE PHALANX.

Sec. 1. The total product of the Phalanx shall be ascertained at one or more stated periods during every year and shall be distributed as nearly as practicable according to the rules for such distribution laid down by Charles Fourier, giving to Capital, Labor and Skill, as accurately as possible, the portion thereof which they have respectively contributed to produce.

Sec. 2. Out of the total product aforesaid the taxes of the Phalanx, expenses of insurance and repairs, and other necessary expenses shall first be paid, and of the residue (called herein the *net* product) one-third shall belong to Capital, (out of which shall be paid the rent if any incurred for the Domain or any part thereof,) and two-thirds to those who have participated in the industrial operations of the Phalanx, the division being made among the latter in such manner as to give to each as nearly as may be his just and equitable share of the product aforesaid.

Sec. 3. The Phalanx guaranties to each of its members, resident upon the Domain, a comfortable subsistence; and subject thereto, guaranties to its stockholders a dividend of at least seven per cent per annum, and at the same rate for shorter or longer periods, in the following manner: If in any year the regular dividend paid from one-third the net product as aforesaid shall be less than seven per cent, the Regency shall provide for the deficiency out of the other resources of the Phalanx, but the amount advanced to pay such deficiency shall be repaid with annual interest thereon at seven per cent per annum out of any future surplus which may remain of the portion belonging to Capital, after paying seven per cent per annum therefrom in the manner aforesaid; and if previous to such deficiency an average of more than seven per cent per annum shall have been paid to Capital, such excess with seven per cent annual interest thereon shall be applied in discharge of such deficiency in whole or in part, and if sufficient to discharge the [illegible] no further provision shall be made therefor.

Sec. 4. The guaranty to Capital in the preceding section shall not be [illegible] interest on any dividend by reason of its being deferred in conformity with the eighth section of the second article hereof.

Sec. 5. The order of distribution of the net product aforesaid shall be as follows:

First: The resident members of the Phalanx shall be supplied with comfortable food and clothing and such other necessaries as they may require for their comfortable subsistence;

Second: The rent, if any incurred for the Domain, or any part thereof, shall be paid;

Third: Stockholders not residing upon the Domain shall be paid a dividend equal to seven per cent per annum upon the amount of their stock actually paid in;

Fourth: Resident stockholders shall be paid a like dividend, which, in making the two first dividends may be paid in whole or in part in stock, as herein before provided:

Fifth: Those who have participated in the Industrial operations of the Phalanx, shall be paid an amount equal, inclusive of what may have been already advanced to them for subsistence and other purposes, to twice the amount paid for rent and to Capital out of the net product aforesaid;

Sixth: The residue, if any, shall be distributed in the ratio of two parts to Industry to one part to Capital until the whole product shall be exhausted.

Sec. 6. In the distribution to Industry of its share of the net product aforesaid, the Regency may apportion the amount to be paid to different occupations in such manner as to prevent an excess of laborers in any branch of industry, and to secure the performance of all such labors as may be deemed essential to the interests of the Phalanx.

Sec. 7. Whenever the third of the net product belonging to Capital as aforesaid shall be sufficient to pay more than seven per cent per annum thereon, and the surplus shall not be needed to repay deficiencies under the third section of this article, such surplus may be applied by the Regency to extinguish or diminish the rent annually accruing for the use of the Domain, or reserved as a fund to provide for future deficiencies in the dividend to Capital, or for the purchase of the stock of such members as may wish to withdraw, or may be dismissed from the Phalanx; Provided, that the rent so extinguished and the dividends or stock so purchased shall belong to the stockholders of the Phalanx who shall receive the benefit of the same.

ARTICLE IV

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PHALANX.

Sec. 1. The government and general control of the affairs of the Phalanx shall be vested in "*The Regency*," which shall consist of four branches, to wit: First, the Regent; Second, a Board of Science composed of three members; Third, a Board of Industry composed of five members; and Fourth, a Board of Finance, composed of four members.

Sec. 2. The Regent shall be appointed whenever a vacancy occurs, by the other branches of the Regency, and may be removed at any time by the concurrence of each of the three Boards aforesaid.

Sec. 3. The Board of Science shall be appointed by nomination of the Regent and the concurrence of one of the other two Boards, and its members or any of them may be superseded at any time by the appointment of others in their place.

Sec. 4. The Board of Industry shall be appointed by the chiefs of the several Industrial Series in the Phalanx; the chiefs and other officers of each series shall be appointed by the chiefs of the several Groups thereof, and the chiefs and other officers of each Group shall be apointed by the individual members thereof. All the appointments specified in this section shall be made in such manner as those vested with the power of appointment shall determine; and all the officers herein mentioned may be superseded at any time by the appointment of others in their place.

Sec. 5. The Board of Finance shall be appointed by the Stockholders as follows: Each stockholder shall have one vote for every five dollars of stock actually paid in not exceeding two shares,—one vote for every seven dollars above two shares, and not exceeding seven shares,—one vote for every ten dollars above seven shares, and not exceeding fifteen shares,—one vote for every fifteen dollars above fifteen shares, and not exceeding thirty shares,—one vote for every twenty dollars above thirty shares, and not exceeding sixty shares,—and one vote for every thirty dollars above sixty shares, rejecting fractions in each case; and shall vote for four persons (or a less number at his option,) and the four persons having the highest number of votes shall constitute the Board of Finance. If it shall happen that no four persons have the highest number of votes by reason of two or more having an equal number, the Regent may, with the concurrence of either of the other two Boards, determine which of those thus having an equal number shall be considered elected. The Board of Finance shall be elected annually, and the first and each subsequent election shall be held at such time as the stockholders or a majority of them shall determine. Any member of the Board of Finance may be removed by the Regent with the joint concurrence of the other two Boards.

Sec. 6. It shall be the duty of the Regent from time to time to recommend and suggest such measures, regulations and industrial or other operations as will in his opinion promote the interest of the Phalanx, and to see that the ordinances, rules and laws of the Phalanx are duly

executed and observed, and for this purpose he may appoint such deputies and agents as in his opinion circumstances may require. He shall decide finally all questions of jurisdiction, and all other disputes and controversies which may arise between the other branches of the Regency, and also all questions of precedence of rank which may arise in the Phalanx. He may also appoint officers to fill any vacant offices in the Phalanx, which appointments shall be valid until two of the other branches of the Regency shall dissent thereto, or until the body vested with the appointing power shall exercise the same.

Sec. 7. The Board of Science shall choose one of their number to be chief director in their department who shall be called the Intendant, and such Board shall have the general superintendance of the theoretical organization of the Phalanx, and the mode of arranging the Groups and Series, and generally of matters of Education and Science, and all matters pertaining to the same.

Sec. 8. The Board of Industry shall choose one of their number to be chief director in their department, who shall be called the Superintendant, and said Board shall have the general superintendance of the prosecution of Industry and all matters pertaining to the same.

Sec. 9. The Board of Finance shall choose one of their number to be chief director in their department, who shall be called the President, and said Board shall have the general superintendance of Commerce and Exchange and all matters pertaining to the same.

Sec. 10. Each Board shall be independent in its department, but its proceedings may be set aside or annulled by the concurrent dissent of the other branches of the Regency. Matters pertaining in nearly an equal degree to two of the said departments shall be acted upon in joint meeting of the two corresponding Boards, and all matters pertaining to the three departments shall be acted upon by the Regency.

Sec. 11. The Regency shall appoint or provide for the appointment of a Council of Justice, to which shall be referred as Arbitrators all questions, disputes, and controversies arising between members of the Phalanx, and not otherwise specially provided for, and may establish rules for the government thereof and the regulation of its proceedings—they may also appoint or provide for the appointment of such other Councils, Boards, or officers, not herein named, as may be found necessary for the promotion of the objects of the Association.

Sec. 12. The concurrence of the Regency when fully organized shall be understood to signify the assent of at least three branches thereof, acting independently; and the concurrence of each Board shall be understood to signify the assent of the majority of the acting members thereof.

Sec. 13. Whenever any jurisdiction is herein conferred or duty imposed upon the Regency, they may exercise such jurisdiction or perform such duty by such Boards or Committees as they may in their discretion appoint for that purpose.

Sec. 14. The Regency shall have power to make such rules and ordinances as may be necessary to carry into effect any of the provisions of these Articles of Association.

Sec. 15. Until said Phalanx shall be organized the Regency shall consist of the following persons and such others as they may associate with them to fill such vacancies as are not herein provided for, or such as may occur by resignation or otherwise, to wit:

——— ——— Regent.

BOARD OF SCIENCE.

——— ——— Intendant.

Rev. Jas. P. Stuart, Westfield, Medina county, Ohio.

Richard E. McCabe, Indiana, Indiana county, Pa.

BOARD OF INDUSTRY.

——— ——— Superintendant.

Thos. J. Dewey, Westfield, Medina county, Ohio.

George Helmick, Zanesville, Ohio.

Rev. Wm. Sadd, Avon, Lorain county, Ohio.

BOARD OF FINANCE.

——— ——— President.

E. P. Grant, Canton, Ohio.

L. H. Cutler, Cleveland, Ohio.

Which persons and their associates appointed as aforesaid shall have authority either jointly or in separate Boards as they may determine, to superintend the organization of the Association, and to exercise the powers of the Regency, subject to be superseded at any time after such organization shall be formed by the appointment of others as herein provided.

ARTICLE V.

OF MEMBERSHIP.

Sec. 1. The admission of members shall be regulated by the Regency, who may require such qualifications and conditions, and may limit the number of members as they may think expedient.

Sec. 2. All children and youth resident upon the Domain shall enjoy an equal opportunity for a complete, scientific, and industrial education.

Sec. 3. Any member may be dismissed from the Phalanx and deprived of the privileges of a residen member thereo for insubordination, idleness, or other cause deemed sufficient by the Regency, and any member may withdraw from the Phalanx whenever he thinks proper; and in either case, such member shall be entitled to any share of the net product accruing to him previous to such dismission or withdrawal, and if a stockholder, to any dividend which may be made upon his stock, in the same manner as if he had continued a member of the Phalanx.

ARTICLE VI.

MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS.

Sec. 1. Neither the Regency, nor any branch thereof, nor any person or body of persons belonging to the Phalanx, shall be authorized to contract any debt for the Phalanx without the consent of a majority of the adult male members thereof, which majority shall also include a majority in number of the stockholders.

Sec. 2. The Books of Account of the Phalanx, and of the several departments thereof, shall, at all proper and convenient times, be open to the inspection of any member interested therein.

Sec. 3. All labor or business prosecuted on the Domain shall be for the joint account of the Phalanx, unless prosecuted otherwise by the express consent of the Regency.

Sec. 4. All disputes and controversies shall be referred to and finally determined by the Council of Justice under such regulations as the Regency shall establish, unless the parties shall mutually agree upon some other mode for the final determination thereof.

Sec. 5. Every member shall be permitted, as far as possible, to select from the various branches of Industry prosecuted upon the Domain such as he may voluntarily prefer.

ARTICLE VII.

CONCLUSION.

And whereas we who have associated together under these articles have in view the single object of realizing social happiness by means of a harmonious organization of the tastes, desires, impulses, and propensities of the human soul, opening to each individual a field for the free development and unclogged activity of all his faculties, and providing abundantly for all his physical wants by the agency of Attractive Industry rendered Productive, while we recognize as the only mode of distribution consistent with justice, the basis of rewarding each individual according as his Labor, Skill, or Capital may have contributed to the production or multiplication of the means of human enjoyment:

And whereas we believe Social Science to be yet in its infancy, and are also conscious of our ignorance even of that portion of it which is revealed, as well as of the impossibility of realizing at once that harmonic organization to which we aspire:—We therefore further declare—

Sec. 1. That these articles shall be regarded as provisional only, and shall be subject to such modifications, amendments, and additions as may from time to time be found necessary or proper to secure more perfectly the objects of this Association; Provided, that the shares of the net product herein awarded to Industry and Capital respectively shall not be varied or changed without the consent of three-fourths in number and the majority in interest of those whose rights would be prejudiced by such change, except as provided in the next section.

Sec. 2. If at the end of five years from the making of the first dividend, or at the end of any successive period of five years thereafter, it shall appear that the share of the net product which may have been awarded to capital has been sufficient to pay an average dividend exceeding eight and one-third per cent per annum, from the commencement, the share of such product belonging to capital shall thereafter be reduced to such portion thereof as would have paid an average annual dividend of eight and one-third per cent; and such share, as well as the rate of dividend herein guaranteed, may be reduced at any time, on the condition of paying to each stockholder who refuses to acquiesce in such reduction, the par value of his stock in money: *Provided*, That such share, under either clause of this section, shall never be less than one-fourth of the net product aforesaid.

SUFFERING IS NOT THE DESTINY OF MAN.

Our Earth, like all the globes with which the universe is filled, is an offspring of Heaven, and is bathed in the brightness of its fires. It is summoned, with its inhabitants, to take part in the blissful concert of the Eternal Harmony of worlds;—a belief in this Truth is about to supersede the false, deadly and deceitful Doctrine that the Earth is forever excluded from Heaven, and accursed of God. This new belief is the golden chain which will soon attach Earth to Heaven, Humanity to the Universe and to God: we have elsewhere proved with sufficient clearness that it is the legitimate consequence of the Doctrine of Christ; that it is to the fundamental principle of that Doctrine, what a tree—rich in the most beauteous foliage, covered with flowers of exquisite perfume to be succeeded by fruits of delicious flavor—is to the seed from which it sprung.

Victor Considerant.

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TRANSLATION OF FOURIER'S WORKS.

ALL PARTIES RECONCILED AT THE EXPENSE OF VAIN PHILOSOPHY.

I PERSIST in affirming that Association will conciliate all parties and absorb their differences, though it may be said that my policy contradicts my theory, insomuch as I declare hostility to a numerous and influential party, from the commencement of my writings—that of the "Philosophers."* I may be told by some apparently wise men, that I should confine myself exclusively to the explanation of my subject, and prove that association will satisfy all parties by a threefold increase of production; but such a policy would be too simple in this country, (France,) where every man who publishes a new idea, is dubbed at once with the vain title of "Philosopher." I am most anxious not to be confounded with that class of sophists I refute, and I desire to separate myself at once from false philosophy in all its bearings. It is, however, the false science I oppose, and not the persons who have been deluded by it. Men of learning will find more advantages and pleasure in associative principles and unity, than in the study of false doctrines, and the prospects of mere civilized duplicity; and with regard to statesmen and politicians who profess liberal doctrines in politics, and devotion to the interests of the people, it is the errors and illusions of their theories, and not their good intentions, I oppose in my critique. If they are really desirous of improving the condition of the laboring classes, they will learn with pleasure that a principle has been discovered to effect that purpose, without meddling with established institutions in society, a principle of peaceful industry and certain progress, simple in itself, but long obscured by false philosophy and want of faith in Providence.

With regard to the accumulated masses of false knowledge and the books in which they are contained, there is no means of saving them from obloquy and loss of influence. As one of the philosophers has truly said, "These libraries, the boasted treasures of sublime knowledge, are but humiliating repositories of errors and contradictions." If the philosophers themselves speak thus of their own theories, it cannot be expected that I should defend them; my object being to substitute the reign of truth for that of error, I must openly oppose the doctrines of false reason, and the four great branches of uncertain science which delude mankind.

Two great problems have engaged, or rather, I may say, perplexed the minds of learned men: 1st. The possibility of reconciling the practice of truth and virtue with the love of wealth and the natural attractions of the soul; and, 2d. The means of penetrating into the great mystery of human destiny, the plans of Providence, and the harmony of the universe. All the various systems of philosophy have failed to solve these problems; and their loss of influence ought not to be a subject of regret, when we are conscious of their inutility. It is rather a subject of congratulation for the rising generation and for those who have not muddled their intelligence in the dark mazes of philosophy. They will not have the trouble of unlearning arbitrary doctrines, after laboring hard for years to master them, and truth will be more easily received in minds unwarped by error.

UNIVERSAL EXPLORATION.

It has been quite common for modern philosophers, particularly in this country, (France,) to pretend to explain the principles of universal unity; and yet, there never was a time when vain philosophy diverged so much from common sense and rational investigation on this subject. The simplest notions even of the problem have not been acquired, of which the first division offers a triune aspect:

Unity of man with man.
Unity of man with God.
Unity of man with the universe.

It will be proved in this work that the first of these divisions of universal unity, the unity of man with himself, has been neglected or designedly omitted by philosophy for some three thousand years, and more especially the unity of man internally with his own passions and attractions, which, unbridled by associative unity and moral equilibrium fall into universal discord, and plunge the individual they animate into perdition.

This duplicity of action, the subversion of the passions, and the war of man's innate attractions with themselves and with society, has given birth to a false science of philosophy and morals, which regards duplicity of action as the final destiny of man, and teaches him to war against his own affections, to resist his natural attractions and desires; which principle of war against the impulse of his inborn passions, places man at enmity with God, for all our instincts and desires, affections and antipathies, were planted in our souls by God, to animate and guide us to our final destiny: attraction and repulsion being given to man and all creation, as the law of order and existence in the universe, the principle and basis of all harmony and unity.

To this we know, philosophy will answer by a blaze of dissertation with regard to the authority of reason given us by God, it is affirmed, to moderate and guide our passions; by the aid of which dazzling light of logic, we should see,

1st. That God has subjected man to the control of two antipathetic, contradictory and irreconcilable faculties, passion and reason. This constitutes what may be termed *organic duplicity*.

2d. That God has been unjust to the great majority of mankind, at least ninety-nine in every hundred, to whom he has not given sufficient powers of reason to control their passions; for in all countries, civilized or uncivilized, the people are almost devoid of reason, in the philosophic acceptation of the word, and savages are led entirely by their passions. This constitutes *distributive duplicity*.

3d. That God, in giving reason to mankind to moderate their passions, has displayed a want of knowledge in creation; for it is evidently insufficient to control the passions of philosophers themselves, who claim so much of it, and recommend it to the mass, as the great source of happiness. None are more enslaved to passion than monopolizers of vain rationality like Voltaire and the worshippers of human reason. This constitutes *practical duplicity*.

So that the doctrine of philosophy regarding what is termed the faculty of reason and its influence on the passions, places man in a threefold permanent duplicity of action, as a means of realizing the first unity, the unity of man with his innate affections and desires. The doctrine is a monstrous aberration of the human mind, a triple blasphemy against Divine love and wisdom, against God, the Creator of the passions and attractions of the human soul.

All is false and inadmissible in this philosophy of human reason, as I shall fully prove in the first Sections of this book, in which I shall demonstrate that these aberrations of metaphysical insanity arise from the determination not to study *passional attraction*, but condemn it *à priori*, as inferior to reason, or rather, to regard subversive passion as the only possible development of natural affections and desires, by this pretended reason of philosophy. So deeply has this false idea been impressed upon the mind, that men of learning have not deigned to study the affections of the soul and class them analytically and synthetically, in order that our reason might the better understand and manage them; for if this study had been fairly undertaken, it would speedily have led to the discovery of universal principles of unity, the laws of equilibrium assigned by God to passion and to reason, by which it would be seen that they agree and harmonize in combinative unity, and disagree inevitably and forever in disunity or individual incoherency and disassociation. This duplicity of action constitutes the "curse," the social Lymbus in which human passions and attractions are in constant conflict with each other in society and in the heart of man himself internally, for want of due development in unitary combination and harmonic equilibrium.

Ignorant of the laws of unity regarding man himself with his own nature, it is not surprising we should have no knowledge of the other aspects of primordial unity: the unity of man with God and with the universe. The whole basis then, of universal unity has been neglected, and the genius of man has been confined to the investigation of some fragments only of the universe, some minor branches of the system, such as the Newtonian theory of gravitation, a small part only of the third division of universality. The partial success obtained in that direction was, however, an encouragement to persevere, and carry on our calculations of attraction from the mere material to the passional or spiritual sphere of order and existence, to discover what are the laws of harmony assigned by God to our affections and desires, our social and domestic and industrial relations in society, in which disorder and depravity are every day increasing under what is termed the government of reason.

It has been vaguely acknowledged that man is destined to live in society; but it has not been fully understood that society may be of two fundamentally different orders, the combined or *associative*, and the incoherent or *disassociative*, the conflictive and the

* By Philosophers Fourier designates all those persons who are engaged in the uncertain and controversial sciences—politicians, metaphysicians, ethical controvertists and political economists. He asserts and with truth that these classes mislead and bewilder the world with their vague sciences and speculations. As it would be rather tedious to repeat over the names of all these classes, he comprises them under the general term of "Philosophers," and their sciences as "Philosophy." This the reader must particularly bear in mind.

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unitary. The difference between the two being that of truth and falsehood, wealth and poverty, light and darkness, simplicity and duplicity.

Humanity has had presentiments of order and association, but lacked faith in Providence and its own aspirations which excite a hope of general deliverance, by a great discovery: it has never thought of speculating on the following alternative; namely,

That there can exist but two fundamentally different modes of organizing industry; that of individual households with conflicting interests, such as we see at present in society, and that of its opposite, associated households with united interests, having a fixed principle of equity for remuneration, or for a division of the products of Industry, according to the various proportions of productive power, *labor, capital, and skill.*

Which of these two modes of life is that ordained of God for social unity? Is it the conflictive and the separative, or the unitary and associative? There can be no hesitation in answering this question; as the Supreme Ordainer of economy, God must have preferred the unitary and associative as the general and final destiny of man on earth, and the conflictive only, as exceptional and temporary, for associative unity is the basis of all economy, and therefore God must have provided means for its establishment, a law of organization, the discovery of which was given as a task to human reason, and the method of investigation pointed out in the Divine command, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these (worldly) things shall be added unto you."

If association be the law of God and righteousness, it is evident that disassociation is the law of Satan and unrighteousness, the reign of error and subversive passion, and of all the evils of society opposed to God, such as indigence, oppression, fraud and carnage

And since it is demonstrable from positive experience that disassociation in its various forms, barbarian and civilized, perpetuates these evils and calamities in spite of reason and philosophy and science, and religion even, it is evidently diabolical and contrary to the will of God, which never can be done on earth as it is in heaven, until we quit this chaos of iniquity, and organize associative unity, the final destiny of man on earth.

With this positive and dreadfully protracted experience of diabolical disunity, humanity in modern times should have proposed the study of associative unity, its opposite in every respect. Neither statesmen nor divines have thought of it in earnest, on the one hand, and philosophers have wilfully neglected it on the other, in the fear of throwing discredit upon their pretended theories of reducing the passions to order by the force of reason, notwithstanding the conflicting interests of society in disunited industry and isolated households. At length, however, the discovery is made in all its various degrees, but it will have one grand defect in the eyes of philosophers: namely, that of exposing the absurdity of all their theories of rationality, and vain philosophy, regarding the compression and oppression and repression of the natural affections and desires of man's soul, to make the creations of Divine love and wisdom square with the ignorant self-sufficiency of human reason.

I do not mean to say that all which has been said and written on these subjects is entirely false, but that the truth has been subverted generally, and the inferences drawn fallacious, even when some truths have been acknowledged. One-sided views of truth, in fact, are often as delusive as false views of doctrine.

There is nothing in this announcement of the downfall of philosophy which ought to alarm either the philosophers themselves, or those who take an interest in their curious dissertations; for the application of true principles of science in society will guaranty to them superior advantages and influence of a twofold order; both financial and political.

1st. *Political advantage.*—Would it not be an advantage to philosophers to be delivered from the odium and suspicion cast upon their doctrines, since the Revolution of the eighteenth century has rendered men of property and influence their determined enemies?

2d. *Pecuniary interests.*—The downfall of the four great branches of uncertain science would be profitable to those sophists who would undertake to cover the retreat of error by a flattering defence of lingering prejudices, more or less unwilling to confess their blindness, though convinced that much had been deemed good before, that now proved good for nothing. I will enlarge upon this source of profit in another Section, where philosophers will find that all are benefited by association, even those who cultivate uncertain sciences, of which they are but the adepts and not the authors.

It is not agreeable, I know, for an "enlightened age" to be directly told that all its knowledge is delusive on some subjects of importance, and that though its knowledge of material things and mathematics is considerable, it is very limited on other questions, and on some, it has not even the most elementary notions of initiation, particularly of the following sciences,—Industrial association, Passional attraction, Aromal mechanism, and Universal analogy.

If the pride of modern learning be offended by this declaration, let it judge itself by an examination of the following Table of the cardinal divisions of the laws of movement; from which it may be seen that human genius has not explored one-tenth of universal nature, nor accomplished half the task imposed by God on human reason.

A TABLE OF THE CARDINAL AND PIVOTAL MOVEMENTS.

4th. *The Material Movement.*—The theory of gravitation discovered by Newton and our modern mathematicians, explains *effects* of movement only without explaining *causes.* They reveal the laws according to which God has regulated the movement of matter, but throw no light on final causes.

3d. *The Aromal Movement;* or the distribution of known and unknown fluids termed imponderable, which operate both actively and passively on all the kingdoms of creation, animal, mineral, and vegetable.—Nothing is known of these fluids to our men of science, neither with regard to their influence, nor the causes of their influence in the various spheres of life and movement, particularly with regard to the association of stars, or the groupings of satellites on planets, which are regulated by aromal affinity, and not alone by mere material gravitation.

2d. *The Organic Movement.*—This branch of universal movement relates to the principles according to which God distributes forms, colors, tastes, and other properties to all the substances created or to be created on the different globes of the universe. Nothing is known at present to our men of science concerning the causes of variety in forms, colors, etc. distributed to the creations in actual existence on our earth, nor of the effects and causes of various productions to result from future creations.

1st. *The Instinctual Movement;* or the laws according to which God distributes the instincts and desires, passions and attractions, to all the beings of creation, past, present, and future creations in the various globes of the universe. Neither the system of distributing instincts and desires, nor the causes which regulate that distribution, are known to our men of science.

And, pivotally, *The Passional or Social Movement;* that is, the laws according to which God has regulated the order and succession of divers systems of social organization on all the globes of the universe. On this pivotal or central unity of movement, neither causes nor effects have been explained by science, which has not even had a glimmering of the real laws of unity and their at-one-ment with liberty in discipline, harmonizing the passions without compressive or repressive or oppressive arbitrary laws and regulations.

From this Table of universal unity in movement, consisting of one pivot and four cardinal branches (analogous to the sun and the four planets carrying satellites in the natural world) it is evident that only one of the cardinal branches, that of material attraction or gravitation, has been explained by science, and that only since the time of Newton, who explained the effects, or the facts of gravitation, but not the causes; that is to say, one-half only of one of the five divisions of universal movement.

And not only are the laws of universal movement unexplained by science, but the very existence of one of its cardinal branches has been hardly known; that of the third division, or *Aromal movement*, which has never been an object of serious investigation. And yet the influence of imponderable fluids is superior and predominant in the harmony of the natural or material universe, the laws of which for want of knowledge with regard to the aromal mechanism, have been but partially explained by natural philosophers, who are totally unqualified to answer the following questions:

1st. What are the laws of grouping satellites on their respective planets? Why should the planet Herschel, not being one quarter the size of Jupiter, have a greater number of satellites; twice as many when complete?

2d. What are the laws of astral affinity or the conjugation of satellites with planets? Why does not Vesta, the smallest of all the planets, attach itself to any other? not even to the enormous Jupiter, so near to it already?

3d. What are the laws of planetary order with regard to relative positions, and distance from the sun? Why is Herschel, not being one-fourth as great as Jupiter, in volume, four times as far removed from the sun, while the earth, much smaller than Herschel, is nearer to the sun?

On all these questions and many others of similar import, to which I shall again recur in the course of this exposition, our

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great philosophers and men of science will be reduced to silence, as well as on every other question relative to *causes;* their knowledge being limited to the analysis of facts alone, or the *effects* of movement in each of the primordial divisions; or rather, I may say, to a knowledge of effects in one branch only of material movement, or one-half of one-fifth of the whole; leaving nine-tenths of the system of universal unity, or the harmonies of the universe, still unexplored!

[These questions have been put by Fourier in a more developed form, in one of his more recent notes on the omissions and imperfections of his first writings, which we have published in their place in the second number of the Phalanx.]

In drawing man's attention to the laws of gravitation, or the mere material branch of general attraction, Newton has commenced the study of universal movement at its lowest extremity, the seat of honor, if you will, but still the lowest basis, the tail end of the subject, and this inadvertence has passed unnoticed by our men of science, who would easily have seen the fact, if a complete method of exploration, similar to that which I have here exposed, had been constructed previous to the time of Newton: for this analysis explains the relative importance of each branch of universal movement, showing that the passional is chief or pivotal, and that the primordial "study of mankind is man;" the analysis and synthesis of passional attraction; the key to all the other movements in the universe, and the important point of study, by which man should first commence his task of universal exploration.

Newton's discovery of the lowest or material branch of general attraction was, however, an important fact, a brilliant commencement in the true direction. As an astronomer and mathematical inquirer no more could be expected from him; but his success in the material department gave him the right of calling on the other classes of learned men to do their duty in exploring the laws of other branches of attraction, the *organic*, the *aromal*, the *instinctual*, and the *passional* or pivotal, which is the archetype of the other four, and the key to their complete discovery.

He did suggest some questions, I believe, of metaphysical investigation to his friend Dr. Clarke; could he not have indicated passional attraction, which is the primordial principle of metaphysical inquiry, and required of Clarke or others to proceed at once to a general exploration of this subject, as he had done himself with astral gravitation? He might have perceived from the unity of the laws of gravitation in the material universe, that *unity of system* indicated a similar law of gravitation or attraction in the spiritual laws of order in the universe! and if the systematic study of material attraction had explained to him the mechanism of material harmony, was he not warranted in presupposing that, in all probability, a systematic study of moral attraction, or a complete analysis and synthesis of passional attraction, would have led to the discovery of the laws and mechanism of spiritual harmony, the harmony of human passions and attractions; the moral and religious and industrial unity of all the human race on earth?

Our age has not perceived this indication; and notwithstanding its pretensions to abstract calculations, it has not been able to ascend with clearness and simplicity to transcendental exploration, embracing the system of universal unity.

Astronomers and men of real science seem to have been paralyzed in their investigation by the arrogance of false philosophy assuming the sole right of moral and religious and political inquiry.

Voltaire, in writing to one of his friends, a mathematician, says, "he would fain believe that moral truths are not less interesting to his friend, than mathematics;" but what, I ask, is the meaning of the meaning of these words "moral truth?" There are innumerable systems of *morals* contradicting each other! In 1794, there was a system of morality in France which taught us to denounce our parents and send them to the scaffold for the interest of the Jacobins! and many other systems of morality openly taught by different parties in different countries, though less atrocious are not less absurd.

It is, then, a profanation of the truth to subscribe one's name, or to assent to these pretended morals of philosophy, more various and remote from truth than ever, since their late alliance with political economy, commercial fraud, Malthusian infamy and all the horrors of competitive iniquity. Such should have been the answer sent to Voltaire by the mathematician; but the students of real science have never properly assumed their rights, and placed themselves in open opposition with the sophists, whose uncertain sciences should be thoroughly exposed to ridicule instead of being allowed to bring the name of science itself into disgrace by their false theories.

This is one reason why the present age has made so little progress in the most important study, that of universal exploration in the five classes of movement.

When we consider that the most simple inventions, such as the use of stirrups for riding on horseback, and the use of springs for carriages, have been retarded several thousand years since the commencement of civilization in ancient Greece, [the stirrup and carriage spring were unknown to the Greeks and Romans. The first was discovered in the middle age; the last still later.] although they are so exceedingly simple that anybody might have long ago discovered them, we are constrained to admit that our globe is smitten with a sort of vicious imbecility, is suffering, in fact, from what is termed the "curse of God" in Scripture, and that man's intelligence is darkened and perverted so intensely, that the simplest truths remain a mystery. It seems as if the human mind had strayed into a labyrinth of sophistry from which the light of simple truth is totally excluded, and acquired a vicious habit of investigation which obstructs discovery.

What can it be? frivolity or negligence, or want of method, or contracted intellect? Assuredly, it must be one of these defects, or probably, a complication of them all, which paralyzes genius. The human mind must certainly have been neglected, ill directed, not to have attempted even the most useful and important of inventions, that of domestic and industrial association, the only means of universalizing wealth, by multiplying the productions of the soil to an almost unlimited extent, enriching both the people and their rulers, and effecting what is more important still, the social unity of the whole human family.

But, after all, a thing deferred is not entirely lost, and lateness of discovery is not a reason for despair. During three thousand years seafaring men were unassisted by the compass, and were much exposed to danger and uncertainty for want of this small instrument, so simple, and so easy, one would think, to be invented. At length, however, the inestimable guide was found (and other means may yet be found to render navigation safer still, and less expensive.) This invention of the compass, so important and so long retarded, ought to have awakened general attention to the fact of such inventions being so long delayed, although so simple in themselves, and a suspicion that our methods of inquiry and of general exploration in the laws and powers of Nature are defective should have led us to reform them; for, it must be evident that all we know is nothing in comparison with what is still unknown; and the way to travel faster in progressive knowledge, is to organize a plan of general investigation, without which method, we are liable, not only to be ignorant of universal laws of harmony, but of innumerable small contrivances for useful purposes. What a proof of intellectual vacuity, that such a simple instrument as the wheelbarrow should not have been invented until Pascal was born into the world! not two centuries ago! (1623 to 1662.) Inventions are nearly always made by what is termed "chance" or accident, the very word itself proving that we have no true knowledge of a universal method of investigating Nature's laws, nor definite conception of God's universal Providence; we act from mere instinctive impulse like inferior animals, and betray our want of faith in Providence, by using the word "chance" in explanation of whatever happens, as if the world were governed by mere accident without intelligence. This fact, however, is a proof that man's intelligence of God and universal government is not developed yet, or he would never speak of "chance and accident."

Another great omission in the world of modern politics, is the want of method and direction with regard to science and discovery, for the protection and development of men of genius; a law of discipline providing for the following necessities:

1st. A general classification of problems yet unsolved and prizes offered for useful discoveries.

2d. An imposition of fine or penalty on those who venture to deceive the public by condemning useful inventions, without understanding them.

3d. The punishment of those who deceive the public by obtaining money under false pretences of invention and discovery.

4th. An institution for examining new inventions and testing them by actual experiment, when useful and important if successful.

5th. The protection of the inventor's right of property in his invention.

Of all these measures of protection to inventors and society, the last alone has been attempted, and that, imperfectly, by Right of Patent: the others are almost entirely neglected, particularly the two first. There is no general classification of the discoveries which would be most useful to society, when made; and if a man of genius makes a new invention, he is liable to be maligned and ridiculed, and his invention totally misrepresented to the public,

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for a lifetime nearly, before he can obtain a candid hearing, and a trial of his plans in practice. But a clever charlatan can always dupe the public by fine words and flattering servility to men in power. The protection which is denied to real inventors is thus lavished on pretenders, and the public who have been so often cheated, become more suspicious of inventive genius, but still continue to confound true knowledge with persuasive flattery, the *savoir*, with the *savoir faire*.

This want of method has been not a little detrimental to the present age; for the discovery of associative principles ought to have been made a hundred years ago, as a natural consequence of Newton's discovery of the laws of attraction governing the material universe; attraction being the law of universal harmony and equilibrium in both the mental and material universe, other branches of investigation might have led to the discovery, as well, if explorative method had been universal. The success of association on a partial scale, in great commercial companies, like the English East India Company, might also have suggested the idea of a principle of great importance being hid in combinative unity. In every branch in fact of industry and science there were indications of the power and importance of association, brought into existence by the gradual development of individual instinct, unassisted by superior views of principle and Providence.

A general classification of all that is already known and what remains to be discovered, would have shown us, what is told in Scripture, that the world is now turned upside down, exceptionally organized both spiritually and materially, in opposition to both truth and unity. Duplicity reigns everywhere in lieu of unity, and this duplicity is what is termed the "curse of God" in Scripture.

Duplicity in the material world is not less evident than in the passional or spiritual, but to analyze it would be too abstruse a study for the general reader.

The first divisions of this general analysis of mere material duplicity are threefold:—Planetary, hominal, and mixt. 1st. The physical duplicity of the planet consists in the congelation of the poles, the bituminous infection of the sea, etc. etc. 2nd. The physical duplicity of the human body consists in the blackness of the skin of one-half the race, and the darkening of the skin of the other half when exposed to the direct rays of the sun. 3d. The mixt degree of duplicity in the creation consists in the fact of the great majority of things created being out of harmony with man; in the animal creation, not one-twentieth part of the quadrupeds are directly useful to him, or in any way associated with him in his labors; amongst the feathered tribes, not one-hundredth are directly useful to him; and amongst the insects, there is hardly one-thousandth part, which do not injure and annoy him. This is a vast and an important subject, I shall treat of in a future publication.

With regard to passional duplicity or social discord, we see every class opposed to every other class in feeling and in interest, and every individual's interest opposed to the interests of society. The soldier is interested in war, to destroy his fellow-mortals and obtain promotion and prize money; fortune at the expense of enemies, and rank at the expense of friends killed in battle, to make room for promotion. The lawyer is interested in the quarrels of rich families, who have to pay heavily for litigation; the doctor is interested in disease, for without disease he has no profit; the judge is interested in the spread of crime, for without crime his occupation would be gone; and so of almost every other class of men in false society. I do not mean to say that either individuals or classes take delight in evil for itself, but the false arrangement of society involves the interest of one class in the misfortunes of another, so that passional duplicity or social evil reigns predominant. In fact the present mechanism of society presents a spectacle in which the parts are constantly in opposition with the whole. This will become more apparent when contrasted with associative unity, in which all interests agree, and every one is interested in the general welfare, as the only means of guarantying individual well-being.

This is the state of things which we call civilization: *universal* duplicity of *action*. In this labyrinth of duplicity, humanity is sinking deeper and more deeply every day in vice and misery, and associative unity is the only means of our escape. The passions are subverted in this false society, and man becomes collectively "a race of vipers." Christ himself has said it, and commanded us to "seek that we find," the "kingdom of God and his righteousness," the law of truth and unity—association, which is the final destiny of man on earth.

The theory of association being inseparable from that of universal unity, it was indispensable for me to make a brief allusion to the three primordial divisions of this subject, that my calculations might not be deemed fragmentary and incomplete. For this reason, also, I shall give in this first volume an article on general analogy, or the "unity of man with the universe," and one on the immortality of the soul, or the "unity of man with God." These articles will probably displease Materialists and Atheists, who have become so numerous of late, but I shall not discuss the subject with them, and in order to avoid all pretext for discussion on these abstract questions, I have given them as *analogical conjectures;* so that unbelievers are at liberty to class them with romantic fictions, if they like, and I have purposely omitted the application of Kepler's laws to corroborate these views, that I may not appear to give them much importance.*

With regard to the third division of universal unity, the "unity of man with himself," that is to say, with his innate passions and attractions, it is the special object of this treatise, the theory of association, and the demonstrations I shall give in the second volume, chiefly confined to the domestic order of associative unity, will show that the theory is, in all respects, complete, though certain branches of external unity and commerce will remain to be explained in their details, in volumes not yet published.

In this short article I have freely pointed out the want of method in the scientific world, and also the causes of subversion in the social world, and though the pride of false philosophy may be offended, honorable men of learning have no reason to complain, for they can class themselves as neutral in opinion, till experience decides the question; they can hold to the opinion of "expectants" professed by so many celebrated men who have believed that civilized and savage and barbarian antagonism are not the final destiny of man on earth.

The issue from this circle of iniquity is now discovered, rather late, no doubt, for if the theory of unitary combination and attractive industry had been discovered forty years sooner than it was, we might perhaps have been enabled to avoid the horrors of the Revolution. It is still in time, however, to heal up the wounds and to prevent forever the recurrence of a similar calamity, which ought to be sufficient to convince all minds of the alarming tendencies and dangers of disassociative industry.

If ever civilization could be put to shame and made to feel the want of a superior organization of society, it must be now, for all its strong illusions have been sorrowfully dissipated. The republican ideas of liberty have led to anarchy in practice, and from anarchy to despotism; and uncontrolled commercial liberty has led to fraud and bankruptcy, and gambling speculation, which will lead to despotism also, of another order: finally, *monopoly of commerce and the pauperism of all the laboring classes.* Such is the "denouement" of this complicated drama of subversive passions and false liberty in what is termed civilized society; and here the visions of "perfectibility" with which we have long been deluded by false science vanish! How fortunately it occurs, just now, for society, that the discovery of man's essential destiny on earth, of happiness and truth and righteousness, should fall upon a crisis of alarming misery and doubt, when Church and State have lost their equilibrium, and rulers, frightened by the prospect of increasing anarchy and conscious of their own bewilderment, are falling back upon the policy of feudal barbarism, in order to escape from civilized duplicity and false philosophy!

NATURE AND REVELATION, by H. H. Van Amringe, author of "The Seals Opened, or a Voice to the Jews." New York: R. P. Bixby & Co., No. 3 Park Row

In the second number of the Phalanx we briefly noticed this work, and according to a promise made at the time, we now propose to review it at greater length.

The world is looking for great changes in the condition of the Church. It is almost universally believed that Christianity, at the present day, enjoys a high state of prosperity, and that the Millennial reign, which is now shortly expected, will be an enlargement, and a happy fruitfulness of the religious principles which form the fundamentals of the established creeds of Christendom.

Some persons, indeed, look for an actual coming of Christ in the *Body*, while others interpret the promises of the Second Advent *spiritually*, but each supposes that Christ when he comes, will find a faithful working Church, among the number of those which are now in existence; and that all that will be necessary, will be only for the faithful to *come out* and purge the temples from insincere or corrupt professors; but not to lay the stones of the entire Building anew.

The Author of the book before us, (Nature and Revelation) takes no such view of the established creeds or churches. On the contrary, he

* This apparent concession on the part of Fourier to sceptical opinions, is a proof of the intolerance of philosophical sects in France and their persecution of religious doctrines, at the commencement of the present century, when Fourier wrote this book; for the two Sections here alluded to are classed by him as the two leading subjects of the book, under the head of "Pivots direct and inverse," bearing the same relation to the other Sections as the sun bears to the inferior planets; that is to say, the centre of the whole system.

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supposes that the Christian Community have very greatly departed from the simple and pure truths taught in the Bible, and that all their doctrines are built upon a perverted and apostate CORNER-STONE and foundation, which cannot stand, but will be thrown down and utterly subverted; and along with it all the superstructures or religious sects which are erected upon it. The Advent, now, in spirit, of the Messiah, will be, *not a continuance* of the present order of things, but an entire, radical and fundamental change,—a spiritual, moral and social *Resurrection* from what the Author calls the present state of Death and Hell, to a living state in Christ, and an obedience to the Divine Laws of holiness and happiness taught both by Nature and Revelation.

Many individuals have said, that when Christ *does* come, he will come in a very astonishing manner,—he will come in a way least thought of, least expected by the world. If the views of the Author of Nature and Revelation are correct, then it must be admitted that the second Advent is astonishing beyond anything that has heretofore been said on the subject; as Christ at his first advent in the Body, found the Jewish Church in a state of Death, so at his second advent, in spirit, he finds the Gentile Churches in a state of Death; and as he rejected the Jews for their unbelief, and chose the Gentiles in their place, so will he now, according to the opinion of the Author of this work, reject the Apostate Gentiles and choose Israel again, or engraft the Spiritual Israel into their own olive tree.—(Rom. xi. 24.) The Author, however, when he speaks of the gathering of the Jews, does not mean by this appellation, only the actual descendants of Abraham, but he uses it in a spiritual sense; for he includes under the term Israel, all who have the faith of Israel.

Whatever may be thought of the wildness of the announcement that the present state of the Christian World is an apostacy from the Bible truths, and that the spiritual condition of the Churches, considered in regard to faith, morals and society, is a state of Death and Hell, now to be superseded by entirely new organizations, it cannot be denied that the Author comes to his conclusions, not by fanaticism, but logically, and by a close adherence to the Scriptures, and analogy from nature and reason. These he professes to build upon; for he makes no pretence to the power of dreams or visions; and he very candidly invites and urges each reader to think and judge for himself, and to admit nothing without clear authority and demonstration.

We all know that disputes concerning the nature of the Deity and the Godhead of Christ, have agitated and divided the Church from the earliest day; and metaphysical subtilties and mysteries have employed the pens of schoolmen. In "*Nature and Revelation*" these controversies are considered; and in a condensed and very brief view the Author exhibits the precise differences between all the existing Churches, so far as they have relation to the doctrines of the Trinity and the divinity of our Saviour. He believes God to be one, and Christ to be one, and that one Christ to be our sole God, standing to us in the Trinity of relations, the Father, the Saviour and the Sanctifier. As the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ is revealed in two relations,—viz, a perfect *human* relation, as the Son of Mary, miraculously begotten by the power of the Highest, and a perfect *Divine* relation, as the God of the whole earth, for the Spirit of Christ is God. Such is the doctrine of the Author of this book. He makes the Divinity of Christ, and the Cross of God, an essential and cardinal point, or corner stone, in the whole work of Salvation. His language, in speaking of the Cross of the Lord, is this,—(Nature and Revelation, page 99)—"There is no truth, not proclaimed by it; no love which it does not teach; no divine hope, which it does not inculcate. In the Cross of God, is embodied the whole Revelation of God to man. Whatever prophet foretold, or holy men desired; whatever the laws commanded or ordinances prefigured, are accomplished in that new and living way, which God has consecrated for us through his flesh, into the most Holy place of His Sanctuary, there to have fellowship with the Father, face to face."

The Author notices and describes four conditions of the professing Church of Christ, viz,—1. The Apostolic condition of the Church, robed in the whiteness of a true faith. I. A red or blood-stained condition of the Church, distinguished by the union of the Church and Pagan Romanism, under Constantine, and by the wars of the Arians and Athanasians and other violences. 3. The black condition of the Church, during which the Church was wedded to Gothism under Pepin and Charlemagne; and the power of papal Rome was set up. This lasted during all the dark ages, until the revival of learning and the Reformation. And at the Reformation began the 4th condition of Christendom—the condition in which we *now are*—a state of Death and Hell, as the Author contends; Death on the pale Horse, and "*Hell followed with him.*" For it will be seen that the Author interprets the figures of the four horses in Revelation, 6th chapter, in connection with these four conditions of the Christian World.

The writer attaches particular importance to the 8th Chapter of Nature and Revelation, headed "*Rules for Interpretation.*" They are such, he contends, as firmly to unite reason and Scripture in one voice and testimony, and to preserve the person who adopts them, from the errors of fanaticism, and the delusions of a corrupt heart. The Rules are original; and present many types and figures, and more particularly the figure of the Beast with seven heads and ten horns, in a new light.

But the whole of this book is worthy of a most serious study: for whether we agree with the views of the Author or not, we must admit that he has exhibited the condition of the Churches, in the interpretations of the Prophecies, in a way which have never before considered. If the positions of the Author are correct, there never was an age of the world so filled with the seeds of fearful and eventful revolutions, in Church and State, as the present. Old things are now to pass away and all things are to become new. Puseyism and the hundreds of other agitations of the day, are nothing but the sea and the waves roaring, under the portentous and secret influence of the terrible storm which is coming to shake the nations of the earth: for a great judgment is most surely at hand.

THE CLERGY IN THE FIELD OF REFORM.

THE Rev. Mr. STETSON recently preached a Sermon at the Ordination of John Pierpont, Jr., at Lynn, Mass., a synopsis of which reported by the editor of the Lynn Washingtonian, we take much pleasure in transferring to our columns. It evinces a just perception of the important duty devolving upon the clergy, to make themselves the true guides and benefactors of mankind, by taking the lead in the great practical reforms which shall establish on earth in *human societies*, the principles of love and brotherhood taught in the New Testament. It is a matter of surprise, indeed, that an intelligent clergy do not perceive what a waste of time and labor it is to work for anything short of a practical reform in the present age, and that to make themselves *really useful* to the world, they should labor to establish a true Social Order, which would realize in practice Truth, Justice and Christianity upon Earth. Mr. S. is evidently convinced of this, and with manful sincerity and devotion to the truth, he performs his task.

STETSON'S ORDINATION SERMON.

The sermon was a production of rare merit. It abounded in great depth as well as brilliancy of thought, expressed in language of exceeding force and beauty. The freedom with which the speaker commented on the prevailing sins of the day, in which the institutions both of Church and State are involved, showing that in neither of them is the Kingdom of Heaven established; the faithfulness with which he applied the principles of christianity to life, manifested uncommon manliness and independence of mind. Still, fearlessly as he enunciated truths long neglected by the great mass of christian professors; boldly as he struck at the very roots of old established, hoary-headed error; little as he heeded the deep-rooted prejudices of the age; there was, nevertheless, in his words, in his manner, in his voice, an evidence of gentleness and christian charity and love, that must go far towards disarming those who felt disturbed in their sins, from feelings of enmity towards him who had so faithfully and so lovingly applied the truth to their consciences. Mr. Stetson is obviously a man who has not lived in vain. He is one of those through whom the waves of divine inspiration have largely flowed. Not with his face turned to the past does he ask to be guided on his way by the dim and uncertain lamp-light of tradition; but with earnest eyes he looks forward to the rising sun of the future whose direct rays shining into his soul, fill him with hope and gladness, and enkindle within him lofty aspirations after the Perfect and True. Such men are the true prophets of the race. With encouraging voice they point humanity to its high destiny and fill its heart with promise.

We took copious notes from Mr. Stetson's discourse, from which we shall endeavor to give a brief sketch of the leading topics and some of the most striking thoughts, although it must necessarily be very imperfect. We understand that a copy of the sermon will be requested for publication. We shall rejoice to see it presented to the public entire.

The text was from Matthew, chap. iv., v. 17. "*The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.*" The speaker proceeded to show what is meant by the Kingdom of Heaven—that wherever God reigns there it is to be found. He said that Jesus had given us the divine idea of human society, which is that of *one great brotherhood*, justice and love being recognized as the two great laws that should regulate intercourse between men. So far, then, as the principles of the divine government are obeyed, so far God reigns.

God, said Mr. S., has not exhausted himself in specific revelations, nor has he abdicated his throne, but he is still livingly active in us, and is revealing himself in Nature and in the history of man. The Universe is composed of the thoughts of God, in which he is daily and hourly repeating his thoughts. He is present in all the operations of nature. In the works of science and art he is also present. The plough, the steam engine, and the printing press are not the inventions of man, but proceeded from the inspiration of God. Every great idea God first inspires. The soul cannot originate its own great impulses. God speaks in it. The true minister is he who can interpret God, who can read the mystic alphabet of creation. No true word is ever lost. Every quickening word, said Mr. S, goes echoing through the world till it meets an answering response.

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The Divine presence and energy are to be traced in the whole history of man. They who live the truest are the ordained prophets of the race. The world has banished God and become atheist. It has regarded Him as having withdrawn himself and left the Universe to the action of mechanical powers. But it is still instinct with life—God is its immortal youth.

Mr. S. then alluded to those vast simultaneous movements now in progress for the reformation of the world. They come not, he said, from the will of man, but from the will of God. The leaders in them are but the organs of his power, to establish the reign of justice and love among men.

Is this reign, Mr. S. asked, actually established? He answered this inquiry in the negative. A contradiction exists between the *actual* and the *ideal*. No attempt has been made to introduce the laws of God as the basis of human institutions. The world is involved in practical atheism. The great problem is, to reconcile the fact of life with the true ideal. The application of those laws would lead to mutual co-operation and mutual kind offices among men. Our present system is one of self-defence, of fraud and of force. Man does not feel for man as he ought. He is indifferent to the welfare of those beyond the narrow circle of his sympathies. Men ask, "Am I my brother's keeper?" Yes, said Mr. S., you *are* your brother's keeper—you are no true son of God, so long as you estrange yourself from any part of God's family. It is mournful, continued he, how few carry into effect the principles of Christ's kingdom. Public sentiment is the law. Custom and expediency supersede the law of eternal right. The *ideal* of life puts to shame the *fact* of life. Where shall we find a community divinely organized? Is this christian community the reign of the kingdom of heaven? Everywhere we see symbols of suspicion and force—grim prison-houses and gallows to imprison and to hang men. Are these the expressions of love? Witness the accounts of blood-shed and violence with which the daily papers are filled—the brandishing of bowie knives and pistols. What mean these things if the law of force is indeed superseded by a higher law? We profess to believe in the brotherhood of man, yet there are those who so profess who hold other men in bondage. Here Mr. S. said he spoke not as a partisan, not as an abolitionist, but as a *man*, who felt that he himself was injured when an injury was inflicted on a brother man. "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." He spoke of the condition of the slaveholder, which he said was as deplorable as that of the slave—that he was really as much a slave as those whom he holds in bondage. I would rather be the slave, said he, than his unhappy master. Is this relation, asked Mr. S., to be recognized as one of common brotherhood? Shall the minister of Christ be bidden to hold his peace, if he speak on this fact, which stands in the way of the establishment of the kingdom of heaven on the earth? Why shall he not speak of it as well as on any other wrong? The sons of New England go to the South, with principles which they carry from *us*, and become the cruellest of slaveholders. Hence was inferred the importance of instilling correct principles into the minds of the young. But, it is said that we shall disturb the peace. Whose peace? asked Mr. S—the peace of God's kingdom? Let it not be said that human law sustains this wrong. Every law which sets aside God's law is null and void. Let thought be free—let speech be free—let the pulpit and the press be free, and all fetters will speedily be broken.

Mr. S. then referred to the subject of *War*. Christendom, he said, is bristling with armaments. There is little hope of social elevation till signs of war disappear. He spoke of the ships of war, the forts and arsenals, and inquired whether these were necessary where the kingdom of God is established. Why, said he, does not man trust God to guard him from his enemies? Are these the symbols of love—the tokens of the existence of the government of God? We read not that Christ made provision for armies and fleets in his kingdom. We should be shocked to be told that such was the fact, or that he instituted laws providing for the sale of men, women and children. The law of Right, said Mr. S., is the supreme law of the soul, and to establish this was the object of Christ's mission. The gospel was designed to rule everywhere, from the nursery to the throne; to create a heaven here below; to deliver man from oppression and crime which blot out the image of his Maker. But, said Mr. S., the pulpit and the press have conspired with the bad passions of men to defer heaven to another world. They had deemed it right to acquiesce with wrong. They evinced no faith in God. *The reign of God has not been established.*

Mr. S then instituted the inquiry—*What prospect is there of the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven?* The present age, said he, is one of the greatest impulses, proceeding from the inspiration of God. It is a period of great hope. The old heavens and the old earth are passing away, and that with great noise. The new heavens and the new earth are already bending over our heads and spreading under our feet. Sin, misery and oppression are no longer to be borne with. Everywhere, men clamor for reform. They demand that *now* the reign of righteousness be established—that *now* Christ shall appear. Out of the depths of humanity comes the cry for the reign of God on earth. We may recognize a new-born faith in the capacity of man to realize the true ideal of life. These struggles are symptomatic. This unrest, this discontent, are but longings for a better state foretold by the prophets. Never before was so strenuous a demand made that the principles of christianity be incorporated into the institutions of society. *In* the church and *out* of the church there is an awakening of spiritual life. I stand before these influences, said Mr. S., with deep reverence and hope.

Mr. S. then spoke with deep interest of the *temperance movement*. He said he looked upon it with great joy. It indicates a new faith—faith in a living God, present and acting in human affairs—faith in man—in his power to stand erect and become a son of God.

Mr. S. Admitted that in these various movements there might be much of misguided zeal—how much, said he, I know not, nor do I care to know. But, there is something in them higher than man's power. They are uniting all true men in opposition to the false. Their tendency is to make all of *one sect*, or rather of *no sect*.

Can we do anything to hasten this Kingdom? The age needs a ministration of reform. There is a tendency to take the application of the principles of christianity from the ministry. It is said that we have no right to introduce these subjects into the pulpit. The pulpit, then, is not to be trusted with the great interests of humanity. It *must* be trusted with them, or it must get out of the way. The church should be the great agent in the work of the world's reform, and its ministers the missionaries. If it does not do this work, *it is false to its trust*. Wherever man goes, to his field, to his office, to his workshop; wherever he goes, there the pulpit should follow him with its revelations of God's law. Notwithstanding we may be trampled down, yet let us not by any means be indifferent. The battle-cry of the reformer should be—"Let justice be done if the heavens fall." What if all who are laboring for reform are not so meek and gentle as we could wish? We must make great allowance for an ardent temperament and for the circumstances in which they are placed. They cannot stop to pick and mince their phrases. What if Luther had been like Melancthon, so gentle and so quiet? Why, the world would have needed another Luther. The enlightened reformer, said Mr. S., is the only true conservative. He proves all things and holds fast that which is good. He inquires not whether it be new or old, but whether it be true or false. Progress is the condition of all healthy life. The conservative and the reformer should be one. His object should be, not to destroy but to strengthen; he preserves all in the old that is good. Such conservatism we want.

Men are now called upon, said Mr. S., to forego all their prejudices and join in the work of reform. They *must* join, or be swept from its track, or be crushed by its onward progress. Liberal christians might do much, if they would, to restrain and to guard the car of reform, and if they did not make use of their power he did not see what apology they could give for existence. But, it is said that the persons engaged in these special reforms are *men of one idea*. I am glad, said Mr. S., that God has given us men who have as much as *one* idea. It's a good omen. He then spoke of the diversities of gifts—of the members of the body of Christ having different offices to perform; and bespoke charity for those whose narrowness of vision extended only to one object. The associations for specific reforms, he said, were the pioneers in the work. Let no good man lightly set his face against them. He quoted the words of Gamaliel—"Refrain from these men, and let them alone: for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought: but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it: lest haply ye be found even to fight against God." The work is of God, said Mr. S., and it cannot be prevented. Every minister and every layman can do something to hasten its consummation. The minister of Christ should have no fetters on his tongue. Speech is the only power that can reform the world. But, some may ask, of what use can I be?—I shall only incur displeasure, and can do no good. Oh, thou man of little faith. Knowest thou not that no good endeavor is ever lost? The true prophet looks not back, but forward into the future. Whatever of excellence man can conceive of, to that he can attain.

We do not pretend that the above is anything more than a meagre and exceedingly imperfect outline of this remarkable discourse. We trust that the effect upon those who read it, will be to make them the more eager to possess themselves of a copy of it entire when it shall come from the press.

WHAT IS ASSOCIATION?

[This brief outline of Association will be an excellent thing for country papers to copy to give their readers a familiar view of the subject.]

An Association is a body of persons (1800 individuals, men, women and children, or about 300 families, are the proper number for a complete Association) united voluntarily for the purpose of prosecuting with method and order, Industry, Education, Commerce, and the Arts and Sciences—of establishing concert of action and unity of interests (not community of property)—of applying their efforts in the best and most judicious manner—of dignifying Labor and rendering it honorable and attractive—of dividing equitably the product of their labor, every individual receiving a share according to the part taken in producing it, and giving to Labor, Skill and Capital, each, a just proportion of dividend—of realizing great collective economies—of introducing every facility

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and the most efficient means of education, moral, mental and physical, which will be extended to all children without exception—of living together in friendly union and concord, and enjoying the varied pleasures of extended and congenial social relations, and the pursuits of useful industry and exalting art and science, and of directing their energies and talents so as to conduce to the greatest happiness of the Whole.

The principle of Association is not new in the world, but it has heretofore been applied only in a *partial* and *fragmental* manner, not in a *complete* and *integral* manner. The principle is as old as Society itself; it is coeval with the existence of the Human Race; it was first applied when man united with his fellow-man for mutual aid, or for protection and safety. Society as it now exists is sustained only by the principle of Association; it is the vital priciple which binds its members together, preserves its existence and gives it power; but the principle is so imperfectly and partially applied, that Society at present is but an *aggregation* of individuals, among whom there exists strife, conflict and antagonistic interests, and *not a regularly organized system of association*, with perfect concert of action and unity of interests. All the advantages that civilized society possesses, however, over the savage or nomadic state, are derived from the application of the principle of Association.

We find the first germs of Association in the savage state, though in the rudest and simplest form; the horde or tribe is an Association, formed for the purpose of hunting and fishing in concert, and for defence against the incursions of neighboring savages. Man in a savage state, without union or association with his fellow-man for purposes of industry, education, &c., is poor, weak, helpless, ignorant and degraded, and it is only as he applies the principle of association and unites with his fellow-man, that he gains power, security, intelligence and refinement.

As Society progresses from the Savage to the Civilized state, the great principle of Association receives a constantly increasing development. Men first unite for protection from aggression without; subsequently they organize to maintain order and to prevent depredation and lawless plunder within. They combine at later periods, as society grows and becomes more developed, to make public improvements, to prosecute industrial operations and commercial enterprises, to build common roads and bridges, erect churches and school-houses, &c. &c; people unite their means and their labor to effect these objects, and so far as they have a common end in view when they undertake them, there is Association; and without this association and combination of effort, no improvements of the kind could be made. Without association we should be like the savages, having neither roads nor bridges, nor school-houses, nor churches, nor any of the public improvements which now exist. All our charitable institutions, such as hospitals, asylums for the blind, the deaf and dumb, and the insane, are established by means of association and combination; if they are founded by the State, the community is taxed so that the means of the different individuals who compose it, shall be united; if they are founded by philanthropic individuals, their voluntary subscriptions must be united; but without this combined action and association of means, these institutions could not be established and maintained.

All other institutions in society are partial Associations, as indeed many of them are so called. The State or Government itself is but an Association of the whole body of the people—a great Political Association, a union or compact among men for protection against aggression, and the preservation of law and order. But all these forms of association are extremely imperfect and defective, for the principle of association is but partially and fragmentally applied. As society derives all the benefits it enjoys from the application of the principle, so the evils it suffers are the results of *imperfect* and *incomplete* association, and of isolation. *The principle must be applied scientifically, so as to embrace all interests under a perfect organization:* it is by this means only that perfect equilibrium can be maintained, and exact justice done. By this means, that is, by means of a complete and integral system of Association, universal in its application and embracing all interests, all that man desires for his happiness can be secured to him fully.

During the past century the principle of association has received an extensive development by the establishment of Joint-stock Companies. All joint-stock companies are partial or special Associations, formed for the purpose of prosecuting undertakings of a financial, commercial or industrial character more effectually and profitably than can be done by individual efforts and means. A railroad or canal Company is an association of Capital for the purpose of conducting an industrial enterprise requiring extensive resources and great power to manage it, and such a company may be called an *industrial* Association. A Bank is a *financial* Association. It is an institution formed by the union of the capital of various individuals, who, instead of loaning and managing their funds separately and in small sums, place it in a body under the charge and management of a few persons—a president, cashier and board of directors; and when these persons are judiciously selected and faithfully fulfil their trusts, the capital can be more safely and economically loaned and managed than it could possibly be by the respective owners or small capitalists. Insurance and Trust Companies, founded like banks by the united capital of a number of individuals, are *financial* Associations, and all the power and usefulness of these institutions arise from the union and concentration of capital.

Associations under these and all other forms under which they exist, are powerful agents to effect the ends for which they are established respectively, but being isolated and partial associations, they have interests and aims separate and distinct from those of other Institutions or Associations and other portions of society; and hence, to maintain and advance their respective interests exclusively, they often resort to measures which directly conflict with, and are extremely prejudicial to other interests in the community. The *isolated* corporation or Association, like the *isolated* family, is selfish and grasping; and standing in an antagonistic and hostile relation to other interests in society, it frequently resorts to fraud, injustice and duplicity to increase its prosperity, wealth and power. These Companies or Corporations compete, often, with individuals for supremacy in business, and possessing greater resources and power—the effect of the principle of association—they cripple and crush them, and monopolize the branch of trade or industry in which they are engaged. For this reason Banks and other corporate bodies, or privileged leagues of capital, are so unpopular; but the abuse of power committed by these institutions should not induce us to condemn the principle which gives them their power; it should show us what could be done if that power were rightly applied, that is, if it were so applied as to conduce and be advantageous to all interests, which can only be done by a system of association which will embrace all branches of business and industry, so that they will not be separated and left in opposition to each other.

The rapid growth and progress of the United States, particularly in Industry and Internal Improvements, may be mainly attributed to the action of Association: the facility with which companies of all kinds have been formed in this country has afforded a great opportunity to prosecute successfully works of a magnitude which individuals have not ordinarily the ability or disposition to undertake. Our Canals and Railroads, the fleets of Steamboats which cover our rivers and lakes, most of our large Manufacturing establishments, and Mining, Whaling, and various other industrial enterprises, are results of Association or of combined effort and capital. Such are in many respects the wonderful results of Association, limited and partial as the application of the principle has been; but let this great principle be applied upon true and just conditions, so as to cover or unite all departments of Industry, embrace and harmonize all interests—rendering its application *universal*, instead of fragmental, partial and antagonistic—and we shall witness results of which we can now form no estimate. Such an application—a universal application of the principle of Association, will open a new era to the world, an era of universal prosperity and happiness.

From these cursory remarks upon the application of the principle of Association, it will be seen that they who condemn the doctrine of Association, or rather the universal application of the principle which we advocate, declaring it to be visionary and impracticable, do so ignorantly and hastily, without seeing that they condemn a principle which lies at the foundation of society and is the source of its strength and vitality. This condemnation arises solely from the want of examination, reflection and discrimination. The slightest attention to the subject must satisfy all unprejudiced minds that we wish merely to apply to the Organization of Industry and to Social relations, a principle already applied in various ways in society—the principle of combination, of union, of concert of action, in short, of Association, which is received and admired under some form or other by every member of society.

PRACTICAL PART OF THE SYSTEM OF ASSOCIATION.

NUMBER OF PERSONS—THE DOMAIN.

The proper number of persons for an Association is eighteen hundred, composed of both sexes and different ages, or about three hundred families. An association on a reduced scale could be formed with five hundred to six hundred persons or one hundred families. Variety of tastes, talents, capacities, characters, and of fortune, is essential, for social Harmony is based on variety in these elements, not on uniformity or monotonous equality. Let us contrast some of the conditions and circumstances which would attend three hundred families living together in Association with three hundred families living separately as they do at present in *isolated households;* by this means we shall be able to form some idea of the advantages of Association, and its superiority over the present system.

First then, a large tract of land of about six thousand acres, would be required for the Domain of the Association. (For a small Association, twelve or fifteen hundred acres would be sufficient.) This land would be cultivated as if it were the property of one individual by the three hundred families living together, and not be cut up and divided into three hundred small parcels or farms, and cultivated by the three hundred families separately. Here a vast economy would at once be effected in fences and walls; the saving which would be made in timber for fencing alone would be an important item in the economy of three hundred families, and that of labor in making and keeping the fences in repair would also be immense. In an Association, fences around the boundary of the Domain, and a few in the interior, would answer for all the divisions that would be needed. Besides the vast economy which the three hundred families would effect in this respect, how striking would be the difference between the mode of cultivation and distribution of the Domain of an Association and the three hundred little farms of as many

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separate families. How beautiful would be the former, cultivated with all the talent, knowledge and resources of eighteen hundred persons, and freed from the fences and walls which now disfigure and cut up the country into squares, oblongs, and all sorts of irregularly shaped fields and lots! Method, order, and taste would characterize the arrangement and distribution of the fields, gardens, orchards, meadows, and woodlands of an Association, and everywhere the eye would be greeted with a varied and charming landscape.

"If we compare, in imagination," says Fourier, "the cultivation of the Domain of an Association, overseen like a single farm, with the same extent of country cut up into little farms, and subjected to the caprice of three hundred families, the parallel would be found most glaring. Here one family makes a meadow of a sloping piece of land, which nature destined to the vine; there another sows wheat where grass should grow; a third to avoid buying grain, clears a declivity which the rains will strip of its soil the following year, while a fourth and fifth misapply and abuse the soil in some other way. The three hundred families lose their time and money in barricading themselves against each other, and in law-suits about boundary lines and petty trespasses; they all avoid works of general utility, which might be of advantage to detested neighbors, and individual interest is everywhere brought into conflict with public good."

Agriculture is in a wretched state generally, from want of scientific knowledge among farmers, and the impossibility of ninety-nine out of a hundred availing themselves of it in their isolated and *helpless* condition, even when they possess it; but among three hundred families united in an association, every discovery and improvement, deemed desirable and valuable, could be obtained and applied.

Three hundred farming families, living separately, labor under two striking disadvantages; sometimes their time hangs idly on their hands and is wasted, and at other times they have not sufficient help, within themselves, to perform the work required. Hence there is a great loss of time among farmers, and frequently also a great loss of crops, because they are not gathered just in season. If they lived together in Association, both these defects would at once be obviated; they would have manufacturing occupations in which they could always find employment, when not engaged in agriculture, and if united in the cultivation of a single domain, they could apply their combined efforts and execute any labor, requiring a large number of hands, like that of harvesting or gathering fruit, which, if attended to at the proper moment, makes an immense difference in the value of the crop.

There is and can be under the system of separate families no judicious prosecution of Industry, adapted to different tastes and capacities—no combination of agriculture and manufactures—no proper application of the labor of both sexes and all ages—no wise division of labor between the same—no variety and choice of occupations—no *attractive* Industry. The whole system of labor is deranged by being prosecuted by separate families; that is, by the isolated household system; the time and attention of women are absorbed in complicated household duties, and children are left in idleness for the want of branches of industry suited to their strength and capacities. "Yet Nature has assigned to women and children the cultivation of a great many varieties of fruit, flowers and vegetables; the greater portion of our gardens and all the smaller classes of fruit-trees and shrubbery, should be alloted to women and children. The child, so far from devoting itself to useful Industry and to the cultivation of fruits and flowers, enters the gardens only to eat the fruits which it has not aided in cultivating, or to pluck and destroy the flowers."

As the labor of women and children, in the present system of society, is not applied to agriculture, man is obliged to abandon those branches of Industry which are specially allotted to him by Nature, such as works of irrigation and care of forests. He is debarred under the present system from devoting himself to many heavy and important branches of Industry, because he is occupied with works which belong *properly to women and children*, among others the care of the smaller domestic animals, poultry, the gardens, &c. &c.—cares from which he should be relieved by those two classes. All true and natural division of labor is at present completely destroyed by the idleness of children, and by the absorption of the entire time of women in complicated household occupations, four-fifths of which would be saved in Association. The whole burthen of production falls consequently upon man alone, who, thus overtasked, must neglect the most important branches of Industry, such as irrigation and some other of the heavier branches of Industry. He slights the task of his own sex in order to attend to that of women and children.

By interesting Children at an early age in Industry, and inducing them to take part in the lighter branches, such as the care of fruits, flowers, poultry, &c., which can easily be done by a proper organization or mode of prosecution, they will not only become producers, but will receive a thorough *practical* or *industrial* education, and will be initiated by natural and easy processes into all departments of industrial and scientific knowledge. Children delight in being employed, and their natural activity, if not rightly directed, is spent in useless plays or mischief; it remains for Association to avail itself of this natural instinct in children to be active, and to apply it usefully and train them up so that they shall be thoroughly educated, and fully developed in mind and body.

(For a description of the scientific and industrial system of Education of Association, see Pamphlet entitled: A concise exposition of the Doctrine of Association.)

The labor of Women will be made available in Association, because household or domestic work will be immensely abridged or economized. Three hundred families, living separately in as many houses, must have three hundred separate kitchens; and, as a consequence, three hundred women are condemned to pass their time in the *unproductive* and slavish drudgery of performing separately household labor—washing, cooking, marketing, keeping up fires, &c.—an endless task, finished only to be renewed. Such household labors will not be done away with in Association, but they will be so greatly abridged, and such economical and excellent methods for their performance will be introduced, that four-fifths and perhaps more of the trouble will be saved. If an Association of three hundred families have but two or three large kitchens, instead of three hundred little ones, and if forty or fifty experienced cooks, *taking turns every other day*, can do the cooking, it is evident that two hundred and fifty women will be relieved at once from the drudgery of this branch of domestic labor, and will be able to devote themselves to productive and pleasing occupations in industry, art, science, teaching, &c. By this single innovation—three kitchens instead of three hundred—those thousands upon thousands of poor women, who are now wearing out their lives in a round of repugnant drudgery in dirty little kitchens, ignorant, neglected and unfit for refined social intercourse, can be freed from their low and menial condition, and elevated to be polite, intelligent and independent beings, happy themselves and adding to the happiness and refinement of society around them. What important results, what benevolent innovations can be attained by the simplest means, and how worthy the attention of those who desire really the welfare and elevation of all classes of their fellow-creatures!

[To be continued.]

MESSRS. EDITORS—

As everything bearing on Association has somewhat of interest, I send you a brief notice of one movement in this behalf. On the first of September last past, Messrs. John Allen and D. H. Barlow, having previously given considerable study to Fourier's Social Science, set forth on a tour through Massachusetts to make known its principles through public lectures. Since that time they have visited, either together or separately, between twenty and thirty different towns and delivered about sixty public addresses. Their method was to visit a town, write notices of a *gratuitous* Lecture on a given evening and distribute them. Everywhere they secured audiences, sometimes twenty persons, sometimes one hundred, occasionally four or five hundred. They were listened to with scarcely an exception with a gratifying interest. The lecture rooms were uniformly paid for by the hearers, sometimes enough was given the lecturers to defray their expenses from place to place, and *invariably* they were hospitably entertained during their stay in the place. Everywhere they found, with scarcely a dissent, that present society was adjudged *wrong and fruitful in evils* both theoretical and practical. Fourier's analysis of the existing Social Order was accepted. Almost universally, too, Fourier's scheme of Association was pronounced *beautiful*. It was further admitted that this Scheme was calculated to remove the existing evils and elevate Man to a true and desirable state, provided always *it could be carried out*. The doubt and fear was generally expressed that men were now too *selfish* to live in the true relations of Association. But infinite encouragement is given the Fourierist even by *these* admissions. If all believe existing society wrong, and believe also Association *abstractly* true and right, can things always continue as now? The *abstract* MUST become the *concrete*, and that at no distant day. Hundreds of persons, men and women, have within these four months been made acquainted with Fourier's doctrines by these familiar lectures. In one town after another the good seed has been dropped, which shall not perish but spring up, sooner or later, into a harvest of good. And, rely upon it, when these principles have so taken hold on one and another mind, that men will, like these lecturers, relinquish Pulpit and Bar and Workshop to go forth and utter them to the People, "without money and without price," traversing the country on foot often, relying on wayside hospitality for the needful bread, and looking for no reward save the spread of Truth. The day cannot be far off when glorious changes shall take place. Man's destiny looks brighter and more cheering. May God speed the triumph of His own Cause and strengthen the hands of those engaged in its advocacy! Thanks to Him for the evidence given by the recent gathering here of so many true hearts, that the Truth has so wide and deep a hold on the general mind! And let us labor—we *will* labor—with augmented energy and zeal in the good work, having so good hope that the Day of Redemption draws nigh!

A. B. C.

BOSTON, Dec. 30, 1843.

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It will contain copious translations from Fourier's works, the whole of which it is designed in time to give, and will contain extracts from the Paris and London Journals, "LA DEMOCRATIE PACIFIQUE," and the LONDON PHALANX, which are devoted to the cause of Association.

II. The Phalanx will enter into a frank and impartial criticism of the present false system of Society, and will expose its evils, and the defects of its leading social Institutions—among others:—Its repugnant, ill-requited, and degrading system of Industry:—Its system of Free Competition or false rivalry and envious strife and anarchy in Trade and Industry:—Its system of anarchical Commerce:—Its menial system of Hired Labor or labor for Wages:—The unjust and unnatural relation which it establishes between Capital and Labor:—Its defective and partial systems of Education:—Its permanent conflict of the individual with the collective Interest—and its system of separate or isolated Households.

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[From the American, Southport, Wisconsin Territory.]

FOURIER ASSOCIATION.

Mr. Parnell's Lecture.—By reference to proceedings published in another column, it will be seen that a number of citizens of this village and vicinity have united in forming an Association, the primary object of which is to more thoroughly acquaint themselves with the theory and practical details of the system of Social Organization as proposed by Fourier.

We have in our community individuals who for more than a year have been deeply interested in this system and have made it the object of much study and reflection; and, as is ever the case we believe, study has only revealed more clearly to them its inherent attractions, and developed its apparent adaptation to the necessities and nature of man. We say apparent, since the promulgation of the system is of recent date and is consequently rather known theoretically than practically. The public debates on this subject which have been recently had and which have been generally attended by our citizens, have served to heighten and deepen the interest already felt; and this has resulted in the formation of the Association.

At the first meeting of the Association, after its organization, Dr. Parnell, whose interesting and instructive lectures on Miscellaneous subjects, our citizens have all had an opportunity of hearing, gave, by request, a lecture on Fourier's Theory of Social Reform.

We were present and took notes of the Doctor's lecture and intended to have published a full abstract, but we have mislaid our minutes and cannot lay our hand upon them at the very time we want them. We will give, however, in brief, as far as our memory serves us, the leading features of the lecture.

Dr. P. —— commenced by repelling some objections brought against the system, from its supposed identity with the schemes of Owen, Fanny Wright, and various bodies of Religious Socialists, and showed that the difference between these and the system of Fourier was radical and entire. It differs from the former theories in that while they disown the idea of a Supreme Being and the restraints of religious obligation, and give loose rein to the grosser passions, this acknowledges the being and superintendence of Divine Goodness, fosters religion in every way consistent with freedom of thought and belief, and aims at controlling the base and selfish propensities and passions and the bringing out and perfecting of man's moral and intellectual powers—his higher and nobler nature. Mr. P. farther held up this theory as disagreeing with all others supposed to occupy the same ground, in not avowing the perfect equality of all members of the community in respect to capacity and in rejecting the community of property that is coupled with community of interest in every similar organization.

The system of Fourier was held merely to propose, on the simple principle of a common business partnership, to associate for the accomplishment, in a readier, more economical and certain manner, of all the objects and aims of life, dividing to each individual the profits accruing from the common efforts of the community, in proportion to his contribution, whether of labor, skill or capital, to their procurance; thus bringing the very selfishness and avarice of man, which waste and destroy in society, under its present form, with such fearful violence, into concert for the general good.

The advantages accruing from Association were held to be —

1. An immense economy in the cost of dwellings, cellars, barns, outhouses, fires, cooking utensils, domestics and all the expenses of living in isolated families; whereas distinct apartments could be allotted to each family in the community building, board furnished at the community table and all the expenses of fires and all incidentals afforded, excelling, by far, in comfort, perfection, and convenience, those now obtained by the great majority of the human family, and consequently making more for their health and happiness, at but a small portion of the cost now required to subsist in families occupying separate dwellings.

2. The reduction of the number of mechanics, artizans, servants and every class of laborers not directly engaged in production, which society at present needs and employs, but who owing to the economy of their labor through association, could be returned to the labors of the production of the necessaries of life.

3. Curtailing the number of non-producers, both those whose labor is superfluous and those who live above it; and making labor honorable by the action of the general sentiment, and men industrious through interest, emulation and desire for the esteem of their fellows.

4. Combination of action to secure higher attainments in the sciences, and arts, and, by association, the means of directly applying their improvements to the great purposes of human benefit, which are not afforded to the great majority of laborers who toil by themselves.

5. The elevation of *female* labor in dignity and importance and its better protection and reward.

6. Economies in sales and purchases; as marketing produce and purchasing supplies.

7. Division of labor so as to give to each individual a portion suited to his powers and tastes, unlike that of the present system which frequently assigns the portion of the strong to the weak and allots that of the weak to the strong.

8. Economy in harvesting crops and in giving to different soils that class of crops best suited to their capabilities of production.

9. Through all these economies of labor, time, money, etc., to produce all that is required for the support, comfort and convenience of the human family in a much greater abundance than can be done under present circumstances with far less toil than is now required from the laborer; while association affords facilities for education, moral and intellectual culture, gratifying the tastes and for refining, purifying, expanding and elevating the human mind, to an extent that in the present state of society can never be generally secured.

There will thus be more enjoyments, wider moral and religious and literary privileges, more social pleasures, greater happiness, better cultivation of mind and heart, both with children and adults, and a higher tone given to the human character in association than in man's present isolated condition.

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☞ The leading article prepared for this number, in continuation of the "Gradual abasement of the Producing classes," has been crowded out, together with other articles, in order to make room for Mr. Godwin's able dissertation upon "Constructive and Pacific Democracy," which we commend to the special attention of our readers.

☞ We earnestly reiterate the request, before made to our friends, to use their best exertions to obtain subscribers for the Phalanx; and particularly wherever there is a news-agent to induce him to order as many copies as can be sold in the neighborhood; or where there is no news-man, undertake the supply of papers to their neighbors themselves: we will furnish the number of copies needed, which they can settle for at convenient times. Our subscription list is steadily increasing; but until we are fully warranted by our sales in publishing weekly, we cannot do it. Again let us remark, that although our paper is not yet published weekly, fifty-two numbers will be supplied for a year's subscription, and twenty-six numbers for a subscription of six months.

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INTRODUCTORY.

OURS are new words; they express new thoughts; yet, we hope, that the newness, either of words or thoughts, will not prevent the reader from giving what we are about to say, a calm and profound attention. If we employ language that to many may be strange; if we utter thoughts that have the appearance of novelty; we still intend that our phrases and meaning shall be as clear as the nature of our discussion will allow. We are about to speak of Democracy, but in no party sense; not as it is spouted in ward meetings, nor slavered through the columns of newspapers; but of Democracy as a God-ordained principle of social government, which will give to every individual his precise place in society, which will develope and perfect all the elements of human nature, which will recognize the inherent rights and spiritual majesty of man, and which in the end, will make the "kingdoms of this Earth the kingdoms of our God, and of his Christ." It is of a kind, this Democracy, which has not yet been treated of in Presidents' messages: it has made but small figure on the floor of Congress; neither of our great parties sets up claims to the exclusive ownership of it; while at the same time, it is broad and benevolent enough to take in all parties and all creeds, however different their tenets, or apparently irreconcileable their aims. We mean not the Destructive and Revolutionary Democracy, which has done so much to change the world—but the Constructive and Pacific Democracy, which is destined to do infinitely more in a still nobler change.*

§ I.—ANCIENT AND FEUDAL SOCIETY.

History makes us acquainted with various societies in the Past. These are distinguished from each other by many diverse traits, yet they have have many characteristics in common. In Judea, in Egypt, in Greece, in Rome, the life of society had phases peculiar to itself in each, although in many respects a broad similitude is traceable through the manifold developments of all. Alike in all, the only acknowledged principle of action was force; war was their only politics; conquest and glory their chief aim; while slavery, or the subjection of man to man, in the most thorough, inhuman, and barbarous manner, was their only system of national economy. Slavery was the base and War the summit of their whole social structure. The producer, or in other words, the Worker, was universally a slave; the Freeman, whether plebeian or patrician, alone was allowed to make war and to consume. The sentiment of humanity was bounded by the narrow horizon of a creed or country. To the Jew, all things beyond Judea, were unclean; to the Greek and Roman, the term foreigner was a synonym for barbarian. In all old civilized societies, then, we see only implacable domination abroad; only tyranny, and the insuperable distinctions of caste at home.

The feudal order, though an improvement on the ancient societies, retained some of their worst abuses. Feudalism, being an effect of conquest, became very soon a mere organized conquest. War remained its leading fact—war, and the traditional but permanent consecration of the distinctions of primitive conquest. It was relieved, it is true, by some few meliorating influences; it called forth, as even the worst arrangements have done, some few virtues: it developed in a few, a manly sense of personal worth and individuality: its system of economy was a trifle less severe and brutal in the subjection of man to man. The sentiment of humanity, warmed by the first rays of the rising sun of Christianism, began to stretch beyond the contracted limits of country. Nations and races began to feel the ties of fraternity, and to connect themselves in closer bonds, though still in obedience to the laws of feudal hierarchy. Throughout Europe, the nobles, legitimate heirs of the first conquerors, regarded themselves only as equals, while they trampled to the dust, the clowns and commoners, whom they scarcely looked upon as belonging to the same species. But the latter everywhere enslaved, grew to regard each other as brothers, and thus unconsciously, in the darkness and distresses of the Present, prepared the way for that Future

* In the general outline of what follows in the text, we have closely followed the profound and eloquent "Manifeste" of the Démocratie Pacifique written by Victor Considerant; but we have not scrupled to modify that paper in many ways so as to adapt it to the state of opinion in this country. The writer is alone responsible for what is here said.

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of justice and truth which was destined to wrest from their haughty oppressors, the privileges which had been so long usurped. The spirit and right of the feudal times, was the spirit of aristocracy and the right of the nobles; and both continued to exist, until the French and other fearful revolutions, gave them a blow that sent them howling in the agonies of death.

§ II.—THE NEW OR CHRISTIAN AND DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.

On the ruins of the old and feudal society, there has gradually grown up the elements and forms of a new order. A change has been wrought which is manifesting itself in the development of industry, science and art, in the silent and irresistible conquests of mind over force, in the genius of creation triumphing over the genius of destruction—in the substitution of noble, sacred Work, for base, unholy War. The right of modern societies has come to be the general right; their principle is the christian principle of the specific unity of the whole human race in humanity, whence the political dogma of the equality of all citizens before the state; and their spirit is the spirit of democracy. True, in the older nations, the division lines of former days are still drawn; the badges of caste are still worn; the privileges and honors of nobility are perpetuated. But they are perpetuated mostly in form. They cannot be said to be the controlling spirit of the present times. The French Revolution in the old world, the American Revolution in the new, struck a battle-axe into the rotten timbers of past institutions which has shattered them into slivers. The better classes, the nobility, the monarch may govern—but they do so virtually in the name, with the consent, and for the welfare of the people. THE MASS is a new word that has crept into all modern languages, and which indicates the existence of a new fact. The mass, through so many weary years, the despised and spoliated hewers of wood and drawers of water, have proclaimed their equal manhood. They assert that they are an essential element in the community. They stand before us with the honest faces, the broad shoulders, the hard muscles, the swelling hearts of men; they demand of us that they be admitted into fellowship: they claim their younger brother's share of the patrimony of the common Father. With haggard and malignant looks, their eyes darting fiery impatience and their hands grasping the red torches of fury; through streets flowing with blood and plains strewed with the dying; in the midst of agonizing cries and wild maniac rejoicings, they have fought their way to where they now stand, and there dwells not on this, nor any side of Heaven, the power for whom it would be safe to resist their just appeals. The existence of the mass, we say, is a new fact, demonstrated in an irregular wild way—but with somewhat of significance and emphasis.

§ III.—SEPARATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLE FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY.

In several of the more liberal and recent European constitutions of government; in all the constitutions, we believe, of the United States, the universal and equal Right of man is broadly asserted.

This new Right, this democratic Right, having entered into the world by revolution, having been proclaimed, established, and defended by revolution, advancing from triumph to triumph by revolution, is it at all surprising that the principle of democracy and the principle of revolution should have been confounded?

The new Right might have been incarnated in society by the consentaneous and progressive action of reform and organization, which would have completed, by peaceable means, the natural transformation of the past society in all its departments.

But this natural movement, this absorption of the old (and secretion of the new, which constitutes the healthy growth of all the organized creation, and which might have wrought the quiet and unobstructed renewal of society,) not having been seconded and directed with intelligence by those in authority; the new spirit not having been wisely and liberally guided in its mighty expansion, the work of change was left to the arbitrament of explosive violence.

It has almost invariably occurred in the contests of adverse interests that the usurper grows selfish and the wronged furious. A wild assault and reckless repulse is followed by long years of relentless battle,—by the impetuous shock of armies under whose tread the earth shakes to its centre,—until slow Time decides the issue which had long before been decided in the eternal laws of Providence.

When the hour has come for the past to yield its abuses and be changed, its resistance only provokes warfare and makes its defeat the more signal. The new principle, by being resisted, instead of proceeding to the task of infusing itself into existing arrangements, is exclusively absorbed in the fight with the Past; it wastes its energies in unnecessary expenditures of strength, and it confounds itself with, and takes the character of, a manifestation of mere Violent Protest—Revolution—War. This is a most grave error. It leaves the whole task of organizing the New Order, a thing to be done.

Now, this is the task which is committed to our epoch—this the problem which the genius of Destiny has summoned us to solve. With the vigorous arm of a lusty youth, we have shattered what was bad in the Past. We have gone through with the terrible work of destruction. We have broken into the ancient domain of Authority and Oppression. We must now do the infinitely higher work of true democratic construction and adjustment.

§ IV.—THE REVOLUTIONARY WORK FINISHED, THE DEMOCRATIC WORK HARDLY BEGUN.

Our modern democratic revolutions, though they have accomplished some good, have chiefly exhibited the new principle of the Rights of man, in its abstract and negative aspects. They have swept away the last remains of the Feudal system, founded upon war and the aristocratic distinctions of birth; they have established a representative system in politics, which inasmuch as it reposes on a principle of election independent of the accident of birth, is a decided advance upon pre-existing systems; they have rendered elementary instruction more accessible to all classes of the people; and they have called into life, under the inspiration of Christianity, a deeper sense of the worth and dignity of the individual soul. This is their good. But oh! how much they have left undone!—how much is there which they could not do! They have left without organization, without direction, without rule, the whole immense sphere of Industry! They have abolished the wardenships, the guilds, the corporations of the ancient time,—all of which answered the purpose in a feeble way, of a partial organization of Labor—but they have not supplied their place by a better organization. They have opened to a *laissez-faire* the most absolute, to a competition the most anarchical, to a war the most blind, and consequently to the Monopoly of great capitalists, the whole social and economical Workshop of the World,—the vast field on which is effected the Production and Distribution of Universal Wealth! Here is their grand defect; here is their radical weakness; here is the practical vice which condemns the entire machinery of revolution as inefficient and unsound.

The imperfect state in which revolutionary and destructive, or rather negative Democracy, has left its work, keeps open a sluice by which a deluge of wrongs is let in upon mankind. In spite of the supposed liberality of our new principles, in spite of the destruction of old abuses, in spite of the constitutional equality of citizens, in spite of the abolition of exclusive privileges in the sphere of commerce and trade, the actual social order, in this most democratic of countries, is a hateful and pernicious aristocratic order,—pregnant with injustice and suffering—*not in principle nor law*, BUT IN FACT. We are apt to imagine in our overweening vanity that we have left behind us the odious distinctions that prevailed among our ancestors. We sometimes pride ourselves upon the equality of condition and happiness that marks the society of the United States, and to a certain extent this pride is just. Yet it is only to a certain extent. Theoretically, constitutionally, legally, there are no privileged classes in this nation; the odious laws of caste, are annulled. But, practically, positively, really, we still live under a regime of caste, we are still governed by classes, all our social helps and appliances are still distinguishing, partial and confined to the few. It is not so much our legislation, though that is somewhat to blame; it is not the law, it is not political principle, that erects barriers between the different categories of the American people,—it is our economical arrangements, or to speak more accurately, our complete want of social and industrial organization. Let this be noted!

§ V.—THE RAPID FORMATION OF A NEW FEUDALISM,—THE COLLECTIVE SERVITUDE OF LABOR.

A striking phenomenon is beginning to show itself in these days, even to the eyes of those least observant of such things. We refer to the rapid and powerful constitution of a new Aristocracy, of a commercial and financial Feudality, which is taking the place of the ancient aristocracy of nobles and warriors, by the annihilation and impoverishment of the lower and middling classes.

After the grand explosions of the American and French Revolutions, after the overturn of the ancient political system, after the abolition of feudal property, of laws of primogeniture, of trading guilds and commercial corporations, and the bold proclamation of the great doctrine of free-trade, society has believed itself forever emancipated from the domination of aristocratic and exclusive powers. It has supposed that it had achieved the enfranchisement of every individual, that it had bequeathed to the universal

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race of man the opportunity for a full development of all its faculties.

There never was a greater mistake, as the result most abundantly proves.

An essential element in the calculation has been overlooked. Now that the agitation caused by the first onset of destruction has somewhat subsided, when matters begin to assume their regular places, it is found that individuals indeed enter upon the new race of life with perfect *freedom* to use themselves and their natural powers as they please; but upon what very different conditions have they entered? They are free to run the same race, but on most unequal and disadvantageous terms. The same course is open to all, but they each, to continue our sporting metaphor, carry different weights. Nay, they cannot be said to have been started at the same starting-place. Some were already provided with facilities to carry them swiftly and surely along their way,—they they had fortune, talents, education, high and influential positions,—and the accumulated experience of ages; others, and these are the most numerous, had none of these things; they had nor fortune, nor rank, nor talents developed by anterior education, none of the aids and spurs by which the more favored rise; they are banished to the outer borders of civilized existence, they welter in the lowest pools of corrupt and stagnant associations.

What must result in such a state of things, from that industrial liberty on which we reckoned so much—from that famous doctrine of free-trade, which was the peculiar glory of the new science of political economy, and which we fondly thought the last best expression of the democratic theory? What result? Let facts answer the question! They will point us to the general subjection of the masses—of the class without wealth, talent or education—to the class which is well-provisioned and equipped!

"The lists are open," say you, "all men are called to the combat, the terms are equal for all capacities." Hold! you have forgotten one thing! It is, that on this great field of battle, some are trained, disciplined, caparisoned, armed to the teeth, an impenetrable hauberk and shield is round their bodies, swords and spears are in their hands—and they hold the advantageous places for assault or for flight; while others, despoiled, naked, ignorant, famished, are compelled to live from day to day, and support their wives and children, on the meagre pittance extorted from their adversaries or picked by piecemeals from the streets. Oh! most benevolent free-trader, what sort of equality is this? What fight, what resistance even, are we of the many-headed multitude to make? Your absolute liberty is only an absolute abandonment of the unarmed and destitute masses to the charity of the well-fed and well-armed few. Your democratic civilization, which began in aristocratic feudalism—the progress of which has emancipated the working-classes from direct and personal servitude only—will end in a moneyed aristocracy that leads to a collective and indirect servitude just as oppressive as that from which we have been so lately relieved. "Gurth," says Mr. Carlyle, "born-thrall of Cedric, the Saxon, has been greatly pitied by Dryasdust and others. Gurth with a brass collar round his neck tending Cedric's pigs, in the glades of the wood, is not what I call an exemplar of human felicity; but Gurth, with the sky above him, with the free air and tinted boscage and umbrage around him, and in him the certainty of lodging and supper when he came home,—Gurth to me seems happy in comparison with many a Lancashire and Buckinghamshire man of these days, not born-thrall of anybody! Gurth's brass collar did not gall him; Cedric deserved to be his Master. The pigs were Cedric's, but Gurth too would get his parings of them. Gurth had the inexpressible satisfaction of feeling himself related indubitably, though in a rude brass-collar way, to his fellow-mortals on this earth. He had superiors, inferiors, or equals. Gurth is now "emancipated" long since; has what we call "liberty." Liberty, I am told, is a divine thing. Liberty when it becomes the liberty to die by starvation is not so divine." There is much in that fact, Mr. Carlyle!

§ VI.—THE CONDITION OF THE LABORER DETERIORATING, THROUGH THE DEPRECIATION OF WAGES, &c.

But while this freedom of trade, of which we have spoken, has tended and is tending to subject the workman to the capitalist, the proletaire possessing nothing to the patrician possessing all things, let us consider that it has at the same time awakened a most disastrous competition among workmen themselves. It is setting proletaire against proletaire in an almost deadly industrial war. Where laborers abound, which is everywhere, the necessities of existence, under any system of competition, compel them when they go forth each morning in the pursuit of employment and a master, to lower their wages to the lowest possible sum. The rate of wages, in other words, everywhere tends to be reduced to the lowest possible sum consistent with the mere continuance of the laborer in life. This, when it is thought of, is an awful statement, but it is not exclusively our own. We find it, taught in the leading political economists of the day, as one of their fundamental doctrines. "The wages of simple labor," says Say, "seldom rise in any country much above what is absolutely necessary to subsistence! the quantum of supply always remains on a level with the demand; *nay, often goes beyond it.*" In Adam Smith, in McCullough, in Malthus, in Wayland, there are a multitude of passages to the same effect. Well, what is the obvious inference from such a statement? Why, that the least fluctuation in the demand for labor must inevitably doom a large portion of laborers to starvation—to death! These very writers are cold-blooded enough to state that inference. "Where laborers," says McCullough in his dainty language, "where laborers are already subsisting, as in Ireland" (and he might have added other countries) "on the lowest species of food, it is of course impossible for them to go to a lower in a period of scarcity, and should their wages sustain any serious decline, *an increase would necessarily take place in the rate of mortality.*" What a coldly dignified and stately way of telling us that thousands of fellow-beings would die by a most painful and lingering death! *The rate of mortality would increase*, says the philosopher, with as much *sang froid* as the surgeon amputates a limb, heedless of the agonies of his victim! At the same time a brother philosopher, Monsieur Say, tells us, but with more feeling, that wages are liable to "most calamitous oscillations." "War or legislative prohibition," he continues, "will sometimes suddenly extinguish the demand for a particular product, and reduce the industry employed upon it to a state of utter destitution." "The mere caprice of fashion," says another, the famous Malthus, "is often fatal to whole classes. The substitution of shoe-ribbands for buckles was a severe blow to the population of Birmingham and Sheffield." Indeed, the whole of Malthus's celebrated doctrine of population, viz: that the increase of laborers outruns that of the means of subsistence, and that therefore, wars, pestilences, famines, storms, that depopulate whole kingdoms, and the direst afflictions of mankind, are beneficial—is founded on the melancholy fact in the condition of the working classes on which we are dwelling. We might, were not the fact itself most glaring in every nation, fill a volume with corroborative citations from the essays of the political economists. On one side we see competition among laborers reducing the wages on which they and their dependent families must subsist; on the other, we see competition among employers, forcing them, how great soever may be their generosity, to yield only the lowest rates of pay, (since no employer, without running the risk of certain ruin, could afford to pay his workmen higher wages than what was paid by his competitors;) and thus the detestable maxims of our modern economy break all the laws of justice and humanity. Free-trade, by which we here mean competition without organization, is distinguished by the execrable mark, that it always and everywhere tends to the reduction of wages. After plunging the toiling masses into the gulf of misery, it grinds them with a weight that is forever growing heavier. In Ireland, in England, in Belgium, in Italy, in France, in our own country, wherever competition reigns, where nothing arrests the action of a ex organized and incoherent industrialism, the working classes are inevitably becoming more miserable and more abject. They not only work against each other, but against machines that cost nothing, yet dispense with the labor of an hundred men.*

We state this not as an opinion of our own—not as a logical deduction from premises existing in our own minds, but as a fact, proven by statistics, declared by official records, and confirmed by innumerable observations made by missionaries of benevolence and enlightened and liberal statesmen. What means that significant dispute that has put the more recent of political philosophers on the continent, at loggerheads? Whence the awful fact, that in the midst of an increase of general riches, the condition of the laboring classes is growing worse,—a fact in the solution of which they are all so much puzzled? Sismondi, one of the most brilliant successors of Jean Baptiste Say, though of another school, was so painfully impressed with this fact, that his whole work may be considered as a prolonged wail over the miseries of the working-classes. "His cry of alarm," says the distinguished professor of political economy at the University of Paris, M. Blanqui, "has been solemnly and eloquently repeated; it is re-echoed by whole populations in manufacturing cities, amid the tumult of insurrection." Again, says the same able and profound writer, in criticising Adam Smith, "Why is wealth so unequally distributed in society? Why are there so many starving beings in civilized nations? What is the natural relation between popu-

* The question of the influence of labor-saving machines is a great one, which we may hereafter undertake to discuss.

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lation and subsistence? *Why does misery increase amongst the laboring classes in proportion to the increase of wealth in the nation?*" Again he says, "This doctrine," the doctrine of Adam Smith, that private interest left entirely to its own management, will always direct capital to those channels which are best adapted to public welfare, "this doctrine, which has prevailed in England and given most extraordinary impulse to industry, has commenced nevertheless to produce the most alarming effects; it has produced unbounded wealth among capitalists and wretched poverty among the lower classes; it has enriched the nation, but at the cruel expense of industry." To the same effect M. Rossi, professor of political economy in the College of France, and a learned writer regarded by Guizot as "the wisest representative of the science," in an introductory discourse remarked, "A great problem occupies all minds; it is the coexistence of two seemingly conflicting facts; on the one hand, a general increase of national wealth; on the other hand, growing misery and distress among the greater part of workmen. A solution has been demanded of political economy, but it has not yet been found. This solution, when it shall have been made, will be the greatest social discovery of the day." If we were in a position to consult authorities, we could cite many more confirming paragraphs of the same nature. But Heaven knows, that we have written enough on this head. Our hearts begin to sicken with the details which our inquiry forces upon us!

§ VII.—REDUCTION OF THE MIDDLING CLASSES.

Alas! this is not all; the evil is not merely confined to the lowest classes of laborers. Analogous symptoms are showing themselves among the possessors of small means—among the master mechanics and farmers. If the first effect of our monstrous modern system of competition—competition, we mean, on conditions so unequal,—has been the subjection of the workmen, its second effect will be the progressive ruin of the poorer class of employers. Small properties—master-mechanics on a small scale—inferior branches of commerce and art—are destined to be crushed under the gigantic weight, the colossal wheels of larger properties and enterprises. We may see this tendency of things even in this country, where the possession of inexhaustible tracts of land gives so fine an opportunity to the individual to resist the tendencies of society. Already, in almost every branch of industry, great capitals, great enterprises give the law to the smaller. Steam, machinery, large manufactories are everywhere supplanting the meaner kind of workshops. Employers are sinking into the class of the employed, which only renders the supply of work the more uncertain and less in amount to the latter class. Our cities are vast commercial vortices that are drawing the whole country within their fatal circle. Commerce, which should be the dependent handmaid of Agriculture and Manufactures, has become their absolute master. It rules the world with the omnipotence of a despot. It makes all industry, and art, and science its tributaries. It is a vast insatiable parasite sucking the life-sap of Production. It is a monstrous vampire that preys with remorseless appetite upon the energies of nations. It absorbs all property, in regulating values by means of its banks; it concentrates wealth in the hands of a few men in a few central places; it is the source of innumerable frauds, fluctuations, bankruptcies and commercial crises; and it is fast laying its hand upon the land, by means of agricultural loaning companies,—and upon government, by means of national debt.*

Now, Commerce, be it remembered, is the legitimate offspring of our competitive system of industry.

§ VIII.—DIVISION OF SOCIETY INTO TWO CLASSES—ONE, POSSESSING ALL—THE OTHER, NOTHING.

Thus, in spite of the abstractly democratic principle of industrial freedom, or rather in consequence of that freedom, (false and illusory as all simple unorganized liberty must be,) capital gravitating around capital in proportion to its mass, is gathered into the hands of a few of the wealthiest men. Society tends to a division, more and more distinct, into two classes,—a small number possessing everything, or next to everything, absolute masters of the entire field of property, commerce and art,—and the great mass, possessing nothing, living in a forced dependence on the owners of capital and of the instruments of labor, and compelled for a precarious and decreasing return to hire out their muscles, their skill, and their time to their new feudal lords.

This is no dream; it is no prophecy; it is a piece of contemporaneous history. We are advancing with rapid strides, we repeat, towards the constitution of a new aristocracy,—one as odious as it is ignoble—one, which unconsecrated by hereditary remembrances or actual deeds of valor, derives its only distinction from the ineradicable baseness and tenacity of its love of money. The fact characterizes our whole modern civilization. It is a phenomenon, not peculiar to any one civilized nation, but which is developed in every State in a degree corresponding to the advancement of its industry. It follows, step by step, in the tracks of commerce and manufactures. Great Britain presents the most signal example of the concentration of capital in the hands of a few, but the awful contrasts of her social condition are fast being rivalled by Belgium and France. Our own country abounds in the symptoms of the disease. Already the mere commercial dependants of England, we begin to exhibit traces of her vicious and corrupting form of aristocracy. Commerce is the controlling power in the country. It is enslaving every other branch of business. It is making every class of men its subsidiary. One of our most sagacious statesmen, Mr. Benton, long since had the sagacity to perceive this, although he did not have wisdom enough at the same time to discover the reasons of it nor the remedy. Our political battle, said he, is a battle between Man and Money. The Republican party caught up the saying, and has struggled desperately to resist the stream of moneyed influences that is bearing it onward to death. But, not knowing why nor wherefore, it has struggled blindly; the very means of reform which it often proposed, if carried out, would only have exaggerated the evil. It was not the Whig policy that was so much in the wrong; it was not because the law sanctioned banks that they suffered; it was not protective tariffs nor internal improvements that provoked the curse. These were bad enough, but lying back of them was a cause which was vastly more pernicious than either of them or all. For all have had their origin in the unorganized state of industry. To have repealed all monopolies, to have unloosed exclusive laws, to have given free scope to the existing energies of trade, in the want of such organization, would have aggravated the disorders of society. It could only have made the rich richer and the poor poorer. It would have accelerated the formation of that Aristocracy of Wealth which we are deploring, and against which so fierce a war has been justly but blindly waged for ten years.

§ IX.—THE INFEUDATION OF GOVERNMENT.

Yet the fact that the laws are made to sanction and sustain the overgrown monopolies of trade, is one of the most melancholy evidences of the extent to which the new feudality has advanced. So strong is it, that it is even strong enough, at this early period in its career, to grapple and overcome the strongest governments on earth. To what point soever in the civilized world we turn our eyes, we see that the Money Power is mightier than the Legislative Power. No matter what the form of the government, it is compelled to strike its colors before this formidable enemy. Monarchs, aristocrats, and republicans have alike fallen victims to the huge Juggernaut of Money. On the continent of Europe, we are told by good authority, that the canal and railway companies often rise in resistance of the designs of the government. But it is in this nation, where there are fewer restraints upon the insolence of the money power, (for the very reason that it is more democratic than any other,) that its manifestations have grown to an oppressive and overshadowing enormity. To such a height has its unbridled audacity been carried that we can hardly find language in which to describe the excess of its evils. Our general government, as well the governments of every individual state, have been made to succumb to its influences. What has been the aspect of our legislation for the last twenty years, nay, ever since the origin of the nation? Has it not been one unceasing struggle on the part of the possessors of wealth, either to secure past immunities, or to acquire additional privileges? Have not our legislative bodies been beset, day after day, and year after year, by the insinuating arts of the applicants for exclusive charters of all kinds? Has not the invention of mankind been exhausted in devising schemes for robbing the mass for the sake of the few? What plans have been left unbroached,—what iniquities untried? Banks to be controlled by the few; tariffs operating solely for the benefit of the few; private enterprises to be paid for out of the public purse; hypothecations of national stock in behalf of individuals or corporations; the borrowing of money to carry on works of partial or local character; these have constituted the staple topics of our legislative discussions. Our states, which in their origin were christened, and which we still call, Independent Sovereignties, have degenerated into menial trainbearers to stock-jobbing princes and fraudulent speculators. All their pride and dignity have been sacrificed to the selfish whims of the Mammonites. Their infeudation is well-nigh complete.

* We pass hurriedly over Commerce, because we intend giving it a full criticism hereafter.

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They are becoming, and in many respects, have become the vile, miserable vassals of their superiors,—the Money-Lords; bound hand and foot by the heavy chains of debt, and sold, body and soul, to the capitalists, either at home or abroad, who are their owners and masters. Bankrupt in purse; bankrupt, many of them, in honor; their future time and labor, their very sinews and muscles are alienated and pledged. Was there ever a serf, a vassal, a slave less free? Oh! it was no irony that which dubbed our knights of the bank-counter, with the title of Rag-Barons; or rather it was the keen and biting irony of strict truth! Nor was it a mere far-fetched party ruse to liken the famous Nicholas of the Bank to the *autocrat* Nicholas of Russia. He was one of the mightiest of autocrats, and the name stuck because it fit. No despots in the old world wield a more tyrannic power than the despots of our commercial system; none whose commands are more imperatively issued, or more speedily or more slavishly executed. The wave of a small metallic wand in Threadneedle street, London, will send an electric shock to the remotest corners of the globe. A handful of men, gathered in a back parlor of the Bank of England, paralyze the industry of millions, living thousands of miles off, and for a half century to come. Was there ever monarch who could do more than this?

We well remember reading, a few years since, in one of the most respectable organs of the Democratic party,* an article on the identity of the modern banking and the ancient feudal systems. It was a convincing demonstration of the likeness. It showed a close resemblance in every feature of the two systems, only that it made the banking system the ugliest. Yet what has that party done, or what can it do, to remedy the fact?

§ X.—Danger of social revolutions.

A condition of things such as we have been describing, cannot long continue. Universal monopoly cannot, in the age in which we live, be endured by the oppressed and suffering working classes. The notion of individual and equal rights which has fastened itself so deeply in the minds of men within the last few centuries, will prompt the people to rise against the institutions to which they ascribe the existence of this frightful evil. The growing hatred of the poor for the rich—a hatred which it is useless to deny—will every day grow more intense. Already among the chartists of England, a "black mutinous discontent," a hot feverish hatred of the wealthy is springing up. They are getting restless under their long discipline of a thin diet and hard labor. A notion is fermenting in their brains that society is bound to do more for them than to provide dirty poor-houses and bastiles. It will be a terrific explosion this fermenting notion will make, unless the weight of their superincumbent misery be removed. Let it be looked to in time.

Human beings are not mere commodities, whose price augments and diminishes with the supply in the market. Society owes them a guaranty of life and work. They possess a right to labor, which is the most sacred of all rights. Labor is their property; the highest form and source of all property. They have intellectual and moral faculties which must be developed. God has placed them on earth, to advance. What shall they do, then, with that society, which not only prevents them from advancing, but which degrades and brutifies them into natures worse than those of beasts? We say worse than beasts, because to the stupidity and unreasoning violence of animals, they often add the malignity of demons.

§ XI.—The social hell.

Thus we have stated that free competition tends to the formation of gigantic monopolies in every branch of labor; that it depreciates the wages of the working classes; that it excites an endless warfare between human arms, and machinery and capital, —a war in which the weak succumb; that it renders the recurrence of failures, bankruptcies, and commercial crises a sort of epemic disease; and that it reduces the middling and lower classes to a precarious and miserable existence. We have stated on the authority of authentic documents, that while the few rich are becoming more and more rich, the unnumbered many are becoming poorer. Is anything further necessary to prove that our modern world of industry is a veritable HELL, where disorder, discord, and wretchedness reign, and in which the most cruel fables of the old mythology are more than realized. The masses, naked and destitute, yet surrounded by a prodigality of wealth; seeing on all sides heaps of gold, which by a fatal decree they cannot reach; stunned by the noise of gilded equipages, or dazzled by the brilliance of splendid draperies and dresses; their appetites excited by the magnificence of heaped-up luxuries of every climate and all arts; provoked by all that can gratify desire, yet unable to touch one jot or tittle of it, offer a terrible exemplification of Tantalus, tormented by an eternal hunger and thirst after fruits and waters, always within his reach, yet perpetually eluding his grasp. Was the penalty of Sisyphus condemned to roll his stone to a summit, from which it was forever falling, more poignant than that of many fathers of families, among the poorer classes, who, after laboring to exhaustion during their whole lives, to amass somewhat for their old age or for their children, see it swallowed up in one of those periodical crises of failure and ruin which are the inevitable attendants of our methods of loose competition? Or the story of the Danaides, compelled incessantly to draw water in vessels from which it incessantly escaped, does it not with a fearful fidelity symbolize the implacable fate of nearly two-thirds of our modern societies, who draw from the bosom of the earth and the workshops of production, by unrelaxing toil, floods of wealth, that always slip through their hands, to be collected in the vast reservoirs of a moneyed aristocracy? Walk through the streets of any of our crowded cities; see how within stone's throw of each other stand the most marked and awful contrasts! Here, look at this marble palace reared in a pure atmosphere and in the neighborhood of pleasing prospects. Its interior is adorned with every refinement that the accumulated skill of sixty centuries has been able to invent; velvet carpets, downy cushions, gorgeous tapestries, stoves, musical instruments, pictures, statues and books. For the gratification and development of its owner and his family, industry, science, and art have been tasked to their utmost capacity of production. They bathe in all the delights, sensuous and intellectual, that human existence at this period of its career can furnish. They feel no cares; they know no interruption to the unceasing round of their enjoyments. Look you, again, to that not far distant alley, where some ten diseased, destitute and depraved families are nestled under the same rickety and tumbling roof; no fire is there to warm them; no clothes to cover their bodies; a pool of filth sends up its nauseousness perhaps in the very midst of their dwelling; the rain and keen hail fall on their almost defenceless heads; the pestilence is forever hovering over their door-posts; their minds are blacker than night with the black mists of ignorance; and their hearts are torn with fierce lusts and passions; the very sun-light blotted from the firmament and life itself turned into a protracted and bitter curse! Look you, at this, we say, and think that unless something better than what we now see is done, it will all grow worse! Oh heaven; it is an oppressive, a heart-rending thought! How well has one of our noble young poets uttered:

> I do not mourn my friends are false,
> I dare not grieve for sins of mine,
> I weep for those who pine to death,
> Great God! in this rich world of thine!
>
> So many trees there are to see,
> And fields go waving broad with grain,
> And yet, what utter misery,
> Our very brothers lie in pain.
>
> These by their darkened hearthstones sit,
> Their children shivering idly round;
> As true as liveth God, 'twere fit,
> For these poor men, to curse the ground.
>
> And those who daily bread have none,
> Half-starved the long, long winter's day,
> Fond parents gazing on their joy,
> Too wholly sad, one word to say.
>
> To them, it seems, their God has cursed,
> This race of ours, since they were born;
> Willing to toil, and yet deprived
> Of common wood or store of corn.
>
> I do not weep for my own woes,
> They are as nothing in my eye;
> I weep for them, who starved and froze,
> Do curse their God, and long to die.

§ XII.—Something to be done—and what?

What, then, in a world like this, is to be done? The question of questions is this! Either we are to close the shells of our selfishness around us, sinking down into the mire, with stupid indifference, or we are to address ourselves, at once, like noble and true-hearted men, to the solution of the difficulty. The fact of human misery is a broad and glaring one, written in characters of fire and blood across the whole earth. What is to be done with it—we iterate the question.

1. We remark that little or nothing is to be done by any form of political action, that we know of, using the word political only in its common application to the movements of government. And there are two reasons for this; first, that politics have accomplished all that is required of them to accomplish; and second, that their

* The Democratic Review.

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sphere is so limited, that they cannot be made to touch the source of the evil. We wish to say nothing here against any of our great political parties; but we do assert that the doctrines of either of them, carried out to the hearts' content of the most sanguine advocates of them, would achieve nothing in the way of social reform. The Whigs, by the system they propose, would only consecrate by law those abuses and distinctions which are the evidence and result of our rapid tendency to a commercial feudality. On the other hand, the Democrats, by the repeal of all restraining laws, would only give a broader field for the freer development of the elements of disorder—they would only deepen and widen the breaches in society opened by the operation of the principle of unlimited competition. The truth is, that there is everywhere spreading a secret dissatisfaction with the results of our political contests. Among our best minds, there has long been a conviction that the strife of politics was an utterly inane and useless one, fit only, like the bull-baitings and carnivals of older nations, to amuse the coarser tastes of the populace; while the people themselves are conscious of a growing indifference to the magniloquent appeals of statesmen and editors. It is now more than half a century since the controversies of our politics begun, and it would require the sharpest optics to discover in what particular they had advanced. There has been infinite labor with no progress. The same questions have been argued and reargued, without coming to a decision. We have heard speech after speech; we have seen election after election; the bar-rooms have resounded with appeals; the streets have reëchoed with clamorings; now this faction has triumphed, and now that; victory and defeat have alternated more swiftly than the changes of the moon; legislature and senate have met, and Presidents have fulminated; yet it does not appear, after all this noise and commotion, after all this everlasting talk and expense, that we are at all nearer to a conclusion, in these days of John Tyler, than we were in the days of Thomas Jefferson. If any one would be impressed with this view, let him compare the daily newspapers of the two epochs; he will find that with the change of a few names and dates, the articles of one might well answer for the pages of the other. Our long discussion seems to have been afflicted with the curse of perpetual barrenness. This protracted struggle, this ever renewed debate, has resulted, when all is told, to the net quotient—zero.

But let us not be understood as saying that there has been no progress in American society. God forbid! How could we say it, when we know that the mighty muscles of the human hand, the mighty powers of the human mind and heart, have been at work? How could we say it, when giant miraculous Labor has been felling the forests, and turning the glebe, and whirling the spinning jennies, and putting down its thoughts in words and deeds; when the spires of an hundred thousand school-houses point to the skies, when the fires of truth and self-sacrifice have glowed in many more thousand beings, when the noblest aspirations were ascending from millions of noble souls? Yes, we thank God, there has been progress: but it has not been by means of, so much as in spite of, our politics. We mean that our politics has never been thorough enough to touch the root of our social distress. It has now no vitality. All the sap has dried out and withered from our discussions. The old straw has been thrashed and rethrashed until it is reduced to the merest impalpable powder—out of which nothing can be made, not even snuff strong enough to tickle a grown man's notrils. Something deeper,—more searching, more comprehensive, more true—is wanting, to raise us from the slough into which we have lamentably fallen.

2. Our help, if any is to come to us, is to be found in the better adjustment of our social relations. The vice for which we seek a remedy is in the heart of society, not its extremities; and it is to the heart that we must apply the cure. What that cure may be, is partly indicated by the whole tenor of this essay. We have shown that capital and labor are at open war. The field of industry, in all its branches, is an eternal field of battle. Either capital tyrannizes over labor, or Labor, driven to extremes, rises in insurrection against its oppressor. One or the other of these effects inevitably follow the working of the system of unrestrained competition. How obvious the suggestion, then, that this competition must be brought to an end? If we can introduce peace, where there was before war, if we can make a common feeling where there was before antagonism and hatred, if we can discover a mode of causing men to work for each other instead of against each other,—then, we say, we have advanced a most important step towards the solution of the problem.

Now, the power which is able to effect this change, which can turn opposition into accord, divergence into convergence, contest into coöperation, is the principle of the ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY ON THE BASIS OF A UNION OF INTERESTS.

§ XIII.—UNITY OF INTEREST.

The three productive elements of society, the three sources of its wealth, the three wheels of industrial mechanism, are Capital, Labor, and Talent. Is it not conceivable that these three powers could be wisely combined so as to be made to work together, that these three wheels could be made to roll into each other with a beautiful harmony? Can we not suppose that for the anarchical strife of blind competition; that for the war of capital against capital, labor against labor, workman against workman and against machinery; that for general disorder, the universal shock of productive forces, and the destruction of value in so many contrary movements; might be substituted the productive combination and useful employment of all these forces? Most assuredly such an arrangement can be supposed; and why not accomplished? At any rate, does it not become our first and most imperative duty to seek out the conditions of industrial reconciliation and peace?

There is no radical antagonism in the nature of things; there is no eternal and necessary repulsion between the various elements of production. The frightful combats of capital against capital, of capital against labor and talent, of laborer against laborer, of masters against workmen and workmen against masters, of each against all and all against each, is not a remorseless and inexorable condition of the life of humanity. They pertain only to the actual mechanism of industry, to the system of chaotic and unregulated competition, to that liberty of whose triumphs we have boasted with such hollow and ill-timed joy. A better and truer mechanism, a nobler organic liberty, to which these awful evils do not adhere, can be found. The wisdom of man is able to discover, if it has not already under God discovered, an outlet to this labyrinth of suffering—a pathway upward from this dark, disordered, howling abyss.

This is what we mean by true democracy—a state in which the highest rights and interests of man shall be the means and appliances of a full development; and this Democracy, Constructive and Pacific in its character, becomes the object for which every benevolent and conscientious man should labor. How far we have already advanced towards the realization of it, and what yet remains to be done, shall be our topic in some future inquiry. Meanwhile, look to it, O ye people!

FRIEND BRISBANE:

A thought has just crossed my mind which I will put on paper for the Phalanx. But first I will record a fact, which is, that the world just now has two great wants—want of thought and want of bold honesty in expressing it. Lacon said long ago, (and it is surprising how old fashions come round again,) that "politicians had but two wants—want of principle and want of preferment." I for one think exclusive censure as unjust as wholesale censure is said to be, and consequently I would say to Lacon, were he among us,—pass your censure round; all deserve it. No one need plume himself at the expense of his neighbor. As an honest phrenologist once said to a lady who thanked heaven that she had not such a fault—"You have others quite as bad, madam," said he. And now to my thought. Civilization very much resembles an obstructed stream, which if it cannot flow on regularly to its home, overflows its banks, and checks and dams and all manner of appliances are continually needed to keep the mischievous waters somewhere. Say to the laborers, pull away your dams and obstructions, your system of repressions, and let the waters seek their home and they will inevitably find it, and they stare at you in amazement. They say if all this present mischief occurs with all our precautions, what will be the fate of the world if we follow your advice? For illustration: Men have preached temperance and instituted societies and pledges, and erected the battlements of public opinion high as the heavens, and what has been the consequence? Sad is it to tell, and yet gladdening for the moment. The consumption of tobacco, tea, coffee, and other stimulants, has increased in exact proportion to the progress of the temperance cause. "But is there no good in preaching temperance?" say you. Much good, because men will see these results, and see that a deeper work is needed than this repression, —even the giving man legitimate occupation for all his powers, which can only be done in Association. Much good, because men can think *rather* more clearly, poisoned with tobacco than when stupified with the arch destroyer. And though the poisons substituted in the place of alcohol destroy health, and bring daily

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misery, care and anxiety, the state of the victim is higher and better than that of the besotted one who abuses his wife and children with blows, and madness. Curb the erratic action of human nature ever so craftily in one direction, it darts off into some opposite evil. Only by giving legitimate direction and occupation to all man's faculties and powers is the whole evil that rests on Humanity to be removed. To those then who tinker the body politic we must say, "Though your craft is respectable as craft can be, your cunning enviable though it may be, yet as regards the great interests of Humanity you are doing naught, and naught. Rouse ye from petty pursuits—throw off your indolence—escape from your littleness, and work for Humanity. Study the Science of Man and the Universe. It is worthy of you—see that you are worthy of it.

I thought, friend B., when I commenced, to thank you for raising your voice for the Race so that you have been heard and responded to from Maine to Mississippi, but on second thought, I will thank God and say to you, ONWARD! Three years have wrought mighty results. Three years since, when I listened to your voice for the first time, I saw, it is true, glimpses of glory, but only glimpses. Ever since, the field of my vision has been widening. Then I looked upon the actualization of this great Idea as something in the far distance, something if I must confess it, like the planning of journeys to the moon. The fact was, I lacked Faith in God and Man. And this I opine is the condition of the majority of our race. They do not believe that the Destiny of man is holiness or *wholeness*, and consequently happiness. They do not believe that all the misery of the Race comes from its *incompleteness*, and that God is steadily going on to the completion of His work. This want of that Faith, which is the *substance* of things hoped for, the Divine energy or substance out of which and by which one whole or holy Ideal is created, leaves men sunk in inaction, or weak and puerile action. We want more Faith more of the Divine Substance. How are we to get it? By doing what our minds and hands find to do, honestly and earnestly. The condition of life and health is action. Be and do, and you shall do and be! There is work to be done. What true man can remain idle? Let the cry of our souls be—Onward for God and Humanity.

M. S. G.

TRANSLATION OF FOURIER'S WORKS.

From the London Phalanx: the remarks in [ ] are by the Editor, HUGH DOHERTY.

(INTRODUCTION TO THE THEORY OF UNIVERSAL UNITY CONTINUED.)

OBSERVATIONS ON THE PECULIARITIES OF METHOD IN THE FOLLOWING TREATISE.

Having treated of the duties which devolve upon science, and also of the general defects of scientific exploration, it remains for me to explain the method of proceeding in the new science of associative harmony.

The first requisite in this study is a little modesty on the part of the student, a limited degree of confidence in the guide who is acquainted with the subject thoroughly; but this is perhaps a difficult concession to obtain from Frenchmen, accustomed to see—

"Un auteur a genoux dans un humble preface."
(An author suppliant in an humble preface.)

In the present instance they will find the very contrary; a pilot who intends to conduct the bark of exploration, and lead the way to this new world of science. However learned he may be in other sciences, the reader should place himself amongst the students here, as I should place myself in receiving instruction from those who are well versed in the known sciences. A man who is the oracle of learning in his age, may honestly avow himself a tyro with his gardener, when grafting, or some other branch of culture, is the subject of instruction. In such a case, a Newton and a Leibnitz would be but novices, most probably, and would openly confess it; for modesty is natural to men of real genius. I hope that my countrymen will have sufficient modesty to understand that a discoverer of true principles is forced to contradict old methods and false views of science, which have misled the human race for ages, and that, if he were to reproduce delusive theories, he would not be an original inventor, but a sophist of another order in the sphere of error.

And yet, I know, the surest way of meeting with a good reception is to flatter men of science, and congratulate them on their rapid progress in "perfectible perfectibility." A strange condition of servility imposed upon inventors by inverse urbanity, to flatter and amuse unthinking pride. In France it is required, as Macarille affirms in the comedy, that "Roman history should be composed in verse, and sciences made easy in charades!"

The French pay no attention to the benefits to be derived from a discovery that has not been tested by experiment; they would read twenty volumes of a dry science that is known already, such as that of false political economy, if they thought it possible to discover the means of adding a few millions to the revenue, but when a new discovery enables them to pay off the whole of their national debt of several hundred millions, they require that the book in which the science is explained, should be amusing! And what is the consequence of this anomaly? Supply is suited to demand, and they obtain delusive flattery instead of useful science and discovery.

Another of their unreasonable demands upon inventors, is, "a pleasing style," like that of poets and romancers, though the special mission of the one class of writers is the "useful," and that of the other, the "agreeable." The "useful" is the proper element of an inventor, and when he succeeds in that, it is unreasonable to expect from him the "charms of style" peculiar to imaginative art, romance and sophistry. It is not in studying the art of sophistry and literary brilliancy that I have made discoveries; but in resisting arbitrary notions and the influence of delusive methods, I have entered a new world of science, which reveals the truths of human destiny, and dissipates the errors of false science.

Judicious readers, then, have only to consider whether or not I have discovered the invaluable science of Association; and in critically analysing the principles of this new science, they should not lay too much stress upon peculiarities of method which are not of primary importance. If the secret which has been concealed in mystery for ages, has at length been penetrated, it is not too much to give the method credit for being good, which led to the discovery; and probably, before the reader has completely mastered the new science, he will find that those peculiarities of method which appear most strange at first, are really the most essential.

It is not the dress, however, of the subject, but the thing itself, which is important, for a theory explained in a provincial dialect would be more valuable than the eloquence of Cicero, if it enabled us to treble the productions of industrial activity, and multiply tenfold the relative importance of the wealth produced: that is to say,

A *threefold real increase*, by obtaining three times as much real production from the earth; and

A *tenfold relative increase*, by obtaining for five hundred dollars in associative unity, as much comfort and refinement as can be obtained for five thousand dollars in the present system of disunited economy.

In offering such immense advantages to all classes, it would seem that my discovery should be at once received by all; but such is not the case, unfortunately, for there is one class in civilized society, that of the sophists, opposed to all discoveries which tend to neutralize their influence; and mine will not escape their opposition, for it ruins the authority of all their doctrines. I could have wished to reconcile all parties, but I apprehend it is impossible to please the votaries of false philosophy, who preach up toleration, but are most intolerant of useful innovation. I shall have to rebut the charges of sophists under three different forms: detraction, assumed authority, and controversial wrangling.

1st. *Detraction.*—It is usual to vilify all new discoveries on their first appearance, as the history of vaccination, steam-navigation, and other useful discoveries, will prove abundantly.

2nd. *Doctrinal supremacy.*—The philosophers whose doctrines happen to be highest in authority for the time being, require that every inventor should acknowledge their supremacy, and declare in an humble confession of faith, that if he has discovered any thing of value to society, he is indebted to them for the whole of the light which led to the discovery, and that without the aid of their sublime intelligence, he could not have known any thing: that he actually found, in fact, the principles he has discovered, in the learned writings of philosophers and sophists, politicians and economists; and that it is only his imperfect version of their perfect science of "perfectible perfectibility."

This right of sanction claimed by false philosophy is nothing less than sovereignty of opinion which it arrogates; a sort of feudal despotism and monopoly of judgment, exercised by those who speak and write continuously of "liberty and liberality."

Whenever I have met these sophists in discussion I have endeavored to impress upon their minds that my principles have no

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relation to their theories: but they will not admit of any such distinction: they insist upon the basis of the present system of individual economy, unattractive industry, civilized duplicity, and the "perfectible science of perfectibility in the perceptions of sensations" being admitted to be perfect without further investigation; and if this be doubted or denied completely or in part, they pronounce at once "Anathema!" declaring that whoever hesitates to make this small admission, can have no true understanding, nor be able to make any right discovery.

3rd. *Controversial wrangling.*—The learned world is affected with a mania for controversial wrangling similar to that of the ancient bretailleurs (hectoring swordsmen,) who made a point of quarrelling with new recruits to try their courage and their skill in arms, as soon as they had joined the regiment, allowing them no peace until they had passed through this vain ordeal; and since the modern sophists are affected with this mania, I must be prepared to meet their wrangling provocations and subdue them. I should not assume this attitude, if they were really as tolerant as they profess to be; but they are not.

I perceive that they are anxious to fasten the epithet of "visionary" on my theory, which dissipates all their visions of political economy and civilized "perfectibility:" it is my duty therefore to prove to the world that it is now intoxicated with scientific illusions, and that with all its "lights of rationality" and learned doctrines it has not yet made a single step in the divine career of social unity and real wisdom. To strengthen this assertion I will critically analyse three of the most predominant illusions of modern civilization: namely, *false liberalism*, *delusive liberty*, and *mercantile duplicity* or false "Free trade." I will also indicate the principles of truth in practice, diametrically opposed to these illusive notions of "practical liberty;" which true principles might easily be rendered practicable without ascending to a state of plenary association.

When these illusions have been dissipated, and many others made manifest in the course of this analysis, the moderns will be more disposed to doubt the rationality of their prevailing doctrines, and conceive the possibility of many sciences of vast importance to humanity being yet unkown and to be yet discovered. If men of science were already thus disposed in modesty to doubt the rationality of their delusive notions, which produce in practice quite the opposite effects of those proclaimed in theory, I should act be thus constrained to dwell protractedly on critical analysis, to prove the "simplism" or delusive incompleteness of such theories; but these critical discussions are indispensable with an age in which the pride of partial and delusive science swells and rises with the spread and agitation of increasing and convulsive misery. [It is a strange delusion which the world deems wisdom, and the real principles of truth and harmony must seem to those who view them through the present false medium of human wisdom as most singular. As strange as daylight seems to bats and owls and birds of night, so strange will universal principles of truth and light appear to minds accustomed to the darkness of delusive science; and the methods of harmonic unity will not appear less strange than universal principles.] But let us here apprise the reader of the general peculiarities of method in this treatise which may seem irregular and strange [to those who do not understand the principles from which they are derived, and which they represent by correspondency or adaptation.]

The leading points to be examined are the following peculiarities:

⋈ THE SIGNS.

1 Apparent exaggerations.
2. Dogmatic affirmations.
3. Peculiar distribution of parts.
4. Progressive instruction.
5. The marvellous.
6. The tedious.
7. The measured scales or numbers.

K THE EXCEPTION to general laws.

⋈ THE SIGNS.—I have been constrained to adopt certain signs to indicate the relative characters of new distinctions in harmonic order and series, one of which signs is that of the pivot ⋈, or principal distinction in a scale of functions. I use the letter K, as a sign of exception to a general function or transition from one law of order to another, The utility and even the necessity of these signs will be acknowledged when the reader has become familiar with the new science of universal order.

1st. *Apparent exaggerations.*—The results of associative unity are so exceedingly magnificent with regard to profit and advantage, that I have often been obliged to recommence my calculations several times, and sometimes to repeat the operation ten times over, to satisfy myself that there was no mistake in their simple arithmetical results: and even then I could hardly believe in the truth of arithmetic itself. In order to neutralize the appearance of exaggeration in these results, it will be necessary for the reader to examine well, and often probably, those sections in which they are particularly mentioned, such as the Note B (on the thirty-fold increase of wealth), in the xvth chapter of this book.

2d. *Dogmatic affirmations.*—One of the apparent peculiarities of method in this book, is, the formal dogmatism in which general principles are expressed, in contrast with received aphorisms. For instance, it is commonly affirmed, that, "We should love and practice virtue," which aphorism is thus translated in associative theory: "We should desire the good things of this world, and seek them constantly." This is a monstrous inversion of truth in the eyes of philosophers, but, in associative unity it will be found immensely preferable to their visionary dogma; for combinative equilibrium rests entirely upon wealth and truth united practically, and the only road to wealth and affluence, in association, is practical morality and truth, and as they mutually serve each other in a righteous community, it is proper that the most attractive (to an age of materiality) should be set forth most prominently, that the practice of the one may lead speedily to the possession of the other, and vice versa. The stronger the desire for wealth in such a state of things, the better, because a greater degree of beneficial activity and true morality must be developed to acquire it; whereas, at present, the love of wealth, is not generally a source of true morality.

From this it will appear, that many affirmations, true in application to a new and better state of society, when made dogmatically in the following treatise, may appear both strange and incorrect to those who cannot divest their minds of common applications in the present state of things, and keep in view a different state of things to which these affirmations are applied exclusively. And yet it is expedient that the public mind be gradually brought to a new view of things and precepts, a perfect counterpart of the present delusive state of things and notions; and one of the most effective modes of realising such a flexibility of vision, is, by using words and sentences dogmatically contrasted with the present forms of expression. [Nor is this contrasted mode of affirmation based on arbitrary notions, for the world in all its bearings and opinions is, at present, the exact reverse of what it ought to be in true society. It is inverted or turned upside down; the general law of its existence and relationships being false, and the exception only, being true in principle and action.] It will be seen, then, that the forms of contrast in expression with regard to general principles, which I shall use in this discussion, are exactly right in adaptation to first principles; and those expressions which are true, at present, in their general bearing, are inverted, even when complete. For instance, physical development or comfort is the first centre of attraction in the soul of man, the primary though not the principal necessity of his existence; and therefore, as this development can only be accelerated by the practice of morality and justice, in a true state of society, it is right to state it, as the primary centre of attraction, that morality and beneficial activity may be increased exactly in proportion to the energy with which material refinement is sought for: virtue and morality, in such a state of things, being the only royal roads to wealth. [This fact is now inverted in society, and thence the common precept is inverted, and becomes a visionary dogma of but little or no practical avail; for few attend to it in real life, though all embrace it as a vision, and persuade themselves that they admire it. They delude themselves and one another. They do not practice what they profess to believe, and, strange to say, they will not confess that they believe what they really practice: i. e. the practical desire of wealth and only the theoretical desire of virtue; because it is evident, that practical virtue does not lead to the possession of wealth in a false state of things.]

Another strange example of this dogmatic contrast with the received aphorisms of philosophy is this, that "Providence does not protect the poor, in *false society*, but dooms them purposely to misery and persecution, fraud and spoliation." Philosophers will answer that I wrongfully attribute to the will of Providence those evils which are imputable to the selfishness alone of the rich and influential members of society, or to the ignorance of legislative classes. The truth of my assertion is, however, undisturbed, and its apparent impropriety is neutralized by the words, "in false society:" for God does not approve of civilized duplicity as a final state of society, and He would be in contradiction with His own laws of Divine love and wisdom, if He permitted the laboring poor to obtain that comfort and refinement in a false state of things, which are only to be realized by the practice of truth and virtue in associative unity. This will become more evident, when we analyse the vices and corruptions of civilized duplicity and individualized or unattractive industry.

Numbers of these dogmatic contrasts of principles and precepts

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of morality will be discovered in the science of associative unity, which is based on principles and methods every way opposed to those in present use; particularly with regard to industry and mercantile transactions. This inversion of principles and maxims will extend through all the ramifications of commercial policy. Every individual kingdom, and sometimes individual provinces of the same kingdom, in civilization, deem themselves wise in trying to become independent of their neighbors, by cultivating on their soil all that they want for their own comfort and convenience, that they may not be tributary to their neighbors, even for exotic productions. This mania of subversive independency is carried to the extent of absolute absurdity in France, for attempts have been made to naturalize the cotton plant in Provence (in the south of France) instead of endeavoring to reinstate the orange tree, one of its natural productions, banished by the continuous deterioration of the climate, which deterioration threatens soon to banish, also, the olive from the same degree of latitude in France.

Associative policy is quite opposed to that of narrow-minded independency and false monopoly; it organizes every district so that each produces that for which it is superiorly fitted by its climate, soil, and relative position. Instead of trying to be independent of all other climates, and localities, each Phalanx tries to render every region of the globe tributary to its comfort and convenience, by exchanging its own superior productions for a due equivalent of other products, [without being overreached or spoliated by false commerce, or "free trade," unchecked by unitary regulations. Commerce will then be organized on principles of direct interchange, and freed from the delusions of false liberty, allowing agents of exchange to mingle and adulterate the natural productions of the earth, as they deem fit for their own profit only, and without regard to the health of the consumers.] The principles of commerce in associative unity will not allow the agents of exchange, or merchants, to become proprietors of that which passes through their hands, nor will they be allowed a profit upon what they hold and pass from one place to another: their functions and their salaries will be regulated otherwise in corporate association, the organization of which shall be explained in future publications. Meanwhile, the reader may understand that commerce, in associative unity, is based, like every other branch of industry, on principles in every way contrasted with those of civilized duplicity and irresponsibility.

3rd. *The peculiar distribution of parts.*—The reader will perhaps be struck with the peculiarities of distribution in this book, and its apparent strangeness. There is a reason, however, for this mode of distribution, which is in accordance with the progressive order of variety in a contrasted series. My reason for adopting this method here, is to fix the attention of the reader on the natural distribution of a contrasted series [a measured series of the third degree of development, analogous to the third or enharmonic scale of elementary tones, etc. in Music.] The method of distribution in series is that which has been adopted by God in the various orders of creation in the universe, and, according to the law of universal unity of system in the plan of Providence, this law of distribution must be applicable to the passions and attractions of the soul of man, and to the general relations of society, when organized according to the will of God.

Philosophers, in studying the various productions of Nature in the animal, the vegetable, and the mineral kingdoms, advise us to observe the beautiful arrangement of groups and series of groups, in which they are classed, and to make our classifications of genera, species and variety, according to this natural law of distribution: and botanists, even, notwithstanding the diversity of their systems, agree in following the natural method of distribution in groups and families, or series of groups in genera, and species, etc. etc. This law of distribution then, being everywhere observed in the material world, must be the divine law of unity and order, and therefore applicable to the passional or spiritual sphere of order, as well as to the natural.

[It is also applicable to the sphere of art, or human creation, and] such an application is peculiarly appropriate in the distribution of the parts of the first treatise on associative unity or moral and religious harmony, in which the subjects treated of are classed in adaptation to the laws of order and attraction in the human soul. It is, however, as a lesson or example of analogy in literary adaptation, corresponding to harmonic distribution, that the chapters of this book have been arranged in regular series, contrasted in ascending and descending progress and relationship. This preliminary Discourse is also divided into a simple series of three leading sections, or groups of paragraphs, with intermediate or transitional sections of less immediate connexion with the matter of a preface. The sections are contrasted thus, in a progressive or ascending and descending order:

Pre		Post	A simple series of inferior degree, having a beginning, a middle, and an end, with preliminary and intermediate sections, contrasted in progressive order.
CITRA	ULTRA		
Cis	Trans		
INTRA.			

This method of distribution has the advantage of aiding the memory of the student, and fixing the attention of the author on completeness.

In associative unity, all functions are distributed according to the method of series, which harmonizes unity with infinite variety, and without which, the passions and attractions of the soul fall into discord and subversion, individually and collectively [and hence the general disorder of society at present.] As a lesson of distributive analogy, I have divided the chapters and the parts of this volume, into a measured series of the third degree, exactly corresponding to the distribution of our solar system and the elements of music. It is one of the most useful distributions also, of the corporations of industrial activity and art in a Phalanx, and the student should endeavor to become familiar with it, as a means of progress in the science of universal harmony.

[It is a measured or combined series consisting of a major and a minor scale of elementary degrees, contrasted in progressive order with a common centre of unity, and neutral or ambiguous links connecting the whole in one collective series; thus:]

12—Chapters of Prolegomena, or abstract theory, [analogous to pure science or spirit or mind, and therefore of *major* correspondency.]

12—Chapters of mixt theory or the practical application of science to art and industry [analogous to matter or material existence, and therefore *minor* in correspondency.]

⋊—One central or principal subject divided into four parts, or contrasted aspects; namely, two pivotal and two counter-pivotal sections: thus—

The Spiritual Aspect of Universal Unity.	Y—*Direct.*—On the unity of man with God, and the immortality of the soul.
	X—*Inverse.*—On the unity of man with the universe: Universal analogy.
The Material Aspect of Universal Unity.	⋊—*Counter Direct.*—On the melioration of climates, and the material unity of the globe.
	⋉—*Counter Inverse.*—On the aromal unity of the globe, and of subversive creations in the animal, the vegetable and the mineral kingdoms. Of cosmogony in general, and of past, present, and future creations in the universe.

4—Secondary Parts relating to universal unity; namely, two Introductory Sections and two Extroductory Sections.

4—Intermediate Parts, relating to various subjects of universal import, but, more or less remote from the immediate subject of consideration: namely, two series of incidental sections, affirmative and critical; and two series of minor sections and curious dissertations. [These intermediate sections form links between different chapters, as the bat forms a link between birds and quadrupeds.]

This series contains 32 divisions, then, besides the four aspects of universal unity, which, being pivotal or unitary, are not to be counted as numerical or analytical distinctions. [If the unitary aspects were added to the analytical distinctions of a measured series of the third degree, the total number of correlative divisions would be 48 instead of 32.] Those who do not understand the natural laws of distribution in series, and their importance in material and moral harmony, will probably suspect that these are fanciful distinctions; nor shall I attempt to justify them here, but leave the subject for a special treatise on the laws of universal order and organic distribution; meanwhile, this method is as good as any other, even for those who are accustomed only to the common methods of literary distribution. [If it be offensive to the vanity of some, who think that every thing is perfect which they have learned, it will be useful as a lesson of analogy to those who wish to learn the laws of universal harmony.]

Without being thoroughly explained in principle and in detail, it satisfies already two of the acknowledged rules of literary art: namely,

"Tantum series juncturaque pollet, etc."
"Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures, etc."

When once the reader has become familiar with this method of

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distribution in series, it will be found most advantageous to the memory, in general classifications of matter. I have often found the works of our most celebrated authors, tiresome for want of a regular and graduated classification of parts. The measured or combined series, contrasted in progressive order and gradation, is the method which God has adopted most generally in distributing the various orders of harmony in the universe. Applied to literary art, it is as advantageous to the author as to the reader; and when I have explained it thoroughly, it will be universally adopted, for it offers numerous resources for developing variety subordinate to unity, and may be rendered applicable to every subject.

PROGRESS OF ASSOCIATION.

PRACTICAL MOVEMENTS.

E. P. Grant, Esq., of Canton, Ohio, a gentleman of high standing, superior talents, and indefatigable energy, who is at the head of the movement to establish the American Phalanx, which is to be located on the banks of the beautiful Ohio, informs us by letter, that "the prospect is truly cheering: even that greatest of wants —capital—is likely to be abundantly supplied; there will indeed be some deficiency during the ensuing spring and summer, but the amount already pledged to be paid by the end of the first year, is not, I think, less than $40,000, and by the end of the second year, probably not less than $100,000; and these amounts from present appearances can be almost indefinitely increased. Besides the proposed associates are *devoted* and *determined*, resenting the intimation of *possible* failure, as a reflection unworthy of their zeal."

Mr. Grant has been to Columbus, the capital of the State, to obtain from the Legislature, a charter for the American Phalanx: whether he will succeed we do not know. This, however, is not essential, although we deem it better for Associations to have charters. We have a deep interest in this important practical movement, and we trust that every man engaged in it, will be impressed with the high character of the enterprize; the whole West is looking at them, and the responsibility they have assumed —the bold blow they are about striking, should make them sink all considerations of a minor and personal nature—which we have no doubt they will do, and enter upon the great work as a devoted band of brothers. Let them remember that a practical failure ruins in the eyes of many a theory or doctrine, no matter how true it may be in principle, or what causes may produce the failure. Success is the only criterion of truth with the world in general.

T. C. Leland, Esq., a most energetic laborer in the cause of Association, who has been lecturing for some months past in the western part of the State of New York, and who has visited nearly all the towns and villages in that region, writes us word, that he has been on a tour with Mr. Fish, who is one of the leading men interested in the Sodus Bay Association, for the purpose of obtaining subscriptions to its stock. "So far," says Mr. Leeland, "we have met with unexpected success, and without doubt, we shall be able to purchase the tract at Sodus by the 1st of February."

He informs us also that steps are taking to form another Association at North Bloomfield, seventeen miles south of Rochester; its officers, he says, are men of standing and wealth, and for an inland tract, they have a grand location. Everywhere the doctrines of Association are becoming better understood, and enlisting the favor of the people; the cause progresses in western New York with astonishing rapidity.

We have received a letter from a friend of the cause at Dighton, Mass., stating some objections that have been raised by skeptics, and desiring answers. We have not space in the present number of the Phalanx to give them, but in our next we will comply with his request, and make the points clear of which he speaks. The principle objection relates to the Sacred Legion and the spirit of self-sacrifice in the combined Order; a part of our doctrine which we are anxious to explain, as we observe that it has been misunderstood in some other quarters.

We have printed a second edition of the Tract, entitled: What is Association? (price, one dollar per hundred.) We would recommend to the friends of the cause, to obtain and circulate it in their neighborhoods. It contains a very brief outline of the system, and is calculated to call attention to larger works. The tract is on one sheet, and can be sent by mail for newspaper postage. Orders sent to the Editors of the Phalanx will be attended to.

The Brook Farm Association, near Boston, is now in process of transformation and extension from its former condition of an educational establishment mainly, to a regularly organized Association—embracing the various departments of industry, art, and science. At the head of this movement, are George Ripley, Minot Pratt, and Charles A. Dana. We cannot speak in too high terms of these men and their enterprize. They are gentlemen of high standing in the community, and unite in an eminent degree, talent, scientific attainments and refinement, with great practical energy and experience. This Association has a fine spiritual basis in those already connected with it, and we hope that it will be able to rally to its aid, the industrial skill and capital necessary to organize an Association, in which productive labor, art, science, and the social and religious affections, will be so wisely and beautifully blended and combined, that they will lend reciprocal strength, support, elevation and refinement to each other, and secure abundance, give health to the body, development and expansion to the mind, and exaltation to the soul. We are convinced that there are abundant means and material in New England now ready to form a fine Association; they have only to be sought out and brought together.

We shall publish, in our next, the Constitution adopted for the new Organization, and an introductory statement;—our paper was set up before we received them.

Extract from a letter received from W. S. Prentiss, Secretary of the Lagrange Phalanx, situated in Springfield, Lagrange Co., Indiana.

"We have now about thirty families, and I believe might have fifty, if we had room for them. We have in preparation and nearly completed, a building large enough to accommodate our present members. They will all be settled and ready to commence business in the spring. They leave their former homes, and take possession of their rooms as fast as they are completed. The building, including a house erected before we began, by the owner of a part of our estate, is above one hundred and ninety-two feet long, two stories high, divided so as to give each family from twelve to sixteen feet front, and twenty-six feet deep—making a front room, and one or two bed-rooms: 120 feet of this building is entirely new. We commenced it in September, and have had our lumber, brick and lime to haul from five to twelve miles; all these materials can be hereafter furnished on our own domain. Notwithstanding the disadvantages and waste attendant on hasty action, without previous plan, we shall have our tenements at least as cheap again as they would cost separately. Our farm contains about 1500 acres of excellent land, 400 of which is improved, about 300 of rich meadow, with a stream running through it, falling 12 feet, and making a good water power. We are above forty miles from Fort Wayne, on the Wabash and Erie canal. Our lands—including one large new house, and 3 large new barns, also a saw-mill in operation, cost us about eight dollars per acre. It was put in as stock, at $10 31, for improved, and $2 68 for unimproved. We have about 100 head of cattle, 200 sheep, and horse and ox teams enough for all purposes. Also farming tools in abundance—and in fact everything necessary to carry on such branches of business as we intend to undertake at present, *except money*. This property was put in as Stock, at its cash value. Cows at $10, sheep $1 50, horses $50, wheat fifty cents, corn twenty-five cents, &c. We shall have about 150 persons, when all are assembled; probably about half of this number will be children at school. Our school will commence in a few days. We have a charter from the Legislature, one provision of which, inserted by ourselves, is, that we shall never as a Society contract a debt. The name of our Society is the "Lagrange Phalanx." We are located in Springfield, Lagrange county, Indiana. The nearest Postoffice is "Mongoquinong." We think our location a good one. Our members are 73 of them practical farmers, and the rest mechanics, teachers, &c. We shall not commence building our main edifice at present. When our dwelling-rooms now in progress are completed, and such workshops as are necessary to accommodate our mechanics, we shall stop building until more capital flows in—either from abroad, or from our own labors. It is a pity that the mechanics of the city and farmers of the country, could not be united. They would do far better together than separate. We have two of the best physicians in the county in our number, and with us."

It appears that an Association is in process of organization at Lexington, Lagrange Co., Indiana. A gentleman, in writing for the Phalanx, says: "The Association just organized at this place, already numbers over two hundred—men, women, and children; and is in as flourishing a condition as could be expected. Mr. Samuel Bradford, is President.

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LERAYSVILLE PHALANX.

An Industrial Association, which promises to realize immediately the advantages of United Interests, and ultimately all the immense economies and blessings of a true and brotherly Social Order, is now in progress of organization near the village of Leraysville, town of Pike, and county of Bradford, in the State of Pennsylvania.

The amount of nearly fifty thousand dollars has been subscribed to its stock, and a Constitution nearly identical with that of the North American Phalanx, in Monmouth Co., N. Jersey, has received the signatures of a number of heads of families and others who are preparing to commence operations early in the spring. Thus the books are fairly open for subscription to the capital stock, only a few thousand dollars more of cash capital being needed for the first year's expenditures.

About fifteen hundred acres of land have already been secured for the Domain, consisting of adjacent farms in a good state of cultivation, well fenced and watered, and as productive as any tract of equal dimensions in its vicinity.

Its location is on the head waters of the Wysou and Wyaluring Creeks, branches of the Susquehanna, and about sixteen miles from that river. The New York and Erie Railroad will pass within about seventeen miles of the Domain on the North, and the Susquehanna Canal, when complete, within the same distance on the South. There are now on the premises several good houses, barns and other buildings for temporary use, until the permanent Edifice of the Association shall be erected. The construction of this will be progressive, as the wants and means of the Company shall warrant. An adequate quarry of building stone is opened on the Domain, only half a mile distant from the proposed site of the Edifice, requiring for the transportation of the material merely a railroad of wood, the track of which will have sufficient declivity to enable cars to descend by their own gravity. Limestone is likewise found near the Domain. Forests of timber and domestic fuel are on the premises. Two Saw Mills are already in operation; and a Woolen factory which has been some years in successful operation, situated on an adjoining farm, will probably be exchanged for the stock of the Company.

Good water can be carried to the second story of the Edifice from a permanent spring situated one-eighth of a mile distant. There is also water-power supposed to be sufficient for all the Mills and Machinery required by the Association. During the first year it is proposed to limit the operations to the erection of a grist-mill, a store and a few temporary work-shops for the most important of the Mechanic Arts, besides cultivating and arranging the Domain, and commencing the principal Edifice if possible.

Good Mechanics, capable of conducting the following branches of industry, are needed immediately:—Stone-masonry, plastering, slating, house-joinery and carpentry, tailoring, shoe-making, cabinet-making, chair-making, carriage-making, saddlery and harness-making, blacksmithing, and tin-ware manufactory.

All Capital must be entered as Stock; thus the Association will be free from debt, except to its own members; and every individual who enters the Phalanx must be exempt from pecuniary liability.

The interest paid to Capital is six per cent., per annum, in addition to a contingent dividend of one-fourth of a surplus revenue specified in the Constitution.

The compensation of labor and skill is apportioned by the Executive Committee, consisting of sixteen members, elected annually, and the chiefs of groups, as is their portion of the contingent surplus already named.

The special guaranties of this Association are,

Firstly. Constant and chosen occupation, with its full reward.

Secondly. The support and education of all orphan children belonging to the Phalanx, until they arrive at twenty-one years of age; at which time, in case the products of their industry have exceeded the expenses of support, the excess is to be paid to them by the Executive Committee acting as their guardians.

Thirdly. A comfortable maintenance for those sick, aged and decrepit members, who have no means of self-support.

As Doctor Lemuel C. Belding, the active projector of this enterprise, and several other gentlemen, who have united their farms to form the Domain, are members of the New Jerusalem Church, it may be fairly presumed that the Leraysville Phalanx will be owned mostly by members of that religious connexion, although other persons desirous of living in charity with their neighbors will by no means be excluded, but on the contrary be freely admitted to the common privileges of membership.

Application for copies of the Constitution, propositions for the purchase of stock, and applications for resident membership with credentials may be addressed *post-paid* either to the Rev. Lemuel C. Belding on the premises, or to Solyman Brown, 13 Park Place, New York.

We are very much pleased with this little Phalanx, which is now starting into existence. Rev. Dr. Belding, the clergyman at the head of it, is a man of sound judgment, great practical energy, and clear views—not merely a theologian, talking only of abstract faith and future salvation. He knows that "work is worship," that order, economy and justice must exist on earth in the practical affairs of men, as they do wherever God's laws are carried out, and that if men would pray in *deed*, as they do in *word*, those principles would soon be realized in this world.

He enjoys the confidence of the people around him, and unites with them practically in the enterprise, setting an example by putting in his own land and other property, and doing his share of the LABOR. They who have engaged in the enterprise, have good farms, flocks and teams, and some workshops and manufactories; they have the elements of an Association; all they have to do is to unite, associate their interests, form a joint-stock property of their isolated properties, build a large and commodious Edifice, and organize upon principles of unity, economy and justice, the various branches of agricultural, manufacturing and domestic labor. As they are well acquainted with and have confidence in each other, they can do all this; each individual knowing and feeling satisfied that the community or association will be governed in its industrial and financial operations by principles of justice, of love to the neighbor and religious unity.

The latter is a great point to be obtained. In our perverted societies, the social affections, the rights of our fellow-men, the "love of the neighbor," in short, are trampled under foot from individual, selfish and worldly motives: but when we can find a body of men in whom the sacred sentiment of doing justly and rightly by their fellow-men, is kindled, then Association is an easy and natural thing, and success is absolutely certain. However smothered this sentiment is at present in the souls of men, we assert that it can be aroused in the immense majority, when the false, perverting and harrassing social influences which surround them, are done away with, and in a generation raised in the Combined Order, it will burn in all hearts, and reign supreme over what is called the selfish nature of man. He who says it cannot, calumniates Man—and God whose work he is—and possesses a soul filled with doubt and distrust and darkness.

WESTERN NEW-YORK INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION.—This Association have purchased, at the mouth of Sandy Creek, in the town of Clarkson, in this county, a tract of land of seventeen hundred acres, at a few cents over twenty dollars per acre, with good water power, two saw mills, grist mill and other buildings. They have under consideration other property adjoining, that has been offered them at a fair price, sufficient to make the whole domain 3,000 acres. They have paid, in stock and exchange of other property, and secured altogether, about $10,000, and have, besides, almost all the teams or horses and oxen, and cows, sheep, hogs and bees, that they may require for the working and stocking of the farm. On the first of February a hundred mechanics are preparing to move on to construct the workshops for the different mechanical branches, and to erect temporary buildings for the accomodation of the rest of the members who go on the first of April.

The members have arranged their purchase so that good, unincumbered city property to the amount of $13,000 will be taken in payment for their domain, and the balance in six and nine years.

Applications for membership may be made to Simeon M. Dagget, Frederick S. Church, Esqs., Clarkson; David Bonesteel, on the Domain; Dr. Moses B. Gage, Kendall, Orleans Co.; Samuel M. Porter, Holley, Orleans Co.; Marvin Smith, Richmond, Ontario Co.; and in Rochester, before the 1st of February, to Thomas Pound, E. A. Theller, Henry S. Randall and Hiram Carmichael, as after that date they will be on the domain.—[*Rochester* Democrat.

(From the Fulton Sun, Oswego Co. N. Y.)

ASSOCIATION.

Some of the friends of association on the Fourier System in this place, visited the Association at Watertown last week, and at the request of the friends generally in this village, they met them on Tuesday evening of this week, to give them such information as they had obtained. It was of a practical nature, highly interesting and useful, and went to show very clearly the importance of adhering *strictly* to the principles and regulations laid down by Fourier.

We hope that such as regret the cringing servility to which many of the aristocrats of our country are but too successful in reducing the poor in their employment, will examine this system thoroughly; and we are sure they will find in it a remedy. They will see how easy it is for men uniting their means together and furnished with a direction for the proper application of their labor, to successfully resist oppression, before which, single-handed they could not stand. They will find what cannot fail to interest the feelings of the Philanthropist and the Patriot,

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that the tendency of the system is to elevate man from a state of poverty and servile dependence to a competency and a consciousness that they occupy a responsible station among their fellow men which demands the exercise of an influence in favor of equal rights and the improvement of the condition of the human race and the elevation of their character.

Notice was given that A. M. Watson Esq., President of the Association at Watertown, would lecture here in about two weeks, definite notice to be given on ascertaining the precise time.

A resolution was passed directing the publication of the proceedings of the meeting in our paper, but not having room to insert them at length this week, we give this condensed view of them, accompanied by a few thoughts suggested by the remarks of the speakers on the occasion.

We have received communications from different parts of the county assuring us of a rapidly increasing interest on the subject.

We take occasion in this connection to correct a misapprehension in regard to "the Jefferson County Association." A paragraph going the rounds of the papers, states, that it intends emigrating to Iowa territory in the spring; this is an error; it is another Association formed in the same county, called the Iowa Pioneer Phalanx, that will go there, and which has been confounded with it.—[EDITORS PHALANX.

(From the Primitive Expounder, Ann Arbor, Michigan.)

ALPHADELPHIA ASSOCIATION.

Notice is hereby given, that a Fourier industrial Association, called the Alphadelphia Association, has been formed in this State, under the most flattering prospects. A constitution has been adopted and signed, and a domain selected on the Kalamazoo river, which seems to possess all the advantages that could be desired.

The officers of this Association will open Books to receive subscriptions for membership and stock on the first Monday of February next, at the following places namely:

Bellvue, Eaton Co.	Henry D. Hall's store,
Battle Creek,	Charles Mason's house,
Marshall,	Sam. Camp, (shoe store)
Comstock,	Harvey Keith's house,
Columbia, Jackson Co.	Amos Picket, "
Spring Arbor,	William Grant, "
Ann Arbor,	H. R. Schetterly, "
Franklin,	Winthrop Worthing,
Birmingham,	Rev. A. H. Curtis,
Northville,	S. Hungerford and E. Morse,
Unadilla,	William S. Mead,

The books will be opened during six days, and any subscriptions in them will be considered merely proposals, and not binding upon any person; the object being to collect statistics to enable the Association to elect its officers at its first annual meeting, notice of which will be given by the President as soon as the Legislature shall have granted a charter.

Let all persons who desire to join, give accurate information on all the points stated below.

It is extremely probable (judging from the information possessed) that only half the applicants can be received into one Association, because the number will be too great: and if such should be the the case, two Associations will doubtless be formed; for such is the enthusiasm, especially in the west, that people will not suffer themselves to be disappointed.

All persons applying for membership or stock, or both, will state their ages, occupation or occupations, (if they are able to pursue more than one to advantage.) If the proposer has a family, he, or she, will state the number of persons in it, their ages and sexes, respectively, and occupations of the older (if any.) The Association wants industrious laborers, as much as mechanics, artisans and manufacturers. If the subscription is for stock alone, or membership and stock conjoined, the applicant will state the probable amount at a fair cash value: and the kind—whether money, improved real estate, (for the Association will receive no unimproved land, detached from improvements,) animals of all kinds, farmer's implements, mechanic's tools, manufacturer's machinery, and every other kind of property which an Association can use. A thrashing machine, which requires four span of horses to move it, will be acceptable, if in good order; but no fanning mills, and but a very few ploughs, harrows, waggons, &c., will be wanted, compared with the number now used by the same number of farmers out of Association: those who go on the Domain in the spring, will have the first chance of supplying the demand.

Improved real estate will be received on the following conditions.—The Directors of the Association being chosen in reference to their ability to perform their duty equitably and impartially, will proceed to the Domain, and appraise it at a fair cash value, immediately after the first annual meeting: and then visit every other part of the State where improved farms have been offered, and appraise them in the same manner. No Director will participate in appraising his own, or his next neighbor's or relative's land. The Association will then issue certificates of stock for all the land of the domain: and the owners of lands elsewhere, will execute a power of attorney to the travelling agent of the Association, enabling him to sell or exchange them at the appraised value, and if they sell for more, the owner gets the overplus. The owner also has the right of selling at what price he pleases: and when the proceeds shall have come into the treasury, certificates of stock will be issued to the owner for the full amount of the proceeds. The owner of the land will have the control of it, and manage it as his own, till the agent or he shall have sold it.

Those who wish more extended information will find it in an Extra, containing the constitution &c. and for sale at all the places where books are opened, and by the following persons:

S. B. Morehouse, Albion, Norman Granger, Manchester, J. R. Bowers, York, Rev. C. P. West, Otsego, Rev. J. H. Sanford, Kensington, Doct. I. Smead, Pontiac, Capt. Proctor, Schoolcraft, E. Hunt, Union City, P. M. Litchfield, John Curtis, Norville. Price 6 cents per copy.

MEETING OF THE FRIENDS OF ASSOCIATION.

AT SOUTHPORT, WISCONSIN TERRITORY.

A meeting of the friends of "Association," as discovered and illustrated by the late Charles Fourier, was convened at the Village Hall, in Southport, W.T. on Monday evening, Dec. 11. S. FISH, Esq. was called to the Chair, and C. CLEMENT, appointed Secretary. The following Preamble and Resolutions were submitted and adopted.

Whereas, Mankind are free to admit that there exists in the world a vast amount of human suffering, which they are unwilling to charge upon their Maker, and equally unwilling to attribute to *themselves*, they thereby leave the source of their miseries wholly undefined.

A certain few attribute all the evils of life to a *dark and mysterious Spirit*, (to whom we think is ascribed more influence than he is permitted to possess) and believing man was created to be miserable on earth, they look upon every *secular* effort to ameliorate his condition, as invading the precincts of the Church, whose doctrines they claim the *sole privilege* of expounding; and proclaim that unless the evils of mankind are eradicated by the diffusion of their established dogmas, all attempts to accomplish it must be visionary and fail of success.

There are other classes whose interests clash with a better state of things; whose income will be circumscribed, when ignorance, vice and misery shall be supplanted by education, virtue, and happiness, and they therefore oppose the progress of Social Reform, as recommended by Charles Fourier, either because it will in a great measure stop the source of their unenviable gains, or because they do not understand its merits, and will not investigate its claims.

In whatever light we view man in his present social condition, we find his greatest *enemy to be man*. Such a state of things is unnatural, and to say that it cannot be remedied, is libellous upon the character of the Deity, and blasphemy for man to suggest.

The world has long been struggling against the unnatural state of things which the vices of earlier ages had induced, but without a proper point of union we continue to fight like the army which sprung from the sowa dragon's teeth of Cadmus, until we are all slain together. And until we fix upon a point where our interests are united, we shall be laboring to "damn the mountain stream with sand, and fetter fire with a flaxen band."

We believe, that the new social organization as discovered and illustrated by the late Charles Fourier, is well adapted to remove most of the causes of crime and misery which now exist, and to confer innumerable benefits upon mankind. Therefore it is,

Resolved, 1st. That we associate ourselves together to be known as the Fourier Club.

2nd. That we unite our efforts and our means for the procuring and disseminating a full and general knowledge of Fourier's principles of Social Science throughout our new and flourishing territory.

3rd. That we will meet once in each week for the purpose of hearing lectures upon, and discussing the principles of this science.

4th. That in no portion of our country is concert of action and associated strength more necessary than in the north-west, from the fact that capital is deficient and the demand for it great, which gives to the unprincipled the power of extorting to the fullest extent which miserly avarice will allow.

Finally, That when we contrast the present condition of man as viewed in his isolated household, his unavoidably useless expenditures, his unpaid labor, his wasted and unemployed time, his uneducated children, and his thousand unsatisfied wants, with that better state which common sense teaches, will flow from a unity of interests with combined wealth and knowledge, and effort, we feel it a duty we owe to ourselves, to our children, and the community at large, to lose no time in testing its benefits practically, in order that we can better and sooner recommend it to the world.

The meeting adjourned until Friday evening next, when a lecture will be delivered by Dr. Parnell, on the subject of Association.

C. CLEMENT, Secretary. S. FISH, President.

At a meeting of the *Southport Fourier Club*, holden at the Village Hall, pursuant to adjournment, on the evening of the 22nd inst., an able and appropriate Address was delivered by Doctor PARNELL on the su

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ject of ASSOCIATION; after which the object of the meeting having been stated by S. FISH, Esq., Chairman, the following By-Laws were presented by a committee previously appointed for that purpose.

Article 1. This Society shall be known by the name of the SOUTHPORT FOURIER CLUB. Its object shall be to investigate the Social System discovered by CHARLES FOURIER.

Art. 2. Its officers shall consist of a President, Recording and Corresponding Secretaries, and a Treasurer; and these four shall compose *ex officio*, an Executive Committee.

Art. 3. All of its officers shall be elected by vote, and shall hold their offices for six months, and until others are elected in their stead.

Art. 4. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at all regular meetings of the society.

Art. 5. It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to take charge of all books and papers belonging to the Club—to deliver any book or paper belonging to the Club in his possession, to any member not having one, at any time on application—to keep records of all regular meetings, and all important business transacted by the Society or its Executive Committee.

Art. 6. It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to carry on all written correspondence which the Society or its Executive Committee may direct.

Art. 7. It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to collect all assessments or other moneys which the Society may from time to time direct—to pay out such moneys as the Society or its Executive Committee may order, and to keep an exact account of all such moneys received and paid out—reporting whenever called upon by the Society.

Art. 8. It shall be the duty of the Executive Committee (afte choosing their own Chairman) to execute and carry out all orders of the Society and bring before it such measures as they may deem proper, for disseminating its principles and carrying out the designs of its formation. It shall also be their duty to call a meeting of the Club at any time they may think proper by notifying the members thereof.

Art. 9. It shall be the duty of the members to attend all regular meetings of the Club—to vote on all questions and motions before it—to return all books and papers drawn by them from the Secretary to him within six days from the time of receiving the same—to conduct themselves with order and decorum in all meetings—to pay all taxes levied by a vote of the Society—and to use all due diligence for investigation and furthering the object of the Society.

Art. 10. Any person may become a member of this Club, by subscribing to these articles and paying to the Treasurer *twenty-five cents.*

Art. 11. This Society may be dissolved at any regular meeting, by a vote of two-thirds of the members present, notice thereof having been given at a previous meeting; and in case of such dissolution, the Club may dispose of their funds and library as they shall deem proper.

Art. 12. These articles may be added to, altered or amended at any regular meeting, by a majority of the members present.

Which having been adopted, the following officers were elected:

THEODORE NEWELL, President.
LESTER ROUNDS, Rec. Secretary.
WARREN CHASE, Cor. Secretary.
R. B. WALDO, Treasurer.

On motion, resolved that the Corresponding Secretary procure six copies of the *Phalanx, or Journal of Social Science*, for the use of the Club; after which the meeting adjourned.

LESTER ROUNDS, Secretary. T. NEWELL, President.

From THE PRESENT for January, we take the following, relating to the Convention held at Boston, in December last.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

SOCIAL REFORM CONVENTION AT BOSTON.

I. PERSONS PRESENT, THEIR NUMBERS AND MOTIVES.

THIS convention marked an era in the history of New England. It was the commencement of a *public movement* upon the subject of Social Reform, which will flow on wider, deeper, stronger, until it has proved in *deeds* the practicability of societies organized, from their central principle of faith to the minutest detail of industry and pleasure, according to the ORDER OF LOVE. This movement has been long gathering. A hundred rills and rivers of humanity have fed it.

1. The *Christian Spirit* of the Sons of the Pilgrims, wearied by polemics, earnest for fuller actualization of brotherhood in the business and labors of daily affairs, strengthened by endless efforts of benevolence, and yet disheartened at the small results of public and private charities, looks with longing to plans which seek to substitute *radical justice* in production, distribution, and use, for *superficial alleviation* of wrongs. The Christian Conscience of our people sees that Society itself causes the very crimes which it punishes, the very wants which it taxes itself so insufficiently to supply. The holding pews in a meeting-house, assembling a few times in the week for devotion, and supporting a teacher and pastor, is felt to be a kind of association too utterly inadequate, to deserve the name of church-fellowship. The religious sentiment, concentrating upon the practical application of its professed principles, con-

a bond to unite those, whom the necessities and temptations of the world drive into selfish collision. By contrast with the law of love announced from our pulpits—our actual divisions into castes, separated by accidental circumstances—our daily cheatings, lyings, overreachings, abuses of power and opportunity—our competitions and rivalries, are admitted to be intolerable hypocrisies. Hospitals, almshouses, prisons, are loud comments upon the universal selfishness of our existing social relations. Strange obliquity! when we point to the very institutions, which are the horrible evidences of our accustomed inhumanity in the week day work of life, as monuments of the brotherly kindness, preached about and prayed for on days of rest. Either let us unblushingly assert that love is a visionary abstraction, sentimental nonsense, fit for poets to dream of, but unworthy the thought of practical men, or else let us prove that in fact it can govern *every occupation, and our whole intercourse*. So says the Christian Heart of Society to-day.

2. The various *partial Reforms*, which agitate our cities and towns, which send armies of lecturers, and scatter snow storms of papers and tracts over the land, which animate conversation around every private fireside and in every bar-room, steamboat, rail-car, all naturally and necessarily tend to central Social Reorganization. The *Abolitionist* finds, that his universal principles of Freedom and Human Rights apply to the serfdom of wages as well as to that of chains, to the oppressions of White and Black alike; and sees that nothing but an elevation of Labor to its true dignity everywhere, and an honoring of all men according to their genuine worth, can complete the work of redemption which he longs for. The *Non-Resistant* finds, that the wars which desolate the fruitful earth, waste national resources, engulf human energies, and make death a less evil than the hell of brutal passions thus set loose, are the final result of the petty wars of competition, which make each man in his own sphere an Ishmael; and sees, that legalized murders and penitentiaries, and the government of force can be put away, only by giving every human being the free development and exercise of his best powers in right and useful directions. The *Temperance* advocate finds the explanation of his brethren's excesses in the depressing influences of their monotonous employments, in their wretched homes, anxieties, coarse associations; and sees, that to cure society of the madness of intemperance, we must discover and use some healthful and pure stimulants, refining recreations, wider culture, steadier occupation, larger spheres of action and thought, nobler interests, above all freer access to the most elevating society. The *Moral Reformer* finds in the dependance of women, the meagre pittance paid for their services, the frivolity resulting from superficial education, the extravagant demands of fashion, the worldly selfishness of many, if not most marriages, the limited avenues opened for female energies, and the general tone of insincere flattery, an explanation of the hideous maelstrom of licentiousness; and sees, that nothing but the *securing for Woman an equally free career with Man* will enable her to attain the commanding power, which husbands, sons, brothers, fathers need to have forever poured upon them, to purify and soften their characters. It is seen, too, that the concealments which are possible in society, as now constructed, favor the outrages which pollute it; and that all need to live in the full light of a common conscience, of a common sense. The *Physiologist* finds, that excessive weariness, deforming labors, ill-regulated hours, bad air, adulterated food, want of abundance of water, wretchedly constructed houses, crowded dwellings, breed such a general miasm of disease and lassitude, that not one in a thousand reaches symmetric manhood; and sees, that rotation of occupations, country air, leisure and recreation, wholesome and well prepared viands, liberal baths, manly games, are indispensable means to cure the state of half-sickness, which unmans the moral and mental energies of so many, and spreads such a sorry dullness over cheerful spirits. And so we might go round the circle of the noble Reforms, which have stirred for years past with ever-increasing power the public mind, and show how each and all demand for their fulfilment, *associations of men and women, resolute to do perfect justice to human nature, by perfect obedience to the Creator's laws.*

3. The *Political* changes of the country tend to the same result of the peaceful establishment of juster relations in all details of social existence. It is seen, that the great parties which divide the country are but the aggregate of the little parties which divide every town, and that these again are but the concentrated expression of strifes which embitter the every day transactions of all kinds of business. *Unjust division of toils, unequal distribution of profits, isolation and opposition of interests*, is the radical difficulty, which the whole nation recognises The Capitalist knows, that every day the tenure of his possessions becomes more insecure, his investments less certain, from the restless experiments of those who, confident that they are not duly recompensed for their weary drudgery, resort to any new expedient, any new shift; and either from fear, if he is selfish, or from humanity, if he is generous, inquires for some mode by which he may aid to enrich a larger multitude without impoverishing his own family. On the other hand, the Working Man, longing under the stimulus of our free institutions, for social elevation, wishing thorough education and refinement for himself and children, sick of the petty frauds which cheat him at every side out of his hard earnings, in unkind relations with his employer, in unnatural competition with his fellow-laborer, feels that the rust of jealousy is eating into the golden links of his affections; and either learns to hate the prosperous,

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fesses that the structure of our religious societies is altogether too weak while conscious of his dependence upon them, and seeing, too, that the abasement of the richer classes would only make the poor poorer; or more brave and hopeful listens to every schemer, who proposes some new plan for obtaining "equal chances to equal capacities, and equal rewards to equal works." The endless succession and variety of the bankruptcies, also, which swallow up the distributing classes—the merchants and traders, wholesale and retail—point to radical errors in our commercial system, and stimulate Producers and Consumers to demand some mode by which they may be brought into close contact, without this prodigal drain of the means of both to feed these uselessly numerous hosts of go-betweens. And the Commercial body itself confesses what a dreadful waste of energy, talent, character, and alas! too often of conscience, there is, in this rush of hungry traffickers, hasting to seize on riches as the stepping-stone to respectability. Our national mania for wealth, making haggard so many cheeks, wrinkling so many brows, bending with premature cares so many manly forms, and converting life into a mint, where the clink of stamped coin drowns human speech, impels all who respect themselves and their brothers, to ask for some less costly mode of gaining those outward goods, which, when obtained, are but the foundation whereon to rear homes of affection and beauty, temples of love and wisdom, some more certain mode of procuring for the many the advantages, which now with all this merciless expenditure of power are insecurely possessed only by the few. And finally, the increasing spirit of liberty, the deepening respect for man, the conviction of the inevitable necessity of greater equalization of all conditions, gives resistless force to this demand for a union of all divided interests. In some manner civilized states must substitute co-partnerships for wages, and effect a division of gains graduated in proportion to the amount of energy or means expended, and the amount of profit realized. Bank or No Bank, Tariff or No Tariff, we must all co-operate to return to industry, in fairer ratio, the reward, which industry fairly earns. The Organization of Industry is manifestly the political problem now forced upon all by Providence, and the end must be some form of Association.

When even thus hastily we cast our eye over these many movements of reform, now mingling their floods in one grand river, may we not, must we not, find courage, hope and calmness in the thought, that it is Divine Will, not man's caprice which has brought this people to their present desire for Social Reorganization. The Love and Justice, which God has inspired, make in these varied modes the demand for communities based upon principles of true social order, where the energies of each shall be exerted for the good of all, and the well being of all shall react upon each individual, as in a living body the several members work together, suffer and rejoice together. This hope of peace and kindness, in all our relations of industry, education, enjoyment, intercourse, worship, so strong as it is in many hearts, so universal in its aim, is the prophetic spirit of the age. It was with a solemn conviction that they were acting under heavenly leading, that many went up to this Convention; and with the glad anticipation that they saw in each other's smiles the reflected light of dawn. The day after Christmas seemed bright with good omens. Many were there from a distance, and a most varied multitude from the immediate neighborhood and from the city. Come-outers of all shades of ultraism were side by side with Conservatives of most various degrees of consistency; mechanics and ministers, farmers and brokers, scholars and merchants, men and women of most dissimilar walks of life, listening and speaking together of what they felt was a common duty and a common want, for themselves and for all. The number of attendants and their interest increased to the end, as was manifested by the continuance of the meetings from Wednesday, December 27th, when the Convention had expected to adjourn, through Thursday and Friday. [The Convention was organized by the choice of William Bassett, of Lynn, as President; of Adin Ballou, of Hopedale, G. W. Benson, of Northampton, George Ripley, of Brook Farm, and James N. Buffum, of Lynn, as Vice-Presidents; and of Eliza J. Kenny, of Salem, and Charles A. Dana, of Brook Farm, as Secretaries.]

(To be concluded in next number.)

SOCIAL REFORM CONVENTION.

As an indication of the estimate put upon the late Boston convention, as well as of the great objects for which it was held, by persons in that section of the country, we take the following notice of it from the Essex County Washingtonian, published at Lynn, Massachusetts.

A great impulse has been given to the cause of Social Reform, by the late Convention held in Boston. It continued its sessions four days. We were present during the first three days, and never have we attended a meeting of so absorbing interest. This movement is incomparably greater than any of those for special reforms, inasmuch as it is more radical in its character, aiming to *uproot* the tree of which they seek only to destroy the branches. We believe that most of the crimes which stain the page of the world's history, and most of the evils which afflict humanity, grow out of, or are fostered by, the institutions of society. Society has ever blindly produced and perpetuated the evils it has sought to remove. As far, then, as false institutions are superseded by those in harmony with the constitution of man, these crimes and evils must, with their causes, disappear. This conviction is fast taking possession of the minds of the reformers of the present day, and it was this that brought together so numerous an assemblage of talent and moral worth, to labor with earnest hearts for the actualization of their great idea of Social Reorganization. All seeming to agree in this—this truth seemed to burn in every bosom—*that a reorganization of society in some form is the only remedy for the evils we deplore.* All were agreed that the system of hired labor must be repudiated; that the existing antagonistical relation between the employer and the employed must be abolished; and an order of society established in which the interests of the capitalist and the laborer shall be made one—in which the possessor of capital shall not reach forth his long and grasping fingers to filch from the pockets of honest industry all but the bare means of a scanty subsistence.

* * * * * * * * *

In saying these things, severe though they may seem, we would not be censorious—we would not deal out blame upon individuals, nor upon any particular classes of society exclusively, for this sad state of things. It is the fault of a false and corrupt system which has grown up in ignorance; which all—the oppressed as well as the oppressor—are sustaining, and to which *all* are victims. We would not be *destructives*. We would not spend our strength merely in inveighing against existing institutions. We would say no more than is necessary to enlighten men in regard to their true character. Our higher duty is, to affirm the great truths of social science which lie at the foundation of new institutions that shall supersede the old, and which, even now, in more than one instance, are being applied successfully to life.

* * * * * * * * *

The result of this convention cannot be otherwise than most cheering to the friends of humanity. It must have accomplished much in giving a right direction to the energies of many, whose strength has hitherto been wasted on the various futile and delusive schemes for relief which have absorbed the benevolent feeling of the community. An entire change of reformatory measures must follow the recognition of this great truth, which readily commends itself to the intelligent and reflecting mind—"Our evils are social, not political, and a social reform only can eradicate them."

GENERAL CONVENTION OF THE FRIENDS OF ASSOCIATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

A Convention of the friends of Association, based on the principles of Social Science discovered by Charles Fourier, is hereby called to be holden in the city of New York on the 4th, 5th and 6th of April next.

This Convention is called,

First—For the purpose of founding a United States Society for the propagation of the principles of Association and Social Unity, which shall be a common centre, rallying around it the efforts of all societies now formed and which may be hereafter formed, having the same objects, and establishing concert of action among them; and efficiently aiding, encouraging and directing individual laborers in the great work of social reformation, now progressing so rapidly in this country.

Secondly—For celebrating the Birthday of the immortal discoverer of the laws of social Unity and Harmony—Charles Fourier. [The birthday of Fourier is on the 7th of April, but as it falls this year upon the Sabbath, it will be celebrated on the 6th.]

All persons in every part of the United States who take an interest in the great work of social Reorganization and the elevation of mankind, and who can be present in the city of New York at the above-mentioned time, are earnestly invited to attend and take part in this important movement. To those who have to visit the city in the spring, it is suggested that they make their arrangements to do so at the time of the convention.

Signed,	A. Brisbane,	J. T. S. Smith,
	Parke Godwin,	T. W. Whitley,
	O. Macdaniel,	N. Comstock, jr.,
	Wm. H. Channing,	Thomas Hicks,
	Horace Greeley,	James P. Decker,
	Charles Julius Hempel,	Edward Strahan,
	Frederick Grain,	G. M. Law,
	P. Maroncelli,	James Warren,
	Solyman Brown,	Wm. H. Mills.
	Ed. Giles,	M. A. Gauvain,

And others.

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VOLUME I. NUMBER 6.

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THE PHALANX

OR

JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE.

DEVOTED TO THE CAUSE OF

ASSOCIATION OR A SOCIAL REFORM

AND THE

ELEVATION OF THE HUMAN RACE.

OUR EVILS ARE SOCIAL, NOT POLITICAL, AND A SOCIAL REFORM ONLY CAN ERADICATE THEM.

I. The Phalanx will explain the system of universal Association or principles of a new Organization of Society, discovered by CHARLES FOURIER, in regard both to practical details and universal theory, and will enter into an exposition of the higher and more scientific parts of Fourier's discoveries, which have not hitherto been made known in this country, or published to any extent in English.

It will contain copious translations from Fourier's works, the whole of which it is designed in time to give, and will contain extracts from the Paris and London Journals, "LA DEMOCRATIE PACIFIQUE," and the LONDON PHALANX, which are devoted to the cause of Association.

II. The Phalanx will enter into a frank and impartial criticism of the present false system of Society, and will expose its evils, and the defects of its leading social Institutions—among others:—Its repugnant, ill-requited, and degrading system of Industry:—Its system of Free Competition or false rivalry and envious strife and anarchy in Trade and Industry:—Its system of anarchical Commerce:—Its menial system of Hired Labor or labor for Wages:—The unjust and unnatural relation which it establishes between Capital and Labor:—Its defective and partial systems of Education:—Its permanent conflict of the individual with the collective Interest—and its system of separate or isolated Households.

III. The Phalanx will discuss political, social, and religious questions on the broadest grounds of universality and impartiality, and with reference to their practical bearing upon Social Progress and the Happiness of Mankind.

IV. The Phalanx will keep a general record of the progress of the doctrine of Association, and of social movements in different parts of the world, and will furnish details and information in relation to the Associations now organized in this country, and of new ones which may hereafter be established. It is designed to make THE PHALANX the principal medium of communication between the Associations themselves, and between them and the Public.

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THE PRESENT.

Mr. Channing has issued a Prospectus for the second volume of this most interesting and valuable Magazine, to be commenced on the 1st of May next, if the patronage it receives will warrant its continuance. We trust our friends will extend to it their support as far as it is in their power. It will contain important articles upon Association. Price $2 per annum, payable in advance, issued in monthly numbers. Address the Editor, Wm. H. Channing, New York.

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The Contest and The Armor: to which is added, Think on these Things, by John Abercrombie, M. D., F. R. S. E., author of "Inquiries concerning the Intellectual powers and the Investigation of Truth," "The Philosophy of the Moral Feelings," &c., &c., &c. From the fourteenth Edinburgh edition. New York, Robert Carter, 58 Canal-street.

Dr. Abercrombie is so well known as an author, his works being used in schools everywhere throughout Europe and America, that any laudatory remarks from us may appear almost unnecessary. We may, however, be permitted to observe that the essays collected in this beautiful little volume, are inferior to none of his other efforts, either in loftiness of purpose or excellence of composition. Every paragraph has a high moral tendency; every idea is distinctly conceived, and every sentence is eloquently expressed,

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THE PHALANX
OR
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VOLUME I. NEW YORK, FRIDAY, MARCH 1, 1844. NUMBER 6.

CONTENTS.

Gradual Abasement of the Producing Classes; Constructive and Pacific Democracy, by Parke Godwin, Esq.,; Translation from Fourier's Works; Resolutions adopted by the Senior Class of Western Reserve College, Ohio; Constitution of the Brook Farm Association; The Leraysville Phalanx; Alphadelphia Association, Michigan; The Ohio Phalanx: Brownson's Quarterly Review: Social Reform Convention, at Boston; Call of a Convention in the City of New York.

☞ The next number of the Phalanx, will be published on the 1st April next.

GRADUAL ABASEMENT OF THE PRODUCING CLASSES.

In our first article upon this subject, in the fourth number of the Phalanx, we examined one of the main causes of the movement which is bringing about the result announced in our heading. We now resume the subject, and will examine the other principle causes which are at work to produce in this country so lamentable a result. We take up—

FREE-COMPETITION, OR COMPETITIVE STRIFE AMONG THE WORKING CLASSES, THE EFFECT OF WHICH IS A GRADUAL AND CONSTANT REDUCTION OF WAGES.

Our whole system of trade and industry is prosecuted on the principle of *free-competition*. Free-competition is a compound word which may not be generaly understood, as the principle which it represents has not been clearly analysed and explained by political economists. As it is very important that it should be understood, we will explain it in a few words. We define free-competition to be unrestricted and uncontrolled individual liberty in all branches of commerce and labor, which liberty allows individuals or companies to consult their own interests, exclusively, without regard to the interests of other individuals, or companies. This one-sided individual liberty, without counterpoises, is in reality, merely license or anarchical freedom among capitalists, traders and laborers, allowing capitalist to compete with capitalist, trader with trader, and laborer with laborer, and each with all the others, even to the total ru in of one party or the other; it is the war of rivals in business, which has no other law than self-interest, and no controlling power but necessity. Such is free-competition.

Commerce and productive industry, in all departments, are conducted upon this principle of anarchical liberty or license, of strife and greedy selfishness, the consequences of which are universal antagonism and opposition, even to the bitterest hostilities, and constant fluctuations, revulsions and ruin.

This insane war of efforts and interests, called free-competition, is detrimental to all classes, but is especially destructive to the interests of the working classes, who are invariably its unfortunate and helpless victims. Capitalists and merchants may suffer from free-competition a diminution of profits, and they may sometimes ruin each other by intense rivalry, but the loss and injury these classes sustain, are in part, counterbalanced by advantages which they are constantly deriving from the system in other ways, while among the laboring classes, competition is directly and positively hurtful and ruinous to all and at all times. When the workman competes with the workman, it is for employment or for the sale of the products of his labor, and in either case the result is the same, that is, he is impoverished and deeply injured by a reduction of wages or a fall in the price of his products. If he is out of employment, he must, to obtain it, work for less than others, who are employed; or, if he makes an article for sale, he must often take less for it than others who make the same article, to be able to dispose of it. Thus reduction of wages and reduction in the price of the products of labor, together with increasing poverty and slavish subjection of the laboring classes to capital and commerce, are the invariable results of Free-competition.

Free-competition has had, no doubt, in our false societies, an important part to perform in the work of developing commerce and industry. In the absence of a true Social Order, based upon unity of interests, concert of action and provident foresight, the principle has strongly stimulated individuals to exertion, and the result has been the extraordinary degree of development to which industry has been carried in the last fifty years. This is the reason why free-competition has been admired and extolled by political economists, who, dazzled by the splendor of the material results, have overlooked or disregarded the disastrous consequences which it entails upon the working classes. These economists have imbued the public mind with their false doctrines, and although from bitter experience, the world is fast losing faith in them, and is beginning to perceive the fatal fallacy which lurks under their specious surface; still we hear it said even now that, "competition is the life of business;"—and so it is, but it is a diseased, decomposing and corrupting life, not a healthy and organic life and a life of assimilation and growth.

If free-competition has been necessary for a time, and during a certain stage of progress, its mission seems now to be accomplished; it works at present, frightfully for evil. The time has come when the principle of free-competition with its conflict of all interests and universal opposition, may be replaced by the great principle of association with general concert of action and united interests.

Free-competition produces its disastrous effects upon wages exactly in proportion to the increase of population, for as population increases, the competition among the working classes, becomes more intense. But as the introduction of labor-saving machinery is precisely the same in its effects upon wages as an increase of population, only more rapid and aggravated in its operation, we will pass to the third division of our subject, and while we show the *process of the reduction of wages* from competition among the laboring classes, we will show at the same time how machinery in the hands of the few works AGAINST the mass instead of FOR them—impoverishing instead of enriching them. We could do this by bringing forward the most authentic statistical testimony, but we prefer to do it in theory, so as to show the thing in principle.

We will suppose a case as an example of the effects of *machinery owned by the few, and of free-competition* among the laborers, by which we think we can make it clear to every mind, that in

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the operation of these principles, lies the secret of the increasing misery of the working classes in modern times.

Suppose a capitalist or manufacturer employs one hundred men in weaving cloth by hand-looms, and that each man weaves a yard of cloth a day, making in all one hundred yards per day. Perfected machinery, we will suppose, has not been invented, and, in order to conduct his business, the capitalist requires, and cannot dispense with, the labor of these one hundred men, to whom we will say, he pays *fair wages*—that is, enough to place them and their families above want. But afterward machinery is perfected, power-looms are invented, and the capitalist introduces them into his establishment, and with the labor of the one hundred men he is enabled to weave *five* times as much cloth as before, making five hundred yards per day. The product is now five times as great. Will the wages of the men be increased five times? or allowing that the market *value* of the five hundred yards produced by machinery mainly, is not five times as great as the one hundred yards produced by hand labor; will the one hundred men receive an increase of wages *in proportion to the increase in the value of the product?* No! Will they get any higher wages than they did when the product of their labor was one hundred yards per day? No. The capitalist will say to the laborers, "these five hundred yards of cloth are *my* property, the machinery which produced it, is *my* machinery, and the profits coming from it are *mine*. I *hire* you to work for me, and give you *fair wages*, and I can give you no more." This is the argument of the capitalist. The laborers think, perhaps, that they are entitled to a share of the increase, but can they get it? No, and in this case have they any redress? Can they oppose the decision of the capitalist, and by any means make him divide with them proportionately the profits of an increased production? No indeed, they are not joint owners of the machinery; they did not furnish any part of the capital to buy it. What can they do then? They must work on or starve; if they cannot get more than old wages they must accept them.

Let us again suppose that in addition to the first five-fold increase of productive power, the capitalist introduces more machinery, by which the means of production are multiplied another five-fold, enabling the 100 men to weave twenty-five times as much as they did at first, with hand looms, or 2500 yards of cloth. Will there now be any thing like a corresponding increase of wages? We answer again, No. And now, perhaps this immensely increased amount of production exceeds the demand—the market is overstocked with cloth; it is glutted, and the cloth cannot be sold as fast as it is manufactured. What does the capitalist or master-manufacturer do, or rather, under the circumstances, what is he forced to do? He has machinery which does the work of the laborers; the 100 men whom he employs, can make far more cloth than can be sold; as a consequence he must either destroy his machinery or turn off his laborers. Interest, which is the guide in all business matters, (in the present relations of society) decides that the machinery shall be kept, and the laborers turned away: this is the course invariably pursued. If only half the quantity of cloth can be sold, then one half of the laborers are deprived of their places; if two-thirds can be sold, then a third of the laborers are displaced. The half or two-thirds of the laborers who can retain their places, instead of receiving an increase of wages, are glad to work for former wages, or even less, although their labor combined with *machinery* produces twenty-five times as much as it did before the introduction of machinery.

But let us pause now a moment, and see what takes place, for at this point, that is, at the point of an overstocked market, commence the sufferings of the working classes. An overstocked market and an excess of labor or productive power are simultaneous facts, whether arising from a superabundant increase of population, or from the introduction of machinery, wich supercedes hand labor.

In the first place, then, a number of laborers are thrown out of employment, for there is no sale for the product of their labor, and they and their families are consequently reduced to a state of want and destitution. Then begins the war of free competition—the strife for employment amongst the laborers. Those who are thrown out of employment, pressed by want, by hunger, and often by the danger of absolute starvation, return to the master manufacturer, or apply to some other employer, and offer to work for less wages than those in employment. Self-interest, or the fierce competition of rivals in business, induces or forces him to employ them at lower wages, or to reduce the wages of those in his employ to the rate which others are willing to take. This is the universal tendency, and in fact, rule of action; and the effect must be inevitably just what we see has taken place to so deplorable an extent in some countries, and is taking place around us—that is, a gradual and regular reduction of wages, increasing poverty, and degrading dependance of the laboring classes. Every addition to labor-saving machinery renders fewer hands necessary to the capitalist, and increases the competition among the laborers for employment, until finally they are sunk into the lowest depths of poverty and helpless servitude. Poverty becomes an epidemic disease which prostrates the whole body of the laboring classes, and brings them all to one general level.

This is a fragmentary and extremely imperfect view of the subject, but what for want of space is here merely indicated as the general effect of free competition and monopolized machinery upon the laboring classes, has been practically exemplified upon a grand and complex scale in England. There they have reduced the mass to abject poverty, and the same causes will produce, and more rapidly than may be supposed, the same results in this country.

It is evident that machinery in the hands of a few works *against*, and not *for* the laboring classes, and that free competition makes them opponents and enemies of each other. Let us now contrast these results of a false system of industry with the results of a true system, of a system under which the laborers will own the *machinery* with which they work, as well as the soil which they cultivate. We shall see that under this true system, machinery will work *for* the laboring classes and not *against* them, and that instead of opposition of efforts and interests, free competition, enmity and decrease of wages, there will be unity of interests, concert of action, and equitable division of profits.

As in the former case, let us suppose that 100 workmen are engaged in the manufacture of cloth by hand-looms. But instead of the looms being the property of a capitalist, these 100 workmen own the looms themselves as a joint stock property; they are partners, each one of whom we will suppose is an equal share-holder, and equally interested in the general product of their labor.

Setting aside the question of a division of profits according to Capital, Labor and Skill, let us assume that the profits of their labor or the *total product* be divided equally among the one hundred men. These one hundred men make with the hand-looms, as we before supposed, one hundred yards of cloth a day; but instead of wages, each man is entitled to one yard of cloth for his day's work, and receives it, or the amount for which it sells as his share of the general product.

Let these men introduce, as the capitalist did, machinery and power-looms, by which they can weave five times as much as by hand-looms, increasing the product as before to five hundred yards of cloth per day. As they are not working for wages, they will receive five times as much as before, that is, each man will receive five yards of cloth or the value of that quantity. There is no capitalist or master-manufacturer to say, "these five hundred yards of cloth are *my property*—I *hire* you to work for me, and I give you fair wages for your labor." No, the one hundred men, the laborers, who produce the cloth own it jointly, because they own the machinery with which they work, and they divide it equitably among themselves. They are consequently, five times richer than before, collectively and individually.

Let us suppose a further increase of power, say again, five-fold, which will enable the one hundred workmen to weave twenty-five times as much as at first, or two thousand five hundred yards of cloth per day. Will they receive in this case a corresponding increase of remuneration for their labor? Certainly: Each man will be entitled to twenty-five times as much cloth, or a product

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twenty-five times as great as he received before the machinery was introduced; in other words, to twenty-five yards of cloth or its equivalent, instead of one yard or its equivalent.

Now in this case it appears that the prosperity and welfare of the workmen increase in proportion to the introduction of machinery or the increase of production, but in the other case they diminish in about the same proportion.

It is not necessary for us to carry out this example any further. It is clear that with this system of *joint-stock ownership of the machinery* by the workmen, and a just division of profits, instead of the *ownership and monopoly by a capitalist*, and *wages*, the laboring classes can be rendered prosperous and happy, and elevated in the scale of being to their true rank and dignity as men. Under this system, machinery will be made to work *for* them, securing them all the comforts of life and the means of improvement and elevation, whereas under the present system, it works *against* them, drives them from the field of industry, degrades, and crushes them to the earth. Every invention and improvement in machinery would benefit instead of injure them.. The greater the increase of produtive power, the greater the increase of collective and individual riches. There could be no envious and reductive competition under such a system, and no cutting down of wages and impoverishment of Labor. As we have shown in our example, under this system, the one hundred workmen would possess twenty-five times as much cloth as they did before the monopoly of machinery; now if this amount of cloth should not be valued in money in the same ratio of increase, or at twenty-five times the amount in money for which one yard of cloth had sold, when made by hand-looms, the laborers, nevertheless, would be twenty-five times richer, for they would own twenty-five times as much real product, which they could exchange for other products of industry. Their cloth would be equivalent to other objects necessary to their comfort and well-being, for which they could exchange it.

Let us remark, however, that the system of *joint-stock ownership*, with an equitable division of profits, is not to be confined to one branch of production—it is applicable equally to all kinds—to agriculture as well as to manufactures, and when applied universally to all branches of industry, would increase the riches of the producing classes as a body, in the same proportion that we have shown it would in the case of a certain number of workingmen engaged in a particular branch of Industry, or in the manufacture of a single article, like cloth.

The fourth cause or influence at work to impoverish and bring about a gradual abasement of the laboring classes of this country we stated to be—

Isolation; want of combination and concert of action among the working classes, and consequent weakness and helplessness, which make them an easy prey to the combined and more intelligent action of those who have the capital and credit of society in their hands.

The truth of this proposition has been more or less shown in the course of our argument. This isolation, this want of union and association among the working classes is the main reason why they cannot purchase, or make by their own labor the machinery with which they work. This is sufficiently obvious without requiring further comment.

Now, not to recapitulate the heads of our argument which has run through several numbers, we are satisfied to leave it to the reader who has followed us carefully, to decide whether we have not shown clearly that the inevitable tendency of the present system of Industry is the GRADUAL ABASEMENT OF THE LABORING CLASSES AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INDUSTRIAL FEUDALISM, which can be neither averted nor prevented by any thing but a REORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY!

A new system or organization of Labor, and *joint-stock association*, can alone save the producing classes of this country from the terrible fate which awaits them, and which they may see fore-shadowed in the condition of their fellow-laborers in England. This fate may be *postponed* for a while, but, without a reorganization of Industry, *it cannot be averted*.

Intelligent men among the Producing Classes, think of this most important matter, for it concerns you vitally!

CONSTRUCTIVE AND PACIFIC DEMOCRACY.

PART SECOND.

BY PARKE GODWIN.

In the first part of this Essay, we came to the conclusion, that the only remedy for the existing distresses of society, and particularly of the working classes, could be found in some plan for the uniting of material interests. We said, that it was possible for the intellect of man to devise means by which Labor, Capital, and Talent should be made to work together, and for each other, instead of against each other, and through which every man would labor for himself while laboring for his neighbor. But thus far, our argument has been mostly critical; we shall now attempt to make it constructive.

§ I.—ORGANIZATION.

One fact, as much as any other, strikes us, when we consider the material creation of God. It is, that this whole universe is made according to a law of organization; that there is nothing in it incoherent or at loose-ends; that from the planet to the plant, from the stars which are the suns of worlds of unimaginable magnitude, to the insect whose body is three million times less than a visible point, amid the endless variety of forms and existences that link by link supply the interval, there is an organic law pervading the whole. Beginning with the rude masses of the mineral kingdom, which seem like mere accidental conglomerations—the primitive elements out of which the higher kingdoms are to grow,—we soon see in its tendency to crystalization, the mute feint prophecies of the more definite organization of vegetable nature. At the summit of the vegetable series, we again discover the outlines of the more intricate and finished structure of animals. While in man, the crown and chief of the material world, we behold the consummation of an organism perfect in all its parts, and perfect as a whole. It would be delightful to inquire into this law of organization, and to show how, by the organic series, the Creator has distributed the harmonies of the universe; but it is sufficient for our present purpose, to point out its existence. This immutable and eternal fact, is impressed on all we see, that nothing is perfect which is not organized.

§ II.—MORAL ORGANIZATION.

Men appear to have been aware of this law, in the efforts which they have made to carry into effect their various religious, literary, and social projects. At least, we infer so from a superficial reading of their history, from the earliest time down to the present moment. Nearly all the controversies which have shaken the world, have related to the question, as to what was the best mode in which men could organize themselves, either as a State or a Church. The question of government, which has been the bone of contention at all times and with every people, resolves itself into a question of organization, *that is*, how the political relations of mankind can be best adjusted into a system, which would give the largest liberty to the individual, and at the same time, preserve the unity and strength of the community. The question of the outward establishment of the Church has been a mere question as to the right method of organizing the spiritual relations of priests and people; and indeed, nearly all the enterprises that men undertake, seem to centre and end in an effort after a more complete organization. When a man, a sect, or a party have any new idea to propagate, it is common to begin by organizing some body which is charged with the task. Or we might rather say, that the very existence of sects and parties is a proof of the strong tendency of the human mind toward combination and organic effort. Thus, we have armies, instituted for works of destruction, which do their work most effectually; we have missionary societies, which send their agents to the remotest regions of the earth, regardless of tropic heats or arctic colds; we have academies of music in which are developed concords of sound the most grand and the most melting; we have institutes of learning, where the accumulated literature and science of three thousand years are made available to any capacity; we have Bible and tract societies, that scatter religious truth like seed on the wings of the wind; we have trading and banking corporations, that lay the wealth of the world under tribute, and heap up for their projectors vast untold treasures; in short, on all hands we see the giant miraculous effects of systematic and regulated co-operation. Yet these instrumentalities are meagre and incomplete developments—mere aggregations of men, like the simple cohering particles of rude matter—hardly approaching a formal organization, yet demonstrating, with resistless force, how great would be the vigor of a

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true and living organism! For if such things are done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?

§ III.—INDUSTRY ALONE WITHOUT A PLAN.

And here we are struck with a notable anomaly in the midst of all these arrangements. It is, that while men have resorted to associated effort in the execution of almost every kind of enterprise, it has never occurred to them to organize the human forces, the vital energies by which alone all useful results are brought about. We mean that it is a strange oversight in the possessors of these forces that they have never thought of combining them for their own benefit. It is true, that military leaders, that governors of states, that capitalists and speculators, have well known the secret of the mighty power of united labor, and have availed themselves of its advantages. But the wonder is, that the men of industry themselves, have at no time, unless in the most narrow and feeble way, arranged that cunningness and strength of muscle, which has been their only wealth, which indeed is the only source of wealth to mankind, into something like an organization. In the sphere of labor alone, has the world remained in the state of isolated, incoherent, cut-throat individuality and competitive antagonism. The simplest forms of mere aggregated effort have scarcely been applied to it, save under the domination of some severe task-master or despot. But why should not industry be organized? Why should not laborers band together for the accomplishment of their ends; not as a class merely, not as a political party, not for selfish or temporary purposes, but as the great, collective, eternal POWER OF PRODUCTION? Will any one say that such a thing is impossible? Can any one point out in what respect industry is incapable of being united and harmonized? No; the impossibility is in continuing it in its present condition of duplicity and discord—inefficient in its movements, at war with itself, monotonous, convulsive, repugnant and dishonorable! The time has arrived, when it must either come to an end in violence, or receive into itself a higher law. Now, what that law may be, is precisely the question of this epoch; it is the question on which we are engaged; it is the vital all-important problem, on which hangs the fate of our modern societies. We have got so far into the future, that we can say boldly, that labor must be organized—one way or another, the thing must be done. It is the impregnating principle of the coming time. As the personal Christ of old, who is our redemption, sprung from the family of the Carpenter, so do we most earnestly believe, that his second coming in spirit, for the salvation of our poor, decrepit, diseased and wretched societies, will be through the Family of Labor.

§ IV.—PRACTICAL EXAMPLES.

We have said that Industry alone has remained incoherent, but we are reminded of one or two instances to the contrary, which may be regarded in the light of those exceptions which confirm the general truth. We refer now particularly to an exemplification of unity of interests that grew up among the cheese-makers of Jura, and a still more remarkable instance discovered by Dr. Urquhart, among the Turks of Ambelakia. The former case is told us by M. Considerant, of France, who speaks from his own knowledge, to this effect. In the mountains of Jura, where the climate interdicts the cultivation of the vine and grain, and where milk cannot be sold in its pure state owing to the distance from the cities, it is converted into cheese. It was the custom not long since, in every village of this region, where there were some twenty or thirty families, owning some two hundred cows, for each family to make its cheese for itself, and to send to market for itself, thus every day making use of some twenty or thirty utensils, some twenty or thirty dairies, and of the labor of some twenty or thirty men, both in producing the article, and conveying it to market. And in most cases, to say nothing of waste, the cheese produced was of an inferior quality; while each family coming into competition when they came into the market, was obliged to sell at the lowest possible price, so that none gained by the sales, while the majority were losers. What did these brave mountaineers do in these circumstances? Why, they fell upon the very rational principle, that it was not wise in them to be picking each others pockets, and would be much better could they assist each other as good friends and neighbors. So they hired a small house in the centre of the village, composed of two rooms, one of which they converted into a shop, and the other into a dairy. In the shop they erected a huge brass kettle, large enough to receive the daily milk product of the two hundred cows, which milk was made into cheese by the labor of a single man called the fruiterer, without further trouble on the part of its owners. The quantity of milk deposited by any family each day was notched upon two pieces of wood, one of which was kept by the fruiterer, and the other taken by the family; by which simple method the strictest account was kept. When the cheeses were sold, they were sold by wholesale, without losses through competition, and with a comparatively slight charge for conveyance to market. From the general sum received for them was subtracted the rent of the house, the price of fuel, instruments, carriage, and of the work of the fruiterer, after which the remainder was divided among the families of the village, in proportion to the amount of milk contributed to the dairy. Thus, with one-thirtieth part of the labor, and a thirtieth part of the expense, they were enabled to receive a thirty-fold return for their product. This practice begun in the hamlet of Salines, is now the common custom through all the higher provinces of the Alps. It is a simple but most significant illustration of a great truth.

The other example, for the details of which we must refer to Dr. Urquhart's noble work, "The Spirit of the East," is found in the commercial municipality of Ambelakia. There, with a population of four thousand people, all the manufacture and trade was carried on according to a joint stock principle, no distinctions of interest existing between capitalists and laborers. It grew rapidly in importance; its fabrics became so celebrated, as shortly to absorb the best markets; and it annually divided from sixty to one hundred per cent. upon all its investments. Thus a weak, insignificant hamlet, in what is commonly called one of the most despotic of nations, without a single field in its vicinity, with no advantage of position, with no local industry, with no commercial connexion, in the neighborhood of no manufacturing movement, neither situated on a navigable river nor on the sea, accessible by no road except a goats-path among precipices, its industry unaided by the secrets of chemistry or combinations of mechanical power,—did, by the simple fact of a union of interests, and a union of sympathies, rise to a degree of outward prosperity and internal harmony, unparalleled in the history of commercial enterprise. External causes of violence, and the invention of spinning jennies in England, contributed to the dispersion of this hive of labor and productiveness.

§ V.—SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS.

Is there any reason why similar combinations should not take place among the workmen and capitalists of this day, when industry is so much more developed, and the facilities of intercourse so many and important! Is it not the plainest matter imaginable, how immeasurably the laborers of any trade or craft would be the gainers, if, instead of working against each other as they do now, they should contrive to concentrate their energies in obedience to some law of mutual interest!

We can easily conceive of a variety of modes in which the principle of a common interest might be realized. The shoemakers, or any other class of mechanics might, without much difficulty, form themselves into an union, under discreet and liberal laws, for the prosecution of the different branches of their trade. With a single large building, somewhere in the centre of trade, with a proper distribution of labor, allowing each man a payment proportioned to the kind and amount of his work, with the advantage of having all the departments of the art conducted near to each other, with the best tools and materials, buying by wholesale, and at all times commanding the markets for its sales, such a league would inevitably lead to the fortune of all its members. But the advantage of an industrial formation like this would be greatly extended, if the club of shoemakers should be so enlarged as to embrace all the dealers in leather. How much could be saved in house rent, fuel, waste of material, loss of time in passing from one place or one pursuit to another? Or take the business of newspaper publishing, as an example of what might be accomplished by a right division and combination of employments. Let the editorial department constitute one group of laborers, the composing and printing department another, the publishing and financial department another; and then let each member of the firm be paid according to the skill, capital, or labor which he brings to the concern,—think you, that such an enterprize would not soon grow into an extensive and wealthy establishment? Next, let there be added to it, a department for making paper, and a department for casting type, (so that what was before only an *aggregation*, would now become a GROUP,) and its economies would increase with a corresponding increase of efficiency. Yet a simple group, of similar pursuits of this kind, would be nothing compared with a SERIES of groups, with all the additional force that would be derived from the enthusiasm of contact and rivalry.

Now, it is a series of co-operations that we propose, as the means of our social reforms. It is not a mere league on the part of the followers of a particular calling; it is not a treaty of amity between the members of distinct classes; not the promiscuous commingling of all branches of trade, that we vindicate; but it is the voluntary union of the whole of Humanity, on definite and scientific grounds. We contend for the solidarity of the race in

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organic forms; we desire the universal association of man, according to an universal principle: we aim at the thorough reorganization, not of a segment, but of the whole of society, on a basis of individual independence and freedom, and collective harmony and progress.

(Concluded in our next.)

TRANSLATIONS FROM FOURIER'S WORKS.

Continuation of the Introduction to the Theory of Universal Unity.

[Our last article contained a list of the general peculiarities of method employed in this treatise, and which Fourier declared might appear irregular and strange to those who do not understand the principles from which they are derived. The following are the leading peculiarities:

✕ THE SIGNS.

1. Apparent exaggerations.
2. Dogmatic affirmations.
3. Peculiar distribution of parts.
4. Progressive instruction.
5. The marvellous.
6. The tedious.
7. The measured scales or numbers.

K The exception to general laws.

The three first peculiarities were explained in the last number of the Phalanx; we continue the subject in the present translation.]

4. Progressive instruction.—I have learned from experience that a subject so entirely new and opposite to common notions of authority, should be presented to the mind by slow degrees, [that every principle may be considered well before its consequences are developed practically; for many persons who admit the principles of heavenly truth in doctrinal simplicity, and wish the grain of mustard-seed to germ in the great field of spiritual culture, are afraid of the extensive ramifications and luxuriant growth of vegetation which naturally spring from the small seeds of universal principle in action. They seem to think it quite impossible that such a simple seed of doctrine should produce so great a crop of consequences in the field of practice, and from ignorance of the immensity of power contained in the small seeds of heavenly principle, they fear that some rank weed has been allowed to germ with the small grain of mustard-seed, to grow so rapidly into luxurient magnificence—as if the truth could not be as prolific and attractive in its practical developement, as error.] In consequence of this timidity, I have adopted the progressive method of instruction, explaining, 1st, A few general principles in all their natural and doctrinal simplicity; 2ndly, The natural developement of these truths in their general degrees of practical application; and, 3rdly, The more advanced, important and minute developement of universal principles in practice: a superficial sketch, a general abridgement, and an elaborate treatise, consecutively.

This will allow the reader's mind to become familiar by degrees with the apparently strange and multifarious results of simple and self-evident first principles, applied to practice.

I have nearly always found, in conversation on these subjects, [with minds perverted by philosophy,] that a multiplicity of facts presented to the uninitiated mind at once, fatigues the memory, and leaves it in possession of its former notions only: and thence it is I deem repeated lessons in variety of form and gradual developement, essential to the acquisition of associative science. They may, perhaps, in some degree, be viewed as literary blemishes, but science in its abstract form is not a mere amusement—it is precious, and can only be acquired by a great expense of labor and attention. ["Repetition sans cesse" is the great lever of instruction, according to the best authorities on educative method.]

According to this method, I have given a general view of universal principles in this preliminary Discourse, to be developed gradually in the following treatise, as the overture of an opera contains a summary of all the melodies developed in the musical construction of the whole. All the subjects mentioned, then, in this Discourse, will be developed in the treatise, and the arguments adduced in their support will be repeated periodically and designedly in various aspects, three or four times or more, in corresponding parts of the whole work.

It may perhaps be tedious to some minds, [or rather it may probably be made a pretext of objection by those who cannot easily embrace the subject, and are more inclined to blame its difficulties than themselves;] but I have often found that conscientious and judicious men were apt to fall into their preconceived opinions in the course of a few minutes, after several times admitting the new principles in their original simplicity; unable to retain the various degrees of consequent developement as they increased in practical extension, though they had at once admitted both the truth and the simplicity of each developement considered as a consequence of its immediate antecedent. When once removed a few degrees in practical progression from the generating principle they had agreed to follow, they became confused in mind, and fell into the sphere, again, of civilized duplicity and philosophic aberration. [This want of power to concentrate the attention on a series of progressive applications of one general principle, obliges me to bring that peinciple repeatedly before the mind, to show the simple parantage of that which seems most strange in its remote developements.]

All methods are good, it is affirmed, that lead to the desired effect, and render the labor of learning easy: and a subject that is strange and startling to perverted reason, stands in need of a peculiar method of initiation and instruction.

I shall divide my subject, then, into three parts. In the first, I shall confine myself to negative or abstract theory; in the second, to mixt or speculative theory; and in the third, to positive or practical and concrete theory. In the first volume I shall review the errors and opinions which prevail in false society; the false ideas of philosophy regarding human destiny, particularly with regard to industry and domesticity; the omission of the three primordial studies of universal unity—God, man, and the universe; delusive notions with regard to the attributes of God, [Divine love and wisdom], and the immortality of the soul; the vicious circle of doctrinal progression in the reign of civilized duplicity; and finally, the false position of those who distribute intellectual light to the community—artists, and divines, and men of science, who are the victims and the dupes of a false state of society, of which they constitute themselves the slavish upholders, instead of looking for a means of organizing safely a superior state of things [in which their influence would be recognised and honored as it should be;—instead of following the Divine command, to "Seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness," that all worldly blessings might be added unto them.]

After having gradually accustomed the reader's mind to the immense importance of true principles in action, and their manifold advantages to every class of actual society, I shall proceed at once to practical association in its general organic unity. This will be the subject of the third part, to be developed in a second volume.

5. The Marvellous.—Every principle of unity, when universalized in application, blooms with a romantic hue that borders on the marvellous, though strictly based on arithmetic calculations, [as the flowers and the fruit of orange trees embalm the atmosphere with fragrance, and delight the senses, though the trees on which they grow are firmly rooted in the common earth.] The science of associative unity is really the ground of reconciliation for the classic and romantic partisans of Art to meet upon, in harmony, for it corroborates their theories respectively and equally, by proving that the social destiny of man, like all the harmonies of Nature, is at once both mathematical and marvellous, or classic and romantic. This has been slightly indicated in the paragraph relating to the contrast of dogmatic affirmations, showing that the love of wealth and worldly comfort in associative unity, is really the shortest and the surest way to practical morality and virtue, and vice versa; though quite the contrary in the present state of false society; and this transformation of the precept renders it at once romantic and correct, by its accordance with the moral equilibrium of the senses, which lead mankind to seek for natural refinement. Other instances of this connexion between marvellous results and mathematical first principles. from which they are derived, will be adduced in chapters on the immortality of man, and his connexion with the spiritual universe; particularly when I treat of the creation generally, and the splendors of aromal unity, the most romantic and ethereal and marvellous of all the natural or material views of universal unity. [The greater part of the chapters here alluded to, were not inserted in the book, for want of room, but were reserved for a third volume, which was never published; and are, consequently, to be found in his unpublished MSS.]

The marvellous is, then, a part of universal unity in harmony with mathematical first principles; and in this theory, romantic consequences flow from classic principles of purity and justice, in the moral and religious and artistic destiny of man. It is my duty therefore to devote a portion of this book to the description of those marvellous results of truth and unity in practical development, which are to kindle in the soul of man enthusiastic love for all that is divine and beautiful in spirit and creation.

6. The Tedious.—That sceptics might not charge me with the mania for romance and visionary speculation, I have purposely confined myself, in certain parts, to dry developments of facts already known; and more particularly in the note which treats of atmospheric equilibrium, and the gradual improvement of the cli-

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mates in both tropical and polar latitudes. These are subjects which have been neglected by your men of science, though the elements of calculation were already known to them, and only waited for development to show what might be done for general improvement, without any new discovery of principles. The same reproach is applicable to political economists who have neglected to advance in their own calculations of economy, from simple fragmentary to combined and unitary applications of true principles [such, for instance, as that of the division of labor, and others equally important and correct, when properly developed]. Each of the four branches of uncertain science, in fact, has neglected to develop that which is quite true in principles; and thus by fragmentary or one-sided applications of true principles they have arrived at false results collectively and individually. [The tedious parts, then, of this book, will be the dry developments of arthmetic calculations, limited to what our men of science dwell upon exclusively as "facts and figures," the "securest basis of inductive reason," etc., etc., showing that, in this material sphere of calculation, they have not yet ventured to proceed beyond the threshold of arithmetic.]

7. Measured Scales or Numbers.—This method of division, like the general distributions in series, so frequently applied throughout this volume, is intended to assist the memory of both the reader and myself with reference to various parts and analytical developments. It is, however, derived from a general principle of unity, to be explained hereafter, when I treat of what is termed the law of order and series in measured harmony.

[As this explanation of the laws of measured harmony was reserved for publication in a third volume that was never printed, but remains in manuscript, we will give the reader an idea of the principles of adaptation and analogy from which it is derived.]

According to the theory of universal-unity, man is the image of God, and the passions and attractions of his soul are types of universal principles: the keys to universal knowledge, and a source permanent invariable Revelation, in accordance with the revelations of the Word; as woman is the counterpart of man, and Providence of God. [In this analogy woman brings forth what she conceives of man, and Providence is understood to be that paternal attribute of Divine love and wisdom which organizes and immediately controls whatever is ordained of God in principle.]

In Fourier's analysis of man, he first regards the soul as one immortal passion or desire for universal happiness and unity. The perversion of this general and religious aspiration of the soul, is the desire of individual gratification, without regard to God and to humanity. The one he terms religious holiness; the other, diabolical selfishness. The one is analogous to light the other to darkness; and when symbolized in color, the one is represented white, the other black.

The first of these aspects of man's soul when analysed, furnishes an elementary scale of good desires and affections; the second furnishes a similar variety of bad, subversive passions; and the two together form the basis of what Fourier terms, the science of society, or passional attraction and repulsion; the harmony of which consists in giving freedom to the good desires, and curbing those which are subversive in development.

When speaking generally of the passions and attractions of the soul, he means the highest and the best desires, unless the word "subversive" be applied.

The first division, then, of that immortal and religious aspiration called the soul of man, is either, threefold, in a general point of view, or fourfold, in a special point of view; and this is the basis of what Fourier terms the "simple sacred numbers," 3 and 4. In a general point of view, man is an intellectual, a moral, and a pysical being, as well as a unitary or religious being; in a special point of view, man is a social as well as a spiritual being.

In the vague or general aspects of the laws or order, the number three is the simplest element, containing a beginning, a middle, and an end. In the measured laws of order, the general and the special aspects are combined, to form the compound sacred number seven; which is further developed in various degrees, to 12, 24, 36, 48, etc., the details of which are too minute for superficial explanation.

Man, then, is a threefold being, in the first general aspect: morla, intellectual, and physical, (affection, intelligence, and physical power); in the image and likeness of Divine love and wisdom and power. His first immortal tendency or aspiration is towards God and universal unity. This constitutes the religious man. His secondary tendencies are, first, to physical enjoyment, (health and wealth); secondly, to sympathy with his fellow-beings, (social enjoyment); and, thirdly, to general or political unity, (intellectual enjoyment). On sub-dividing these three tendencies in man, we find the first to be propelled by five senses, or bodily desires: taste, feeling, smell, sight, and hearing, requiring for their satisfaction food, clothing, and comfortable shelter, agreeable and wholesome air to smell and breathe, agreeable varieties of form and color for the sight, and pleasant sounds for the sense of hearing. The second tendency consists of four varieties of affection:—friendship, love, paternity, and corporate or general sympathy. The third or intellectual tendency consists of three desires: 1st, that of progressive improvement; 2nd, that of alteration from activity to rest, and from one pleasurable occupation to another at stated periods; and, 3rd, the desire to combine the pleasures of affection with those of the senses, to participate with friends in the enjoyment of the sweets of life, rather than to be alone in temporal enjoyments.

It would require too much time to enter fully into this analysis of the passions and attractions of the human soul, but enough is here related to explain the principles of adaptation which Fourier has followed in his method. He adapts all his explanations to the unity and elementary nature of man himself, the type of universal unity and order; so that every subject is presented to the mind in a variety of aspects corresponding to the active principles or passions of the soul: adopting, however, the more general and simple scales of variety in preference to the minuter and elaborate developments of analytical details.

The scale of seven elementary degrees (corresponding to what is termed the 'diatonic' scale in Music) is that which he adopts in general theory, as it appeals to all the moral and the intellectual aspects of man's unitary or religious soul, reserving what relates especially to physical enjoyment for application in the sphere of practical experiment. He appeals then to the social and religious man, in mental adaptations, chiefly; and the number seven is the sacred law of unity in that superior sphere, the elements of which stand thus:

⋈ The Religious Unitary Feeling of the Soul.

1. Friendship.
2. Love.
3. Corporate sympathy.
4. Family affection.
5. Love of the marvellous.
6. Love of variety.
7. Love of order and gradation.

K Individual Selfishness, or the exception to the general love of social and religious unity.

(These are multiplied by more minute analysis, and form a scale of faculties more numerous than those acknowledged by Phrenology.)

This is what Fourier deems a general view of the moral passions and attractions of the soul, and he explains every subject in adaptation to these varieties of intellectual and moral vision. It is the elementary type of "measured scales and numbers" in his treatise, and the application of this type to the scale of facts enumerated under the head of "peculiarities of method," forms the groundwork of their character and distribution. These peculiarities relate to seven points, in addition to one principal and one exceptional view, which are respectively applicable to each of the seven: namely, the pivotal or principal peculiarity, which is that of using general signs, symbolical of certain principals of universality and relative degrees; and this general function is subject to exception, like all the general laws of order.

The first great principle of order, then, is that of universal unity, which contains every other principle, and cannot be enumerated as one of its own divisions: hence Fourier has adopted the letter ⋈ as a sign of unity and generality; and the letter K as a sign of exception to all general laws of unity. The ⋈ is typical of light, the K of darkness; and the elementary scale of 7 degrees analogous to the seven colors refracted in the solar spectrum, the whole of which in unity form white or unitary light. The religious unity of aspiration in the soul of man, refracted, then, morally and intellectually, forms a scale of seven degrees, already noticed, and Fourier's general refractions of unitary science are adapted to this scale of measured harmony.

We will now explain the manner in which the peculiarities of method are adapted to this law of order in the present instance.

The most remarkable and universal peculiarity in Fourier's method is that of the signs or symbols of analogy, used in all his writings, and thence he classes this peculiarity as the most general and unitary characteristic of his method. This fact appeals to the general nature of the mind, inasmuch as it is everywhere adopted, to remind the reader of collective unity. Then come the individual aspects of man's nature, appealed to respectively in different parts of these writings, the first of which is friendship.

As far as the communication of knowledge is concerned, friendship requires that a scrupulous adherence to principles and truth should be observed, without exaggeration or delusion, to practice which would be unfriendly. Fourier then places "apparent exag-

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geration" as the first point, on which he assures his readers of strict adherence to truth, notwithstanding the strangeness of appearances.

The second aspect of man's nature is LOVE, or sexual affection, the natural tone of which is mild persuasion, and not dogmatic or presumptuous dictation; and therefore Fourier assures his readers that he is warranted in principle when he inverts the statement of acknowledged dogmas, and that he does not do it in opposition to the natural tone of that persuasion, which is consistent with the tenderest affection.

The third aspect of man's nature is that of GENERAL SYMPATHY for persons who are linked with him in bonds of intellectual unity, in various gradations of heirarchy and order; and regularity of distribution is agreeable to this sentiment of unitary order. Fourier assures his readers, then, that he has everywhere respected this sentiment of unitary order. Fourier assures his readers, then, that he has everywhere respected this sentiment of order and gradation, notwithstanding the apparent strangeness of his distribution.

The fourth general aspect of man's nature is PATERNITY, or family affection, the chief delight of which is to instruct and educate, and guide the young and inexperienced mind, with care and tenderness; and Fourier assures his readers that in his progressive method of instruction, he has always had in view the duties of facilitating, by progressive steps of easy and correct initiation, the acquirement of general knowledge and abstract principles of science, notwithstanding the apparent strangeness of his method.

The fifth aspect of man's nature, in this general outline, is the LOVE OF THE MARVELLOUS, the beautiful, and the romantic; and Fourier assures his readers that he has never lost sight of real truth in his prospective descriptions, which must necessarily appeal to the imaginative faculties of man, until they have been realized in practice.

The sixth aspect of man's nature is the LOVE OF VARIETY: and Fourier assures his readers that he would willingly have varied his descriptions more attractively, if he had not been forced to guard against the allegations of philosophers and sceptics, who would probably accuse him of romance and visionary speculation, had he not confined himself, on some important subjects, to the dry, uninteresting methods of philosophers and men of "facts and figures," and one-sided views of principle. The tedious style of dry, "matter-of-fact" monotony has, then, been forced upon him by this critical necessity.

The seventh aspect of man's nature is the LOVE OF ORDER AND GRADATION and improvement, which sentiment is not well satisfied by vague irregularity of method; and Fourier believes that he has much improved upon the common methods, by adopting what he terms the scales of measured harmony in all his elementary divisions; which scales of adaptation are derived from what he terms the law of order and series, the type of which is found in human nature, on the principles here illustrated superficially and scientifically, proved to be correct in his unpublished theory of numbers and harmonic order.

In all these scales of measured unity, the elementary degrees of which are grouped around one general function, represented by the pivot sign ⋊, there is a counterpart or an exception to the general rule, equal to about one-eighth or one-ninth part of the whole scale, and represented by the sign K. The measured diatonic scales, then, in all the spheres of harmony, contain seven elementary degrees derived from one general rule, which rule is subject to exception, neither the rule nor the exception being parts of the general scale, but applicable to every part. From this cursory digression we will now return to Fourier's explanation of the last peculiarity of his method:]

K THE EXCEPTION OR TRANSITION.—To prevent objections on the part of persons who desire to cavil, I must state that all the general affirmations made in this treatise are subject to the law of exception, which, in ordinary calculations, extends to about one-eighth or one-ninth part of the whole, in every branch of movement in the universe, and all the applications of principle to practice, in the social and religious and industrial spheres of unity. This exceptional degree is always to be understood, whether it be expressed or not, then, in my writings. For instance, if I state in neral terms, that man is unrefined and miserable in civilized or false society, this affirmation is subject to the law of exception, and is applicable to seven-eighths of the whole population, who are reduced to a state of poverty and degradation from which a few escape, at most one-eight part, who enjoy comparative happiness and freedom in the comforts and refinements of terrestrial life. Is it not necessary that God should elevate a few to this comparative degree of happiness, that all may see the possibility of realizing something like terrestrial happiness, without which positive assurance, miserable men would fall into a state of apathy and fatalism, and genius would not be stimulated to discover the true paths of virtue and abundance, leading out of this subversive state of things, termed civilized society?

If I affirm that the happiness of the favored few, in civilized duplicity, is offensive to the common feelings of humanity and justice, insomuch as the favorites of Fortune are the most unworthy selfish members of society, this affirmation is again applied to the majority alone, and leaves one-eighth as an exception, in which case Fortune favors the most worthy and benevolent of men and women. But these exceptions only tend to confirm the truth of the general assertion, by contrasting real goodness with what otherwise might be mistaken for approximations, showing falsehood and duplicity to be the general law, and truth and justice the exception.

According to this law, then, the exceptions which may be opposed to my general assertions, substantiate and strengthen them, whether I notice them or not particularly. It would, in fact, be often tiresome to mention the exceptions when I speak of general laws and principles; and those who read my writings should bear that in mind. The French are very apt to reason from exceptional cases, as from general rules, and they require to be reminded of this sophism frequently, that one may not be substituted for the other.

The law of exception is not, however, limited invariably to one-eighth or one-ninth part, but varies from one-third to one-hundredth, and in some cases, to one-thousand part, but one-eighth part is the most general proportion of exception.

The law of exception is sometimes termed TRANSITION, as it forms a link between one general law and another in universals. Twilight is a transitional state between day and night; lime is an exceptional sort of earth, forming a link between fire and water, which in it may be united; amphibious animals are exceptionally organised, and form a link between fish and quadrupeds; the nervous fluid is an exceptional element of materiality, forming a link between the body and the soul: and many other things belong to the exceptional or transitional laws of life and movement, which have never been fully explored and classed methodically by our men of science. The most superficial attempt at universality of exploration in these subjects, would have led to the discovery of exceptional or transitional laws, being integral parts of universal principles, from which it would be known that

All the branches of universal movement are subject to the necessary law of exception, and that the general laws of movement in society are subject to periods of transition and progressive transformation; from which it might have been inferred that we may still advance to something higher and more perfect than religious and political antagonism in civilized duplicity, as we have passed already from the savage to the patriarchal state, and thence to military barbarism, from which the transformation of commercial and industrial activity has landed us in civilized antagonism, the most refined of all the forms of barbarous iniquity. What darkness still envelops us in this new maze of ignorance! Not that Nature is involved in mystery; for if her laws are veiled at all, it is in gauze the most translucent, but the minds of men have been involved in the dark intricacies of philosophy so deeply, that they could not see the paths of progress in the maze of social movement which have been passed through already; nor perceive the paths which lead to future progress in the same direction. Had they not been thus bewildered they might easily have looked behind them to advantage, to observe the laws of progress which have led us on from savage barbarism to civilized refinement, and by generalizing in the application of those laws, they would have found the issue from our present state of general duplicity and incoherency. Such would have been the consequence of universal exploration; but the four great branches of false science have deceived us, and kept the mind immersed in darkness or delusive light.

At length, however, the delusion has been dissipated by the science of associative industry and passional attraction; but the more this science is magnificent and dazzling in its results, the more exact and scrupulously accurate shall I be in my calculations.

The only question for consideration is the general developement of principles. Should I be brief and general, or prosy and minute in explanation? To be minute in every case, would not be pleasing to the general reader, (more particularly on such abstract questions as that of the minute analysis of the passions and attractions), and general definitions are too liable to fail in clearness. I will steer a middle course, and enter into some minute details, at times, and leave some others of an abstract nature for a future publication. To dwell too long upon minute analysis would tire the general reader, and a treatise for adepts can easily be written separately, with a full developement of abstract principles, for their especial use.

Some articles, however, will be found in this first volume

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which may be deemed superfluous; but I have special reasons for inserting them. My object being to find a person who is able to experiment the theory of unitary combination, on a limited scale, [without appealing to the people generally, who are ill prepared to judge of scientific principles,] I have introduced a great variety of subjects suited to the tastes of different persons.

In Christendom there are four thousand persons rich enough in their own private means, or holding in society positions of sufficient influence, to become candidates for the foundation of associative unity, by organizing a domestic and industrial association, of 500 persons, men, women, and children, of various professions and degrees of fortune in society, located on a few square miles of territory.

Strictly speaking, it is quite sufficient for my durpose, to persuade a single one of these four thousand: but how am I to set about it? Neither flowery language nor the forms of adulation will effect the purpose; for a man of judgment will be influenced by nothing short of the most undeniable arithmetic. Men who might be influenced by flattery are not fit persons to appeal to, for, in general, they are waving and undecided characters, talking much and doing little—useless patrons, satisfied with barren popularity, and seeking nothing further. Such a conquest would not be worth making. I wish to find a man of comprehensive mind, to carry out my views in practice; a man who sees things in their natural light, at once, and elevates his views above the littleness of his contemporaries. Such a man will easily appreciate true principles, and like an exposition of the blunders of false science, better than a lame apology for reigning errors. Besides, I neither understand nor wish to learn the forms of flattery, and I should only show a want of self-respect in condescending to adopt that tone of writing. I must therefore speculate upon the chance of finding a rich candidate belonging to the higher class of minds, magnanimous and enterprising, persevering and judicious.

A man of this high character, endowed with vast conceptions of a unitary order, would require a satisfactory solution of the unitary problems; and would place no confidence in me if I evaded the solution: I have traced them distinctly, therefore, in their threefold order, and in separate articles, relating to

The unity of man with man.
The unity of man with God.
The unity of man with universal Nature.

These articles on universal unity may startle vulgar minds by an apparent strangeness, but to satisfy superior minds they are quite indispensable; and to gain the confidence of one superior influential candidate for the foundation of a new society, I must not fail to do my duty, for the sake of yielding to the childish prejudices of the age, in a question upon which depends the true deliverance of the human race; the issue from the labyrinth of civilized duplicity and war and carnage; and the rapid transformation of society upon the globe into a state of universal unity.

WESTERN RESERVE COLLEGE,
HUDSON, OHIO, Feb. 2nd, 1844.

MESSRS. A. BRISBANE and O. MACDANIEL, Editors of the Phalanx,—

Gentlemen—At a meeting of the Senior Class of Western Reserve College, held on the 27th of January, 1844, William S. Aumock was called to the chair, and George Hoadly Jr. appointed Secretary. An Extract from the fourth number of the Phalanx was then read, and Messrs. George Hoadly Jr. and Charles R. Pierce were appointed a committee to draft resolutions.

The Committee reported the following Preamble and Resolutions.

Whereas, a gentleman* in Louisiana has given to the editors of the Phalanx the sum of one hundred dollars, on condition that the Phalanx be sent to the senior class of every college in the United States for six months, therefore

Resolved, That we, the Senior Class of Western Reserve College, do, both individually and collectively, return our grateful thanks to the gentleman who has shown such kind regard for the instruction of the rising generation, and benevolence in his endeavors to spread knowledge on the subject of Social Science.

Resolved, That the subject of Association is one of deep and overwhelming interest, based on the truth "that our evils are social, not political," and designed by its supporters to exert such an influence upon our country as to make it truly a land of universal happiness.

Resolved, That if the principles of Social Science be correct, our social evils, which now weigh like an incubus on the rising energies of America, will be removed, and moral corruption, that Bohan Upas which now withers and destroys the vital principle of true happiness, will be completely eradicated.

Resolved, That it is our duty, composing a part of the youth of America, on whom the future prosperity of our beloved country depends, to study well the principles on which a system promising so much, is based, and to weigh well the consequences which will result from their application.

Resolved, That a copy of the proceedings of this meeting, signed by the Chairman and Secretary, be sent to the Editors of the Phalanx for publication, and they be requested to send a copy of them to the gentleman in Louisiana.

On motion of O. A. Lyman the resolutions were, after a spirited debate, accepted and adopted.

On motion of S. V. Blakeslee the meeting adjourned.

WM. S. AUMOCK, *Chairman*.
GEO. HOADLY JR., *Secretary*.

I am instructed, Sirs, by the class to which I belong, to request you to publish the above proceedings.

The "Great West" is waking up on this subject. The defects in our social condition have long been seen, but no effectual remedy has as yet been devised. All classes, all conditions, and all sexes, are now paying homage to the genius of CHARLES FOURIER. Associations are springing up on every side; and in every village and hamlet in Ohio, there are many anxious inquirers on this subject. Among others we have shared in this universal excitement, and believe me, Sirs, your paper came to us like an angel of mercy, promising great things. As it circulates from person to person, each in turn becomes imbued with the spirit of anxious inquiry until from great reading the papers you sent have literally dropped to pieces. From week to week we have had the Tribune's column on association, but we have felt the need of some more extensive publication on this subject, I wish you success in your schemes for the "Emancipation of a suffering World" and would beg to be considered

Your's most respectfully,
GEO. HOADLY, Jr.

CONSTITUTION
OF
THE BROOK FARM ASSOCIATION,
FOR INDUSTRY AND EDUCATION, WEST ROXBURY, MASS.
WITH AN INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT.

THE Association at Brook Farm has now been in existence upwards of two years. Originating in the thought and experience of a few individuals, it has hitherto worn, for the most part, the character of a private experiment, and has avoided rather than sought the notice of the public. It has, until the present time, seemed fittest to those engaged in this enterprise, to publish no statements of their purposes or methods—to make no promises or declarations—but quietly and sincerely to realise, as far as might be possible, the great ideas which gave the central impulse to their movement. It has been thought that a steady endeavor to embody these ideas more and more perfectly in life, would give the best answer, both to the hopes of the friendly and the cavils of the sceptical, and furnish in its results the surest grounds for any larger efforts.

Meanwhile every step has strengthened the faith with which we set out; our belief in a divine order of human society has in our own minds become an absolute certainty: and considering the present state of humanity and of social science, we do not hesitate to affirm that the world is much nearer the attainment of such a condition than is generally supposed.

The deep interest in the doctrine of Association which now fills the minds of intelligent persons everywhere, indicates plainly that the time has passed when even initiative movements ought to be prosecuted in silence, and makes it imperative on all who have either a theoretical or practical knowledge of the subject, to give their share to the stock of public information.

Accordingly, we have taken occasion at several public meetings recently held in Boston, to state some of the results of our studies and experience, and we desire here to say emphatically, that while on the one hand we yield an unqualified assent to that doctrine of universal unity which Fourier teaches, so on the other, our whole observation has shown us the truth of the practical

* John D. Wilkins, Esq., of St. Mary's Parish, Attacapas County, La. When we noticed the liberal act of this gentleman, we had some scruples about publishing his name, and withheld it; but as we see no great impropriety in giving it publicity, we do it, trusting that he himself will not be displeased at our taking this liberty without his permission.

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arrangements which he deduces therefrom. The law of groups and series is, as we are convinced, the law of human nature, and when men are in true social relations, their industrial organization will necessarily assume those forms.

But beside the demand for information respecting the principles of association, there is a deeper call for action in the matter. We wish, therefore, to bring Brook Farm before the public, as a location offering at least as great advantages for a thorough experiment as can be found in the vicinity of Boston. It is situated in West Roxbury, three miles from the depot of the Dedham Branch Railroad, and about eight miles from Boston, and combines a convenient nearness to the city, with a degree of retirement and freedom from unfavorable influences, unusual even in the country. The place is one of great natural beauty, and indeed the whole landscape is so rich and various as to attract the notice even of casual visitors. The farm now owned by the Association contains two hundred and eight acres, of as good quality as any land in the neighborhood of Boston, and can be enlarged by the purchase of land adjoining to any necessary extent The property now in the hands of the Association is worth nearly or quite thirty thousand dollars, of which about twenty-two thousand dollars is invested either in the stock of the company, or in permanent loans at six per cent., which can remain as long as the Association may wish.

The fact that so large an amount of capital is already invested and at our service, as the basis of more extensive operations, furnishes a reason why Brook Farm should be chosen as the scene of that practical trial of association which the public feeling calls for in this immediate vicinity, instead of forming an entirely new organization for that purpose. The completeness of our educational department is also not to be overlooked. This has hitherto received our greatest care, and in forming it we have been particularly successful. In any new Association it must be many years before so many accomplished and skilful teachers in the various branches of intellectual culture could be enlisted. Another strong reason is to be found in the degree of order our oganization has already attained, by the help of which a large Association might be formed without the losses and inconveniences which would otherwise necessarily occur. The experience of nearly three years in all the misfortunes and mistakes incident to an undertaking so new and so little understood, carried on throughout by persons not entirely fitted for the duties they have been compelled to perform, has, as we think, prepared us to assist in the safe conduct of an extensive and complete Association.

Such an institution, as will be plain to all, cannot by any sure means be brought at once and full-grown into existence. It must at least in the present state of society, begin with a comparatively small number of select and devoted persons, and increase by natural and gradual aggregations. With a view to an ultimate expansion into a perfect Phalanx, we desire without any delay to organize the three primary departments of labor, namely, Agriculture, Domestic Industry, and the Mechanic Arts.

For this purpose additional capital will be needed, which it is most desirable should be invested by those who propose to connect themselves personally with the institution. These should be men and women accustomed to labor, skilful, careful, in good health, and more than all imbued with the idea of Association, and ready to consecrate themselves without reserve to its realization. For it ought to be known that the work we propose is a difficult one, and except to the most entire faith and resolution will offer insurmountable obstacles and discouragements. Neither will it be possible to find in Association at the outset the great outward advantages it ultimately promises. The first few years must be passed in constant and unwearied labor, lightened chiefly by the consciousness of high aims, and the inward content that devotion to a universal object cannot fail to bring. Still there are certain tangible compensations which Association guarantees immediately. These are freedom from pecuniary anxiety, and the evils of competitive industry, free and friendly society, and the education of children. How great these are, those who have felt the terrible burdens which the present civilized society imposes in these respects will not need to be informed.

Those who may wish to further this cause by investments of money only will readily perceive that their end is not likely to be lost in an Association whose means are devoted mainly to productive industry, and where nothing will ever be risked in uncertain speculations.

The following Constitution is the same as that under which we have hitherto acted, with such alterations as on a careful revision seemed needful. All persons who are not familiar with the purposes of Association, will understand from this document that we propose a radical and universal reform, rather than to redress any particular wrong, or to remove the sufferings of any single class of human beings. We do this in the light of universal principles, in which all differences, whether of religion, or politics, or philosophy, are reconciled, and the dearest and most private hope of every man has the promise of fulfilment. Herein, let it be understood, we would remove nothing that is truly beautiful or venerable: we reverence the religious sentiment, in all its forms, the family, and whatever else has its foundation either in human nature or the Divine Providence. The work we are engaged in is not destruction, but true conservation: it is not a mere revolution, but, as we are assured, a necessary step in the course of social progress which no one can be blind enough to think has yet reached its limit. We believe that humanity, trained by these long centuries of suffering and struggle—led on by so many saints and heroes and sages, is at length prepared to enter into that universal order toward which it has perpetually moved. Thus we recognize the worth of the whole Past, and of every doctrine and institution it has bequeathed us; thus also we perceive that the Present has its own high mission, and we shall only say what is beginning to be seen by all sincere thinkers, when we declare that the imperative duty of this time and this country—nay, more, that its only salvation, and the salvation of all civilized countries, lies in the Reorganization of Society, according to the unchanging laws of human nature and of universal harmony.

We look, then, to the generous and hopeful of all classes for sympathy, for encouragement, and for actual aid—not to ourselves only, but to all those who are engaged in this great work. And whatever may be the result of any special efforts, we can never doubt that the object we have in view will finally be attained; that human life shall yet be developed, not in discord and misery, but in harmony and joy, and that the perfected earth shall at last bear on her bosom a race of men worthy of the name.

GEORGE RIPLEY,
MINOT PRATT,
CHARLES A. DANA, } *Directors.*

Brook Farm, West Roxbury, Mass.,
January 18, 1844.

CONSTITUTION.

In order more especially to promote the great purposes of human culture; to establish the external relations of life on a basis of wisdom and purity; to apply the principles of justice and love to our social organization, in accordance with the laws of Divine Providence; to substitute a principle of brotherly co-operation for one of selfish competition; to secure to our children and those who may be intrusted to our care the benefits of the highest physical, intellectual, and moral education, which in the progress of knowledge the resources at our command will permit; to institute an attractive, efficient, and productive system of industry; to prevent the exercise of worldly anxiety, by the competent supply of our necessary wants; to diminish the desire of excessive accumulation, by making the acquisition of individual property subservient to upright and disinterested uses; to guarantee to each other forever the means of physical support, and of spiritual progress; and thus to impart a greater freedom, simplicity, truthfulness, refinement, and moral dignity, to our mode of life;—we the undersigned do unite in a voluntary Association, and adopt and ordain the following articles of agreement, to wit:

ARTICLE I.

NAME AND MEMBERSHIP.

Sec. 1. The name of this Association shall be "The Brook-Farm Association for Industry and Education." All persons who shall hold one or more shares in its stock, or whose labor and skill shall be considered an equivalent for capital, may be admitted by the vote of two-thirds of the Association, as members thereof.

Sec. 2. No member of the Association shall ever be subjected to any religious test; nor shall any authority be assumed over individual freedom of opinion by the Association, nor by one member over another; nor shall any one be held accountable to the Association, except for such overt acts, or omissions of duty, as violate the principles of justice, purity, and love, on which it is founded; and in such cases the relation of any member may be suspended or discontinued, at the pleasure of the Association.

ARTICLE II.

CAPITAL STOCK.

Sec. 1. The members of this Association shall own and manage such real and personal estate in joint stock proprietorship, divided into shares of one hundred dollars each, as may from time to time be agreed on.

Sec. 2. No share-holder shall be liable to any assessment

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whatever on the shares held by him; nor shall he be held responsible individually in his private property on account of the Association; nor shall the Trustees or any officer or agent of the Association have any authority to do anything which shall impose personal responsibility on any share-holder, by making any contracts or incurring any debts for which the share-holders shall be individually or personally responsible.

Sec. 3. The Association guaranties to each share-holder the interest of five per cent. annually on the amount of stock held by him in the Association, and this interest may be paid in certificates of stock and credited on the books of the Association: provided that each share-holder may draw on the funds of the Association for the amount of interest due at the third annual settlement from the time of investment.

Sec. 4, The share-holders on their part for themselves, their heirs and assigns, to renounce all claim on any profits accruing to the Association for the use of their capital invested in the stock of the Association, except five per cent. interest on the amount of stock held by them, payable in the manner described in the preceding section.

ARTICLE III

GUARANTIES.

Sec. 1. The Association shall provide such employment for all its members as shall be adapted to their capacities, habits, and tastes; and each member shall select and perform such operations of labor, whether corporal or mental, as shall be deemed best suited to his own endowments and the benefit of the Association.

Sec. 2. The Association guaranties to all its members, their children and family dependents, house-rent, fuel, food, and clothing, and the other necessaries of life, without charge, not exceeding a certain fixed amount to be decided annually by the Association; no charge shall ever be made for support during inability to labor from sickness or old age, or for medical or nursing attendance, except in case of share-holders, who shall be charged therefor, and also for the food and clothing of children, to an amount not exceeding the interest due to them on settlement; but no charge shall be made to any member for education or the use of library and public rooms.

Sec. 3. Members may withdraw from labor, under the direction of the Association, and in that case, they shall not be entitled to the benefit of the above guaranties.

Sec. 4. Children over ten years of age shall be provided with employment in suitable branches of industry; they shall be credited for such portions of each annual dividend, as shall be decided by the Association, and on the completion of their education in the Association at the age of twenty, shall be entitled to a certificate of stock to the amount of credits in their favor, and may be admitted as members of the Association.

ARTICLE IV.

DISTRIBUTION OF PROFITS.

Sec 1. The nett profits of the Association, after the payment of all expenses, shall be divided into a number of shares corresponding to the number of day's labor; and every member shall be entitled to one share for every day's labor performed by him.

Sec. 2. A full settlement shall be made with every member once a year, and certificates of stock given for all balances due; but in case of need to be decided by himself, every member may be permitted to draw on the funds of the Treasury to an amonnt not exceeding the credits in his favor for labor performed.

ARTICLE V.

GOVERNMENT.

Sec. 1. The government of the Association shall be vested in a board of Directors, divided into four departments, as follows; 1st, General Direction; 2d, Direction of Education; 3d, Direction of Industry; 4th, Direction of Finance; consisting of three persons each, provided that the same person may be elected member of each Direction,

Sec. 2. The General Direction, and Direction of Education shall be chosen annually, by the vote of a majority of the members of the Association. The Direction of Finance shall be chosen annually, by the vote of a majority of the share-holders and members of the Association. The Direction of Industry shall consist of the chiefs of the three primary series.

Sec, 3. The chairman of the General Direction shall be the President of the Association, and together with the Direction of Finance, shall constitute a board of Trustees, by whom the property of the Association shall be held and managed.

Sec, 4. The General Direction shall oversee and manage the affairs of the Association, so that every department shall be carried on in an orderly and efficient manner.

Sec. 5. The departments of Education and Finance shall be under the control each of its own Direction, which shall select, and in concurrence with the General Direction, shall appoint such teachers, officers, and agents, as shall be necessary to the complete and systematic organization of the department. No Directors or other officers shall be deemed to possess any rank superior to the other members of the Association, nor shall they receive any extra remuneration for their official services.

Sec. 6. The department of Industry shall be arranged in groups and series, as far as practicable, and shall consist of three primary series; to wit, Agricultural, Mechanical, and Domestic Industry. The chief of each series shall be elected every two months by the members thereof, subject to the approval of the General Direction. The chief of each group shall be chosen weekly by its members.

ARTICLE VI.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Sec. 1. The Association may from time to time adopt such bye-laws, not inconsistent with the spirit and purpose of these articles, as shall be found expedient or necessary.

Sec. 2. In order to secure to the Association the benefits of the highest discoveries in social science, and to preserve its fidelity to the principles of progress and reform, on which it is founded, any amendment may be proposed to this Constitution at a meeting called for the purpose; and if approved by two-thirds of the members at a subsequent meeting, at least one month after the date of the first, shall be adopted.

LERAYSVILLE PHALANX.

We learn that this Association is proceeding with its organization under favorable auspices. The most interesting practical step that has been taken is, the *throwing down of the division fences* of the farms which have been united to form the Domain. How significant a fact is this!—the barricades of selfishness and isolation are overthrown! Let it be reflected upon; we cannot now dwell on it, suggestive as is the fact in a moral point of view. But in a practical light let us regard it for one moment, not alone, but as a part of the whole movement of the Leraysville Phalanx, which in its organization presents some peculiar features, and affords an instructive lesson.

Buried deep in the mountains of Pennsylvania, in a secluded, and as is said, beautiful valley, some honest farmers are living on their separate farms. In the general they are thrifty, but they feel sensibly many evils and disadvantages to which they are subjected. The doctrines of association reach them, and as intelligent, sincere minded men, they come together and discuss their merits. They are satisfied of their truth, and that they can live together as brethren with united interests, far better than they can separated, under the old system of divided and conflicting interests. They resolve to carry out their convictions, and to form an Association. Now how is this to be done? Simply by uniting their farms, and forming of them one Domain! They do not sacrifice any interest in their property, the tenure of it only is charged. Instead of owning the acres themselves, they own the shares of stock which represent the acres, and the individual and collective interests are at once united. They are now joint-partners in a noble domain, and *the interest of each is the interest of all and the interest of all the interest of each*. From unity of interests at once spring unity of feeling and unity of design, and the first sign is a *destructive* one—they throw down the old land marks of division; the next will be *constructive*—they will build them a large and comfortable edifice in which they can reside in true social relations.

Now what do we gather from this? Plainly that the social transformation from isolation to association, is a simple and easy thing, a peaceful and a practical thing, which neither violates any right nor disturbs any order. And it shows another thing worth noting. The charge is sometimes made against association, that it is a cowardly and selfish thing which proposes to take men from the world to where they will live for themselves, leaving the rest of society to struggle on as it can. Now in the case before us, which is an example merely of what may be universal, there is no cowardly shrinking from the world—there is only a change in internal organization and condition, not in relations to the rest of the world and society at large, Let it answer all such cavils.

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We understand that as soon as the spring opens, the Leraysville Phalanx is to be joined by a number of enterprizing men and skillful mechanics from this city, and other places. For information, address Dr. L. Belding, Leraysville, Bradford Co., Pa., or Solyman Brown, Esq., No. 13 Park Place, New York.

THE ALPHADELPHIA ASSOCIATION.

We have received the Constitution of this Association, a notice of the formation of which was contained in our last. In most respects the constitution is similar to that of the North American Phalanx. It will be seen by the description of the domain selected, which we publish below, that the location is extremely favorable. The establishment of this Association in Michigan is but a pioneer movement, which we have no doubt will soon be followed by the formation of many others. Our friends are already numerous in that State, and the interest in Association is rapidly growing there, as it is throughout the West generally. The West we think will soon become the grand theatre of action, and ere long Associations will spring up so rapidly, that we shall scarcely be able to chronicle them. The people, the farmers, and mechanics particularly, have only to understand the leading principles of our doctrines to admire and approve of them; and it would therefore be no matter of surprise to see, in a short time, their general and simultaneous adoption. Indeed, the social transformation from a state of Isolation with all its poverty and miseries, to a state of Association with its immense advantages and prosperity, may be much nearer and proceed more rapidly than we now imagine. The signs are many and cheering.

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF THE ALPHADELPHIA ASSOCIATION.

In consequence of a call of a Convention published in the Primitive Expounder, fifty-six persons assembled in the School House at the head of Clark's lake on the fourteenth day of December last, from the Counties of Oakland, Wayne, Washtenaw, Genesee, Jackson, Eaton, Calhoun and Kalamazoo, in the state of Michigan; and after a laborious session of three days, from morning to midnight, adopted the skeleton of a Constitution, which was referred to a Committee of three, composed of Doctor H. R. Schetterly, Rev. James Billings, and Franklin Pierce Esq. for revision and amendment. A committee consisting of Doct. H. R. Schetterly, John Curtis, and William Grant, was also elected to view three places, designated by the Convention possessing the requisite qualifications for a domain. The Convention then adjourned to meet again at Bellevue, Eaton Co. on the third day of Jan. ultimo, to receive the reports of said Committees, to chose a domain from those reported on by the Committee on location, and to revise, perfect and adopt said Constitution. This adjourned Convention met on the day appointed—selected a location in the town of Comstock, Kalamazoo Co. (being the South East quarter of town two South of Range ten West, in the state of Michigan) whose advantages are described by the Committee on location in the following terms (abridged).

The Kalamazoo river is a large and beautiful stream, nine rods wide, and five feet deep in the middle, flowing at the rate of about four miles per hour: and with eight feet fall, which can be obtained without flowing any land worth mentioning, by digging a race one mile and a half in length, will propel one hundred run of mill stones, in the dryest season. The digging is easy, and may be nearly all done with scrapers and teams.

The mansion and manufactories will stand on a beautiful plain, descending gradually towards the bank of the river, which is about twelve feet high. This plain is always dry, and from fifty to sixty rods wide, being skirted on the south by a range of hillocks about twenty feet high, and running parallel with the river. These hillocks occupy a space of from ten to thirty rods in width, and then terminate in a gentle undulating plain, extending east, south and westward for miles, being covered with the most thrifty timber your committee ever beheld, consisting of whitewood, white, black, and blue ash, white and red oak, two kinds of beach and two of elm, black walnut, soft maple, some cherry, and especially hard maple in large quantity and of the best quality—the trees being from two to three and a half feet in diameter, and some of the black walnut are fourteen feet in circumference.

There is a spring, pouring out about a barrel of pure water per minute, half a mile from the place where the mansion and manufactories will stand; the water of which, being brought in pipes, your committee found by levelling, will rise to the height of more than fifty feet.

Cobble stone more than sufficient for foundations and building a dam, and easily accessible, are found on the domain; and sand and clay, of which excellent brick have been made, are also abundant. Iron ore is known to exist both on the domain, and in its vicinity; but its extent has not yet been ascertained.

The Central Rail Road runs along the northern border, a mile and a quarter from the mansion, and the state Commissioners have concluded to build a depot within a quarter of a mile from the nearest place to it, and may be induced, it is thought, to place it in the very spot where it will best accomodate our Association.

Your Committee paid particular attention to the sources and causes of febrile diseases, and must say they could discover none (there being no wet marshes on the domain, nor timber in the river.) The soil of the Domain is exceedingly fertile, and of great variety, consisting of prairie, oak openings and timbered and bottom land along the river. About three thousand acres of it have been tendered to our Association, as stock to be appraised at the cash value, nine hundred of which are under cultivation, fit for the plough; and nearly all the remainder has been offered in exchange for other improved lands belonging to members at a distance, who wish to invest their property in our Association.

THE OHIO PHALANX.

FROM THE OHIO REPOSITORY.

The Repository for Nov. 30, 1843, contained the Articles of Association of the "THE AMERICAN PHALANX," with an imperfect outline of its plan, and a brief sketch of the Domain it had selected and secured for its future operations. The name has since been changed to "THE OHIO PHALANX," which appears at the head of this article. Its Articles of Association have also been modified in some particulars, but not in such a manner as to change any of their essential features.

The Ohio Phalanx is now definitely constituted, and the first pioneers are already upon the Domain. More will follow in a few days to assist in making preliminary preparations. A larger company will be added in March, and by the end of May the Phalanx is expected to consist of 120 resident members, of whom the greater part will be adult males. They will be received from time to time as rapidly as temporary accommodations can be provided. The prospects of the Phalanx are cheering beyond the most sanguine anticipations of its friends.

It is deemed expedient from this time to excuse the local agents who have been appointed in various places to receive applications for stock and membership, from the performance of any further duties. Applications must hereafter be made (if by mail, post-paid) either to "The Ohio Phalanx," (Address, Bell Air, Belmont Co., Ohio) or to the subscriber at Canton. The agents who have heretofore acted, will, therefore, as soon as convenient after the receipt of this notice, report such applications as may then have been made, and request subsequent inquirers to apply as above directed.

Applications for membership should state the following particulars: 1. The age and occupation of the applicant. 2. If he have a family, the age and sex of each. 3. The amount of *money* he will invest on admission in the stock of the Phalanx. 4. The further amount, if any, which he will subsequently invest, and at what time. 5. If he proposes to invest property of any kind, he should describe it as particularly as possible; and if it appears to be such as the Phalanx requires, it will be received at such price as it would cost the Phalanx if purchased with *cash*, an equitable deduction being made if it be depreciated by use or otherwise. 6. The application should also contain references which will enable the officers of the Phalanx to satisfy themselves as to the character of the applicant.

Unless under very special circumstances, each single man is required to invest at least $100, and each man with a family at least $200, in cash, in the stock of the Phalanx, at the time of his admission. An admission fee is also required as follows: For each adult male $5; for each adult female $3; for other members of a family, each $1; which sums are appropriated in part to pay the expenses which have been and may be incurred in organizing the Association, and the residue to procure books, magazines, &c., for the use of the members. A compliance with these conditions does not, however, *entitle* a person to admission, but the officers of the Phalanx select from the applicants such as appear to them most eligible. Other things being equal, those will be selected who contribute most to the resources of the Association. One object is, to admit none who are not zealous friends of the cause, and would not be willing, if necessary, to make some sacrifices for its success.

We would not be understood to invite the inquisitive to ask us questions concerning the doctrines of Association. These are

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found in the works of Fourier and his disciples, and have been extensively propagated in this country by several persons, and especially by Mr. A. Brisbane. Applicants are expected to have their minds made up, and to be ready to co-operate at once in the experiment of a Social Reorganization. E. P. GRANT.

SOCIAL REFORM CONVENTION.

We the undersigned, citizens of the County of Genesee, N. Y., believing that the present system of society is false and productive of immense evil, and earnestly desiring to see society organized on better principles; principles more in accordance with the spirit of christianity and brotherly love—do hereby call a Convention of the friends of Social reform and Associated Industry in this and other counties, to be holden at the new Court House in Batavia, on Wednesday, March 13th, to commence at 10 o'clock in the morning. The objects of the convention are to discuss the subject of Social Reorganization and Reform, a subject worthy the serious attention of the Philanthropist and Christian, and to counsel together how we may best advance the interests of this great cause. All who have become interested in this matter, or who may wish to obtain information concerning it—all who feel the evils of the present system of society, and desire to have them removed, are earnestly invited to attend. Professional men, Capitalists and Working men generally are invited to attend. It is expected the convention will be addressed by eminent gentlemen from abroad.

[Here follow thirty-seven names.]

PARK GODWIN, Esq. has a work upon Association in press, which will be of a deeply interesting character. It will contain explanations and elucidations of some of the higher parts of the doctrine. We recommend it particularly to the attention of the friends of Association. In our next we shall speak at length of it.

BROWNSON'S QUARTERLY REVIEW, devoted to Religion, Politics, Philosophy and general Literature. No. 1. for January, 1844. Boston.

O. A. Brownson, Esq. has commenced anew the publication of his Review. He had merged it for a time in the Democratic Review, to which he became a regular contributor; but Mr. Brownson, like all minds deeply engaged in projects of innovation and the promulgation of ideas of universal reform, does not please the majority, who, no matter to what sect or party they belong, or what condition they are in, are at bottom thoroughly conservative, and will not listen to new principles or plans of reform. Mr. B. did not find favor with the readers of the Democratic Review, or at least displeased so many of them that he withdrew, and, as we stated, has recommenced his *own* Review. We welcome it heartily, and we recommend it most cordially to all who, in these "hard times," can possibly spare three dollars per annum for philosophical instruction.

BROWNSON'S QUARTERLY REVIEW and THE PRESENT, by Wm. H. Channing, will rank foremost among the most original and remarkable reviews published in this or any other country. A social and universal reform will be the central IDEA around which these reviews will revolve. This Idea will be viewed in different aspects, and different methods will be proposed for carrying it out; but this *Idea*, truly the great one which the century has brought forth and which it will in some way actualize, will be the object of consideration by the editors of these two periodicals. What other, object is now worthy of occupying the minds of men of ability and exalted views and feelings, and who are animated by a sincere love of Humanity and universal Justice? None. Individual ambition, party or sectarian controversy, pecuniary gain—all these and similar aims are too small to occupy the attention of men of enlarged views, who comprehend the possibility of doing away with the poverty, misery, and other social evils, which exist upon this earth, and of elevating mankind to a high state of intelligence, harmony and happiness.

The most remarkable article in the number of the Review before us, is entitled "The Church Question." In this article Mr. Brownson advocates forcibly the UNITY OF THE CHURCH—the fusion and union of all sects in one grand WHOLE—the absorption of the sectarian controversies that divide the Christian world in a higher view of God, man and the universe; not by giving supremacy to any existing party or creed in the Church, but by bringing together all parties on a HIGHER GROUND of UNITY, which shall conciliate and absorb all minor differences. In this view we agree entirely, and on future occasions, will lay before our readers the opinions we hold in regard to the Church question, which we will here take occasion to mention, has been discussed quite thoroughly by the disciples of Fourier in France and England.

SOCIAL REFORM CONVENTION AT BOSTON.

CONCLUDED.

II. ASSOCIATIONS REPRESENTED.—OBJECTIONS.—ANSWERS.

The Associations of Northampton, Hopedale and Brook Farm, were each well represented; and it was delightful to meet and converse with these men, who have been faithful, through good and ill report, and the difficulties incident to new undertakings, to their sublime faith in the possibility of perfect justice and love. The audiences spontaneously felt that their words were loaded with experience, and listened therefore with confiding respect. And these words were full of encouragement. Admitting frankly, that they have been called to hard work, and to privations, made necessary chiefly by the insufficient capital invested in their enterprises, they still unanimously declared their satisfaction and increasing interest in the movement. As one of them said, "we feel homesick when we go out among the business of the world." They think that they have realized several important results. They find, that the influence of close union with varieties of mind and character is healthful. A man immediately sees that he is known, and fairly guaged; and hence a truthful simplicity that drops disguises, and makes the home life and public life one. And yet this general criticism induces tolerance; not only because each feels that his own faults are visible as well as his brothers, but still more, because each finds in his neighbor some trait or disposition which makes a complement to his own. A single family has prejudices, inherited notions and maxims, partial estimates, whimsical standards of action, a monotony of conscience; in the degree in which the circle enlarges, the judgment that governs it is better balanced, and becomes at once more sagacious and more liberal. Thus many families united exert upon each of their individual members a more generous, expanding, awakening power, than any isolated household could.

Neither does the practical experiment thus far show, what so many have dreaded, a tendency to the loosening of family ties. On the contrary, some, at least, of these Associationists think, that husbands and wives become more relying, more courteous, less arbitrary and selfish, that they learn to set a more watchful guard upon the weaknesses of temper, which so often encroach little by little, to overgrow the Edens of first love with the briars of discontent, and thus keep alive, rather than lose the romance of affection. And in regard to children, as the Association takes somewhat the attitude of critic of their faults, the Parent becomes rather the confidant, and trustful fosterer of their virtues, and fills the place, to which instinct on both sides prompts, of bosom friend. In the narrow accommodations and imperfect arrangements of order, as yet possessed by these Associations, however, no fair test can be made. If thus far they have experienced no disadvantageous effects upon the family circle, but rather the contrary, they may well cherish a hope, that *Families United* will retain all that is now most sacred and beautiful in this relation, and superadd a cheerfulness, a variety of stimulants to heart and head, a candor and frank courtesy, habits of self-trust and reverence, not easily secured in the small groups allied by blood. Certainly one would anticipate, that the enlarged sphere of intimate relationships would offer inducements to kindness, make demands upon sympathy and self-sacrifice, and weave countless ties between young and old, in every way favorable to gentle manners and disinterestedness. And our friends of these Associations declare, that this anticipation is practically fulfilled.

Another most important result they have realized. They have proved the possibility of the freest and most friendly intercourse between those whom society at large casts into different classes, according to some scale of accidental differences in condition, culture, refinement; and the effect is what it ought to be, diffusion of the highest traits of intellect and character, without letting down the standard of taste. The process is one of general elevation. a levelling upwards, a blending of energy and grace. Already these little Associations, poor and overworked as they are, manifest the practicability of uniting labor with cultivation and elegance. Each one becomes by the necessity of daily communion, his fellow's teacher, helper, example. Principles, experience, are not hoarded, but shared. And a general atmosphere of intelligence and conscience stimulates to faithful self-improvement.

It was interesting to hear the answers made to the quite common, but very superficial objection, that *individuality* will be lost in association. The witty retort, "where is your individuality now, amidst the servitude of political and theological parties, the pressure of competition in business, the inevitable insincerities of actual life," cut to the quick. Just in the degree of the selfishness of any society will of course be its tyranny; and with increase of love comes freedom. Place men in situations favorable to the exercise of their powers, open new interests, mul-

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tiply the variety of influences acting upon them, substitute generous and confiding relations for constraint and force, and you enable them at once to know and to manifest themselves. The testimony was unanimous of the Associationists, that individuality was increased, not lessened among them. An objection, that such independence of society at large, as they secure for themselves, may lead to eccentric extravagance, might be urged with far greater plausibility. Indeed, small Associations will always incur that danger; and this is one reason why Associations should be large enough to embrace all classes of dispositions and tendencies.

The objection that Association is a withdrawal from the world, monkish, self-indulgent, and exclusive, was equally well answered. Society, as it is, rests *upon the protection of individual interests as its legal foundation;* and hence the all-pervading selfishness. If the purpose and hope is to give freer room to the exercise of love, by substituting united interests as a social basis, withdrawal is an absolute necessity. To organize a system of co-operative industry, a position on the soil is the first requisite. But what light may shine from these cities set on a hill. What an impregnable strong-hold, from which to disarm prejudice and ignorance and inveterate habit, is a theory illustrated in successful deeds. Let a speculative man state the philosophy of Association, and instantly the world says, "very fine! but the proof is in the working." It is an absurd blowing of hot and cold then, to turn round upon the practical Associationist with a complaint of his endeavor to test his principles in action. As well condemn Columbus for embarking in search of the western islands, whose visioned glory beckoned him onward. Will the hard world have no better welcome than chains and cold neglect, if these voyagers to unknown continents of peace send back as cargo fruits of joy, perchance fine gold of wisdom?

A fire of cross questionings, poured from all sides upon the Associationists, brought out from them as reply, truly royal salutes of explanation. They showed, how in place of the drudgery and degradation of menial service they had succeeded in introducing dignified mutual assistance; how a beautiful atmosphere of cordiality and kindness was spread around children; how education was interwoven with labor, and discipline blended with freedom and pleasure through the day; how usefulness in all branches was honored, and work elevated to its true position as worship, and so the whole of life made sacred; how woman retook her appropriate place of co-equality with man. It is well enough to crack jokes upon these visionaries, to retail scandal at their expense, to predict with gipsy foresight misfortunes, to antedate their failure, and to fill the air with babblement of disparaging reports, if one has no better occupation for idle hours; but he who could look on the manly forms and faces of these pioneers to the land of promise, while hearing their simple statements, and not feel honor for their heroism, and sympathy with their hope, deserves to keep through life the apathy of soul which must be habitual to him—deserves to drudge along content, amidst the squalid, chaotic, tantalizing, degrading influences of existing society. If our states and towns can tax themselves to support criminals and paupers, and whole armies of keepers of the peace and protectors of property, and if after enormous expenditure they still find fraud and violence multiplying, what do they not owe, in the way of countenance and support to men, who are willing to give their lives to test the feasibility of uniting men by the law of liberty, in societies where the rights of all shall be sacred to each, and the might of each be directed to increase the common weal. It is truly matter for congratulation, that these rude and imperfect attempts at Association, projected and carried on as they have been by raw recruits, are all in the fair way to success, brave, hopeful and united.

III. THE PRINCIPLE OF ASSOCIATION.

Space permits only the briefest condensation of views presented by the believers in Association, who addressed the meeting. They were various, and necessarily fragmentary; but it was instructive to observe that practical and scientific men constantly confirmed, and often apparently without being aware of it, the doctrines of SOCIAL SCIENCE, as announced by Fourier. Indeed, in proportion to the degree of one's intimacy with this profound student of harmony, does respect increase for his admirable intellectual power, his foresight, sagacity, completeness. And *for one*, I am desirous to state, that the chief reason which prevents my most public confession of confidence in him as *the one teacher now most needed*, is, that honor for such a patient and conscientious investigator demands, of all who would justify his views, a simplicity of affection, an extent and accuracy of knowledge, an intensity of thought, to which very few can now lay claim. Quite far am I from saying, that as now enlightened I adopt all his opinions; on the contrary, there are some I reject; but it is a pleasure to express gratitude to Charles Fourier, for having opened a whole new world of study, hope, and action. It does seem to me, that he has given us *the clue* out of our scientific labyrinth, and revealed the means of living the law of love. Years of application and trial, however, would alone qualify one to pronounce fair judgment upon this System of Universal Unity.

1. The *Principle of Association.* SOCIAL SCIENCE pre-supposes, first, an exact law of Justice governing the Universe and Humanity, and secondly, man's power of discovering this law. In place of the vagueness and perplexities of our actual ethics and legislation, it assumes to substitute definite and precise knowledge of DIVINE ORDER. Must there not be perfect harmony of affections in the All Good; must not the Love of God include all possible varieties, degrees, relations of love in eternal union? And is not this Love, this Goodness, this One in Many, the fountain of all existence, the primal cause of creation? Suppose this admitted, and let us pass to a second thought. Must not God's wisdom be the corresponding Ideas of these affections of Goodness, the Forms of this One, these Many Loves; the Laws of Justice and Order which image the harmony of God's Bliss? In the Divine Mind must there not be perfect exactness in principles and details, mathematical precision in the universal and minute? Suppose this admitted; and can we conceive of Divine Power as acting in neglect of, or in opposition to, the Truth, the Ideas, Laws, through which the Essential Good, declares his will? What can Creation be but a manifestation in existence of the Justice of Love? The Universe in its immensity and in every atom, in all relations, and each movement, must reflect the thoughts of the divine affections. There can be no absolute disorder. The law even of evil must be known in the Eternal mind; seeming confusion must have a place in the Growth of the Universe. From the centre to the circumference there must be perfectly harmonious series of finite creatures, mutually dependant, completing each other, conformed to one model, and thus composing an accurate representation—as well throughout the whole as in the most inconceivably small particle—of the infinite Ideas, of the infinite Love of God. This principle of All-Governing Order is the germ and root of Association. The principle is not new. It has been admitted by all thinkers, all lovers of all ages. But the application of it to Human Society is new.

2. *Order in Humanity and Man.* If Justice, which is thus shown to be the Ideas and Laws of Love, governs the unconscious and passive universe, must it not also govern, and in a more intense degree, conscious and impassioned spirits? Does the Divine Love through Wisdom rule the mineral and vegetable worlds, distribute colors, forms, perfumes, sounds, guide chemical affinities, animate all movements, and can it neglect intelligent and affectionate creatures? The Societies of rational and active Man surely are not less under the governance of justice than material attractions, than the instincts of animals. How profound is, and always has been, the conviction that Humanity is created upon earth to be the brightness of God's Glory, the express image of his person. There ought, then, to be a perfection of Order, throughout all the relations of the Race as a whole, down to the most trifling detail of individual conduct. Man's Worship, Laws, Industry, Art, Enjoyment, should articulately announce the Wisdom and Love of the Heavenly Father. Collisions, misfortunes, squalidness, poverty, selfishness, are monstrous perversions of human nature. So far from the exactest harmony, the most perfect justice and beauty being unnatural even in the smallest act and most transient relation of life, it appears, then, that anything less than this is unnatural, inhuman. A music of joy should rise moment by moment from human societies acting in concert, so elevating and enrapturing, that the concord of all imagined instruments in unison cannot symbolize it even faintly. To conceive a destiny of Man lower than this would be impious. More or less clearly, indeed, the sages of all eras have foreseen and prophecied a time when Man would be perfectly in peace with God, with Man, with Nature. Man is now in a state of degeneracy, of subversion. The whole effort of ages has been directed to his restoration. This can be effected only through knowledge and obedience of the Law of Justice, in which God's Love for man is made known. And this Law of Love has been and is in a progressive course of revelation. It is revealed through inspired prophets, through Jesus Christ, through the Holy Spirit influencing the *soul* of Man; it is revealed through the discoveries, inventions, philosophies, laws, acts of all ages, in a more or less scientific form, to the intellect of Man; it is revealed permanently in the instinctive tendencies, affections, passions of human *nature*, even when their action is morbid and monstrous. It is this latter form of revelation, through the harmonies of Man's Natural Passions, upon which Fourier and his disciples claim to have thrown a peculiar light. Plainly all modern physiological and psychological investigations have been concentrating upon the determination of these natural laws, impressed on man by his Creator. Fourier assumes to have solved these vexed problems as to man's instinctive and primitive tendencies; to have analyzed, enumerated, classified them; and to have discovered the analogies with the universal laws of harmony, which show man to be at once a microcosm, or image of creation, and at the same time and in a higher manner the image of God. He thus has been instrumental in the hands of Providence, he believes, in announcing the great laws of natural attractions by which God organizes Human Societies, and by obeying which, Man may purify and prepare himself for the constant reception of heavenly inspiration. For the fulfillment of Man's Earthly Destiny—Unity with God, and Man and Nature—the first condition is the Organization of Society according to the Law of Love; because no one man, owing to his finiteness, and partiality, but only many men, fulfilling and completing each other's limitations, can know aright, or execute aright, the Wisdom of Goodness, and so manifest in beautiful industry the Creator's glory. We are members one of another. Each human society, organized of various individuals, differing in character, intellect, energy, should form a Man; the harmoniously conspiring and co-laboring nations of the earth should form One Grand Man; and then will God

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inspire each man, and all men wholly, and Nature own our sovereignty. Such, most briefly and imperfectly stated—for to illustrate it as it deserves, would need volumes—is the Spiritual Principle of Association, the law of Order in humanity and Man. Even an outline of it shows its correspondence with the holiest, loftiest hopes of all ages.

IV. THE END AND MEANS OF ASSOCIATION.

Guided by the Principle of Justice, of the Order of Goodness, by which the harmonies of the human affections are seen to correspond on the one side to the Ideas and Love of God, and on the other to the attractions and affinities of the universe, Association has for its end, then, the perfect accomplishment of Man's three-fold destiny on earth. Through Societies organized in accordance to the living impulses, the intuitions, and inspirations which the Divine Being governs, it aims to glorify the Creator by enabling man to become his image.

In its earnest advocacy of external good, Association may at first sight seem to exert a materializing tendency. But it seeks the perfect order of man's circumstances, and desires to surround him with harmonious influences, with abundance, splendor, luxury, because experience shows, how every condition which affects the bodily health reacts upon the deeper moral affections. Could man's environment be made to reflect the beautiful peace, which should reign in his heart, virtue would be enthusiastic and spontaneous. Every event and relation would suggest and awaken sweet and holy feelings. This is painfully enough proved in a converse manner, by the irritations, unkindnesses, morbid and monstrous excesses, which want and limited spheres of activity occasion. The Creator has not accursed the natural world. It is even now a book of Wisdom, a Divine Poem, though man has so marred and blotted its pages. How it enweaves holy associations even now with our unfolding characters; how it offers frames of glory for our pictured memories; how it embalms in exquisite tombs our buried hopes. Perfect order in the minutest conditions of existence would call out the music of Human Emotions, and react to preserve Social Harmony. But to produce this order, industry and art are needed. And to have these, we must re-arrange Society.

Again, in its urgency to reform Society, Association may seem to slight the culture of the individual, and to give only a secondary place to the spiritual experiences of the holy soul. But here, too, it is true to the laws and conditions of Man. Each generation is the child of the Past, the inheritor by natural descent of its energies and dispositions. The very air is vocal with the eloquence of ages; mountains and plains are strewed with monumental inscriptions of great deeds. We walk amid the kingly phantoms of the good. We live the life transmitted from the thoughts and virtues of all nations. Our conscience, our judgment are social. The Holy Spirit animates not one but all. Were the hope and aspiration of the Race fulfilled, all human beings would in endless variety become to us Poets, Prophets, Priests. To perfect ourselves, we need complete and symmetric men around us. The Divine Truth of Goodness shines upon us through the blue and serene sky of Human looks and deeds and language. Upon the ice peaks of our lonely contemplations we are blasted by intense glare, or strain our sight through the black void. Society in order would be a forever unfolding revelation, an articulate Word of God. Association teaches, that the individual soul is led to the Holy of Holies, through the Temple of Humanity. Were our relations with our fellow spirits those of peaceful co-operation, of free and happy exercise of love, life would be perpetual worship. Every friendship, every intimacy, brings us nigh to heaven now. What would not universal friendship do? But Association fully admits, that love, acting in every soul must be the organizing force of Societies. Love is thus already acting. No one does himself or his brother justice. The pangs of our remorse, our shames and mortifications prove it. We all feel, that disinterestedness is the only possible path to joy. What we lack is knowledge of true Order. Association shows us how to fulfil the longing of all hearts for Union, and enables us to obey the divine command of self-sacrifice, and so to realize the end of self-perfection. Providence and Inspiration work within and upon Man, to organize households, townships, nations, the race, after the likeness of the Infinite Spirit. This, then, is the End which Association seeks. It is a Universal Reform; and that by peaceful means, by construction, not destruction; by forming little ganglions, as it were of a grand Social Body, in associations of united families, bound in one by mutual affection, aid, sympathy, influence. The practical details of organized industry as the basis of this Reform, and of organized relations through the ascending scale of affection, up to worship, are as complete and exact, as the Principle of Order, from which they grow. And thus Association claims to offer the means of realizing in action the Divine Justice, the Government of Freedom, the Law of Liberty; and so of introducing, under God's guidance, the Reign of Heaven upon Earth.

NOTICE.—The Essay of Mr. Godwin, on Pacific and Constructive Democracy, will be stereotyped and published as a tract, which will be furnished at as low a rate as possible. Those of our friends who wish a supply of this able and instructive article, may send their orders to J. S. Redfield, Burgess & Stringer, or the Editors of this paper.

[Correspondence of the Tribune—an Extract.]

Never was system more perfect than the system by which the richer classes chain their working English. It is the wish of the manufacturer to keep the employé 'living from hand to mouth.' Now if he finds that the operatives are saving a few pence per week, which they either deposite in old stockings or a bank, he will immediately so reduce the wages that the poor people are compelled to draw upon their little savings. They may strike, but nine times out of ten "the strike" results in disaster to themselves.

These manufacturing nabobs have another mode of torture, which is even still more outrageous and detestable. They so frame the articles of agreement as to render it morally and physically impossible for the hands to fulfil their part of the obligation, and thus are they kept in debt *forever*. A man in debt, is always a slave. I will give you an instance which has just been a topic of discussion. A Coal Mining Company which operates but a short distance from this Borough, bound its Operatives, by a written instrument, to pay so much on every pound of a substance, found in coal, called "*black brass*," which they sent in. Now this brass has about the color and weight of coal, and let the men be ever so vigilant, large quantities are left with it. These, as I have intimated, are charged against the laborers. In the instance under my eye, the poor fellows had got so far behind hand, that the Coal Company was forcing them to work for the payment of the score set down to the account of "*black brass*." They and their families were starving. They refused to mine any longer. The Company brought them up for trial on these bonds. Of course the Magistrates gave it against the Laborers, and six of them have been sentenced to six months imprisonment—the others must share the same fate. The case has been thrown into the Queen's Bench. Now, some one may say—'the Miners should not have assented to an agreement so unjust.' If they did not, what were they to do? ☞ STARVE! ☜ This the Coal Company knew.

Thus do men who profess Christianity—men whose names may be found opposite Bible Societies' subscriptions, for large amounts, go on from day to day in the accumulation of pounds, every one of which are wet with the the tears and red with the blood of him who has been made in the image and likeness of the most high God. So long has this infernal system prevailed, that, I do really believe the Companies think it all right. The fact is CASTE *is* England has nearly burnt all heart *out* of England. Hindooism is not worse: indeed, he who asks—"Is it as bad?" should not be wondered at.

GENERAL CONVENTION OF THE FRIENDS OF ASSOCIATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

A Convention of the friends of Association, based on the principles of Social Science discovered by CHARLES FOURIER, is hereby called to be holden in the city of New York on the 4th, 5th and 6th of April next.

This Convention is called,

First—For the purpose of founding a United States Society for the propagation of the principles of Association and Social Unity, which shall be a common centre, rallying around it the efforts of all societies now formed and which may be hereafter formed, having the same objects, and establishing concert of action among them; and efficiently aiding, encouraging and directing individual laborers in the great work of social reformation, now progressing so rapidly in this country.

Secondly—For celebrating the Birthday of the immortal discoverer of the laws of social Unity and Harmony—CHARLES FOURIER. [The birthday of Fourier is on the 7th of April, but as it falls this year upon the Sabbath, it will be celebrated on the 6th.]

All persons in every part of the United States who take an interest in the great work of social Reorganization and the elevation of mankind, and who can be present in the city of New York at the above-mentioned time, are earnestly invited to attend and take part in this important movement. To those who have to visit the city in the spring, it is suggested that they make their arrangements to do so at the time of the convention.

Signed,	A. Brisbane,	J. T. S. Smith,
	Parke Godwin,	T. W. Whitley,
	O. Macdaniel,	N. Comstock, jr.,
	Wm. H. Channing,	Thomas Hicks,
	Horace Greeley,	James P. Decke
	Charles Julius Hempel,	Edward Strahan,
	Frederick Grain,	G. M. Law,
	P. Maroncelli,	James Warren,
	Solyman Brown,	Wm. H. Mills.
	Ed. Giles,	M. A. Gauvain,

And others.

☞ Those papers favorable to the cause of Association, will please notice the above CALL.

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VOLUME 1. NUMBER 7.

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OR,

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DEVOTED TO THE CAUSE OF

ASSOCIATION, OR A SOCIAL REFORM,

AND THE

ELEVATION OF THE HUMAN RACE.

"OUR EVILS ARE SOCIAL, NOT POLITICAL; AND A SOCIAL REFORM ONLY CAN ERADICATE THEM."

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JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE.

Our Evils are Social, not Political, and a Social Reform only can eradicate them.

TWO DOLLARS A YEAR. PAYABLE IN ADVANCE.

VOLUME I. NEW YORK, MONDAY, APRIL 1, 1844. NUMBER 7.

CONTENTS.—Fundamental Doctrines on which Association is Based; (from Fourier.) Universal Unity; Convention of the Friends of Association in Cincinnati; Social Reform Convention at Batavia, Genessee County, N. Y.; The Leraysville Phalanx; Peace-Union Settlement.

ERRATA.—For "monopoly" in twenty-fifth line of first column, page 75, last number of the Phalanx, read—invention.

FOURIER'S BIRTHDAY.

The Anniversary Festival in honor of Fourier's Birthday, will take place at the Apollo Saloon, Broadway, on Saturday, the 6th of April, (the 7th falling on Sunday.) The Dinner will be served at 7 o'clock, P. M. Tickets $1, to be obtained at J. S. Redfield's, Clinton Hall, corner of Beekman and Nassau-streets.

CONVENTION OF THE FRIENDS OF ASSOCIATION.

The Convention will meet on Thursday morning, the 4th inst, at 10 o'clock, A. M. at Clinton Hall, corner of Beekman and Nassau-streets.

☞ The important article entitled, *Fundamental Doctrines on which Association is based*, together with the article on *Universal Unity*, will be stereotyped and published as a pamphlet. We would particularly request our friends throughout the country, to obtain and give it as wide a circulation as possible. It opens a new view of the universality of Providence, and while it shows the foundation on which the Combined Order rests, it will inspire a deep and abiding faith in the great enterprise of a social reform in which we are engaged.

The pamphlet may be had at J. S. Redfield's, corner of Beekman and Nassau-streets; at Burgess and Striuger's, Broadway, or by addressing Brisbane and Macdaniel, New-York. Price $3 per hundred.

☞ The change in the width of our columns has been made with a view of being able to republish in a more convenient form, such articles as it may be desirable to circulate extensively as pamphlets.

Quite a large portion of the present number of THE PHALANX is devoted to an article that discusses the very highest and most important question, which, at the present time, can occupy the human mind,—the question of a Social Order pre-existing in the mind of the Divinity before the creation of man, to which he is predestined, and which it is his high duty and privilege to discover and establish on earth. Upon this idea rests the whole doctrine of Association; it is the fundamental basis of the Social Organization which Fourier has propounded to the world—and the measure of its truth.

The affirmative view of this question is that a true Social Order must be based on a Religious foundation—upon divine and universal laws, the laws of Order and Harmony which govern throughout creation, and should and do regulate the spiritual as well as the material world,—a Social Order which is applicable, not merely to a portion, but to the whole Human Race, and which, when established on earth, will bring them into UNIVERSAL UNITY and HARMONY.

We hold that all societies based upon arbitrary laws and institutions of human invention—upon the constitutions or codes of politicians and human legislators, or upon the plan or device of any individual or assembly of individuals, may *a priori* be pronounced *false*, and hence comparatively valueless.

The supposition, then, that the Social Organization propounded by Charles Fourier, is an individual scheme or a system of his own invention, is a great error. Fourier takes nothing to himself, and reiterates the declaration that he proposes no system of *his own*, but the *system of nature*—the Providential and Divine Social Order. He does not trust to his own or any human speculations, but claims to have discovered *the law of Order* which governs in all spheres, from the highest to the lowest of the Universe,—which Law he calls "the law of the series," the law of universal harmony, or Divine Order. Upon the law of the "series," the Social Organization explained by Fourier, is founded. It rests, therefore, upon a Religious and Providential basis.

All past and present societies, on the contrary, that have existed on earth, (at least since the fall, or dispersion of the primitive society,) have been empirical; they have been the work and invention of *man*—of kings and legislators, of individuals or assemblies, and are false because they are set up by and based upon human wisdom alone. That they are completely at variance with Divine Wisdom (and hence *irreligious*) is fully proved by the fact that they have been and are maintained only by constraint, force and violence—by the prison, the sword and the scaffold, and that poverty, injustice, oppression and misery are their characteristics universally. The Social Order proposed by Fourier, which has its origin in Divine Wisdom, will establish the reign of liberty, peace and happiness on earth, and be maintained by universal love, universal knowledge, and universal abundance.

From this view it will be seen that the friends of Association cannot and do not rally under a banner upon which is inscribed the name of a Man;—the foundation upon which they stand is ETERNAL TRUTH, found in the Book of Revelation and the Book of Nature; and upon their banner is inscribed DIVINE WISDOM.

Although the followers of Fourier constantly refer to him as the great Mind that has laid down the problem clearly of a Divine Social Order, and solved it, they never use his name to designate that Order. They utterly disclaim all such appellations as "Fourierism" or "Fourierists," and the friends of the cause throughout the country are requested to protest against these titles when applied to Association or to themselves. Fourier himself protests against and expressly forbids this use of his name. The Combined Order is the name adopted by him for the system which he discovered, inasmuch as when fully established, it will be one grand system of Combination, Co-operation, Unity and Order, from the administration of the Globe to the organization of a single Phalanx.

Whilst the great cause of social reorganization is in its infancy, the name by which its friends would be known is "Associationists;" and the system they advocate should be called "Industrial Association."

Fourier's mode of treating his subjects is peculiar; his argument is rigid and concise,

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his language condensed and powerful, and directly to the point; he is the sternest vindicator of truth and justice, and is frequently severe in his satire of falsehood, injustice and sophistry; he is eloquent too, but his eloquence is the eloquence of gigantic conception, not of beautiful expression; his analysis of a subject is always thorough, and principles are pushed by him to their ultimate limits and consequences. Many minds may be offended by the extreme statements and deductions of Fourier in the following essay: they may be startled by their apparent boldness, and deem them perhaps irreverent, but they are not so in spirit; and it must be borne in mind that the test of all truths and principles is to carry them out to their ultimate consequences.

Cavillers and dishonest critics, no doubt, can find many expressions which, separated from the context, may be easily tortured into an appearance of infidelity, irreligion, &c., which are sometimes charged upon Fourier and his system by the uninformed and the uncharitable, but the candid mind will admit that, taken in its true spirit, this article exhibits the most exalted religious Faith, the most abiding trust in God and the *universality* of his Providence, while at the same time it is one of the most profound and masterly vindications of Divine Wisdom and Justice that was ever written by man.

This article should not be read merely, but seriously studied, for it places the great question of a Social Reform upon a high and religious basis.

FUNDAMENTAL DOCTRINES ON WHICH ASSOCIATION IS BASED, AND NECESSITY OF A PROVIDENTIAL FOUNDATION FOR HUMAN SOCIETIES.*

§ I.

The Divine Social Code.

Celebrated Philosophers have perceived that there remained some great mystery for genius to penetrate, and that it had failed in the study of Nature and missed the paths which lead to individual and collective happiness. In all ages the noblest minds, men of science as well as the prophets, have invoked the advent of a happier order of things on earth, and deplored its long delay.

What great fault has been committed in human studies, what branch of science has been overlooked or neglected? There are several, and that particularly in which men have been the most occupied; I mean the study of Man. This study has been a complete failure, while it is believed the subject has been exhausted. Philosophers have applied themselves only to the secondary parts of the science, to Ideology and other accessories of a Metaphysical nature, which are quite insufficient, so long as the fundamental science—the theory of the springs of action of the soul—is not possessed.

To understand the nature of these springs of action we must enter into an analytical and synthetical study of the Passions* which God has implanted in Man, and the ends for which He created them. Their synthetical or collective action determines the mechanism of ASSOCIATION, which is the true form and destiny of human societies.

Destiny!—a word without meaning to the world, which will condemn as visionary the idea of a pre-established Social Destiny for man, of a divine and mathematical plan for the organization of societies and the regulation of the Passions.

Nevertheless, how is it possible to conceive that a Being infinitely wise, could have created our passions without having first determined upon their employment! Must not the Creator, one of whose attributes is Omniscience, have foreseen that the first want of mankind in point of importance, is a Social Code to regulate their industrial and social relations, and the Passions?

Left to the direction of our pretended sages, the Passions engender scourges which would make us doubt whether they are the work of an evil spirit or of the Divinity.—Try successively the laws of men most revered, of a Solon or a Draco, of a Lycurgus or a Minos, and you will find that they constantly re-produce nine scourges, which are the permanent result of false human societies, or of the passions in their subversive development and action.

Table of the nine permanent scourges:

- Poverty,
- Fraud,
- Oppression,
- War,
- Derangement of Seasons,
- Diseases artificially produced, such as the plague, cholera, yellow fever, etc.,
- Circle of error and prejudice without any opening for improvements,
- Universal selfishness.
- Duplicity of action.†

Must not God have foreseen this shameful result of human legislation? He must have known, before creating and giving us passions, that human reason would be incapable of harmonizing them, and that the human race would require a Legislator wiser than itself.

As a consequence the Creator, unless we believe his Providence inefficient, circumscribed and indifferent as to our happiness, must have composed for us a Social Code, or a system for the regulation of our social and domestic relations, applicable to all mankind, who everywhere have the same passions.

There consequently exists for us a pre-established Destiny, or a system for the regulation of our social and industrial relations, fixed upon by God before creating and giving us Passions. The task of human reason is to search for and discover this divine Social Order, instead of constituting itself Legislator for the Passions, and establishing arbitrary systems of society which only re-produce the nine permanent scourges.

Again, how can we suppose the Creator more imprudent than the merest novice among men! When a man collects materials for building, does he fail to make a plan for their employment? What would we think of a person who, purchasing cut-stone, frame-work, and materials of every kind for the construction of a vast edifice, did not know what kind of a building he intended to erect, and acknowledged that he had collected all these materials, without having thought of the use to which he should apply them? Such a man would be pronounced insane.

Such nevertheless is the want of foresight which our men of science attribute to the Divinity, in supposing that he could have created the passions, attractions, characters, instincts and other materials of the Social Edifice, *without having fixed upon any plan for their employment.*

It may perhaps be thought that the Providence of God is not universal, and does not extend to the social relations of mankind, and that He may have left the task of regulating the Social and Industrial mechanism of societies to the wisdom of a Solon or a Justinian? It is repugnant to common sense to suspect the Divinity of a neglect so fatal to the happiness of the race; we consequently must believe, in spite of scientific prejudices, that there exists for man a *pre-established Social Destiny*—a Social Order, based upon Divine Wisdom, the laws of which human reason should have endeavored to discover, instead of presuming, Titan like, to exercise the highest prerogative of God, which is the direction of the Social Movement.

Of all impieties the greatest is that impertinent prejudice which suspects the Divinity of having created men, the passions and the materials of Society, without having fixed upon any plan for their organization. To suppose it, is to attribute to the Creator a

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* By the Passions are to be understood those spiritual motive powers, those springs of action, those primitive tendencies implanted by God in man, which in the works of Philosophers, and in popular speech are variously denominated sentiments, emotions, feelings, affections, loves, desires, dispositions, instincts. Attraction is a word which we shall often use as synonymous with and equivalent to Passion.

† Association or the Combined Order will secure to Man nine permanent blessings in direct contrast with the nine permanent scourges, which are the results of our false societies.

Table of the nine permanent blessings:

- General riches.
- Practical truth and justice in all relations.
- Real liberty.
- Permanent peace.
- Equilibrium of climate.
- General system for the prevention of diseases artificially produced.
- Opening offered to all ameliorations and improvements.
- Collective and individual Benevolence.
- Unity of Action.

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want of reflection, of which men would be ashamed; it is falling into an irreligion worse than Atheism; for the Atheist does not dishonor God in denying his existence; he only dishonors himself by entertaining an opinion bordering upon madness. But our Legislators strip the Supreme Being of his highest prerogative: they pretend, indirectly, that God is incapable of Social Legislation. He would be so, if, after the experience He has acquired during a past eternity in the material and passional organization and distribution of worlds, He had neglected to provide for the most urgent of their *collective* wants, that of a Social Code, and a permanent revelation of that Code through the medium of the Passions, which constantly tend to it.

This is proof sufficient that there exists a pre-established Destiny for Man, in spite of scientific prejudices enlisted in favor of our empirical and arbitrary societies, the work of philosophers and politicians. So long as we have not discovered this code, we cannot understand the nature of Man, inasmuch as we are ignorant of the employment and the uses assigned by God to the springs of action in the human soul, called Passions, Attractions, etc., and to human societies directed by these impulses.

Until the human race possess a knowledge of the Divine Code, they vegetate in a state of Social imbecility: their progress in some of the positive sciences, such as mathematics, chemistry, natural philosophy, etc., are useless trophies, as they afford no remedy for human miseries. The greater the honors which are due to the positive sciences for their success, the greater the reproach due to our political and philosophical sciences for having done nothing for the happiness of mankind, and for having, after thirty centuries of correctives and reforms, left all the scourges of our false societies more deeply rooted than before.

Human reason is strongly to be suspected of having followed defective methods of investigation, since it failed, during some thousands of years, in making the simplest inventions, even in mechanics, like the stirrup, the carriage spring and the wheelbarrow, unknown to the Greeks and Romans. And in social affairs it has been equally inefficient, for during all antiquity, not a philosopher or legislator up to the time of Christ had ever speculated upon or sought for the means of the corporal enfranchisement of slaves, who composed the great bulk of the population of nations. [In the Republic of Athens, at the zenith of its glory, there were 400,000 slaves to 20,000 freemen.] Seeing this omission we should not be surprised that the most urgent studies, like those of Association and Passional Attraction, or the theory of the Passions, have been neglected up to the present time.

§ II.

Passional Attraction.

(The word *passional* is an adjective derived from passion, as the word material is derived from matter, intellectual from intellect, and spiritual from spirit. By the term Passions, we understand, as before stated, the motive powers, the original springs of action in man, which are the elements and component parts of a unitary whole, commonly called the soul, as the seven prismatic colors are the elements and component parts of the primitive unitary ray, white, and as the seven notes of the diatonic scale in music are the elements and component parts of an octave, which is the *all* of sound.

Considering the soul, then, as the sentient willing, active principle in man, it may be called Universal Love—universal in its scope and bearings, and all embracing in its tendencies—love to Nature, love to Man and love to God; and the various developments of this principle or the manifestations of Love, are called Passions. These primitive spiritual impulsions of the soul, called Passions or Attractions, have been analysed by Fourier, and classified as twelve fundamental Faculties of Human Nature, capable of infinite modifications and combinations in their developments. But the explanation of this subject cannot be entered upon here.

It will be perceived that we use the term *Passion* in a much broader sense than is generally given to it, and in a somewhat different one, which may be objected to by some, as taking an unwarranted licence and tending to cause misapprehension and confusion; but it could not well be avoided; a new word, on account of its technicality, would have been as objectionable as an old one differently applied, and as it was necessary to have as comprehensive an expression as possible, Fourier adopted the word Passion, to denote the Innate and Essential Faculties of the Soul. It is to be especially remembered that the word is used in a purely *neutral* sense, implying neither good nor bad; the passions are simply impulsions, which are *good* when truly and harmoniously developed and rightly directed, and *bad* when falsely and subversively developed and wrongly directed. The idea of *bad* must not be attached to the word passion. Anger, jealousy, envy, hatred, revenge, etc. are repulsions, antipathies and subversive development of primitive emotions, which are never meant, when we speak of the Passions.

Passional being the adjective of Passion, it is equivalent to and means—*of passion:* thus, "passional attraction," signifies, attraction *of the passions;* the same as "material attraction" signifies, the attraction of matter. When Ambition, for example, which is one of the fundamental passions, impels man to distinguish himself, passional attraction is at work in him; and so of maternity in the mother, which attracts her towards her child, and leads her to nurse and care for it, and thus of all other attractions of the passions, which are so many varieties of passional attraction. By passional attraction, however, we commonly mean the synthetical or collective *tendency* of the passions of the soul.

Attraction and Repulsion are the universal laws of nature, and the Divinity being the sole distributor of all kinds of attraction, it is rational to infer that the attractions and repulsions (sympathies and antipathies,) which He imparts to all orders of beings, are exactly in proportion to their respective functions in the general Harmony of the Universe:—the *affinity* which binds the atom to the atom; the *attractive power* which governs the harmonies of the planets; the *affections* which unite human beings with each other in society, are only so many different modes of one universal law of Attraction and Repulsion. From this self-evident proposition, Fourier derived the following axiom:—

The true and essential attractions of all beings are proportional to (and in harmony with) their essential Destinies.)

The scientific world would not have deferred for a moment the search for the Divine Social Code, if it had thought of studying one of the fundamental prerogatives of the Creator, the power which He possesses exclusively of regulating Universal Movement,* by distributing Attractions and Repulsions to all beings as it suits the execution of his designs—which Attractions and Repulsions impel and guide them to fulfil the Destiny He assigns them.

Let us analyze some of the consequences of this prerogative, which is possessed by God alone.

Attraction is in the hands of God an enchanted wand, which enables Him to obtain by the enticement of Love and Pleasure, what man only knows how to obtain by violence. It transforms into delights, functions which in themselves are the most repugnant. What is more repulsive than the care of a new-born child, with its ceaseless cries and uncleanliness? What does the Creator do to transform into a pleasure a care in itself so unpleasant? He gives to the Mother *Passional Attraction* for these uncleanly cares; He uses merely

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*TABLE OF UNIVERSAL MOVEMENT Composed of a Pivotal and four Cardinal Branches.

4th. *The Material Movement;* or laws according to which God regulates the movement of matter from the infinitely great to the infinitely small, from solar systems to the smallest particles. The theory of gravitation, discovered by Newton and modern mathematicians, explains *effects* of movement but not *causes*.

3rd. *The Aromal Movement;* or the distribution of known and unknown fluids, termed imponderable, which operate both actively and passively on all the kingdoms of creation, animal, mineral, and vegetable. Nothing is known of these fluids to our men of science, neither with regard to their influence nor the causes of their influence in the various spheres of universal life, particularly with regard to the planetary movements, which are regulated by aromal affinity, and not alone by mere material gravitation.

2nd. *The Organic Movement;* or the laws according to which God distributes forms, colors, tastes, and other properties to all the substances created or to be created on the different globes of the universe. Nothing is known at present to our men of science concerning the causes of variety in forms, colors, etc., distributed to the creations in actual existence on our earth, nor of the effects and causes of various productions to result from future creations.

1st. *The Instinctual Movement;* or the laws according to which God distributes the instincts and desires, passions and attractions, to all beings of creation, of past, present, and future creations throughout the universe. Neither the system of distributing instincts and desires, nor the causes which regulate that distribution, are known to our men of science.

And, pivotally, *The Passional or Social Movement;* that is, the laws according to which God has regulated the order and succession of divers systems of social organization wherever there are societies of intelligent beings. Of this pivotal or central unity of movement, neither causes nor effects have been explained by science, which has not even had a glimmering of the real laws of unity and their at-one-ment with liberty in discipline, harmonizing the passions without compressive, repressive or oppressive arbitrary laws and regulations.

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his prerogative, that of IMPARTING ATTRACTION. Before it, the best founded grounds of disgust disappear, and are changed into pleasures.

To estimate the value of this prerogative, belonging exclusively to God, let us suppose it to be the attribute of some ambitious monarch. This Prince once invested with the power of DISTRIBUTING ATTRACTION, would need neither courts of justice nor armies to secure the execution of his decrees, and to subject the entire world to his empire; it would only be necessary for him to give to all nations ATRACTION for such a system of government as he might desire; for example, for advanced civilization, as it is called, which consists in wasting the treasures of nations in extravagancies and decimating the men in wars:—as soon as he had imparted Attraction for this *fortunate* order, the people of all nations would hasten to bring their earnings to his treasury; young men would vie in ardor with each other in enlisting in his armies; savages would adopt with joy that Labor which they now hate and reject; and barbarians would throw open their seraglios, and adopt the customs of civilization!

Besides, the Prince would give to all monarchs far and near, *attraction to acknowledge his supremacy*; they would vie with each other in sending him ambassadors to declare their allegiance and proclaim him Sovereign Ruler of the globe.

And as monarchs and nations to whom this Prince had imparted the charm of Attraction, would find their happiness in these acts, let us acknowledge that the said Prince, exclusive possessor of this talisman, would be a madman to resort to other means to attain his ends, such as constraints, punishments, or war; it would be on his part gratuitous perverseness and egregious folly; for while he caused the misfortune of his own subjects and of neighboring countries, he would fail in his plan of universal monarchy by the resistance and the despair of nations; whereas, by employing the magic power of Attraction, he would be at the end of a few years peaceable possessor of the entire globe, without having incurred any expense, run any risk, or discontented any individual.

Such is the position of God with regard to his creatures. Exclusive possessor of the most potent spring of action, the talisman of Attraction, would He be a God of justice and goodness, if, neglecting the exercise of this pleasing power, He had recourse to other means than Attraction to govern the Universe and combine in one grand plan of Unity all classes of Movement?

In vain do Philosophers and Legislators pretend that their vague wisdom and their repressivelaws, will supply the place of a Divine Code, based upon Attraction; in vain do they pledge themselves to guarrantee immeasurable prosperity to nations by their innumerable constitutions; all their controversies and legislation engender only discontent and the nine permanent scourges. Is not their wisdom sufficiently confounded by these shameful results?

Besides, if it is for mankind to frame their own social codes and regulate the social movement; if it be not necessary that God should intervene in our social legislation, it might be supposed that He had judged human reason superior to Divine in social affairs, and left to it the task of regulating society.

Our trials in Social Legislation for three thousand years past, prove sufficiently that human reason is inefficient and inadequate to the task of regulating the social movement. God must have foreseen that all our Legislators from Minos down to those of the present day, would only know how to aggravate the nine permanent scourges, while promising to guide us through flowery paths to prosperity and happiness. The Creator who foresaw this ignorance and these deplorable results of human legislation, would consequently have imposed upon us a task beyond our strength, the performance of which would have been so easy for him.

Let us analyze more in detail the error which would attribute to weak human reason the power of devising social laws and institutions. What reason could the Creator have had for omitting to pre-compose for us a Social Code, sustained by Attraction? What reason could he have had for refusing us such a Code?

Six views may be taken of the subject:

1st. Either *He did not know how* to give us a Social Code which would lead us by Attraction to social good; in this case why create in us the want of it without having the means of satisfying that want? We see that He assigns to all his creatures a mode of existence adapted to and in harmony with their nature and the instincts which He has implanted in them. Why has He not done the same with man? If He has doomed us irrevocably to the present systems of society with their nine permanent scourges, why not have given us Attractions for poverty, fraud, oppression, war, &c., which are their inevitable results?

2d. Or, *He has not wished* to give us a Social Code; in this case He would be the persecutor of mankind, creating in us wants which it is impossible for us to satisfy, inasmuch as no human codes can extirpate the nine scourges.

3d. Or, *He has known how and has not wished.* This monstrous supposition would attribute to the Creator a malignant spirit, knowing how to do the good but preferring the reign of evil.

4th. Or, *He has wished, but has not known how.* If this were the case He would be incapable of governing us, wishing the good, but not knowing how to effect it, and which we still less can effect.

5th. Or, *He has neither known how nor wished.* This supposition would be an outrage upon all the attributes of the Divinity, as it would impute to him both ignorance and malevolence.

6th. Or, *He has known how and has wished.* In this case a Divine Social Code exists, and human reason should have searched for and endeavored to discover it, instead of doubting the universality of God's Providence and denying indirectly the possibility of a Divine Order of society on earth.

When a discovery, made after twenty-five centuries of neglect and oversight, reveals to and initiates us into a knowledge of the Divine Social Code, what have we to do but to blush for our false philosophical and political sciences, and make a trial of this Code on a hamlet or village, and thus test its truth in practice upon a small scale.

We would not have doubted for a moment the existence of this Code, if we had reflected how easy it was for God to bestow upon us such a favor. In fact, to deliver us from the scourge of false human societies, and to give us a Code capable of harmonizing our industrial, social and domestic relations, the Divinity had only *to will to do so.* Exclusive possessor of the power of *imparting Attraction*, the worst Social Code composed by him, and sustained by Attraction, would maintain itself and be universally adopted by mankind on account of the happiness it would confer; whereas the best social Code composed by men, requiring constraint and punishment for its support, becomes a source of discord and suffering from the want alone of Attraction in obeying its laws. All the codes of men would fall at once if they were not upheld by prisons and scaffolds.

Hence we may draw the singular conclusion that our happiness can only arise from Divine social laws, even were the Divinity less skilful in legislation than philosophers and statesmen. His Code, were it only the equal of theirs in wisdom, will always have an inappreciable superiority, inasmuch as it will be sustained by Attraction, which is the only pledge of happiness for those who obey. A man is happier in obeying the behests of a beloved being, than in commanding the obedience of a slave: it is not consequently from liberty alone that happiness flows, but from the charm and attraction connected with the functions which we exercise.

Thus the Creator would be sure of securing our happiness by an *Attractive Code*, were it even inferior in wisdom to the laws of men; and on the other hand He would be sure of seeing us miserable under all codes coming from human reason, from the fact that they are not *Attractive*, and that the human legislator does not possess the power of inspiring love for his tax-gatherers, bailiffs, military conscriptions, and other perfectible perfectibilities of civilized constitutions.

The human legislator may, sword in hand, force us to avow that we love his laws, but he cannot inspire us with any real attachment for them unless he gives us a part in the pensions, sinecures, or other means of idle ease, which are for a small number of elect only; whereas Attraction once connected by the Supreme Law-giver with the

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execution of a Code, would cause it to be loved and obeyed spontaneously by all the world.

If we were in the first ages of civilization, making our first trials at social organization, we would perhaps be excusable for entertaining some hope of social good from our legislative wisdom, without the intervention of the Divine Code; but long experience has sufficiently undeceived us; we have evidently nothing to hope from our philosophical and political sciences. Twenty-five centuries of trials of their theories have proved that they are so many circles of error, and that instead of fulfilling their promises, they bring upon nations new calamities.

§ III.

Of the Absurdities without number which Human Reason attributes to the Creator in supposing that He could have failed to Compose a Social Code based upon Attraction.

Duties are proportional to means: the more opulent a Father is, the higher the duties which he has to fulfil towards his children. The destitute parent cannot be said to owe his children food and raiment, of which he is himself deprived: the artizan who possesses some means, owes them the necessaries of life: the man of moderate fortune owes them useful instruction and the knowledge of a trade or profession: the rich man owes them a polished education and the polite acquirements, and thus by gradation up to the monarch, who, without doubt, is under the greatest obligations of duty towards his children, having the most means of fulfilling them.

According to this progression, God who is our common Father, owes us far more than a monarch owes his children; being infinite in power he must have provided means for our happiness, beginning with this world, far greater than any potentate can secure to his children; and this happiness should begin for us from the moment the divine social code is established: the goods which providence reserves us cannot be attained under the laws of men.

It may be objected by some that God reserves us this happiness in the other world, and that for this reason He may be absolved from giving it to us in this: this is to assume that there exist voids in his providence; that it is not universal, and does not extend to this world; that instead of being compound it is but simple, limiting to one life that happiness which should be extended to both.

But leaving aside these questions, let us restrict ourselves to reasoning upon the duties of God relative to our temporal Destiny, which He must have regulated by a Social Code, composed prior to the creation of Man.

Let us examine to what an extent He would have compromised his divine providence, if he had not fulfilled this duty: let us institute a feigned accusation of Providence, founded upon the supposition that He has not composed a social code for the regulation of our industrial and social relations.

Timorous minds may fear that an accusation such as follows, although assumed to show the falseness of human legislation and elevate ourselves to a just conception of Divine Wisdom, would be an act of impiety. But in ostensibly accusing Divine Prodence in this discussion, we accuse in reality false human reason, for the greater the number of accusation, which can be raised against Divine Wisdom, the more impossible it will become to believe that the Creator could have committed the fatal error of neglecting to compose for us a Social Code, and the more we should be inclined to search for it and summon science to proceed to the discovery.

The methodical accusation of Divine Providence, so far from being an act of audacity or irreligion, would then have been one of profound wisdom, in as much as it would have dissipated those prejudices which exist in the human mind, and which take from men faith and hope in the universality of Providence. We should have arrived by this discussion to the conclusion that there must exist a divine social Code, and its discovery would soon have followed, had its existence once been admitted in principle.

Could it be presumed that the Creator would be offended at an accusation of the kind?

By no means! He has too wisely organized the material and moral Universe to be offended at any criticism of his works and methods, or any inquiry into the causes and the ends of apparent evil: *so far from it, we could not do a more acceptable or reverential act than to quit everything like blind adoration and scrutinize closely into his plans for the government of the universe; provided, however, that we do the same with the adversary of divine Wisdom, with false philosophy or false human reason, which from the beginning of societies, has usurped the direction of the social movement, and arrogated to itself the function of social legislation, excluding the idea of a divine social order.*

The interesting lesson which the table that follows, offers, is that all the accusations here raised fall to the charge of human reason, if it can be proved that it is not the Creator who has neglected to compose for mankind a social code, but that it is human reason which has refused to search for it.

Table of Accusations to be brought against Divine Providence on the hypothesis of the non-existence of a Divine Social Code.

(Human reason in declaring that the Creator has not precomposed for us a social code for the regulation of our industrial and social relations, raises against his Providence the following accusations:—)

1st. *He is not omniscient, and his Providence and his Wisdom are not universal*, if in creating worlds He has not foreseen the want of a Social Code by their inhabitants, and if he has not provided for this want by composing a system which would regulate according to laws of divine order their social and industrial relations, and their passions.

2d. *He has placed human reason upon a level with his own*, if He has left to it the care of regulating the most important branch of universal Movement,—the Social.

3rd. *He disparages his own wisdom*, if, being able to secure to us our happiness by a social code sustained by attraction, He refuses us this code and leaves us plunged in discord and suffering—out of unity with himself and his laws of universal harmony.

4th. *He gives rise, by this absence of a social code, to a want of faith in the universality of his Providence*, for it is not universal if it does not extend to this earth and provide for the reign upon it of that unity and harmony, which are displayed throughout the Universe where his laws are obeyed.

5th. *He permits social anarchy to reign upon the earth* by depriving us of a social code, the necessity for which he could not have overlooked, for no human government in founding a colony, however small, forgets to assign to it some system of government. This provident foresight and duty the Creator owed to our globe and to all other globes, they being all colonies of which He is the founder.

6th. *There are not unity of system and economy of means* in the government of the universe, if He does not direct man to social good by Attraction, the agent by which He guides all his creations to Harmony from the highest to the lowest in their respective speres. By making Attraction a deceitful guide for man alone He makes him an exception in the universe, and isolates him from the scale of universal unity.

7th. *He would be the author, direct and indirect, of the misery of the Human Race*: —direct by withholding from them an attractive code which would secure their happiness, and indirect by not giving them attractions, (which he can distribute precisely as He wishes,) adapted to the results, such as indigence, injustice, dependence, &c., which the laws of men produce,—laws which would have become for them a source of happiness, if God had given them attraction for these odious results, as He should have done, if our present societies were to be eternal.

8th. *He establishes a permanent conflict between man and God, and between man and his own nature*, if He has condemned us to resist and combat perpetually the attractions*

* In speaking of the attractions and passions without qualification, we understand them always as truly developed and rightly directed, when they are good and divine,—not falsely and subversively developed and misdirected, when they are evil and diabolical. Ambition misdirected in a monarch may lead to carnage and devastation; the same passion truly developed and rightly directed may induce him to act up to the highest standard of justice and dignity. The great error which is committed is to confound the perverted developements which the passions receive in our false societies with

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which He has given us; and if foreseeing that they would lead us to evil, He has given us no other power than Reason to resist them which is impotent with those even who set themselves up as oracles of it, like philosophers and law-givers, persons in general as little capable of governing their passions as any other class.

9th. *He gives rise to doubt and disbelief in his Providence*, for He must have forseen that mankind, after some thousands of years of fruitless social trials, would, under the laws of sophists and human legislators, suffer only an increase of their miseries, and would invoke in vain the aid of divine wisdom, inasmuch as no code had been provided for the regulation of their social destiny; and these afflictions and the want of divine favor would lead the human mind in the end to loose all hope in God, and to believe in the doctrines of materialism, atheism and the eternal reign of evil on earth, and other aberrations, which are engendered by the spectacle of the miseries of the civilized, barbarian, and savage societies,

10th. *He would possess attributes imputed to the evil spirit*, if the present false societies are to continue forever and be our unchangeable social destiny, for we may defy the evil spirit, if the government of the globe were surrendered to him, to invent for the torture and degradation of the human race,

more ferocity and brutality than we find in the Savage state,

more persecution and tyranny than we find in the Barbarian state,

more perfidy and duplicity than we find in the Partriarchal and Civilized states; and, in fine,

more poverty and debasement than the Human Race experience throughout the whole course of these four false societies.

11th. *He would be in conflict and contradiction with himself*, if, loving justice, truth and unity, He has destined us to the civilized, barbarian, and savage societies, which pervert and misdirect the passions, and produce the permanent triumph of injustice, falseness, and duplicity of action, giving rise to a state of collective and individual discord and schism among the members of the human race:—

Collective discord in the general opposition of the people to governments, which are maintained only by standing armies, prisons, police organizations, &c.; and in wars and hatreds between nations:

Individual discord in the perpetual combat which reason wages with the passions; and in the universal opposition and strife between individuals of the same nation, the result of our false systems of commerce, industry and free competition.

12th. *He is in conflict and contradiction with the universe*, which is composed of three principles—

I. Divine Love—the active creative principle.

II. Matter—the passive principle; acted upon.

III. The mathematical laws; Divine Wisdom, the neutral and regulating principle.

God would be in conflict with the two last principles, if He has irrevocably destined the earth (which forms part of the second or material principle) to its present disordered condition, with its ravaged and uncultivated regions, its burning deserts, its pestilential marshes, its volcanic eruptions, and earthquakes, climatic excesses, inundations, and a vitiated and deranged state of the elements. If the present chaotic state of the globe is the ultimate design of the Creator, He governs matter in a manner at variance with the third principle, or laws of mathematical order and harmony.

We have now passed in review some of the accusations which might be raised against Divine Providence, if He had neglected to compose for us a Social Code, based upon the laws of mathematical justice.

We have reduced these accusations to twelve, although the number might be doubled or trebled; those here enumerated are, however, sufficient to sustain the proposition laid down in this essay:

That in a methodical accusation of Divine Providence, all the charges fall upon human reason, if it can be proved that it is not the Creator who has neglected to compose a Code for the regulation of our passions and social and industrial relations, but that it is human reason which, engaged in false and sophistical sciences, has neglected all search for this Divine Social Code.

We need not fear to offend the Creator by raising against him these and a hundred other accusations upon the ground of neglect to compose for us a Social Code. But if He has provided a code before creating the human race, and given us in the constant tendency of the attractions, the means of discovering it, upon whom fall these divers accusations, if not upon human reason, which has lost five-and-twenty centuries in philosophical and political controversies, without having thought of searching for the divine social code, by an analytical and synthetical study and calculation of passional attraction; a subject which should have occupied the attention of philosophers in the early ages of scientific investigation, were it merely from curiosity and to obey a law which they themselves have laid down, that of "universal exploration."

Thus the accusation of Divine Providence, which may seem at first an act of irreligion and impiety, becomes in reality one of the wisest and most religious acts which man can perform, inasmuch as it arraigns and brings to the bar of judgment false reason and false human science, for its opposition to the wisdom of the Creator.

We cannot accuse Providence, without accusing at the same time human reason and the false societies which it has devised and set up, and which now stand undoubted and unsuspected; this is the only means of setting forth the wisdom of God in human government, which up to the present time has been grievously compromised in the eyes of mankind by the errors and aberrations of human reason; it will be fully vindicated only by a regular examination of the duties of God and the means He has reserved for their fulfilment, and by subjecting human reason to a similar examination.

This whole subject may be reduced to the two following points:

The duty of the Creator is to compose for mankind a Social Code, based upon Attraction.

The duties of human reason are to search for this Code by a study of the tendencies of Attraction, and make a critical examination and trial of it, when discovered.

If we institute the inquiry whether Providence or human reason has failed in the fulfilment of duty, the least investigation will lead us at once to suspect human reason, and summon it to proceed to search for the divine Social Code, and to the methodical study of passional attraction, the means of discovering it.

To this result the doubts and skepticism of modern infidelity might have led, if its authors had not been shallow and abortive reasoners, but it ended only in pure negation or atheism. The rebellion of the moderns, especially of the eighteenth century, against divine wisdom, was perhaps an effect of despair with an age worn out with the apparent mistakes and disorders of Nature. Infidelity, odious as it is, might have become a means of discovery, if its oracles had transcended the narrow formulas of mere negation. If they had believed that they had good ground for their rebellion against Providence, they would not have feared to establish the accusation regularly, and raised a doubt of their own sophistical sciences as well as of Providence, commencing by a detailed series of accusations and duties respectively.

And as any discussion of this subject, in rendering a methodical accusation of false human science necessary, would have caused suspicion to rest upon it as well as upon Providence, it is indubitable that false human science would have fallen at once from the fact that it had instituted no search for the divine social order.

Thus extremes meet: this mystery of our social destiny, this social code, the discovery of which we should have arrived at by fullness of Faith and Hope in God, we might

their *real essence, their true nature:* the *effect* is mistaken for the *cause*.

Philosophers declare that our passions and attractions are our enemies—which supposes that God, who created them, is also our enemy. When we understand fully the nature and mechanism of the Social Order, predestined for us by the Divinity, we shall see that He knew perfectly well how to create the passions and attractions so as to be adapted to social harmony and unity; that He would be wrong to change them to please Seneca or Plato, and that human reason, instead of criticising his work, should exert itself to discover a Social Order adapted to and in harmony with them. No human theory and efforts will change them, and they will perpetually lead us to evil in false human societies, as they will to good in a true Social Order.

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also have been arrived at by a methodical accusation of divine Providence. Such an act, impious in appearance, would have led by *inverse* means to the same end, to which, by *direct* means, enlightened faith and an ardent hope in divine wisdom, would have conducted us.

Our philosophers, in infidelity as in all other things, have failed consequently from *simplism* and littleness. *Simple* Infidelity, or a doubt of Providence alone, is a hideous opinion, but *compound* Infidelity, or suspicion of human reason as well as Providence, might have been, when we consider the bewildered state of mankind, a fortunate conception, and not so unreasonable as might at first appear; for it is *conditional*, and does not call into question the existence of a divine Providence until an examination of its antagonist, false human science, and the verification of what each has done for the fulfilment of its duties. In this respect compound infidelity leads to the same end as enlightened faith, for both induce a regular study of Attraction and a search for the divine social Code.

Our globe up to the present time has been guided by pure or simple faith, attributing the government of the universe to the arbitrary will of the Deity, without the intervention of the laws of mathematical order.

In this study, as in all others, human reason has lost itself by simplism and one-sided views; and with all its metaphysical theories upon the generation of ideas, it has never been able in its studies relative to God, Man, and the Universe, to elevate itself to any compound idea, to any hypothesis of social and material unity upon the globe, and of a universal and unitary connecting principle.

Half way measures serve only to aggravate an evil; we may judge of this by the futile movement of our modern infidels, whose one-sided aggression, whose doubt of divine Providence, but not of vain human rationality, has led us away from the discovery of the divine social code and the laws of passional attraction; whereas compound or methodical doubt and disbelief would have led direct to the accusation of vain rationality and false human science. This is the end that was to be attained.

A cause is inextricable so long as the criminal performs the function of accuser: he will take good care to bring no charges against himself; and such has been the trick of our one-sided infidels; they have reasoned against Providence, basing their disbelief on the apparent disorders of this world, where the reign of evil (called in scripture "the time of the curse,") comprises but a small part of the career of mankind on earth, say from an eighth to a sixteenth,—the scientific reason of which disorders they have not known how to explain.

Should infidelity and false philosophy have been simply condemned and discarded? No, they should have been accused and confounded, and the task fulfilled which they had neglected: and it should have been proved to them by the calculation of Attraction, by the complete theory of the passions, that man instead of condemning the work of God, the passions, should seek to discover the uses to which He had destined them.

Why should human reason arrogate to itself the right of doubting Providence, while at the same time it doubts not its own infallibility? To escape this dilemma it makes use of a subterfuge, which hitherto has fully answered its purpose; it pretends to humiliate itself, saying: "Let us revere the profound wisdom of the Deity, let us not dare, with a sacrilegious audacity, to penetrate his awful mysteries, to tear away the adamantine veil that covers the secrets of creation; is it for a pigmy like man to sound the depths of the Divinity!"

Let us not be dupes of such evasive reasonings, but meet the question fairly, and come to a clear elucidation; a fault has been committed somewhere; it must be traced to its proper source; and inasmuch as suspicion can only rest on Divine Providence on the one hand, and human reason on the other, we should admit no evasion of the question. Let us not fear that the inquest will be offensive to the Creator: far from it; He desires it for his own glory and for our good. For twenty-five centuries his providence has been subject to doubt, although under an appearance of profound respect and reverence; but notwithstanding this show of respect and reverence, the principle is not the less maintained indirectly, *that his Providence is limited and insufficient*, inasmuch as He has failed to precompose for us a social code,—*that He is the enemy of distributive equity and justice, of economy of means, and of unity of system*, inasmuch as it is imputed to him that the savage, barbarian and civilized social chaos, is in conformity and harmony with his views, although it evidently violates all those principles, and engenders universal injustice, waste and duplicity.

Such are the imputations which men, in upholding our present false societies, cast upon the Supreme Being. Their homage, tarnished by the errors of Reason, cannot satisfy Him; his wisdom can only be made fully manifest by determining definitely whether it is HE WHO IS DEFICIENT IN PROVIDENCE AS TO A SOCIAL CODE, OR HUMAN REASON WHICH IS DEFICIENT IN THE SEARCH FOR IT.

NOTE.—The advocates of Association are constantly called upon to explain what will be the nature and character of this or that institution, or this or that arrangement in Association. We will take one of the most common inquiries as an example to illustrate our views on the subject, and the general answer which we have to make.

It is asked:—What is to be the system of marriage in Association?—what are to be the regulations in regard to the union of the sexes? Will the present system of marriage be preserved? or, are any changes contemplated, and if so, what are they?

To these and all similar questions concerning particular Institutions of a moral or religious natnre, we make this answer; that as God has pre-calculated for mankind a Social Order as a *whole*, so also He has predetermined and provided for all the parts or institutions of that Order; and all that man has to do is to seek for and discover the nature of the Institutions predestined for him by God and conform to and establish them. Neither Fourier nor his followers pretend nor wish to set up *any Institutions of their own devising*; they desire only to discover and establish the *Social Institutions of God*, which are to be found in the double revelation of science and religion, and in Attraction or the promptings of the soul, when truly and harmoniously developed.

We believe that the Creator, in implanting in the breasts of men and women the passions Love and Paternity, has determined upon a system of relations for the regulating of those affections, so as to give them the greatest spiritual elevation, and secure their satisfaction according to his laws of order. If the present system of Marriage be true, if it be the one which God has designed for man, then it will stand forever; if not, it will be changed by future generations when they discover the divine system.

As regards our own intentions, we do not propose to interfere with, or effect any change whatever in those high and sacred institutions relating to the family union or marriage, or to religion. The present generation is too ignorant, too unrefined, too gross and material to decide upon problems of a high spiritual nature, and they must be left for the future.

As we have said, we are desirous of discovering the Social Institutions predestined for us by the Creator, and establishing such as the present state of things, and the condition of mankind allow and call for; and certainly proceeding upon such principles, there can be no danger of establishing false or pernicious Institutions. If any of those, which we now strenuously advocate, are found to be in practice defective, they can easily be modified, or done away with entirely, and new ones instituted in their place; and with a generation, brought up in Association, under the benign influences of universal education, enlightenment and abundance, and with a profound faith in the universality of Providnce, it will be very easy to discover the Truth in social affairs.

As Reformers, we have a very clear and simple duty to perform; *it is to propose and carry out such practical and industrial arrangements in society as we believe are just and true, and will be productive of present and real good.* For the future we do not legislate.

§ IIII.

EXAMINATION OF THE GUARANTIES OF CONCORD AND UNITY WHICH ATTRACTION ESTABLISHES BETWEEN GOD AND MAN.

Let us multiply proofs to establish the great truth, before which false human societies stand condemned: to wit: THAT THERE MUST EXIST A DIVINE SOCIAL CODE, COMPOSED BY GOD AND REVEALED TO US BY ATTRACTION. Science having made no study of Passional Attraction, up to the present time, has been guilty, by this omission, of a shameful neglect, particularly since the success of Newton in the discovery of material Attraction, which should have induced men of science to pursue this study, to raise it from the simple to the compound, and add the calculations of Passional to those of Material Attraction.

The age plunged in sophistical controversies and political illusions, deserves the strongest reproach for its opposition to Nature. Its prejudices against Attraction are like those old walls of Roman cement,

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upon which the iron bar of the workman makes no impression; such is the tenacity of our prepossessions against the guide which God has given us—Attraction. Numerous indications exist, which should have stimulated genius to the study of Passional Attraction. Let us examine some of these indications which are to be found in four of the guaranties of Concord and Unity which Attraction establishes between God and man.

1st. *Permanent social guide and interpreter.* Attraction stimulates and directs us constantly, and by impulses which are as fixed and unvarying at all times and in all places, as the lights of reason are variable and deceptive.

The experience of all centuries proves that Attraction is immutable, that it will, in ten, in twenty thousand years, be as fixed and unchangeable as it has been since the creation of the world, that it will always tend to riches and not to poverty, to groups or association and not to isolation and incoherence. From this immutability of Attraction, it becomes evident that any science relative to its properties, developments and effects, would be a positive science, and that a social system based upon it, would be a true Code emanating from divine wisdom, and interpreted by a permanent revelation from the Creator, for Attraction is never silent nor uncertain. What inducements to search for this Code, which once discovered, would be a positive guide in social politics, and take the place of our irreconcilable theories and systems.

If Attraction were not intended to furnish us with this guide, what employment has the Creator assigned to it? Hitherto it has only served to lead us astray, to plunge us into excesses and frightful social discord: it seems an enemy, a traitor, which under a pleasing exterior, gains our confidence to deceive and lure us to perdition. Does God wish to betray and mislead us, for it is He who has created and given us Attraction?

Philosophers believe that they explain the problem in saying *that God has given us reason to resist* our Attractions. This He has not done: that reason, which they wish to oppose to Attraction, is impotent with the nine-tenths of mankind. Children are restrained by fear; the mass, by poverty, want, and the dread of punishments; old age by cautious calculations, and some by the terrors of the future; but none are restrained by that reason, which, influenced by no considerations of reward or punishment, would oppose directly the Attractions.*

Reason then does not govern, and the more we observe man the more we see that he is guided by attraction; he only listens to reason so far as it aids in satisfying his affections and desires. [The great question is to give to the passions or attractions a true direction and a harmonious development, so that they will conduce by their own free and equilibrated action to perfect social unity, and go hand in hand with sound reason. It is the most absurd of doctrines which appeals to man to thwart and subdue the passions by reason alone. The folly of it is shown by the experience of six thousand years.] It is evident that God in subjecting us to this guide, called attraction, must have designed for it some use adapted to the ends of unity and justice which are attributes of the Creator. To render attraction useful He must have given us a code which would allow its true action and development. This view is the only one which harmonizes with the attributes of the Divinity.*

With these weighty suggestions which should have stimulated men to study Attraction, and discover the social mechanism to which it tends and which is adapted to its nature and requirements, how great is the oversight of men of science who have so long deferred this study, and how great would be the perversity of those who would endeavor to hinder a trial of this social mechanism, now that its laws are discovered by the calculation of Attraction.

2d. *The saving of all coercive measures, and agents of constraint*—of prisons, scaffolds, police, judges, bailiffs and other parasitic agents, to which false human societies must resort in order to mainaint their laws and institutions, and their false and repugnant system of industry.

This whole parapharnalia of repression and constraint would become useless from the moment a social Code based upon attraction was put in force. Can we doubt that we are destined to it? As presumptive evidence of the fact, we have only to observe that God has created on the earth no means of constraint superior to the resistance which man can oppose. We see upon our globe neither giants, centaurs, tritons, nor any agents, capable of overpowering human armies, although it would have been so easy for God to have created, both on the land and in the seas, beings of a colossal stature, and capable of subduing and correcting man in case of rebellion against his laws and will. This absence of any such monstrous creations, denotes that constraint does not enter into the plans of the Creator, and that a social code coming from him will be entirely exempt from it.

If God did not possess the potent lever of Attraction, He would be obliged to resort to constraint, in the government of the Universe; He would have to create in the firmament colossal planets to force on the smaller ones, and compel them to move with regularity in their orbits. It would be the same on the earth where He would have to create beings of a gigantic species, like the fabled monsters of antiquity, in order to force men to exercise industry, and to adopt the social system willed by him. In the animal creation the same law of constraint being applied, He would be obliged to create gigantic bees to force the smaller ones to gather honey, and large beavers to force the smaller ones to construct their dams.

Still these colossal species might disobey God, if they were not themselves impelled by attraction to perform the duties assigned them. God, consequently, would be obliged to employ *attraction with some, and constraint with others*, and thus knowingly make use of *Duplicity* of system in the government of the universe, when He could operate on the principle of Unity, by subjecting all creation to attraction, which, producing an affectionate and willing obedience, would form a chain of flowers for all his creatures.

How can we suppose that the Creator to whom we attribute supreme goodness and economy, could take pleasure in thus complicating the social mechanism by employing constraint, which requires twice the number of agents, and causes the misfortune of the great majority? How could that Being, to whom we attribute *Unity of system*, deprive himself intentionally of the wonderful agent of attraction?—which, employed with complete success as agent of sideral harmonies, must, according to the law of unity, be the instrument of harmony in the social relations of mankind.

From these indications, we may draw the conclusion that God, in the social code which He has destined for us, could only have determined upon the employment of attraction, inasmuch as He has not provided himself with any coercive means to enforce obedience. How can we after this explain the inconsistency of men, who wish, as they say, to walk in the ways of God, and who refusing to consult Attraction, his agent and interpreter in social mechanism, trust to our vague and arbitrary doctrines of philosophy, although the continuance of the nine per-

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* The assertion that Reason has been given to us as the guide and regulator of the passions and attractions, leads to the following conclusions:

1st. That God has subjected man to the control of two contradictory and irreconcileable guides, *passion and reason:* this would be *organic duplicity*.

2nd. That the Creator is unjust towards the ninety-nine hundreths of men, to whom He has not given sufficient powers of reason to cope with the passions, for in all countries, civilized or uncivilized, the mass possess but a moderate share of Reason, in the philosophical acceptation of the word:—this would be *distributive duplicity*.

3rd. That the Creator in giving us Reason as a counterpoise to the Attractions, has failed in his object; for it is evidently insufficient with the great majority, and even with those who possess the most of it:—this would be *practical duplicity*.

* *A simple scale of the Attributes of the Divinity.*

THE ENTIRE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNIVERSE IN ALL ITS MOVEMENTS.

1. Universality of Providence.
2. Economy of means; or causative power in creation.
3. Distributive justice or universal equity.
4. The exclusive distribution of attractions and repulsions to all orders of beings in the Universe.
5. Geometrical direction in the spiritual and material movements of the Universe.
6. The diffraction of primitive impulsions (passions and attractions,) thwarted in development; or the repercussed action of these accidentally compressed principles of activity.
7. Infinity in all its attributes.

UNITY OF SYSTEM. (Universal harmony.)

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manent scourges for three thousand years past, should have proved to them that those doctrines are opposed to the ways of God, and that under their guidance man has failed completely in the discovery of the divine social Code and the theory of human Destiny.

3rd. *Happiness of worlds living under divine social laws by the satisfaction of attraction; and misery of worlds living under the laws of men*, by the martyrdom of Attraction, which is indirect punishment by the Creator for non-obedience to his laws.

It would be incompatible with the dignity of the Supreme Being to inflict direct punishment upon rebel worlds or individuals; *free-will* would then no longer exist. The Creator to leave us free-will, must desist from his power of punishing directly, and inflict only an indirect punishment, that of violated and unsatisfied desires and attractions. This punishment is equitable, inasmuch as it is in all cases proportioned to the resistance of the rebel, and requires no special chastisement, no act of Divine anger.

Disappointment in the satisfaction of our desires and attractions is an evil which may be borne at first. We may try for awhile to vanquish our desires, to despise the goods of the world, and console ourselves when in want with a perusal of Plato or Seneca, or by philosophical reflections. Men might, perhaps, succeed in becoming indifferent to many privations, if the objects of their desires were not, in the midst of their want, constantly displayed before them. The poor and the needy are everywhere exposed to this tantalization. In small villages even, there are always a few rich, whose happier condition awakens desires and wants in the multitude, that reduce them to the condition of Tantalus. Thus Attraction, long repressed, degenerates into keen suffering, and this suffering is not direct punishment on the part of God, for mankind are free to change their course, to quit the banner of false human science and legislation, of poverty and repugnant industry, and establish the divine social order, which would secure the full satisfaction of attraction. It is not the Creator who prevents the advent of happiness on earth; it is men who deprive themselves of it by denying the necessity of a divine code for the government of their social relations, and by condemning attraction its agent and interpreter.

Let us observe that this martyrdom falls upon the rich as well as upon the poor, and that among the rich classes, whose happiness is so envied, we find a large number who are devoured by ennui and tormented by unsatisfied desires. Let us listen to a celebrated woman on this subject—Madame de Maintenon, who writes to a friend thus:

"Oh, that I could make you see the ennui which devours the great, and what trouble they have to fill the hours!—the irksomeness of the presence of that multitude of valets, whom they cannot do without; the restlessness which leads them to change from place to place, without finding any one that pleases; the ennui that follows even upon the throne! Do you not see that I am dying with melancholy, while favored by fortune to an extent that can hardly be imagined, and that it is only the succor of God, which prevents me from sinking under it! (a feeble succor if it does not prevent her from dying with ennui.) I have been young and handsome; I have enjoyed pleasures; I have been loved by all at a later age; I have passed years in the intercourse of letters; I have attained the height of fortune, and I protest to you, that all conditions leave a frightful void, an anxiety, a lassitude, a desire to know something else, because in them all there is nothing which satisfies fully!"

If at the height of grandeur, we find persons weighed down by *ennui* and melancholy from mere want of satisfaction of attraction, what must the suffering be when attraction is outraged and violated, as in the case of thwarted ambition? We often see persons die of chagrin from disappointment of some cherished hope. Fourcroy, the learned chemist, died of regret, it is said, at seeing the place of President of the University given to Fontanes. Sir Samuel Rommilly, having failed in obtaining the office of Chancellor, which was given to Mr. Abbott, committed suicide in a fit of despair. If we examine the condition of twenty heads of families, taken at random, we shall find that the want of means is for nineteen of them a perpetual source of perplexity and torment. It is the same with women, who have passed the freshness of youth, and who have no objects of interest to occupy them. We see this martyrdom of unsatisfied attraction reigning everywhere, even among the most obscure classes; here a peasant chokes with spite for having missed a farm, which another has obtained; there a young girl sinks into a decline, and dies from disappointed love.

We see all ranks and classes exposed to these disappointments and miseries, which would not exist in a social order, that would afford to all our affections and desires numerous true and natural modes of action, forming a variety and succession of pleasures so well connected, that disappointments and reverses would, at the most, cause but temporary suffering, which would soon be dissipated.

Such would be the effect of a true, harmonious and integral development of the passions; it would produce equilibrium and unity in the moral nature of man, but this development is possible only in a social order, the institutions of which are fully adapted to his nature, in which he will enjoy every advantage and opportunity of moral, intellectual and physical culture, and which would train, educate and develope the passions according to the laws of pasional harmony.

4th. *Agreement of sound reason with nature or attraction*—that is, of desire with duty, the attainment of fortune by the practice of truth and justice, the final reconciliation of the individual with the collective interest, and the love of self with the "love of the neighbor." These are the beautiful results of a social order which will develope truly the passions and attractions, and enable them to expand in congenial spheres of action, establish unity of interests in society, and introduce equity and justice in the practical affairs of men, particularly in commerce, finance and industry, in which so much fraud and falseness now reign.

Let us give a single example to show the necessity of a new social order to reconcile attraction with sound reason. We will take our example from the love of riches, which is the most universal passion or attraction at present. Observe the contradictory opinions which exist upon this subject.

The sage advises us to contemn riches and temporal pleasures, to disdain them and prefer truth and virtue in their place. The worldly-wise on the contrary are in favor of acquiring fortune, often even at the expense of the precepts of the sage; they advise a preference for the real advantages of wealth to the doubtful charms of philosophical contemplations.

Which of the two parties is in error? Both, in present society.

The poor man, however strict his integrity and virtue, is looked upon with indifference and contempt by the world, and the sage himself, who has failed in acquiring fortune, is without credit and influence to give weight to his views, however praiseworthy they may be. The sage who is indigent compromises wisdom itself; he discredits it, and exposes it to derision in a purely commercial and money-making world.

On the other hand, is it certain that the worldly-wise are right in loving and recommending riches? No, when we consider the deceptive and odious means which it is often necessary to employ to acquire them. There is in both cases a mixture of wisdom and error, a complication of contradictory principles, which it is impossible to conciliate in the present state; for the true conclusion would be that riches are necessary, but that they should be attainable without resort to injustice, deception, fraud, and overreaching, which in society, as at present constituted, are avenues, and indeed the principal ones, to fortune.

A full discussion of this subject would lead persons of all opinions to desire an order of things which would lead to fortune by the practice of truth and justice. This would be to ask for the supplanting of the present system of society, called civilization, by a new social order, in which fortune could only be acquired by the practice of truth and integrity. It will then be possible and praiseworthy to love riches and truth at the same time; the attractions for these two objects will be in combined action and agreement. Our desires will no longer be at war with reason; man will be at peace with nature and himself. There will be unity and harmony between the impulses of the passions and the dictates of wisdom, which at present are in complete discord and conflict; for whatever may be the condition of

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men it is impossible in the present social order to conciliate sound reason and attraction.

In reflecting upon the wonderful properties of attraction, the guaranties which it furnishes for establishing unity between God and man, and concord between the passions and reason, how can we suppose for a moment that the Creator would prefer employing constraint, with all its odious consequences, to giving or imparting direct attraction to all his creatures for the fulfilling of his will, and the performance of the acts which He requires of them!

CONCLUSION.

The fault of most readers is, that they make no summary and do not preserve the leading ideas of what they read. Many persons after a perusal of this essay will say, "here are new ideas, remarkable views," and thereupon they will fall back into the circle of their prejudices, without deriving any advantage from what they have read. There is, however, one grand conclusion which should be drawn from what has been said at length; we will state it very concisely.

The duty of the Creator is to compose for us a social Code, adapted to the attractions which He has implanted in us. It is evident from the explanations given, that He has fulfilled this duty.

The duty of man is to search for the Divine Social Code in the study of Attraction. It is obvious that the human mind has failed in fulfilling the task assigned it. But the fault being now repaired and the Social Code discovered, there remains to be performed but two duties, a critical examination of it, and a practical trial.

☞ The subject of which we treat in the following article is one of so vast and comprehensive a nature, that it is impossible to do more than merely glance at it; but we deem it so important that our readers should posses at least a general idea of it, on account of the constant reference which, in almost all writings on Association, is necessarily made to it, that we cannot refrain from presenting even the partial and imperfect explanation which follows.

"Universal Unity" is the title of Fourier's greatest work, and as we are now engaged in rendering it into English, and intend publishing shortly, in numbers, a translation of Fourier's writings, we desire to prepare in some degree the minds of our readers for the higher and more universal parts of his discoveries.

UNIVERSAL UNITY.

The Destiny of Mankind on earth is to arrive at, and dwell in UNIVERSAL UNITY—Unity with themselves—Unity with God—Unity with the Universe.

All the labors of Mankind—moral, intellectual, and physical—have, as their supreme object and final end, the attainment of Universal UNITY.

Creative Art and Industry, directing Science, and exalting Religion, are all means and agencies to aid in establishing Unity, which is the fulfilment of human Destiny on earth.

Universal Unity, viewed in its simplest aspect, is composed of three branches, thus:

UNIVERSAL UNITY.
- Unity of Man with Man in true Society.
- Unity of Man with God in true Religion.
- Unity of Man with Nature in creative Art and Industry.

We mean Man, (Homo) the *universal Man*, (Humanity, or the Human Race,) and not the individual Man; hence, we may express as follows the above three cardinal or trine of unities:

Unity of the Human Race with itself; that is, union and brotherhood among all the members of the race.

Unity of the Human Race with God.

Unity of the Human Race with the Universe.

The first Unity—that is, of the Human Race with itself—may be called SOCIAL UNITY, which was pointed out and declared by Christ and the Apostles, to be the true social condition of mankind:

"Thou shalt love thy neighbor (all the family of man) as thyself."

"A new commandment I give unto you, that you love one another; as I have loved you, that you also love one another."—John.

"Ye are all one, as I and my Father are one."—John.

"For as the body is one—so also is Christ. For by one spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, bond or free," &c.

"That there should be no schism (disunity) in the body; but that the members should have the same care one for another. And if one member suffer all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it."

These revelations of Christ and the Apostles, revelations of Brotherhood and Unity, are the alpha and omega of social science, the basis and the summit of any great human polity. They proclaim to men these eternal Truths:

"You are all brethren, children of the same God, members of the same family; you should form ONE body, ONE heart, ONE mind, and be ONE with God."

The whole social destiny of humanity is summed up in these words.

But instead of SOCIAL UNITY on earth, there is UNIVERSAL DIS-UNITY, or a state of general social Discord and Duplicity.

This Social Dis-Unity is manifested in the wars, conquests, spoliations and oppressions of Nations; in the divisions of society into antagonist castes and classes, and freemen and slaves; in party and sectarian strife, and in individual dissensions and conflicts of all kinds. The Human Race must be elevated to Harmony and Social Unity.

The second Unity—the Unity of Man with God—is Universal Religion. Man was created in "the image and likeness of God," and this establishes spiritual or internal Unity between him and God. And man is endowed with the gift of Immortality, which places him in external Unity with God.

If the soul, or spiritual part of man, be trained, educated and developed according to the law of divine order, or the "series," then he will obey and act in harmony with the laws of God, and perfect spiritual or internal Unity will exist. But if the soul be falsely developed, perverted and misdirected, and all its elements—the faculties and affections, or the passions—are in conflict and disorder, then is man a reversed image of God, a likeness and image of Satan, a being out of unity with God.

The happiness of mankind in the world to come, must be secured by works in this world; but these saving works do not consist in prayers and devotions, or spiritual worship alone. To these must be added the performance of divine "Uses," or works of Attractive Industry, in order to secure the Reign of Harmony in this world and in the world to come.

Instead of Religious Unity, there exists UNIVERSAL DISUNITY between man and God. This is manifested in the moral discord, subversion of truth and justice, and in the depravity which reign on earth; in the gloomy idolatries and religions of blood and blind fatalism that are embraced by two-thirds of mankind; in the doubt and disbelief in Providence, the immortality of the soul, and even the existence of God in Christendom; in sectarian strife and dissensions; and lastly, in the degradation, contempt and neglect of "Uses," or of Industry, which, rendered attractive by the application of the divine law of the "series," will become as it should be, the *practical* Worship of Humanity. "*Laborare est orare.*" (To labor is to pray.)

We make from the LONDON PHALANX the following interesting extract connected with this subject:

The second of these unities is what is commonly called Religion, though Fourier includes everything in universal or religious unity. He refers us, however, to the Word of God for full instruction with regard to spiritual unity, or unity of man with God, and for the laws of natural unity, or unity of man with man collectively on earth, he refers us to the Book of Scripture and the Book of Nature conjointly as the double source of Revelation in which we are to seek the laws of God and righteousness: "seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you."—Math: VI. 33.

It is in obedience to this command and with implicit Faith in the Promises of God to man in Scripture, that Fourier undertook to seek the laws of universal order, and the science of social harmony, or unity of man with man; and this science is what may be deemed especially, "The System of Fourier," as he has dwelt upon it more than upon other branches of universal unity. In his science of "universal analogy" he treats of all the unities, but in religious dissertations he treats principally of the unity of man with God; in his cosmogony, he treats

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of the unity of man with the Universe, and in his Science of Society, he treats of the unity of man with man.

He has not published much of his cosmogony, because he thought it might be deemed conjectural and fanciful by superficial minds, and though his works are eminently theological he has not written much on school divinity because he deems the Church the proper teacher of divinity, and he believes that she will grow in light as fast as the people are prepared to receive it, for Christ has said to the Apostles, "Upon this Rock I will build my Church and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it." Math. XVI. 18, "If thy Brother neglect to hear the church let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican." Math. XVIII, 17.

And in Revelation XXII, 16, &c. it is said, "I Jesus have sent my angel to testify unto you these things in the Churches. I am the root and the offspring of David, and the bright and morning Star."

"And the Spirit and the bride say come. And let him that heareth say come. And whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely."

"For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophesy of this book, If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book: and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophesy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the city and from the things which are written in this book."

Fourier, then, has neither added to the book of Revelation nor taken away from it, by forming a new religious creed of faith and doctrine. He refers us constantly to the Word of God as the true standard of Faith, and reconciles all partial creeds and doctrines based upon the Word without preferring any one exclusively. Partial creeds or sects he looks upon as fragmentary; a "taking away from the whole Word," certain parts to form a special creed distinct from other partial creeds derived from other fragments of the Word; which breaking of the word, and of the Body of Christ, he looks upon as an exceptional law of progress in false unity, to be restored to true unity again when all are gathered under Christ the Prince of Peace.

In all the Evangelists we are enjoined to feed the poor, and clothe the naked, to visit the sick, and give shelter to the stranger—all of which are important articles of the universal creed (the whole word of God;) and this is the special object of Fourier's "system." It is not a new creed, but a new method of attending to the articles of the everlasting creed of Christ, and of His universal Church: One God, one Church, and one Holy Catholic Faith: universal unity: material and spiritual unity.

The third branch or MATERIAL UNITY, we will view in its most simple aspect. It consists in the establishment of a perfect corelation and universal harmony between man, as a spiritual being, and matter in the creations of Nature and the works of Art and Industry. The passions of man are the standard of perfection, and by this standard all things on earth will be brought into divine order—that is, into *Material Unity*.

By disciplining matter and destroying all that now mars the face of Nature, by the thorough and universal cultivation of the earth's surface, the perfecting of the creations in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, the efficing of material discords, and establishing of harmonies in their place, man will realize MATERIAL UNITY upon his planet.

The duty of man towards nature—towards the planet on which he dwells, and which sustains and supplies him with all temporal blessings, is clearly set forth and enjoined upon him in Scripture.

Man is the OVERSEER of the Globe; and to him is assigned the great function of supervising it, and of regulating the creations upon it, for he was commanded as we are told in scripture, "to dress it and keep it," to "replenish the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over every living creature."

The Material Unity and Harmony which will result from the perfect fulfilment by man of his function of Overseer of the Globe, is beautifully foreshadowed and described in many parts of the Scriptures, particularly in Isaiah, whose prophecies are unheeded and disbelieved by christendom in general.

"The wilderness and solitary place shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose."

"It shall blossom abundantly, and rejoice even with joy and singing: the glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it, the excellency of Carmel and Sharon, they shall see the glory of the Lord, and the excellency of our God."

Instead of this UNITY there now exists universal MATERIAL DIS-UNITY. Three-fourths of the surface of the earth are uncultivated, and vast regions are desolate and barren. Burning deserts and pestilential marshes, like ulcers upon the human body, deface the planet, vitiate the atmosphere and spread disease and death over the earth;*—large portions of the earth are given up to beasts of prey and noxious reptiles, and it is desolated by storms, inundations, earthquakes and other material disorders.

Thus instead of UNIVERSAL UNITY, there exists

UNIVERSAL DIS-UNITY.
- Dis-unity of Man with Man.
- Dis-unity of Man with God.
- Dis-unity of man with Nature.

The EVIL which afflicts the Human Race grows out of this Universal Dis-Unity, and as all GOOD will be the result of Universal Unity, the great problem for mankind to solve, the high and noble work, the truly religious and sacred work for them to accomplish, is to extricate themselves from this Universal Dis-Unity and elevate themselves to Universal Unity!

Each of the three great branches of Universal Unity is divisible into two sub-branches; one *internal* and the other *external*, making in all six branches. But an explanation of these sub-divisions would lead us into a field of thought so boundless in extent, and abstract in its character, that we cannot enter upon it, and we close this article with a very brief statement of the six Unities.

TABLE OF THE SIX UNITIES;

Internal and External.

I. INTERNAL UNITY of Man with himself: the reign of peace and justice, liberty, and order, co-operation and confidence, and attraction and general concord on earth in true society—in universal Association.

II. EXTERNAL UNITY of Man with himself: perfect adaptation of all things in the external world or Nature, and in Industry and Art, to the physical wants and happiness of Man; and also of the material arrangements of society, such as the industrial mechanism, the mode of living, &c. to his physical organization.*

III. INTERNAL UNITY of Man with God: the true, full and harmonious developement and action of the soul, which, made in the image of God, will act in perfect harmony with His laws, and "do His will on earth," if its true and whole nature be quickened and called out, and developed in equilibrium.

IV. EXTERNAL UNITY of man with God: Immortality of the soul.

V. INTERNAL UNITY of Man with the Universe: analogy and correspondence which exist between the passions or affections, the phenomena of spirit, and the material creations. (This analogy between the spiritual and the material world, occupies an important part in the discoveries of Fourier, and it opens one of the most sublime and beautiful studies that the mind of man can contemplate.)

VI. EXTERNAL UNITY of Man with the Universe: the aromal communications (communications of imponderable fluids, electricity, magnetism, light, heat and others which have not yet been discovered and classed by science,) between the planets; the Human Race by the universal and perfect cultivation of the earth's surface, exercises a vast influence upon the aromal system of our globe, and as a consequence upon its aromal functions with other planets.

When these Unities are established, then will Man be *at-one* with himself, *at-one* with God, and *at-one* with the Universe. Then will the prophecies be fulfilled, and the Revelations, which have been the guides of humanity, be carried out gloriously in practice. Then will the kingdom of God—a kingdom of peace, of Justice and Unity—descend upon the earth, and the universal AT-ONE MENT—social, religious and mterial which Man must consumate, will be accomplished.

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* The plague, the cholera, the yellow and the typhus fevers, all have their origin in the deranged condition of the earth and the elements.

* Man is a compound being, formed of a soul and a body: the *internal* Unity is the harmony of soul with soul; spiritual harmony on earth. The *external* Unity is the harmony of the body with the external world, or Nature and her creations; Material Unity on the planet.

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CONVENTION OF THE FRIENDS OF ASSOCIATION IN CINCINNATI,

FEBRUARY 22d, 1844.

The Convention for the purpose of organizing an Industrial Association on the plan of the late Charles Fourier, met in pursuance to public notice previously given, in the lecture room of the Universalist Church, in Walnut street, and proceeded to business, by appointing Dr. William Price, President, and John White and Wm. McDiarmid, Secretaries.

The Circular and Address, setting forth the objects of the Convention, were then read by the President.

Dr. J. Radcliffe, of Dayton, presented a resolution from the friends of Association in that place, expressing their approbation of the movement contemplated by the Convention.

On motion, the Catalogue of names of those who had already enrolled themselves as friends of the cause of Association and ready to co-operate in the formation of a Phalanx, was read.

A letter from Horace Greeley, Albert Brisbane, and O. Macdaniel, of New York City; —and one from Wm. H. Channing, Editor of "The Present," also of New York, were read before the Convention.

On motion,

Resolved, That Doctor Radcliffe, Wade Loofbourrow, Esq., D. K. Meader, W. Kirkup and J. W. Smith, be a committee to prepare the business for the afternoon session.

Mr. Loofbourrow, of Washington, Fayette county, then addressed the Convention, in which he made some very appropriate and thrilling remarks on the means furnished in Association for the elevation of the state and condition of *woman*, and concluded with a beautiful and happy reference to, and brief illustration of Fourier's "Theory of the Passions."

3 o'clock, P. M.

The Committee appointed to prepare business for the convention, reported the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That an Association, upon the principles advocated by the late Charles Fourier, as published in this country by A. Brisbane, in his "Concise Exposition of the Doctrine of Association," be now established;—to be located at such point as may be deemed most eligible, and adapted to the views contemplated by this meeting, which are, the amelioration of the condition of Man.

2. *Resolved*, That a committee of twenty be appointed to receive additional subscriptions of stock for this Association.

3. *Resolved*, That a committee of nine be appointed to seek out a suitable site for the Domain; and that said committee report the result of its examinations to a future meeting of this convention.

7 o'clock, P. M.

The discussion of the first Resolution was resumed. This question being put, it was adopted unaminously.

The 2d resolution was then taken up, and, after some discussion, was laid on the table, to make way for the reading of a Constitution for a Phalanx framed by the Cincinnati Fourier Association.

On motion, the Constitution was referred to Mr. Loofbourrow, for revision, to be reported at a future meeting of the Convention. The 2d resolution was again taken up, more fully discussed and adopted.

Friday, Feb. 23, 9 o'clock, A. M.

The Convention proceeded to appoint the committees provided for in the 2d and 3d Resolutions, as follows:

COMMITTEE TO RECEIVE ADDITIONAL SUBSCRIPTIONS OF STOCK.

Wade Loofbourrow, Esq., Washington, Fayette Co.
B. F. Steward, Higginsport, O.
Dr. J. Radcliffe, Dayton.
J. H. Hill, Cambridge city, Ia.
J. Whippo, Dublin, Wayne Co., Ia.
J. B. Rogers, Dayton, O.
J. B. Farmer, Cleves, O.
Benj. F. Williams, Cincinnati.
Edward Collins, "
Wm. Kirkup, "
H. Ferdinand, "
Benj. Urner, "
C. B. Dyer, "
E. Green, "
Mason Seward, Mason, Warren Co., O.
Jos. Wheldon, Clark Co., O.
Wm. Price, Cincinnati.
Daniel Prescott, "
Chas. W. Carlton, "
Jon. Woodruff, "

COMMITTEE TO EXAMINE A SITE FOR THE DOMAIN.

T. Kenworthy, B. F. Steward, Wade Loofbourrow, Dr. J. Radcliffe, Benjamin F. Williams, Harvey Lull, B. G. Childs, C. D. Dana, Edward Collins.

On motion, Resolved, That the letter of Messrs. Brisbane, Greeley, Macdaniel, and that of Mr. Wm. H. Channing, be read and discussed at the meeting of the Convention this evening at 7 o'clock, and, that the citizens generally be invited to attend.

7 o'clock, P. M.

A large number of ladies and gentlemen (considering the short notice that was given,) attended for the purpose of hearing discussions of the new science of Association. After reading the minutes of the Convention, the letters from our New York friends were read—when Dr. Radcliffe took the floor, and, using the letter of Mr. Channing as a text, he gave a most fervent and animated exposition as to the manner in which Associative Unity would solve the several problems laid down in that letter. He awakened the most earnest attention of the audience, by declaring that Association was not a mere *scheme*, like that of Owen's community or a Shaker society, but that it was a science—a stupendous science, far reaching, and ascending to the Most High unfolding the laws of Divine order which reign throughout the Universe, and, at the same time descending and embracing the most lowly, the most humble things of creation. He confessed, that he, like all his associates, was but a novitiate in this grand science; and encouraged the audience to believe, that all who were so disposed were in possession of faculties and powers to apprehend and understand its truths; that, while it is so comprehensive as to embrace all things throughout the Universe, yet, it is so divinely simple, as to be applicable to even the social and domestic relations of man. And can this be surprising, when we reflect on the unity of Divine order? Nay, it must be, that the same laws of attraction and repulsion which hold in their respective orbits the vast number of Globes which compose the material universe, and cause them to move in such harmony as to produce what is called "the music of the spheres"—it must be, that they make one by correspondence with those of Passional attraction and repulsion, which form and preserve the harmony of angelic societies of the blessed in heaven, and which, when understood and obeyed by men on earth, will produce the harmony of heaven in human society.

There was the most profound attention of the audience during the whole of this excellent speech, and a favorable impression must have been made on the minds of many who for the first time had heard of the Social Destiny of man.

The following resolution was then read and unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That this Convention take great pleasure in expressing their deep sense of obligation to the advocates of the new social science in the East, and especially to the editors of *New York Tribune*, *The Phalanx*, and *The Present*, for the earnest zeal and efficiency with which they devote themselves to the propagation of the truly glad tidings of great joy in relation to the Social Destiny of Man.

Mr. B. F. Williams then addressed the meeting in a short but ardent speech, which called forth the plaudits of the meeting. He was followed by some remarks from the Secretary, Mr. J. White, when,

On motion of Mr. Urner, it was

Resolved, That the proceedings of this Convention, together with the letters of Messrs. Brisbane and Channing, be published in all the city papers favorable to the cause of Social Reform, in which we are engaged.

The Convention then adjourned, to meet again on Thursday, the 14th of March next; which meeting, all friends from the country are especially invited to attend.

WM. PRICE, *President*.

JOHN WHITE, } *Secretaries*.
WM. MCDIARMID, }

SECOND CONVENTION OF THE FRIENDS OF ASSOCIATION AT CINCINNATI.—A second Convention was held at Cincinnati, pursuant to adjournment, on March 14th. We have space but for the following short extract, which will show the general result of the Convention, and the fine spirit that animated its members.

"The consideration of the Constitution occupied nearly the whole time of the three days' sitting of the Convention. There was much discussion, with calm deliberation; and a patient and respectful hearing was given to all suggestions, embracing a variety of opinions, of every shade and color. A *unity of purpose* pervaded the entire assembly, and was manifest throughout the whole debate;—which manifestation of unity gives new strength and vigor to our hopes, and inspires us with the fullest confidence, that even though some of the manifold details of this, our fundamental law, may not be the wisest and best that could be adopted, yet, that all errors will find a sure corrective, in that spirit of UNION, which, we humbly hope, has descended, and is now descending to the earth, to bless, and beautify, and harmonize the immortal passions, and thence the present and eternal interests of man."

A Constitution was adopted, in the main similar to that of the North American Phalanx, Officers elected for a temporary organization, and Stock Books opened for an Association, called the CINCINNATI PHALANX, to be located near the City of Cincinnati, on the *Free States* side of the Ohio River; and a Committee appointed to select a suitable Domain.

OFFICERS OF THE CINCINNATI PHALANX.

President.
Wade Loofbourrow,

Council.

Dr. William Price. Charles B. Dyer.
Benj. G. Childs. William Kirkup.
James H. Hill. J. B. Rogers.

☞ THE SOUTHWESTERN FARMER, published at Raymond, Mississippi, M. W. Philips and N. G. North, editors, has upon several occasions noticed favorably the doctrines of association; and the last number comes to us with an open avowal of its approval of Fourier's system, and a noble article in explanation of its true character; and a call from the editor upon persons favorable to the doctrines to unite with him in forming a Fourier Club.

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Mr. T. C. Leland of Rochester, writes us as follows:

"I attended the Convention at Batavia. The turn out was astonishing. Nearly every town in the County was well represented. Many came from five to twelve miles on foot—the only way they could come, as the weather was a regular drizzle, and the roads unfathomable. This argues well for the enthusiasm of Genesee. An Association can, and I have no doubt, will be formed with all ease in that county. Indeed all Western New York is in a deep—a shaking agitation on this subject. *Nine* Associations are now contemplated within fifty miles of this city. Besides those I have mentioned, there is one forming at Perry, Wyoming Co; one at Dansville, Livingston Co.; one at Rush, Monmouth Co.; one at Manchester, near Canandaigua, Ontario Co.; and the beginning of a movement in Clarkson, three miles from the "Western New York Industrial Association" already established in that place; also the "Bloomfield Union Association," whose prospects are promising. From the astonishing rush of applications for membership, in these Associations, I have no hesitation in saying that 20,000 persons west of the longitude of Rochester in this State is a low estimate of those who are now ready, and willing, nay anxious to take their place in Associative Unity."

SOCIAL REFORM CONVENTION AT BATAVIA, GENESEE CO., N. Y.

In pursuance of a previous call, a Convention of the friends of a Social Reform was held at the Court House, in the village of Batavia, on the 13th inst. The convention was organised by the appointment of Owen Griffith, President, E. Pratt and Hiram Wright, Vice Presidents, and Bennet Manville, Secretary.

A Committee of five consisting of T. C. Leland, J. M. Day, P. Waller, Knowlton Rich, and James Murdock, were appointed to draft and report Resolutions for the consideration of the Convention. The meeting then adjourned to convene again at one o'clock, P. M.

On the re-assemblage of the Convention in the afternoon, letters were read from Mr Albert Brisbane and Mr. William Hunter, expressing their regret that previous engagements prevented their attending the Convention.

The Committee appointed at the morning session, reported the following resolutions, which after a very full discussion were adopted unanimously.

Resolved, That the evils resulting from the present organization of Society are so great and multiform, that a Social Reform, which shall strike at the root of these evils, is loudly called for.

Resolved, That the principles of the Social System, discovered and promulgated by Charles Fourier, are founded in reason and truth, and are practicable in their nature.

Resolved, That this Convention recommend that an Association, based on Fourier's plan be established in this County as early as practicable, and that a Committee be appointed to examine different locations, and report the results at an adjourned session of this Convention.

Resolved, That this Convention request the several papers in the County to publish its proceedings, together with the letters of Messrs. Brisbane and Hunter.

Whereas, The dissemination of light on the subject of Association is all important since its examination is almost invariably followed by conviction, therefore,

Resolved, That this Convention recommend, nay *urge* upon all the friends of Association, to exert themselves to extend the circulation of "The Phalanx," and "The Present," published in New York, and devoted to the cause of Social Reform.

Resolved, That we express a sense of conscious and heart-felt obligation to the editors of those papers, and of the New York Tribune, for the indefatigable energy with which they have devoted themselves to the advancement of this Hope of Humanity—a Social Reform—and also to the editors of our County, who have so generously published the call of this Convention and other articles in exposition of the System of Association.

A Committee to examine different locations in the County was appointed, consisting of the following gentlemen:

James Sprague, jr.	James Brisbane.
Knowlton Rich.	A. W. Ensign.
Wm. McCumber.	Wm. Bryan.
M. P. Crampton.	Lewis Clark.
John Lamberton.	B. F. Pidge.
Charles English.	Reuben Cook.

Alvin Newel.

Resolved, unanimously, That the thanks of this Convention be presented to Mr. Albert Brisbane and Mr. William Hunter for their very interesting letters.

Resolved, That this Convention is adjourned, to meet again at this place, on Wednesday the 10th of April next.

OWEN GRIFFITH, President.

Bennet Manville, Secretary.

Batavia, March 13, 1844.

Remarks:—Contrary to the expectations of the friends of Association, there was a tremendous "turn out." Notwithstanding the weather and roads were extremely bad, the spacious room in the New Court House was completely filled. A large party of ladies was assembled—a very gratifying demonstration oi the interest felt in the community on the subject of Social Reform. If our cause is supported by the influence and approbation of the ladies, we are absolutely certain of success.

The resolutions were supported by Rev. O. Roberts of Lakeville, T. C. Leland of Rochester, J. M. Day and D. B. Rogers of Morganville, and several others. Some questions were proposed by several individuals, which were satisfactorily answered.

Soon after the adjournment of the Convention, Mr. Watson, President of the Jefferson County Industrial Association arrived in company with several other gentlemen. We regretted that the Convention had not appointed to sit another day, so that we could have heard from these gentlemen. However we had notice given out that there would be an evening meeting, and a large company assembled together, who had the pleasure of hearing Mr. Watson narrate his experience in the cause of Social Reform.

(Here follows a letter from Mr. A. Brisbane, pointing out the disadvantages which the producing classes now labor under, summed up under four general heads,—and the advantages which Association will secure to them. Owing to its length we omit it.

We give a short extract from the letter of Wm. Hunter, Esq., an extensive iron manufacturer of Rochester.)

This noble cause deserves more attention, consideration, and more talents than I either have or hope to possess. However, I will say that were I in the possession of the intellect of a Webster, or the brilliant eloquence of a Clay, or the wealth of an Astor, they should all be devoted, early and late, to the propagation and advancement of the noble cause. Sir, the Science of Association as set forth by Fourier, is not only a "beautiful theory," but it is capable of practical demonstration, and it gives me great pleasure in being able to state that there is every prospect that the good people of Western New York, will very soon give proof of the fact that its enemies cannot gainsay. One year ago, and how many were there in the 8th Senate district that was informed on the subject. They may be said to have been few and far between. At this time we number no less than fifteen thousand, with wealth enough to start ten Associations, were it not for the utter impossibility of selling good property at fair prices. Prejudice is giving way to calm reflection, people are beginning to think for themselves; formerly this was done by another who was paid a fine salary; thanks to the hard times, "every bitter has its sweet." It has given myself and others great pleasure to see that the people of Genesee County have gone so far as to call a convention for the examination of this subject. I hope you will give it a thorough investigation. Nothing, in my opioion, will so effectually break up or retard the operation of those monstrous loan companys' operations that scourge our land, as that the farmers should make up their minds to tear up their cross fences and associate themselves together, for the purpose of carrying into effect the practical part of Fouriers scheme of Association.

The doctrine of Asssociation is based upon truth, it will bear a critical examination. The more you talk about it the better it will be understood. It has nothing to fear but ignorance—in fact it is like gold, the more you rub it the brighter it shines.

WM. HUNTER.

To show further the spirit which is moving in the Western part of the State of New York, in favor of Association, we give part of a large hand bill, which we have received, calling a Convention at Dansville, Livingston Co.

GENESEE VALLEY ASSOCIATION.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN THAT

A GENERAL CONVENTION

will be held on the 20th of March, at Dansville, Livingston County, N. Y., for the purpose of forming an Association based upon the principles of Charles Fourier; all persons interested in forming such an association, with a location at the head of the Genesee Valley, near Dansville, aforesaid, are earnestly solicited to attend said Convention, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The undersigned, a committee appointed for the purpose, have recently devoted considerable time upon the subject of location, and have arrived at the conclusion that the place above mentioned offers inducements paramount to any other in Western New York; and upon the subject of negotiation with the proprietors, for a sufficient domain for such location, they are enabled to say, that extensive hydraulick power, with manufactories, mills, and shops of all kinds, together with adjoining lands for agriculture, can be obtained upon fair terms, on a point of navigation, in one of the most fertile and healthy sections of this state.

The committee, therefore, give a general invitation to capitalists and others, abroad, who wish to make profitable investments, or become resident members of said Association, to attend and participate in its organization, and the necessary steps incident to the subscription of stock, and commencement of business.

M. H. Brown,	A. Stevens.
Frederick House.	N. Slack.
H. G. Taggart.	Sidney Sweet.
B. C. Cook.	Samuel Fisk.
S. Hubbard.	

Dansville, March 1st, 1844.

☞ We are pleased to see the Retina devote so large a space in its columns to the discussion of Association. We hope however, the Editor will be guarded in expressing opinions in regard to Fourier, which may lead to misapprehension and error, before he has read his works and obtained a complete knowledge of the man and his system. Opinions based upon fragmental and one-sided views of Fourier's doctrines, may be as unjust and dangerous as would be those which a person otherwise ignorant of Swedenborg's writings might derive from reading isolated quotations from his works. We trust that it will not be long before our New Church friends become convinced, as many have already, that Association is the plane on which alone the New Jerusalem can descend upon earth.

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[For the Phalanx.

THE LERAYSVILLE PHALANX.

Messrs. Brisbane & Macdaniel:

Gentlemen—Inasmuch as the wide circulation of your journal enables you to give extensive publicity to the history and present condition of the young and vigorous Association, named at the head of this letter, it gives me great pleasure to avail myself of your kind offer of a column in your next number. The particular class of individuals for whose accommodation the Leraysville Phalanx has been established, are widely scattered over the several States of the Union, so that no one medium of communication can readily apprize them of a movement, which, when properly understood, will be dear to their hearts. To multiply the forms of our prospectus, is, therefore, exceedingly desirable.

As I have recently returned from a thorough exploration of the new organization in Bradford county, Pennsylvania, in company with Samuel Knower, Esq., of this city, I now feel prepared to give all necessary information concerning the Phalanx at Leraysville, including its domain, its locality, its present population, its general and special objects, its prospects in relation to the three essential elements of Social Reform, viz.: Talent, Capital, and Labor.

Mr. Knower and myself are united in the opinion that the location at Leraysville, has many advantages rarely attainable by any Association. Its climate is healthy to a proverb. Its elevated situation at the head waters of the Wyalasing, the Wysox, and Wappasiny creeks, considerable branches of the Susquehannah, places it wholly above the region of febrile diseases. The soil of the domain is excellent, yielding fine crops with easy cultivation, and specially adapted to grazing. Scarcely an acre of waste land can be found on the intended plot of six thousand acres, part only of which has been as yet obtained by the present members of the Phalanx; but the rest can be purchased at fair prices when desired, with few if any exceptions. Water for domestic purposes is found in numerous springs issuing from the very elevation on which the Phalanstery will stand, and can be raised at small expense to a neighboring summit, fifty-five feet higher than the highest grounds on which the edifices are to be erected. The supply of this excellent spring water, is sufficient to furnish the quantity necessary for all domestic purposes, and also to feed small fountains in all the squares or ornamental grounds of the Phalanstery. The streams on the domain are sufficient to furnish water power in any quantity that can ever be required. The site of the edifice of this Association, is one of great fitness and beauty. Occupying the summit of an eminence, only about sixty feet lower than others on the domain, it affords a prospect in all directions of the lands of the Association, and also of the Alleganies—fifty miles distant, beyond the Susquehannah. Proper dams across the creeks will create sheets of pure water in full view of the edifice; and indeed one such already exists, about eighty rods distant, which drives one of the saw-mills belonging to the Phalanx. Ponds, stored with pickerel and other fish, are near at hand, and a fall of twelve feet descent, dashes down the rocks at a shost distance from the proposed site of the Phalanstery. The retired situation of the domain, is both pleasing and profitable. In the centre of the great Horse-Shoe Bend of the Susquehannah, the Phalanx will be able to command the trade of a region not much less than forty miles in diameter, in which there is no village capable of successful competition. This populous agricultural region will no doubt find it for its interest to dispose of its surplus productions to the commercial agents of the Association, and to receive in return the various manufactures of the Company. The cash resources of the Phalanx, in addition to its local trade, will consist of sales of cattle, horses, boots, shoes, saddles and harness, woollen goods, hats, books of its own manufacture, paper, umbrellas, stockings, gloves, clothing, cabinet-wares, piano-fortes, tin-ware, nursery trees, carriages, bedstead, chairs, oil-paintings, and other productions of Skill and Art, together with the receipts from pupils, in the schools, and boarders from abroad residing on the domain.

Inasmuch as labor and skill are abundant, in almost all the arts and trades embraced in the above list, it remains only to procure the necessary cash capital to put Labor and Talent into operation. For cash the constitution provides at the outset, no other means but actual subscription to the stock of the company. This means of obtaining cash, it is believed, will be amply sufficient in the end; but, as a few of the neighboring farms are needed in the outset, which can be procured with cash only, the Board of Directors have enacted, that if any friends of the movement will purchase these particular farms and lease them to the Association, with the privilege of purchasing them at cost price within the term of ten years, and with annual interest of six per cent., the same as is allowed to capital, the Phalanx will place these lands under the most scientific cultivation, and pay the interest regularly.

It need not be concealed that the intention of the founders of the Leraysville Association, is to keep up, if possible, a prevailing New Church influence in the Phalanx, in order that its schools may be conducted consistently with the views of that religious connexion. The members of the New Jerusalem Church, are therefore particularly invited to investigate the claims of this infant institution, and extend to it such protection and aid as its high importance may demand. Good men of other forms of Christian faith, are cordially invited to unite themselves with us, in the fellowship and harmony of true industrial and social relations.

SOLYMAN BROWN,
General Agent,
13 Park Place, N. Y.

Communicated.

PEACE-UNION SETTLEMENT.

This colony of Germans is situated in Limestown township, Warren county, Pa.; it is founded upon somewhat peculiar views and associative principles, by Andrew Bernardus Smolniker, who was Professor of Biblical Study and Criticism, in Austria, and perceiving by the signs of the times compared with prophecies of the Bible, that the time was at hand for the foundation of the Universal Peace which was promised to all Nations, and feeling called to undertake a mission to aid in carrying out the great work thus disclosed to him, he came to America. In the years 1838 and 1842, he published at Philadelphia, five volumes in explanation of his views, and gathering around him a body of his countrymen, during the last summer he commenced with them the Peace-Union Settlement, on a tract of fertile wild land of 10,000 acres, which had been purchased.

According to the Constitution adopted, men of every nation are invited to join with them, and first those who could help to prepare the way.

Mr. A. B. Smolniker is now in New-York, waiting to attend the "Convention of the friends of Association," to be held during the week, during the sitting of which he will deliver an Address, and explain his wishes and objects in full. His address will be published. Those who may wish to learn more of the Peace-Union, can address (post-paid) A. B. Smolniker, Deerfield P. O., Warren county, Pa.

A Popular View of the Doctrine of Charles Fourier. By Parke Godwin. *J. S. Redfield, Clinton Hall, New York.*

This work has made its appearance too recently to be noticed at length in the present number of the Phalanx, we may say, however, that it is as full and accurate a view of the doctrines of Fourier as could possibly be given in a volume of the size, not only in regard to the practical organization of society, but as it respects those higher questions, which are not commonly taught by his disciples, but which are highly interesting and important. Mr. Godwin has very judiciously separated between the positive and conjectural parts—or the practical and theoretical—so that any one who chooses to criticise the principles of Associationists hereafter, cannot plead the cause of ignorance, when he assails us for what we do not hold.

A brief recapitulation of the contents of this work, is perhaps, the best recommendation, we can give it. In the introductory chapters, are given a review of all the attempts at social organization, which have been projected, from the time of Plato down to Robert Owen; together with a memoir of and remarks on Fourier. The first part is then devoted to a concise exposition of the general formula of Social Movement, with details as to practical organization, as connected with the doctrine of the Passions.

An intermediate chapter explains how far the principles of Fourier are received by his school

The second part then treats of the Form of Government in the higher states of Association;—of Manners and Customs, and particularly of Marriage; of the Law of Population; of Cosmogomy, the Immortality of the soul; and of Universal Analogy, with particular reference to Swedenborg's theory of correspondences.

The work closes with a discussion of the moral and religious aspects of Association.

This admirable arrangement, and many of the chapters are taken from the "*Vue Synthetyque*" of Hyppolite Renaud, considered in France, the most beautiful and complete view of the whole of Fourier's doctrine that has ever yet been published. Mr. Godwin's modification and additions are very important and valuable. All who have read Mr. Brisbane's pamphlet will find this a useful continuation.

We shall make some extracts hereafter; meantime, we state that the book contains about 120 large pages, and is sold at 25 cents the single copy; with the usual reduction to the trade, or to those who wish to dispose of it among their friends.

The Iowa Pioneer Phalanx, formed in Jefferson County, this State, has selected its Domain in Iowa Territory, and will shortly emigrate thither.

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VOLUME I. NUMBER 8.

SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS
UNITY.

SOCIAL PROGRESS.—A SOCIAL REFORM UPON CONSERVATIVE PRINCIPLES.

TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIBERTY AND
EQUALITY.

ASSOCIATION, ATTRACTIVE INDUSTRY, UNITY OF INTERESTS.

THE PHALANX:

OR,

JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE.

DEVOTED TO THE CAUSE OF

ASSOCIATION, OR A SOCIAL REFORM,

AND THE

ELEVATION OF THE HUMAN RACE.

"OUR EVILS ARE SOCIAL, NOT POLITICAL; AND A SOCIAL REFORM ONLY CAN ERADICATE THEM."

New-York:
PUBLISHED BY J. WINCHESTER, 30 ANN STREET.

AGENCIES:

OFFICE OF THE SUN, BURGESS & STRINGER, J. S. REDFIELD, NEW-YORK; ZIEBER & CO., PHILADELPHIA REDDING & CO., BOSTON, MASS.; GEORGE JONES, ALBANY, N. Y.; WM. MILLER, UTICA, N. Y.; JOHN JONES, ROCHESTER, N. Y.; T. S. HAWKS, BUFFALO, N. Y.

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SPEECHES OF MESSRS. DANA AND RIPLEY AT THE FESTIVAL.

Mr. Dana said,

If this sentiment should ever be illustrated and honored by a poet, this certainly is the time, and this is the occasion. For, this is not a private, individual sentiment of which we speak. This is not the tie merely, which holds you and I private friends, together. But it is that great bond—that universal current—that all-pervading electricity which thrills and moves in the whole human heart. It is this bond—this power—this all-pervading emotion which unites the universal race, and which makes of us all, one brotherhood—one blood. This it is—this divine emotion which binds us together now. This, it is which holds us together in this new crusade, whose banner we have flung boldly in the air. This it is which carries us for ever forward—and which must ever cheer and strengthen us with its own living sustaining influence. This it is, this divine friendship—this sacred devotion to humanity—this love of man for manhood's sake, which ought particularly to inspire us now and always (loud applause.)

Too long have we supposed friendship possible only between individuals who know each other, and meet each other daily. It is not so. Friendship is universal. It is something which reaches back into the eternity behind, and leads us onward to the eternity to come (applause). And here we, a few men in the 19th century, standing the pupils, the disciples of those long ages which lie behind us—does it not especially befit us—does it not become us now more than at any other time, to bring each heart to heart, and as our hands are already clasped, to move forward in this labor? Are we not now called on—are there not responsibilities resting upon us now which have not lain upon men before—are we not called on now to lay aside all private hopes and desires, and to devote ourselves to humanity—to its hope—to its prophecy—to the fulfilment of its destiny? This is the end of friendship This is a true friendship and there is no other. This is the friendship which devotes itself—which consecrates itself, not to private and individual wishes, but to universal aspirations (loud applause).

And now—seeing among you many who are dear to me personally—whom I have learned to love, dearer and deeper than I can ever speak, I would not any the less, nay, I would infinitely the more open my heart to you all, and have every heart opened to me, feeling that we are friends, brothers—not only as men working for humanity—as pilgrims towards that glorious future which gleams brighter on us than any prophet ever dreamed—not alone thus, but with that holy private friendship which links heart to heart, and binds them in indissoluble bonds.

When Mr. Dana had Closed, it was proposed by Mr. Macdaniel that the toast to Friendship be repeated with *clasped hands*. This proposition was instantly accepted, and with a burst of enthusiasm every man rose, and locking hands all round the table, the toast was repeated by the whole company, producing an electric thrill of emotions through every nerve.

Mr. Ripley said,

I am sure we must all feel here to-night that we are one, and that there is in our own nature a pledge of the higher unity, which according to the doctrine of him whose memory we celebrate, will one day crown our efforts. I cannot refrain from expressing the deep and solemn joy I feel in having been permitted to be present at the transactions of this week; in this great and populous city, devoted to the pursuits of commerce and the acquisition of wealth. This city is absorbed in the busy rivalries and competitions of life. We have come here from a variety of pursuits, and purposes—from differences in outward condition, but still in obedience to that great law of universal unity, to which reference has been made. We have come hither for one purpose, and that purpose of great and universal end. And I ask you could we have been brought so near together for any other object? * *

But how much is to be achieved before the dawn of that universal unity for which we pray and labor? Is there now even individual unity? Have we now such a thing as a *whole man*? No! Humanity is now all dissevered—tongues—heads—hearts—arms—limbs—all tumbling and jostling each other in the fierce whirlpool of this dislocated society. That is indeed a truthful type of the effect of civilization on human nature (applause.) I say we are not *whole men*. I say that the institutions of society have dislocated us (applause.)

Here is one man all feet—here is another all digestive organs—and here perhaps, you will say is one all *tongue* (laughter). Well, that is a consequence of modern society, (renewed laughter.) Go into our factories—our workshops—do you find whole men there? Alas! that person who has come to inquire as to the number of workmen employed, gives you a melancholy proof that there are no *whole* men there—he asks not "how many men have you here?" but—"how many *hands*?" (loud applause.)

Mr. Channing—"A man's a' man, for a' that!"

Mr. Ripley—Yes, indeed, before God if he preserves his integrity (loud applause.) But in that glorious future we hope for unity—unity such as the great author of our race designed. Then will there be such a *oneness* as is felt in the physical body—in which the slightest pain in the remotest nerve is sympathized with by all the others (applause). That unity will not be confined to the churches on Sunday—but it will be felt in all its blessed influences everywhere and at all times—it will be seen in the fields—in the workshops—everywhere where man meets his brother man (applause). Everywhere it will animate us. Every day will then be wholly consecrated to the highest purposes—under the abiding consciousness of the presence of that power whose we are, and with devotion and love to all our brethren with whom we are called to walk in company through this brief pilgrimage of life (loud applause.)

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NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS AND READERS.

It will be seen by a resolution passed at the General Convention, that a committee were charged with the business of publishing the Phalanx, as an organ of the Associationists. Of that committee, Parke Godwin, Wm. H. Channing, Albert Brisbane, and O. Macdaniel, have been selected as the persons by whom the Phalanx will be particularly managed. Mr. Brisbane has gone to Europe to make arrangements with our friends in France, Germany, and England, for an extensive and interesting correspondence; and the other persons named will devote their best abilities to extending the usefulness of the paper. It will be published hereafter once a fortnight, and as soon as can be, once a week. The editors have determined to make it as effective and interesting a periodical as any now issued. Its discussion will embrace all the important topics of the day—religious, social, political, and literary—which will be treated with perfect fairness and fulness, but with decision and independence. No pains will be spared to make the Phalanx a powerful instrument in the advancement of the human race. Our friends, everywhere, are called upon to assist us in enlarging its circulation.

This number is sent to the old subscribers to Mr. Channing's Present, and of Mr. Godwin's Pathfinder, in the hope that they will be induced to become subscribers to the Phalanx.

Communications to be addressed to "The Editors of the Phalanx," postage paid. Subscriptions and orders for the Phalanx should be sent to J. Winchester, No. 30 Ann st., New-York, who, we are pleased to inform our friends, has taken entire charge of the publication department of the Phalanx. For sale at the office of the New World, and by all the News Agents throughout the United States.

☞ A large extra edition of this number has been published and supplies can be obtained of J. Winchester, at the rate of $3 per hundred.

☞ Our exchanges are requested to extend the circulation of the proceedings of the Convention as far as possible by inserting the Address and Resolutions.

BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE,

FOR MARCH,

IS A SUPERB NUMBER, CONTAINING

THIRTEEN CAPITAL ARTICLES,

AS FOLLOWS:

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THE PHALANX

OR

JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

Our Evils are Social, not Political, and a Social Reform only can eradicate them.

TWO DOLLARS A YEAR. PAYABLE IN ADVANCE.

VOLUME I. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 1844. NUMBER 8.

GENERAL CONVENTION

OF THE FRIENDS OF ASSOCIATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

Pursuant to a call previously published in the PHALANX and other papers, the friends of Association assembled in General Convention on Thursday morning, the 4th of April, 1844, at Clinton Hall, in the City of New York.

The hour of meeting was 10 o'clock, soon after which the Convention was called to order, and Mr. Parke Godwin was appointed Chairman, and Mr. O. Macdaniel, Secretary *pro tempore*.

The Secretary then read the Call of the Convention and recorded the names of such Delegates and persons present as, under the terms of the Call, could take part in the proceedings of the Convention. Delegates were present from Maine, Massachusetts, Western New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia.

The following gentlemen were appointed a Committee to nominate Officers of the Convention, viz.:

Alonzo M. Watson, Watertown, N. Y.; John Allen, Hallowell, Me.; Charles A. Dana, Brookfarm, Mass.; Solyman Brown, City of New York; Albert Brisbane, do.

The Nominating Committee, after a short absence, reported the following gentlemen as Officers of the Convention:

PRESIDENT.

George Ripley.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

A. Brisbane, Alonzo M. Watson,
Horace Greeley, Charles A. Dana,
Parke Godwin, A. B. Smolniker.

SECRETARIES.

Osborne Macdaniel, D. S. Oliphant.

COMMITTEE ON THE ROLL AND FINANCE.

John Allen, Nathan Comstock, Jr.
James P. Decker.

The Convention having been organized by the appointment of its Officers, the following gentlemen were named by the President as a

BUSINESS COMMITTEE.

Horace Greeley, Alonzo. M. Watson,
George Ripley, Charles A. Dana,
Albert Brisbane, Lewis W. Ryckman,
Park Godwin, Wm. H. Channing,
James Kay, Solyman Brown,
John Allen, Osborne Macdaniel.

Before proceeding to business the Secretary read letters addressed to the Convention by a number of Societies and individuals in different parts of the United States, expressive of the deep interest felt in the deliberations of the Convention, and their devotion to the great cause of Association and Universal Unity. We select the three following for publication, not having space for all.

CANTON, Ohio, March 29, 1844.

A. BRISBANE, Esq.,

Dear Sir—I must ask of you the favor to express in my behalf the deep interest I feel in the Convention which is soon to assemble in your City, on the occasion of the birth-day of the immortal Fourier—the illustrious discoverer of the laws of Social Harmony. The pleasure of being present with you at that interesting meeting, is denied me; but I still wish that those who may be assembled on that occasion, may be reminded of my sympathies with them, and with the feelings which have called them together.

I am still, as my leisure permits, prosecuting the study of Fourier's Works, and in proportion to my progress does my admiration of his profound and penetrating genius increase. Almost daily am I struck with new amazement at the sublime harmonies of Nature's Laws, as revealed by his searching analysis; and, what is more important perhaps, the works of God, which once presented to my mind an inextricable chaos, scarcely reconcilable with benevolence, assume, under his expositions, a benignant and inviting aspect, worthy of an infinite and beneficent Creator. And although he and his doctrines may now be neglected, perverted, or reviled by a world whose corruptions he was the first satisfactorily to explain and systematize, yet the day is speedily coming when justice will be done to both; when monuments will rise from ten thousand hills, surmounted by his statue, in colossal proportions, gazing upon a happy people whose God will be truly the Lord, because they will live in spontaneous obedience to his Eternal Laws.

I conclude by expressing the hope that a new impulse will be given to the cause of human progress and human happiness by the deliberations of the approaching Convention.

I am very respectfully your ob't. serv't.

E. P. GRANT.

CINCINNATI, Ohio, March 23d, 1844.

To the General Convention of the Friends of Association in the United States:

By a resolution passed at a late meeting of the "*Western Fourier Association of Cincinnati,*" it becomes our pleasing duty to address you in their name and behalf, and to offer their heart-felt congratulations in the great and auspicious moral movement which has brought you together.

Happy should we be, were it in our power, to be, each of us, personally present, to participate in the good work you are to perform, and in the festivities which are to accompany the same; but, this being denied us, we are still happy in assuring you, that, in spirit, we *are* with you; inasmuch as every heart in our Association beats strong with the desire of promulgating the glad news of Man's glorious Destiny, so far and so wide that every drooping spirit of the whole human family may be inspired, as ours have been, with the bright hope of a happy future, and exult with us in efforts to overcome the obstacles which lie between us and the full fruition of that hope. And believing as we do, that the genius of CHARLES FOURIER, directed in obedience to the "commandment of the WORD," by diligently seeking the welfare of his fellow man, was blessed with a fulfilment of the Divine promise, most heartily do we unite with you in rendering to him that honor which he has so richly merited by a long life devoted to our best interests, and those of the whole human race.

Although we feel ourselves but as little children—mere infants—in the great science of UNIVERSAL UNITY and SOCIAL ORDER, yet we have an unshaken confidence that it has for its base the Eternal Rock of TRUTH. And, as we should be ever "ready to give a reason for the faith that is in us," we offer the following from among many reasons that might be given: 1st. The science of ASSOCIATED INDUSTRY teaches us to establish *just relations* between Labor, Talent, and Wealth, so as to secure to the individual exercising and possessing either or all of them, the certain product which is their due. This, we believe, is but simple justice, which no man, who makes the slightest pretension to an enlightened faith in the Christian religion, can consistently wish to avoid. 2nd. Justice being established be-

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tween the three Productive Powers of man, antagonism ceases, and a *unity of interests* is seen to arise in its stead, and the reign of Harmony is begun! *Wealth* is then used by *Industry* directed by *Skill*, and each reaps the just proportion of their united products. By this union vast economies are introduced, and the products are manifold and immense; poverty and the fear of want, with all their distracting cares, are annihilated—and the *Mind* is thus left free to obey the laws which govern it, and ascend towards those higher attractions which are continually operating to draw it from the things of mere earth—and then dawns upon the intellect the light of intelligence, to gladden with its bright beams the freed and rising soul of man. This is the first happy fruit of obeying the laws of justice; and the reward is as sure as her laws are true. 3rd. Pecuniary independence being thus secured to every member, male and female, in Association, and all the powerful attractions of learning and refinement brought to bear upon their minds, the heaven-born passions of the soul are disengaged and freed from the grosser attractions of mere earthly influences, (such as distinctions in caste and fortune,) and are at full liberty to obey the Divine laws of Love, in forming that holiest bond of union which is to conjoin two congenial souls into blissful and indissoluble Marriage. The happy results which must flow from this freedom and elevation of soul are incalculable; for we hold the "marriage relation" to be the fountain and source of *all* the social relations. If this fountain be pure, it will send forth the streams of pure and holy charities, and thereby elevate and sanctify every other relation in life. If it be impure, the sad reverse is the necessary consequence. And, delightful, indeed, is the contemplation, that Association is destined to remove the many corrupting and degrading influences which are now unfortunately in existence to pollute this fountain of virtue and humanity!

Finally, we behold in the science of Associated Industry, a new Social Edifice, of matchless and indescribable beauty, and true architectural symmetry! Surely, it must be no other than that "*house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens*;" for its foundation is JUSTICE, and the superstructure PRAISE; in every department of which dwells peace and smiling plenty—and whose walls are every where inscribed with manifold representations of that highest Divine attribute—LOVE.

With these views in prospect, how can we do otherwise than sympathize with you in the work which you are now assembled to perform? Go on, then; and be assured of our hearty co-operation in the good work, to the full extent of our means. Go on, we repeat; for there are already many hearts beating high with the hopes which animate us; and hands that will assiduously toil for the accomplishment of these hopes. Go on, we again repeat; for we are assured, that you are co-operating with that great and central Power which moves the Universe—ALMIGHTY LOVE.

With sentiments of the highest respect and esteem, permit us to subscribe ourselves, your brethren in Unity.

JOHN WHITE, } Committee.
BENJ. URNER, }

[EXTRACT.]

PITTSBURG, March 29th, 1844.

* * * *

The day is gone by, I trust, when men will follow any teacher on the principle of blind submission to authority. Yet I fully agree with you that Fourier is entitled to everlasting remembrance and gratitude, for his noble achievements in the cause of Humanity—the great and wonderful system of science disclosed by him, and his application of it to the advancement of the condition and happiness of Man. He is the first philosopher of whom I have ever heard, who has exhibited the plan of connecting all knowledge *practically* in a circle, the radii of which meet and centre in the Supreme Being. He has made the start of establishing social science upon as accurate and firm a basis as that upon which rests the Newtonian philosophy. Let us follow in the same honest plan of free inquiry, enlarged views, and careful observation and experiment, and we cannot doubt that the Temple of Universal Science will rise under our hands higher and more high, rearing its unending and forever brightening columns still upward and nearer to the Divine Throne.

The basis upon which Fourier builds his vast system I greatly approve of; it is and was, for years before I ever heard of Fourier, the very foundation upon which I had erected my views in theology and religion, namely the fact that Man is created in the image of God. IF MAN IS LIKE GOD, GOD IS LIKE US. This all important truth is the key which unlocks the whole Scriptures, containing the Revelation of our Heavenly Father and the Cross of our blessed Savior; it is the only key which unlocks the word and the works of the Lord Jehovah; which makes NATURE and REVELATION one. I had from the year 1834 applied this principle to the Scriptures. Fourier, proceeding in a different course and commencing at another beginning, applied the principle to the consideration of the threefold unities of Man with Man, of Man with God, and of Man with Universal Nature, and he deduced from it his magnificent system of Universal Science. For certainly all creation is a reflex of the Mind of the Deity, and we cannot hesitate to believe that all the works of Divine wisdom are connected by laws of groups and series of groups. To discover these, as observers of nature discover and combine the harmonies of astronomy, geology, botany and chemistry, should be our aim; and this noble and heavenly employment, while it banishes want and misery from our present life—destroying the spiritual *Death and Hell* which now reign—will, under the Providence of the Most High, open to us admission into the Kingdom of the Messiah, that the will of our Father may be done on earth as it is done in heaven.

I cannot be in person with the friends of Association based on the principles of Fourier, at the convention in your city, to be held in April; but in thought and feeling I will be with you, and shall be happy to be considered a co-worker with you. I am in for the cause of Industrial Association organized according to the laws of nature, in groups and series of groups, and securing to labor, capital and talent, their just rewards, and uniting all the families of man in a holy brotherhood of peace and happiness. This cause has my warm, heartfelt approbation, and I pray the blessing of heaven upon your counsels and labors.

Believe me truly and respectfully yours, &c.

H. H. VAN AMRINGE.

Mr. O. MACDANIEL.

When the reading of the letters was finished, the Business Committee retired to draft resolutions to submit to the Convention, and after a brief absence W. H. Channing introduced the Preamble and first and second of the series of resolutions which follow, with substantially the following remarks:

Mr. President and gentlemen of the Convention—It would be doing injustice to this occasion, not to open our discussions of the Principles of Social Reorganization, by an expression of feelings with which we have come up, from far and near, to this assembly. It is but giving voice to what is working in the hearts of those now present, and of thousands whose sympathies are at this moment with us over our whole land, to say, this is a *Religious Meeting*. Our end is to do God's will, not our own; to obey the command of Providence, not to follow the leadings of human fancies. We stand to-day as we believe amid the dawn of a New Era of Humanity; and as from a Pisgah look down upon a Promised Land. Let us do so with gratitude and humility. "Other men have labored and we have entered into their labors." We are the heirs to-day of prophets, and martyrs and heroes. Behind us are the ages of war and division; before us the ages of union and peace. Shame on us! if we do not prize the legacy of hope and opportunity, which the host of the faithful have bequeathed.

Among the benefactors of the Human Race, there stands One, so pre-eminent, that he seems alone to merit, the name of *Re-Former*. And when we ask, what was the power, by which this Son of Man, and Son of God, recreated, as it were, Humanity; the answer comes, this living power was in the *Unity* of his Principle—the *Universality* of its Application, and the *Peacefulness* of its Practice. His princi-

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ple was Love; its application Justice; its practice brotherly co-operation. In the devotedness and disinterestedness of the Prophet of Nazareth was the birth of Association—*Association is Christianity, carried into every relation and detail of human life.*

When in contrast with the sublime promise of the Gospel of Love, we seek an explanation of the social outrages which, after eighteen centuries, still disgrace Christendom, girdling all lands with battlements of bones, darkening them with prisons, hospitals and poor houses, and making commerce, which should be bountiful of good, and of good only, to savage nations too often but the transfer of civilized vices; do we not instantly see, that these atrocious wrongs are owing to the fact, that nominal Christians have not dared, do not dare, to trust God, Humanity, and their own l earts? They have substituted selfish policy for Divine Order, and expediency for justice; they have preferred force to peace, and wordly cunning to the simple wisdom of mutual kindness. Feeble hope in Providence, disbelief in the power of Good to subdue evil—faithlessness to professed principles of Brotherhood are the causes of *Christian* (!) War, and Fraud and Poverty.

But thanks to the Infinite Father, we cannot be blind to the signs of promise all around us. Not in vain have been the efforts of Modern Europe and of this country, to secure the Free possession of Human Rights, and thereby the full performance of Human Duties. The *Union of Freemen* is the ideal of existing society. The Spirit of Reform, everywhere triumphant assures us, that the Divine Life of Love animates this generation. And *all Reforms concentrate in Association;* in the effort to establish households of United Families, one in all interests, where all may live for each, and each for all. Brethren! they have told us, that the age of chivalry, and romance and heroic endeavor was passed. Before the men of this day is opening a career of peaceful conquest and noble usefulness, of reverence and loyalty, of liberty and joy, in contrast with which the destructive deeds and so called glorious triumphs of by gone times grow dim.

With what purity from selfish purposes, with what calm, sound judgment, with what courage and manly firmness, does it become Associationists to enter upon this boundless field of *Conservative Reform* which Providence has opened.

Whereas, We believe, firstly—That the All-Good, All-Wise, Almighty Being has designed a state of PERFECT ORDER for Human Societies, where every individual man, family, community, shall be a member of a larger Man, which is the Nation, and all Nations members together of the Universal Man, which is the Human Race, and where *Mankind thus once more AT-ONE with themselves* shall co-work to fill the earth with goodness, wisdom, beauty: and by Righteousness thoroughly in harmony with the Divine Will, from a principle of Love, by exact science of Justice applied to the minutest detail of Industry and Art shall became also AT-ONE *with God and Nature*:

And Whereas, We believe secondly—That the History of all Savage, Patriarchal, Barbarous and Civilized Societies, has taught the wickedness and woe of selfish disunions; that the promises of prophets, the visions of poets, the hopes of philanthropists, the plans of statesmen, the efforts of the people of all ages and lands have announced and prepared for this era of UNIVERSAL UNITY, and that in the Divine Love manifested in the Gospel and Life of Jesus Christ, Providence introduced this KINGDOM of HEAVEN upon Earth:

And whereas, We believe, thirdly—That the Nations of Christendom, bound in One Great Fraternity by kindred Worship, Laws and Customs—concentrating the highest Piety Learning and Art of the past and present times—filled with an ever-growing spirit of Humanity and Liberty—impelled by intense Scientific and Industrial energy—and circling the earth with their Colonies and Commerce—are called to be the instruments of God in diffusing over the world this reign of Love and Truth and Joy; and that the United States of America have peculiar opportunities, and therefore responsibilities, through their political and social experience of Union, and their Free Institutions, to aid in this sublime work of uniting all men in One Brotherhood of the Children of God:

And whereas, We believe, fourthly—That this Ministry of Christian Nations is shamefully corrupted and weakened by the Inhumanities which these Nations tolerate within themselves and practice towards each other, such as—War and Force—Slavery and Serfdom—Fraud and Collision between all classes of Producers, Distributors and Consumers—Pauperism, with its attendant miseries and vices, contrasted with excessive Wealth, unjustly shared and injuriously accumulated—Oppressive Toil inadequately remunerated by mean wages, contrasted with luxurious and wasteful Indolence—general Ignorance, partial culture, want of high Refinement—Contagious Diseases bred and diffused by Crime, squalidness and depressing modes of life—Insufficient and Disproportioned Production—and finally and chiefly, Religion withdrawn from the duties of daily affairs, Worldliness engrossing time, talent and feeling, Want of Confidence in God and Man, Universal Duplicity, preferring expediency to right and policy to integrity in Individuals and Nations: and that these Wrongs and Outrages cannot and will not cease until the various communities which compose these Nations practice the Justice which Love commands to every one of their members, Man, Woman, Child:

Therefore, *Resolved*, 1st. That we feel it to be our great privilege to live in an age which Providence now summons to establish relations of thorough, mutual kindness between man and man—within each community between its families—within each nation between its communities, and among the various nations which are members of the Human Race, and that we desire to express due gratitude by devoted service in this sublime cause of Religion, Humanity, and Universal Good.

Resolved, 2d. That the Justice which Love commands includes—

I. A reverent welcome to every child born by the Providence of God into this terrestrial world.

II. The highest culture of its physical, intellectual and moral powers under healthy, wise and holy influences.

III. Free opportunity and encouragement of every Man, Woman, Child, to exercise their peculiar powers for their own improvement, the welfare of their brethren, and the Glory of God.

IV. The exactest possible Recompense for all modes and degrees of usefulness.

V. A Social position in accordance with Character, Intelligence and Energy.

VI. Access to all Social, Literary, Artistic and Religious privileges and enjoyments of the community of which they are members.

VII. Assured support in infirmity, and means and aid to Reform in wrong-doing.

VIII. Liberty in Conscience, Speech and Action to obey the Will of God, limited only by the sympathy, advice and example of Fellow Beings.

Resolved 3d. That ASSOCIATION will practically secure these Rights which the Justice f Love commands for every Man, Woman, Child, for the following among many reasons:

I. By its system of *Joint Stock Ownership* it reconciles the Individual with the Collective Interest, and thus makes the commun ty the guardian of each of its members, and stimulates each member to devotedness for the general good.

II. By its Guaranty of adequate Support, which it insures to every individual, it removes debasing anxiety and sordid care, and gives a generous impulse to the freest and fullest expansion of all energies.

III. By its *Organization of the Seven great branches of human activity or Industry*, viz: Domestic Economy, Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, Education, Science, Art, according to the law of Groups and Series; by its arrangements of Combined and Social in place of Incoherent and Isolated Labor; by the opportunity it affords for varied and exhilirating, instead of monotonous and drudging employment; by minute division instead of complexity in every avocation; and finally by the prospect offered of assured recompense and certain gain, it makes Industry ATTRACTIVE.

IV. By its division of Profits according, 1st. To the amount of Labor, Skill and Capital employed: 2d. According to the character of Necessity, Usefulness and Agreeableness of work, it administers just and precise recompense to every Series, Group and Member.

V. By the *pecuniary independence*, which it establishes, through its economies and modes of distribution, for every individual, it gives rise to just and courteous relations, based upon qualities of mind and heart, in place of distinctions resting on accidental circumstances; and thus substitutes for jealous competitions, respectful co-operation—for capricious partialities, true loyalty—and for private selfishness, public spirit.

VI. By the constant presence of fellow-beings, animated by like interests, in all places of work, study and recreation, it surrounds every one by a *Public Conscience*—warding off temptations, advising in difficulty, supporting in weakness, redeeming from wrong; and thus substitutes sympathy for constraint, and encouragement for penalty.

VII. By making it the evident interest of the Community, and of its Series, Groups and Individuals, that the highest powers of body, mind and heart, should be fully developed in every member, it converts society into a School of Mutual Educators.

VIII. By this general spirit of physical, intellectual and moral culture; by the libraries, scientific collections, facilities for study and refinement which it accumulates; and by the opportunity constantly offered of blending application with principles, and experiment with theory, it secures systematic and symmetric growth of the whole nature throughout the whole of life.

IX. By this *integral* culture of both sexes from childhood through youth; by opportunities of complete acquaintance; by freedom fiom mercenary motives; by constant co-operation; by security from mean anxieties by prevention of secret and illicit connections by the presence of Childhood; by the co-equality secured in all respects to Woman—it

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purifies, elevates, and sanctifies Marriage, and thus ennobles all other relations; which must be determined by the character of this most central and holy of human relations.

X. By thus dignifying Labor, Thought, Affection, it makes the whole of life Religious, every place an Altar, every day Holy, every deed Worship; and thus amidst increasing joy and beauty, and constant love for the Neighbor, raises all to devoted love of the Heavenly Father.

XI. Lastly, By establishing relations of Love within each separate Community, it removes the causes of dissension between different Communities, and prepares the way for spreading among all Nations in deed and in truth, Glory to God, Universal Peace, and Good-Will to Men.

Resolved, 4th. That regarding Association not as an *invention of human ingenuity*, but as a *discovery of the* DIVINE ORDER *of society*, we solemnly protest against retarding this Providential and Humane movement, by premature, rash and fragmentary undertakings; and foreseeing, as we do, that success in these enterprises requires disinterestedness, sagacity, and perseverance, we appeal to the friends of our Race with the request, that they do not attempt to establish Association, until

I. They have secured the co-operation of a sufficient number of men and women of congenial tempers, devoted from generous impulse and conviction to this cause of God and Man; until

II. They have maturely deliberated upon and distinctly comprehended the laws of Order and the arrangements which Justice prescribes; until

III. They have actually at their command *such ample capital* as to preserve them from *anxieties* and *risks;*

For only where these conditions are fulfilled can there be realized that Attractive industry, and abundant Wealth and Beauty, which are the foundations upon which the higher Social and Religious Harmonies must be reared. Only thus can Associations be successfully established. But we rejoice in the assurance, that when once established, they will act with ever increasing power, thoroughly to redeem the tens of thousands oppressed by want and temptation, from their present miseries—miseries which no *Superficial Charities* but only *Radical Justice* can relieve or cure.

Resolved, 5th. That in view of the vastness of the change proposed by Association; the ignorance in regard to it which still so generally prevails; the unfitness for its relationships and duties which false or defective Education has rendered so nearly universal; the infidelity, if not hostility, of the great mass of those who possess Capital or Wealth; the necessarily inadequate pecuniary resources of the pioneer Associations already commenced; and the certainty that much waste, both of efforts and means, must attend the commencement of changes so mighty, we earnestly advise the Friends of Association every where, to proceed with circumspection and deliberation in all practical movements, and, wherever circumstances shall not imperatively dictate a different course, to concentrate their energies and efforts on the experiments already commenced in preference to undertaking new enterprises.

Resolved, 6th. That the NAME, which in this first Annual Convention of the Friends of Association based upon the *Truths of Social Science discovered by Charles Fourier*, we adopt for ourselves, recommend to those who throughout our country would co-operate with us, and by which we desire to be always publicly designated, is THE ASSOCIATIONISTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. We do not call ourselves *Fourierists*, for the two following reasons: 1st. Charles Fourier often and earnestly protested in advance against giving the name of any individual man to the *Social Science*, which he humbly believed to be, and reverently taught as a discovery of *Eternal Laws of Divine Justice*, established and made known by the CREATOR. 2d. While we honor the magnanimity, consummate ability and devotedness of this good and wise man, and gratefully acknowledge our belief that he has been the means, under Providence, of giving to his fellow men a clue which may lead us out from our actual Scientific and Social labyrinth, yet we do not receive all the parts of his theories, which in the publications of the Fourier school are denominated "Conjectural,"—because Fourier gives them as speculations—because we do not in all respects understand his meaning—and because there are parts which *individually* we reject; and we hold ourselves not only free, but in duty bound, to seek and obey TRUTH *wherever revealed, in the Word of God, the Reason of Humanity and the Order of Nature.*

Resolved, 7th. That with a solemn sense of our responsibilities as advocates of the cause of UNIVERSAL UNITY, with an earnest desire to secure consistent co-operation among the ASSOCIATIONS of the United States, and to prevent in the outset all possibility of those disunions among Associations, which waste the resources and paralyze the energies of existing Society, we hereby declare that, in our opinion, the time has arrived, when it becomes the imperative duty of the several Associations in our country, which are based upon the truths of Social Science as announced by Fourier, to take measures for the immediate formation of a UNION OF ASSOCIATIONS; whose objects, among others, should be:

I. A complete Organization of Industry in each and all such Associations.

II. The establishment of a system of Integral Education.

III. The securing of harmonious co-operation in all respects between the Associations.

IV. The using as far as practicable, for the benefit of all, the peculiar advantages which each one possesses of soil, location, climate, &c.

V. The adoption of a uniform system of Finance, and such Business relations as may make the property of individuals most available for the purposes of Association.

And, as these objects can be most successfully attained by the adoption of ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION, we recommend to all existing Associations:

1st. Carefully and thoroughly to consider what arrangements and provisions will be necessary to secure these ends.

2d. To select from among their members such persons as are best fitted to correspond upon the subject with other Associations.

3d. To appoint and empower Delegates to attend a meeting which shall be held at some place, hereafter appointed by the Executive Committee, on the first Monday of October, 1844, for the purpose of deliberating upon the above-mentioned UNION.

Resolved, 8th. That accepting as "Associationists" do, the *Law of Groups and Series* as the *Divinely* appointed Order on which the organization of Human Societies, should rest not merely of our land and time, but of all lands and times; and believing that the true organization of Society in every Nation is the most sure and direct mode of uniting all Nations in the COMBINED ORDER, we wish in this first National Convention to manifest our desire of concerted action with our Fellow Associationists in Europe. For this end we hereby appoint ALBERT BRISBANE, Representative from this Body, to confer with them, as to the best modes of mutual co-operation. And we assure our brethren in Europe that the disinterestedness, ability and perseverance with which our Representative has devoted himself to the promulgation of the Doctrine of Association in the United States entitle him to their most cordial confidence. Through him we extend to them with joy and trust the *Right Hand of Fellowship;* and may Heaven soon bless all Nations with a Compact of PERPETUAL PEACE.

Resolved, 9th. That this Convention adjourns to meet again, in the City of New York, at such time next Spring, as the Executive Committee may designate. And meanwhile, for the purpose of giving efficiency to the means of diffusing what we believe to be Truth and Glad Tidings of Love throughout our Land, we do hereby appoint

HORACE GREELEY, FREDERICK GRAIN,
PARKE GODWIN, JAMES P. DECKER,
WM. H. CHANNING, D. S. OLIPHANT,
ALBERT BRISBANE, RUFUS DAWES,
OSBORNE MACDANIEL, EDWARD GILES,
CHARLES J. HEMPEL, PIERRO MARONCELLI,
City of New York,

SELYMAN BROWN, Leraysville Phalanx, Bradford county, Pa.,

GEORGE RIPLEY, Brook Farm Association, West Roxbury, Mass.,

ALONZO M. WATSON, Jefferson county Industrial Association, N. Y.,

E. P. GRANT, Ohio Phalanx, Belmont county, Ohio,

JOHN WHITE, Cincinnati Phalanx, Cincinnati, Ohio,

NATHAN STARKS, North American Phalanx, Monmouth county, N. J.,

as an Executive Committee, during the recess of this Convention, whose duties shall be—

1st. To edit The Phalanx as the organ of the Associationists of the United States.

2nd. To receive, record, and diffuse information in regard to existing Associations and others which may be organized within the year.

3rd. To communicate all possible intelligence to those who in any part of the country may wish to unite practically with any Associations.

4th. To arrange a system of concerted action with Associationists throughout the United States, for the thorough and systematic diffusion of Social Science, and a knowledge of the practical details of Association.

5th. To attend to any business which Associations may empower them to transact.

6th. To carry into effect the objects of this Convention as set forth in the preceding resolutions, and the accompanying Address to the people of the United States.

The Convention continued its sessions until noon of Saturday, and during the three days of its sitting, there was a general expression of views, and enunciation of principles involved in the great cause of Association and Social Reform, by the members of the Convention. The proceedings throughout were intensely interesting, and were characterized by a single-mindness, harmony, and exalted devotedness to universal ideas and unitary principles, which were truly a Harbinger of that holy union and brotherhood among men, which are soon to come upon Earth.

The Resolutions were introduced from time to time, and each succeeding one afforded new topics of earnest and friendly discussion—not controversy.

On Friday evening, Mr. Godwin, in behalf of the Business Committee, reported and read the following Address of the Convention to the People of the United States:

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ADDRESS.

To the People of the United States:

Friends and Fellow Citizens!—We address you on a subject which we think of vital importance to your welfare, and we ask your calm and deliberate attention to the views we are about to present. Let no hasty impression—let no prejudice imbibed in a thoughtless moment or under the force of wilful or unwilful misrepresentation—deter you from the perusal of the few and brief words in which you are here accosted. The objects we have in view we know to be elevated, our motives are sincere, we harbor no mercenary nor sinister designs, and we appeal alike to men of all classes, and of every shade of Political and Religious opinion.

No man can have observed the tendencies of the age in which we live without perceiving that there is every where a restless uneasiness under the present circumstances of society, and an earnest desire for Advancement and Progress. In the efforts which benevolent men of all civilized Nations are making to meliorate the condition of their fellows, we see the movings of a Conviction that Mankind is not placed in such relations as it should be, and of a Hope that it is possible for us to attain to a much better state. How many are the ways, how various the methods in which this Conviction and Hope find an expression! Reformers, Teachers, Missionaries, Statesmen, Ministers, of every kind and degree, confess, by the very nature of their efforts, the intolerable weight of misery which hangs upon Society, and the deep need there is of a prompt and vital improvement.

It is obvious, however, from the results of all these improvements, beneficial as many of them are, that they do not go to the root of the evil. In the midst of all the excitement and agitation which they occasion, we discover a great deal of good, it is true, but on the whole an evident inadequacy to accomplish their aims. We honor the motives of all who are engaged in a conscientious effort at Human Improvement; we acknowledge the indebtedness of the world, for much that makes life valuable, to those noble and generous spirits who take upon themselves the task of instructing and elevating society; we thank God that he raises up, from time to time, wise and good Men as instruments, in His hand, for the bettering and expansion of their race. While, therefore, we take a position of antagonism to no party or sect, we are compelled to affirm that the state of Society requires a deeper and more universal Reform than any that has yet been applied. No mere change in the administration of Government, no Legislative amendment of the Laws, no projects for the Alleviation, and not the Prevention, of Pauperism, no schemes of Public Education, no Sabbath-day preachings without practical realizations, are singly or collectively equal to the removal of the vice under which Society labors. The reason is, that the remedy must be adequate to the disease; and these remedies are local or temporary, while the disease is deep-seated and chronic. This we shall proceed to show.

§ 1. The Defects of Society are Organic.

The evils which the benevolent agencies of the day are intended to remove have their origin in no accidental circumstances nor transient cause, but are inherent in the very structure of Society.

Mankind suffers so terribly, even in the most favorable condition in which it is placed, not because there is any great want of Intelligence, or Art, or Industry, or Wealth, or Goodness, in the world, but from the fact that the Form of Society is such that the mass of men cannot avail themselves of the advantages of life, already created, and that the bounties of Heaven are mostly confined to an inconsiderable portion of the race. There are food, clothing and comfortable habitations enough, in every civilized Nation, to feed, clothe and protect all its People; there is Knowledge and Love enough in the heads and hearts of certain classes of every civilized Nation, could they only be made available, to direct and render happy all classes; yet the mass of the People, every where, are miserable, ill-fed, half-clothed, ignorant and debased beings, whose bodies are broken and whose souls are ground out of them by hard work. How great soever the general improvement of any Society, one fact remains permanent—the Poverty and consequent Suffering of the Masses.

This result is sometimes ascribed to the voluntary imprudence or vices of the individuals who feel it; and no doubt, it is aggravated by individual delinquencies; but the real cause of it is in the actual form of Society.

The relations instituted among men, by the present form of Society, are those of extreme individual Selfishness, and lead directly to Indigence, Fraud, Oppression, War, Disease and False and delusive Doctrines—effects which cannot be prevented by any change short of a thorough Re-organization.

We might, were this the proper place, go into a thorough demonstration of this proposition; but we shall content ourselves with a brief statement of some of the characteristics of our present Social arrangements. In doing so, we shall follow the popular Political Economists, in the classification of Social processes under the heads of Production, Distribution and Consumption. We believe that Society, in all these respects, is defective or pernicious.

As to its methods of Production,

1st. It engenders and gives occasion for large bodies of men whose functions are either directly *destructive* of wealth or entirely *unproductive*—such as Armies, whose business it is to waste the energies of the People: the various classes of idlers, or drones, who are found in great abundance in every community; officers of justice, magistrates, constables, sheriffs, &c. who, however useful in certain respects, would not be required in a more perfect state of Society, and are therefore a burden upon the productive powers of any Society; officers of the revenue and collectors of taxes, only made necessary by our imperfect arrangements; and the immense number of sophists, philosophers and controversialists who are a permanent evil, whether we regard the unproductive or the pernicious nature of their vocations.

2d. It gives occasion to a large number of ruinous and demoralizing parasites, who live upon the means of others, by fraud or force, and who are veritable bloodsuckers on the body-politic. In this class are included gamblers, sharpers, prostitutes, rumsellers, and a host of other pernicious agents.

3d. It shuts up an incalculable source of Social wealth, by means of the general separation which obtains between productive agriculture and manufactures, and science, art and popular education, so that complication and incoherence is carried to an extreme degree in all branches of industry, and so that there is no systematic and thorough development and employment of all the productive faculties of men. The amount of useful talent that is unused, in default of means and opportunities for its manifestation, and the amount of capital completely wasted, by unskilful hands or worthless enterprises, it is beyond the power of the mind to estimate.

4th. It establishes in all industrial relations, under the name of free competition, and in all Social relations, under a thousand different names, such a fearful divergency of interests, as to lead to flagrant and incessant war between all the individual members of Society respectively, and between the individual interest and the general interest. Workmen are at war with workmen, capitalists with capitalists, labor is against wealth, and wealth against labor, men against money, and machinery against men, until, in the end, Social existence becomes a mere selfish scramble for gain, over which neither law, nor morality, nor religion can exert any extensive or permanent control.

5th. It renders labor itself, which is the source of all wealth, repugnant, monotonous, dishonorable, and degrading, so that it becomes desirable for all men who are able, to escape from work, by which means the power of production is vastly diminished, and poverty, distress, and public embarrassment proportionably increased.

As to its methods of Distribution, Society under its present form, makes use of incoherent Commerce which—

1st. Converts the Merchant from what he should be, as the mere intermediate agent between the producer and consumer, into the despotic master of both. The true function of Commerce is to distribute the products of industry, and should be therefore subordinate to industry; and as it is unproductive in itself, adding nothing to the quantity or quality of the materials which pass through its hands, should be executed by the fewest possible agents. But under the existing incoherent arrangements of Society, it is the controller of industry, employing an innumerable band of factors and agents, and giving laws to mankind. Thus,

2nd. Incoherent Commerce robs the community at large, by the stupendous tax which it lays upon both consumers and producers—a tax which is extravagantly disproportioned to the services it renders—which services might be performed by a twentieth part of the agents now engaged in their execution.

3rd. It robs the community by the adulteration of commodities, which is a vice carried to an enormous excess in all civilized nations, and springs immediately from the avaricious and hot competition to which all traders and shop-keepers are compelled to resort. Instances, indeed, are not wanting in this city, in which the unbridled cupidity of dealers has led them to expose for sale products which they knew to be poisonous.

4th. It robs the community by gluts and stagnations, which accumulate vast quantities of goods in one place while the people are starving for them in another, and which offer such provocatives to fraud and speculation, as to corrupt the morals and undermine the prosperity of entire nations.

5th. It robs the community by unlimited exactions in the form of usury; for the merchant operates, upon a small basis of capital with a fictitious capital in the form of credits and bills, fifty or an hundred times greater in amount than all his real property. He receives the highest rate of interest on the whole, and thus renders the entire class of consumers and producers tributary to his aggrandizement.

6th. It robs the community by periodical bankruptcies, which spread poverty and devastation throughout the ramifications of trade, and even involve the strongest Governments on earth in the embarrassment and guilt of their fatal results. In all these disruptions and financial explosions, the loss must ultimately fall upon the body of producers or consumers, because commerce, employing little property of its own, derives its materials from other sources.

7th. It robs the community by the facilities it possesses for buying

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when the producer is forced to sell, and selling when the consumer is forced to buy; so that it can regulate prices, and plunder at once both the producer and consumer.

8th. It robs the community by giving occasion for hordes of stock-jobbers and speculators, who withdraw capital from productive industry, to employ it in practices which create a feverish and dishonest love of exorbitant gain and gambling enterprises.

9th. It robs the community by instituting monopolies, which are among the most monstrous and gigantic evils of the whole brood of commercial vices, aggravating every defect and extending every baneful influence of incoherence and antagonism.

Let it be understood, however, that we are here speaking, not of individuals, but of a system.

In its methods of consumption, the present form of Society—

1st. Is characterized, *negatively*, by the absence of vast and important economies, arising from the fact that all its families dwell in isolated habitations, into which it is impossible to introduce those modes of saving in fuel, light, cellarage, and domestic labors generally, which would be obvious in combined and unitary mansions, so that the perpetual presence and industry of more than one-half of the members of a community—women and servants—are rendered absolutely necessary to take care of the households of the remainder. And,

2nd. For the same reason, is characterized, *positively*, by an enormous expenditure of time and money, which is utterly remediless, under present arrangements, although it forces seven-eighths of the people of civilized nations to wear out the greater portion of their lives in accumulating the mere materials of living. The large majority of men are placed under the suicidal necessity of destroying their energies in order to keep themselves in comfortable existence.

But, not to dwell upon these points, let us ask if it is any wonder, that poverty is so general in all civilized nations: that the few only are in possession of the goods of life, while the many are trampled in the dust; that the demands for benevolent exertions are every year increasing; that the vices of violence are spreading in the lower classes while the vices of licentiousness more and more infect the higher classes; that the faces of all men are feverish with anxieties; that discord, jealousy and hatred prevail among different ranks; that neither politicians nor preachers discover an outlet to the overwhelming flood of social distresses; that some sink into stupid indifference and others run into the madness of extravagant dreams; that all political and religious contests, being contests of opposing interests, become so embittered with vindictive passions; or that so many look to Revolution and Bloodshed as the only means of rectifying the abuses of the past? Need we wonder? No! Society is constituted on a wrong principle, and so long as it is, must suffer the fearful consequences which God has attached to error.

Were an individual to prove himself as utterly destitute of a regulating principle as society is—were he to leave his affairs to such loose ends, each to take care of itself and no one to look after the whole—indulge in all manner of waste, and despise the most palpable economies, spend his whole time in pampering the belly or the head, while the limbs and other organs were neglected—were he to live in the foulest atmospheres and in the filthiest hovels, utterly regardless of all the laws of health or morality, he would inevitably fall into disease and misery. Now society as a whole, which is only a larger Human Being, does all this and more than this, and must expect the inexorable effects. It has no head, no concert of action; its members running where they please are exposed to every variety of accident and evil; they war with each other; they are subjected to diseases; they lie in idleness and filth; they are covered with sores; and the whole body must suffer.

§ II. The Nature of the Remedy.

The question, then, arises, how Society can place itself in its true state? We reply, that if the representations we have just given be correct—if there be this inherent defect in the very structure of society, the evil is not to be removed by any kind of action upon the *individual*. The great and fatal error of the philanthropists of the day is, that they look almost exclusively to the reform of individual men. Only reform the individual, they say—only infuse good Christian principles into the hearts of all men, and you will have reformed Society! Granted! and then comes the rub: How are you to reach the individual? How are you to bring the appliances and means of Christian instruction to operate upon the vast mass, who labor from morning to night, and who have neither time nor opportunity to listen to your prelections and preachments? How can you expect while they are steeped in misery to the mouth, that they will keep their ears open to your counsels? How are you to remove them from constant temptation? How can you prevent the inevitable laws of social movement from keeping them down in the mire and filthiness of degraded and brutifying poverty? Can any amount of individual reform prevent the waste, the competition, the antagonism, the selfishness, the falsehood, and evil passions, which are the direct and unavoidable result of the workings of our badly organized or unorganized societies? It is not enough, to exhort them from your pulpits—be good, be temperate, be wise: you must place them in circumstances to be all these. The very form of society, we say, generates a larger part of the vices under which it labors, and the only reform that is adequate to meet the evil is one that shall reach its source. Your appeals to the Individual are in themselves good: they proceed from noble sympathies and are the manifestations of a holy desire; we do not ask you to relax in any benevolent exertion; but at the same time, we assert that they are partial and must of necessity be inadequate. They do not penetrate to the heart of the matter; they play round the surface of the difficulty; they operate over small spheres only; they cannot thoroughly regenerate Humanity.

On the same grounds, we affirm that the measures of political parties can have only an inconsiderable and temporary effect for good. Statesmen and jurists, taking it for granted that the actual form of society is only superficially defective, employ themselves only in superficial meliorations. All that they propose, in the way of reform, relates exclusively to the correction of administrative abuses or the alleviation of local evils. Even those among them (and how few are they?) who are actuated by the higher motives of philanthropy see no practicable modes for the accomplishment of their desires, or fritter away their time and intellects on petty projects and abortive schemes? What party, or what leader, is prepared to meet the real and alarming difficulties which we have shown to exist in the bosom of all modern nations? What guaranties do they propose against the increasing miseries of the poor, against the dangers to life and property through revolutionary convulsion; against the oppression of all classes, by fraud and violence; against the evils of internal war; against the mischievous influences of individual competition and the adulteration of alimentary substances; against the increasing immorality of the inferior classes; against the selfishness of individuals, and general distrust? None! They know of none; they scarcely dream of any. As to the majority of politicians, absorbed in the contemptible squabbles of self-seeking parties, they have no sympathy with the mass of the people, and are destitute of a right method of assisting them if they had.

The utter inefficiency of Political reforms is exhibited by the fact that so long as Society remains in its present incoherent and warring state, the contests of its political parties must partake of the prevailing antagonism. Accordingly, we find that these contests every where are the mere conflicts of opposing material interests. They are dignified, it is true, with the name of battles for principles, but in reality they are not so; they are battles on narrow selfish grounds, of class against class, of locality against locality, of business against business. The only sense in which they can be regarded as contests for principles, is that in some instances a large body of the people are more interested in the measures of one party than they are in those of another: consequently, the triumph of that party may be looked upon as a triumph for the Majority of the People. In general, however, the success of any of our political parties consists of putting one set of men out of office and another in, and substituting one series of selfish interests for another. It is on this account that the contests of political parties are perpetually renewed, that their apparent progress is nothing more than a movement in a circle. Will any one pretend to say that either of the parties in this country are one jot in advance of their respective founders, Hamilton and Jefferson? After all the turmoil of fifty years of incessant debate, excitement, and election, precisely the same questions are agitated. The arguments, the appeals, the controversies of the earliest days of the Republic, with a few unimportant changes of names, would be just as applicable at this day. Now one party has been in the ascendant and now another; yet both ring the same eternal changes on the question of Bank—Tariff—Public Lands; Public Lands—Tariff—Bank! We do not mean that there has been no progress in Society; for, thanks to Industry, Science and Art, there has been great progress. It is our Politics which has been smitten with shameful barrenness. What has been gained one day has been lost the next; what was established yesterday is demolished on the morrow; what one class has acquired has been at the expense of other classes. And the only reason of this unceasing fluctuation we have seen, is that the material interests, of men, which are alone brought into the dispute, are for ever fluctuating, with time and place. They move this side and that, hither and thither, now up and now down, shifting with every adverse or propitious wind, modified by a thousand irregular influences, and always exhibiting the characteristics of caprice rather than of any settled law.

This very instability and fruitlessness of our political controversies might have led our statesmen, had they been wise enough, into a discovery of the cause of the evil. The cause, we have seen, is in the universal and utter Divergency of Interests, which marks the processes of all civilized societies; and, therefore, the remedy indicated, in the nature of the complaint, is the adoption of some method by which we can produce CONVERGENCY OF INTERESTS. Yes, we proclaim it boldly, confidently, with emphasis, that the only cure for our social distresses, that the only means of real, true social progress, that the great want of the age, is a Plan of Social Organization on the principle of Unity of Interests. Unity alone can save us from the tangled incoherence and jarring selfishness of existing divisions. Unity alone can introduce order and freedom into the wild, weltering chaos of the social world. Unity is the grand reconciler, the source of all strength, the fountain of all joy. It is the enemy of

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Discord, of Confusion, of Duplicity, and of Wrong. It is the highest conception of the Mind; it is the synonym of Harmony and perfect Justice; it is the Central Truth of all sound Philosophy and Religion. God is ONE, and all his creation, visible and invisible, must be ONE. There must be unity of man with man, of man with the Universe, of man with God. All the deductions of human Reason, all the teachings of Science, all the aspirations of the heart, all the promises of Scripture, point to the realization of Universal Unity. God's word is pledged to it; Man's soul demands it. Hell is hell, because it is not there, and would become Heaven the moment it was found.

As the beginning of these grand, comprehensive and holy Unities, we must have Unity in Society, the method of bringing about which, we think we discover in the doctrine of Association.

§ III. THE ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY.

By Association, we mean the Organization of Industry in the Township.

Industry includes every productive exertion of human faculties and forces, and may be distinguished, for the sake of precision, into 1. Domestic Services, 2. Agriculture, 3. Manufacture, 4. Commerce, 5. Education, 6. the study and application of the Sciences, 7. the study and application of the Fine Arts. All these branches of human activity must be combined in a unitary organization.

This process of combination must be begun in the township, or in bodies of men equivalent in number and extent to an ordinary township—because the township is the element out of which larger social Organizations are formed; because throughout all nature, the process of true living Organization is commenced in a small centre of vitality, and gradually extended; because, in cases of experiment, little damage can result from failure on so small a scale; and because the township, while it is a compact and manageable body, commonly embraces all the means that are necessary for the complete and successful formation of a true Organic Society.

As to the principles, then, on which this Organization of the Township should be attempted, we propose, 1st. The Association of all its inhabitants into a Joint Stock Company; 2d. A Central unitary Mansion and Workshop; 3rd. The division of Labor according to the law of Groups and Series, which we shall subsequently explain; 4th. The distribution of Profits or Benefits, in equitable proportions to the Capital, the Labor and the Talent that may have concurred in their production.

1. We adopt the Joint-Stock principle, which allows the amount of Capital contributed to the common fund by each individual to be represented by certificates of Stock, because we believe the possession of individual property to be necessary to the true and harmonic manifestation of individual character, and the rightful exercise of individual liberty. One great defect, we think, of all the plans for co-operative Industry that have hitherto been atempted, has been that the existence of the individuals has been swallowed up in the Community, in utter contradiction to our natural sense of independence and justice, and in flagrant violation of a desire inherent in every mind to express its individuality in outward material forms and creative effort.

2. We adopt a Central Unitary Mansion in which, however, the dwelling houses of every family, will be kept separate and distinct, to secure the vast and combined economies altogether impossible in a state of isolation; to provide neat and comfortable workshops for those engaged in all the branches of labor; to erect Schools, Museums and Galleries of Art; to facilitate a ready change from one employment to another; to prevent needless and dangerous exposure to the inclemencies of the season; to treasure the accumulated Art and Science of one generation for the use of succeeding generations; and, by the fact of common ownership, to beget a spirit of corporate sympathy and mutual devotion.

3. We divide Labor into Groups and Series, because it is an arrangement indicated by Nature. Through all the kingdoms of created existence, Mineral, Vegetable, Animal and Human, we discover the division into Groups and Series, or into Genus, Species and Variety—universally adopted by Naturalists, and admitting of precise and comprehensive classifications. From the minutest atom to the largest world, there is nothing which does not arrange itself under his law. Thus, too, in all the assemblages of Human Society, men, women and children, in their pleasures, their recreations and their occupations, naturally form into Groups, united by some common bond of sympathy or attraction.

Now, we say that all kinds of industry are divisible into similar Groups and Series, or Classes, Orders Species, &c., and that the industrial inclinations and tastes of men, falling under the same law of distinction, there will be, in all societies embracing a sufficient number of persons, a perfect co-adaptation of the latter to the former—an accurate and well-defined, but voluntary, correspondence between aptitude and work. For every function to be performed there will be an answering taste and capacity. A primary step then, in the Organization of Industry, is to divide and subdivide its processes into as many minute varieties as their nature admits, and to allow all laborers who are capable, men, women or children, to engage freely in any branch they please, subject only to the laws which each Group and sub-Group may form for itself, and to the general unitary discipline of its appropriate Series.

By this simple mechanism, we hold that we can achieve the most important advantages. We think that no one who will take the pains to study its probable workings can fail to see, that it would render all labor voluntary and agreeable; that the talents of each person will be consulted in the choice of his work, and, in this way, all productive forces be most effectively applied; that the most vivid emulation would be excited between the various groups, but which would never degenerate into individual hostility; that each laborer might engage in many different vocations and thus give an equable development to his faculties; and that the relationship of the groups is such that no one could labor for himself without laboring at the same time for his neighbor, yet in no instance diminish the individual recompense justly due to his exertions.

4. For, at the end of stated periods, there would be a distribution of profits, in the approximate proportion of five-twelfths to labor, four-twelfths to capital, and three-twelfths to talent, estimating labor the highest as being most necessary; capital more than talent in quality of its usefulness; while talent, being most agreeable and devolving upon few in number, is the least rewarded. It would be easy to establish the proportion of labor to talent, the laborers in each group being classed according to capacity. There would be equal distinction between the groups and series, according to their degree of necessity, utility and agreeableness.

We might dwell upon these principles, and show their actual foundation in human nature, and the necessity of their operating in perfect harmony, but our space compels us to refer the inquirer to the works of the Immortal Genius from whom they were derived—Charles Fourier. He has worked out the results with the precision and comprehensiveness that ever characterizes True Science. It is to him that we are indebted for what we consider the only right formula of Social Organization. His profound and searching intellect seems to have penetrated all the mysteries of social existence, to have grasped all its elements, and with a wisdom that has never been surpassed by Man, combined them in a whole of glorious harmony and perfection. A discoverer of more important truth, in the walks of Science, has never appeared on Earth; and we rejoice in the privilege of making his views known to our fellow men. But while we are speaking of this lofty genius and noble-hearted man, let us say, that we only profess to teach such parts of his system as are positive and which we understand. There are some of his more speculative views open to objection, for which we do not hold ourselves responsible. But for all that he has revealed to us in regard to the Organization of Industry—for his clear and exhausting analysis of present Society—for the mathematical rigor of his demonstrations of the need and advantages of Combination—for the simplicity and beauty of his Social Mechanism—for the grandeur of his views of Human Nature—for his ennobling conceptions of our Destiny on Earth—for the magnificence of his Intellect and the goodness of his Heart—for his strong, abiding, deathless love of the Brother, and intense devotion to the discovery of the will of God—we feel the sincerest admiration, the deepest gratitude. He was the chosen instrument of Divine Mercy, in imparting a New and Grand Science to Humanity.

But we must return to the more immediate subject of our address.

§ IV. OBVIOUS ADVANTAGES OF THIS ORGANIZATION.

This Organization of Industry, then, which we propose, may be described simply as a method of producing concentration and organic unity in all the useful branches of human exertion. That it is no "visionary scheme," but a rational and indispensable condition of improvement in Society, everybody must confess who will only reflect, for a moment, upon what have been and must be, the results of combination, applied to the different elements of social life, as enumerated in the preceding section.

In *Agriculture*, unity of management in a large farming establishment—where capital and intelligence would never be wanting, where the laborers would be properly rewarded for their diligence and skill, where the distribution of crops could be accurately adjusted to the nature and variety of soils, where no part of the hurried and complicated work of the Summer would suffer for want of attention, where substantial granaries would secure the harvest against all the vicissitudes of the seasons and of accident, and where the highest degree of scientific and practical knowledge could be combined in all kinds of cultivation through the concurrence of the experience of many—is so obviously superior in point of produce and economy, to the impoverished and miserable specimens of husbandry which prevail on our small farms, with neither capital, skill, nor labor, subject inevitably to mismanagement, and altogether unable to take advantage of the various properties of the soil, the view needs only to be suggested to a sound mind to be instantly appreciated.

In *Manufacturing Industry*, the advantages of well-regulated combination would be still more desirable and immense. By concentrating the capital and skill of a whole community—by bringing the different departments of mechanical execution into the closest neighborhood and helpfulness—by introducing the minutest division of labor—by rendering available the largest economies in steam or other power, in machinery, in fuel, in rent, insurance, taxes and space—and, at the same time, by avoiding that pestiferous competition

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among individuals which withers the energies of workmen, the products of labor could be multiplied to an incredible extent, and with less wear and tear of human muscles and less loss of human sympathy, in a century, than is now expended under the system of separated and competitive establishments in a year. But we are speaking, under this head, of the merely mechanical and productive advantages of unitary combination.

In *Commerce*, it is hardly necessary to refer to the vast superiority of concentration over separation and antagonism. If we recur to the evils of incoherent commerce to which we have before alluded —to the perplexities and frauds of retail dealing, and to the great positive losses which accrue from every unnecessary multiplication of agents, or needless enlargement of the profits of mere middlemen between Producer and Consumer; and if we remember that all these evils could be avoided in a more compact and concentrated arrangement of the inhabitants of the townships, or by a mere direct interchange of commodities between different States—we shall at once see how immeasurably society at large would be the gainer, both as to the amount of its products and as to facility in the modes of their distribution.

It is in *Domestic Service* that the benefits of combination over isolation display themselves in high degree. Domestic Service, which now requires two-thirds of the human race to supply the mere bodily domestic wants of the other third—which is accompanied in a thousand ways, by the most profligate expenditure and waste—which institutes the most odious and detestable relation of Master and Servant—a relation in which the petty tyrannies of the one are as disgraceful as the obsequious compliances and deceptions of the other are debasing—and which converts the fairest and most lovely portion of God's creation, the Women, into drudges and menials, pecuniarily dependent upon their "Lords and Masters," and wasting their finely-strung powers of mind and heart upon miserable shriveling cares; this Domestic Service—so puzzling to our self-styled Democrats and Christian Philanthropists, becomes in Association, a system of the wisest economy, of ennobling and mutual helpfulness, before which every man and woman stands in the full stature of Manhood and Womanhood, unbroken by cares, unawed by despotism, conscious of their equality with all their fellows, yet bound to them by the strongest ties of reciprocal service and good-will.

In *Art and Science* the advantages of Association are scarcely less apparent than in the other branches of industrial activity. The general tendency of artists and scientific men to form Societies for promoting Art and Science is an indication of the benefits to be derived from combined effort, even in the imperfect modes in which only it can be attempted in the present state of social incoherence and clashing interests. If these same men, under a better organization, could concentrate the light of their study and genius; if capital or time were never wanted to enable them to prosecute their experiments; if laboratories, museums, galleries, implements, &c. were always at hand; and if they were always sure of a community disposed to benefit themselves by their discoveries or creations, and to reward them for their pains; then the life of the Artist or Philosopher—too often, alas! a life of penury and neglect—would become a life of extensive usefulness and glory; and those treasures of knowledge, too much confined to the cloister and the studio, attainable by all, would diffuse universally the means of health, improvement and gladness.

But it is in *Education* that the glories of concentrated effort shine out in their brightest lustre. What is especially wanted, in regard to the instruction of the People is, that it should be *universal* and *integral*, that it should embrace every member of the human race, and likewise every faculty of every such member, in due relation and harmony with other faculties. These objects, however, are quite unattainable, under existing arrangements, where a large portion of the children have no educational provision made for them, or are unable, on account of the need of laboring for subsistence, to avail themselves of such provisions as are made—while the education which they receive, even under the most favorable circumstances, is partial, elementary, incomplete and often erroneous. But in a well-regulated Association, it would be otherwise. Every child in the community would be progressively educated, from the earliest periods of infancy to the latest moments of its life; educated by masters, each of whom would be abundantly competent in his particular department, and by methods which would combine practical instruction in different branches of useful industry, with the highest development of scientific principles and results. By the nice and beautiful distribution, which an organization of groups and series allows, there would be always a numerous and highly intelligent body, composed both of men and women, devoted from capacity and love, to the industrial training of children, to the best methods of secular teaching and moral discipline, and to the continuous application of the positive precepts of Religion. No collegiate institution in this country—scarcely one among the old and richly endowed institutions of Europe, could equal the Seminary which the poorest Association might easily establish—either in the amount or variety of knowledge which would be communicated. All the facilities of improvement to be derived from books, from museums, from collections of art, and from experimental philosophy, would be heightened by the opportunities afforded for practical applications, in the fields and workshops, so feebly furnished in agricultural and manual-labor schools. The very amusements of childhood might readily be converted into sources of instruction; and thus, body and mind would be developed together, the most vigorous physical health contributing to the vigor and growth of the mind. Surely, if there were no other advantages to be derived from organic concentration, the advantages of it, as a mere educational establishment, would suffice to recommend it to benevolent and Christian men.

In any of the departments of Industrial Activity, then, scientific combination is of very great importance; but who shall essay to estimate that importance, when this combination includes, not a single element only, but all the elements of social life? when all the rays of life shall be concentrated into one grand collective whole, in one great central focus?

What an idea must these brief suggestions furnish of the efficiency of a thoroughly-organized Association! Where twelve or fifteen hundred persons, or three or four hundred families are concentrated in one unitary mansion or domestic club, or rather where one series of domestic clubs of different degrees of rank and fortune, are united in one general administration; where several miles of territory are cultivated as a joint stock property, according to the best practical and scientific knowledge; where manufacturing and art and science are pursued, in their various relationships, by hundreds of votaries practicing and studying in concert; where useless competition and retail complication in commercial intercourse would be eradicated by a wholesale system of commercial credit and economy, and where consequently everything would be had at wholesale prices, and of unadulterated quality; where moral and religious agency would always be at hand to discipline the mass and neutralize the influence of individual depravity; where individual cleanliness and industry would be guaranteed by general necessity, and where individual license would be kept in awe by the perpetual presence of public and collective decency—there would be true fraternal, Christian Association, and Society approaching its natural state of moral Equilibrium and Harmony.

V. Attractive Industry.

For there would be realized the grandest practical conception that ever entered the mind of Genius, that of Industry rendered attractive.

In the present condition of Labor, this phrase is almost a solecism in terms. Indeed, so long as Society remains in its incoherent and selfish relations, it must remain under the original curse of monotonous, degrading and afflictive toil. In the sweat of its brow must it eat bread. But when the true principles of Christian Love shall be applied to all its relations, then shall even labor be redeemed.

The reason why Labor is now repulsive, and the possibility of making it attractive, can be easily shown.

There is nothing repugnant to the nature of Man in activity itself, but on the contrary that Nature is so constructed that it demands activity. The *circumstances* under which we labor alone constitute the hardship of Labor. Many of our so called Pleasures require ten times the activity of the most protracted toil, and yet they are eagerly pursued. Now, why is this? Let us see.

The Nature of Man requires wealth, elegance, health, and the gratification of the senses. But isolated labor, under the arrangements in which it is now prosecuted, often offends the senses, cramps and deforms the organs of the body, destroys the health, and, after all, earns scarcely more than a bare subsistence for the workman and his miserable family. Need we be surprised that such labor is repugnant, or that as the workman ascends the social scale and these causes of offence are removed, that his work becomes more and more agreeable? Is there not, then, reason to hope that in Association, where these causes will be altogether removed, that work will become altogether agreeable?

Again: The Nature of Man requires the union and sympathy of persons who are agreeable to each other, men, women, children, parents, friends, colleagues, reciprocally bound by ties of affection. But isolated labor, as now conducted, either wholly separates men, during all the long hours of the day, from companionship, or forces them into the company of others whom they do not love, and for whose vices of manners or morals they may feel a profound disgust. The necessity of living obliges them to endure the annoyance—yet it is an annoyance which can only be abated in the free groups of Association.

The Nature of Man requires movement and variety, a frequent change and contrast of positions, and the alternate and successive exercise of all his faculties, both of body and mind. But Labor, prosecuted as it is at present, chains him to one unyielding monotonous task, hardly relieved by even a solitary recreation, and presenting no hope of improvement for the future. In Association we have seen that this monotony could not exist.

Finally, the Nature of Man needs enthusiasm, rivalries and the consciousness of working together with others for some noble and disinterested end. But the isolated labor of the present system presents the most selfish motives to the workman, who is at best striving merely to keep himself and family in life, without those loftier considerations of general good which would give dignity to his toil, elevate his self-respect, and bind him with the strongest bonds of fraternal regard to his race. In Association, the working man will feel that he is but

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one of many, engaged in the grand and mighty solution of Man's destiny on Earth, a co-equal among brothers, a Servant of Humanity, a Steward of Heaven, in the distribution of its richest bounties. Even the most trifling task would partake of a high and exalting character, every act of the hand would be an act of benevolence, Work, as the old proverb expresses it, would be Worship, and the whole of our life a continuous living ascription of thankfulness to God.

Is there one of the amusements, so hotly followed by men of this world, which would not be converted into a degradation and abhorrence, if it were compelled to be followed under the conditions to which Labor is subjected? Would the opera, or the ball, or the theatre, or any other mode of divertisement, present a single charm if it could only be obtained under the circumstances in which Labor is performed? Would those things continue to be pleasure, if they were only to be found in dingy and noisome workshops, amid low and indecent companions, lasting throughout the entire day, and undertaken for some paltry motive? On the other hand, would not Labor, in clean, wholesome, and ornamented rooms, in the presence of friends and allies, short in duration, frequently varied, and animated by purposes of general good, soon cease to excite aversion, and become as attractive as it is now disagreeable and repugnant? It behoves those who are inquiring as to the best method of elevating the working classes to think of these views.

§ VI. Order, Justice, and Liberty.

The peculiar constitution of Society, which we have just sketched in briefest outline, is alone adequate to meet all the wants of Social and Individual Man. It is by the rightful organization of Industry only that the indispensable guarantees and conditions of Truth, Justice, Order, and Freedom can be established in all the relations of existence.

What Society wants is Justice and Order; what the Individual wants is ascertained means of Subsistence, perfect Freedom, and the opportunity of developing every noble and useful faculty; and these, we repeat, must come through the regular Organization of Labor.

The general practice of Justice and Truth in Society is wholly impossible, so long as Labor shall remain in its present state. So long as there shall be Masters and Workmen, or individuals, some of whom are interested in obtaining from others the greatest amount of work at the lowest possible cost, while the others are equally interested in doing the least amount of work at the most exorbitant price; so long as there shall be Producers and Dealers interested in raising the value of Products, and, on the other side, Consumers interested in depreciating this value; so long as there shall be Producers and Merchants interested in the ruin of each other, and Workmen impelled to enter into fatal competition with other Workmen, there must be Duplicity and Injustice in the state of all our practical relations We must begin by introducing the practice of Truth and Equity, in the sphere of Labor, if we would see it prevail in other spheres. Labor is the chief element in the life of Man—the most numerous, the most important interests of Life depend upon Labor; and when it shall be fully organized, on a principle of Harmony instead of Antagonism, the most vast and beautiful ameliorations must follow in its train. When all men shall work for each other, and no more against each other, the temptations to Selfishness and Fraud will have been removed, and every individual will find that the more ardent his devotion to Truth and Justice, the more certainly he will add even to his external means of Happiness. "Seek first," say the Scriptures, "the Kingdom of Heaven, and all worldly comforts shall be added thereunto"—establish Unity in your Industrial relations, and Wealth will be the consequence of Integrity.

Then, too, the blessings of Public Order shall be secured; for the debasing and maddening wants of the Poor, which now drive them into frantic insolence and riot, shall be abundantly satisfied; the oppressions of Capital, ever striving against Labor, until the last is forced into desperate reaction, shall cease; and those awful contrasts of Condition, which are not natural, but the result of the heaped-up abuses of many centuries, and which excite so much of turbulent jealousy and leveling spleen, shall give way before Equitable Inequality and Distributive Justice. Oh! it is saddening to see, in the present state of competitive strife, how class is dashed against class, in all the unbridled fury of prejudice and hatred—how the Poor trace their miseries to the Rich, and how the Rich neglect or fear the degradation of the Poor; to see that there is so little mutual confidence, so much of separation, such iniquities of Exaction and Fraud on all sides; our very modes or Charity often disgraceful to the giver and insulting and useless to the receiver; Honor and Love alike trampled out in the whirl of Business, and the noblest natures made to grind at the wheel of imperious Necessity, while they might be sending pulses of Joy and Health to the remotest extremities of the globe. But, thank God, that through the triumphs of Organic Combination and Social Unity, we can see an end to these terrific despotisms and confusions of circumstance!

For, it is through the Organization of Industry that the Individual will finally be emancipated from Industrial Slavery, from Pauperism and Care, and from false Social positions. In the combined Township, where all kinds of Labor will be open to all, he will, for the first time, find himself free. It is a beggarly and contemptible notion of Freedom, which confines it to the right to locomotion or the right to vote. Man has higher needs and nobler aims than these. He wants Freedom to Labor—to express his inward nature in outward forms; freedom from perpetual anxiety, that he may give his mind to quiet meditation and creative thought; freedom to train every physical and intellectual faculty to its highest degree of activity and refinement; freedom to enjoy all the works of Art, all the discoveries of Science, all the revelations of Religion; freedom to mingle in joyful intercourse with his fellows—to give intensity to his domestic ties, and to share the blessedness of a comfortable and peaceful home; freedom, in short, to use God's world in a manner worthy of himself and his Creator, and thus fulfil his Destiny on Earth.

To the achievement of this exalted and comprehensive freedom, there is necessary an abundance of wealth, attainable by all, the certainty of various employment, and a universal circulation of knowledge and love—all utterly impracticable, in a condition of society where the few only can secure the advantages of life, and where the many are condemned to degrading toil; but inevitably and easily obtained, where the whole mighty energy of Society shall be concentrated in the production of this glorious result.

§ VII. Relation to other Reforms.

This reform of the township, then, we recommend to the attention of all classes of men and women; to politicians of every party; to philanthropists of all grades; to Christians of all sects. We say to ALL, because we believe that it possesses all the requisites and characteristics of an universal reform. It covers ground enough to include every variety of interest and all shades of opinion. In its external features it may seem new, but in its inward spirit it is as old as the heart of man. The world, for some centuries past, has been preparing for its advent; but especially, within the last few years, have the benevolent aspirations of the Human Race been struggling to realize themselves in some arrangement of society like that we propose.

The many *partial projects of Reform* which agitate our cities and towns, which send armies of lecturers and scatter snow storms of papers and tracts over the land, which animate conversation around every private fireside, and in every bar-room, steamboat, rail-car, all naturally and necessarily tend to central Social Reorganization. The *Abolitionist* finds that his universal principles of Freedom and Human Rights apply to the serfdom of wages as well as to that of chains, to the oppressions of White and Black alike; and sees that nothing but an elevation of Labor to its true dignity everywhere, and an honoring of all men according to their genuine worth, can complete the work of redemption which he longs for. The *Non-Resistant* and *Peace-Advocate* finds that the wars which desolate the fruitful earth, waste national resources, engulf human energies, and make death a less evil than the hell of brutal passions thus set loose, are the final result of the petty wars of competition, which make each man in his own sphere an Ishmael; and sees, that legalized murders and penitentiaries, and the government of force can be put away, only by giving every human being the free development and exercise of his best powers in right and useful directions. The *Temperance* advocate finds the explanation of his brethren's excesses in the depressing influence of their monotonous employments, in their wretched homes, anxieties, coarse associations; and sees, that to cure society of the madness of intemperance, we must discover and use some healthful and pure stimulants, refining recreations, wider culture, steadier occupation, larger spheres of action and thought, nobler interests, above all, freer access to the most elevating society. The *Moral Reformer* finds in the dependence of women, the meagre pittance paid for their services, the frivolity resulting from superficial education, the extravagant demands of fashion, the worldly selfishness of many, if not most, marriages, the limited avenues opened for female energies, and the general tone of insincere flattery, an explanation of the hideous maelstrom of licentiousness; and sees, that nothing but the *securing for Woman an equally free career with Man* will enable her to attain the commanding power, which husbands, sons, brothers, fathers, need to have for ever poured upon them, to purify and soften their characters. It is seen, too, that the concealments which are possible in society, as now constructed, favor the outrages which pollute it; and that all need to live in the full light of a common conscience, of a common sense. The *Physiologist* finds, that excessive weariness, deforming labors, ill-regulated hours, bad air, adulterated food, want of abundance of water, wretchedly constructed houses, crowded dwellings, breed such a general miasm of disease and lassitude, that not one in a thousand reaches symmetric manhood; and sees, that rotation of occupations, country air, leisure and recreation, wholesome and well-prepared viands, liberal baths, manly games, are indispensable means to cure the state of half-sickness, which unmans the moral and mental energies of so many, and spreads such a sorry dullness over cheerful spirits. And so we might go round the circle of the noble Reforms, which have stirred for years past with ever-increasing power the public mind, and show how each and all demand for their fulfilment, *associations of men and women, resolute to do perfect justice to human nature, by perfect obedience to the Creator's laws.*

The *Political* changes of the country tend to the same result of the peaceful establishment of juster relations in all details of social

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existence. It is seen that the great parties which divide the Country are but the aggregate of the little parties which divide every town, and that those again are but the concentrated expression of strifes which embitter the every-day transactions of all kinds of business. *Unjust division of toils, unequal distribution of profits, isolation and opposition of interests*, is the radical difficulty which the whole Nation recognizes. The Capitalist knows that every day the tenure of his possessions becomes more insecure, his investments less certain, from the restless experiments of those who, confident that they are not duly recompensed for their weary drudgery, resort to any new expedient, any new shift; and either from fear, if he is selfish, or from humanity, if he is generous, inquires for some mode by which he may aid to enrich a larger multitude without impoverishing his own family. On the other hand, the Working Man, longing, under the stimulus of our free Institutions, for Social elevation, wishing thorough Education and Refinement for himself and children, sick of the petty frauds which cheat him at every side out of his hard earnings, in unkind relations with his employer, in unnatural competition with his fellow laborer, feels that the rust of jealousy is eating into the golden links of his affections; and either learns to hate the prosperous, while conscious of his dependence upon them, and seeing, too, that the abasement of the Richer Classes would only make the Poor poorer; or, more brave and hopeful, listens to every schemer who proposes some new plan for obtaining "equal chances to equal capacities, and equal rewards to equal works." The endless succession and variety of the bankruptcies, also, which swallow up the Distributing Classes—the Merchants and Traders, wholesale and retail—point to radical errors in our Commercial System, and stimulate Producers and Consumers to demand some mode by which they may be brought into close contact, without this prodigal drain of the means of both to feed these uselessly numerous hosts of go-betweens. And the Commercial body itself confess what a dreadful waste of energy, talent, character, and alas! too often of conscience, there is, in this rush of hungry traffickers, hasting to seize on Riches as the stepping-stone to respectability. Our national mania for Wealth, making haggard so many cheeks, wrinkling so many brows, bending with premature cares so many manly forms, and converting life into a mint, where the clink of stamped coin drowns human speech, impels all who respect themselves and their brothers, to ask for some less costly mode of gaining those outward goods, which, when obtained, are but the foundation whereon to rear homes of Affection and Beauty, temples of Love and Wisdom, some more certain mode of procuring for the many the advantages which now with all this merciless expenditure of power are insecurely possessed only by the few. And finally, the increasing spirit of Liberty, the deepening respect for Man, the conviction of the inevitable necessity of greater equalization of all conditions, gives resistless force to this demand for a union of all divided interests. In some manner, Civilized States must substitute copartnerships for wages, and effect a division of gains graduated in proportion to the amount of energy or means expended, and the amount of profit realized. Bank or no Bank, Tariff or no Tariff, we must all co-operate to return to Industry, in fairer ratio, the reward which Industry fairly earns. The Organization of Industry is manifestly the political problem now forced upon all by Providence, and the end must be some form of Association.

When even thus hastily we cast our eye over these many movements of Reform, now mingling their floods in one grand river, may we not, must we not, find courage, hope and calmness in the thought, that it is Divine will, not man's caprice, which has brought this people to their present desire for *Social Re-Organization*. The love and justice, which God has inspired, make in these varied modes, the demand for communities based upon principles of true social order, where the energies of each shall be exerted for the good of all, and the well-being of all shall re-act upon each individual, as in a living body the several members work together, suffer and rejoice together. This hope of peace and kindness, in all our relations of industry, education, enjoyment, intercourse, worship, so strong as it is in many hearts, so universal in its aim, is the prophetic spirit of the age.

The *Christian Spirit* of this American Nation, wearied by polemics, earnest for fuller actualization of brotherhood in the business and labors of daily affairs, strengthened by endless efforts of benevolence, and yet disheartened at the small results of public and private charities, looks with longing to plans which seek to substitute *radical justice* in production, distribution, and use, for *superficial alleviation* of wrongs. The Christian Conscience of our people sees that Society itself causes the very crimes which it punishes, the very wants which it taxes itself so insufficiently to supply. The holding pews in a meeting-house, assembling a few times in the week for devotion, and supporting a teacher and pastor, is felt to be a kind of association too utterly inadequate to deserve the name of church-fellowship. The religious sentiment, concentrating upon the practical application of its professed principles, confesses that the structure of our religious societies is altogether too weak a bond to unite those whom the necessities and temptations of the world drive into selfish collision. By contrast with the law of love announced from our pulpits—our actual divisions into castes, separated by accidental circumstances—our daily cheatings, lyings, overreachings, abuses of power and opportunity—our competitions and rivalries, are admitted to be intolerable hypocrisies. Hospitals, almhouses, prisons, are loud comments upon the universal selfishness of our existing social relations. Strange obliquity! when we point to the very institutions which are the horrible evidences of our accustomed inhumanity in the week day work of life, as monuments of the brotherly kindness preached about and prayed for on days of rest. Either let us unblushingly assert that *love* is a visionary abstraction, sentimental nonsense, fit for poets to dream of, but unworthy the thought of practical men, or else let us prove that in fact it can govern *every occupation, and our whole intercourse*. So says the Christian Heart of Society to-day.

§ VIII. Religion.

The basis of our Reform, therefore, is Religious, although we wish to urge it only on the ground of Science. Our present aim is to conciliate, to a certain extent, all Sects and Parties, both in Church and State, by a plan for introducing Truth and Equity into our Industrial arrangements—which plan we can prove to be in consonance with Revelation, because it is Science. We accept the Book of Scripture as a standard both of Faith and Morals; and the Book of Nature as a test and standard of principles of Science, and by this double standard we require to be judged—received or rejected.

The American Associationists, the only name by which we wish to be known, are not a sect in Politics or Religion; they ask all sects in Religion to try their principles for rendering Truth and Equity practical, by that universal standard which all Sects adopt, the Bible; and they ask all parties in the State to leave the revolutionary field of party strife, and look dispassionately at universal principles of Scientific and Social progress.

We long for unity among the material interests of men as the necessary ground-work and condition of higher spiritual unities. We wish to see the Truth and Love that are already in the world made practical, that by the very practice of them we may ascend to still superior degrees of Truth and Love. We think that the time for exciting and bitter controversy has ceased, and that the time for harmonious, friendly action has come. We think that the human mind has already run into a sufficient number of ultraisms to develope the infinite variety of its faculties and characters, and that the period has arrived for a general reconciliation. Matter and Spirit, Man and Nature, Earth and Heaven, have been too long at war; henceforth let them be at One.

Associationists are not indifferent to Religious inquiry; they have a profound faith in the religious origin and destiny of the human soul; they believe in the Scriptures as the word of God; they trust in the universality of Providence; they hope to see the kingdom of Heaven realized on Earth. But they cannot set up any distinct theological creed, nor can they rely upon mere religious enthusiasm in the propagation of reform. And the reasons for their remaining neutral in these matters are, that in the multiplicity and conflicts of warring sects, they do not know which to adopt as exclusively in the possession of the truth; that they have already recruited to their ranks persons who are individually connected with every existing Church, such as the Roman Catholic, the Episcopalian, the Presbyterian, the Unitarian, the Universalist, the New Church, &c.; that they believe it to be the most just and rational policy to remain on the *positive* grounds of science which they can understand, without adventuring into the uncertain fields of speculation or polemics; and that the true Christian spirit, at this age of the world, demands the toleration of all who conscientiously adhere to religious truth. We recognize the right of every individual to remain connected with any branch of the Universal Church in which he may have been taught, or which he has conscientiously adopted; while we wish to hold up the science of Association as an Universal Science, at the service of every Church and Party.

We do protest, however, against the fanaticism which claims the religious character exclusively for those engaged in doctrinal disputes or sectarian declamation, and which argues that a scientific body must be necessarily material or irreligious in opinion if it does not directly advocate some peculiar religious creed. We wish to promulgate the principles of Science and Order in Society; to neutralize the influence of a deadly selfishness and antagonism, both on the external condition of men and on their religious and political speculations; we wish to feed and clothe the poor, and harmonize the worldly interests of all parties, that religion may have universal and unceasing influence in reforming moral feeling and preparing souls for spiritual purity here and hereafter; and if for this we are to be accused of want of Faith and Religion, we must consider the accuser as destitute of charity, and a bigot. It is not true religion that opposes Science, nor can it be true Science that opposes true Religion, since they mutually illustrate and assist each other in the redemption of Humanity from ignorance, from disease, from suffering, from wrong, and from spiritual death.

But we take higher than this mere defensive ground; we have positive principles to teach; we are propagandists; and while we steadily refrain from mingling with the peculiar religious feelings of any sect or individual, we yet assert that the true organization of every sect is only to be found in the principle of Association. Religious truth is the *principle* of unity and harmony, but it cannot be realized in *practice* universally, without a correspondent unity of action in the sphere of worldly interests. Association is the true form for the prac-

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tical embodiment of religious truth and love; and while Attractive Industry and Unitary Combination are not themselves Religious Unity, they are the body or collective form in which alone the ordinances of Christianity, the spirit of Religion, the Universal Church can be incorporated, practically and incessantly; for without the Body the Spirit cannot be fully manifested on Earth.

An important branch of the divine mission of our Saviour Jesus Christ, was to establish the kingdom of Heaven upon earth. He announced incessantly, the practical reign of Divine Wisdom and Love among all men; and it was a chief aim of all his struggles and teachings to prepare the minds of men for this glorious consummation. He proclaimed the universal brotherhood of mankind—he insisted upon universal justice, and he predicted the triumphs of universal unity. "Thou shalt love," he said, "the Lord thy God with all thy mind and all thy heart, and all thy soul, and thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets." Again: "If ye love not one another, how can ye be my disciples?" "I have loved you, that you also may love one another." "Ye are all one, as I and my father are one." Again: he taught us to ask in daily prayer of our Heavenly Father, "Thy Kingdom come, thy will be *done* on Earth as it is in Heaven." Aye, it must be DONE, actually executed in all the details of life! And again, in the same spirit his disciples said, "Little children, love one another." "If you love not man, whom you have seen, how can you love God whom you have not seen?" And in regard to the *form* which this love should take the Apostle Paul says "As the body is one, so also is Christ. For by one spirit we are all baptised in *one body*, whether we be Jews or Gentiles," &c. "That there should be no schism (disunity) in *the body*, but that the members should have the same care one for another; and if one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored all the members rejoice with it." "Ye are members one of another."

These divine truths must be translated into actual life. Our relations to each other as men—our business relations among others—must all be instituted according to this law of Highest Wisdom and Love. In Association alone can we find the fulfilment of this duty; and therefore, we again insist that Association is the duty of every branch of the Universal Church. Let its views of points of doctrine be what they may—let it hold to any creed as to the nature of man—or the Attributes of God—or the offices of Christ—we say that it can not fully and practically embody the Spirit of Christianity out of an Organization like that which we have described. It may exhibit, with more or less fidelity, some tenet of a creed, or even some phase of virtue; but it can possess only a type and shadow of that Universal Unity which is the destiny of the Church. But let the Church adopt true Associative Organization and the blessings so long promised it will be fulfilled. Fourier, among the last words that he wrote, describing the triumph of Universal Association, exclaims "These are the days of Mercy promised in the words of the Redeemer, (Matt. v; 5.) "Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled." It is verily in Harmony, in Associative Unity, that God will manifest to us the immensity of his Providence, and that the Savior will come according to his word, in "all the glory of his Father: it is the Kingdom of Heaven that comes to us in this terrestrial world; it is the reign of Christ; he has conquered Evil. *Christus regnat, vincit, imperat.* Then will the *Cross* have accomplished its two-fold destiny, that of *Consolation* during the reign of Sin, and that of *Universal Banner*, when human reason shall have accomplished the task imposed upon it by the Creator. "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness"—the harmony of the Passions in Associative Unity. Then will the Banner of the Cross display with glory its device, the augury of victory; *in Hoc Signo Vinces;* for, then it will have conquered evil, conquered the gates of hell, conquered false philosophy and national indigence, and spurious civilization; *et portæ inferi non prevalebunt.*"

CONCLUSION.

To the free and Christian people of the United States, then, we commend the principle of Association; we ask that it be fairly sifted; we do not shrink from the most thorough investigation. The peculiar history of this nation convinces us that it has been prepared by Providence for the working out of glorious issues. Its position, its people, its free institutions, all prepare it for the manifestation of a true Social Order. Its wealth of territory, its distance from the political influences of older and corrupter nations, and above all the general intelligence of its people, alike contribute to fit it for that noble *Union of Freemen* which we call ASSOCIATION. That peculiar Constitution of Government, which for the first time in the world's career, was established by our Fathers; that signal fact of our national motto *E Pluribus Unum*, many individuals united in one whole; that beautiful arrangement for combining the most perfect independence of the separate members with complete harmony and strength in the Federal heart—is a rude outline and type of the more scientific and more beautiful arrangement which we would introduce into all the relations of man to man. We would give our theory of State Rights an application to individual Rights. We would bind trade to trade, neighborhood to neighborhood, man to man, by the ties of interest and affection which bind our larger aggregations called States; only we would make the ties holier and more indissoluble. There is nothing impossible in this; there is nothing impracticable! We, who are represented in this Convention have pledged our sleepless energies to its accomplishment. It may cost time, it may cost trouble—it may expose us to misconception and even to abuse; but it must be done. We know that we stand on sure and positive grounds; we know that a better time must come; we know that the Hope and Heart of Humanity is with us—that Justice, Truth and Goodness, are with us; we feel that God is with us, and we do not fear the anger of Man. *The Future is ours—the Future is ours.* Our practical plans may seem insignificant, but our moral aim is the grandest that ever elevated human thought. We want the Love and Wisdom of the Highest to make their daily abode with us; we wish to see all mankind happy and good; we desire to emancipate the human body and the human soul; we long for Unity between man and man in true Society—between man and nature by the cultivation of the earth, and between man and God, in Universal Joy and Religion.

At the close of the Address, Mr. Ripley, the President of the Convention, made some eloquent remarks on the doctrines and principles which had been set forth, and the high objects which were to be attained. Mr. Solyman Brown then addressed the Convention, with special reference to the Leraysville Phalanx, and concluded by reciting a very beautiful Pastoral, (a vision of the Future) entitled "The Phalanx." We have not space for it in this, but shall endeavor to publish it in some future number.

On the first day a Delegation of English Socialists, from a society in this city, presented itself. The two gentlemen composing the delegation, claimed seats as members of the Convention. The call of the Convention was read, and they were asked if they could unite with the Convention according to the terms of the call, as "friends of Association based on the principles of CHARLES FOURIER." This they said they could not do, as they differed with the partisans of Fourier in fundamental principles, and particularly in regard to Religion and Property. They held to Community of Property, and did not accept our views of a Providential and Divine Social Order. They were informed that the objects of the Convention were of a special and business character, and that a controversy and discussion of principles could not be entered into. Seats as members of the Convention were therefore denied; but they were allowed freely to express their opinions, and treated with the utmost courtesy, without reply.

The interesting address of Mr. Charles A. Dana, illustrative of the experience of Brookfarm, is the only one of the many admirable ones delivered for which we can find room. Mr. Channing will give the substance of his remarks upon the resolutions, in a series of papers, commencing with the next number of the Phalanx.

Mr. Dana said,

MR. PRESIDENT—I wish to make some remarks on the practical results of Association. I do it as a member of the oldest Association in the United States, because I deem it my duty. I will not attempt to make a speech. I shall give you some simple, plain truths, without any exaggeration—simple facts; and I do not, in doing this, claim that we have at all found the final ends of Association. I do not announce these things as reports from those golden hills which we are looking for, but as simple events that have happened to us on our way thither—Angels which have met us—achievements which on our passage way we have been able to accomplish. We have, as one of the results of Association which is already attained—which is not an imagination, but an actual fact—we have abolished *domestic servitude.* We have an Association at Brookfarm, of which I now speak from my own experience—we have there abolished domestic servitude. It may seem possible to you, who are accustomed to regard domestic servitude as necessary and belonging to the very constitution of society—it may seem to you that this achievement, after all, is no great result. But it is. We believe that in the abolition of domestic servitude—in showing that it is possible—in showing it by actual fact—we believe that in showing thus, that life—human life is possible—that the highest state of society is possible without this appendage of domestic servitude—that something is achieved to be spoken of and thought of. (Cheers.) Let us look for a moment at this business of domestic servitude. Allow me to inquire what it is. Perhaps it is not so bad as slavery at the South, which makes the whole life at the disposal of the master, but it is little better in very many respects. Domestic servitude, as it exists here in New York, is

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worse—it is worse than the slavery which exists in barbarous society. This—this institution of domestic servitude was one of the first considerations—it gave one of the first impulses to the movements at Brook-farm. It seemed that a continuance in the relations which it established could not possibly be submitted to. It was a deadly sin—a thing to be escaped from. Accordingly it was escaped from, and we have now for three years lived at Brookfarm, and have carried on all the business of life without it. Those services for which domestics are usually depended upon have been carried on without the existence of that relation which forms the distinctive character of domestic servitude. We have had persons there, indeed, who were there upon wages, but they have never been, from the first moment until now, in the relation between the institution or any person whatever, which bore the character of domestic servitude. At Brookfarm they were and are all servants of each other—no man is master. We do freely from the love of it, with joy and thankfulness those duties which are usually discharged by domestics. There we have no mean and degrading labor. There is in practical Association as it already exists there, no degrading labor. * * *

The laborer is not a *man* in society as at present organized. *He* is a man only who has the greatest skill in making others labor for him and in reaping the fruits of their labor; but the man who really does the service—who leaves it at the end of each day's exertion better than he finds it, that man is at the very bottom of the social scale; and the man whose lot it is to discharge those repulsive duties—on whom labor falls that is not attractive to the eye or pleasing to the taste, that man is the meanest of all, the very lowest person that society has within its catalogue. But in Association, even as it practically exists, those very duties which are repulsive, which in civilization are shunned and avoided, except by those who, from necessity, are compelled to do them, and in doing them are for ever disgraced—these fundamental labors are the honorable occupations in Association. The man who discharges one of these duties—he who digs a ditch or discharges any other repulsive duty, is not at the foot of the social scale—he is at the head of it. These are honorable duties, though duties which society scorns. We are actuated by religious sentiments—by sentiments of self-devotion and heroism. In the discharge of those duties, which, in society, no man can undertake with safety to his reputation, we find in practical Association—a fact be it remembered and not a description of what is possible—we find the source of honor and respect—there these duties are the highest that are discharged. We have reversed the order of society. The aristocrat—the man whose days are days of idleness and uselessness—whose only skill is in drawing a support and the means of luxury and the gratification of his taste from the hard labor of others; he, in Association, if there be any such in Association, he is at the bottom of the scale.

And again, we have in Association established a natural System of Education—a system of education which does justice to every one—where the children of the poor receive the integral development of all their faculties, as far as the means of Association in its present condition will permit. Here we claim to have made an advance upon civilized society. Here, in doing this act of simple justice, we claim to have made a large stride above everything known in New York, Boston, or any other city in the world. We are to give to every child the most perfect education at our command—an education of all his faculties—his body to labor, his hands to manual skill, and his mind to intellectual studies. We give him this, not as an act of charity. It is not doled out to him as though he were a pupil of orphan assylums and alms-houses—not as the cold benefice and bounty of the world—but as his right—a right conferred upon him by the very fact of his humanity—a something which he can claim at our hands from the very fact that he is born into this world a human being—and here we think we have made very great advances. Do not let it be thought that in this we boast of anything—very far from it. I only wish, in making these statements, to show that we have achieved some small part of the advantages which theoretical Association points out. We have abolished domestic servitude and have placed labor upon a true basis as a service of dignity. It is an honorable occupation to labor. We accordingly give to every child, without regard to the circumstances of his parents, a complete education according to his taste and faculties to the utmost extent of our ability and power; and here, my friends, an infinite advance has been made. In none of these respects is the best condition of Civilization at all to be compared to the very imperfect condition in which we now see Association.

Again, we are able already, not only to assign to manual labor its just rank and dignity in the scale of human occupations, but we are also able to insure to it its just reward. And here, also, I think we may humbly claim that we have gained somewhat upon civilized society. In the best society that has ever been upon this world, with very small exceptions, labor has never had its just reward. Everywhere the gain is to the pocket of the employer. He makes the money. The laborer toils for him. He is his servant. The interest of the laborer is not consulted at all in the arrangements of industry, but the whole tendency of industry is perpetually to disgrace the laborer—to grind him down and reduce his wages, and to render deceit and fraud almost necessary for him. And all for the benefit of whom? For the benefit of our excellent monopolists—our excellent companies—our excellent employers. The stream all runs into their pockets, and not one little rill is suffered to run into the pockets of those who do the work. Now, in Association, already we have changed all this; we have made a true relation between labor and the people, whereby the labor is done not entirely for the benefit of the capitalist, as it is in civilized society, but for the mutual benefit of the laborer and the capitalist. We are able to distribute the results and advantages which accrue from labor in a joint ratio.

These, then, are very briefly and imperfectly stated, the practical, actual results already attained. In the first place, we have abolished Domestic Servitude. In the second place, we have secured thorough education for all. And in the third place, we have established justice to the laborer, and ennobled Industry.

Here, my friends—here we might claim, indeed, that we have gained infinite advantages, if there were no others to be gained—if there were no lands lying beyond, rich and beautiful, we might still be sure that in laying Association before you, and in propounding these schemes of Society, we were answering the highest demand of the time. And let me remind you once more, that these results are *facts*. They are not even mathematical demonstrations—they are not even things scientifically proved; they are the actual facts extant. It is, then, no uncertain scheme which we propound, when we teach the doctrine of Association. We do, indeed, not claim that we have proven the whole doctrine of Association, that we have made the complete practical experiment which shall leave no doubt on the matter—but that we have shown the possibility of a true and properly adjusted society which shall do justice to human beings, which stands on humanity as a basis; and let me ask you once more where—where—here in New York? in the best state of civilized society, is there anything like this? Where, my friends—I ask the question, knowing that it is impossible to answer it—where is there any civilized society where there are anything like these harmonious relations existing between man and man? Where is it that the fact, the fact that a man *is* a man, is sufficient to entitle him to the highest and best ifluences—to all the advantages which there are in the community in which he lives? No where; it is not so much as thought possible even in society. Two or three years ago we began our movement at Brookfarm, and propounded these few simple propositions which I say are here proven. All declared it to be a scheme of fanaticism. There was universal skepticism. No one believed it possible that men could live together in such relations. Society, it was said, had always lived in a state of competition and strife between man and man; and when told that it was possible to live otherwise, no one received the proposition except with scorn and ridicule. But in the experience of two or three years, we maintain that we have by actual facts, by positive practical demonstration proven this, viz.: that harmonious relations, relations of love and not of selfishness and mutual conflict—relations of truth and not of falsehood—relations of justice and not of injustice—are possible between man and man. This is proven by actual facts and experience which cannot be denied, and I call—I call upon all those persons who are in the habit of treating this subject with doubt and ridicule—who look upon it as an offspring of fanaticism—I call upon them, in all charity, to recognize these things which I have endeavored to state to you. This it is not a dream which we propose, but something which has actually been done. As I said before, we do not claim that in this we have fulfilled all the promises of Association. We are at present, and have always been, an exceedingly small community; but with all these difficulties—with the perpetual opposition of the community without us, with the distrust and doubt of nearly all our personal friends—with all these difficulties to encounter—difficulties without and difficulties within, we have proven by actual demonstration—by facts we have proven thus much.

And let me now inquire, in conclusion, if it is not worth while for those who receive the scientific demonstrations of the practicability of Association with doubt and contumely, if it is not worth their while to inquire a little more into the matter, and be perfectly sure of their doubts before they proceed in the ordinary method of treating every new subject with ridicule and sneers. A very small part of what is proposed is

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achieved. It certainly is to be asked if something more is not possible. And of the sublime vision of society—the magnificent dream that lies before us, and towards the reality of which we are now moving—is it not worth their while to ask if this be not possible also? It is, for I conceive that we have proved the very central truths—that we have proved what lies at the very foundation of all.

At noon, on Saturday, the last resolution was adopted, and the Convention adjourned *sine die*, when Mr. Channing rose and addressed the Convention, in substance, as follows:—

Mr. President and Brother Associationists—We began our meeting with calling to mind, as in the presence of God our solemn privileges and responsibilities. We cannot part without invoking for ourselves—each other, our friends everywhere, and our race, a blessing. If this cause, in which we are engaged is one of mere human device, the emanation of folly and self, *may it utterly fail*; it will then utterly fail. But if as we believe, it is of God, and making allowance for human limitations, is in harmony with the Divine Will, may it go on, as thus it must, conquering and to conquer. Those of us, who are active in this movement have met, and will meet with suspicion and abuse. It is well! well that critical eyes should probe the schemes of Association to the core, and if they are evil lay bare their hidden poison; well, that in this fiery ordeal the sap of our personal vanities and weaknesses should be consumed. We need be anxious but on one account; and that is lest we be unworthy of this sublime reform. *Who are we*, that we should have the honor of giving our lives to this grandest of all possible human endeavors, the establishment of Universal Unity, of the reign of Heaven on Earth? Truly "out of the mouths of babes and sucklings has the Lord ordained strength." Kings and holy men have desired to see the things we see, and have not been able. Let our desire be, that our imperfections—our unfaithfulness do not hinder the progress of Love and Truth and Joy.

The Convention then united in prayer and parted with the benediction—

Glory to God in the highest, and on earth Peace, Good-Will to Men.

THE FESTIVAL.

In the evening a goodly number assembled at the Apollo Saloon, in festive commemoration of the Birth-day of CHARLES FOURIER. The repast was plain and simple, but the Intellectual feast, and the Social Communion were delightful. The great occasion called forth noble and humanitary sentiments, and gave an elevated tone and character to the festival, which filled the soul with exaltation and joy. What peculiarly distinguished the festival was the *universality* of the sentiment which reigned, the broad expanded sympathies which embraced the whole race, and swallowed up everything of a party, sectarian or individual nature.

We are only able to find space for a few of the brilliant thoughts and sentiments that were elicited. The presiding officers were

President.

L. W. RYCKMAN, Brookfarm Association, Mass.

Vice Presiden s.

A. M. WATSON, Jefferson county Industrial Association, N. Y.

GEO. RIPLEY, Brookfarm Association, Mass.

NATHAN STARKS, North American Phalanx, New Jersey.

EDWARD N. KELLOGG, Sylvania Association, Pa.

FREDERICK GRAIN, City of New York.

The President called upon Mr. Channing to ask a blessing, who, after a short pause, replied: My friends, I submit that on this occasion it is meet that a blessing be asked in silence.

The suggestion of Mr. Channing met the approbation of all, and was complied with by the company.

After the cloth was removed, the President expressed his obligation for the honor conferred upon him, and the high degree of pleasure he enjoyed in again uniting with his friends in paying homage to the illustrious man whose birth-day was celebrated, very happily recurring to a similar enjoyment three years before upon the same occasion and at the same place.

He then called upon Mr. Channing to announce the regular toasts.

Mr. Channing rose and said (in brief) it was thought by the Committee that it would open a large field for interesting remark, if we should bring before you what Fourier supposed to be the "intrinsic passions," as he called them—the fundamental attributes, in other words—the essential principles—the active forces of human nature—which he denominated passions. It was his belief that God had arranged the social world by laws of harmony far more beautiful and more perfect than those by which the natural world is governed. That if the stars are ranged in perfect proportion, so that around their parent suns they move in equal balance—so the passions of man's soul; and that it was only owing to man's disarrangements, not to God's providential arrangements, that all those discords existed in society as it is now. Fourier planted himself on this deep faith in the providence of God—on this deep faith, that He had perfectly arranged all the laws and principles of human nature, and he sedulously studied, year after year, until he thought he had completely ascertained what were the laws of order which God had impressed upon human nature and society, and then he announced his theory. He (Mr. Channing) would begin with the five "sensitive passions," and proceed from these to the four "social passions," and from these to the three "regulating passions," and come at last to the "grand religious passion"—the deepest, the grandest, central principle of the soul. Believing with great reverence that Fourier has been the means of discovering for men the divine law of order God appointed for human societies, we desire to open this festival with due homage to his memory.

Our first toast is

"*The Memory of Fourier.*"—Drank standing in solemn silence.

After which the following regular toasts were drank:

Taste.—Appealed to by the exquisite harmonies of flavor, deposited by the hand of the Creator in the kingdoms of nature, its high function will be fulfilled when it elevates her creations to a true standard of nutritive excellence, by the universal cultivation of our common mother, the earth.

Touch.—The sense diffused over the whole body; its counterpart, Industry, should be diffused over the body of society, that man may be individually and universally a *worker*.

Smell.—Amidst the corruptions of civilized life, a constant source of torment and disgust; but destined to lift the soul in gratitude, when, in the garden of redeemed earth, man shall worship in the incense of ascending perfumes.

Sight.—Its complete mechanism enables man to bring into harmony forms and colors, and thus produce true art, the ultimate function of which is to satisfy the soul, by teaching the highest utilities and sublimest material relations of human life.

Hearing.—Amidst the clash and din of human injustice, the sound of heavenly harmony is drowned. Music is the prophetic symbol of the unknown accords of a true society.

Friendship.—Too long a bond of narrow sympathies and selfish compacts, it shall yet be the tie of universal brotherhood and concord—the impulse of Humanity every where seeking and recognising its own. Already a standing rebuke to the injustice and falsehood of human relations, it shall ere long co-work powerfully to transform and redeem them.

Ambition.—The destructive Scourge of the Past—the elevating Principle of the Future—too often and too long has it covered the earth with pyramids of heads, with oceans of human blood, washing shores of ashes. The time is at hand when it shall fill the world with structures of beauty—the homes of bounty and joy.

Love.—The Eden bower into which crept the serpent of selfishness. Eve tempted Adam to fall—Woman must raise Man again to his true dignity. The earth waits for her Queen. In her pure devotedness is Woman's power—in her intuitions her influence—in her grace, which beautifies all it touches, her restoring charm.

Paternity.—In the anxieties and pressing cares of isolated life, too often subverted to purposes of tyranny, it shall, in the era of united families, raise the hearts of the young in grateful reverence, when the parent's constant love is the ever present symbol of the heavenly Father.

Emulation.—In civilization a jar of vipers, each striving to put his head above the others—in Association, a nest of singing birds, whose rivalry fills the air with delicious melody.

Variety.—The Principle of Liberty—in our present societies the source of conflict and revolutionary violence; in true harmonic society, the source of peace, love, and progressive attraction, in all spheres of existence.

Enthusiasm.—The fluent power which marries Mind and Matter with the wedding-ring of Beauty.

The Principle of Universal Unity.—The source of the prophetic instinct in the heart of man, which in all ages has pointed out to him the promised land. Honor and gratitude to the harbinger who has prepared the way for its fulfilment in the sublime harmonies of the Combined Order.

The regular toasts were severally illustrated as they were given by different speakers, but we are reluctantly compelled for want of room to omit nearly all the brilliant and soul-stirring speeches that were delivered. We make room, however, for the beautiful response of Mr. Dana to the toast on *Friendship*, and a brief condensation of the remarks of Mr. Ripley on Unity, which were at times highly humorous, and again touchingly serious and profound.

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☞ The speeches of Messrs. Ripley and Dana, referred to, will be found on the back of the title-page.

The first volunteer toast was

The Hope of Universal Peace.—Foretold in the oracles of Prophets, announced in the song of Angels, illustrated in the life of Jesus. May it be speedily and triumphantly realized in the establishment of the Combined Order among the nations of the earth.

To this toast Mr. Samuel E. Coues, of Pourtsmouth, Me., President of the American Peace Society, made an eloquent and most appropriate response. He said he had been deeply impressed with, and interested in, the proceedings of the Convention which had just been held, and which he attended as a spectator from the beginning—he had there learned things which had inspired him with fresh and cheering hopes of humanity, and here again he was so deeply moved with the feelings which had been awakened in his heart, that he could not find words to give them utterance.

He made a beautiful allusion to Columbus, the discoverer of a new *material* world. He said—

I saw not many days since a painting of Columbus applying for aid to prosecute his discovery. He was before his sovereign, and in the presence of the assembled nobles, was pleading for aid. I could almost hear him speak. I could almost fancy that I heard him say—"I know far away in the ocean there lies another country—give me means to discover it, and enlarge the boundaries of the earth!" But whilst he spoke some folded their arms in apathy—some smiled with scorn. But the soul of Columbus was afar off. He saw this great land—he saw the waves of the ocean beat upon its shores—he saw mighty rivers tumble over rocky barriers—he saw its mountains towering to the sky—he saw its broad territories stretching from pole to pole. (Cheers.) And in like faith did the good citizen of the world regard the future fortunes of his race. He saw that the hour was on its way when all mankind would be knit in the bonds of universal happiness and peace.

Mr. Coues concluded by offering a sentiment embodying this "hope of the future," the words of which are lost.

Mr. Godwin remarked that it was a curious coincidence with the illustration of the last speaker, that Fourier, the discoverer of a new *moral* world, had in his last work compared himself to Columbus. Mr. G. then went on to compare the present prospects of association to the tokens of approaching land which cheered the drooping spirits of the crew of Columbus. The friends from Brookfarm were the birds, and those from other places the flowers that floated on the waves.—(Cheers.)

Mr. Ripley—Our friend has compared us to a bird. Well, it is true we have a good deal of singing, though not a great deal to eat, and we have very small nests, (laughter.) Our most appropriate emblem is the not very beautiful—the not very magnificent, but the very useful and respectable barn-door fowl—*for we all have to scratch for a living!*

Mr. Brisbane pronounced an enthusiastic and hearty tribute of his gratitude, esteem, and respect for Horace Greeley, for the manly, independent, and generous support he had given to the cause from its infancy to the present day.

Mr. B. closed by saying—

He (Mr. Greeley) has done for us what we never could have done. He has created the cause on this continent. He has done the work of a century. Well, then, I will give "The love of our race above all other loves," and now I say, "ONE CONTINENT AND ONE MAN."

Mr. Greeley returned his grateful thanks for what he said was "the extravagant eulogium of his partial friend," and although laboring under severe indisposition from excessive toil, night and day, Mr. G. continued to speak for quite twenty minutes or more in a delightful strain of wit mingled with serious reflections. We make one brief and pointed quotation from his speech:

When I took up this cause, I knew that I went in the teeth of many of my patrons—in the teeth of the prejudices of the great mass—in the teeth of religious prejudices—for I confess I had a great many more clergymen on my list before than I have now, as I am sorry to say, for had they kept on, I think I would have done them some good. (Laughter.) But in the face of all this—in the face of constant advices, "Don't have anything to do with that Mr. Brisbane"—I went on. "Oh!" said many of my friends, "consider your position—consider your influence."—"Well," said I, "I shall endeavor to do so, but I must try to do a little good in the meantime, or else what is the use of the influence." (Cheers.) And thus I have gone on, pursuing a manly and at the same time a circumspect course, treading wantonly on no man's prejudice—telling, on the contrary, universal man, I will defer to your prejudices, as far as I can consistently with duty, but when duty leads me, you must excuse my stepping on your corn if it be in the way. (Cheers.)

Mr. Greeley concluded by offering the following sentiment:

"The memory of the early American friend of Association—*John Manesca.*"

Mr. Macdaniel apologised for the few remarks with which, on account of the lateness of the hour, he could preface his toast, and briefly alluded to the times of the middle ages, when the nations of Europe were inspired by the spirit of Chivalry, and were bound together in *Unity* upon a crusade which marked the era as one of the most glorious in the history of man; he spoke of the more glorious era which was soon to dawn upon the earth, when the nations would be animated with a higher spirit of Chivalry, and be united not in *hostile* but *peaceful* Unity. He therefore gave—

The Chivalry of Peaceful Unity.—Inspiring all men, animating all nations, joining the human race in a solid "Phalanx" of Brotherhood—it will soon enter upon a crusade of love, which will conquer false philosophy, conquer national indigence, conquer spurious civilization, triumph over evil, redeem "the promised land," the land of Canaan, and transform the earth into the Kingdom of Heaven.

Mr. T. C. Leland, of Rochester, in a letter to one of the company, regretted his inability to attend the Convention and the Celebration of Fourier's Birth-day, but begged to unite in the sympathies of the occasion by offering the following sentiment:

The Memory of Charles Fourier.—His doctrine is Truth, which, like the Plough, turns the glebe of Civilization, and lays bare the lizards and serpents, which writhe and hiss at the exposure.

Mr. T. S. Nicholls, accompanied by a few pertinent remarks, offered the following toasts:

Society in Civilization.—The St. Vitus's dance of the Universal Man.

The Health of Parke Godwin.—When Art in Association shall immortalise its earliest and boldest champion, an honorable niche will be given to the Author of "A Popular View of the Doctrines of Charles Fourier."

Letters from several gentlemen courteously declining invitations to attend, were read, and the following from the Rt. Rev. Bishop Hughes:

O. MACDANIEL, Esq.:

Dear Sir—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your kind invitation to the Celebration of the Birth-day of Charles Fourier, to be held at the Apollo Saloon on Saturday evening, the 6th inst. Allow me to return you my thanks for the honor which you have conferred upon me, and which, owing to the many engagements of this week, and especially of the eve of Easter, I am compelled to decline.

I, too, feel deeply the necessity of ameliorations in the Social condition of mankind; and whilst I cherish the best wishes towards all who are devoutly engaged in any effort for the attainment of an object so desirable, I am sure that the liberality of your Association will make all proper allowances for differences of opinion in regard to the best mode of accomplishing it.

I remain, with great respect,
Your obedient servant,
† JOHN HUGHES,
Bishop of N. Y.

April 5th, 1844.

The Company, after a delightful, enthusiastic intercourse of four or five hours, separated at 12 o'clock, as it was Saturday night, but not abruptly nor until every one who desired to offer a sentiment or to speak had been heard, and our only regret is that we cannot record all that transpired.

TO THE READER.—A copy of this paper has been sent to several persons who are not subscribers, in order that they may see, in the proceedings of our Convention and its Address, the nature and object of our movement. We hope they will carefully consider the subject, and if they have any thoughts or objections to communicate in regard to the doctrine of Association, in any of its aspects, we should be pleased to hear from them, and to make such replies as their communications might demand.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

At a meeting held on the 9th April, 1844, of the provisional Executive Committee, appointed in accordance with the 8th resolution adopted by the first Annual Convention of the Associationists of the United States, the following gentlemen were elected Officers:

Chairman,
PARKE GODWIN.
Secretary,
OSBORNE MACDANIEL.
Treasurer,
FREDERICK GRAIN.

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SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS UNITY.

SOCIAL PROGRESS.—SOCIAL REFORM UPON CONSERVATIVE PRINCIPLES.

THE PHALANX:

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.

ASSOCIATION, ATTRACTIVE INDUSTRY, UNITY OF INTERESTS.

ORGAN OF THE

DOCTRINE OF ASSOCIATION.

OUR EVILS ARE SOCIAL, NOT POLITICAL, AND A SOCIAL REFORM ONLY CAN ERADICATE THEM.

J. WINCHESTER, PUBLISHER, 30 ANN-ST. TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM, IN ADVANCE.

VOLUME I. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1844. NUMBER 9.

☞ In some instances the Phalanx has not reached our subscribers, as we are informed, a circumstance which we much regret and will endeavor to remedy as far as in our power. The fault is not with us, however, but with the Post Office. If we are informed through Post-Masters, or otherwise, free of postage, of the numbers of those papers which are missing, we will supply them, with the exception of Nos. 2 and 3, which are exhausted: and if any persons can send us either of these numbers, directed to the "Phalanx," they will confer a favor, which will be acknowledged by sending Mr. Godwin's pamphlet on "Constructive and Pacific Democracy" in return. Write the address of the person who sends on the margin.

THE TENDER MERCIES OF "CIVILIZATION."

The Acadia arrived at Boston last week, bringing, as the newspapers said, no important news except a decline of the prices of cotton; which may be important commercially; but in our view, she brought intelligence of much greater moment, to this country and the whole human race, than our "blind guides" of the press are aware. She brought us accounts of the recent debate in Parliament on the "Factory Bill"—a debate pregnant with the most extensive and interesting issues. No discussion that has taken place, for many years, possesses a deeper significance than that which arose on the occasion to which we refer. It introduced to the eyes of the world, the actual condition of the laboring multitudes of the most "cizilized" nation on earth, and illustrated several of the highest and deepest principles that now agitate the mind of society. We have been so strongly impressed with the bearings of this debate that we willingly devote considerable space to extracts from the several speeches.

That class of thinkers, who range themselves under the banner of Fourier, will see in this debate, one of the most remarkable tendencies of the age, and a confirmation of the critical opinion, which for nearly half a century, they have uttered, in regard to the character and results of the existing form of society.

This is the history of the debate. A bill was framed by the Tory Ministry to limit the daily labor of "young persons"—i. e., under the age of eighteen years—engaged in Factories, to twelve hours for each day. Lord Ashley, also of the Tory party, moved an amendment, which tended to restrict the hours of labor for children from twelve to ten hours each day. On this, the debate sprung up, in both houses of Parliament, which exhibited a complete fusion of parties, and the controversy turning upon the condition of the factory-population, led to the most frightful revelations.

Lord Ashley's opening speech was a withering exposure of the iniquities of the factory system. "He alledged," says the London Spectator, in giving an abstract of the debate, "he alledged that the extended use of machinery had entailed *a great addition of toil* on the working-people engaged with it, while *wages had fallen;* that the factory population is *increasing at a fearful ratio*, threatening a vast increase of the ills endured by that class; that they suffer in health from the effects of excessive toil, exhaustion, accidents from badly-guarded machinery and low diet; that the congregation of the sexes and other circumstances are destructive of morality; that preference given to female and juvenile labor reverses the order of society, making the parent dependent on the child for subsistence, and the husband on the wife; that the women are brutalized by such means, and by the sense of injustice; that the physical strength of the population is deteriorating; and that the nation neglects all attempts to remedy these growing evils." But let us look at the speech itself. He said,

Since he first undertook the question in 1833, experience had convinced him that avarice and cruelty were not inherent in any one class of the population; all require the same restriction on the indulgence of their passions. Look at the awful condition of the dressmakers and milliners of London; which is to be ascribed in too many instances to the utter recklessness and indifference of the gentler sex. He assumed the right of the State to interfere on behalf of the moral and physical welfare of all classes of the population; a right recognized, and acted upon in restricting the labor of children, in Russia, Austria, Prussia, Switzerland, and less completely in France. Interposition is the more necessary, on account of the rapid increase of the manufacturing population: the total number of persons engaged in cotton factories in 1818 was 57,323; engaged in the five branches, cotton, woollen, worsted, flax, and silk, in 1835, 354,684; in the same five branches in 1839, 419,590; total of both sexes under eighteen, [in 1839,] 192,887. Simultaneously with the increase of numbers there has been a great increase of toil for those engaged in the conduct of machinery; which is three times what it was in 1815. According to calculations made for him by one of the most experienced mathematicians in England, the distance traversed by the young person who tended a pair of mules spinning the cotton numbered "40," was, in 1815, 8 miles; in 1832, 20 miles; in 1839, the lowest amount of distance was 15, the highest 37 miles; in 1815, the piecer daily put up 1,640 stretches on the two mules; in 1832, 4,400; in 1844, 4,800; and that not in one of the most rapidly-working mills. Mr. Gregg, the Manchester manufacturer, disputed these calculations, himself stating the distance traversed at 8 miles a day; but Lord Ashley's friend said that Mr. Gregg must know very little of mathematics. On the other hand, Mr. Fielden, the Member for Oldham, had measured the distance in his own mill, and found it to be not less than twenty miles a day. [Lord Ashley quoted many other figures, relating to the carding, weaving, and other departments of a mill; but the proportion has been sufficiently indicated.]

This toil produces the most sad physical consequences on the human frame. In 1833, three Medical Commissioners and eighty physicians and surgeons asserted the prodigious evils of the system. One of the Commissioners was Dr. Bissett Hawkins, who declared that he spoke on the authority of a large majority of the medical men in Lancashire. The Government Commissioners say —"The excessive fatigue, privation of sleep, pain in various parts of the body, and swelling of the feet, experienced by the young workers, coupled with the constant standing, the peculiar attitudes of the body, and the peculiar motion of the limbs required in the labor of the factory, together with the elevated temperature and the impure atmosphere in which the labor is often carried on, do sometimes ultimately terminate in the production of serious, permanent, and incurable diseases." Dr. Hawkins says—"I am compelled to declare my deliberate opinion, that no child should be employed in factory labor below the age of ten; that no individual under the age of eighteen should be employed in it longer than ten hours daily." In 1841, when Lord Ashley was in Lancashire, he consulted several medical men; and he made a note, which he read, as follows—"Scrofulous cases apparently universal; the wards were filled with scrofulous knees, hips, ankles, &c. The medical gentleman informed me that they were nearly invariably factory-cases. He attributes the presence of scrofula to factory-employment under all its circumstances of great heat, low diet, bad ventilation, protracted toil, &c." The minor accidents, such as the loss of a finger or a hand, nearly all occur at a late hour of the evening, when the workers are tired and sleepy. Early superannuation is one most striking effect of the system. Out of 22,000 hands employed at forty mills in Manchester and Stockport, in 1839, only 143 were above forty-five years of age. An effect not less alarming is, that the men of mature age are often not disinclined to work while the earnings of their children maintain them in idleness. Contrast these figures with returns from several farms in England, Wales, and Scotland, which showed that out of 341 men employed on those estates, 180 were above forty years of age.

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In fact there are men fifty, sixty, and even seventy years of age, earning wages to maintain their families. The moral effects of the system are not less deplorable. Thrift and economy are virtually unknown; and it rarely happens that any are known to accumulate savings to support them in age or sickness. The laws of nature cannot be violated with impunity, but she takes her revenge in debilitated strength. In 1835, the French Chamber of Peers issued a commission to inquire into the state of the population employed in factory-labor. A report was made by Baron Dupin, who made this general statement of results—"For 10,000 young men capable of military service, there were rejected as infirm, or otherwise unfit in body, 4,029 in the departments most agricultural; for 10,000 in the departments most manufacturing there were rejected 9,930." [Mr. Hawes remarked that M. Dupin's figures included the deformed.] True; but what is the comment of the reporter?—"These deformities cannot allow the Legislature to remain indifferent: they attest the deep and painful mischiefs; they reveal the intolerable nature of individual suffering; they enfeeble the country in respect to its capacity for military operations, and impoverish it in regard to the works of peace. We should blush for agriculture, if in her operations she brought, at the age adapted to labor, so small a proportion of oxen or horses in a fit state for toil, with so large a number of infirm and misshapen." That which induced the late King of Prussia to pass a law limiting the labor of children and young persons to ten hours daily, was a report similar in effect, made to the King in Council, by General Von Horn, at the head of the recruiting department in the manufacturing districts. The necessity of attending to the matter is shown by the fact that it is the tendency of machinery more and more to throw the labor upon women, and still more upon children. In 1835, the number of females employed in five departments of industry were 196,383 in 1839, they were 242,296; and of those 112,119 were under eighteen years of age. Similar results are recorded by Dr. Villermé in France. The age of severe and protracted labor begins at thirteen, precisely the most delicate period of a female's life; and the female form is at no time of life so well adapted for severe and protracted labor as the male. There has been an enormous increase in the employment of female labor since 1835; and a gentleman writing from Stockport gives the reason.—"Mr. ——, a manufacturer, informed me that he employs females exclusively at his power-looms; it is so universally; he gives a decided preference to married females, especially those who have families at home dependent on them for support." And why? Because, he says, "they are attentive, docile—more so than unmarried females, and are compelled to use their utmost exertion to procure the necessaries of life." Inspector Saunders says, "The small amount of wages acts as a strong inducement to the mill-occupiers to employ them instead of men." Inspector Baker mentions having seen females, who he was sure could only just have completed their eighteenth year, who had been obliged to work from six o'clock in the morning till ten at night, with only an hour and a half for meals. Medical men attest the injurious consequences of such toil to women in a state of pregnancy, and not less to their offspring. A surgeon of experience in Lancashire writes—"The infants are at birth below the average size, and have a stinted, shrivelled appearance. I would take a score of factory births, and the same of healthy parents, and distinguish between them." The children, he says, "are much confided by factory-mothers to the care of others. Opium is administered to infants in various forms, to keep them still." This practice is so general, that in Manchester, "Godfrey's Cordial," and other similar preparations, are in great demand, and are sold at numerous shops. "The quantity of this pernicious drug, (opium) thus consumed," says my informant, "would almost stagger belief. Many infants are so habituated to it, that they can scarcely exist when deprived of this stimulus. Immense numbers fall victims to hydrocephalus; the mother's milk becomes deteriorated; infants are fed by substitutes in her absence; and hence arise many internal disorders, the usual remedy for which is gin. Miscarriages are very frequent, and all the physical and surgical mischiefs of mistreated pregnancy. Another consequence of continued evil practices is varicose veins, aggravated greatly in pregnant women," and "troublesome ulcers of the legs arising from varicose veins, which in some cases burst, and bring on a dangerous and sometimes fatal hæmorrhage." He also states that the practice of procuring abortion is very frequent, even among married women. I have the personal testimony of several females who have confirmed the truth of these statements. Among other things, they complain of the intolerable pain of their breasts, in consequence of such long absence from their children; and the great suffering they experience from the necessity of returning to work within twelve and sometimes ten days of their confinement.

Let the House consider the effect of this system upon domestic economy. Out of thirteen married females at one mill, only one knew how to make her husband a shirt, and only four knew how to mend one. He had the evidence of several women who with reluctance admitted their own ignorance of every domestic accomplishment. The general result of the inquiry which had been instituted on this subject was, that the unmarried females in almost every case were destitute of a single qualification for household servants; and that the married women were untidy, slovenly, dirty, unable to cook or to sew, and entirely ignorant of household management and expenditure. Of one, a single woman, her mother said—"She knows nothing but mill and bed; she can neither read, write, knit, nor sew." Several letters received from Stockport and Manchester detail still more painful consequences. One writer refers particularly to the highly injurious effect it has upon young modest women, who are compelled to work in the factories with the men, without being able to perform unobserved the necessary functions of life. Mr. Raynor, the medical officer of Stockport, says—"It has been the practice in mills gradually to dispense with the labors of males, but particularly grown-up men; so that the burden of maintaining the family has rested almost exclusively on the wife and children, while the men have had to stay at home and look after household affairs, or ramble about the streets unemployed." So the effect of the system is, that women are compelled to take the place of men, and thus to reverse the very order of Nature and Providence. In addition to the evils I have specified, I will point out to honorable gentlemen another disastrous consequence of the present order of things. In many of these districts there are established what are called female clubs. I have an account of one of these on very respectable authority, an eye-witness, which I will read to the House. The writer of this account says, "Fifty or sixty females, married and single form themselves into clubs, ostensibly for protection, but in fact they meet to drink, sing, and smoke: they use, it was stated, the lowest, most brutal, and most disgusting language imaginable." Here is a dialogue from an eye-witness—"A man came into one of these club-rooms with a child in his arms: 'Come, lass,' said he, addressing one of the women, 'come home, for I cannot keep the bairn quiet, and the other I have left crying at home.' 'I won't go home, idle devil,' she replied: 'I have thee to keep and the bairns too, and if I can't get a pint of ale quietly it is tiresome: this is only the second pint that Bess and me have had between us: thou may sup if thou likes, and sit down, but I won't go home yet.'"

The effects upon the children themselves are lamentable. The most frightful evil in the manufacturing districts is the insubordination of children towards their parents. Children and young persons take the same advantage of parents that women do of their husbands; frequently using oaths and harsh language, and if corrected will turn round and say, "Damn you, we have you to keep." Many of these children are of tender years, under the ages of thirteen and fourteen. One poor woman stated, that her husband had chided two of their daughters for going to a public-house; he made it worse, for they would not come home again, stating, "they had their father to keep and they would not be dictated to by him." One woman, after describing the hardships suffered by herself and her children, and saying that they never went to chapel, added, "When you go up to London, tell them we'll turn out the next time (meaning the women,) and let the soldiers at us if they dare! Depend upon it there will be a break-out, and a right one, if that House of Commons don't alter things—for they can alter them if they will—by taking mothers and daughters out of the factories and sending the men and big lads in." Sir Charles Shaw, the Manchester Chief Commissioner of Police, has observed, that under the present system, women acquire the worst passions of the men, become like the female followers of an army, and are the leaders and exciters to every riot and outbreak.

These are appaling statements; and how were they met? Why, the replies are even worse than the allegations. While they show the utter powerlessness of "civilized" methods to afford any cure, while they show that the very remedy of short hours would only lead to a depression of wages and greater misery,—they also show that this very factory labor is after all, *not so bad as labor in other branches* of industry! We cannot quote the speeches, but we give a brief account of their purport from the same paper It says:

But Ministers and manufacturers had something to say on the other side. Machinery, they argue, increases by an inherent power—the constant pressure of ingenuity and unemployed capital seeking investment—which nothing can arrest: its increase is inevitable; but no fresh impulse to it need be feared, because no impulse is necessary. Then, as to the condition of the factory-people, it is not so very bad: it is not worse than that of all populations collected together in large towns—witness the London dressmakers, the Spitalfields weavers, and other Metropolitan disgraces: as compared with working-agriculturists, the factory-people have higher wages, better food, more comforts, a better chance of rising in life. This is all true. The morals of the factory-districts are bad enough, but not worse than the morals of any part of London where vice borrows new horrors from squalidity; and the extreme cases, those violations of nature that are said to distinguish a certain kind of cottage-life in Dorsetshire and other agricultural counties, are not seen. The level of morals is low enough: boys and girls become married men and women in their teens, with no refined experiences; children are neglected; decencies are not nicely observed: still, nature does assert her sway, and in the very midst of seething vice you will often discover, uncorrupted, touching exam-

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ples of female virtue, of conjugal tenderness, and parental devotion. Nor is the diet so low as the scanty meal of the agricultural laborer: it is perhaps ill-assorted—too coarse and gross; and digestion does not always wait on appetite. As to wages, the artisan is affluent compared with the laborer.

It is a more fatal objection to Lord Ashley's measure, that it is ludicrously partial. Whole classes of workers it cannot touch. It cannot touch hand-loom weavers; who toil all day at home, at a far harder work than power-loom weaving, to earn far less wages. It cannot touch Sheffield metal-workers. *It leaves unredeemed the irksome slavery of the domestic servant, called to mind by the Premier. Abridge the labor of milliners and dressmakers, and you starve them.* It does not touch the labor of adults in factories. But it is an argument against the bill, taking it in flank, that indirectly it does touch the work of adults; for if you stop the work of the juvenile hands, the older hands must stand still: if the young spinner be idle, the old dresser must wait for work. It will therefore arrest the whole process of manufacturing—curtail time generally to ten hours—diminish manufactured products by one-sixth—augment prices, lower wages, and Heaven knows what.

We cannot resist the temptation also, to extract the following remarks of Mr. Cobden, in the House of Commons, made at another time:

Mr. Cobden dwelt at great length on the condition of farm-laborers under the existing law of protection; quoting largely from the Report of Mr. Austin, the Commissioner appointed to inquire into the Condition of Women and Children in Agriculture, and from the writings of the Rev. Godolphin Osborne. He contrasted the respect shown to property during the disturbances last year in the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire, with the incendiary fires in the agricultural districts; attributing the difference to the fact, that the manufacturing population are conscious of having those who will make known their sufferings and complaints which the agricultural population are not. He read many extracts showing the miserable wages paid in Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Devonshire. In Wiltshire, they average 8s. or 9s. a week. Mrs. Wilshire, the wife of a farm-laborer, said, "Our common drink is burnt crust tea: we never know what it is to get enough to eat." The Rev. J. Guthrie, Vicar of Calne, said, "I never could make out how they can live with their present earnings;" and Dr. Greenup, M.D., said the same. The ordinary agricultural day-laborer's wages in those counties before the rise of prices after 1790, ranged from 7s. to 10s., not including hay-time and harvest; the average price of wheat was then 44s. 6d.: since that time, wages have scarcely increased, rent has advanced from two-and-a-half to threefold. In 1683, Judge Hales states the wages of a farm-laborer in Gloucestershire at 10s. a week; wheat was then 36s. a quarter: now, says a gentleman writing to Mr. Cobden, "wheat is 40 per cent. higher: the average wages in Gloucestershire are only 8s. to 9s. and in many cases 7s. and 6s.; in the mean time rent has increased tenfold." Mr. Hunt, a farm-laborer, states that many families only obtain half the amount that their maintenance in the workhouse would cost. From these wages and the style of food might be inferred the style of lodging and clothing—nay, the morality, education, religion, and everything pertaining to the happiness of the people. He quoted passages pertaining to the ill-contrived and over crowded cottages, and the consequent licentiousness,—whole families being huddled together in one sleeping-chamber. "You talk to us," exclaimed Mr. Cobden, "about the crowding together of the laboring population in the manufacturing towns, and charge that upon the manufacturer and the millowner, forgetting that the crowding together in towns cannot come under the cognizance of particular individuals and employers; but in the agricultural districts, we find the large proprietors of land, who will not allow any other person to erect a stick or a stone, or to build a cottage upon their estates, nevertheless permitting men, for whose welfare they are responsible, to be in this beastly state—in dwellings worse than the wigwams of the American Indians." When they saw these things, he repeated that the persons by whom they were permitted to continue deserved to be visited with the most unqualified indignation of that House. No, mark, the progress of the evil was this—the landowners refused to build up new cottages, and permitted the old cottages to fall down; and he spoke advisedly when he said that this was the course adopted systematically in Dorsetshire, and the people were driven to Blandford and other towns. And what a population were they thus sending to the manufacturing districts! Why, what was this but a school of prostitution and vice? Oh, let them then not blame the manufacturer for the state of the population in their towns, while they reared such a people in the country, and drove them into the towns when the hovels in which they had dwelt fell down about them. Mr. Austin says, a change of clothes "seems to be out of the question;" and mentions women who are obliged to lie in bed whilst their clothes were washed and dried. And this was the population who, according to honorable gentlemen, were the "home customers" for the manufacturers! The Scotch agricultural population would do honor to any country: their food in East Lothian is bread like the rape and oil-cakes used for cattle and manuring fields; their wages in Forfarshire averages 4s. a week, with oatmeal and milk, increasing the value to about 6s. 10d.; the principal article of food is oatmeal and boiling water, called "brose." In Wales, the *Times* reporter said, the main cause of the disturbances was the abject poverty of the people, who live on potatoes and butter-milk, oatmeal and water, with occasionally a little cheese and barley bread or a red herring; lodging in mud huts of a single room, for all purposes; with no window, but a hole in the wall to admit light and air by day, and blocked up with a bundle of rags at night. A large portion of the inmates in the London Fever Hospital, and of the vagrants brought up at the Police Courts, are destitute agricultural laborers, whom the Magistrates send to prison for a short time.

Thus, the poor deluded dupes of "civilization" are ever moving in a circle. Their remedies are often quite as bad as the disease, although the disease is one that invades the very centres of life. But thank Heaven, light is beginning to penetrate the minds of even legislators. During the same debate, Lord Howick made some remarks which show that he has obtained a glimpse of the nature of the remedy. Here is what he said:

He was not without apprehensions that such might be the case; for he did think that inquiries of late years had established the conclusion that they could not entirely rely upon the principle that men were the best judges of their own interest, and would always do that which was best for themselves.—This was, after all, *but a branch of the great question of the general condition of society.* He believed that the origin of the evil was intense competition; and that they would not entirely remedy the evil unless they diminished the intensity of competition by enlarging the field for employment. He believed they could only do that by breaking down those artificial barriers and restrictions by which they were now hedged in and confined; and unless they were prepared to do this, *they must be prepared to see the intensity of competition, which in his opinion was the origin of the evil, become day after day greater.* He feared he could not expect that Parliament would now, though ultimately no doubt they would, consent to adopt the step which was the only effectual cure for the evil: but it did not follow, though they couldot remove the evil altogether, that they might not do something to palliate it; and it did certainly appear to him, that, in the absence of that more complete remedy which he should wish to see applied, it might be advisable to take measures to check the abuses which under the stimulus of intense competition, did arise in the mode of carrying on certain great manufacturing branches of our industry.

He thought a plan might be found of meeting the difficulty which they experienced in introducing regulations in trade. It did not appear to him altogether impossible that they might form SOME BODY IN WHICH THE INTERESTS BOTH OF THE MASTERS AND OF THE MEN SHOULD BE REPRESENTED, which should have authority to frame those regulations for carrying on those branches of industry which Parliament was confessedly incapable of itself framing with advantage. There were CORPORATE BODIES in the middle ages which did possess a power of that kind, which in the sequel, no doubt, became liable to great abuse, but which were in the outset of great advantage in encouraging the first seeds of trade and civilization. But proper protection might be taken to guard against their degenerating into a mischievous monopoly, while a power might be committed to their hands for making regulations upon this subject. He was the more impressed with this idea when he saw how the Trades Unions had flourished in this country, and had maintained themselves even in spite of severe laws against them, as well as when those laws were relaxed. That fact seemed to his mind to afford no slight ground for concluding that they had arisen out of a necessity FOR SOME SYSTEM OF ORGANIZATION OF THOSE TRADES AND BRANCHES OF INDUSTRY; and, were they properly recognized by law, not being framed upon intimidation or any other unlawful principle, nor composed of one particular class, they would be of great advantage. *Some body should be formed, which should be recognized, to bind all together—a body whose powers should be strictly defined and regulated, and in which not only the working classes but* THEIR EMPLOYERS SHOULD HAVE A SHARE; the whole to be placed under the supervision of the Crown.

The plan here hinted at by Lord Howick, is a form of what Fourier would call Guarantyism, and though quite defective in itself, would, if rightly carried out, do a world of good. But alas, how lamentably ignorant and short-sighted are the best of modern statesmen. They are indeed blind leaders of the blind, in a maze of bewilderment, without light and almost without hope! Our American people congratulate themselves that they are far removed from these awful and distressing evils; but how far? The same causes are at work in the bosom of our society, and in a few years, will demonstrate themselves, as they have already begun to do, in the destitution, ignorance, and misery of the masses. England is a fearful example to us of the terrific workings of incoherent and disunited industry. For a while, our possession of vast public lands may postpone the grosser manifestations of Wrong, but if we continue the pre-

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sent arrangements of society, they will inevitably come. Beware, oh people, beware!

Continued from page 77 No. 6.

CONSTRUCTIVE AND PACIFIC DEMOCRACY.

BY PARKE GODWIN.

[Introductory to and explanatory of what follows, we republish the closing paragraph of the preceding section.]

Now, it is a series of co-operations that we propose, as the means of our social reform. It is not a mere league on the part of the followers of a particular calling; it is not a treaty of amity between the members of distinct classes; not the promiscuous commingling of all branches of trade, that we vindicate; but it is the voluntary union of the whole of Humanity, on definite and scientific grounds. We contend for the solidarity of the race in organic forms; we desire the universal association of man, according to an universal principle; we aim at the thorough re-organization, not of a segment, but of the whole of society, on a basis of individual independence and freedom, and collective harmony and progress.

§ VI.—ORGANIZATION OF THE TOWNSHIP.

This object can be attained, we think, by the organization of the township. Let us suppose, that in a district composed of some three hundred families, (about eighteen hundred souls) the inhabitants should call a public meeting, to consider their social condition, and after the maturest deliberation, should adopt the following resolutions:

1st. An association is formed between all the inhabitants of this township, rich and poor; the capital to be composed of the fixed property of all, and of the furniture and goods which each one may see fit to contribute, at an appraised valuation.

2d. Every associate shall receive in exchange for what he brings, a certificate representing the exact value of the capital relinquished to the society.

3d. Each share shall be a mortgage upon the fixed property which it represents, and upon the general property of the Association.

4th. Every associate, whether he has contributed fixed property or not, shall be allowed to take part in the productive use of the common funds, for the employment of his labor and talent.

5th. Women and children enter society on the same terms as the men.

6th. The annual income, the common expenses being first liquidated, shall be divided among the members on the following terms:

(a) A first portion shall go to pay the interest on stocks.

(b) A second portion shall be divided among the laborers, according to the difficulties of their work, and the time devoted to it by each.

(c) The third and last part shall be distributed among those who have distinguished themselves, in various labors, either by intelligence, activity, or vigor.

Thus, each man, woman, and child, will be entitled to a share in each division, proportional to their respective concurrences in the production, by their three productive faculties of Capital, Labor, and Talent.

Let us suppose, further, that the inhabitants of this township, instead of remaining in their isolated houses, should agree to dwell in a single large building, or rather, in a row of buildings, separated from each other so as to secure the privacy and independence of each family, but at the same time, so connected as to render available the obvious economies of fire, light, cooking, cellars, &c. &c.; that all the different branches of labor were distributed among groups of workmen best adapted to the execution of each, including in the term labor, domestic avocations, agriculture, mechanical art and instruction; and that each group should have the entire control of its special department, subject only to the advisory direction of a more general and superior group; we say, let this be supposed, and we shall have the outlines of the simple, but most important re-organization of society which we propose.*

We do not here assert that an organization of this kind, is the true organization for society, although we hold that the position can be proved beyond a cavil; we merely wish to show, that Society, if it would escape from the terrible evils under which it now groans, must resort to some similar organization as the next step in its progressive career. We assert that Association by townships, as here delineated, if not *the* right way, at least leads towards the right way, and is the best approximation to a Perfect Constitution of Society, that has been presented to mankind. We assert that it is the most easy, the most feasible, the most safe, the most rational, and the most desirable phasis in which we can look at the great question of Social Reform. We assert this upon the subjoined brief views of

§ VII.—ITS CHARACTER AND ADVANTAGES.

1st. *It begins with the beginning.* It begins with the organization of the township, where sagacious minds have long since discovered that all reforms, to be efficient and practical, must begin. Napoleon, whose overwhelming energy of action so absorbs our minds, when considering his character, that we are led to forget his deep-searching practical insight, has said in a note, addressed about 1800 to his brother Lucien, then Minister of the Interior, that "if he had not been distracted by war, he should lay the foundation of the prosperity of France in the organization of the commune (*il commencerait la prosperete de France par les communes, s'il n'etait distrait par la geerre..*") Thomas Jefferson, one of our most profound, and at the same time, most sagacious minds, writing to one of his friends, insists that all true political reform must begin with small districts. The framers of the Federal Constitution felt this when they were so careful to distinguish and secure the rights of the states. A consolidated government, extending over so wide a field of influence, would either fall to pieces from internal conflicts, or be smitten with the death-stroke of immobility. State-action is the life of the Republic, such life as it has. Again: the new class of political reformers, lately sprung up in this State, demanding an amendment of the constitution, are impressed with the necessity of a still further extension of the districting principle, and urge as one of their fundamental tenets, that the enormous power now held by the State, shall be taken away from it, and returned either to the school districts, counties, or towns.

Now, these politicians are right for once. Experience has taught them that nothing is to be done through the cumbersome legislation of a too extensive territory. The government of a vast nation is too huge and unwieldy to make an active progress. You need the quick brain and nimble limbs of a smaller organization. A state, comprising, perhaps, millions of individuals, distributed over a wide extent of land, and embracing a thousand diverse interests, has too many wills to consult, to attain true concert and harmony of action. Buffalo, for instance, either from ignorance or indifference, will not consent to the local reforms necessary in the city of New York. Thus, legislation is injuriously delayed, or becomes grossly corrupt. The disgraceful system of *log-rolling*, which obtains in all the larger states, has its origin in the source to which we refer. Men are compelled, as we see annually at Albany and Harrisburg, to buy their palpable rights, by the meanest compliances, or the most unblushing bribery.

It is well, therefore, that our Constitutional Reformers, would restore the usurped power of the state, to its legitimate sphere, the township. Let one township be successfully organized—and the reform would soon expand, like the concentric circles of the water, till its circumference embraced the world. Give us one example of a political community founded upon correct and progressive principles, and we will answer for the universal adoption of it—and that right soon.

In no other mode, can a system of universal reform be begun. Nature, in the formation of the manifold and wondrous series of series that go to make up her Whole, begins with a mall centre of vitality, around which the parts in their beautiful and divine order, arranged according to the glorious law of Variety in One,—which is the Eternal Fact of Creation. Well would it be for man, did he not presume to be more wise than his Maker.

2d. *It is peaceful.* As it only contemplates voluntary action, the only force which it could use, is the force of truth and moral suasion. No man's rights would be infringed by it, but on the contrary, every legitimate right would receive an additional security. It makes no violent war upon the just privileges of any class, proposes no wholesale destruction of the property of the rich, no forced distribution of goods already acquired, deals in no bitter and malignant denunciations of any party or sect. It welcomes all ranks of people, it accepts all creeds and doctrines, and shows the basis upon which all can be harmonized in variety. Good-will, the sentiment of human brotherhood, the love of the neighbor, are the only feelings to which it apeals.

When we look back upon the history of the world, we see how great a thing this feature of Peace is, in any reform. Christ, in that holy moment, when he separated from his poor heart-broken disciples, said, "My Peace I give unto you—My Peace I leave with you," as though it were the grandest legacy which Omnipotence could bequeath. But the world, in mockery of the divine words, would not have Peace but War. Even the professed followers of Jesus, have propagated their faith by violence. They have burned Error at the stake, in the persons of his deluded worshippers, (burning much Truth with it,) and they have spread Truth with flashing bayonet and roaring guns. It is heart-sickening to think how Humanity has only advanced, through

* Our object has been to give only the most elementary view—to suggest, rather than to describe. We can prove scientifically that the organization here sketched, is the one designed by God.

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fightings, confusions, explosive overturnings and volcanic uproar—how it has marched forward only amid the horrible discord of trumpet-clangors and cannon-vollies—how the masses, to establish their rights, have been compelled to wade through seas of blood, and trample out the hopes and hearts of their fellow men in the dust! The picture seems the more frightful, when we consider that at no time has the terrific slaughter been necessary, to accomplish its aims. God, while he permitted it, never designed it; and man only has been guilty.

At any rate, let us now hope that the period of violence, whether necessary or unnecessary hitherto, is past. Let us hope that Mankind, in its modes of growth, will imitate Nature in her growth, and expand and enlarge by silent expulsion of the Old and the silent absorption of the New. One of our own poets has sung this spirit of Peaceful Reform in his noblest strains, where describing the havoc and desolation of "The Winds," he exclaims:—

"Yet oh! when the wronged spirit of our race,
Shall break, as soon he must, his long-worn chains,
And leap in freedom from his prison-place,
Lord of his ancient hills and fruitful plains,
Let him not rise like these mad winds of air,
To waste the loveliness that time could spare,
To fill the earth with woe, and blot her fair
Unconscious breast with blood from human veins."

"But may he like the spring-time come abroad,
Who crumbles winter's gyves with gentle might,
When in the genial breeze, the breath of God,
Come spouting up the unsealed springs to light;
Flowers start from their dark prisons at his feet,
The woods, long dumb, await to hymnings sweet,
And morn and eve, whose glimmerings almost meet,
Crowd back to narrow bounds the ancient night."

3d. *It is positive.* By this, we mean, that the re-organization we propose, does not rest upon any mere critical exposition of the evils of the present state, but that it is founded in the knowledge of a higher and better state. Our criticisms proceed from our constructive principles. We condemn, not according to any imperfect, one-sided, fragmentary, variable standard; but according to what we esteem to be a perfect and universal standard. Having discovered what we think the real formula of progressive organization, we feel prepared to animadvert upon all conditions which are a departure from the truth. The defect of all other methods of Reform, is in the fact that they are for the most part negative. They see the Wrong without seeing the Right. For instance; there is a class of men who mourn over the desolations of Intemperance, and they denounce the dealers in spirituous liquors, but they have no positive remedy for the evil, and therefore their appeals and denunciations have had only a temporary effect. There is another class of brave and warm-hearted philanthropists, whose sympathies and convictions are shocked by slave-holding, yet in the midst of all their burning invectives and persuasions, they have only spread their sentiments, without producing any positive, practical change. There are societies of tender-hearted females, who would rescue the thousands of their debased sisters whom circumstances have driven to the sullied haunts of vice, but for the want of positive plans, they excite only ridicule and sarcasm from the more sagacious world. There are associations for the reform of juvenile delinquents; there are work-houses for the relief of poverty; there are a thousand agencies for the extinction of crime; yet delinquency, pauperism, crime, cover the face of society, and seem to be rather on the increase. The truth is, that these, and various other projects of Reform, are smitten with perpetual barrenness, for the want of an impregnating principle. They undoubtedly do good; they keep alive a tender and benevolent sentiment; they remove individual cases of suffering; they impress the scoffing world with the conviction that something is ever to be done for our fellows: but, measured by the large scale of what they should do, they are most lamentably partial and insufficient. They are a few drops of oil spread upon a sea, to still a tempest. They are withe of straw held against the raw and cutting east wind. Shakspeare has said, with hardly more beauty than literal truth,

"As far as the little candle throws its beams,
So shines a good deed upon a naughty world."

Verily; your good deeds, your plans of reform are a small candle-light in a vast world of darkness, duplicity and discord. You need a deeper insight—a broader groundwork—a mightier principle of positive vitality. In the midst of such influences as are now around you, a powerful stream of tendencies dragging you downward to evil; the poor, as we have shown,* growing more poor and debased, and the rich more rich and corrupt; misery spreading and multiplying; cheerless homes and inviting grog-shops; the wages of seamstresses ten cents a day, while the wages of sin are as many dollars per night: political parties absorbed in selfish schemes, and the church chewing the husks of a dead theology, or lapped in luxurious indolence; and all the while your greatest leaders proclaiming that most abominable, most cruel of political maxims that—"each man is the best judge of his own interest, and therefore must take care of himself"—a maxim proceeding from the first-born Cain—under such circumstances, it is impossible that your slender, meagre, fragmentary plans of reform should succeed. No—you must walk at once into the heart of the matter; you must see that the root of all this wrong lies in the false constitution of Society; you must know that there is a better constitution; and then, laying aside your partial schemes, plant your foot firmly upon posivive universal ground. None but universal ideas are at this day, worthy of attention. Our plan is thus universal, for

4th. *It fulfills all the duties and answers all the ends of Society.* Man has a right to a living from the Earth, or he would not have been sent here; and, for the same reason, he has a right to use all those elements which are necessary to his full growth and development. The possession of these rights, imposes corresponding *duties* on Society. It is the primary, fundamental, most important and imperative duty of Society to guarantee his rights to every human being. But, no society that ever existed, no society that now exists, has discharged this duty. A majority of men have had hard work to get even bread and water enough to keep them alive, under the old arrangements, to say nothing of the higher wants of the mind and soul. Indeed, a theory has gone forth, and is earnestly vindicated in high places, that all society has to do, is to protect the person and property of the individual! A despicable theory even if it were carried into practice! But unfortunately, this duty, small as it is, has not been met. Society has not protected property. It is true, the property of the rich has been hedged round with the thickest fences of all law, learning and public opinion. Accumulated Labor in the shape of Capital, is the golden fruit, watched by many-headed dragons; but living, breathing Labor, which is the poor man's only property, is flung loose to the winds, left to shift for itself, without guaranty, without protection. Yet, society pays a fearful penalty for this neglect of its duty. Its armies of paupers, its alms-houses, its prisons, its soup and clothing charities, its taxes, demonstrate with vivid clearness, how much better it would be for it to stop evils at their source. This can only be done by the thorough re-organization which we propose—an organization which would secure to every man, woman and child, (1.) the means of comfortable subsistence, such as a clean house, wholesome food, decent clothes, and the privacy of their families; (2.) the opportunities of education in elementary branches of knowledge, in the business of life, in the positive sciences, and in the general principles of fine art; (3.) and facilities of intercourse with their fellows, with a position to be affected by all the gentler and more refined influences of learned and polite conversation and deportment.

It is because we believe that an organization, according to our principles, would secure these ends, that we have ventured to speak of Democracy. Never was there a word more abused—never was there a word more profoundly significant. It does not mean that ferocious spirit of levelling, which, in the French Revolution, crumbled the entire Past, and even plucked God from his throne; nor yet the wild, dirty and turbulent mobism, which, in this country, covers with the slime of its filthiness, every character that is purer and nobler than itself: but it does mean a condition of society in which the least individual shall have his rights acknowledged, and the means and opportunities for the fullest expansion of his faculties guarantied. It means a social state, where the whole of life, for nine-tenths of the people shall not be a suicidal struggle for life, where the finer essences of the soul shall not be ground out to furnish bare nutriment for the body, where none of its families shall esteem it a curse to have children born to them, where honesty and dilligence, not impudence and falsehood, shall be the measures of success, and where noble thoughts and generous emotions shall not be trampled out, because, forsooth, they are not what the worldly-wise deem practicable or prudent. But the great fact of the Brotherhood of Man shall be recognized—that Humanity is a living organism, of which every individual is a member—each in his sphere, bound to his fellows and the whole, as the arm or the foot is bound to the body—a partaker in their wrongs—a sufferer of their diseases—a sharer in their felicity, and a co-worker with them for good and evil. Then, in the arrangements of the State, the reconciling maxims of distributive equity shall take the place of the insane and destructive doctrines of positive equality—the slavery of pauperism and vice shall be succeeded by rational freedom—and the palsying stagnation of hopeless and remediless conservatism give way to the healthful agitation of conservative progress.

5th. *It is a direct manifestation of the Spirit of Christianity.* No fact in the life of Christ, (and he was the highest form

* Part First.

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of his religion,) strikes us more forcibly than the comprehensiveness of his benevolence. Reinhard, in his admirable work, "The plan of Jesus," attempts to prove his divinity by the very fact that he was thus universal. His utterences, his prayers, his miracles, all evince the depth and tenderness of his sympathy with Man. He took the little children into his arms; he multiplied the wine at the festivities of Galilee; he fed the poor believing crowd, not so wise as the prudent Pharisees; and he washed the feet of his sorrowing disciples, that he might show how much he loved all his fellow-men. He wished to testify that it was our chief duty to minister to each other, to call no man master, to lord it over no man, and to make life a perpetual scene of mutual helpfulness and service. Such was his spirit—and this spirit he intended should be manifested in the organization of society. The outward must ever be an expression of the inward, if we would be true to our principles. The form must correspond with the in-dwelling law—the external tenement with the idea of its inhabitant.

What then is the law which Christian Society ought to embody or incarnate:—"Thou shalt love the Lord, thy God, with all thy heart, and with all thy mind, and with all thy soul. This is the first and great commandment: and the second is like unto it—Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.—(Matt. xxvii. 57.)

A new commandment I give unto you, that you love one another; as I have loved you, that you also love one another.—(John, xiii. 34.)

All things whatsoever you would that men should do unto you, do you even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets. —(Matt. vii. 12.)

Seek first the kingdom of God and its justice, and all worldly things shall be added unto you.—(Matt. vi. 33.)

Ask and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock and it shall be opened. Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest. Ye are all one, as I and my Father are one.—(John) For as the Body is one—so also is Christ. For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, bond or free, &c. That there should be no schism (disunity) in the body; but that the members should have the same care one for another. And whether one member suffer all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it"

CONCLUSION.

We have hinted in the course of this essay at the following points, any one of which might be easily expanded into a volume:

1. That there is in civilized society, a rapid increase of population, without any due provision by society, for its employment or support.

2. That the working classes, who are a majority everywhere, by the present system of free competition, are picking each others pockets and cutting each others throats.

3. That, according to the admissions of nearly all the distinguished political economists, the condition of laborers is rapidly eteriorating.

4. That the continued invention of labor-saving machinery is still further tending to the reduction of all laborers for the sake of the capitalists.

5. That capital is more and more concentrating in the hands of the few, who are thus forming an oppressive Money-Feudalism.

6. That no political party has as yet proposed any measure that in the remotest degree touches the root of these evils.

7. That some plan for the unity of the material interests of man is the only one that can prevent our downward tendencies.

8. That this plan is presented in the doctrine of Association, on the basis of Attractive Industry.

These principles we present to the public. Individually we have nothing to gain or to lose by their adoption or rejection. Our only interest in seeking to spread them, is derived from our strong conviction of their truth, and our urgent hope that something will be done for humanity. We know that we shall excite prejudice; we know that ridicule and scorn has been heaped upon us without measure; but we know, at the same time, that we act in sincerity, and we leave the rest to God. We are confident of victory. Already the white light of the rising sun is caught upon the mountain-tops —already we see the streaks of the coming day. Whence the present unusual ferment of the public mind? Why are the deepest religious feelings of the soul, the oldest religious institutions, undergoing such sifting and earnest controversy? Is it not that the world is travailing in the birth-throes of a mighty and a better Future? Even the ephemera of literature are seized with the common sympathy, and become unconscious prophets of the days about to be. Why do your Eugene Sues probe the sores and secret wounds of your diseased society, and hold all nations captive by their pictures of Humanity in her hunger-stricken, straw-covered lairs? Why tingles the blood, when the pen of Dickens, lately so false to his own genial nature—exposes the want, and wretchedness, and careless griefs of the poor? It is because you know in your hearts, that all is wrong with your miserable, death-struck societies, and that you inwardly long for the Better Time. It is because, that you would like to join in some practicable and generous movement for the extirpation of pauperism and crime. That movement is at hand! The field of battle is before you; but, oh! how different the weapons and objects from those of former warfares. Our weapons are truth, justice, and religion. Our objects, universal conciliation, and universal love. Unity and Peace are the banner-words of our host.

Says Mr. Carlyle, in his last and greatest work, "Past and Present," "Not on Ilions or Latium's plains; on far other plains and places henceforth, can noble deeds be now done. Not on Ilion's plains; how much less in Mayfair drawing rooms! Not in victory over poor brother French or Phrygians; but in victory over Frost-jotuns, Marsh-giants; over demons of Discord, Idleness, Injustice, Unreason, and Chaos come again. None of the old Epics is longer possible. The Epic of French and Phrygians is comparatively a small Epic; but that of Flirts and Fribbles, what is that? A thing that vanishes at cock-crowing, that already begins to scent the morning air."

"But it is to you, ye workers, who do already work, and are as grown men, noble and honorable in a sort, that the whole world calls for new work and nobleness. Subdue Mutiny, Discord, wide-spread Despair, by manfulness, justice, Mercy and Wisdom. Chaos is dark: deep as Hell—let light be, and there is instead a green flowery world. Oh! it is great, and there is no other greatness! to make some nook of God's creation a little fruitfuller, better, more worthy of God; to make some human hearts a little wiser, manfuller, happier—more blessed, less accursed! It is work for a God. Sooty Hell, of Savagery, Mutiny and Despair, can, by man's energy, be made a kind of Heaven; cleared of its soot, of its Mutiny, of its need to Mutiny; the Everlasting arch of Heaven's azure overspanning it too, as a birth of heaven; God and all men looking on it well-pleased. Unstained by wasteful deformities, by wasted tears, or heart's blood of Men, or any defacement of the Pit, noble, fruitful Labor, growing ever nobler—will come forth, the Grand Sole Miracle of Man."

☞-This Essay is for sale, in pamphlet form, at the New World Office, 30 Ann street.

TRANSLATIONS FROM FOURIER'S WORKS.

CONTINUATION OF THE INTRODUCTION TO THE THEORY OF UNIVERSAL UNITY.

DUALITY OF SOCIAL DESTINY; POLITICAL INFANCY OF THE GLOBE.

By holding in abeyance for a time the feelings of vain self-sufficiency and wounded pride, we may conceive with ease that the most fortunate event for any age [of suffering humanity on earth,] is to convince it of its folly. Every great discovery is more or less humiliating to the generation which has not attempted it, but [when the pride of those who might have made it had they tried, does not degenerate into persecution, and retard examination] the benefits derived from it in application when least expected, more than compensate that generation for the slight humiliation that devolves upon their intellectual dignity.

When Christopher Columbus had returned to Seville with the blocks of gold he found in the New World, his wonder-struck cotemporaries who had ridiculed and persecuted him for seven long years, and heaped upon him all the obloquy of angry pride; the frivolous regarding him as a mere visionary maniac; the serious denouncing him as a presumptuous heretic, and the great Pontif of all Christendom so far descending in the sphere of persecution as to excommunicate him, (the most dreadful of all persecutions in that age) were not these blind and mad cotemporaries glad to find themselves convicted of irrationality, and willing to admit that he alone, the injured and maligned Columbus, was a man of common sense, sound reason and true faith? The benefit conferred on all in that conjecture was sufficient to conciliate the feelings of false pride, and the humiliation was more easily forgotten as all parties were involved in it to some extent.

This opposition of Columbus to the age in which he lived, the fifteenth century, is quite analogous to my position in the nineteenth century. The subject of discovery was then a new Material World, and now it is a New Industrial and Social World.

The present generation will assuredly be more or less inclined to look with a contemptuous smile upon a man unknown to fame, who ventures to assert that it is most profoundly ignorant of the divinely ordered mechanism of the passions and attractions of the soul of man, and their industrial destiny on earth; but, when I prove indisputably that the allegation is well founded, and my new discovery as real as it is important, will it not be a most fortunate event for my cotemporaries to be thoroughly con-

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vinced of folly in their opposition? It is to the most confident of my opponents I appeal for an unbiassed judgment: for a fair confession of the truth, that in this instance, it is most devoutly to be wished, that I should be victorious in the controversy, and that the science of industrial association should be found to be correct in promising such manifold advantages to all the human race, unhoped for and believed impossible by all the learning of both ancient and modern civilization?

This is the spirit in which the controversy should be opened; not to lose sight of the immense advantages to be obtained for all classes and all interests in society by the defeat of Sceptical philosophy (the reason of the age in this delusive "age of reason.")

If once this view be fairly taken, those who may oppose me will become my partisans in secret. Offended pride will be outweighed by the advantages in prospect, and the hope of sharing in them will prepare the mind to understand the problem of association and appreciate the science which confers so great a benefit on the whole human race. Then will philosophy exult in its own downfall, for the votaries of its delusive learning will be honored and enriched by their superior talents properly directed in the paths of real knowledge and associative unity. False pride will be absorbed by these superior prospects, and modest impartiality will be the wisest policy for literary men to follow. With this preliminary observation we may pass on to the subject of this article:—

THE POLITICAL INFANCY OF THE GLOBE, AND THE SOCIAL DESTINY OF MAN.

To comprehend this subject fully and with ease, we must regard the human race as one collective body on this Globe, subject to the four distinctive periods of *Infancy*, *puberty*, *maturity*, and *senility*, like a single individual [the terrestrial birth, life, and disappearance of the whole race being exactly analogous to that of an individual; with some slight difference proportioned to the relative importance of their passional developments respectively.]

The human race is now in the first stage of its career on this Globe; the infancy of its collective or political existence. [This will be demonstrated as we proceed.] The infancy of the human race collectively is relatively shorter than that of a single individual; the one being limited to one sixteenth part of its whole career, while the other averages about one fourth. Individual life [in the present exceptional and suffering state of humanity] extending to about sixty years, of which one fourth or 15 years are passed in infancy, while the career of the whole race being computed by the science of analogy to be about 80,000 years, absorbs about 5000 or 6000 years in a state of political infancy.

[When the human race has passed from the present state of suffering and disease to a state of general health and happiness, it is computed that the proportion of infancy to the whole career of individual life will be as one to seven, and in some cases of longevity as one to twelve.] The effects of infancy with individuals and the human race collectively are quite analogous; that is to say, the social existence of the whole race in the infancy of its career is comparable to that of an individual in infancy absorbed in childish pleasures and delusions, without any notion of the pleasures and the duties that belong to adult life. And so it is with the human race collectively during the infancy of its career on a young planet; it has no definite idea of its future destiny of social happiness in which the world will pass from poverty to opulence, from fraud to righteousness, from general discrepancy to universal harmony.

Romantic vision! delusive hope! exclaims the sceptic and the "rational" philosopher; but is it not desirable that I should be found right in opposition to all sceptical opinions? [And what becomes of Revelation if this prospect be denied? It cannot be denied that such a transformation is plainly promised in the Word of God.] This is the subject of investigation in the present treatise, and the leading question to decide upon is, whether or not I have discovered the principle and practical mechanism of passional attraction offering to all the nations of the Globe, both civilized and uncivilized, the double charm of pleasurable industry and riches in abundance.

If this discovery be real and the principle well understood, it is inevitable that all the present forms of society upon the Globe, the savage, the barbarian, the civilized, should be absorbed in unitary combination, and humanity collectively must gradually pass from social infancy and ignorant discrepancy to adolescence and associative unity; from its exceptional and suffering, to its essential and more happy destiny; the time of which is sevenfold, at least, the time of chaos and subversion [or the time of what is called the "curse" in Revelation.]

I have endeavored, throughout this Preface, to prepare the mind of the reader for this happy transformation, which will be as advantageous to the rich as to the poor, and as agreeable to monarchs as to subjects, and will therefore rapidly absorb all party spirit and political antagonism in one religious spirit of enthusiastic joy.

From this it may be seen how much we are in duty bound to shake off that delusive apathy and resignation to depravity and misery, so widely inculcated by false science and theology, which impiously lead us to infer the nullity of Providence in social mechanism and the absolute incompetence of human reason to discover the essential laws of human destiny and social harmony.

What folly! If the knowledge of futurity be not within the reach of man, whence is it that all nations and all ages have been anxious to obtain this knowledge and to penetrate the mysteries of destiny, of which the name alone suffices to excite a thrill of anxious and inquiring hope in every human heart, the least as well as the most sanguine! So deeply rooted and so universal is the passion for this knowledge of the future, that it is impossible to sever or expulse it from the heart of man. Why did God, who never made anything in vain, implant this ardent passion in the soul, if it was never His intention to make use of it and finally to give it satisfaction? [And what are we to think of Revelation and its promises? "These things I have spoken unto you, being yet present with you; but the Comforter, which is the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you." St. John, xiv. 25.] The time has now arrived; and men will soon be elevated to the power of foreknowledge with regard to future operations and events: a glimpse of which shall be given in this volume when I treat of the creation, the sealed book of Nature, opened by the science of the passions and their universal correspondency, which will reveal to us the mysteries of the universe and open the Great Book of Fate with its eternal laws.

Unsound Philosophy, incapable of penetrating the decrees of Fate, has long misled us from the paths of Revelation, by the bugbear of false doctrines of "impossibility," "impenetrable sanctuary," etc. etc.; but how is it that Newton, if the laws of nature be impenetrable, as the Sophists have maintained, was able to explain to us the laws of gravitation, the 4th branch of movement in the system of the universe? That discovery alone assures us that Nature would not refuse to grant a knowledge of the other branches [if we sought that knowledge in a proper spirit.] Would it not be folly for a lover to despair of future favor when the first expression of his passion had been well received? Why, then, should men of genius despair of full discovery, when Nature has disclosed to them so graciously a part of her eternal beauty? Why should Theologians and Philosophers communicate to us the doubts and fears in which they are involved by paradoxical and false interpretations, and endeavor to persuade the human race [in opposition to the Word of God] that nothing can be ever known to man, because, forsooth, their false philosophy or science has been able to discover nothing?

And yet, these Sophists still delude us with a hope of progress towards "perfectible perfectibility" in civilized duplicity, when it is evident that civilization is moving in a circle of delusion, incapable of elevating the condition of the working classes; and that nothing can be done to benefit all classes equally, until we organize a higher and a better state of social unity. Twenty centuries of civilized philosophy and science had elapsed before the least degree of liberty was given to the slaves of industry and brutal bondage, which proves that while this civilized duplicity of doctrine rules society, a thousand years are necessary to suggest an act of common justice and of social progress; which is neutralized almost immediately by some new-fledged oppression worse than that abolished; as the horrors of the slave trade are acknowledged to be more insufferable since the epoch of emancipation.

In conclusion I may state that modern science and philosophy, which boast of being animated by a love of liberty and a desire to better the condition of the people, are completely unacquainted with the means of really protecting the uneducated working classes. The modern injudicious legislation with regard to the abolition of slavery has increased the cruelty of treatment in the capture and concealment of the slaves, without improving the condition of the blacks we wish to benefit, or forwarding the interests of colonial industry: the doctrines of political Reformers only tend to create discord and convulsions in society [without improving the condition of the mass.] The progress of society, in civilized duplicity, in fact, is like the progress of the sloth which sighs oppressively at every step: and like this animal, which moves with painful slowness, civilized society strains slowly onward through political convulsions, each new generation struggling through new rugged systems, which like thorns and briars only serve to stain with blood the people who pass through them.

The end, however, of delusive doctrine

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and of civilized duplicity, the end of social infancy and suffering, has now arrived [the time of trial is well nigh complete;] and we are on the eve of witnessing the final transformation of society, which seemed to threaten us with general convulsion. This is indeed the time in which the present may be truly stated to be "pregnant with the future," for excessive suffering must speedily bring on the crisis of political regeneration. In observing the incessant and convulsive struggles of society, it seems as if humanity were making a most desperate effort to throw off a burden which oppresses it; for wars and revolutions are continuously breaking out in all the regions of the globe: disturbances are hardly quelled before new flames of violence burst forth again from smouldering discontent: party spirit is increased by every conflict, and conciliation seems to be quite hopeless: the body politic has now become suspicious and depraved, denouncing every new idea and descending to the lowest depths of selfish policy, even to the monstrous coalition of professing Christian governments with Infidels and Turks to persecute their fellow-Christians. [This was written before the European governments assisted Greece to resist Turkey, and when it was customary for Christian governments to regard the Greeks as "rebels" in their struggles with the Turks.] Public credit and public property are now regarded as public prey, and handed over to the vampires of finance, the gamblers in the public funds: industry has now become a punishment for those who labor; a practical embodiment of the ideal horror in the fable of Tantalus, starving in the midst of plenty, under the delusive system of "Free Trade" monopoly and competition: colonial ambition and cupidity have opened a volcano that is threatening irruption perpetually; the deadly hatred of the negro population would, if ever it burst forth, entomb America in one vast sepulchre, and visit on the conquerers the miseries inflicted by them on the aborigines they have exterminated: subversive commerce, emulating cannibals, refines the cruelties of the atrocious slave trade, and insults the good intentions and decrees of all the Sovereigns of Europe, leagued together in the "Holy Alliance," at the congress of Vienna: mercantile rapacity has now extended its worst ramifications over the whole globe, initiating the uncultivated tribes into the secrets of subversive science and duplicity; the whole world has become a hideous chaos of depravity, and [like a slimy caterpillar] false, declining civilization has become more odious and disgusting as it nears its end.

It is while we are sunk in the profoundest depths of this abyss, that a most fortunate discovery reveals to a degraded world the SOCIAL COMPASS or the law of passional attraction developed in series [of unitary order;] a compass which the moderns might easily have found, if they had not been saturated with impiety, and guilty of suspicion with regard to Providence. Let them know (and the assertion cannot be too often repeated to them) that Providence has from the beginning regulated social harmony, for it is the noblest branch of universal movement, the direction of which belongs entirely to God alone.

Instead of acknowledging this truth and seeking for the Laws of God regarding social progress, unity, and order; instead of humbly seeking to know by what means God has deemed fit to reveal his laws to us [what is the particular direction in which we are to "Seek the kingdom of God and his righteousness," as we are commanded by the Word?] the moderns have obscured all doctrines which admit the UNIVERSALITY of PROVIDENCE, and the positive intervention of the Godhead in establishing a law of social unity. They have reviled the passions of the human soul, the natural interpreters of his eternal and divine decrees [they have mistaken the subversive anarchy of passional attraction for innate depravity;] and man [afraid of these anarchical developments of passion] has submitted to the arbitrary doctrines of philosophy, which arrogate supreme authority, in social legislation, and induce us to believe that God has not made laws for social harmony. But, covering the Philosophers with shame, God has allowed humanity to wade through infidelity and blood for more than twenty centuries of philosophic rule, that the career of infancy, and crime, and sophistry might be exhausted.

The theory of passional attraction and associative unity, however, opens wide the issue from this social prison yclept "civilization." On what ground, then, is this theory entitled to examination?—a conditional degree of confidence and a practical experiment on a small scale; a few square miles of land and several hundred families. It is only in so far as it is proved to be in consonance with universal principles; with all the known laws of harmony and unity; planetary, musical, and mathematical harmony, in so far only as it is corroborated by the leading theorems of these sciences, and more particularly with those of planetary equilibrium; in "*ratio* directly proportioned to the mass, and inversely proportioned to the square of their respective distances." The equilibrium of the passions in society must be governed by the same laws, if there be unity of system in the passional and the material universe; and this law of equilibrium must be applicable more especially to the fundamental branches of associative industry: the satisfactory retribution of the three productive powers, CAPITAL, LABOR and SKILL.

If these conditions are fulfilled by the new science, it is important that the principles should be at once experimented practically on a single village. The utility of such an experiment can only be questioned by sophists, unfortunately but too numerous amongst the present generation, or by that class of dupes to false science to whom the following text has been addressed: "Aures habent et non audient; oculos habent, et non videbunt."

So far from being afraid of prudent hesitation in forming an opinion of my theory, I approve of it, and only wish to guard impartial minds against the false appreciations of blind prejudice and self-sufficiency. To show the folly and stupidity of this general spirit of malevolence, which animates the civilized world against inventors, I will draw a parallel from history.

Is it not evident that when one of the least judicious of Popes denounced Columbus from the Vatican, and hurled the thunders of the Church upon his head, for daring to assert his theory of exploration, which led to the discovery of a new world; is it not evident that, this same Pope was, of all the Potentates in Christendom, the one most deeply interested in the success of Christopher Columbus? Undoubtedly he was; for, no sooner had the theory been realized by the discovery and the possession of America, than the Roman Pontif was enabled to distribute Thrones and Empires in the new world, and realize enormous profit not unwillingly, perhaps, from that discovery, of which the very notion had called forth the bile of his infallibility.

In this most rash and inconsistent policy the head of the Church on earth was the type of all men [in disassociative ages;] false pride and prejudice had made him blind to his own best interests. Had he reasoned on the subject, he would have perceived, that, in those days, the Holy See of St. Peters, being invested with the power of distributing the thrones of temporal sovereignty in all new countries, and subjecting them to his religious Empire, was interested, under every aspect, to encourage trans-Atlantic exploration for the discovery of a new continent.

But, from excess of spiritual pride, the Pope and his religious council did not reason: they fell into that spirit of blind littleness which is common to all persons in all ages; that spirit of ill-will which persecutes inventors; a malignant fate, which everywhere attends them. A man who penetrates in any sphere the mysteries of Nature, may expect to be molested by this spirit in proportion to the light and the magnificence of his discovery; especially if he belong to the obscurer classes of society (which generally is the case,) and is not known to fame by any previous production. He cannot be forgiven by false pride for having thrown into the shade the wisdom and the science of all previous generations.

A Newton may, perhaps, escape from this malignant spirit of attack, because his calculations and discoveries are too transcendent to excite the jealousy of little minds, who never think of them, but a Columbus, who conceives the possibility of a new world and the idea of discovering its actual position, is maligned and persecuted by all classes, because the notion is so simple and so natural, that any person of sound reason might have thought of it before him, and all parties feel that they must share in the humiliation of not having seen a thing so plain and simple, if it be found true.

The same displeasure will fall unavoidably upon the discovery of a New Social World. False Doctrine and Philosophy, which rule the nineteenth century, will marshal against me a greater host of prejudices, than were brought by superstition against Columbus in the fifteenth century. And yet as he found Potentates in FERDINAND and ISABELLA of Spain, wiser than the Pope and the dictators of opinion in that age, may I not hope to find, like him, the countenance and support of some great man in Power, or a monarch even, more clear-sighted than his prejudiced cotemporaries? And while the sophists of the present age are busily engaged repeating the vain dictum of the darker ages, "THAT NOTHING MORE CAN BE DISCOVERED IN THIS WORLD," is it not possible that some great personage who has more sense and knowledge than philosophers, may wish to emulate the monarchs of Castile and Aragon, by giving to my theory the test of an experiment?

In hazarding a small expense, to gain the empire of a new found continent, the Monarchs of Castile run little risk to gain so great a prize, in case of success; and one of the monarchs of the present age, or even a rich commoner, might emulate the prudent enterprize of FERDINAND and ISABELLA, with little or no risk of loss, by experimenting an INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION on a few square miles of well-conditioned land.

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It is but a small stake to test the possibility of liberating all the human race from bondage and delusion; with a chance of gaining also the undoubted right of universal monarchy, transmissible in perpetuity as an hereditary sceptre.

I have now described the prejudices which false pride or scientific superstition will excite against me, and my reason for so doing is to caution the impartial reader against the sarcasms of that multitude of sophists who answer arguments by ridicule, and venture to decide at once on subjects which are quite unknown to them.

When my discovery has been demonstrated in the sphere of practical experiment, and all the world, perceiving its immense importance, is preparing for that happy transformation which will build up universal unity upon the ruins of uncivilized and civilized duplicity, the multitude of scoffers and revilers will pass suddenly from sceptical disdain to inconsiderate enthusiasm, and, in the heat of their blind admiration, they will wish to raise the long despised inventor to the rank of a terrestrial demi-god; and thus, by their excessive adulation, will they vilify themselves again, as they are now disgracing human reason by their sceptical irrationality.

If some of the best minds of this material age are wise enough to guard themselves against the vulgar prejudices of philosophy, and quietly consult the principle of unitary combination practically, ere they venture to condemn, the face of the whole globe will undergo a change: humanity will pass from the abyss of social misery and fraud to the high eminence of truth and happiness, with the rapidity almost of lightning. The transformation will be magical, and, like theatrical transitions, pass at once from Hades to Olympus. The world is now about to witness a phenomenon which can be seen but once on every Globe: the sudden passage of humanity from social and industrial chaos to sublime associative unity. It is the happiest and the most splendid effect of movement that can happen in the universe; and the hope of its occurrence soon is calculated to console the present generation under all its sufferings. During the period of this magnificent transition, every year of man's existence will be equal to an age of happiness, and the events will be so wonderful and various, that it would not be prudent to describe them without preparation.

Afflicted by the "Fall" of our first parents, and accustomed to the ills of physical existence, the human race believe that God has destined them to misery for ever in this world, or, at the best, to mediocre happiness. They cannot easily conceive the splendors of terrestrial destiny to which they are approaching, and their misery would deem itself insulted by the pictures of delight in store for them, if they were not prepared by gradual initiation: and yet the time is near; for it would not require above two years or so to organize one Phalanstery, and when all the powers of Christendom perceive the truth and the importance of that one experiment, the face of the whole Globe may be transformed in half a dozen years.

Associative unity will be more brilliant in its birth the longer it has been retarded by delusive science. Society in Greece was ripe for its commencement in the time of Pericles had it progressed undeviously; for its industrial and artistic conquests were sufficient for the first foundation, which requires the aid of cultivated art and industry unknown to the first ages of humanity. In consequence of its industrial infancy the human race is left by God in darkness with regard to the particular time of happy destiny on earth, to which no world can rise in the first ages of existence.

At present the resources of productive industry and general refinement are at least twofold compared with what they were in Greece, and we shall organize associative unity more rapidly and brilliantly in this proportion. We shall now be able to appreciate the value of the natural sciences, and reap the benefit of their immense improvement. Hitherto, these sciences in perfecting the comforts and the luxuries of life for the rich few have only magnified the relative privations of the multitude, unable to obtain the common necessaries of existence: in elevating the condition of the idle rich they have reduced the poor industrials to something like despair, and this most odious result obliges us to choose between two natural conclusions: either that God is unjust, or that civilization is a false state of society. The latter is the only rational opinion [for the other would be impious.]

Instead of viewing the question in this light, philosophers have turned it by evasive sophistry, leaving us but one alternative, either to suspect the GOODNESS OF GOD, or the THE PRESENT STATE OF SOCIETY.

To escape from this dilemma, they have run into a sort of bastard doctrine, they call Atheism, which, by supposing the non existence of God, relieves philosophers and men of science from the necessity of studying His laws of providence, and leaves them free to manufacture theories of legislation, as caprice or arbitrary notions may dictate, however inconsistent or oppressive for the regulation of society. This Atheism, which was very fashionable in the last century, is a very commodious mask for ignorance of unitary principles; and those who claim merit for their boldness in daring to profess it openly, expose their own weakness of intellect to grapple with the mysteries of Nature. Fearing their own inability to discover the laws of social unity ordained of God, they have deemed it preferable to deny the existence of God and of a social law, that civilized duplicity and human reason might be lauded as perfection; though, in secret, they despise this boasted civilization, the atrocities of which deprive them of their liberty, and make them doubt of the existence of a Providence.

Philosophers and sophists are, however, not the only parties blameable for their opinions; for, if it be madness to have no belief in God, it is absurd to hold a semi-faith in his divine love and wisdom; believing that his providence is incomplete, and that he has neglected to provide for all the wants of man and of society on earth, and more particularly for the greatest of all wants, a law of social unity and order, to secure the happiness of all. When we see the beautiful discoveries of human industry, in art and science, such as those of naval architecture and mechanical inventions; a ship of the first class, for instance, amongst other marvellous productions, too magnificent almost for our enslaved condition, and, in some degree, premature in a state of political infancy; can we reasonably, I repeat, permit ourselves to think that God, who has allowed us to acquire already so much of what may be truly deemed sublime knowledge, will refuse us a knowledge of the laws of social unity and happiness, without which all other knowledge is comparatively useless? Would it not be contrary to His infinite love and wisdom to permit us to discover principles of science, if these sciences were destined to increase for ever, by perversion, the disgusting crimes and misery of barbarous and civilized society, from which humanity is now to be delivered, and the close of which, now fast approaching, should be welcomed as a signal of great joy by all the human race?

From the Seneca County Courier, N. Y.

CONVENTION OF THE FRIENDS OF INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION.

The above Convention assembled at Canandaigua, April 16, 1844, pursuant to a previous call; and was organized by choosing the following officers:—S. W. LYMAN, of Rochester, President; H. H. ROBINSON, of Seneca Falls, Secretary.

The object of the meeting being presented by Col. Lane, of Rochester, it was *resolved* to form an Industrial Association to be called the ONTARIO UNION, and that its location be the Judge Bates property, situated on the Canandaigua Outlet, five miles below the village. The Convention adopted a code of By-Laws for the internal regulation and government of the aforesaid Union, and proceeded to the election of the following officers, viz.:

President,
S. W. LYMAN, of Rochester.
Vice-President,
ASA PRIDE, of West Mendon.
Secretary,
C. J. B. MOUNT, of Rochester.
Treasurer,
G. W. BENTLY, of West Mendon.
Directors,
Charles Lane, of Rochester,
Pliney Hubbard, of Hopewell,
H. H. Robinson, of Seneca Falls,
Thos. T. Laing, of Canandaigua,
P. L. Sherman of Vienna,
Daniel Cole, of Seneca Falls,
Hiram Bisby, of Canandaigua,
Charles Foster, of Rochester,
J. L. Pratt, of Weedsport.

The Convention continued its session until the 18th, when ten gentlemen purchased the proposed property and presented it to the Ontario Union, for a location.

In speaking of the advantages of this location, we cannot better describe it than in the language of a gentleman of Utica. "It is truly one of the most delightful and favorable spots on Earth for an Association. In many respects, it far surpasses every one that I have yet seen. Being directly on the Railroad it is, consequently, within a few minutes or hours ride of nearly all the important places in the State. Its proximity to the Canal, its great water-power, its great fertility of soil, its great variety of production, its healthy climate, its densely surrounding population of moral, intelligent, wealthy and enterprising inhabitants, contribute to make it one of the most invaluable locations that can anywhere be found."

All communications, *post paid*, addressed to the "Ontario Union," directed to Canandaigua, will receive prompt attention.

P. S.—Books will be open for subscriptions at all times, at the office on the domain.

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"THE LABOURER."

This is the name of a new weekly paper just issued at Boston, of which we have received two or three numbers. It purports to be published in the interest of the "working-men," and in its prospectus promises "to hold forth, first and foremost, the great doctrine of human EQUALITY, so distinctly recognised in our 'Bill of Rights,'—to defend the interests of LABOR against the aggressions of partial legislation, as well as the unjust and overweening arrogance of the money power—to show that indeed 'THE LABORER IS WORTHY OF HIS HIRE,' and in all possible ways to aid in furthering the interests, secular, social and moral, of the industrious and working classes."

This is a high aim; one worthy of the best energies of any man; and in the prosecution of which, we wish any and every man who undertakes it, a God-speed. But has our friend, "The Labourer," fully comprehended the precise nature of the work which he has indicated? Does he know why the industrial classes suffer? Has he any precise and adequate remedy? We have no doubt, from reading many of his articles, that he is fully conscious of one thing—that Industry is grievously oppressed, and that much of the oppression springs from the system of Competition. But why does he not extend his sphere of vision, and see that it is not only the industry of mechanics, but of all classes that is oppressed,—that the competition which is so pernicious, is not confined to labor, but extends to capital—in short, that the entire aspect of modern civilized society, is that of antagonism and war between all its members. Professional men are fighting with professional men, capitalist with capitalist, with as much ferocity as mechanics and artizans. Our whole social organization is founded upon extreme individual selfishness. We are all Ishmaelites—each man's hand on the throat of his neighbor,—each picking the other's pocket—each clutching the other's portion in a general scramble! Now, how is this to be brought to an end? "The Labourer" gives us no intelligible method; the politician, the divine, the reformer give us no method. But there is a method, and that is the Reorganization of the Township—of all the industrial interests of the township, on the basis of a UNION OF INTERESTS. Let our Boston friend look to this! Meanwhile we furnish our readers with an extract from The Labourer, as one of the many signs of the times.

METHOD OF REFORM.—Last week we threw out some very general hints with regard to the necessity of a social reform, and the method which some have adopted in order to secure it. It requires vastly more room than one short article to enter into detail on this subject. A rapid view of the matter may, however, invite consideration, and aid us in our efforts to secure the desired reform.

Of the necessity of it we need not speak again. All *feel* it, from the princely merchant to the houseless begger. The capitalist knows that every day his investments are becoming more and more insecure, by reason of the increasing wealth of the few, and the restlessness, discontent, and experimenting of the many. The farmer feels it, when he finds that his farm will barely support himself and his family, and that only by constant industry and economy. The mechanic and laborer feels it, when he sees on every hand the bitter jealousies, the unnatural competition, the despicable tricks resorted to and existing between man and man, between employer and laborer, and even between laborers themselves. The almost countless host of traders, the numerous and multiplying cases of bankruptcy, the waste of energy and industrial power, show it. To sum up the whole in one, *the unjust division of toil, the unjust distribution of profits, the constant war and opposition of interests*, tell us, in tones not to be mistaken, that something must be done, that a reform is not merely needed, but must be effected, or the destruction of every social tie, indeed of the social compact itself, must be inevitable. The example of other republics forewarns us. Men will not always submit to injury which they do not deserve; maddened by extremity they will disregard consequences; and in the flame of civil revolution will seek that which in their haste they could not wait, or thought impossible, to secure by calm and well directed effort. The question, then, becomes one of vast importance to every lover of man and of his country—how can these evils be prevented, and what is the proper method of a safe and radical reform? Let us briefly consider the matter.

In the first place, man must be allowed to assume his proper position as *man*. Whether surrounded by affluence, or clothed in rags, whether a princely merchant, or a hewer of wood—whatever may be the show of outward circumstances, of rank, of employment, of wealth, it matters little; *the man* is not in these. The coat, the occupation is nothing—"trifles light as air;" the soul, the man is all; and wherever he is found, sympathy and respect should not be withheld. Too long have we been making light of the substance and courting the shadow, esteeming the superficial and overlooking or despising the real. Hence the natural desire of notice or honor has induced an ill-judging prodigality, a fatal attempt to keep up appearances among those less favored of fortune, and with all a lamentable neglect of the dictates of reason and the claims of Humanity.

To correct these, the true dignity and excellence of man should be understood and respected. His usefulness should be the measure of his worth, not the number of dollars and cents he possesses. Why is the number of those who stand between the producer and the consumer, decreasing the profits of the one and increasing the taxes upon the other, so numerously multiplied? Simply because they are unwilling to submit to *the degradation of labor*. It is *honorable* to barter in the values produced by others, and realise a subsistence from industry we have never exercised, but, it is *degrading* to produce that value ourselves, and procure an honest livelihood by the labor of our own hands! Nothing can be more libellous upon Humanity, more injurious to the welfare of man. If the social abuses we now mourn are ever corrected, it will not be until the true dignity of labor is understood and appreciated, and productive industry becomes rather the glory than the shame of man.

Wealth must be pursued, not for its own sake or the facilities it may furnish for greater accumulation, but for the means it may furnish for adding to the sum of human happiness, and decreasing the amount of human misery. So long as supreme selfishness controls the heart of man, and cupidity, careless of the means of acquisition, seeks to appropriate to itself the hard earnings of others, so long must the miseries we deplore prey upon the social body. We may extend our charities an hundred fold, and multiply the acts of our *public* munificence, while our *private* depredations will mock all our efforts and boldly give the lie to our professions for the poor man's good.

If we would provide a sure and safe remedy for social abuses, we must give to labor the reward which is its due. By example, at least, we must check the fatal competition among the productive classes, that ruinous depreciation in the value of productive labor, which presents only wretchedness and starvation as the reward of industrial effort. We must no longer consider the laborer as prey, from whom all is to be taken which may enrich ourselves, even his own comfortable subsistence and that of those dependent upon him; but as a brother whose rights are as sacred and whose interests are as dear as our own. But say you, this can never be done by one alone, without ruin to himself from the vigilant competition of others. Then let the productive classes unite for the defence of their own rights, and by combination against combination let them extort what they may not peaceably obtain.

A deeper interest must be felt by laborers themselves with reference to their own rights; they must guard them with a more jealous eye, and resign them on no trivial grounds. There must be no shurking or shuffling; no underrating or manœuvring, from personal or selfish motives. United they are strong to secure their common good. The evils under which we suffer arise from disunion and opposition, from discordant and conflicting interests. Let these interests be associated, and industrial energy will no longer be the prey of a grasping, soulless cupidity.

Let our civilized rights be attended to; let partial legislation be frowned upon, and, as it may be, forbidden. Let us go back to first principles, to primitive democracy, by which equal rights are secured, and equal liberty bestowed. Let nothing be given to party, everything to Humanity. Let patriotism govern our exercise of the privileges of freemen, and our influence as citizens be exerted for the common good. Let sober thought assume the place of impassioned zeal, and collected judgment mark our efforts to reform abuses and defend the right.

Finally, let every individual seek to know the part he has to perform in this great work. No one can excuse himself, for all have something to do. A reform must in some way take place either pacifically or forcibly. As we have before said, men will not always submit to abuses they do not deserve. The interests of no one class are at stake; those of all are involved. Let all then seek to avoid a catastrophe, which will indeed fall most heavily upon a few, but will be alike destructive of the common peace and the general good. Let selfishness be rebuked, industry honored and encouraged, let equal justice be preserved and equal right secured, let known evils be corrected and covert ones exposed, and the rights of Humanity be boldly and triumphantly asserted.

These are auspicious and noble words, showing that a spirit of true advancement is at work in the bosom of laboring men, and that the Hope of a better future, so long delayed, is becoming a positive conviction that the day is near at hand. It sends a thrill of gladness through our hearts to hear such utterences coming up from the hearts of the Mass. We hear in it a faint ring of that death knell to Industrial Competition and Tyranny which will soon send its gong-like sounds from one end of civilization to another. If the glorious host of

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Toilers and Workers—the genuine Doers on this earth, in their various spheres of usefulness—were awake to a consciousness of their dignity and power; if, planting themselves on the ground of a common Humanity, they raise the banner of universal peace and good-will; if, throwing aside the narrow prejudices and bitter intolerance which have heretofore separated all classes of men, they determine to act in unity, they will constitute an Army, capable of mightier energy and grander achievement, than was ever assembled on the sanguinary battle-plains under the lead of ambitious and gory chieftains. They will advance in solid Phalanx, to the blessedest conquest man ever saw—the conquest of Evil, of Suffering, of Social Antagonism, False Philosophy, and Hollow-hearted and selfish Religionism. Then, men shall labor *for* each other, instead of against each other; concord shall take the place of hostility and wrong; every faculty of the individual shall be elevated and expanded; Work, the true source of distinction, shall determine the position of man, woman and child, and Religion be the spontaneous overflowing of redeemed and grateful hearts, full of the goodness and wisdom of God. For this we are taught to look and pray in the Scriptures; for this, martyrs and saints have died; for this, we should live, and if need be, hold ourselves ready to die.

To our brothers, then, engaged in the Labourer, who have caught a partial glimpse of the coming Light, we extend our warmest sympathy, in the hope that they may soon be led to see that all for which they are sighing and struggling is provided for in the Social Science discovered by FOURIER.

Although Mr. Godwin is one of the Associate Editors of this paper, we deem it only just to express in our columns such an opinion of the merits of his writings as impartial minds entertain. A friend has prepared the following notice of "A Popular view of the Doctrines of Charles Fourier," and as we almost unconsciously connect the author with his works, he has yielded to this natural impulse and paid such a tribute to Mr. Godwin as their perusal would suggest, as we think, to all. Indeed we are so sensible of the justice of whatever of a personal nature is contained in the review, that we cannot well conceive of a proper notice of this book, without some such reflections; *unknown* to Mr. Godwin, we have given them a place. O. M.

A POPULAR VIEW OF THE DOCTRINES OF CHARLES FOURIER.

BY PARKE GODWIN.

We cannot speak in too high terms of commendation of this excellent, yet unpretending book. Its contents are deeply interesting; and of all the works yet published in this country upon Association, it is the most persuasive and elevating, and presents the most profound and comprehensive view of the doctrine of Fourier.

The original remarks everywhere accompanying the compiled matter, evince on the part of their author, the most beautiful traits of mind: profound philosophy and thrilling poetry are the characteristics of his soul: bold, sound, clear, the implacable enemy of injustice and discord, the impassioned lover of the beautiful and good.

To what extent the surrounding influences of this ill-shapen society may have marred the development of his inner nature, we do not know; but the truthful mind in perusing his writings, must be convinced that it is moved by the noblest aspirations and the deepest longings after the reign of truth and universal harmony.

His devotion to these great and sacred conceptions, seems to be equalled only by a sleepless energy, and an iron will to act out his part in the great work of human regeneration. His clear perception of truth, his fervid eloquence and deep pathos in setting it forth; his love of liberty, and the incessant manifestation of its inward working, must build for him a home in the hearts of all who are admitted to his fellowship, or commune with him in his works.

Godwin is thoroughly imbued with the spirit of universal justice and passional harmony. Perfect faith, and that alone, in the adequacy of Fourier's science of society, impels him to advocate its claims. In the absence of this science, his life would have been an outrageous martyrdom, and the highest divine truths might have had no other power than to torment a mind which could perceive their majesty and beauty as displayed in the works of creation, without being able to reconcile them with the terrible reality as exhibited in the condition of mankind. But with a mind unfettered by prejudice, ever seeking the highest inspiration of the time, the great aim of his soul being to augment the happiness of the race, his thought was arrested by Fourier's announcement of Man's Destiny and *Universal Unity!* He investigated, and with that clear irresistible conviction which comes only to those who are willing to seek for the truth and possess the capacity to understand it, he cut loose the flimsy ties which had hitherto bound him to superficial and fragmentary views of reform, and seizing the great idea of radical and universal reform, he placed himself among the foremost of its champions.

The first essay of Mr. Godwin in the work of propagation, was that of "Constructive and Pacific Democracy," as noble a paper as any in the English language; and this has been quickly followed by the "Popular View," the subject of the present notice.

The special object of this work is, to give to "impartial minds" such an idea of the importance of the science of Association, by setting its fundamental principles in the most succinct and lucid manner before the reader, as will lead to a more profound investigation. In the author's own words—

The object of the present volume is to furnish the public with a brief synthetic view of all the doctrines of Charles Fourier, who professes to have discovered the Science of Social Organization. Our limits, however, have enabled us to give *results* only and not discussions. Readers who may desire to see any subject fully developed are referred to the works of the master and his school. This book contains all that is required to enable an impartial mind to determine whether the subject is of sufficient importance to need a profounder investigation.

The merit of the work is not the less that it is mainly a compilation from the writings of older students in the school of Fourier; for, without disparagement to those authors to whom he is indebted, it is due to Mr. Godwin to say, that by a judicious arrangement and happy illustration of the subjects, he has invested them with a higher beauty and power than they possess in the original. He does not fail to make due acknowledgments in the preface, which closes as follows:—

It only remains for us to say that this work professes no higher character than that of a mere compilation from the higher works of the school to which it belongs. The arrangement and the substance of most of the chapters have been translated from the "Vue Synthetique" of Renaud, one of the most clear and admirable of the French works on the subject, and the facts of the Memoir of Fourier and a few pages in the latter part of the book have been furnished us by Hugh Doherty, of London, one of the most profound and brilliant writers of the day. In all cases, however, in which we have borrowed from others, we have modified the language in such a way that the author alone desires to be held responsible for what is said.

The connection is so complete throughout the whole work, that it is impossible to extract any portion of it to advantage. But chapters 1st and 2d, being introductory to the "General Principles," and possessing in themselves so much matter of deep interest, will furnish us with as many extracts as the present state of our columns will permit us to make.

These two chapters present a condensed and very perfect history of the Social Reformers who have appeared in different ages of the world, and who have been classified by Mr. Godwin with great propriety, according to a natural law, under three heads—as the THEORETICAL, the PRACTICAL, and the THEORETICO-PRACTICAL ARCHITECTS OF SOCIETY.

Mr. Godwin says:—

In the history of human society, there is one peculiar and significant fact—a fact that stands out with signal and striking prominence in the current of opinions. It is this: that a set of men have appeared from time to time, who have been led by the oppressions and disorders of society, into a position apart from others, as the projectors of an entirely new and radical reorganization. We see them springing up at such regular intervals, and possessing such a strong resemblance, that we are irresistibly compelled to regard them as members of the same family. They are characters of an altogether novel and impressive kind. They are not simply reformers, who have come with single thoughts

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which they labor to infuse into the ways and feelings of the race. A much higher, broader, deeper relation to us is the one which they assume. They are not mere tinkers or tailors, who would mend our old wares and garments, by here putting on a little solder, and there sewing a ragged patch; but master-mechanics rather, who would create us new utensils and cut us clothes out of whole cloth. Not as crude jack-planers or carpenters do they present themselves, who when our old buildings have been undermined by the rats or grown rickety by age, or become too narrow for the offspring of our growing thoughts and desires, would build us leantos and outhouses, in the manner in which the Italian style of villa is made, by adding one structure to another, until the whole becomes a rude conglomeration of ill-shaped and inconvenient tenements. No; but as true and noble architects they stride forward, who would roughly strike the old edifice into the earth, leaving it to perish in the mire and dust, while they unfold their plans of more glorious structures, worthy to be the habitations of men of a larger stature and movement. In short, the men of whom we speak may be called Social Architects—a class which has never been satisfied with any measures in the sphere of social reform, short of a most thorough, vital, and permanent reconstruction of the very fundamentals of social existence.

This class, we say, has been marked by characteristics which were common to all its members. They have been, for the most part, men of superior intellect; they have been men of broad and living sympathies; men of boldness and hardihood of thought; men of indefatigable zeal; men of a free sincerity, suffering willingly for their convictions; men of a high, can we not say, of an almost sublime consciousness of the imperative claims and moment of their own mission. In fact, in many cases, they were men who aspired to somewhat of a universal character; who have looked upon themselves as consecrated to a grand and deathless work; who embraced within the scope of their ambition all arts and all sciences; who were at once philosophers, legislators, teachers, economists, generals, and even prophets; and who, in some instances, not confining the sweep of their genius to the narrow limits of the earth, sought to ascend to the throne of God, and to penetrate the secrets of Providence and Human Destiny. Truly not without force does the French language speak of them as the *Temerétés* (the Audacious Ones), since they rush with so impetuous a boldness over the entire domain of possible knowledge.

These daring and original spirits, arrange themselves in three classes; the mere theoretical,—the simply practical; and the theoretico-practical combined. In other words, the Social Architects whom we propose to consider, may be described as those who ideally plan the new structure of society; those who set immediately to work to make a new structure, without any very large and comprehensive plan; and those who have both devised a plan and attempted its actual execution.

Of the first class, the purely theoretical, he enumerates several, but says, "we must pass to three, Plato, Harrington, and More, who have made a more decided and lasting impression on human opinion, and who may serve as a sample for the rest."

After pointing out in the clearest possible manner, the sophistry which concealed the radical error of the philosophy of Plato, he says:—

It is a fault, however, that must not blind us to the prodigious excellences by which it is redeemed. When we consider the era in which Plato lived, before the Revelation of Christ had shed the sunbeams of its life and light upon the world, seeing only a foreshoot of the glorious day about to open, and conjecturing obscurely as to the true relationship and destiny of men, we are astonished at the beauty and justice of his sentiments, and his deep devotion to the laws of Eternal Order and Duty. It was a penetrating, expansive, magnificent nature with which God had endowed him, and the "Republic," esteemed by some short-sighted scholars as the feeblest of his works, will remain an enduring monument of his penetration and wisdom. When mankind shall have learned to read the riddle of history aright they will see in that work a profound use and significance.

Again—

Next to Plato, we choose to speak of the chivalric and glorious Sir Thomas More—the most illustrious of English Chancellors,—one of the bravest and heartiest of English Men. His clear and noble intellect, made an impression in that dark reign of the Eighth Henry, which is still felt in the remotest seats of English Literature and Law. It is to him that we are indebted for the name which characterizes the entire class of bold and independent thinkers that we are now discussing. Utopia, is one of the indestructible words of our mother tongue. The romance in which it took its origin, is one of our most indestructible books. Its chaste, silvery tone, its upright manly spirit, its treasures of criticism, will long make it a source of delightful and profitable reading. We see in it, everywhere, the unequivocal marks of More's high, cheerful, transparent nature.

* * * * * *

His life was spent in the consideration of the question of government—the flower and fruit of all his studies being the Oceana, which he offers to us as the model of a perfect and Christian Commonwealth.

Of Harrington, is said—

Harrington's fundamental principle was that the balance of power always follows property, and the centre of his system, consequently, is an agrarian division of property, in order to keep the power in the hands of the many, and a hierarchical distribution of the people into regularly-organized orbs or orders, possessed of the Ballot It is wrought out with infinite ingenuity and learning; and contains a vast number of suggestions greatly in advance of his age; but it has a fatal defect in the fact that it is both fanciful and arbitrary. Yet let Honor be done to the memory of the man, since he labored sincerely in the cause of his race, and suffered manfully for his faith. Less poetical than either Plato or More, he is more scientific; his plans have more of an every-day air about them; while his principles seem to us quite as liberal in their sentiment as those of the latter, and more practicable, if not more profound, than those of the former.

But these men were mere speculative thinkers, who resorted to these ideal republics, not to propose any actualization of them, so much as to acquire an inoffensive and, at the same time, effective mode of bringing what they esteemed important political and social truths before the minds of their contemporaries. In this light their criticisms were of high value; and we should like to dwell upon them, did not our plan compel us to turn to another class, who sought to teach kindred truths in a more direct method.

Of the merely Practical Social Architects, who are referred to, four examples are given; he says—

These have existed in all ages of the world, expressing a sort of living protest against the frauds, the corruption, the disorder, and the injustice of prevalent society, and opening an asylum for the refuge of those disappointed and unhappy spirits, or those ardent devotees, whom misfortune, principle, or enthusiasm, had driven into exile. In the former part of our inquiries, we had to deal with speculations; our business now is with speculations transformed into facts. From individuals we pass to bodies.

First, and the most ancient of which we have any account, are the Essenians, who instituted their community about or before the time of Christ, among the Jews. Second, and "similar to the Essenians, in many respects, are the Hernhutters, or God's Watchmen, better known as the Moravians, of Germany." The difference between these last and the former, however, is pointed out, and a description given of their rapid increase and extended settlements.

A few men, descendants of the Waldenses, nurtured in persecution, retire from the world to a wild, silent, and distant retreat, where they cultivate the earth and exhort each other to a high religious life. In a few years, they find themselves spread over all nations, and penetrating the most inaccessible deserts. It was not more than a century from the time that the munificent and pious Zinzendorf opened his arms to embrace the outcast Moravian carpenter at Dresden, to the period when his community thus begun, numbered its sixteen settlements in Germany, its three in Denmark, its five in Sweden, its twenty-two in Great Britain, its one in Russia, and its twenty in North America, each or all connected with missionary stations in Greenland, Labrador, the West Indies, among the Northern Indians, in South Africa, in Patagonia, and among the fiercest Kalmucks of the steppes of Asiatic Russia—thus extending their influence over millions of human souls.

Third, come the Shakers, and of the fourth, and last, is said—

But not alone among Christian people has the impulse toward associated efforts and life been manifested. Mr. Urquhart gives us an account of a most extraordinary association at Ambulakice among the Turks; but as that is rather a commercial corporation, in which the interests of labor are united, rather than a community, we shall not now dwell upon its results.

Next are treated the third class, or those who unite practice with theory:

Theoretico-Practical Architects of Society, or those who have combined the enunciation of general principles of social organization with actual experiments, of whom the best representatives are St. Simon, Robert Owen, and Charles Fourier. This class will extend the basis of our inquiries, and demand a more elaborate consideration.

Speaking of St. Simon, "a descendant of Charlemagne, and the bearer of one of the most illustrious names in the annals of France," he says—

He ceased to be logical, that he might be sentimental Yet the truth which he insisted on was a great one—perhaps the greatest, *viz.*, that the fundamental principle in the constitution of society should be Love. Christ teaches all men, he says, that they are brothers; that humanity is one; that the true life of the individual is in the bosom of his race; and that the highest law of his being is the law of Progress. The perpetual aim of religion is to ameliorate the condition of man, by which is meant, of "the most poor and the most numerous class." And in the spirit of this saying, he appealed with startling eloquence to all the votaries of science, of literature, of art, and of Religion. "Young

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men! let us unite then! Poets, artisans, theologians, literary men, men of industry, men of science, our career is marked out for us, since to-day we can occupy ourselves directly with the elevation of the Mass. Let the Past, to which we have paid ample obsequies, repose in peace; let there be no more funeral orations over its tomb; yet let us not disdain it, but honor it, since it has brought us to the Present, and opened us an easy route to a brilliant Future. Let us all have but one wish and but one hope. Let us, according to the beautiful expression of the author of the book of Judges, march *as one man*, having inscribed on our banners, "PARADISE ON EARTH IS BEFORE US!" The age of Gold, which a blind tradition has hitherto placed in the Past, is in the Future, and the Future shall henceforth show itself to men, not as a breaker, but as a secure and noble haven."

But alas! the magnanimous spirit which could utter these thrilling words was not destined to see their realization. The long process of starvation finally brought St. Simon to his end; but in the sufferings of death, as in the agony of life, his mind retained its calmness and sympathy, and he perished with these words of sublime confidence and hope on his lips: "The future is ours."

The few devoted friends who stood around that death-bed took up the words, and began the work of propagation. The doctrine rapidly spread; it received a more precise and comprehensive development under the expositions of Bazard and Enfantan, and a few years saw a new family, which was also a new church, gathered at Menilmontant. On its banner was inscribed, "To each, according to his capacity, and to each capacity, according to its work;" its government took the form of a religious hierarchy, and its main political principle was the abolition of inheritance.

It was evident that a society so constituted could not long be held together. Made up of enthusiasts, without definite principles of organization—trusting to feeling and not to science—its members soon began to quarrel, and the latter days of its existence were stained by disgusting license. St. Simon was one of the noblest spirits, but an unfit leader of any enterprise. He saw all things, says a friendly critic, through his heart. In this was his weakness; he wanted head; he wanted précise notions; he vainly hoped to reconstruct society by a sentiment; he laid the foundation of his house on sand.

But it must be said to his credit that he began an able and brilliant school of criticism, and that among his disciples are found many of the most clear-headed and benevolent of modern thinkers. No previous school have done one-fiftieth part as much as these men to direct the attention of Europe to the awful condition of the laboring classes of civilization.

Then comes Robert Owen, of whom he says—

His character and merits may be summed up in a few words.

Mr. Owen is one of the most extraordinary men that ever lived, whether we regard either his errors or his truths. The former are few, but are fundamental; the latter are many, and also important.

His errors are the denial of personal responsibility, and the doctrine of common property, which we hold to be utterly untenable in argument, radically defective in morals, and of course, extremely pernicious to society. But our limits will not allow us to discuss the matter.

His truths are, or rather his services have been, that he has taught moralists and the world the important, almost vital, influence of outward circumstances upon inward well-being and happiness. He may be called the Apostle of Circumstances, and his experiments and arguments in this respect have done indescribable good in meliorating prevalent views as to the effects of social institutions. Those beautiful treatises on the laws of diet, cleanliness, the physical results of different kinds of employment, &c., on health, which have illustrated the latter days of benevolent exertion, may mostly be traced to the efforts of the despised and abused Robert Owen.

No one can regret more strongly than we do the moral and religious delusions into which Mr. Owen has fallen; but we trust we shall never allow any amount of error to blind our eyes to the positive and surpassing excellences of any individual or system. It is so rare that men of immense wealth devote their energies to enterprises of even mistaken benevolence, that we are disposed to forgive the mistake, for the benefit of the example.

Leaving Fourier to be treated of exclusively in the 2d chapter, the author speaks as follows:—

We here close our review of the Social Architects of all ages, by a few remarks intended to characterize respectively their merits and defects.

(1.) Their defects have arisen either from ignorance or excess. Deeply penetrated with the evils of our present societies, conscious that there must be some better form of society, they have rushed into new organizations before they had scientifically understood the real wants of the old, or the principles required for the right constitution of the new. They have failed, therefore, because they were ignorant of the true science of social organization; or, driven to madness by the pressing necessities and grinding wickedness of existing arrangements, they have run into the opposite extreme, and rejecting all the institutions of the Past, instituted social forms that were wholly at war with the instincts and habits of the race. Thus, the doctrine of a community of property, we have no doubt, is a reaction from the flagrant injustice and intense suffering produced by the present unequal division of property.

(2.) Their merits have been, that they have been a living and perpetual protest against the disorders of prevailing institutions; that they have pointed public attention to the enormity of social abuses; that they have called in question those taken-for-granted sentiments, which hang like an incubus over the human mind; that they have kept alive and stimulated the hope of social perfectability, and, from time to time, from the storm-clouds of their tempestuous restlessness and discontent, have shot those thunderbolts of wrath, which have shocked and overturned the rotten and perishable structures of the state.

But their chief value, to our mind, is the testimony which they bear to the fact, that in all ages of the world there has been a lurking faith that God had prepared a better social system for the adoption of man. They have been groping their way after this system, in the midst of much darkness and many entanglements of error; and while their want of success proves that they have been deficient in head, their continued energy and enthusiasm show that they were not wanting in heart. Their instincts led them in the right direction, but there was not enough of practical skill among them to teach them when and where to stop. In this respect, they may be compared to the early alchymists, who went in pursuit of the Philosopher's Stone, which was to transmute all the baser metals into gold, and of the Elixir of Life, destined to confer wealth and happiness upon all mankind. In the course of their inquiries, they departed on some fool's-errands, they turned out much dross, they spent valuable days and nights in many a silly, many a dangerous experiment; but they were animated by a sublime Hope, and prepared the materials which a future Man of Genius (Lavoisier) was destined to construct into the orderly forms and proportions of a beautiful and useful science. Has there yet been a Lavoisier, to gather the scattered observations of Social Alchymists, and, out of the rude mass, build up a True Social Science? We shall see!

Mr. Godwin heads the chapter devoted to Fourier with an admirable quotation from Blanqui, the able and distinguished Professor of Political Economy in the University of Paris.

"We must not speak lightly of Fourier. A man who could devote his whole life to the worship of such an Idea; who wished to turn the Passions of man in a good direction; who undertook to associate all families and interests; and who labored with such unprecedented energy for the extinction of social evil, was no vulgar dreamer, however Utopian the character of his projects. And after all, Utopianism is often only a more advanced opinion, proclaimed in the face of a generation which does not yet understand it, and destined to become a standard of faith in the generation that follows."—BLANQUI.

The Memoir, as before stated, from the pen of Hugh Doherty, illustrates beautifully the gradual unfolding of Fourier's genius, and points out the circumstances which seem most deeply to have exercised an influence upon his life, and led to the accomplishment of that great achievement, which places him in the highest rank of mortal men—the discovery of the Laws of Social Harmony, and the Destiny of Humanity on Earth.

We will give but two extracts from this chapter, which are from the additions by Mr. Godwin to the Memoir of Mr. Doherty.

Now this life, we conceive, is not the life of a quack, nor indeed of an ordinary man. Such life-long devotion to an object of inferior magnitude would indicate more than ordinary greatness. What shall we say of it, then, when we consider that it was devotion to the grandest and most sacred interests of man? Is an intellect which can thus slowly, painfully, patiently, evolve and elaborate its conclusions, to be despised? Is not the whole air and manner of the Man, the air and manner of one who looks earnestly into the facts of existence, and who wrestles sincerely to find the key of this mysterious and terrible life of suffering, and struggle, and despair, and darkness?

It does seem to us that no one can read the simple details of this life—so quiet, yet so intense—so scholar-like, yet so mingled with the sternest realities of every day—so impassive in its intellectual dignity and strength—so high in its moral aims—so rigid, direct, full of the consciousness of a mighty mission, but all the while so child-like, modest, without pretension or uneasiness—without feeling that it approaches the morally sublime. That lone man—friendless, companionless, poor—sitting there for forty years, in his scant garret, while the splendor and bustle of busy Paris rolled at his feet, working out his dark problem of the Destiny of Humanity on Earth, forging link by link, in the chain of a complete science, as year after year came around, furnishes me with a conception of human grandeur and power, far more exalted than any that I ever derived from contemplating the debates of the Senate-house or the shock of armies. There, with his bread and water, while thousands of his fellow-mortals lay simmering and fretting in their petty cares, above even the fringes of lamplight that struggled upward through the dense cloud of dust and smoke of the great city, alone with Midnight and the Stars, with Thought and God!

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Fourier has left the impress of two periods of his life on his works; the first, of his earlier years, when his nature was lively and gay, and his head full of the glow of his fresh discoveries; the second, of his later years, when repeated disappointments and protracted neglect had soured his heart to many of the better phases of existing arrangements. The works undertaken under the former influence, flash and glitter with the exaggerated brilliancy which his exalted hopes lent to his warm imagination; those published during the second, teem with fierce and contemptuous denunciations, not of men, but of things, which show that he was poignantly alive to the stupid ridicule and more stupid indifference of the world. At no period, however, did he betray either the bitterness of selfishness or the meanness of personal malignity. He lived in his Great Thought, and with that alone he rose or sunk.

His books are by no means easy reading; not simply because their language is sometimes crabbed and harsh, for these traits are redeemed by a lucid directness and vigor of style, but because he has left numerous gaps and chasms in the train of his reasonings. He is like the Chamois guide, of which we somewhere read, who is perfectly familiar with the most inaccessible regions—so long as you are in his hands, you feel that you are held up and directed by a mighty arm, and you pass confidently along fearful precipices and over bottomless gulfs, knowing that your guide is there; but the moment you seek the way for yourself, your brains reel with amazement at the height to which you have reached, and the enormous abysses over which you have been carried. The glories unfolded on the journey, however, are a sufficient inducement to cause you to turn back to your place of departure, and to trace out the whole distance for your own delight and satisfaction.

As a thinker, he is equally remarkable for his critical and constructive faculties. Had he done no more than furnish the world with his exhausting analysis of the present relations of society, he would have been entitled to rank as one of its greatest men. His power of dissecting any method of business or social institution is so delicate, that he lays bare the minutest nerve and fibre, and yet it is so comprehensive, that it takes in the "thick rotundity of the earth;" nay, the complicated movements of the entire series of worlds in space. He is both microscopic and telescopic, permitting no object to escape his gaze, either small or large, and discerning the atom and the mountain with equal facility. It is for this reason that his criticism of existing society is so sharp, unsparing, and thoroughly unanswerable.

But his *constructive* power was much more remarkable than his *critical* power, because the sharpness and force of the latter were mostly derived from the former; we mean, that he had rare penetration in discovering the wrong, because he carried with him the touchstone of the right. Truth is your most biting and implacable critic. No man sees or feels so quickly or keenly even the slightest aberrations as he who possesses a universal standard of correctness. When Fourier, then, lashes with such vehement and caustic eloquence, the waste, the absurdity, the injustice, the iniquity of the present forms of society, we are to look for the cause of it in the fact, that he carried in his mind the mature conception of the right form. He had already worked out for himself, in all its details and in all its breadth, the structure of a perfect society. It is here, in the art of construction, of building up, that his mind shows itself in its noblest proportions. No poet, in the amplest circuit of his imaginings, has bodied forth such a magnificent ideal of the future life of Humanity on Earth as Fourier presents us, in rigid and mathematical outline, as the strict scientific development of his theory. He opens up to us views of Destiny, in the regular course of his moral reasoning, no less brilliant, grand, kindling, solemn, than those which colored the rapt vision of the stern but gorgeous old Hebrew prophets. And here let us observe, that it is for this reason that many of his more enthusiastic disciples think they will see, in the prevalence of his system, the realization of those bright Hopes of the Better Future, early ushered and long continued by the Seers of God, which have cheered the drooping heart of Humanity in her long pilgrimage through the valley and shadow of this living Death.

Any attempt at an abstract of the principles of the Social Science of Fourier, we will not make: they are treated as briefly as it is possible to treat them clearly, in the book, which all who wish to be informed on the subject must read. It should be in the possession of every one.

POETRY.

We shall give, from time to time, in the columns of the Phalanx, specimens of the poetry of the day, both original and selected. The heart of Humanity is now speaking out in various ways, through its several organs and representatives, Men and Women of Genius; but in no way does it speak more effectually than in the form of Poetry. It does seem to us that our current literature is taking a deeper and nobler tone. When such genuine inspirations as Miss Barrett's "Cry of the Children," founded upon a recent report of the English Poor Law Commissioners, and Thomas Hood's "Song of the Shirt," find so general a response, it surely may be taken as a sign that the world is awaking to a consciousness of the evils under which the Masses are suffering.

We open our poetical department with the former piece, which is one of the most touching poems in our literature. The lines *italicised* by the author are striking; but hardly more than others in the poem.

[From Blackwood's Magazine.]

THE CRY OF THE CHILDREN.

BY ELIZABETH B. BARRETT.

Do ye hear the children weeping, O my brothers!
Ere the sorrow comes with years?
They are leaning their young heads against their mothers,
And *that* cannot stop their tears.
The young lambs are bleating in the meadows,
The young birds are chirping in the nest,
The young fawns are playing in the shadows,
The young flowers are blowing from the west;
But the young, young children, O my brothers!
They are weeping bitterly!
They are weeping in the playtime of the others—
In the country of the free.

Do you question the young children in the sorrow,
Why their tears are falling so?
The old man may weep for his to-morrow
Which is lost in long ago.
The old tree is leafless in the forest—
The old year is ending in the frost;
The old wound, if stricken, is the sorest—
The old hope is hardest to be lost!
But the young, young children, O my brothers!
Do ye ask them why they stand
Weeping sore before the bosoms of their mothers,
In our happy fatherland?

They look up with their pale and sunken faces,
And their looks are sad to see;
For the man's grief untimely draws and presses
Down the cheeks of infancy.
'Your old earth,' they say, 'is very dreary—
Our young feet,' they say, 'are very weak!
Few paces have we taken, yet are weary—
Our grave-rest is very far to seek!
Ask the old why they weep, and not the children,
For the outside earth is cold—
And we young ones stand without, in our bewild'ring,
And the graves are for the old.

'True,' said the young children, 'it may happen
That we die before our time!'
Little Alice died last year—the grave is shapen
Like a snowball, in the rime.
We looked into the pit prepared to take her—
Was no room for any work in the close clay!
From the sleep wherein she lieth none will wake her,
Crying—'get up, little Alice, it is day!'
If you listen by that grave in sun and shower,
With your ear down, little Alice never cries;
Could we see her face, be sure we should not know her,
For the new smile which has grown within her eyes.
For merry go her moments, lulled and stilled in
The shroud, by the kirk chime!
'It is good when it happens,' say the children,
'That we die before our time!'"

Alas, the young children! they are seeking
Death in life, as best to have!
They are binding up their hearts away from breaking,
With a cerement from the grave.
Go out, children, from the mine and the city—
Sing out, children, as the little thrushes do!
Pluck your handfuls of the meadow cowslips pretty—
Laugh aloud to feel your fingers let them through!
But the children say—"Are cowslips of the meadows
Like the weeds anear the mine?
Leave us quiet in the dark of our coal-shadows,
From your pleasures fair and fine.

'For oh!' say the children, 'we are weary—
And we cannot run or leap;
If we cared for any meadows, it were merely
To drop down in them and sleep.
Our knees tremble sorely in the stooping—
We fall on our face trying to go;
And underneath our heavy eyelids drooping,
The reddest flower would look as pale as snow.
For all day, we drag our burden tiring,
Through the cold, dark underground—
Or, all day, we drive the wheels of iron
In the factories round and round.

All day long the wheels are droning, turning—
Their wind comes in our faces!
Till our hearts turn, and our heads with pulses burning,
And the walls turn in their places!
Turns the sky in the high window blank and reeling—
Turns the long light that droppeth down the wall—
Turn the black flies that crawl along the ceiling—
Are all turning all the day, and we with all!
All day long the iron wheels are droning—
And sometimes we could pray—
"O ye wheels, (breaking off in a mad moaning,)
Stop! be silent for to-day!"

Ay, be silent! let them hear each other breathing,
For a moment, mouth to mouth;
Let them touch each other's hands, in a fresh wreathing
Of their tender human youth;
Let them feel that this cold metallic motion
Is not all the life God giveth them to use;
Let them prove their inward souls against the notion
That they live in you, or under you, O wheels!
Still, all day, the iron wheels go onward,
As if fate in each were stark!
And the children's souls which God is calling sunward,
Spin on blindly in the dark.

Now, tell the weary children, O my brothers!
That they look to him and pray,
For the blessed One who blesseth all the others,
To bless them another day.
They answer—'Who is God that he should hear us,
While this rushing of the iron wheels is heard?
When we sob aloud, the human creatures near us
Pass unhearing—at least, answer not a word;
And we hear not (for the wheels in their resounding)
Strangers speaking at the door.
Is it likely God, with angels singing around him,
Hears our weeping any more?

Two words, indeed, of praying we remember;
And at midnight's hour of harm,
Our Father! looking upward in our chamber,
We say softly for a charm.†
We say no other words except *Our Father!*
And we think that, in some pause of angel's song,

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He may pluck them with the silence sweet to gather,
And hold both in his right hand, which is strong.
Our Father! If he heard us he would surely
(For they call him good and mild)
Answer—smiling down the steep world very purely—
'Come and rest with me my child.'

But no," say the children, weeping faster,
"He is silent as a stone;
And they tell us, of his image is the master
Who commands us to work on.
Go to!' say the children; 'up in Heaven,
Dark, wheel-like turning clouds are all we find!
Do not mock us! we are atheists in our grieving—
We look up to Him—*but tears have made us blind!*"
Do you hear children weeping and disproving,
O my brothers, what ye teach?
For God's possible is taught by his world's loving—
And the children doubt of each!

And well may the children weep before ye—
They are weary ere thy run!
They have never seen the sunshine, nor the glory
Which is brighter than the sun!
They know the grief of men, but not the wisdom—
They sink in their despair, with hope at calm—
Are slaves without liberty in Christendom—
Are martyrs by the pang without the palm!
Are worn as if with age; yet unretrievingly
No joy of memory keep—
Are orphans of the earthly love and heavenly—
Let them weep—let them weep!

They look up with their pale and sunken faces,
And their look is dread to see;
For you think you see their angels in their places,
With eyes meant for Deity.
'How long,' they say, 'how long, O cruel nation
Will you stand to move the world on a child's heart,
Trample down with mailed heel its palpitation,
And tread onward to your throne amid the mart?
Our blood splashes upwards, O our tyrant!
And your purple shows your path—
But the child's sob curseth deeper in the silence
Than the strong man in his wrath.'"

* A commissioner mentions the fact of weeds being thus confounded with the idea of flowers.

† The report of the commissioners represented instances of children, whose religious devotion is confined to the repetition of the two first words of the Lord's Prayer.

LIFE IN THE NEW WORLD; or Sketches of American Society. By Seatsfield. Part I. The Courtships of George Howard, Esq. Translated from the German. J. Winchester, New World press, No. 30 Ann street, New York.

It matters not who "Seatsfield" may be, whether of native or foreign birth. Mysterious as the circumstances are which involve his lineage and abiding place in obscurity and doubt, it is certain that he is a personage of very decided merit, who is destined to attain much celebrity. We have read the first part of his "Sketches of American Society," just issued by Winchester, with great pleasure. Everywhere Seatsfield is perfectly at home, and in the most natural and familiar manner he transports the reader through different phases of American life, from the stupid inanity, silly affectation and ridiculous pretension of mushroom aristocracy in New York, to the uncouth freedom and wild lawlessness of the South West. The pictures he draws are so graphically vivid, that we realize at once just what we have seen and known, so that we read only a transcript of our own thoughts and experience, invested, however, with a life and interest which we were unconscious they possessed until we saw them in print.

Seatsfield does not philosophise, but he penetrates with the eye of a keen observer, and gives an impression of all he sees, whether in human character or nature, which strikes to the very soul, so faithful is the likeness to reality. This very truthfulness too is the keenest satire, and all unconsciously while the writer describes the scenes through which he passes and the persons he meets with, he utters sentence of condemnation upon those institutions and that organization of society, which generate and foster so many deformities in human character and condition. Seatsfield lays bare the falseness of society when he pourtrays its realities

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The remaining portion of the article, "What is Association?" which follows, has been in type for several months, but from time to time it has been crowded out by other matter more immediately pressing and important. Since the publication of the first part, the whole has appeared as a "tract," and has also been published as an Extra Phalanx, in which form it may now be obtained at the very low price of fifty cents per hundred. As a simple view of the plan of Association, which appeals to the common sense of all, and requires but a few moments attention to understand, this tract is well calculated for general circulation, as an initiatory work to go among those who have no knowledge of, and for that reason have but little or no interest in the subjec of Association. We send a copy to each of our subscribers.

(*Continued from page* 58, *No.* 4.)

WHAT IS ASSOCIATION?

THE EDIFICE—MODE OF LIVING.

An Association of three hundred families, united in interest and guided by practical common sense, would not build on their lands three hundred separate houses, with three hundred kitchens, &c., but would erect in the central part of their Domain a large and commodious Edifice for the residence of the members. This Edifice would be planned with the greatest regard to comfort, economy, health and convenience; and these advantages could be secured at an expense less than the cost of three hundred ordinary and inconvenient separate dwellings, as the least calculation will show.

Because three hundred families reside in a large and commodious Edifice, there is no need that the privacy of domestic life should be destroyed. Domestic privacy and retirement will be fully preserved in the residence of an Association; families will have their separate apartments of various sizes, and composed of more or less rooms according to their wants, means or tastes. The private apartments will be separated by division walls, and the domestic circle will be no more intruded upon than in any other situation. In the palaces of Princes and hotels, we see that families live under the same roof without any interference with the family tie or the privacy of domestic life, and this will also be the case in Association. The walls, which divide the apartments of families, will shut out all noise from each other; the doors will open upon a large covered corridor or inclosed piazza, from eighteen to twenty-four feet wide, which will wind around one entire side of the Edifice. This covered corridor will form the means of communication between all parts of the building, and the inhabitants can at all times go through it to the workshops, placed in one wing of the building, to the dining halls, the lecture rooms, the library, to concerts, the exchange, &c. &c, and visit each other without exposure to the inclemency of the weather or sudden fluctuations of temperature.

How do people now live in their isolated houses? In the cities, without pure air, and exposed to the weather in going from their warm rooms into the open street, which is the cause of a vast amount of disease; and in the country they are cut off almost entirely from the pleasures of social intercourse, and debarred from the benefits of spacious ibraries, concerts and other intellectual and refining influences and enjoyments. But three hundred families living in an Association, could possess all these advantages and thus combine all the resources and pleasures of town and country life.

How delightful to live amid such opportunities of improvement and pleasure, with the enjoyment of varied social relations among persons refined and elevated, and united in interests and feeling! There will be no gloomy hours to waste in listless apathy; no lonesome dreary days to spend in ennui and forced idleness; but pleasing and attractive employment, and the greatest variety in pursuits and occupations. An Association properly organized will be a COLLECTIVE OF SOCIAL FAMILY, of which the isolated family is but a fragment, and will combine all the resources of industry, art and science. "This Social Family will enjoy the pleasures and advantages of life in full security, without the wranglings and anxiety of smaller families and lonely individuals. It will be more independent and more provident, more cheerful and indulgent than the individual family, and also more benevolent and hospitable. It will not be sunk in selfish fears, and gloomy discipline, and wearisome monotony, and infantine disquietude, and jealous wranglings, and sickness, and ill-temper, and domestic incapacity, and poverty, and dissipation, and anxiety, and litigation, and the thousand and one other ills of family contraction in the present world of isolation, complication and duplicity."

"The interests of this Social Family will agree with those of other Social Families or Associations, and will not be like individual families, at war with all the world in some degree or other. It will have a church of its own for sacred worship; a commodious and elegant edifice of its own for its domestic comforts; concerts, festivities and amusements in subordination to unitary art, and taste and true refinement. It will have its financial and commercial establishments, and will be a centre of agriculture, manufacture and domestic industry. It will have a school for all its children, graduated in various degrees of learning to suit the different ages; it will have its scientific collections, its libraries, laboratories and an observatory for adults. It will be a family of families, a town and country residence at once, where perfect personal liberty and independence will exist, without monastic rules, arbitrary regulations or repulsive discipline."

What a contrast, in a social and intellectual point of view, will there exist between Association and the present social Order based on separate families! Let us examine this contrast in a practical point of view, or as regards material arrangements, and more in detail than we have before done. We will, at the same time, sum up what we have already said upon this subject.

Three hundred families require at present three hundred separate houses, three hundred kitchens, three hundred kitchen fires, three hundred sets of cooking utensils, three hundred cooks to do the cooking, hundreds of useless doors, windows and division walls, hundreds of pantries, stairways and chimneys, hundreds of grates, stoves or fireplaces—and if they are farming families, three hundred little farms, all fenced or walled in, and cut up into lots and fields, three hundred barns, three hundred sheds and wells, three hundred teams, wagons, carts, ploughs, harrows, &c. &c.

Groceries, dry-goods, and all articles of con-

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sumption must be purchased separately by the three hundred isolated families at retail, and at double and treble, often, their original cost. In association they would be purchased at wholesale, and charged to the members at cost price, saving thereby the immense profits now paid to traders and traffickers of all kinds, who stand between those who produce and those who consume. Commerce, as now prosecuted, is a heavy tax upon productive Industry, and is besides an intricate mass of complication; but it is the idol of this money-making age, and is consequently so praised and lauded that people are blinded to its defects. In the combined or associative Order all trade will become *wholesale* and *direct*, and will be prosecuted by Associations in the most economical manner, and for the advantage of the consumers, and not alone as at present of the traders. Pure and unadulterated articles, and fabrics of a good quality will be obtained, an immense saving effected, injudicious debts will not be contracted by Associations, and all the little contemptible traffic and trading between individuals, in which both parties endeavor to deceive and overreach each other, will be abolished, together with the quarrels and animosities, which grow out of this antagonistic, fraudulent and hostile system of dealing. Families now run into debt to the merchants, and become often involved in law-suits; this is more particularly the case with farming families, who are so frequently ruined by contracting injudicious debts with the country merchant—and in consequence the landed property of the country is gradually finding its way into the hands of this class of men and the lawyers and money-lenders.

SYSTEM OF PROPERTY.

All community of property will in Association be avoided. We look upon a community of property as a violation of one of man's primary rights, and as the grave of individual Liberty. To maintain individual rights in property, and to establish at the same time UNITY OF INTERESTS, all Estate, moveable as well as landed, will in Association become sharehold or joint-stock property.

The lands, edifices, flocks, machinery, &c., of an Association, will be appraised at their cash value, and represented by Stock divided into shares, like the capital of a railroad, a bank, or an insurance company. The members will receive stock equal to the amount of capital they have furnished for the purpose of purchasing the land, erecting the buildings, and making improvements.

By rendering real estate sharehold property some most important results will be attained. 1st. Landed property will be made saleable at will and for cash. 2d. The soil will be subjected to a scientific and uniform system of cultivation, and not left as at present to the capricious and often ignorant management of isolated families. 3d. Improvements will be undertaken and prosecuted with method and order, without interruption, and will not be deranged or abandoned with every change of owner. 4th. *Individual property* will be maintained while *industrial and pecuniary interests* will be united. These are advantages which it is impossible to secure under the isolated family system, with its lands held in patches and parcels, its industry prosecuted by single families, and *all interests divided and in conflict.*

A certain portion or share of the net product—say about one quarter—will be paid to the stockholders as interest upon their stock. One quarter of the profits or total net product of the Association being paid as interest or dividend upon the capital invested in the Association, the balance, or three quarters, will be paid to those who perform the labor. It is estimated that about three twelfths of the total product or revenue of the Association should be paid to Capital; seven twelfths to manual labor; and two twelfths to Skill and theoretical knowledge, which directs Labor, and renders it more productive.

(For an explanation of this subject see Pamphlet on Association, chapters, entitled Division of Profits, and Reason for the division of Profits between Labor, Capital and Skill.)

As before remarked, there would be a great variety of industrial occupations in an Association, besides pursuits of a scientific, artistic, literary and educational character. These occupations and pursuits would be open to all the members, who would be free to choose among them, and take part in the prosecution of those which pleased their tastes, or suited their talents and capacities. When there is such a diversity of occupations, constant employment could be secured to all, and thus the *fundamental* and most important Right of Man, which as yet has never been possessed, nor even recognized in theory by politicians and statesmen, the RIGHT OF LABOR or of constant Employment, will be guarantied to every person without exception—and the possession of this right together with a just division of profits, will secure to every individual the first of wants—abundance and pecuniary independence.

The division of profits among different branches of Industry and individuals will be governed by rules of strict justice, and based upon mathematical laws of equity, which Fourier has discovered and explained.

The different branches of Industry will, with some few exceptions, be prosecuted by Groups or companies of persons, composed of individuals having a taste for the particular occupation in which they engage, and not by isolated or single individuals. Solitary lonesome field-work, and monotonous occupations in manufactories and workshops will no longer be pursued; everywhere Industry will be prosecuted by groups of persons, animated by emulation and the cheerfulness of friendly relations, and united in works of common and mutual interest. Labor will be varied by changing from occupation to occupation, and from physical to intellectual employment. Changes of occupation and of company should take place at least three or four times a day, so as to exercise all parts of the body, and all the faculties of the mind.

The Association will provide the best schools, which will be open to all the children without exception, so that *equal opportunities* of education, or of moral and physical development and of cultivation and improvement will be extended to all; the education which children would receive in these schools would be thorough and complete and fit them for the practical and scientific pursuits of life and varied social intercourse. Unity in manners, in habits, in language, &c., and general refinement would be among the important results of the educational system of Association, and would be the means of promoting a free and friendly intercourse between all the members, and of removing the difference that now exists between castes and classes.

The Education, which children now receive, does not deserve the name of education. Those of the poor grow up in ignorance, to become the drudges of labor, the hirelings of the favored few who possess fortune, or business talent or tact; while the children of the rich, without any complete moral and intellectual development, without a love and a knowledge of the pursuits of Art and Science, and the higher aims of life, frequently give themselves up to gambling, drinking and other pernicious or trivial occupations to satisfy that intellectual activity which is inherent in every human mind, and which must be gratified in some way or other. A majority of them turn out mere blanks, and many gamblers, drunkards, outcasts and criminals—blighting the hopes and anticipations of those who gave them birth, and a curse to themselves and to society around them.

If then the advantages which we have here briefly enumerated, will be gained by living in Association, would it not be more natural for three hundred families to unite their means and form an Association, than to live separately and isolatedly as they now do? Would it not be better for them to cultivate one large and beautiful Domain, with its perfect distribution and tasteful and economical arrangements, than three hundred irregular little farms? Would it not be better to have the advantage of labor-saving machinery upon a large scale, which could be introduced into an Association, than to be reduced to the mere labor of the hands, with limited and imperfect implements of Industry? Would it not be better to have a great variety and choice of pursuits in Industry and Art and Science, prosecuted with friends and agreeable companions, than to labor constantly and alone at one occupation, or with companions with whom there are no sympathies of affection nor ties of interest? Would it not be better to possess the vast economies of Association—economies secured in every department of life—than to be subjected to the constant waste and useless expenditure of single households? Would it not be better to live in an elegant, commodious and healthy Edifice, replete with everything convenient, useful and agreeable, among friends of congenial tastes and feelings, and with the free choice and enjoyment of varied social relations, than to live isolatedly in separate houses, in which for the most part there are neither healthy nor comfortable arrangements, and often solitude, idleness and discord? Would it not be better to be surrounded with the works of Art and Science, with every opportunity for cultivation and refinement, than to be confined to the dull monotony, and to the imperfect means of education of the isolated household? Would not this association, this union of interests and pursuits, this concert of action and efforts for mutual welfare and happiness, entered into by three hundred families, be more wise and judicious, more natural and neighborly, more christian and social, than the present disassociation and separation of interests, the conflict of action and efforts, and the opposition and antagonism which now so universally exist, and which are so ruinous to human happiness and welfare? We think so; and if people can associate for the purpose of building railroads or canals, establishing banks and other joint-stock companies, can they not apply the principle of Association to society, or to their social, domestic and industrial relations and interests? Can they not unite and prosecute industry, commerce and the arts and sciences on an extensive scale, and establish order and harmony in all these departments, and just and equitable relations among themselves?

There is nothing impracticable or impossible, it strikes us, in all this—nothing visionary or absurd—nothing opposed to reason or to Nature. On the contrary, it is an easy and a simple thing, a safe and practicable thing, advantageous alike to all classes in society, and requires only to be examined by candid, unprejudiced and intelligent minds—minds animated by sentiments of justice and benevolence towards their fellowmen, to be declared a true, a wise and just reform, WHICH SHOULD AND MUST BE REALIZED IN PRACTICE UPON EARTH!

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SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS UNITY.

SOCIAL PROGRESS.—SOCIAL REFORM UPON CONSERVATIVE PRINCIPLES.

THE PHALANX:

ORGAN OF THE

DOCTRINE OF ASSOCIATION.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.

ASSOCIATION, ATTRACTIVE INDUSTRY, UNITY OF INTERESTS.

OUR EVILS ARE SOCIAL, NOT POLITICAL, AND A SOCIAL REFORM ONLY CAN ERADICATE THEM.

J. WINCHESTER, PUBLISHER, 30 ANN-ST. TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM, IN ADVANCE.

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THE PHILADELPHIA RIOTS.

The late outbreak teaches a lesson not to be slighted, nor soon forgotten. Such horrible appeals to the senses may arouse even those who are deaf, blind and asleep in spirit; though the wise need no such exhibitions of what is working beneath the surface of our communities. The crowds now cursing, now ominously silent,—the flying pavements, rattling clubs, musket-shots—the bleeding bodies, dead or dying, borne on the shoulders of companions, amidst the shrieks of mourners—the rifled houses, burning churches, falling crosses—the soldiery at street-corners—the multitude of women, children, flying from vengeful fellow-citizens, to starve houseless in the woods—are only outward signs of jealousies pent up within all our societies, and struggling to pour forth their lava-floods; and to the thoughtful, the physical violence is less dreadful than the smothered wrath.

The present exasperated enmity between Natives and Foreigners, though seemingly the moving force, was really but a superficial element in the outrages. The true cause of the mob is a much more profound and universal one; it is one which is permanent, not transient; and more than all, it is one which is gaining daily, both in intensity and extent. We must look for it, not in *the accidents of name and nativity*, but in the *character* and *condition of the classes* engaged in these murders and arsons. Yet this feud between natives and foreigners, well deserves a passing notice; and its consideration will naturally prepare the way for a comprehension of the radical quarrel, the real root of bitterness, which underlying the whole social life of modern nations and over-growing civilization in all lands, has just put forth its fatal flowers, and dropped its poison berries under this peculiar form, among ourselves.

This *enmity to foreigners* appears absurd enough, when we reflect, that the Anglo-Saxon race immigrated hither only a few years ago,—a few days even, we might say, when the progress of the race is regarded; it appears ungrateful enough, when one recalls the fact, that the means, skill, energy of the Irish, Germans, French, Swiss, English, have cleared our forests, smoothed our mountains, dug our canals, levelled our railroads, dyked our harbors, built our cities; but it appears like disobedience to the plain will of Providence, when we contemplate the destiny and duty of this nation, and its relation to the other nations of the earth.

The "People of the United States" are the inheritors of the by-gone civilization of all Christendom. Not for themselves, not in their own right, not by special favor and for exclusive ends,—did the colonies of Englishmen, guided to these shores—bound in one by the common law and the Christian Religion, *by freedom and by love*, in other words,—trained through a system of representative government and concerted action to a clearer knowledge than the past ever gained of the rights of individuals and the duties of the State—led onward, step by step, in the progressive development of confederacy and independence—grew up into this nation of United States. On this virgin soil, moral as well as physical, heaven and humanity entrusted to the men most advanced in civil and religious liberty, and at the very era when all Europe was stirred from the heart outward with earnest aspiration for higher humanity, the sublime problem of realizing in deed and in truth the UNION OF FREEMEN, which martyrs and prophets had struggled for in vain. The privilege was offered us of cheering the drooping faith and hope, and love of mankind, by a manifestation in the eyes of all nations, of the possibility of human brotherhood. It is no exaggeration to state thus strongly the peculiar and sublime position which Providence assigned us—a position, Heaven grant! not yet forfeited by our unfaithfulness, great though this has been. The UNION OF FREEMEN was, is our calling. Wo to us, if we, by our failure, cast new stumbling blocks in our brethren's path.

When Charles Follen, driven out from a land unworthy of his pure devotedness, touched these shores, he kneeled and kissed the soil which, as he fondly trusted, Liberty hallowed. How many of the noblest souls of Europe have, in spirit, done the same. What longing eyes, too often dimmed with tears of bitterest disappointment have looked to us, patient, yet eager, that we might by success shame tyrants and nobles into justice. Europe feels that she has a claim upon those who, undepressed by many failures, unobstucted by ruins, have the prompting of youth and the acclaim of a waiting world, and the manifest welcome of heaven to lead them on. She pours in upon us her best mental and moral light. Has she no right to ask that her surplus laboring population may be allowed to aid in rearing our material prosperity? It is the meanest injustice in us to class the tens of thousands of foreigners who seek a home in this new world, under one category of the "evil disposed." Because vagrants and criminals from overcrowded poor houses and prisons are sometimes swept upon us—shall we forget the bands of substantial, strong limbed, clear headed, warm hearted men and women—farmers and mechanics with well filled purses—scholars with teeming brains and choice libraries—artists breathing an atmosphere of grace and refinement—clergy with overflowing learning and goodness—philanthropists fresh with enthusiasm, who year by year come to share their all with us? Are we so egregiously vain, as to say we do not need their aid; so niggardly as to deny them room to be useful? From the loins of those weary pilgrims and disenthralled captives shall spring generations of nature's noblemen. The variety of elements, characters, tendencies, here blending, ensure an era of *Universality* in Religion—Law—Science—Art—Industry—such as no land, no age have ever seen before. Let us welcome the brothers whom hope brings. Let us be sure, that if we were what we ought to be and might be, the very elect from all the four corners of the earth, who, too-often look on us with half sorrow, half shame, would come to aid in rearing the great temple of Humanity.

"Very fine," says the objector, "but the practical difficulty remains, that we *endanger* the very life, and impair the growth of our yet immature institutions by permitting this ingress of men, unaccustomed to our duties and trials, disappointed by experience abroad, and who can and do feel no patriotic interest in our nation." Let us grant the force of the objection, and then let us proceed to make two remarks, which go to the heart of the whole matter.

1. The reason why the Radicals of Europe are *dangerous* to our peace is, that they find here the very same abuses which they have been trained by experience to contend

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with at home, and which they had here expected to escape. When the subject is of such urgent importance, let us not stand upon terms of ceremony, but rather use plain speech. And is it not true, undeniably true, that this Republic of the United States presents the appearance of exactly the same struggle *between Capital and Labor, between Aristocracy and the Working Classes*, which the monarchies of the old world are shaken with? For the moment, to be sure, wages are higher; there is an unoccupied soil; we see less crowding, less fevered and mad competition, less of extreme contrasts. But does it need half a glance to detect, that the *tendencies of society here* are identically the same with those which have brought, or are rapidly bringing, every nation in Europe to the dizzy verge of revolution? What matters it to him who has struggled with the full-grown hydra of despotism, that here this monster is young and half-grown? Do not the foreign operatives in our manufactories, the foreign mechanics in our cities, nay the foreign laborers in our fields, instantly feel as they did in Europe, and with intensest disappointment, too, that they are rowing against a flood, which surely, steadily, however imperceptibly, is bearing them down, in spite of all their courage and toil, to *pauperism*? Ay! let us speak it fairly, frankly out. Is not our fear of these radicals simply this, that they will whelm all property distinctions in one levelling torrent of agrarianism? Half instructed in the nature and principles of our government, half blinded by their old familiar prejudices, surprised, indignant, the foreigners, especially of the working-classes, become willing instruments of our demagognes, because the naked facts convince them that here, as in Europe, WEALTH IS MASTER, MAMMON IS KING, and LABOR IS HIS SERF, in reality if not in name. The necks of these redeemed slaves are too sore with the scars of the halter to permit them, willingly, once again to be yoked in the car of this golden idol. Is it not a somewhat obvious consideration, that there is *one way, and but one*, of guarding against this danger, which unquestionably does threaten this country as well as Europe with revolution, and that is, *removing the abuses* which give demagogues the power of deluding their victims? But how remove this aristocracy of wealth? Ay! hat is the question which must be answered.

2. The second remark is, that it is an optical delusion, so to speak, a mere whim of fancy to suppose, that our native working classes will not be as dangerous to our peace, in the long run, as the foreign working classes. Nay! they are so now. Who were most active in this very mob? Who sacked the houses; howled around the burning churches; shouted as the holy symbol of our religion fell? Who has forgotten the destroyers of Pennsylvania Hall? the riots in all our cities? It needs but a walk on any Sunday afternoon around the outskirts of New York to be convinced, that we are training up in our midst a class of boys and men, prematurely ripe for any atrocity. For the time, the organization, politically, of the laborers in this land, is laid aside; strikes for higher wages are rare. But there will and must come a time, if society goes on in its present track, when the honest, upright, hard-working will find the pressure of the money-power too strong, and will rise to cast it off; and then demagogues will rally factions, and strengthen themselves by enlisting on the side of the "People," so called, all the native as well foreign *sans-culottes*. More or less, in fact, this is already done at every election. The watch-words of "equality, freedom, and human-rights," sounded out by loud voices, sweep into the train of office-holders and office-seekers of all parties, the really well-disposed, but short-sighted and inexperienced. The fundamental jealousy, which embitters every political party, and maddens voters at every election, is the strife between money and men. Instead of denouncing as traitors to the commonwealth, and as disorganizers, those who point out this radical quarrel which pervades society, it would be better to look facts in the face. Bank and No-Bank—Tariff and Anti-Tariff—Free-Labor and Slave-Labor—Whig and Democrat, mean at bottom just this and no more nor less; we *all* want property, because as society is at present constituted, property is at once the underpinning and the cap-stone of *respectability*. Yes! we *all*, not the few only, desire and need an opportunity for ourselves and our children to be cultivated—to have leisure—enjoyment, and above all, access to refined society.

These two remarks show undeniably what our real danger is—that it is identically the same with that which threatens every state in Europe, and that it demands some radical cure. Palliatives will only in the end aggravate the disease. For a moment let us look at two of these palliatives, on the efficacy of which men, calling themselves statesmen, rely:

1. We must strengthen our police system, imitate London and Paris, have a gendarmie and a staff of day and night officers in every street; in a word we must resort to *force*. The severest criticism and condemnation indeed, in relation to the late mob, is against the city authorities, that they did not promptly enforce the peace! But our experience has taught one fact very plainly, that when any large portion of the people are in earnest, constables and militia are useless puppets. It needs hired ruffians to shoot down a mob. Fellow citizens dread to imbrue their hands in the blood of fellow citizens. Any police system, or militia system, which can possibly be contrived, will prove utterly powerless here, whenever questions, like those hinted at in this article, shall deeply agitate the popular mind. And for this simple reason, that a free government is felt by all to rest *upon opinion, not upon force*. All exercise of force is instinctively recognised as not only out of place here, but a farcical usurpation. But this very conviction, that law in this country is the exponent, not of arbitrary will in an individual, but of the conscience and reason of the people, is the source of our loyalty. And as a people we are marvelously loyal. The explanation of our actual order is, that every man feels bound, not by *fear*, but in *honor*, to uphold the laws. If laws here are just, they are omnipotent. But if unjust, and recognised to be so by any large portion of citizens, judge, jury, constables, militia, would do well to resign, before attempting to execute them. Our only safety is in justice. The less we rely upon punishment and restraint; and the more we resort to prevention and free exercise of powers in good directions, the wiser and safer shall we be. The only true government in a free land is Truth and Right.

2. But we must make men fit to be citizens by *education*. True! most true!—When Horace Mann of Massachusetts, popular as he rightly was, with any office in the gift of the commonwealth open to him, abandoned politics and consecrated his splendid energies to the cause of Public Education, he gave a proof of sagacity as well as of disinterestedness, which any of our statesmen might well emulate. "Go forth and educate the People." Excellent! But now comes the difficulty. How will you educate men and women, wearied with long, unintermitted, anxious toil, amidst garrets and cellars, with riotous children around them in leisure hours, and necessity driving them out to early and late exertion. Why delude ourselves about so plain a matter. Every year will it become more, not less difficult, for the parent to allow his child time for school; every year more, not less difficult, for the laboring poor to allow themselves leisure even to remember what they learned in early years. We are on the same road to popular ignorance with Europe. And again, such popular training as we have by our newspapers and lectures, and cheap publications, quickening intelligence without giving thorough wisdom, will only make our citizens feel more keenly their intellectual deprivations, more restless after some state of life, where men need not be machines grinding out money, for masters to stamp in their mint with their own image and superscription.—How many a young mechanic, studious in boyhood, earnest, ambitious, generous, finds himself in manhood crippled in mind, from engrossing cares; and chafes in vain against the prison-bars of want? We cannot educate free citizens to that high virtue, and comprehensive wisdom, which their duties demand, so long as they are poor, and feel themselves humbled by their narrow means. The very intelligence of this people makes keener the jealousies against unequal con-

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ditions; and meanwhile the whole spirit of society—its modes of labor and exchange, are educating young and old, not to Freedom of Manliness, but to Servitude to Circumstances; not to brotherly coöperation, but to selfish, grasping, unfeeling competition. We are at this moment training up the People of the United States to bely their professed principles of Humanity—taught in school and church, by the practice of aristocratic distinctions in the great public seminary of business and social intercourse. Popular education! we have all but taught our people and the world to believe, that Free Institutions are as degrading to the Mass of Men, as Aristocracies and Monarchies.

This Philadelphia mob illustrates the tendencies of society in all our communities, and it would be well for us, each and all, to look at home. It is because these foreigners are poor, and ignorant, and indignant, and goaded by a blind sense of wrong done to them, and rights denied, that they are dangerous; and the hostility of their opponents is for the most part instigated by no higher motive than jealousy. We have, as a people, fallen sadly—sadly short of our duties. Therefore may we well tremble; such outbreaks are only omens of fast aggravating evil. Unless some efficient means are taken, to bridge over this chasm between the Rich and Poor, the Capitalist and Laborer, to establish friendly and intimate intercourse between those now refined from possession of opportunities of culture, and those now imbruted by low influences, we shall speedily sink into the vortex of civil convulsion which with ever wider surges is eating away and swallowing up the shores of European States.

But let there be no fears, no despair, if we are brave enough to do our duties. The Union of Freemen is our mission. We can fulfil it. And in order that we may do so, let us in season solve these problems of Industry and Property. Our pressing need is to equalize the burden of labor,—to share more equitably its profits,—to make every man, woman, and child a property holder,—to secure for every one a free exercise of all his or her powers of usefulness—to open avenues to social honors,—and on this basis of general pecuniary and social independence, to raise a system of truly Universal Education, that shall make the whole of life on earth a discipline for Heaven.

THE ANNIVERSARIES.

The month of May is a Feast of Ingathering to various sects of Protestant Christendom. They come together in the persons of their clergymen and delegates, from all parts of the land, and after a season of mutual gratulations and excitement, return well pleased to their homes. There are many reasons why we look upon these religious assemblings with no ordinary interest. The protestant clergymen of this country possess a vast power; their religious movements are of the most extensive and important nature: nearly the whole business of religious propagation is committed to their hands; and the moral state of the nation may well be measured by the spirit displayed on these occasions.

There is much connected with these celebrations in which the true and universal Christian must heartily rejoice: and quite as much that will give him exceeding pain. The spirit that prompts them generally is that spirit of Love which is everywhere waking the soul of man to a consciousness of its lofty destinies on Earth. In itself it is beautiful to see men leaving the coarser cares of life to indulge in seasons of devotion to the highest interests of humanity and of devout gratitude to God. Nothing is more characteristic of the better feelings of the age, than the universality that begins to mark all its moral movements. The Church is talking with more earnestness than ever it did, not of the reformation of this or that single vice, but of the conversion of the world. Its Bible societies would send the Word of God—the fountain of all human improvement—to every soul upon the habitable globe; its Missionaries penetrate every region; while among its noblest aspirations, it contemplates a coming era of universal peace.

The spirit, then, we repeat, which is moving at the bottom of all these agitations is the benign spirit of Christian Philanthropy: we sympathize with it most sincerely: we love to read of its universal manifestations, even when through the shortsightedness of man, it assumes a perverted form; and our only regret is that it so often assumes that form, and appears fearfully disguised in the shape of sectarian bigotry and Gentile exclusiveness.

The spiritual significance of many of these bodies of religious propagandism, is worthy of deep attention. In the aims of the Bible, Missionary and Peace Societies, we see some of the grandest moral aims that ever entered into the hearts and heads of the Human Race, and our souls are touched with a sense of profound awe and reverence, when we hear of the miracles of self-sacrifice and achievement accomplished by the noble agents of Christianity. When, too, the long lines of Sunday School children, with their neat clothes and smiling faces, file before us; when we see the poor deaf mute gifted with a new sense by the hands of Christian patience and love; and, above all, when the blind are made to see, so that the blank of literature, nature and art, becomes again an illuminated page full of instruction and solace,—we thank God that he has cast our lot in this age of benevolent strivings and triumphs. The only consideration that abates our joy is, that many of the good souls who are engaged in these glorious tasks of beneficence, are so hampered in their means and often so contracted in their moral vison. While they are giving ears to the deaf, and eyes to the blind, and sending the Scripture to the heathen, we esteem it a pity that their own spiritual ears and eyes and hearts were not more readily opened to all the showings and leadings of Providence. As Associationists, the pleasure which we should otherwise take in these anniversaries is greatly marred by the one sided and sectarian character which is given to movements that ought to concentrate the energies of the universal Church. We are pained by the thought that clergymen who interest themselves most deeply in these festivities, close their minds and fortify their prejudices against a principle—Association—which, if adopted in the right spirit, would be the most effective means ever employed under God, for the christianization of the race. There is not a partial reform for which they are laboring which is not contained in it—there is not a righteous agency they use which would not be furthered by it, there is not a man among them whose sympathies and intellect would not be expanded by a full comprehension of its philosophy and bearings. God's will cannot be done in Earth, *as it is* in heaven, until the divine principles of fraternal "consociation" which animate the angels are generally adopted in practice everywhere. We commend, therefore, to all who sigh after the realization of the *triumphant*, not the *militant* Church, to all who daily pray, THY KINGDOM COME, the heavenly laws for rendering truth and love practical, revealed to the Genius of Charles Fourier.

We have many other things to say on this matter, which we are now compelled to postpone.

GLIMPSES OF THE LIGHT.

We have received, since the publication of our last number, copies of the several Quarterly Reviews which are published in this country and in England; and it has given us a shock of pleasurable surprise to find how the opinions held by the school of Fourier are gradually insinuating themselves into the current literature of the day. The Reviews which we have received are the following:—The Dublin University, the Southern Quarterly, Mr. Brownson's, the British and Foreign, and the Foreign Quarterly; every one of which contains strong and emphatic confirmations, in one way or another, of the views which the Phalanx was instituted to impress upon the public mind. It gave us joy to find these testimonies, because the higher class of Reviews may be regarded as exponents of the tendencies of the cultivated intellect of the day, and because, being published at places so distant from each other, their concurrence in any sentiment proves that it is working generally in the heart of society. Let us not be understood as intimating that the writers of these periodicals have any knowledge of the Divine Order of Society, or that they are consciously working for the en

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which we so much desire; we merely wish to point the attention of the believer in Fourier's doctrine of social progress, to the extraordinary fulfilments of his prophecies which are now taking place. This will strengthen their faith, and freshen their energies to new endeavors.

What we find in the Dublin Magazine is only a confirmation of our *critical* opinions. Fourier was the first to unfold the law of progress in incoherent society, which is to make the rich richer and the poor poorer, until the extreme sufferings of the masses shall drive them into the better forms of associated organization. His perpetual reply to those who insist that society is already advancing and needs no new schemes of progress, is, that its actual progress is only one-sided or "simplistic," not compound and universal, that what it gains on the one side it loses on the other, and that the tendency of existing civilization, in consequence of an inevitable law, is to run into an oppressive and cruel feudalism of commerce. How much is this view confirmed by the subjoined extract from the Dublin University Magazine:—

"So far is it indeed from being necessarily the case, that the nation's happiness and wealth must progress, *pari passu*, that it is notorious that misery and discontent have been widening and deepening throughout England almost in a ratio proportionate with the growth of capital. The master mind of Mr. Gladstone, quick-sighted to unravel the mysteries of this awful subject, has been likewise magnanimous enough boldly to unveil the real truth of the case, however unpalatable and alarming. In his place in the House of Commons, on the 14th of February, 1843, that philosophic statesman observed, that "it was one of the most melancholy features of the social state of the country—that while there was a decrease in the consuming powers of the people, and *an increase in the privations and distress of the laboring and operative classes*, there was at the same time a constant *accumulation of wealth* in the upper classes, and a *constant increase of capital*."

"The facts stated by Mr. Gladstone were echoed from the other side of the house. Mr. C. Buller also remarked, that "we see *extreme destitution throughout the industrious classes*, and, at the same time, *incontestable evidences of vast wealth rapidly augmenting*." That this was a true picture of the condition of the country there seemed to be a general consent. All parties agreed that the wealth of the country had been for years augmenting; while few felt any disposition to dissent from the assertion of Lord Ashley, that there was "danger,—wide, deep, and fierce." Nor were there many, we firmly believe, who heard without alarm, lest they were but too true, the still gloomier forebodings of the noble lord, "No one can hope that twenty years will pass without some mighty convulsion, some displacement of the whole system of society."

* * * * *

"But all this is the *necessary consequence*, it will be said, of what is England's pride and boast, the perfect freedom of her subjects. In a *free* country, if a man chooses to engage in a particular line of employment, if he is paid his wages he has no claim for anything else; and if he finds his occupation distressing, he can assert his indefeasible rights, and transfer himself to some mode of life which he prefers.

"Away with this mockery of God's eternal truth! Away with this vain boast of freedom in a land whose population is sighing and crying under a worse than Egyptian bondage. Talk of freedom to the wan, pale, broken-hearted manufacturer, whose three parts of life are dragged on in some noisome pent-house—tell him he is born a Briton, that he may stay away, and *starve*. Or tell the faded semptress, who plies her needle through the livelong day, often through the feverish watches of the night, to earn what is hardly sufficient to perpetuate this sorrowful existence—tell her that she is free—that all her toils are voluntary—that she is at liberty to become a prostitute, or go home and die in company with her famished babes. We ask, what sanction has negro slavery to enforce its Draconian code, more terrible than a death by famine? What then, in the name of common sense or common humanity, is the meaning of mocking by the taunt of freedom millions of our countrymen, who MUST *labor through a life of misery*, OR DIE BY STARVATION?

"Such, we maintain, is the actual condition to which the major part of our laboring poor are at this moment reduced. The tyranny of capital, fostered, instead of checked, by legislation, does subject England's free-born children to a slavery as degrading and as real as if the chain clanked after them, and the lash compelled them to their daily tasks."

This is a fact which can not be too often presented to the advocates of the partial reforms which engage society—*the evil in society is an organic evil, and can only be met by an organic remedy.* The same view essentially is taken by a writer in the last Southern Quarterly, who is said to be a distinguished clergyman of Charleston. His subject is Eugene Sue's "*Mysteries of Paris*," and he has certainly preached from that text an able and effective discourse. The freedom with which he speaks of the wrongs of our social state, and of the necessity of a more vital and general reform than has yet been applied, does honor alike to his discernment and his goodness. We select a single passage from this noble and glowing article:—

"We hear it said, that these "Mysteries" are unnatural, and we answer, so is sin. We hear it said that they are strange—without harmony of parts, breathing discord, and we answer still, so is sin. So unharmonious and discordant, we do not deny their extravagance—their confusion. The author is no artist. His merit is of another sort. His materials lie far out of the world of art. They are wretched and tangled. How can we wonder at the loose, incoherent nature of the whole picture? Harmony is found in quite another sphere. It dwells in the realm of virtue. Here is the artist's only home. Sufferings, wrongs—scenes of misery,—these our author strives to lay open to the eyes of the world. Nor does he stand alone. He is not a solitary observer in this great field where suffering men are, though perhaps less artistical than most of his fellows and co-workers. He is not the only witness to the evils and wretchedness that exist in *social life*. Carlyle, in his later books, Chartism, and Past and Present, exhibits, though under different aspects, as he represents a different community, the same glaring deformities of the social condition. Dickens bears a similar testimony. They all are swift witnesses against the present artificial arrangements which constitute society. They all tell us what the problem is which our age proposes and calls on us to solve. They all speak of a coming evil day, and bid us make ready for it. They all reveal, each in his own way, the deep struggle which is now going on—hidden from most men—down in the secret processes of life—down where *realities* lie beneath shows and shams—beneath the surface where are seen only the affectations and conceits which, in far too great a degree, constitute and pass among the masses for the social economy of the age. We have watched as carefully as we have been able, and as our short experience in life has permitted, the signs and prospects of this our time. Birmingham riots, combinations of working men, mechanics' oppressions, changes of cabinets and French revolutions, have had a language and a meaning which we have hoped to see all great men—yea, all men, strive to read and understand. We have hoped to see some preparation made to hush these cries of oppressed human beings—our brothers—to lift off the load that has grown too heavy any longer to be borne without crushing the humble bearer. What have we seen? Deaf ears turned to these cries,—eyes closed upon these evils,—and, worse than all, forgetfulness of Him whose ear is open to all unuttered wants, and whose eye notes all secret griefs. Still sorrowing men there are and broken hearts. The low wail of suffering still rises and sounds—it gathers tone and power with every day's progress, and with every new voice uttered in the spirit of Jesus Christ and of love, men have tried to be indifferent—to hush the voice of complaint and prophecy alike. They have tried to silence conscience by a little almsgiving, and by feeble efforts to raise up *societies of benevolence* with dignified presidents, and sympathising resolutions, all nicely written out in the society's books, and kept in the society's rooms. Such efforts have been made. They have been puffed in newspapers and applauded in fashionable tones in saloons and at luxurious dinner parties. Meanwhile what happens? Riots are repeated,—mechanics strike anew,—laborers refuse to work, saying, "it is as well to die in idleness as in toil, for either way we shall die of poverty." Yes! Men die of poverty right in the neighborhood of clothing societies and fuel societies. Here is the mystery, and a greater one is not seen in Paris. Here is the problem—not yet fully comprehended, if it be even dreamed of. But here it is—the mystery and the problem here at our very doors. It comes to us, and is proposed afresh, in every social conflict,—in riots and insurrections,—in all prayers for a *change* of some sort,—in all murmurs of the poor against the rich, and is lifted up in the eloquent though silent wail of broken-hearted and feeble women. Nor here alone, but in life's higher walks, the same thing arrests our attention. Our literature breathes complaint. Perhaps its best exponent and most forcible utterance is found in fiction, whether it represent high or humble life. How rarely do we find in it—and this is a faithful index of society,—how rarely do we find in it humble and domestic virtues exalted, and how often are the graces of the gentleman and Christian given to the practiced pirate of virtue! *Social life is artificial, distorted, unnatural.* The complaint we hear, and the burden of gossip, declare it. THE ARTIFICIAL NATURE OF SOCIETY. THIS IS THE PROBLEM OF OUR AGE. IT INVOLVES THE OTHER PROBLEMS OF POVERTY—LABOR, SUFFERING, AND CRIME. It has been overlooked too much. Men have feared it. They have foreseen the commotion it might excite, and the old opinions it might disturb. They have feared to look it in the face, but the time presses—the problem is not solved, and grapple with it we must. Delay is unsafe, it increases the confusion and peril. Evils exist and grow. Let them be recognized—let them be met. Let the philanthropist, the moralist and Christian know how bad the world is, what sins there are, and where the energies of benevolence are needed. Eugene Sue will answer to these things. Probably

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no great reformer himself, he shows the *necessity* of reform. He stands in advance of full half the world in the simple *recognition* of evils."

In another place, the same writer complains of the degradation and drudgery of labor, and hints that it should be rendered attractive; but we have room only for one more extract from him, in which he refers to the nature of the remedy to be provided How that word *Association* rings in the ears of every one who earnestly seeks an outlet from "civilized" wrong and duplicity:

"The law and spirit of love we desire to see more deeply cherished and more widely spread. It is a universal spirit, and we desire to see it universally felt and acknowledged. There seems, in the present arrangement of society, to be a feeling that the *law of love* is to be applied only to the higher classes—the privileged orders, and the *law of scorn* to all others. Against this we contend. In a narrowness like this we find a necessity for reform. The principles of association, as society now is, are wrong,—the spirit is exclusive and mean. Associations are now formed from fortune or accident, and of consequence whatever is built on these, exalts circumstances above the individual,—renders the accidents which befal a man superior to the man himself. *We want associations, but we want them formed on new principles,—animated with a new and holier spirit.* We want new bonds of union,—ties closer and more enduring than all earthly friendships—which do not depend upon this world's changing fortunes, and will last when this world is no more. You and I, my brother, need friends who will be our's not in the sunshine alone and in the day of prosperity, but in the night of adversity, and in the hour of scorn. These hearts crave friends that will be our's forever."

On the top of this we pile up a few sentences from the rugged English of Mr. Brownson. It is true, that in another article this gentleman has undertaken to read a lecture to the "Fourierists;" but as his views do not appear to be completely settled on the subject, we shall not reply to them now. We have a general sympathy with him, in his struggles after Truth and Unity, and cannot consent to enter into controversy with him, until he shall have given the doctrines of Fourier a thorough and conscientious investigation. After he shall have done this, we have too much respect for the vigor and acuteness of his mind to allow ourselves to suppose that any controversy will be needed. We think Mr. Brownson has every year been drawing nearer to the glorious centre of "UNIVERSAL UNITY," and if he will only preserve his mind from extremes, which are always dangerous, will yet achieve an amount of good which even his own broad sympathies have hardly suggested. But not to detain our readers, we extract his criticism of the inefficiency of "Democracy:"—

"Universal suffrage does not, then, in giving to every man an equal vote in the State, give to every man equal ability to protect his own rights and interests. The master can always command the vote of his servant; or, if cannot, he can always contrive some way to escape its effects, and, indeed, to turn it against his servant. We see this in the history of our own country. Free suffrage has done very little with us to protect labor against the usurpations of capital; in most of the States, it has done nothing. In the Federal legislature, through the influence of that portion of the representatives of wealth, who own labor, and, therefore, have an interest identical with that of our Northern laborer, a severe contest between the two elements has thus far been maintained. But these are now a feeble minority, and the contest is no longer doubtful, as the reviewer may read in the fact, that the confidential friends of his favorite candidate for the Presidency seek to win the support of Northern Manufacturers, rather than that of the Southern Planters, and are restrictionists, and abolitionists, rather than constitutionalists.

"The great danger of modern times is this growing Industrial Feudalism, which is springing up in all the more *advanced* nations of Christendom, and taking the place of the old Feudalism, founded on conquest and territory. It is, in many respects, worse than the Feudalism of the Middle Ages, and, so far as we can see, better in none. The old Feudalism was territorial, and the serf lived on, and drew his support from, the land he tilled, and his means of living were in proportion to the productiveness of his labor. He might, indeed, sometimes want, but only in seasons of general scarcity. This new Feudalism is founded on trade, much more fluctuating than agriculture, and the operative's means, instead of being in proportion to the productiveness of his labor, are in proportion to the demand in the market. As his products, owing to the vast increase of the productive power of all industrial nations, run always ahead of the demand, he suffers most, experiences his greatest want, when warehouses and granaries are the fullest.

"Now, we ask the reviewer, what universal suffrage has done, in this country, to check the growth of this system? So far as at present informed, we belive this system has received more direct encouragement with us, than in any other country. By means of corporations, joint-stock companies, for vast industrial enterprises, the whole industry of the country, and the whole legislation which concerns industry, have fallen under the control of, probably, less than two hundred individuals; and there was a moment when it threatened to fall, and had we, instead of Great Britain, been the leading commercial nation, would actually have fallen, under the control of one man alone, the first President of the United States Bank of Pennsylvania. They were not the votes of the Democracy that prostrated Mr. Biddle. All the voting in the world was impotent before him. We owe our deliverance from him to some few blunders of his own, but mainly to the fact that English cotton-spinners could live longer on their old stock of cotton, than he could afford to keep his new stock in warehouses, waiting for higher prices. The commercial superiority of England, not universal suffrage, saved us.

"In all our contests with the money power, we have seen the impotence of the reviewer's democracy, and the truth of Harrington's assertion, that power goes always with the balance of property. How did General Jackson sustain himself in his war against the Bank? Was it universal suffrage that sustained him? Or did he sustain himself by separating the interests of the State Banks from those of the National Bank, and thus gaining to his side the balance of property? Deprived of the aid of the State Banks, especially the banks of the State of New York, which wanted the government deposites, then embracing a large surplus, and to get rid of a competitor who paid no taxes, and loaned money at six per cent, instead of seven, would he, with all his overwhelming energy of character and unbounded personal popularity, have been able to sustain himself? He himself thought otherwise, and this was his reason for adopting the "Pet Bank" policy, to which, in his own private opinion, we are assured on good authority, he was opposed."

The Democratic Review, we venture to say, will hazard no reply to this sledge-hammer argument.

In the British and Foreign Review, we have been attracted by an article on the writings of Thomas Carlyle. That extraordinary man is treated with remarkable discrimination, and with a warmth of affection that does the heart good, amid so much of cold intellectual analysis. His sincerity, his deep feeling, his boldness, his humor, his learning, his originality, are gratefully allowed; but the reviewer thinks that he has not yet fully comprehended the spirit of the age. He sees clearly that society is out of joint, or, in his own words, that there is no society, "no common home, only a great overcrowded lodging-house, where each, isolated, regardless of his neighbor, turned against his neighbor, clutches what he can get, and cries *mine*, and calls it PEACE, because in the cut-purse and cut-throat scramble no steel knives, but only a far cunninger sort, can be employed,—where friendship, communion, has become an incredible tradition, and the holiest sacramental supper is a smoking tavern dinner, with cook for evangelist." He see this and feels it, but has only the faintest glimmer of a remedy. The reviewer then says:—

"There is but one defect in Mr. Carlyle, in our opinion, but that one is vital: it influences all he does, it determines all his views; for logic and system rule the intellect even when the latter pretends to rise the most against them. We refer to his view of the *collective* intelligence of our times.

"That which rules the period, which is now commencing, in all its manifestations,—that which makes every one in the present day complain, and seek good as well as bad remedies,—that which everywhere tends to substitute, in politics, democracy for governments founded upon privilege,—in social economy, association for unlimited competition,—in religion, the spirit of universal tradition for the solitary inspiration of the conscience,—is the work of an *idea*, which not only distances the object, but misplaces the starting-point of human activity; it is the collective thought seeking to supplant, as the point of view in the social organism, the individual thought; the spirit of humanity *visibly* surpassing (for it has been always silently and unperceived at work) the spirit of man. In the past, we studied one by one the small leaves of the calix, the petals of the corolla; at the present day our attention is turned to the full expansion of the flower. Two thousand years, from the earliest times of Greece down to the latest times of Pagan Rome, worked out Individuality under one of its phases; eighteen centuries have enlightened and developed it under the other. At the present day other horizons reveal themselves,—we leave the individual for the species. The instrument is organized; we seek for it a law of activity and an outward object. From the point of view of the individual we have gained the idea of right; we have worked out (were it only in thought) liberty and equality—the two greatest guarantees of all personality: we proceed further—we stammer out the word Duty, that is to say, something which can only be derived from the general law, *association*, that is to say, something which requires a common object, a common belief. The prolonged plaint of mil-

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lions crushed beneath the wheels of competition has warned us that freedom of labor does not suffice to render industry what it ought to be, the source of material life to the state in all its members, the intellectual anarchy to which we are a prey, has shown us that liberty of conscience does not suffice to render religion the source of moral life to the state in all its members. We have begun to suspect, not only that there is upon the earth something greater, more holy, more divine, than the individual—collective Humanity—an existence always living, learning, advancing toward God, of which we are but the instruments,—but that it is alone from the summit of this collective idea, from the conception of the Universal Mind, "of which," as Emerson says, "each individual man is one more incarnation," that we can derive our function, the rule of our life, the ideal of our societies. We labor at this at the present day. It signifies little that our first essays are strange aberrations: it signifies little, that falling upon their weak side, the doctrines of St. Simon, of Owen, of Fourier, and others, who have arisen, or shall arise, may be condemned to ridicule. That which is important is the idea common to all these doctrines, and the breath of which has rendered them fruitful; it is the object which they all instinctively propose,—the starting-point they take. Half a century ago, all the boldest and most innovating theories sought in the organization of societies guarantees for free individual action; society was fundamentally only the power of *all* directed to the support of the rights of *each;* at the present day, the most timid reformers start with a social principle to define the part of the individual,—with the admission of a law, to seek what may be its best interpreter and its best application. What, in the political world, are all these tendencies to centralization, to universal suffrage, to the annihilation of castes? Whence arise, in the religious world, all these discontents, all these reversions toward the past, all these aspirations toward a future, confused, uncertain, but wide, tolerant, and reconciliatory of creeds at present opposed? Why is history, which in old times was satisfied with relating the deeds of princes or of ruling bodies of men, directed at the present day so much to the masses, and why does it feel the want of descending from the summits of society to its base? And what means that word Progress, which, understood in a thousand ways, is yet found on every lip, and becomes more from day to day the watchword of all labors? *We thirst for unity; we seek it in a new and larger expression of the mutual responsibility of all men towards each other,—the indissoluble copartnery of all generations and all individuals in the human race.* We begin to comprehend those beautiful words of St. Paul, (Romans xii. 5,) "We being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another." We resolve the incertitude and caprices of individuals into a universality: we seek the intelligence and harmonizing of persons in the collective mass. Such is the tendency of the present times, and whosoever does not labor in accordance with it, necessarily remains behind."

We have been much interested also, in an article in the Foreign Quarterly on Dante, the master mind of Italy. As a review of the life of that extraordinary man, it is not remarkable; but for the aspect in which it regards the recent sudden interest in Dante, it deserves attention.

This article opens by observing that within the last few years, the subject has received a new impulse both on the continent of Europe and in England. In Germany there has been at least four translations of him in succession, since 1832; philosophical and elaborately learned commentaries on his greatest poems have appeared; lectures without number are delivered on the same subject in Italy; while his life, his works, his system are everywhere industriously subjected to a new analysis.

The writer then proceeds to ask what is the secret of this phenomena in literature, and answers his inquiry, by asserting that "the thought which was in Dante is the same as that which is now fermenting in the bosom of our own epoch. We feel this instinctively," he continues, "and we seek to place our own wavering belief in refuge under the great wing of his genius. The secret of Dante is a thing which concerns this present time."

In illustration of his remark, the writer then gives the following abstract of Dante's "system," which our readers will perceive is almost identical in its expressions with those in which the followers of Fourier delight. He says:

Dante believed: God is one—the universe is one thought of God—the universe therefore is one. All things come from God—they all participate, more or less, in the divine nature, according to the end for which they are created. They all float towards different points over the great ocean of existence, but they are all moved by the same will. Flowers in the garden of God, all merit our love according to the degree of excellence he has bestowed upon each; of these, MAN is the most eminent. Upon him God has bestowed more of his own nature than upon any other creature. In the continuous scale of Being, that man whose nature is the most degraded touches upon the animal; he whose nature is the most noble, approaches that of the angel. Everything that comes from the hand of God tends towards the perfection of which it is susceptible, and man, more fervently and more vigorously than all the rest. There is this difference between him and other creatures, that his perfectibility is what Dante calls "*possible*," meaning *indefinite*. Coming from the bosom of God, the human soul incessantly aspires towards Him, and endeavors by holiness and knowledge to become reunited with Him. Now the life of the individual man is too short and too weak to enable him to satisfy that yearning in this world; but around him, before him, stands the whole human race to which he is allied by his social nature,—that never dies, but works through one generation of its members after another onwards, in the road to eternal truth. Mankind is one. God has made nothing in vain, and if there exists a multitude, a *collective* of men, it is because there is *one* aim for them all—one work to be accomplished by them all. Whatever this aim may be, it does certainly exist, and we must endeavor to discover and attain it. Mankind, then, ought to work together, in order that all the intellectual powers that are bestowed amongst them may receive the highest possible development, whether in the sphere of thought or action. It is only by harmony, consequently by association, that this is possible. Mankind must be *one*, even as God is *one:*—one in organization, as it is already *one* in its principle. Unity is taught by the manifest design of God in the external world, and by the necessity of an aim. Now unity seeks for something by which it may be represented, and this is found in a unity of government. There must then of necessity be some centre to which the general inspiration of mankind ascends, thence to flow down again in the form of LAW,—a power strong in unity, and in the supporting advice of the higher intellects naturally destined to rule, providing with calm wisdom for all the different functions which are to be fulfilled,—the distinct employments,—itself performing the part of pilot, of supreme chief, in order to bring to the highest perfection, what Dante calls "The universal Religion of human nature:" that is, empire—IMPERIUM.

THE TEN HOUR SYSTEM.

We spoke in our last of the debate in the British Parliament upon the "Factory Bill," introduced by Lord Ashley, limiting the duration of factory labor to ten hours per day; and our own view of its momentous importance, seems fully confirmed by more recent accounts from England. The most intense excitement had been created throughout the manufacturing districts among the working classes, who had held and continued to hold immense public meetings to sustain the bill; in some instances, as will be seen by the following summary from the London Times of April 16, under circumstances quite unprecedented.

Our readers will see by the public meetings that the Ministerial appeal to the working man is receiving as full a hearing as the boldest appellants could possibly desire. We question if ever a *Provoco ad populum* was more recklessly made or more solemnly responded to. Day after day, or rather night after night, the multitudinous court renews its sittings. Witnesses give their testimony, judges their opinions, varying, perhaps, in minor details and private theories—for we should be sorry to pledge ourselves to the very words of a hundred thousand referees—but yet forming one great judgment, substantially one, and substantially true, such as was to be expected from any great aggregate of the English people, but which, nevertheless, Her Majesty's Home Secretary did not at all expect.

The court opened at Leeds, whence it was adjourned to Bradford; the next day we hear of it sitting at Huddersfield; then at Halifax; to-day we find it at half a dozen other places, as ubiquitous as her Majesty's judges of Assize. Other meetings are in prospect. There seems no end of them. Every body is allowed to speak; every body states the case as his own position compels him to view it. The operative describes the bearing of the present system on his domestic affairs—his wife—his children—his home—his prospects. The medical man gives it as the result of a long experience that the present hours of work are physically wrong, and therefore—such is his trust in nature's God—cannot be morally right. The Clergyman says that his unhappy parisioners have no time for religious instruction or devotion—that they are in bondage, the servants of wealth, instead of being free, as their religion promised they should be. With one clear trumpet tone, too, have the operatives of the West Riding, to whom we shall soon have to add those of Lancashire, responded to the appeal of the British Parliament, that they will not be satisfied with less than a ten hours' bill.

The monster political meetings which shook the realm a few years back owed their dimensions to the agreement of the masters. The masters, besides using every other means of persuasion and argument which their wealth, their position, or their ability could give them, closed all their mills by common consent on the day of the meeting; and the operatives, nothing loth, had yet nothing to do but to swell the muster, and sign the petition. In the present instance the millowner does not afford the same encouragement and the same facilities. He does not close his mill. The operatives have had to sacrifice

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their Easter holydays—and but few holydays have they—to the duty of expressing their opinion. We have had three snowy Easters within these eight years; and this, the finest Easter that man ever remembered, has been devoted to the acquisition of a prospective benefit. The operative has given his own time to the cause, not the time of the mill-owner. It has been the same since the holy-days. The later meetings have been held after the day's work; and strangers have been astonished to see with what entire forgetfulness of personal fatigue and discomfort, thousands, after standing twelve hours at the spindles, could go on standing in rooms crowded to suffocation, till midnight, that they might leave nothing unheard or unsaid by which they might understand and declare their cause.

The last meeting, reported in our columns to-day, is a still more remarkable sacrifice on the part of the operative. The Manchester meeting of delegates was held on the morning of a day which the Englishman considers to be neither his own nor his master's, but due to a higher master over all—on Sunday morning. For our own part, though we feel the precedent to be dangerous, we will not take upon ourselves to condemn the choice of the day. The occasion was an extraordinary one; the millowners would not give a day for the purpose, and a whole day was necessary for the journey of the delegates to and fro across the country; the work was one of mercy, and taking all into account, we can only view this Sunday meeting of the Lancashire delegates as a great and, we are sure, a painful sacrifice of religious scruples and associations to the obvious necessity and sanctity of the cause.

The immediate purpose of the delegates was to supply facts for such of Lord Ashley's statements as the gentlemen of the House of Commons had undertaken to dispute. The greater part of them we will leave in the hand of the noble Lord. However they may be argued upon, it is very clear that the delegates consider them to be aggravating circumstances, of a nature to strengthen that claim for legislative relief which women and minors may most unquestionably prefer. To one fact, viz. a deep and well-reasoned determination to procure a ten hours' bill, all the delegates give one clear testimony.

Now, the importance of this movement, in our estimation, does not consist in the mere attempt to lessen the hours of labor, for if this were accomplished, it would be but a trifling advantage gained by the laborer in itself, and as was shown in the debate in Parliament on the bill—a synopsis of which we republished, would be attended with evils fully counterbalancing the good that might be secured. No; the important character of the movement is derived from the fact that the Ministry, the Parliament, and the Public conscience of England, are at length, in some degree, aroused from their deadly lethargy, their cruel and criminal indifference to the monstrous injustice and oppression endured by the laboring population, and have broached the question of Reform in Industry in a way which must lead to the most far-reaching and beneficent results. The bare introduction of the "factory bill" in Parliament, as we have seen, exposed many of the horrible enormities consequent upon the present system, and the continual discussion in-doors and out-doors cannot fail to bring up vital questions touching the rights of the employer and the employed, which, it will appear to the conviction, as we hope, of all parties, can be properly settled only by a thorough change in present methods of industry and the establishment of new and just relations between capital and labor. Whatever fears might be entertained from the apparent callous-hearted selfishness of the richer classes of England, and their blind indifference to the miseries of the poor, the idea of some such radical reform in Industry is not utterly hopeless and futile; the project indicated by Lord Howick, in the debate referred to, to unite the interests of the employers and the working classes, shows *that at least some English statesmen are enlightened and liberal enough to contemplate, and are prepared to consummate it.* Very certain it is, that if peaceful measures are not adopted speedily to reconcile conflicting interests and render Justice to the Laborer, that revolution and brutal violence will overwhelm all classes with bitter calamity.

The agitation of the subject of a reduction of the time of labor in factories is not, however, confined to England; in this country, the evils of the factory system in the exaction of an undue portion of the time of the laborer—twelve, fourteen, and even sixteen and eighteen hours out of the twenty-four, and in the excessive toil imposed on young children, have been severely felt. In a general way the subject has occupied the attention of politicians, from time to time, as elections were pending, and a vast deal of demagogueism has been expended on it; but latterly it has been specially considered by the Legislature of Pennsylvania, and now in New England great feeling is manifested towards it in some of the manufacturing towns. An association of mechanics has been formed at Fall River, Massachusetts, for the special purpose of reducing the duration of labor to ten hours per day, and to effect this object, has started a spirited little sheet called the Mechanic. We wish, however, that we could impress upon our countrymen the degrading littleness and insufficiency of this attempt at a compromise of their rights, for it is neither more nor less than a demeaning compromise and dastardly sacrifice of their rights, for *them* to make terms which only modifies the condition but does not change the terms of dependence on *masters*. In wretched England, where the laborer is indeed a poor, degraded, helpless being, it is well that any amelioration can be obtained; but here, where the laboring classes are intelligent and generally possess the ability to do full justice to themselves, it does appear to us to be excessively weak and trifling, if not disgraceful, for them to talk about a reform which at the most can relieve them temporarily of a few hours oppressive toil—can convert them from twelve and fourteen to *ten hour slaves*—but cannot elevate them to the dignity of true independence! What a farce is boasted American Freedom, if *free*-men are reduced to such beggarly shifts! Do they not see that they exhibit the badge of slavery in the very effort to mitigate its oppression? FREE-MEN *would not talk about terms which involve only a question of time of subjection to the authority and will of another*—they would consult and act for their own good in all things without let or hindrance!

From the London Phalanx.

OVER-PRODUCTION AND GENERAL DISTRESS.

By an odd coincidence the question of distress is coupled in our minds with the idea of a Cow and its dull apprehension in a case of suffering, Lymphatically moaning for relief without an effort hardly to relieve itself by any other means than such as fall within the range of pasturing routine, and moving heavily along, from place to place, or lying carelessly upon the ground, enjoying thoughtlessness and chewing slowly and contentedly the cud it has in store. It is an interesting animal and meek and harmless, but when it becomes vicious, it is powerful and dangerous: and more especially the male; the Bull, which is acknowledged universally to be the symbol and the type of Englishmen: "John Bull."

There is, no doubt, a great variety of animals in England, and the character of every one of these varieties may be discovered in the human race, but, generally, we believe the bovine species typifies the English character; and thence the slowness of their movements and the dullness of their understanding coupled with a gentle disposition and a plentiful supply of milk to the great family of man, when duly pastured and well housed.

"But what has this to do with the important question of distress," it may be asked, "and the acknowledged evil of too much production?" In some men's minds it may appear to have no serious relationship, but we are apprehensive that the minds of Englishmen, in general, are really too much akin to those of their lymphatic type amongst inferior animals, to understand the nature of the difficulties under which they suffer, or be able to relieve themselves effectually from distress, by any other means than those analogous to the blind fury of mad Bulls and vicious Cows.

The question of distress and its progressive remedy is, in itself, a simple problem in both theory and practice, but the difficulty of imparting light enough into the minds of Englishmen that they may understand this question, is indeed almost as great as that of teaching Cows and Bulls to open gates that shut them out from pastures which they see and wish to feed upon. This may be deemed presumptuous assertion on our part, without sufficient proof, and inconsistent with the charity of Christian feeling towards our brethren of the "John Bull" species; but it is not meant as such, and we shall constantly endeavor to initiate our readers into the simplicity of that small mechanism by which the gates are fastened that shut out the sacred cattle (for the Bull is sacred, and the Cow,) from the luxuriant pasture, which has been provided for them by the God of Nature: the promised land which flows with milk and honey, and which all behold in vision through the bars of that locked gate of Hell which separates them from their heavenly paradise on earth, and which they cannot enter till the gate be opened.

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How to open that infernal gate then, is the question, or we may say, rather, was the question; for Christ himself, the shepherd, has instructed all the sheep of his true flock in the great secret, if they would but follow his instructions; but they will not, or they cannot; and the question now is, how they may be made to listen to the voice of the Great Shepherd, and observe the simple secret which enables them to pass from barren wilds into the paradise prepared for them on Earth as well as in the Heavens. On sacred ground, the question is more simple than it is on natural or profane, but eighteen hundred years have been already spent in trying to induce the world to occupy this sacred ground, without complete success, and though we never should abandon the attempt to bring the human race within the sacred fold, we must consent to pass from one sphere of understanding to another, until all are gathered in one fold, by one principle, and under one Shepherd. We must, then, take the temporal ground of truth as well, at times, as the spiritual; and that is the aim of the present article; but how we should proceed we hardly know; the people are so inattentive intellectually, and so much absorbed by moaning and complaint. The cows which are outside the gate and standing in the barren lane athirst and famishing, are moo-ing with impatience to be let into the pasture, without understanding how or why they are shut out, and those which are within seem utterly unconscious of the cause that keeps the others bellowing incessantly; and if a little child pass through the gate by opening and shutting it before the eyes of the affamished herd, it only runs the risk of being gored to death by some of them, or tossed upon the horns of prejudice into the regions of the clouds, to fall upon the rock of deep despair, a victim to its own simplicity.

The notion of the cow and of the herd of cattle has been forcibly impressed upon our minds by what is termed an accident, or a coincidence. The other day in walking through the fields, we had to pass through a large gate that opened from the fields into a lane, and at the gate were standing, in the lane, some cows, bellowing to enter the green fields, without the slightest knowledge of the simple mechanism by which the gate was usually shut and opened: an iron latch that needed but a little intellectual power to understand it, and the pressure of a finger to uplift: a little intellectual and much less physical power was required, and though the cows had infinitely more than was required in strength of body, they had not sufficient power of mind to master the small difficulty. And though they saw us open first the gate and then pass through and leave it shut behind us, they remained shut out, complaining loudly and impatiently to be relieved from their distress. Eyes they had, but did not see; nor could they understand.

This led us to reflect a little on the bovine species, and "John Bull" so often occupies our thoughts that we were led involuntarily to a comparison, in no respect invidious, but simple and most striking, between the distressed condition of "John Bull," and that of the excluded cows that stood outside the gate, apparently affamished in the lane, and bellowing to gain admittance to the pasture, which they seemed to have been previously fed upon and well acquainted with, though then excluded for a time, they knew not why, and did not care to understand, being anxious only for a feed, immediately.

To let the cows into the pasture, there and then, was not our duty, nor had we authority to do so, but to let "John Bull" into the field of peace and plenty is our constant wish and the endeavor of our life. But how we may succeed we hardly know; for though the cases are analogous, they are not similar in all respects. The cows might have been let into the field with ease, but it would be more difficult to teach them how to lift the latch by which the gate was shut and opened. Besides, the mechanism of the latch is only a small part of the great problem of admittance to the pasture, for by turning many cows into one single field it is not sure that all would find sufficient food. It is the mechanism of the latch, however, by which the gate is to be opened that leads into the pasture, and the difficulty of teaching "John Bull" the secret of that simple mechanism, constitute the leading feature of the simile we wish to dwell upon at present: for the field of labor is unbounded, and the pasture it affords is rich and plentiful. But how to teach the cows to lift the latch, we hardly know. We may pass through the gate, as often as we like, before their faces, while they stare with all the eyes they have, and yet they see not how we do it. They do not want to see the latch and understand its mechanism; they want to be let in, and soon; or they will lose their patience and attack the gate in fury, to rush through by dint of physical determination, through they break their heads in the attempt. And so it is, we fear, with maddening John Bull.

The principle of combination is the secret mechanism by which the gate that leads to the green fields of plenty may be opened, but the cattle in the lane have eyes too large and staring to perceive the great importance of this little principle. They cannot understand that such a little spring should keep an immense gate shut or open. They think that the great bars of which the gate is formed are the sole powers of obstruction, because they can pass through the gap, when these, with the whole gate, are moved out of the way; and those amongst the herd who theorize on forcing a way through the gate, discuss, in angry bellowings, the possibility and the expediency of removing one or other of the bars; the maddest of the bulls becoming furious and threatening to break down the whole gate and gore the inoffensive cattle that crowd up the way between the gate and them. But, to proceed from simile to stern reality—

What is the cause of that distress which overspreads the country like a leprosy, and threatens dissolution to the body politic?

"Over-production" say the Upper classes and the Landlords. "Want of free commerce" say the Middle classes and the manufacturers. "Class legislation" say the laboring classes and the Chartists. "Defective currency" exclaim the men well versed in mercantile economy and general finance; and many other causes are included by particular parties in these general divisions of opinion, with regard to the main source of evil and distress; but those which are the most correct of all are the most vague and ill-defined; the moral and religious. We must, however, take up the discussion where the leading parties place it, and endeavor to throw light upon it, even there, in the dark maze of sophistry.

Unlike the parties who are quarrelling about the nature of the evil, and asserting that they are alone, respectively, in the right understanding of the case, we think that we can prove that all are right in what they say of the great causes of distress, but all are wrong in saying that the evil rests exclusively in any one alone, or mainly, of the sources which they have denounced. The evils are connected with each other, and so intimately interwoven, that no one of them alone can be in fairness charged with the whole blame. "Over-production and false credit and machinery" are sources of distress, but not the only nor the fundamental sources of derangement: "Class legislation" is, undoubtedly, a most inveterate source of evil in society, and of distress amongst the poor, but not the only, nor the deepest cause of misery: "Mercantile restriction and monopoly and corn laws" create innumerable difficulties, but they are neither radical nor all-important sources of disorder: The "arbitrary regulation of the currency" is also a great source of spoliation, by the artificial fluctuations of "contraction and expansion" which it generates, but that is not a thing which would relieve the nation from distress entirely, were it modified on principles of equity to-morrow, though, like every other partial evil, it increases the great weight of misery, and aggravates the sufferings of the people in their greatest pressure. Not one of these great evils can alone be deemed the cause of our distress; they generate each other in the present state of incoherency and dis-association, which is their common parent and progenitor: and thence it is, that, to suppress them one by one or altogether is a work of no utility, so long as that which generates them all is left to bring forth other branches of monopoly and spoliation, not less vigorous for being novel in appearance, as the revolutions of America and France have proved abundantly.

It is not necessary to deny the truths of various parties, to refute the inferences drawn from them. We admit that all parties are right in what they affirm of the sources of distress; but then, if all are right in their respective affirmations, they must certainly be wrong in their negations of each other. In politics as well as in religion, the great cause of error and of sophistry lies hid in mere negations. In every sphere of thought the source of truth is Faith and confidence and liberality, while unbelief and infidelity, suspicion and negation are the sources of all error and confusion. Let us admit the truth, then, of each party, and prove that partial truths are not sufficient where truth universal is required.

The upper classes and their leaders are quite right in stating that, amongst the many causes of distress in manufacturing districts chiefly, and throughout the country, "over-production" stands pre-eminent: but then; what then?

Is is the too great abundance of food that forces the people to die of want! and the over-production of clothing that causes the people to be clothed in rags or to remain unclothed? It cannot be: and yet it is! too much food and clothing are produced for the steady equilibrium of commerce in a contracted and false state of things, and those who have the power to remove the evil by enlarging the foundation of the social edifice, refuse to do their duty. They look exclusively to one side of the great question and refuse to look on any other. Too much wealth is manufactured, and yet half the population is kept unemployed, and if the laboring people were employed full time in every country, not too much only, but a thousand times too much would be pro-

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duced for healthy circulation in the present state of commerce in society. But is the circulation co-extensive with the human race, and really correlative with every individual of the human family? Certainly not; for many individual veins located near the very heart itself, the centre of production, are deprived of wealth, the natural blood of life, and wither in the midst of plenty, from sheer inanition.

It is most true that more is now produced than can be sold to those who have the means to buy, but then, it does not follow that production should be regulated only by the wants of a few rich who can afford to buy, without regard to the great body of the poor who cannot purchase either food or clothing, while a system which they do not understand, deprives them of all wealth, the fruit of their own industry. The people who are starving would not be better fed or clothed if less were everywhere produced by the industrial powers which now enrich the world; and nothing less than the entire destruction of machinery would render less production beneficial to the poor; which vandal policy would bring the rich down lower in the scale of wealth than they are willing to believe. Instead of saying, then, "too much production," simply, as they do, the leaders of the aristocracy should say "too much production by the means of artificial power and machinery" that "throws the people on their own resources," which are nothing but their hands, is the cause of the distress amongst the unemployed. But this would show the naked truth, and delicate Conservatives desire to hide the nakedness of their assertions. They would rather let the people starve awhile in vice and idleness to thin their ranks and keep the population down, than take the trouble to devise new means of comfort for all classes, and enlarge the basis of the constitution, which, though small, affords great luxury and comfort to the few who are located in its venerable bosom. At least, the people generally think so, though we think that, like the cows that are within the fields enjoying the fine pasture, though they hear the bellowings of the herd outside the gate, they do not understand the cause, and only wonder "what's the matter," while they chew their cud as usual.

The fact is, that while the people depend solely upon their own manual labor, every glut of markets by machinery will throw them into destitution for a while, and periodical distress will be more terrible and frequent as machinery increases, until the laborers find out the secret of association, by which machinery may be made their slave instead of their dread rival, by working for them instead of working against them. They will then create a market in their own families for their own productions, in addition to the general marts of commerce.

But, like the cows that stand outside the gate and bellow loudly in the sandy lane, they cannot understand the mechanism of the latch that holds the gate fast closed between them and their pasture. It is not the "visionary" theory of the latch they want to understand, it is the "practical" delights of the green fields they want to feed upon. And yet they are not cows, they are "John Bulls."—Their dulness would be very comic if their sufferings were not so tragical.

With a large population of poor depending on their own manual labor alone for subsistence, and a small population of rich who are able to purchase the produce of labor to a limited extent, it is easy by the powers of machinery almost alone, to produce more than the rich of every country can afford to buy, while the poor who are deprived of labor by machinery, have nothing to depend upon, and become a burden to themselves and to society. The only remedy is to locate the poor upon the land in unitary combination, and give them, or let them make machinery to work for them and produce clothing, while they improve the land and produce food for themselves, and all that they require. This would give the people something to fall back upon at home, when foreign markets failed; but then the upper classes have got land enough for themselves, and they do not want to find land for other people. It is easier to say that "overproduction" has thrown the people out of employment, and under-production, with the help of destitution, must restore the equilibrium, than to study seriously the question, and enquire into the will of Providence in such a juncture. And then they have to fight the battle with the middle and the lower classes, who are anxious to change places with them and enjoy the luxuries of wealth and privilege. The Chartists and the Anti-corn law League beset them too continuously to allow much time for the solution of such problems as the general progression of society from one condition to another. The fact is, that, they think they did not make the evil and they cannot cure it, and they only talk about a cure to satisfy the mob. The upper classes are exactly like the cows within the pasture; just as dull of apprehension as the bellowers outside the gate, and not less unacquainted with the means of opening the gate.

And what then, are the middle classes? They are as helpless and as dull of apprehension as the others. At one of their great meetings held the other day, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, where delegates from all the anti-corn law leagues throughout the country were assembled, we were utterly astonished at their empty declamations. It was a perfect counterpart of the poor cows bellowing outside the gate in consternation at their own forlorn position. What they said of the distress that overspreads the land was quite heart-rending, and we really believe, without exaggeration; but their observations on the causes of distress left an impression on our minds that we might just as well have thought of showing the poor cows the mechanism of the latch by which the gate was shut or opened, as attempt to show the anti-corn leaguers how to open up new markets for their goods at home! It would have been a hopeless task, however simple in itself, the principle. They have a crotchet in their heads that is not altogether false: the strong bars in the gate of monopoly, say they, obstruct the way into the field of plenty. "The corn-law monopoly shuts up the commerce of the country, etc. etc." Now this is all quite true; the corn monopoly is one of the strongest bars in the gate which keeps the cows outside the pasture and within, as they happen to be placed; but the removal of that bar would make but a small breach in the gate after all, and few comparatively, would be able to pass through it; and what is more, as many would pass out of the pasture through that breach as into it. Increase of trade, as things are now arranged, involves an increase of machinery, and after the first fever of reaction or revival of trade is over, increase of machinery involves the increase of unemployed operatives, which, in its turn, creates an increase of destitution and distress. It is a vicious circle we are winding in, at present in society, and none of these small remedies can save us. We know it is maintained that the increase of machinery employs more hands, and so it does, but not for long or permanently, as the following facts will testify.

We quote from "The Factory System illustrated in a series of letters to the Rt. Hon. Lord Ashley," by William Dodd. a factory cripple, published by John Murray, Albemarle street, 1842.

"In Manchester, they have actually coupled five pairs of spinning mules together, and there are worked by one man, instead of five, as formerly, and thus one man is made to do the work of five and throw four out of employment." * * "The spinner who works these five pair of wheels, is earning about 27s. per week, which is about as much as each of the five men could earn in 1829 on a single pair of 336 spindle mules. The pieces are also fewer than before." * * "There is also a great number of self acting mules, or mules made to spin without a spinner, in use in Manchester. Some factories have self-actors only, and there the spinners are not wanted, but are cast off, to increase the number already out of employment."

These facts show that the increase of machinery tends finally to supersede human labor in production, though, by giving a new stimulus to trade, it may at first and for a while increase the number of hands employed. It is a well known fact, also, that, where the number of hands is not absolutely reduced by machinery, the labor of women and children is substituted for that of men, who are thus driven out of employment.

The productive powers of machinery in this country are now estimated to be equal to those of six hundred millions of men, while the laboring population cannot be more than ten million pair of hands; so that the laboring population stand to the powers of machinery as one against sixty. and whatever might be the increase of trade by repealing the corn laws, the increase of machinery would be the chief means of meeting the demand.

We do not mean to state that Free trade would not be beneficial, but we wish it to be understood that it is visionary to expect relief to any great extent, from such a partial source of legislation. It would probably revive trade for a few months, in the manufacturing districts, but the same disproportion between mechanical and manual labor, and the same degree of over-production as that which now exists, would reappear soon, and throw the country into general distress again and permanently. It is the basis of the social edifice that wants enlarging, that the people may have something to fall back upon, besides the hire of daily labor, leaving them quite destitute when unemployed.

The Anti-corn Law league, themselves, feel conscious of their inability to devise a proper remedy for the distress of the country, for, at their general meeting of delegates, the other day, the active committee appealed to the delegates for individual opinions with regard to a remedy. They all confessed they knew not what to suggest, but some of them asserted their belief, and that of certain manufacturers with whom they had conversed, that if the Corn Laws were repealed, the people would be fully occupied in less than a month; and then they clapped their hands, like little children, with delight. It was quite melancholy to see so

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many well intentioned people meet together, with a firm desire to do ther best, but utterly incapable of understanding anything beyond the simple question of immediate relief from a repeal of the corn laws.

The general system of society is so falsely constituted that an immediate repeal of this law would do as much harm to one class, almost, as good to another, and if Free Trade were universally admitted it would not prevent the dreadful effects of what is termed "Over-production."

The fact is, that God has resolved to drive us out of the present false system altogether, for, in it, there is no security for either temporal or spiritual progress. Free Trade is not a false doctrine, but it is an insufficient one, in the present state of things. The corn law repealers, however, are not the only superficial reasoners on this subject. The *Times* of July 8, states that the new poor law is the cause of the distress in the country, and seems astonished that nobody has perceived this before. It describes the working of the present system in the following manner, and then concludes with some degree of truth, no doubt, but very far short of the whole truth, that the Poor Law is the main cause of the sufferings of the people.

"It is generally true, that as long as there are more hands in any part of the country than there is employment to absorb these hands, so long will the employers of the working classes be able to obtain their labor at such terms as will barely support life—leaving them without a possibility of making provision for the future, and therefore involving their utter destitution when thrown out of employ. And it is not very easy to say who is exactly chargeable with this grinding system. Indeed it is not so much traceable to any single class as to the system of eager competition in saving or making money, which is so grievously characteristic of this country. The public will always hunt out the cheapest shop at which they can buy their goods; the tradesman will always strive to undersell his rivals, and to do so must drive as hard a bargain as he can with the manufacturer; and the manufacturer, in the present crowded state of the market, cannot preserve the custom of the retail dealers, except by such a reduction of prices as can only be accomplished by pressing down to starving point the wages of his workmen. The public screws the tradesman, the tradesman screws the manufacturer, and the manufacturer screws the working mechanic. If this last could insist on higher or fairer terms, neither tradesman or manufacturer would be worse off—each must and each would have his profit, but that profit would come, as it should, out of the pockets of the public. As it should, we say, for we have no right to the luxuries with which this age abounds unless we are ready to maintain in comfort those to whose labor we owe them. And why does not, why cannot, the working man insist upon his just profit from his work? Because his alternative is the workhouse. Anything which is but a shadow better than that alternative he must needs put up with. The comforts of the workhouse determine, in the present crowded population, the comforts of the laborer. The miseries of an English workhouse furnish the weapons of an English employer; by them he is enabled to produce his goods at a price which defies competition from the rest of the world, or still more disgracefully to make a rapid fortune by producing cheap and selling dear.

"We look upon the Poor Law, then, as having not only an immediate effect on the comforts of the poor, but a permanent one on the state of employment. And as such we confess ourselves astonished that it should scarce have been numbered among the many means by which the present suffering has been produced, and by a different treatment of which it may be mitigated."

The Poor Law is only a part of the whole system, and though it be as bad a part as any, it is not the only nor the chief cause of suffering. If the Poor Law were amended, it cou'd only produce a nation of well-fed paupers, and that is not a social state to be desired for the people of England. It is, however, true, that the Poor Law, as well as the corn law, aggravates the suffering condition of the laboring population of this country, and a repeal of one or both would afford some temporary relief, but not restore the country to prosperity. This the laboring classes are aware of, and thence it is they cry out for "The Charter."

"Class legislation," say the Chartists, is the chief source of all our misery, and this is also true; but then it is but a part of the general system, which is altogether false. As a party, however, the Chartists have a clearer notion of distress and of immediate remedy, than any other party. They know that small reforms are of no use, and they seem fully conscious of the great importance of locating people on the Land; but then, it does not seem to us that they have any views of combination, and to speak of land, without association, is a mere agrarian system of division that could only lead to the defects of the con-acre system known in Ireland. They are right enough in not confiding to mere partial measures of reform, but then, the vagueness of their general system creates fear and doubt amongst the middle and the upper classes. What may be the upshot of it all, we cannot say; but something terrible, we fear, and unexpected.

To reason with them would be useless, as it is with other parties, but those who are not influenced by party sympathies, will understand the imperfections of agrarian division and levelling reform, revolutionizing the Empire in all its policy and vested interests, by introducing what the French term "morselment." The principle of association is a universal principle of reform, but it begins with the infinitely small organic elements of society, a single parish of 1200 or 1500 persons of all ages, and gradually spreads throughout the land, by voluntary imitation, and without disturbing any class of vested interests. This would ultimately do away with "Class legislation," not by destroying it or violently superceding it, but by gradually substituting in its stead a better principle. It is the right to labor that the people want, and not alone the right to vote; general employment more than universal suffrage is required.

This, however, is not understood by any party, and the upper and the middle classes, by their partial policy, have driven the whole population into Chartism, which, as a system of mere politics, is not inferior to any other, for it is not more directly violent and reckless than the others are inversely selfish and indifferent. The Chartists are the Bulls of the great herd that cannot understand the mechanism of the latch by which the gate is shut or opened, and unless an opening to the pasture be made soon, they will become more furious, and gore the cattle that obstruct the passage, until fear and trouble become general.

We cannot agree with their agrarian doctrines, but we can sympathize with all their sufferings, and admire the bravery of their leaders who are not afraid of siding with the people in what they believe to be right, in spite of the danger to which they are exposed from the hatred of the ruling powers. O'Connor seems to us to be the boldest character amongst the politicians of the day, and if he be in error with regard to social unity he is right in manly feeling, and true to what he deems a righteous cause. His judgment, too, is not inferior to that of other politicians who reject the principles of combination as "impracticable." In fact, we think it is superior, because his sympathies are larger and his views more universal. We could not act with any man who follows an agrarian disorganic policy, but we believe that nothing short of Chartism will awaken the superior and middle classes to a proper sense of the distress of the country, and as for the danger of vested interests, we believe that the vested interests of the laboring poor in the fruits of their own industry, are very seriously endangered now, and we are not less affected by the prospect of some hundreds of thousands of laboring people dying of starvation than we should be of the prospect of half that number of the upper and the middle classes being beggared: one class of beggars being quite as interesting as another, in our estimation. Society is in a dreadful state, and something must be done and will; and if associative principles be not adopted practically soon, Chartism will, and then, perhaps, there will be "over production" of another order, which will pass upwards instead of downwards. It is a question of life and death, of which the crisis seems to be at hand, and partial remedies are inefficient. It is however to religious thoughts and feelings we must look for an organic change and not to politics alone. Association is the only remedy, and yet the very word is in bad odor, having been for some wise end of Providence, no doubt dragged through the stench of infidelity, to show that without Christ the world cannot be saved, and truth itself, defiled with individual names, is fruitless and uncomely. Associative unity, however, is of God, and not of man, and when it has been purified from atheism and individual names, it will be found to be the underground substantial basis of the holy city of the New-Jerusalem, and the superstructure raised upon it, pure christianity.

The Chartists, then, are partly right; "Class legislation" is one of the great causes of distress; the Anti-corn Law league is partly right; "the Corn law is one of the great aggravations of distress:" the Conservative leaders are partly right; "Over-production and speculation" produce great misery in the present state of things: and the "contraction and expansion of the currency" produce great inconvenience to the commerce of the country, and a heavy tax upon the laboring population; but none of these evils can be fully remedied as long as society is based upon false principles; and we are constrained to admit that we do not wish to see them partly remedied, because such partial remedy would only tend to perpetuate a bad system, in which three-fourths of the population would be constantly immersed in poverty and vice, while the rest were sunk in selfishness and sensuality. The whole system is a horrid mockery of truth and justice. The highest powers in the land are the most corrupt and infamous. The Bank of England is perhaps the greatest cormorant in the whole country. The periodical fluctuations of the currency is the most refined system of plunder that was ever imagined, but the law of progress in false civilization is, that the poor shall be-

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come poorer and poorer in proportion to their skill and industry, collectively, while the rich become more wealthy. The Bank of England will realize some millions this year by the expansion of the currency, notwithstanding the distress which prevails, and no one has the power to prevent it, though the principle seems partly understood by some, as the following extract from the Times will show:—

"There are, of course, many persons who, feeling what they consider a benefit immediately resulting from the reduction in the rate of discount by the Bank of England, cannot clearly understand the force of the complaints which are made on the subject. A low price of commodities being to them the index of a bad state of things, any measure that by rendering money easy tends to advance such price appears to them an indisputable benefit. The feelings of these persons are probably represented by the following letter, which has been received on the subject:—

'TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

'Sir—I am sure you would not remark with such severity on the late measure of the Bank in reducing the rate of interest to 4 per cent., did you know the very great relief it affords to trade after the high rates of discount ruling last autumn of 6 to 7 per cent., the natural result of which rate was the rapid fall in most of our staple articles, such as cotton, which fell 1½d. per lb.; foreign sugars, 4s. to 5s. per cwt.; indigo, 9d. to 1s. per lb.; and Turkey opium, which was at 11s., is now selling at 7s. 6d. per lb.; and now when the Bank lowers the rate of discount, and the tariff is about to be altered, and the merchants are beginning to rouse themselves from the state of despair into which they had sunk, you throw cold water on the measures of the Bank. This is very hard-hearted of you, indeed!

'I remain your obedient servant,

'A MERCHANT.

'City, April 28, 1842.'"

Were a permanent good the certain result of a general easiness of money, this writer's objections would be perfectly just, and those who found fault with the abundance might, with great propriety, be called "hard-hearted." But the fact is, that an over-abundance of money has proved the prelude to an undue contraction, and that the satisfaction at the temporary prosperity caused by such abundance is as nothing compared to the fears of a sudden reaction. It is steadiness in the currency that can alone confer a real benefit on commerce, and all violent fluctuations, whether upwards or downwards, are in themselves injurious, although almost as a matter of necessity they produce at times an appearance of the greatest prosperity. On this doctrine the experience of the last few years furnishes the best comment.

This part of the system alone would despoil the industrious classes of their wealth, if there were no corn laws and monopolies. With this power in its hands it is easy for the Bank of England as the manager of the currency of the Nation, to absorb a tithe of the circulating wealth of the whole country almost every year. As money represents the property in circulation only, and not fixed property, or property which is not changing hands, periodical expansions of the currency are like dipping an immense sponge into the sea of wealth produced in the country, and contractions are like squeezing out the quantity imbibed, by the difference created universally in prices. Those who complain, then, of the currency, are right, but that alone, if remedied, would not relieve the country from all other causes of distress. The whole system is false, and the only simple safe and permanent efficient remedy consists in making the producers the consumers of their own productions to a great extent; and that can only be effected by association, placing the people on the land as co-proprietors and owners of the same, or with the power and the right of soon becoming such. It is not political alone, but social and religious independency and elevation which they need, and those who ask for less, will positively fall on nothing. God will not allow the present system to continue, even were the people to be kept alive by better trade and Poor Laws. He has sent and is still sending men of genius to be born into the world by thousands, to invent machinery and drive the people from brute labor. They must be elevated morally as well as physically, and emancipated from the drudgery of manual labor and the crimes of ignorance.

Let the rulers look to it, and particularly those who honor God and true religion. If not a multitude of plagues will come upon the land and on the people of all classes, rich and poor, high and low, sceptics and professed believers. And yet, we verily believe they cannot help themselves. They have not powers of mind, or willing confidence enough and Faith in Providence, to understand. In wishing to address the parties into which society is now divided, we feel just as if we had to teach the cows the simple secret of the latch by which the five-bar gate was shut upon them. They only see the gate and its strong bars and think of nothing but the bars, and butting savagely against them with their heads, to break them down, or one or two of them, at least, to make a passage through the rupture and enjoy the pasture.

The anti-corn law cattle wish to break down only one of the strong bars, the uppermost, and not to utterly destroy the gate, "because," say they, "it would be possible to leap the gate thus lowered in its height, without disturbing general arrangements," but the golden calves opine that it would be sufficient if the lowest bar were ruptured that a currency might be established on a level with the ground of fundamental equity for those who could not leap the gate; the Chartist Bulls say No! however, to the other cattle; the whole gate must be demolished. No half-measures; but down with the whole gate, and all the bars of strong monopoly, that all the cattle of the John Bull species may have entrance to the pasture freely, without either leaping over bars or stooping under them. The cows and calves inside the pasture stare amazedly at those outside the gate, and wonder "what's the matter?" They have fed upon the grass so long and leisurely themselves without obstruction, and with hardly any sense of hunger, that they cannot understand the bellowing of those outside. It must be madness produced by a disease of the stomach; an "over-production" of heat in the intestines, which will cool down of itself perhaps, in time, if let alone to starve and die.

Leaving the gate fastened as it is, in the hope that the cattle outside will tire at last of bellowing and butting at the bars, is the policy of the conservative cattle inside, then, and goring each other in their rage, some butting at one bar, and some at another, and some at the whole gate, is the policy of the John Bull herd outside, and none of them can understand the latch by which all gates are shut and opened. It is too small and insignificant for their large eyes to dwell upon. They want straightforward butting and practical ruptures: none of your "visionary" latches that no bull's eye can discern, and which are only adapted to the fingers of men, and not to the horns of honest John Bull cattle.

This is John Bull sort of reasoning; and what are we to do. Children of five years old may learn to shut and open gates; but John Bull cattle! how are you to teach them? We have no hope of it; and therefore to the children of the race of new born men, we look for pupils of the heavenly doctrine of associative unity.

"But what is your association," says the herd; "none of the John Bull cattle can understand it." Probably not: but little children can; and "of such is the kingdom of heaven." "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear."

This style of writing may be deemed objectionable and unworthy of a charitable spirit; but it is not so intended. It is not addressed to persons, but to principles of animality which hold conflicting parties in the slavery of evil and the blindness of subversive passions.

OBJECTIONS TO ASSOCIATION.

CONCLUDING CHAPTER OF A "POPULAR REVIEW OF THE DOCTRINES OF CHARLES FOURIER." By PARKE GODWIN.

"A friendless warfare! lingering long,
Through weary day, and weary year,
A wild and many-weaponed throng,
Hang on thy front, and flank, and rear."
BRYANT.

We have now fulfilled the task which we imposed upon ourselves, we have presented the conception of Fourier in its completeness, we have spoken not only of what he proposes for the present, but of what he conjectures for the future, we have touched upon all questions, from the reform of the township to the modification which time must make in manners, from the education of the child to planetary influences, and the creation of worlds. We have, it is true, sketched only in the vaguest outline, but what we have done is sufficient to enable the reader to form an opinion of the Theory of Universal Unity. Will any one now dispute the grandeur and comprehensiveness of the genius to which we are indebted for such mighty generalizations? Are his notions unworthy of Man, or unworthy of God? Was there ever loftier conceptions of the dignity and glory of human destiny, or of the infinite wisdom and goodness of the Creative Power?

But, before we answer these questions, we are reminded that our work is not yet accomplished. The substance of Fourier's discoveries *as a science*, we have given; we have unfolded it to the extent in which it is developed in his published writings; but deeper questions remain behind. What relation does this science bear to the existing institutions of society; to the dictates of true Morality; and to the doctrines of Religion and the constitution of the Church? We shall attempt a solution of the difficulty supposed to exist on these points, in the form of an answer to the following objections:—

1. *That the new doctrine is dangerous to public order.*

By this it is meant, that our plans are revolutionary. They certainly are revolutionary, or, as the state of society now is, they would not be worth a moment's thought.

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But the revolution they contemplate is not violent, nor unjust, nor destructive. On the contrary, it can be demonstrated that ours is the only universal and peaceful scheme of reform that is now agitated.

Society is at present divided into parties whose designs and wishes appear utterly irreconcilable, so that each of them in order to triumph, must desire the compression and ruin of all other parties. In this fact originates their deep and unrelenting mutual hostility.

Society is also composed of a class which wishes to preserve all that it has, and of another class that wishes to get much which it has not; the first thinks it can not yield without losing—the second that it can not gain without taking. For this reason, there is a perpetual and bitter hatred and war between the two ranks who look upon each other as natural enemies. The Conservative and the Reformer, the Tory and the Whig, the Democrat and the Aristocrat, have been at all times, and in every nation, in a state of vigilant and exacerbated antagonism.

The Phalansterian School ALONE, has nothing to do with any of these parties or classes, but presents itself in the midst of all with words of Positive Affirmation and Peace; it recognises the legitimacy of the desires of all; infringes the rights of none; it carries no torch to the temples of any; it offers to all at the same time, a doctrine which is capable of satisfying all.

It says to the higher classes that their possessions and their advantages are all theirs, and that it has no design of infringing them in the slightest respect. At the same time, besides this Right, it places a Right not less sacred, the Right of the laborer to his labor and its fruits, the assertion of which now menaces the existence of the rich and of social order, and will continue to do so, until it is recognised and satisfied.

It says to the lower classes that they will only suffer the more, by violently despoiling the wealthy, and thus impoverish others without enriching themselves; so that when all shall be miserably occupied in defending themselves against hunger, the sciences, the arts, all high and noble industry, will be abandoned, and the human race retrograde towards barbarism. At the same time, it sustains them in the sentiment that they are entitled to Labor, to Education, to Justice, and to Happiness.

It proves that a greater part of our evils spring from the misdirection of human energy, in fruitless enterprises and pernicious wars.

It proposes a plan for the organization of labor, by which the efforts of all classes shall converge towards a useful end,—the extracting from the Globe, an exhaustless reservoir, an amount of the elements of wealth and happiness amply sufficient for the wants of all, by giving to those who have not, and by adding to those who have.

The Social School demonstrates also that the masses have little interest in the irritating contests of politics; that the form of the government touches them only in a few points, since they are equally miserable (except when the accident of abundant land, as in this country, constitutes an exception) under all governments, and that their progress depends upon social reform—the reform of the township, which on the diminutive scale on which it is essayed, can do no harm, if it could do no good.

How could such peaceful notions as these prove dangerous to public order? What sentiment is there to impel to disorder, men who know, *scientifically*, that every organic change, in a subversive state, short of a true and harmonious re-organization, is nothing more than a revolutionary perturbation? No; while we propose the reform of the whole world, we would not disturb the smallest corner of its broad domain. Peace is our motto; but it is a Peace under the silent influences of which a new Earth would rise.

2. *That the doctrine is immoral.*

The Social School proposes to organize Labor; there can certainly be no immorality in that!

But they are accused of immorality, because Fourier has expressed the thought, that the manners of future societies, particularly in regard to the relation of the sexes, will be as different from those of our present societies, as ours are from those of the Patriarchs and Savages. We have already made a reply to this: if the conjectures of Fourier displease any, it is of little importance to us that they be rejected; they do not bear upon the project which we seek to realize. Our task is the organization of labor, and we leave to other generations the discretion of adopting such changes in their feelings and customs as superior intelligence, purity, and truth, may approve.

Again: we are accused of immorality, in that we urge men to indulge and not repress their Passions. Let it be understood, however, in what sense we use the word Passion, and to what does this objection amount? Why, that we inculcate that it is the duty of Man so to adjust his social relations, that his native impulses, which, freely indulged in the present state, only lead to evil, may be indulged in such a way as only to lead to Good!

Much error has been started in regard to Fourier's standard of morality, by the use of the word Passion, which has generally a bad sense in the present acceptation, but which was perhaps the best that he could find. He means by it, as we have before said, the springs of action in the human soul, the fundamental impulses, the affections, the motives of the Will. The passions, he says, have a right and a wrong development. The right development produces harmony, good, justice, unity; the wrong development produces selfishness, evil, injustice, and duplicity.

Sin, vice, and what are called bad passions, do not arise from any positive principle of evil infused from without into the mind of man, or having its original seat there; but are the false, disordered action of principles that are in themselves good. On the contrary, virtue and goodness are the true, harmonious, unitary action of all these faculties. Virtue is the integrity of a man's whole nature (*virtus, man*liness,) and implies the due subordination, the perfect co-operation, the Unity of the Whole Man.

Fourier, in this view of human nature, is sustained by some of the most clear and profound of metaphysical thinkers. Bishop Butler, whom we regard as one of the acutest and large-minded of the able race of English divines, takes essentially the same view in his admirable Sermons. He defines Virtue as "the following of Nature," and vice as "deviating from it;" and proceeds to show that this is not "a loose way of talk." "Whoever," he says, "thinks it worth while to consider this matter thoroughly, should begin by stating to himself exactly the idea of a system, economy, or constitution of any particular thing or nature; and he will find that it is a One or a Whole" (Unity,) "made up of several parts, but yet that the several parts, even considered as a whole, do not complete the idea, unless you include the relations and the respects which those parts have to each other. Every work, of both nature and art, is a *system*," etc. He then illustrates this by the *constitution* of a watch, and adds: "Thus it is in regard to the inward frame of man. Appetites, passions, affections, etc., considered merely as the several parts of our nature, do not give us an idea at all of the system or constitution of this Nature, because the Constitution is formed by somewhat not yet taken into consideration, namely, by the relation which these several parts have to each other," etc. (Unityism.)

Again, in describing the nature of vice, he says: "Every work of art is apt to be *out of order*, which is true also of the human system or constitution." And after stating, from a deliberate survey of our nature, that "we were made for society, and to promote the happiness of it," proceeds as follows to state an objection: "But it may be asked, has not Man dispositions and principles within which lead him to do evil to others as well as good? Whence come the many miseries else, which men are the authors and instruments of to each other?" In answer, he says, "there is no such thing as ill-will in one man towards another, emulation and resentment being away; whereas there is plainly benevolence and good-will; there is no such thing as love of injustice, oppression, treachery, ingratitude; but *only eager desires after such and such external goods* (what Fourier calls duplicity of action,) which, according to a very ancient observation, the most abandoned would choose to obtain by innocent means, *if they were as easy* and effectual to their end; that even emulation and resentment, by any one who will consider what *these passions are in their nature*, will be found nothing to the purpose of this objection; and that the principles and passions in the mind of Man, PRIMARILY AND MOST DIRECTLY lead to RIGHT BEHAVIOR, with regard to others as well as himself, and only SECONDARILY and ACCIDENTALLY TO WHAT IS EVIL."

It would seem, then, that Fourier's notion of the nature of evil and of virtue, is not unsanctioned by the highest authorities of Christendom.

Two remarks, however, are necessary to a complete understanding of his doctrine of obedience to the Passions.

The first is, that all the societies which have as yet existed upon the earth, being incoherent and disorganized, were subversive and false societies, and that the Passions of Man are subverted with them; hence, that compression and restraint are absolutely needed to prevent the race from degenerating into a still lower degree of degradation and suffering. In proportion to the extent of that subversion, is the need of more rigorous laws and restraints; but as society approaches a more organic state, the severity of its discipline may be relaxed, until finally, having attained Social Harmony, men may be left to their native Attractions, which are their only true guides, ever-present and permanent revelations in the soul of the Will of God.

Our second remark is, that owing to this fact of the *accidental* and *permanent*, or the false and true destinies of society, the dictates of Morality are of two kinds: *relative* and *absolute*. There are certain duties which are duties for all men, of all ages or nations

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and under all circumstances, such as the duties of Truth, Justice, Love, and Devotion to our Heavenly Father; these are absolute obligations, for the complete performance of which we are to seek all the aids that our position requires, from the energy of our own wills, and from the grace of God. There are other duties, which are duties exceptionally, under given conditions, and for the production of particular results, such as self-denial,* mortification, resignation, the endurance of suffering, fastings, contentment, etc. They are duties, because in incoherent society they aid in controlling subversive passions, that would otherwise develop themselves to the injury of their possessors and others. Another reason is, that it would only be vain and irritating to indulge desires for the gratification of which society had made no provision—the love of wealth, for instance, which we are commanded to restrain, because it would only become a torment in societies where it is impossible for seven-eighths of the people to have wealth.

That the present state of society is not its permanent state, and that the compression of the passions is not a permanent duty, is evident from the consideration that such compression is not, now, effectual, but only partial and temporary, and must continue to be of that character. No individual has ever succeeded in the attempt at a direct subduing and suppression of his passions. They are active and living forces, that will manifest their existence in one way or another, like the internal fires of the Earth, whi h, smothered in one place, speedily break out in another, generally made more intense by the feeble effort of resistance. The only method of eradicating a vice of the passions, is not suppression, but substitution, i. e. by changing the mode of their activity. Dr. Chalmers, the celebrated Scotch Presbyterian preacher, has an excellent sermon on "the expulsive power of a new affection,"—a phrase that recognises the truth that the best way of getting rid of an old affection is to get a new one, or, in other words, to change the object of the affection. A healthful activity of all the faculties of our nature, which can only be procured in the Harmonic Order, is a better preservative against vice than all the saws and commands of all the moralists from Confucius to Joe Smith. Only to the extent in which the means for such an activity has been presented by Society, have its manners and morals improved. This is a pregnant fact!

That the present state of society is utterly and abominably false, and needs a thorough organic renovation, is further evident since it imposes a restraint upon the practice of the *absolute* duties of life, almost as rigid and grievous as that which it lays upon the indiscriminate indulgence of the subversive passions. It is almost a matter of doubt, whether the world would be more disturbed and injured by the unbounded freedom of all the passions, or by the unflinching assertion of all the virtues. Suppose that Truth and Justice were at once applied to the existing ways and relations of mankind! Could there be a more fatal supposition? What a universal uproar and distress among the plots of public men, the frauds of merchants, the tricks of politicians, the innumerable basenesses of industry, of legislation, of the press, of the pulpit, among secret dislikes and dissimulations in families, between man and wife, parents and children, the deceptions of Love, the ignoble conventions of politeness and law upon which society rests! Or, let Justice be done among men, and what devastations, what exposures, what overturnings, what horrors, would be the wild and cruel result? War, pestilence, and famine, are hardly more dangerous to the physical welfare of our societies, than Truth, Justice, and Liberty, would be, if there were some Supreme Power, capable and ready to put them into instant action. Society itself admits this danger, every time it bristles so fiercely against some poor starveling, "indiscreet, imprudent, impracticable" reformer, who would only make a feeble application of some single bit of Truth or Justice; yet Truth, Justice, Liberty, are *absolute* in their requirements.

What becomes, then, of the charge that the doctrines of Fourier are immoral?

We admit fully the necessity of restraint in the subversive stages of society; we invade no recognised law of the present state; we would relax the discipline of coercion and force, only as the moral advancement of the race allowed and required; and we are the only persons who have a practical faith in Absolute Virtues, because we are the only persons who can propose a social system in which they can find their true and perfect expression.

The truth is, that we are more moral than other people, because we know how to make morality available in the highest degree to the happiness of mankind. If individuals among the disciples of Fourier are immoral, they are so *in spite* of their creed.

3. *That the doctrine is irreligious.*

Those who make this objection, mean by it, that our views are exclusively moralistic or material, and that we hope to achieve the reformation of society by a mere external mechanism, without regard to the teachings of religion.

We are not surprised at this charge, because the doctrine of Fourier has been taught generally in its scientific aspects, and Science, in a one-sided view of it, takes a position of antagonism to Revelation, although it is found in the end that they mutually support and illustrate each other—God being the author of both. Science is too much cultivated in the sphere of Necessity, and Revelation in the sphere of Faith, whereas they should be equally instruments of unfolding the mysteries of God's word and works. Astronomy, mathematics, geology, have all at times presented themselves in opposition to Christianity; but a larger knowledge of the facts of the one, and of the meaning of the other, have made them willing co-operators in the redemption of Man from ignorance and suffering.

Social Science, it will be seen in the end, so far from being hostile to true religion, is one of its best and highest expressions.

It would lead us into too technical and abstruse a metaphysical discussion to attempt to show the complete compatibility of every word of Revelation with the Doctrine of the Passions; but we believe we can do so, under the light of Universal Analogy, and may hereafter make the effort. At present, we confine ourselves to general affirmation and popular explanation.

We claim to be Christians, then, because we believe the gospel of Christ to be the highest revelation given to Man; and we believe that this religious dispensation will endure until it has been fully established by the creation of a New Heaven and a New Earth, described in the Book. And, again, we claim to be Christians, because we believe that the Providence of God is Universal; that it is both partial and general, and that he is a God of Love and Mercy, not a cold abstraction, but ever near to us, present in the mind and heart and senses.

We believe it to be our duty to obey the commandment of Love, and have perfect Faith in the promise of light given by the Savior:

"Seek ye first the kingdom of God and its Justice, and all these things [worldly comforts] shall be added unto you."

In obedience to this command, and in implicit faith in this promise, we seek that we may find the kingdom of God and its righteousness; and we are only afraid of those who say that nothing can be found by seeking; that the mystery of the Universe is impenetrable; that the curse of civilized duplicity and misery will last forever; that human nature is too bad to be redeemed; that the will of God cannot be done on Earth, as it is in Heaven, though we are instructed to ask for this in daily prayer. We are afraid, we say, of such negations, and regard all persons who entertain them as infidels, whatever may be their *professions* or *creeds*.

We believe that every word of the Gospel is divine, but we believe also that no human understanding of that Word is perfect

If, then, it be asked, what particular form of doctrine we propose to teach, we reply that we have no mission to teach any one religious creed or preference to others. Individually, we admit all creeds in their peculiar spheres, inasmuch as they are all respectively partial aspects of the one eternal truth of Revelation, in its infinite variety of aspects. We admit all views of truth, without denying any, and subscribe to every creed, but not exclusively; what is affirmative in each is, for the most part, true, while the error of each is in its negation and exclusiveism.*

Our object, in regard to Faith and Spiritual Light, then, is not to teach a new religion, but to point to That which has already been revealed, to show that men as yet have only grasped the shadows of that true Religion, in its various aspects, and mistaken these for reality. The various creeds and doctrines of religious sects are types of Unity, but the life and practice of these sects are not in Unity. It is a shadowy aspiration more or less intense, but not a positive reality; for, while the truths of doctrine are embraced and held in veneration, practical life is steeped in discord and iniquity; and this must ever be the case, until the spirit of religious truth or unity be really *embodied* in the practice of daily life—the end we seek to realize.

We seek to effect this practical embodiment of religious truth and love, in daily life, by attractive industry and unitary combination; neither of which are in themselves alone Religious Unity, but the *body* or collective form in which alone the ordinances of Christianity, the spirit of religion, the

* There is a sense, however, in which self-denial is of the essence of Religion. The law of life, according to Fourier, is this, "that God distributes to his creatures their particular attractions and desires respectively," and the particular exception to this law of distribution is, that man on Earth aspires to Heaven and a higher destiny than he can here enjoy. It is then, the link of Universal Unity which binds the soul of man, while on Earth, to Heaven, and every seventh function in material and spiritual life, should be religious, and diverge from earthly satisfaction to heavenly aspiration, as an act of devotedness and self-denial or sacrifice of self to God and Universal Unity.

* See this matter treated at length in our following work, soon to be published.

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Universal church, can be incorporated practically and incessantly, for without the Body the Spirit cannot be manifested fully on Earth. We do not deny, then, the spiritual truth of Religion; we desire to organize a body to receive that truth; a practical reality, and not a mockery. And what is more, we hold that all religious creeds are true in their main features, and only need to be embodied in material organic Unity, to prove their beauty and utility respectively, and their indisputable claims to a true origin, ordained by Providence. It is the want of such a body which confines them to the realms of suffering spirits and discordant action: types and shadows in confusion struggling to become realities.

Religious truth is the *principle* of unity and harmony, but this cannot be realized in *practice* universally, without a correspondent unity of action in the sphere of worldly interests; and thence it is that in the present state of disorder and discord in the world, though spiritual light and truth are the first in principle and importance, natural light and unitary combination are of primary interest as the practical foundation of a perfect superstructure; and to frown upon the science of industrial unity, as an inferior thing of mere material importance, is silly and thoughtless. The man must be emancipated from the degradation of the brute before he can be imbued with elevated views of God and a future life.

No one will deny, we hope, that society is much indebted to the progress of material art and science, for refinement and the spread of Christianity—the power of multiplying and diffusing Christian knowledge among nations. No one will deny that the ability of men to increase in knowledge, politeness, and friendship, is greatly promoted by the alleviation of their outward circumstances; and that comfortable apartments, freedom from care and drudgery, cleanliness, constant labor, and education, are efficient auxiliaries in the establishment of truth. Now, our only aim at present is to render the services of science and industrial activity, the handmaids of religion, more constant, more direct, and more effective. We wish to show, as society is now constructed, that there is no security for moral discipline and religious communion. Every one is left to act, without direct control, as his unbridled passions dictates; and as the interests of individuals are everywhere opposed to those of general society, temptation to iniquity is permanent and strong.

The Church has little or no hold on the minds of men (except to enslave their intellects;) and never will have the power she ought to have, until society is organized materially on a plan of Unity, in which the light of Gospel truth can be conveyed in permanence, instead of being, as at present, wasted by dispersion among beings who are not sufficiently accountable to general opinion for their evil doing and neglect of duty. An appointed minister of light and truth has now no other function to perform but that of holding up the banner of religion to his flock, shut up in their purchased pens, called pews, for their speculative consideration, once in seven days, and then abandon them to all the snares of poverty and insecurity of worldly interests throughout the week; for if he undertake to visit and console his flock, between the intervals of Sabbath, he is quite unable to protect them from the many allurements and necessities of falsehood in the world.

This is not a system, then, by which religion can obtain sufficient influence over human conduct in the common walks of life; it is too loose and incoherent. It needs consistency and unity, in which the light of true religion might be ever present, to inspire the minds of individuals and control their actions. The problem, therefore, to be solved, is not so much the meaning of the Word of God, as the means of organizing wordly interests in harmony with truth, and spiritual light and love. The light of doctrine is already very great in the various branches of the Universal Church, but want of unity in worldly combination and material society, prevents that light from being always before the eyes of the laboring population, who are more or less dispersed in personal obscurity, deprived of aid and consolation, knowledge and security, and left alone, unguarded and abandoned to the recklessness of passion in the snares of iniquity.

The dispersion of the body of society, the unprotected, disunited, working classes, is the cause of darkness and depravity on earth, the reign of chaos and Satan. Not the absence of religious light, but the want of unitary influence and convergency, to save it from being lost and scattered in the dust of incoherent worldly interests. The spirit of religion wants a corporeal organism, to manifest itself in truth and permanent reality on earth, and this is what association is destined to prepare for it. The general delusion of society at present in regard to Religion is, to suppose that holding up the type of truth in principle and precept, once a week, to an unbanded congregation, is sufficient to prevent their backsliding all the week, in the midst of general depravity, that the Will alone of poor weak mortals is able to protect them from the temptations and delusions of the Adversary, that unfriended miserable men can alone sustain the conflict with evil, without the constant presence and aid of their fellow-men.

Association, then, is not designed to supplant Religion, but to be its servant in the accomplishment of the Redemption of the Earth. We look upon it as the mightiest auxiliary to Christianity that has ever been presented to men, because it is a direct outgrowth and manifestation of the Spirit of Christianity.

The object of Christ's mission on earth was to redeem mankind from sin and suffering, and reveal truths of peace and unity, that would confer inconceivable blessedness on all his creatures. No injunction occurs more frequently in the Bible than that men should make themselves One in faith, in love, in hope. Almost the last word upon the lips of the Savior when he separated from his sorrowing heart-broken disciples, was, "Be ye one, even as I and my father are One,"—a union the most intimate and most sacred.

Fourier did not set up any other name than that of Christ, and in one of the last chapters written by him, describing the triumphs of Universal Association, he exclaims, "These are the days of Mercy, promised in the Word of the Redeemer, (Matt. v. 6.) "Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled." It is verily in Harmony, in associative unity, that God will manifest to us the bounteous immensity of his Providence, and that the Savior will come according to his Word in all the 'glory of his father;' it is the kingdom of Heaven that comes to us in this terrestrial world; it is the reign of Christ; he triumphs; he has conquered evil. CHRISTUS REGNAT, VINCIT, IMPERAT. Then will the Cross have accomplished its two-fold destiny: that of CONSOLATION during the reign of evil, and that of UNIVERSAL BANNER, when human reason shall have accomplished the task imposed upon it by the Creator. 'Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness,' the harmony of the Passions in Associative Unity. Then will the Banner of the Cross display with glory its device, the augury of victory: IN HOC SIGNO VINCES; for then it will have conquered evil, conquered the gates of hell, conquered false philosophy, and national indigence, and spurious civilization; *et portæ inferi non prevalebunt.*"

Thus, we have shown, in regard to the more important objections brought against the doctrine of Fourier—

1st. That it is the only doctrine which can conciliate all classes and parties, on a basis of mutual interest and harmony.

2d. That it absolves no man from the obligations of true morality, but insists upon it, as an absolute and permanent duty that every individual, being himself an image of God and of the Universe, must bring his faculties and life into accordance with the laws of Justice, Integrity, Unity, as well as he may in this state of duplicity and subversion. But

3d. That individuals can do this alone, only in rare cases; and that it is the direct effect of the attempt to make our own souls *at one* with God's Nature and Providence, to seek to bring the souls of others into the same divine state, for the accomplishment of which, no agency has ever been devised comparable in any degree to an organization of the whole of society according to the laws of universal gradation and harmony—the law of variety in Unity, which is the eternal fact of Creation.

INDIVIDUAL VIRTUE IS THE INTEGRITY, WHOLENESS, UNITY, OF ALL the FACULTIES of THE INDIVIDUAL SOUL; SOCIAL VIRTUE, THE SAME INTEGRITY, COMPLETENESS AND UNITY of A ... the PRINCIPLES of the Social Soul. *Each is necessary to the attainment of the other!!*

THE UNION OF BOTH SOCIAL AND INDIVIDUAL VIRTUE IS RELIGION!

If any man is able to make immorality and irreligion out of such doctrines, he is at perfect liberty to enjoy his discovery!

No: our immorality and irreligion consists in this, that the blind and corrupted growths of civilization do not comprehend that we are greatly in advance of them on all points of scientific and religious wisdom.

We have a morality which is not individual and selfish, and this they do not like. We have a religion which is not arrogant, narrow, and exclusive; which explains the mysteries of the Bible, which renders our hope, and faith, and charity scientific,* and our wisdom and truth religious; which promises to realize the Kingdom of God on Earth, and this they do not like. But we know that the future is ours, and thus we confidently look to God for the fulfilment of all his promises of blessedness to Earth.*

"I saw the New Jerusalem, the Holy City coming down from God, out of Heaven, adorned as a bride for her husband. And I heard a great voice out of Heaven, saying, Behold the tabernacle of God is with men,

* The suggestion that those who do not like our views of human nature or of religion can form associations for themselves, is so obvious, that we have not insisted upon it; but we commend the *principle* of association to all sects, who are at liberty to adopt what *details* they please. The principle is practical Christianity.

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and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them and be their God."

We recommend to our friends and our exchanges as extensive a re-publication of the preceding article as possible: the argument on the important points discussed is conclusive.

THE SOCIAL REFORMER.

That devoted and efficient friend of Humanity and Progress, John Allen, of Maine, has just issued the first number of a paper to be called "The Social Reformer." It will, of course, sustain the views of Fourier, with the characteristic ardour and freedom of its editor. We rejoice to see that he has taken the field in this way, and hope sincerely that God will strengthen his hands for the good work. If this number of his paper be any indication of the manner and spirit in which it will hereafter be conducted, we may look forward to it as a most valuable coadjutor in the propagation of the just and wholesome doctrines of Social Reorganization. We have never before felt more strongly than we now do, the conviction that Association must become the one grand all-absorbing movement of this nation and this age. Its aims are universal; it comprehends all partial reforms; it is definite and certain in its principles; and being, as we believe, nothing short of an exact SCIENCE, must prevail over the Earth. Yet the extent to which the duplicity and wrong of "Civilization" have corrupted the hearts of men, is so great, that the labor of making it known, in all its fair and beautiful proportions, will be hard, requiring the mightiest energies, the most consummate wisdom of its advocates.

As a specimen of the style of the Social Reformer, we copy the Introductory.

Ours is a peculiar Time, in the World's progress. An air so free, a sky so clear, a sun so bright, and a day so hopeful was never before. The accumulated light and experience, and the concentrated love and heroism of the Past, are all blended in the Reform Struggles of the Age. However humble our position, however feeble our efforts, there is a responsibility resting upon us, a mission for us to accomplish, as imperative and important, as was ever entrusted to man.

In partial and fragmentary efforts, the Spirit of Philanthropy, has labored and sacrificed, to give food and shelter to the starving and homeless—to open the eyes of the groping blind—to strike the fetters from human limbs and human souls—to bury the crimson hatchet of war, and to dry up the blistering tears of despairing woe. It has saved its millions.—But the remedy used has been merely curative for the time being. The causes have remained and others have been constantly falling victims to the disease. The law of prevention has not been applied, and in every age, the same work of philanthropy has to be done over and over again. We have been dealing with effects and not with causes. We have struck off the poisonous branch, and left the parent trunk to send it forth again.

One asserts that intemperance is the central evil of the world's wretchedness, and abstinence the only hope of the world's joy. Another, that physiology is the primitive reform, and the universal panacea. Some would direct all their efforts through a particular channel, for the removal of a certain manifestation of wrong, and others through a different one, for the abolition of another form of vice. We can number as many classes of reformers as there are developments of evil. And there is a prophecy and a truth underlaying the efforts of each. The evils of which they separately complain, however, belong to the same family, and are the children of the same parent. As much as others do Associationists labor to extirpate them all. But we would both cure and prevent.

Disunity, antagonism, separate interests and selfish aims, elements incorporated in the very structure of present Society, we consider the causes of human woes. These have lost to us, dominion over the earth, fellowship with man and communion with God. A malconstructed Society—a false Social order, is therefore the Pandora fountain to be purified. Reorganization, Association, unity with God, unity with man, and unity with nature, is the work to which we are called. And until this work is accomplished, poverty, ignorance, crime, oppression and war will be perpetuated as the legitimate result of social causes. The application of the Laws of Attraction, or the Science of Unity, to our relations with each other, and to the spiritual and material world, is not only the remedy for existing evils, but the preventative for future disease. This will remove the effect, and also the cause.

Association, therefore, is reformatory in the widest possible sense. As the seven primitive colors meet in a ray of light, all righteous aims concentrate in this. It is the vase that contains the flowers of every philanthropic hope, every benevolent desire, and every christian grace. It will be satisfied only with universal purity and universal joy.

Such being the fact, Association can have no war with any whose efforts are directed to the betterment of human condition. It is the greater Reform of necessity including the less. Its language is—"Success to the Educator, the Temperance man, the Physiologist, the Abolitionist, the Non-Resistant and the Moral Reformer. In fine, success to the Christian. Onward, every one, in the Reform to which God has called you. Live up to your light, obey your moral convictions. We accept your aims and your efforts of benevolence. We extend to you the right hand of fellowship. We are coworkers with you for the redemption of the world. And we complain not of your implements of labor. If you cannot use ours, we will not be enemies. We will work with you, in the removal of effects, if you cannot with us in the abolition of causes. There is no occasion of quarrel between us, but a call for sympathy, union and love."

In the SOCIAL REFORMER, therefore, no expression of principle or fact, nor any inquiry connected with the interests of humanity, will be considered an "extraneous topic." Its columns will be freely and fearlessly opened for the stern rebuke of wrong doing, whether among those of titled rank or nameless poverty—Over-worked and ill-paid labor, the iniquity of the grab-game, the Ishmaelitism of competitive strife, the forced degradation of woman, slavery every where and in all forms, in short, individual and social evil, wherever seen, and by whomsoever supported, will be made the subject of specific criticism in the REFORMER.

But the grand aim of the paper, will be the exposition of the science of Universal Unity and the laws of Attractive, Organized Industry, discovered by CHARLES FOURIER. It will advocate the necessity of applying this Science to the construction of Society, as the means ordained of God, in this age, especially, to remove the causes, which perpetuate the accumulating evils of the age. It will also give a statistical account of the progress of Association, and the character and prospects of the practical experiments now being made in this country and in Europe. It will endeavor to be all its name signifies—THE SOCIAL REFORMER. For a detail of its principles and aims, we refer the reader to this and future numbers of the paper.

To many perhaps its leading Thought will be new. It has been but about four years since one man in the whole Country, ALBERT BRISBANE, a man of rare ability and self-sacrifice, and a personal disciple of FOURIER, stood single handed and alone, as the public advocate of industrial and educational Association. Since that time the pioneer minds of our land and the civilized world have become deeply interested in the science. More than twenty practical organizations have been hopefully commenced, and on every hand, efforts are being made to bring together the friends, and to concentrate the means, that offer themselves to the movement. Men, connected with every part of reform, in religion and politics, are devoting themselves to the cause. Never before, in so short a time did a Doctrine so radically new, and requiring such important social changes, meet with such a numerous class of friends. All feel, that it is adapted to the wants of universal man. It has ever been a prophecy in the heart of all the good, and mankind are now ready for its actualization. And it is to sweep over the civilized world like a flood. It will bear down all opposition. Its success is written on the scroll of destiny. God is on the side of Unity.

Friends, Brothers, believing this to be the great mission of our age, and the work to which we are called, we extend to you hopeful salutations. At the command of the Irresistible, we address you, and with your leave, we would communicate with you from time to time, upon the principles and measures, that should regulate our modes of action, and ask your advice and sympathy, in our labors for social elevation. Our minds are made up. And it is not as a boy's play, nor as a low speculation, that we enter upon the work of Reorganizing Society. Under a solemn conviction of duty to God and to our race, we have pledged our all, and ourselves to this enterprise. If you are ready to go with us, give us your hands, give us your hearts. And if you are called to sacrifice as you will be, and as you must be, count it joy. The *hope* of such a Future, of such a Destiny, such a Heaven on earth, if but for those who are to come after us, is worth living for, and worth dying for. Co-operate with us, therefore, in this work of humanity. Inform your own minds upon the subject, and be prepared for practice, when the time for action comes.—Spread a knowledge of the principles in your neighborhood. Interest the worn out Laborer; for it is emphatically his cause. Arouse the indifferent, wake the sleeping, raise the dead. Work while you may, and the blessing of God rest upon you, and crown your struggles with success to you, and to your race.

We are pleased to see the accomplished pen of Mary S. Gove at work in the Social Reformer; she is instant in every benevolent work.

PROGRESS AT THE SOUTH WEST.—We are glad to see that Mr. North, the editor of the South Western Farmer, published at Raymond, Mississippi, continues his noble efforts in the cause of Association. His last paper, of May 3d, has several columns devoted to the discussion of the subject. The subjoined extract is the begining of one of his leading articles:

"THIS FOURIERISM."

Many intelligent gentlemen have expressed to us some anxiety for more light concerning the doctrines of Fourier. To gratify, though only to a very limited extent, this laudable curiosity, we refer to an article in our paper of to-day, under the head of "Association."

It will be seen, by this, how false have

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been the representations so flippantly uttered, in regard to Fourier being an infidel, and in regard to the tendency of his doctrines of Association.

We are glad to see that a plan has been adopted for introducing *the study of this science* into every college in the Union. A gentleman in Louisiana has furnished a sum of money to the publishers of the Phalanx to pay for a copy of that journal for the senior class in every college. This will insure an investigation of the subject in every section of our land, under circumstances the most favorable for evolving the truth, and for making a pervading and permanent impression.

We are truly rejoiced to find that many of the best minds in this part of Mississippi are looking into this subject. We urge upon the young men in the Oakland and Centenary Colleges to procure all the works of A. Brisbane, Parke Godwin, and Hugh Doherty, for their libraries, and also files of the Phalanx, (which journal contains translations of Fourier's works.) Whether they adopt the doctrines of Association or not, they will find a rich intellectual treat in the study. And what we say to those students, we say to all who have minds to think, or souls to feel.

Thus we see that at the two extremities of the Union, the north-east and the south-west, under the most dissimilar social conditions, the subject of Association is becoming a topic of earnest discussion and absorbing interest, and the reform it contemplates is hailed by the best minds as applicable to all social circumstances. This favorable reception of the doctrines of Fourier among persons so differently situated, is a proof of their universality, and their own intrinsic merits. The Truth is divine, and the human mind is always open to its reception; but upon its universal character depends the conviction and favor of minds differently constituted, and influenced by different circumstances. How grandly universal, then, is that doctrine which soars above all sectional prejudices and local interests, and reconciling the most adverse views and feelings, brings all into Unity.

FOURIER CLUBS.

It is the desire of the General Executive Committee, in this city, that clubs should be formed in every village in the United States, where two, three, or more of the disciples of Fourier can be found. Our object is to keep the attention of such persons alive to the subject; to establish means of communication throughout the country; and to become thoroughly acquainted with the actual force we now have in the country. In all cases, let the names of the officers be sent to the Phalanx,—if possible, free of expense. That our readers may see what we mean, we copy, from the "Social Reformer," an account of one of these Clubs just formed at Hallowell, in Maine:

FOURIER CLUBS.

In every town where the subject of Association has been agitated, and inquiry awakened, immediate measures should be taken to bring the friends of the movement together, and concentrate their energies, that they may put forth the most vigorous efforts to diffuse the principles of Social Science, and prepare the public mind for the practical movement. A Circulating Library should be established, and all the tracts, periodicals, and books published on the subject set afloat in the community. Societies have been formed in Bangor, Augusta, and Hallowell, and several other towns in Maine. Here follows the Constitution of the

Hallowell Fourier Club.

Preamble.

Under a deep conviction of the inherent evils of the present state of society, as manifested in its repugnant, ill-requited, and degrading system of Industry; its system of selfish competition in Trade; the unjust and unnatural relations which it establishes between Capital and Labor; its system of Slavery, which so extensively prevails, whereby man claims his fellow as property; its menial system of Hired Labor, or Labor for Wages; its denial of the equal rights of Woman, and its defective, partial system of Education; and ardently desirous of doing all in our power to eradicate these and other evils, and to hasten the time when the human race shall dwell together in love and unity, we hereby form ourselves into a Society, under the following

Constitution.

Art. 1. The name of the Association shall be the Hallowell Fourier Club, auxiliary to the New England Fourier Society.

Art. 2. The object of this Society shall be to obtain and diffuse, as widely as possible, a knowledge of the system of Association and Attractive Industry, discovered by Charles Fourier, and to impress upon the public mind a conviction of the necessity of a radical reform in our Social Relations, in order to a right developement of Man, according to the Physical, Intellectual, and Moral laws of his being,—and also to take the necessary steps for the organization of a Kennebec Phalanx.

Art. 3. Any person interested in the objects of the Society, may become a member by appending his or her name to the Constitution, and contributing to the funds.

Art. 4. The officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice President, Secretary, Treasurer, and three other persons, who shall constitute the Executive Committee.

Art. 5. The President, V. President, Secretary, and Treasurer, will be expected faithfully and impartially to perform the duties usually incident to their respective offices. It shall be the duty of the Ex. Committee to take the most vigorous measures to spread light on the subject of Association, in all its various bearings, by means of periodicals, tracts, lectures, and public and social meetings, and for this purpose they shall have power to raise and expend money according to their best judgment, and to appropriate any fund in the Treasury. They shall keep a record of their doings, and present a written report of the same to the Society at its Annual Meeting. Four of their number shall constitute a quorum.

Art. 6. The Annual Meeting shall be held in Hallowell on the first Wednesday in January, when the officers shall be chosen.

Art. 7. The Ex. Committee shall have power to fill any vacancies in this body.

Art. 8. The Constitution may be amended by a majority present at any Annual Meeting.

D. P. Livermore,	President.
I. M'Clinch,	V. President.
W. A. Dunn,	Secretary.
F. A. Day,	Treasurer.
Leverett Lord, James Atkins, C. Meservey,	Ex. Committee.

We do not give this as the best constitution that could be formed: but as an indication of what we wish to see done.

☞ An interesting notice of the Alphadelphia Association, Michigan, which is progressing very auspiciously, has been crowded out.

WISCONSIN PHALANX.

We have just been informed by the Agent of the above Association, that the *locale* has been chosen, and *ten sections* of the finest land in the Territory entered at the Green Bay Land Office. The location is on a small stream near Green Lake, Marquette county. The teams, conveying the requisite implements, will start in a week, and the improvements will be commenced immediately. We are in favor of Fourier's Plan of Association, although we very much fear that it will be unsuccessful on account of the Selfishness of Mankind—this being the principal obstacle to be overcome—yet we are pleased to see the commendable zeal manifested by the members of the Wisconsin Phalanx, who are mostly leading and influential citizens of Racine county. The feasibility of Association will now be tested in such a manner that the question will be decided—at least so far as Wisconsin is concerned.—[Green Bay Republican, Wis. T., April 30, 1844.

The Clermont Phalanx.—This is the name of a body of Associationists, recently formed in this city, who have purchased a tract of land in Clermont county, on the Ohio river, about 35 miles above this city. The Phalanx will visit their domain to-morrow, to take possession, with appropriate ceremonies, and leave on the ground a pioneer Band, for the purpose of erecting suitable tenements for the reception of such members as will form the first detachment of the Phalanx. The steamboat Yucatan has been chartered for the purpose, and is to leave the landing to-morrow morning at 6 o'clock precisely, when all who design to be of the party are requested punctually to attend. A band of music will be in attendance.—[Cincinnati Times, May 7th.

GONE TO THE PHALANX.

Mr. Thornburgh, the Pioneer of Fourierism, who has ardently advocated it ever since he understood its noble aims, has left civilized society and embarked for the Ohio Phalanx, where a better order of things reigns. He was a fine, good-hearted, and benevolent man, of good mind and energy, who, "having put his hands to the plough," will not "turn back," but press onward ever. May fortune go with him, where he will realize all his hopes of a glorious *future*.

One of our first lawyers, an active, energetic, talented, and honest man, designs uniting himself with the Ohio Phalanx in a few weeks. Success to him.

Press onward, friends! The work goes bravely on! There is no faltering in the bone and sinew of free Americans!—[Pittsburgh Spirit of the Age, May 11th.

BOTANIC GARDEN,

SEVENTY-NINTH STREET.

Messrs. THOMAS HOGG & SONS would respectfully inform the public that they have a large assortment of Fruit and Ornamental Trees and Shrubs, and also of Perrenial Herbaceous Plants, for which their establishment has so long been celebrated.

Their collection of Greenhouse and Hothouse Plants, comprising many of the most unique and rare exotics, still continues unrivalled in this city—especially in Cactus Camellias and Everblooming Roses.

Their nurseries are beautifully situated at 79th street, east of the Third Avenue, on the banks of the East River, and are of easy access by the Harlem stages, the Astoria stages, and the Harlem railroad, all of which leave the corner of Centre and Chatham streets, at least every half hour during the day; and the drive from the city is exceedingly beautiful.

The Messrs. Hogg pay particular personal attention to the package and shipment of plants and trees, intended for different parts of the country and they take pleasure in saying that they have been very successful in sending plants to great distances, especially to the South and West.

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SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS UNITY.

SOCIAL PROGRESS.—SOCIAL REFORM UPON CONSERVATIVE PRINCIPLES.

THE PHALANX:

ORGAN OF THE

DOCTRINE OF ASSOCIATION.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.

ASSOCIATION, ATTRACTIVE INDUSTRY, UNITY OF INTERESTS.

OUR EVILS ARE SOCIAL, NOT POLITICAL, AND A SOCIAL REFORM ONLY CAN ERADICATE THEM.

J. WINCHESTER, PUBLISHER, 30 ANN-ST. TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM, IN ADVANCE.

VOLUME I. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 1, 1844. NUMBER 11.

PROGRESS OF SOCIAL QUESTIONS.

We find in a late number of the *Democratie Pacifique*—the daily paper published in Paris by the advocates of Association—the announcement of the fact that the necessity of social reform has at length been officially recognized by one of the leading nations of Europe. We will translate the substance of the article of that paper, in order that our readers may share in the pleasure with which it has been read by us.

"There has recently occurred," says the *Democratie*, "in Belgium, a political and social event of the highest importance. It is the official recognition of the new ideas for which we have so long contended, and against which so many have protested, as utopian:—it is the official advent of Social Politics.

"Certainly, if our faith had need of external encouragement, a manifestation like that we are about to make known, would suffice to resuscitate it with the utmost power and vigor. But, thank Heaven! our faith has no need of recuscitation; it is living, calm and strong. Yet it is some consolation that the glorious future for which we have so patiently and laboriously prepared the way, is about to open—we behold its aurora.

"About ten years since, a new and great social event was introduced among the powers of the European continent, the inauguration of which was a powerful means of associating different peoples and races. This was the establishment of a system of internal communication by railroads. Who gave the first successful example in this improvement? Who introduced it upon the continent? Belgium. Well, Belgium has not only taken the initiative in railroads; she has taken another step in advance: she has opened a new way of progress for the nations. In the person of M. Northomb, Minister of the Interior, one of the most intelligent and influential of the statesmen with which she is honored, Belgium solemnly proclaims the complete renovation of politics, the end of the ancient system, and the necessary accession of the New and Vital Politics.

"Those who have ears to hear, let them hear! Under the simple expressions of the chief of the Belgian Cabinet, a grand fact has been revealed; nothing less than the actual necessity of directing the action of government to SOCIAL QUESTIONS."

The *Democratie* then proceeds to extract the speech of M. Northomb, from the *Moniteur Belge*, at length; but as it is altogether too long for our columns, and much of it not of general interest in this country, we shall refer to such parts only as immediately concern our readers. M. Northomb, on the opening of the Chambers, took occasion to review the various questions that would likely occupy the attention of that body, and after discussing the "financial" question, the "commercial" question and the "military" question, went on to say that one question remained, which must control them and which embraced "the whole mission of government"—he meant the SOCIAL QUESTION.

Since 1830, he said, a great change had taken place in his own mind and in that of the leading minds of Europe. Then the doctrines of *Laisser Faire*, (let alone) were in vogue, and it was supposed that the individual could not do too much and the government too little. Those doctrines had had their effect: and they were now passed. It was now seen that the negative ground was not sufficient, there was need of positive legislation. The *industry* of the people demanded the intervention of the government, to protect its products from adulteration, to open railroads, to control corporations, and to protect the people.

M. Northomb continued: "Gentlemen, the questions to which I particularly refer, call them questions of *business*, social questions, or to use the expression of M. Costiau, HUMANITARY QUESTIONS, ARE NOW THE ORDER OF THE DAY. Political questions, strictly speaking, those which relate merely to forms and modes of government, are doubtless important: but most of these we may regard as already resolved, as far as they can be; everybody accepts our institutions such as they are; and the political constitution of the country is terminated. What is beginning to be understood now is, that in resolving these government questions, we have only touched the question of our material interests—we have only approached the great social question. Political forms are but one means to an end—not the End itself: *other means are necessary to arrive at that end.*

"Political questions have lost their importance because they are resolved. The questions of party, which follow upon the political questions, are decreasing, and they decrease precisely in proportion to our interest in the investigation and solution of the other questions, which I have called questions of *business*, but which others call social or Humanitary questions. We must hereafter sink questions of party, and take up those of business; and it is a singular fact, that the controversies of party cease just in the degree in which we are absorbed in the *business* questions, for the reason that there are none of these questions on which party lines can be drawn.

We are asked why there are no longer strong political convictions? It is because those convictions are carried to other questions. No one now submits to the absolute empire of party spirit; we hardly wish the contests and division of party—nay, I go further—no one believes any longer in the absolute efficacy of any political forms. We begin to see that all is not accomplished, when we have instituted provincial Elective Councils, or Communal Elective Councils, or Legislative Chambers; there is something beyond these political provisions; these are only *means;* the end is—the AFFAIRS OF BUSINESS.

"In 1830, we imagined that everything was done by instituting representative government, and by resolving in the most liberal manner certain political questions; we thought that everything was done by giving the largest liberty to the individual; but to-day, we acknowledge that government has positive duties, and that there is much to be effected in the material and moral spheres. Do not let us lose sight of this important consideration."

These are certainly remarkable words, coming from a remarkable person, and are uttered at a remarkable time. M. Northomb in Belgium, where one person out of five is a pauper, like Lord Howick of England, where poverty stalks in the same frightful aspect, has discovered that there is a deeper cause for existing misery, than is contemplated by ordinary politics. They feel the necessity of going down into the relations of labor, and so organizing the business of the community, that men will not of necessity be a prey and a spoil to each other—

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eating each other's substance and picking each others pockets. When will *our* politicians open their eyes to the same truth? Have they not had experience enough of the utter inefficiency of their old modes of legislation? Is not the complete failure of all our parties, in effecting any substantial progress, sufficient to disgust them with such unprofitable and wretched methods? How long will they continue to utter their stale and empty common places about banks and tariffs, and executive power and state rights, and all that, when society around them is daily rushing into extremities of vice and suffering? Surely, it is time for men who are really conscientious, to break the spell of this fatal delusion!

NATIONAL ACADEMY OF DESIGN.

At the opening of the present exhibition of the National Academy of Design, we anticipated something in the way of art, that would accord with the high-toned spirit of reform now pervading the minds of our profoundest thinkers; for a new spirit is abroad, "even the spirit of Truth," and false things and opinions are receiving a shock from its mighty power, which promises to those, in whom *science* and *faith* have found refuge, a *reality*, whose splendor shall far transcend all Utopian dreams. And it was with a bright hope that we looked forward to the present exhibition, for a manifestation of this spirit in Art; but, alas! with sorrowful disappointment we turn from the toil and fruitless efforts of our artists.

Painters live and labor without thought. They, too, are willing to move on in the current of old custom, toiling for individual ends; pandering to the fashion of the time; echoing only what past centuries have done; satisfied in receiving ephemeral praise, and to shun, forever it would seem, a holy mission, lasting fame, and the gratitude of universal *man!* A species of undefined sentiment struggles for utterance in the minds of a few, while the remainder labor without moral aim, as tape and gilt trinkets are vended in the nooks of false trade. A hue of pleasing fancy is expressed by some, and occasionally a faithful piece of externality is produced: now and then comes to the eye a faint vision of allegory, and a vague embodiment of some old form becomes the dweller on a square yard of canvass; a little of the sentiment of Love and that of religion is depicted; but we look in vain, from the easel of our painters, for those forms in which the expression of soul should overwhelm us, shining as harbingers of a great epoch, of a glorious destiny; striking the sceptic with the undying conviction, that man has an eternal soul, capable of and longing for the True, the Great, the Beautiful of God's universe!

We do not recognise among us the *painter prophet:* but he must come, and with his grand genius shall carry us through the labyrinths of dark error, up to that high wisdom, whence may be seen the morning star of humanity's brightest day. He will have a great soul, throbbing with *faith*, and *love*, and knowledge: he shall have solved the problem of art's *true* function; and with all necessary material and boundless energy, shall point to the completion of its holy mission!

It would be difficult to estimate the exact service art has rendered in the progress of man. Its lowest condition must have had an influence of no small degree: but throughout the galleries of the world, there is not a work of art, which leads to the inference that there existed in the mind of the artist a positive conviction of *Universal Unity*. Actuated by fragmental truths, and obeying, to some extent, the instinctive feelings, artists have handed down from generation to generation, the perverted *passions*, prejudices, and superstitious errors—also, close imitations of the perfectest forms, and the most durable and glowing colors, with feeble intimations of grandeur and harmony, vaguely expressing the dawn of the high and noble sentiments of a God-gifted race selfishly debased by ignorance.

It cannot be possible that the Divinity gave to man the beautiful sentiment of art, that he should merely imitate faithfully form and quality, or combined with these, fixed permanently upon canvass or in stone, those fleetiug, exquisite manifestations of his own divine essence: but for a nobler purpose; and when the *science* of art has enabled the student to transfix all that is truly beautiful in form and color, in harmonious combination, within his scope of nature, then will he be prepared to appropriate these acquirements to the ultimate object of this grand sentiment: for it is reserved to the artist to become the high teacher of the young, in all that is delicate and beautiful. His knowledge of universal analogy shall keep all falsehood from his works; they will be purely symbolical—the electric chains connecting the existence of man with the universe and the lofty utilities that lead direct to God! Then will *true art* be the refining power, and perfected sense will dwell untiringly upon the combined harmony of all that can be rendered nobly instructive.

When we consider man, as a creature endowed with sublime reason, and unlimited perceptions for the beautiful, placed too upon a planet filled with treasures, the grandeur and magnificence of which are in every respect adequate to the perfection of his divinely approximating being, the faith of the most credulous can reach but little way into the deep influence reserved for the office of *true art*.

Twice in the world's history art has attained to a degree from which its function might have commenced. A deep and pleasing interest is excited in contemplating this fact,—which is everywhere found from the lowest phases of the savage, up to the highest of civilized societies,—viz: the desire and effort to materialize human thoughts and feelings. Its importance demands that it shall not be overlooked; for, from the rude and frightful carvings of benighted tribes and nations, where the slumbering soul craved but the meanly sheltering hut and a few grotesque idols, upward through the cycles of time, until it and they were substituted by the splendid temple and voloptuous palace, adorned by genius in all the various departments of art that awakened awe and admiration, has this sentiment been at work. It has been the historian of religion, government, refinement, war and lust: every nation that has existed on the globe has left the undeniable history of its own progress through the instrumentality of this sentiment. It has been prostituted to individual purposes, mainly depending upon pesuedo-castes for support, selling itself to symbolize false opinions, turning man from the ways which lead to truth, that he should become the victims of wild delusion and dark error!

But the epoch is not far distant when the development of *universal truth* shall demand its aid, and its rightful direction shall call the genius to his duty for the highest of all possible aims, those of human elevation and the glorification of God. It is not alone for the artist's progress or the individual's delight that the setting sun of summer shall be painted with its gorgeous array of purple and golden hues,—nor is it for this alone that nobleness and loveliness, and exceeding beauty, shall breathe from the canvass or seem to animate the cold marble: not more for the individual these, than the discovery and application of science, the gift of religious utterance, or high inspiration of whatever sort, but for the collective weal; and as the tendency of these is to elevate and dignify the external man by an effective appeal to the soul, so *art* will create the noblest irresistible impulses, quicken the instinctive perceptions, and fire with unwaning enthusiasm to goodness, the young, and soothe with a holy, quiet delight the contemplations of the aged. Then shall the artist know his true sphere and feel no discord; every action of his life shall bear the deep impress of religious *duty;* his hand shall no more actualize sentiments that have not been baptised in the *spirit* of *universal unity;* he shall have no thoughts, no sensations, no passions that are not in unison with the capacities of the earth, with the affections of man, and with the wisdom, love and power of God!

There is but little to be said of this exhibition: it affords a just idea of the condition of art in our midst, and also the manner in which the sentiment is employed,—accounting most satisfactorily for the vastly preponderating number of portraits which cover the walls. Here it may be remarked that the artists are not culpable for this, nor does it prove their incapacity to produce aught else. They are, for for the most part, men

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depending upon their labor for their subsistence, and like other traders, are compelled to make what the market demands. The common and great demand is for portraits; and so long as this is the case, it will be impossible to get up an annual exhibition of pictures produced within the year, without having Mr. —— and Miss —— staring you in the face from every side of the saloon. These exhibitions are the records of the progress of art among us. They are valuable insomuch as they represent fairly the extent and quality of this sentiment in the hearts of our people; but, that they exercise any strikingly good influence upon our manners and customs, is indeed questionable. The present exhibition is composed of mediocre works of art with very few exceptions; its particular character will not compare with those of several former ones, and yet in the public patronage there is no diminution, but to the contrary, the throng of visitors is greater and more aristocratic than ever. For the last five or six years not less than six thousand persons have visited annually these exhibitions; and yet there are fewer commissions for historical and other pictures of composition than there were several years back. It might be inferred that ostentation has more to do with the patronage of art here, than a healthy development of genuine love for it.

The Artist Fund Society's exhibition at Philadelphia, is composed of little more than half the number of pictures, and those mostly by young artists. It displays, however, a far greater effort on their part, to grapple with the science of composition than is to be discovered among the young artists here; both the particular and general character of their exhibition is better than ours, so far as composition of light and dark is concerned; but they lack, essentially, some of the fine qualities which characterise a few of our works, to which we will refer.

The sentiment generally is of that vague nature which is so difficult to deal with; and the same may be considered in relation to color in the abstract. But form and quality take their true stand in identity with the object which they represent, and are always the great elements of a high work of art. The truth of this is to be seen in the fact, that the faithful imitation of light and dark upon a form determins the peculiar qualities of that form, its condition depending upon the local color. Without disrespect to the major part of the collection, we point our readers to some specimens which possess these elements to a great extent.

In the department of *Still Life*, the desk and stool, and most of the accessaries in picture No. 174, "compositor setting type," are most faithfully expressed, so faithfully that it does not occur to you that they are painted, there is in them an utter absence of *paint*—you look upon the literal facts.

In No. 197—portrait of a child—we discover the greatest possible fidelity to form in portraiture. As a picture, it doubtless has some faults, and we judge so from this fact, that notwithstanding the delicate gradations of light and dark playing amidst these accurate forms, the quality does not seem absolute; but it is without question the finest specimen of portraiture in the exhibition.

No. 405, is a plaster model of "John the Baptist, beheaded," and is remarkable for its display of anatomical knowledge. The philosophy of human anatomy is powerfully expressed in this work; the composition is indicative of a fine genius.

There are some landscapes which possess fine qualities. Perhaps the most natural and pleasing is No. 68; there is an agreeable freshness about its general color that brings one into the presence of nature.

In making this notice of the present exhibition, we have endeavored to consider Art rather than artists; and without attempting to point out the pictures which are particularly defective, we have directed the attention to such works as have in themselves the greatest amount of the true elements,—many others possessing these elements in a less degree. It must not be considered that we advocate the most literal imitations of common place nature as the highest works of art, because we have noticed only such pictures as set forth these qualities; but it matters not how grand the combination which is to pourtray the most Godlike sentiment, these elements must enter into it before it can become a great and elaborate work of art! If the grandeur of Michael Angelo, the refinement of Raphael, and the color of Titian, with the absolute identity of each object were wrought in one picture, it would be a specimen of thorough combination of the requisite elements of art. How far from this the fact is, let fragmental art testify. Working isolatedly, as artists have done and do, their works cannot be truly great.

La Phalange.—Our friends of Paris have issued proposals for a monthly Review, to be called the Phalanx. It will contain, from time to time, parts of the unpublished manuscripts of Fourier, and dissertations and essays by the most accomplished of his disciples. The *Phalange* will be conducted on the principles of the *Revue des deux Mondes*, the most celebrated of the French periodicals. A sufficient number of subscribers have already been obtained to ensure the success of the undertaking. The editorship will be in the hands of the writers for the Democratie Pacifique, but it will contain more elaborate discussions than are suited to the columns of a daily paper. The subscription price will be 18 francs a year for subscribers to the Democratie Pacifique, and 24 francs for non subscribers.

May we ask our friends, the publishers, to send two copies to us in exchange?

N. B. The Review will be ordered for those who wish it, if five dollars are remitted to the "Editors of the Phalanx," *free*.

HUMAN SACRIFICES.

(The Khonds—Their Human Sacrifices, Faith and Moral Integrity—Typical Meaning of Human Sacrifices.)

In the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society is an interesting description of a religious tribe in India hitherto little known, the principal ceremony of whose religion is the offering of human sacrifices.

"It is thought necessary that every farm should share the blood of a human victim at the time when each of its principal crops is laid down, and particular anxiety is felt for the fulfilment of the rite in the case of the more valuable products, rice, turmeric, and mustard. A harvest oblation is in some districts of Boad deemed scarcely less necessary than the Spring sacrifices, and it is considered in the last degree desirable, that several offerings, according to the promise of the year, should intervene betwixt them. During the hot months, when agricultural labors are nearly suspended, these offerings, which may be termed Cereal, are not made. In some districts the time of new moon is always selected for these sacrifices—in others, this period is not regarded. Should the health of the society be affected in any extraordinary degree, or should its flocks and herds suffer from disease or from the ravages of wild beasts, public expiation to the Earth God must be performed. The patriarchal office is connected to a great degree with religious feeling, and practically the fortunes of the Abbaya, or patriarch, are regarded as the chief index of the disposition of the deity towards the portion of society over which he presides. Hence the failure of his crops, the loss of his farm stock, and more especially sickness or death in his household, are regarded as tokens of coming wrath which cannot be too speedily averted. All arrangements connected with the ceremony of sacrifice are conducted by the patriarch in concert with the priest. The divine will is in every case declared by the latter as it is communicated to him in visions; and he may demand a victim at any time, even when no visible sign of divine displeasure appear."

The victims are bought from neighboring tribes generally in youth, and kept often totally ignorant of their destiny. They are even allowed to marry. Farm stock and land are presented to them; and should a family be the result, it is held to be born to the fearful condition of the sire. The victim is hewn to pieces in a consecrated wood by the assembled people, who exclaim as they use their murderous axes, "We bought you with a price!" They strip the flesh from the bones. Each man carries a piece to his home. Next day all that remains of the victim is burnt up with a whole sheep on a funeral pile, and the ashes are scattered over the fields, or laid as paste over the houses and granaries.

Were the common or vulgar opinions of our civilized portion of the world correct,

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these Khonds ought to be a very bad set of peopled indeed; but we are informed by Captain Macpherson, who describes them from personal observation, that they are a remarkably honorable people; "inferior in veracity," he believes, "to no people in the world." "The violation of an oath is believed to be invariably punished by the divine wrath, although their ideas respecting these sanctions are not free from casuistry. I saw a tribe of a district of which one-half of the population had perished a few years before by small-pox; and the misfortune was entirely attributed to its infraction of an ancient compact confirmed by an oath with a neighboring Zemindar. When the visitation ceased the oath was humbly and solemnly renewed. It is in all cases imperative to tell the truth, except when deception is necessary to save the life of a guest, which is sacred, and is to be thought of before the life even of a child of his protector. The denial of a debt is a breach of this principle which is held to be highly sinful. "Let a man," say the Khonds, "give up all he has to his creditor, and beg a sheep to begin the world with, and by the favor of the Gods he shall prosper! Let him have flocks and herds, and deny a just debt, and not a single sheep shall remain to him." The denial of a gift, or of any onerous engagement whatever, is equally offensive to the Gods, and is, I believe, a very rare occurrence among the Khonds. But the first duty which the Gods have imposed upon man, say this people, is hospitality. Persons guilty of the neglect of established observances are punished by the divine wrath, either during their current lives, or when they afterwards return to animate other bodies."

This religion also, like every other religion in the world, acts as a strong and fruitful principle of association. "Participation in the public worship and contribution to the charges of its ceremonial, are the first conditions of association in a tribe, applicable even to strangers of a different race and faith. And the bond of a common altar and a distinctive worship is seen to survive the blended ties which arise from community of institutions, of manners, of traditions and of language."

These people would not consider themselves insulted by being called devil worshippers. They acknowledge it. The Earth God, who is their Supreme Deity, has two characters: one, the primary, is purely malevolent; the other, the secondary, is mixed, directing the operations of Nature. In the far west we can have little conception of the nature of eastern religious feeling. We cannot illustrate this by any quotation from the liturgies or chaunts of the Khonds to their supreme God, but the following sentences from the Yakkun Nattannawa, a species of Ceylonese liturgy addressed to the Evil Principle, which is worshipped in Ceylon, may give the reader some idea of sacred Oriental blasphemy, or abusive praise:—

"He plays in the pool of blood; he loves the blood and the smell of food made by burning. Accept thou the offerings made with fried fish, and take away the sickness which thou hast caused! O, befriend me, thou bloodthirsty devil!"

Such worship as this is quite unintelligible to the *civilizés* of the western world. And yet the worship is not at all unreasonable. It is an address to the power that causes men to suffer pain, "that rides on the whirlwind and directs the storm." Perhaps this primitive people would see more resemblance to their own religion even in Christianity, than Christians themselves now perceive; for the principle of Christianity is forgotton or unknown, even amongst Christians. What is the death of Christ but a propitiatory human sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God? The Apostles regarded themselves as victims for the altar. "I am now ready to be offered up," says St. Paul. Christ is the head of a whole army of martyrs or victims, whose sacrifice is represented as well-pleasing unto God. The mode of offering the sacrifice is no doubt different; but divines acknowledge that the heathen sacrifices, as well as the Jewish, are types of the great sacrifice, and the types could not be complete without human sacrifices, as well as the sacrifices of beasts, since the Great Sacrifice itself is a human and divine sacrifice.

Moreover, the farther back we trace the history of the faith of the Church, the more resemblance we perceive to the faith of the eastern world regarding the origin of evil. Moses speaks of God in a manner which would not be endured by a Christian audience. He says that God hardened the hearts of Pharaoh and the kings of Canaan, that he might have an apology for destroying them. He represents God as ordering Abraham to offer up Isaac his son, for a burnt-offering; and although a ram was provided in his stead, there is no reprobation of the custom expressed, but the principle of the practice is rather acknowledged, and the trial to Abraham was certainly one of the most severe description, more so than any one human friend would tempt another with; a trial which Abraham's nerves must have felt to be cruel, even after the ram was substituted. But the command was such as in those early times not to be regarded as unworthy of God, the judge of men. Even the law of Moses, though it does not sanction the offering of human sacrifices on the altar of the temple, contains, covertly, or under another form, the human sacrificial type. Without this it would have been incomplete. Divines have labored hard to disprove this; but they would do disparagement to the law of Moses—as the type of the eternal law of righteousness, which contains the substance of spiritual human sacrifices or offerings of righteousness—if they succeeded. But the following sentence—translate it as you may, and comment upon it as you may—conceals the principle of human sacrifice. "Notwithstanding no devoted thing that a man shall devote unto the Lord of all that he hath, both of man and beast and of the field of his possession, shall be sold or redeemed. Every devoted thing is most holy unto the Lord. None devoted which shall be devoted of men shall be redeemed, but shall surely be put to death." Therefore, when the sacred historian informs us that Jephthah devoted his daughter to the Lord as a burnt-offering, he adds, that "he did unto her according to his vow."

This is enough to prove that the great principle of sacrifice includes every species of sacrifice—clean as well as unclean, human as well as bestial. Moreover, it shows that death was the doom of that which was most sacred; and this accounts for the reverence in which the victim was held—a reverence exhibited by the Khonds in India at this very day; for they strive with eagerness to possess a portion of his flesh and his blood, as a most precious blessing. And Christ promises his flesh and his blood to the Church, as the new principle of life, without which there is no salvation. "Except ye eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of Man, there is no life in you." No doubt this has a high spiritual meaning, for the flesh of the "Word of God," or Son of Man, is divine truth, temporal or moral; and the blood is divine truth, spiritual or doctrinal; but it is carnally understood by Christians in some sense or another. For if they do not see the carnal flesh and blood in the transubstantiated sacrament, they see it on Mount Calvary, and look to the material flesh and blood which was there sacrificed, as the final consummation; thus looking to the material outward sacrifice, instead of that which is spiritual and inward. The sacrifice of Christ in body was the material consummation of the concealed principle of human sacrifice in the Mosaic law, to which we have alluded. But the spiritual or final consummation of the sacrifice is at the close of the spiritual dispensation of the Gentiles, because it is a spiritual sacrifice. This and this only, completes man's redemption. Had the material sacrifice on Mount Calvary been the consummation, then the reign of peace and righteousness would have commenced at that time; for it was "to finish transgression, to make an end of sin, to bring in everlasting righteousness, to make reconciliation for iniquity, to seal up the vision and prophecy and annoint the most Holy;" whereas no change in these respects was produced by the material sacrifice of Christ. The happy change all remains to be effected by the spiritual sacrifice, which is not another sacrifice, but the consummation of the first. For as a man and a woman are two, and yet one flesh, as Jewism and Christi-

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anity are two and yet one religion, so the material and spiritual sacrifice of Christ are two and yet one sacrifice. And the consummation is the pouring out of the Spirit (which is the Divine blood) upon all flesh, that all flesh may see His salvation, and have their robes made white in the blood of the saints, which is the word of Truth. Till then the types must exist in the world, and specimens of every species of sacrifice must be made, notwithstanding the efforts of modern missions and civilized humanity to suppress them.

It would be well for Christians to lay aside, for a little, their self-conceit, and in a humble frame of spirit to examine themselves and inquire whether they have not in themselves something perfectly identical and synonymous with that which they reprobate in the simple and ignorant Khonds. The Khonds call their God a devil by name, and praise him under that title; do not Christians represent God as one in nature, only suppressing the name?

The Khonds imagine that it is the material flesh and blood of the victim that reconciles them with their God. Do not Christians believe that it is the material flesh and and blood of Christ that atones for sin? There is a difference in the modes, but the principle of each is the same, and it is in respect to the mode that the Christian condemns the poor Khonds. But it seems from the character which Captain Macpherson gives of them, that "they are a people that will not lie." We cannot say this of the civilizees. The Greeks who are the parents of modern civilization are celebrated for their falsehood, and Christians who trust to the materialism of the atoning sacrifice of Christ, have not more truth or honor to boast of than the Kohnd who trusts to the materialism of the atoning sacrifice of the "Meria." They who look to the flesh whether on Mount Calvary or in the Meria grove, look to an inefficient offering. "They who sow to the flesh, of the flesh reap corruption: but they who sow to the spirit, of the spirit reap life everlasting." The protestation of the world, and especially of the Jews, against the gross materialism of Christianity as understood by the Gentiles, is conclusive evidence that the Gentiles have not yet attained to the righteousness of faith, or to the truth which manifests the works of righteousness in them that receive it. The Gentiles have yet to be humbled and undeceived, and then men will offer sacrifices of righteousness upon God's altar—human sacrifices also they will be, for they will offer up themselves, and all their passions and affections, which will all be devoted and most holy unto God. And being devoted they will assuredly be put to death, for they will die unto their mere individual selves, and live unto God the universal, in whom they will find again their individual selves, as members of the Divine Humanity. "For he who loveth his life shall lose it: and he who hateth and loseth his life shall preserve it, and keep it unto life eternal." These are the sacrifices of righteousness—the human sacrifices in which God delights. But all good is typified in the old world by its material antipode or evil, and therefore the human sacrifices of justice and righteousness are typified by the human sacrifices of injustice and wickedness. And all nations are included in the faith and practices of these typical sacrifices in one mode or other, from Christians to Khonds and from Khonds to Christians; because all nations are destined to offer up the true sacrifices of righteousness at last. Let us therefore not condemn the poor Khonds, but examine ourselves and seek the kingdom of God and His righteousness, in which "men will offer up sacrifices of righteousness and sacrifice bullocks (profitable labor) upon his altar." For whenever this true worship is once established in any portion of the earth, it will spread like the light of the sun over the whole habitable globe, and disperse the darkness of types and shadows, in which all nations, even the most enlightened, have hitherto been living. Till then the types must continue, and they who condemn them condemn themselves.

ANNUAL REPORT OF COMMISSIONER OF PATENTS.

We have before us the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Patents for 1843, for which we are indebted to the kind attention of the Hon. Robert Dale Owen, Member of the House of Representatives. This report presents a very fair, and considering that it is mainly the work of a single individual, very creditable exhibit of various industrial interests of the country. Mr. Ellsworth has in some sort succeeded in giving us in his annual Reports to Congress a national *industrial thermometer*, which indicates with considerable occuracy, the progress of mechanical invention and scientific discovery. Under the authority of Congress, to make a "collection of agricultural statistics," he has extended his inquiries and observations so as to include facts containing a great variety of national and industrial interests, a course which an intelligent and comprehensive mind in his situation would naturally adopt, in view of the immense facilities enjoyed to command such information. The nation at large is under considerable obligation to the Commissioner of Patents for the liberal construction of his powers and the assiduous efforts which he has evidently bestowed to collect and diffuse valuable statistics.

Our statesmen should feel themselves rebuked by a performance of a subordinate functionary of the government, which robs them of honors legitimately their own.—Perhaps it may not be obvious to our Solons that they are thus despoiled of honors, in consequence of neglect of duty, but if they understood the functions of government as administered in a true social order, they would know that legislators had much higher duties to perform than vainly endeavoring to adjust the business interests of the country, by indirect, partial and superficial legislation on currency, tariffs, &c.; and that their real and truly honorable office would be to take cognizance in direct and positive ways, of all that pertains to the industrial affairs of the nation and the world, encouraging invention and discovery, developing science, perfecting art, multiplying riches, and in a thousand modes now unknown to them—to name which would expose one to the charge of "visionary" and "utopian" by sage *politicians*—increase the happiness of mankind and magnify the grandeur of the world.

But after all, legislators as well as others, are but the passive agents or victims of our false and incoherent societies, and can do nothing truly great and beneficent. Sections of society are so directly at war with each other in interests, that no grand unitary policy, equally affecting and benefiting the whole, can be adopted, and statesmen can do but little more than attempt to prevent or restrain the encroachment of one interest on another, which places them even against their will, in the unenviable condition of puppets of public caprice and gladiators of rival factions. Their great function of *developing* all that can conduce to the welfare of mankind and advance the race, is necessarily set aside, and even could it be assumed, it is very questionable how far in the present antagonistic relations of society, it could be judiciously exercised. Unless viewed in the light of *collective progress* with reference to the final destiny of humanity on earth, it is more than doubtful whether discovery, invention and refinement are not a positive curse to mankind, or to the majority at least. This indeed can be demonstrated, and for a proof, we refer to the able article in this number of the Phalanx, entitled "The Problem of the Age," from the Democratic Review.

In looking out upon the world two most remarkable and interesting facts present themselves to the mind enlightened by a knowledge of the principles of social science. The first is, the partial and very limited application and power of usefulness which most scientific discoveries and inventions admit of, on account of general incoherence and isolation in society; and second, the destructive effect their application invariably produces upon some class of interests in society, sometimes obvious, and therefore the subject of direct and frequently violent opposition, as in the case of railways, which injure or destroy the interests of turnpikes and common roads, or the self-acting *mule* and other inventions of manufactures and mechanics, which throw whole classes of laborerers out of employment, giving rise to riot and the destruction of property; but generally more silent and hidden, develop-

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ing their baneful influences by slow degrees during the lapse of ages, as exhibited synthetically in the article before referred to.

These facts are pregnant with interest, and would afford most instructive lessons if rightly considered, to do which, however, would require volumes, showing as they do that the most precious boons of Providence conferred on mankind through the divinely gifted sons of genius, are converted into curses instead of blessings. This is one feature of the hideous *duplicity* growing out of a false state of society, in which the interests of men are divided and conflicting instead of united and harmonious.

These views have been the result of frequent reflection in our own mind, but we have been induced thus briefly to express them by an examination of the report before us. It is hardly within our province to present a detailed review of the matters contained in this report; still, one or two points in illustration of previous remarks, will be slightly considered, with a quotation or so relating to matters of immediate interest to infant Associations, viz: "building" material and the "heating of rooms." Of the latter, the report states:

The furnaces first erected to warm the Patent Office, like those in the General Post Office, have proved injurious to health, by the escape of gas; and were also made of such perishable materials, that it has become necessary to take them out, and substitute others of cast iron, of new construction, which have been recently patented. These cost far less at the outset, require a smaller supply of coal, need but trifling repairs, and can be easily introduced.

In the operation of these new furnaces, a curious effect is produced by particular ventilation, and deserves remark. Ventilation is often obtained through the ceiling only; but, so far as it respects rooms heated by hot-air furnaces only, this method is an incorrect one. If the temperature of the different parts of the room is tested by a thermometer, it will be found that the upper part heats first; and if no outlet is given, the draught of hot air ceases, the room being filled. Let an aperture be made at the top of the room, and the warm air instantly escapes; but if an opening is made near the floor, the cold air within the room passes out, and the warm air descends to fill the space.

An experiment, proving this, was tried in drying clothes in a room without ventilation, heated by air furnaces; the clothes that were in the upper part of the room dried well, while those in the lower part still continued moist. As soon, however, as an aperture was made for ventilation below, a draught was given to the furnace, the cold air expelled, and the clothes dried rapidly. The public will thus see how easily a serious difficulty in heating rooms may be obviated.

One of the vast economies of Association will consist in the cheapness and ease with which one large and unitary household of families will be warmed by means of furnaces and pipes running throughout the building, and herein we have a striking illustration of our previous observation on the partial and limited extent to which inventions can be applied in our isolated state. Only in public buildings can this economical and healthful mode of warming be advantageously made available, and in the houses of the rich; and yet if "economy of means" is a true principle to act upon, as it is evidently an atribute of the Creator governing everywhere, the application of this or some better mode should be *universal*, and introduced into all private as well as public buildings and a few favored residences. In this we have evidence of the truth of Association: the isolated household denies the benefit of a great invention and vast economy being generally applied—the associated household admits of its fullest application and all its advantages. The remarks upon heating apply also to lighting buildings with equal force.

We commend Mr. Ellsworth's suggestions concerning ventilation to our friends.

In regard to the subject of building, Mr. Ellsworth says:

In my last report, an account was given of a mode of constructing cheap cottages of unburnt brick. The numerous experiments of a similar kind since attempted in the United States, and the satisfaction there experienced, together with repeated inquiries on this subject, lead me to remark that from accounts of the similar use of such bricks in Egypt, it is proved that they have been found undecayed and sound in arches which have even stood the lapse of 2,000 years. The cottage erected by myself on Massachusetts avenue, in full sight of the Capitol, and which is two stories in height, stands well, and appears as handsome as the best brick houses; and being warm in winter, and cool in summer, justifies me fully in recommending a similar mode of building, especially where clay is abundant and timber scarce.

Some have doubted the policy of erecting such houses in cold climates; but it may be remarked that in Canada these buildings have been successfully proved, as will be seen by a reference to the paper marked G.

This is a very prominent matter for the consideration of Associations going into operation, to which on some other occasion we intend devoting due attention. We will endeavor to give full information on the subject, upon which we have already had several communications. Mr. Brisbane while in Europe will collect all the information he can in relation to it.

We might show how partial and inefficient the application of Professor Morse's discovery of communication by means of "Electro Magnetism," in disassociated society is possible, and how beautifully it applies to Association, but this would lead us beyond our limits. We would simply remark, however, that to be universally applicable and useful, there must be a state of general Peace, and that War and hostility between different places would preclude or interfere with its use by the constant liability to injury and destruction of long lines of "wires" more or less exposed. Peace belongs only to organised Unity, and War to incoherent Duplicity.

One of the subjects we proposed to make a few remarks upon, noticed but not much dwelt upon in the report before us, is "Agricultural Chemistry," a most important branch of science lately commanding attention. But whilst we see and acknowledge its importance to the human family as a means of developing the resources of the earth, and fertilizing and beautifying its surface, we cannot but be forcibly struck with the impossibility of ever applying chemical analysis to soils to any great extent and advantage under our present piecemeal and isolated system of cultivation. Even if it were possible for a single farmer to obtain a perfect analysis of his soil by submitting specimens from different fields to a professed chemist, the advantage would be small, as with a limited extent of territory he could very slightly avail himself of peculiar adaptations of different localities. Whatever qualities the soil in different parts of his farm may possess, he must still cultivate a variety of crops which in their rotation will in a great measure render his knowledge of these qualities unavailable and useless, or in order to grow a staple of the district of country largely, he must entirely sacrifice the peculiar fitness to the growth of other plants of particular spots, or perhaps of his whole farm.

But then the general ignorance of farmers in regard to matters of a scientific nature, and the helpless poverty of many, precludes all idea of a very extended application of chemistry to agriculture, even if it could be applied beneficially to land cultivated fragmentally on a small scale.

How different the case in Association, where every Phalanx would have its group of chemists, its laboratory, &c., by which a thorough analysis of the whole domain could be obtained, and a scientific system of cultivation adopted.

In regard to the preparation and use of manures under the light of chemical science, it is evident that the isolated farmer must remain almost in Egyptian darkness, or be but slightly benefitted; whereas in Association, every discovery could at once be available and the greatest benefit derived from it. It is only in large establishments where wealth and knowledge are concentrated, that great results can flow from the application of agricultural chemistry.

It was our intention also to submit a few observations upon the recent "discovery" of making sugar from the corn stalk, but we must defer doing so to a future time. In the mean time let us express a doubt of its propriety or the benefits resulting from it, since to us it appears to be in contravention of the laws and purposes of nature to make this use of the corn plant.

La Democratie Pacifique, just received, gives an account of the celebration of Fourier's Birthday at Paris. See next number.

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ONE OF THE PROBLEMS OF THE AGE.

There is a Great Question, unanswered, before the world. It may not be answered to-day, nor to-morrow; this year or the next. Yet the answer must come, sooner or later. And if, to some nations, it come not soon, that answer may be in thunder, amid the tempest of a revolution.

It is no subtle question of the schools, no curious speculative inquiry; but a plain, practical, home-striking question, reaching to the hearths of men; touching the lives of some, involving the property of all.

Hardly may a question command the deep attention of the world now, unless it be connected with property. So many millions of mankind expend every thought and energy of a toilsome lifetime, to obtain what they shall eat and what they shall drink, and wherewithal they shall be clothed; and, of these millions, so many thousands miserably fail, even in that humble effort, that on the strictest principle of utility, questions regarding wealth and its distribution seem the most important that can occupy the time of the wise and the good.

The theorist may call this a sordid view of society. Let him close his books and enter the world. Let him read men, not words; men in crowded cities; men in their workshops, their manufactories; in their garrets, in their prisons. And then sad realities will correct crude theories.

Men, in the mass, cannot be miserable and virtuous. A people contending against famine necessarily become immoral. While abject poverty broods over men and presses them to the earth, their minds are crushed and their hearts are withered. But the words of the wisest teacher are spoken in vain to crushed minds and withered hearts. If it be sometimes true of the individual, it is always false of the mass, that sharp adversity purifies and ennobles. The deadliest part of the curse of Cain—the curse on those who toil to live, and live only to die—is, that they are blighted in mind as well as in body; it is, that they lose not only rational enjoyment, but all taste for it; it is, that they are deprived not alone of the knowledge which elevates and improves, but of all desire to obtain it. The iron enters into the soul, and corrupts its health, and destroys its beauty.

Therefore a great question of public wealth becomes a great question of public morals.

Upon us, here in young America, the question to which we refer does not force itself; it invites only, not compels, our attention. For in these vigorous States, there is, as yet, no famine, and little hopeless poverty. Hardship there is, and embarrassment; but nothing which a strong hand and a bold heart cannot overcome.

It is in Europe that the Question we refer to rises up, importunate, imperative, not to be denied, scarcely to be put off from day to day; knocking at the palace gate, thundering at the council door. For, in the old world, thousands are dying, for lack not of comfort, but of food; and millions are selling their youth and their health and their strength and their leisure even to the last moment when nature can struggle against sleep, and their happiness, down to the merest and coarsest gratification of animal appetite; and, at last, their short and weary lives—all for so miserable a pittance, that the wages of a week's slavish toil may hardly suffice to purchase one bushel of wheat.

And it is in England—the proudest and mightiest and wealthiest of Europe's powers—it is in England, whose Briarean factory system mocks at consumption, whose workshops overstock the world—where riches elbow indigence, and industry manufactures famine—it is in that little island of marvel and misery, where men understand everything except how to enjoy some moderate fraction of the enormous wealth they produce—it is there, that Problem must soon be solved; by her statesmen or her people, peacefully or violently, in reform or in revolution.

Nor should we delay its examination, until, in turn, it knocks at our own doors.

We do not propose here to venture a solution of the Problem we have in view; distinctly to state it is our humble intention. As a useful preliminary, we propose to touch on some points of comparison between the condition and resources of former ages and those of the present; and as, beyond two centuries past, the ancestry of North America must chiefly be sought in Great Britain, to her early history we first direct our search.

In England, as throughout Europe during the feudal ages, war was the trade of men. To this, agriculture, commerce and all handicrafts were strictly subservient. The soil was held by military tenure; and the protection of the law, such as it was, purchased of the noble by the peasant, at the price of military service. It is difficult to imagine a state of things less favorable to the production of wealth. At any moment the serf might be taken from the plough, to arm in his liege lord's quarrel, or the craftsman called from his bench or his loom to bear the spear or bend the bow. And the loss of time and interruption of regular labor was but one item, and a small one, in the list of burdens imposed by the spirit of the age. If, spite of all interruption, the seed was sown and the harvest ripened, the chance yet remained that it might be cut down by the sword of the forager, or trampled under the hoof of the war-horse. The wording of the Borderer's account of a hostile inroad, in Scott's "Lay," is characteristic:

> "They crossed the Liddell at curfew hour,
> And burnt my little lonely tower.
> The fiend recieve their souls therefor!
> It had not been burnt this year or more."

It seems a marvel that labor, thus harrassed and pillaged, unassisted, too, save by the rudest aids of science to production, should have sufficed to furnish to society the necessaries of life. And, in truth, for one or two centuries after the conquest, the peasantry, or rather *villeinry*, of England, of whom many were but thralls, spoken of and valued as any other personal property, either received no wages at all, except necessary food and clothing, or else a scanty and uncertain compensation. "At this period," says a modern writer, "the food of the laborer consisted principally of fish, chiefly herrings, and a small quantity of bread and beer. Mutton and cheese were considered articles of luxury, which formed the harvest home, of so much importance in ancient times." "Their habitations were without chimneys, and their principal furniture consisted in a brass pot, valued at from one to three shillings; and a bed, valued at from three to six shillings."*

In the course of the fourteenth century, however, the condition of the English peasant became independent and comfortable During Edward the Third's long wars in France, he was compelled to manumit manor bondsmen, in order to recruit his armies.—The forced services of villeinage were gradually exchanged for free labor, paid by wages; and by the middle of the fourteenth century, these wages, made statutable by the ultra-legislation of those days, furnish authentic evidence, when compared with the price of staple necessaries at the same period, that the condition of the British laborer was already far better than it is to-day. Of this assertion let us review some of the proofs.

The act of 23d of Edward III. (that is, in 1350) fixed rates of wages as follows: For common labor on a farm *three pence halfpenny* per day: a reaper, per day, *four pence;* mowing an acre of grass, *six pence;* threshing a quarter of wheat, *four pence;* and other labor in proportion. In Bishop Fleetwood's "Chronicon Preciosum," a work of reputation, are found various ancient accounts, kept by bursars of convents. From one of these, dated in the fourteenth century, the following items are taken: A pair of shoes, *four pence;* russett broadcloth per yard, *thirteen pence;* a stall-fed ox, *twenty-four shillings;* a fat goose, *two pence halfpenny;* wheat, per quarter (that is, eight bushels,) *three shillings and four pence.* Sir John Cullum, quoted by Hallam, corroborates these estimates. "In the fourteenth century," says he, "a harvest man had four pence a day, which enabled him in a week to buy a *comb* of wheat (that is, four bushels;) but to buy a comb of wheat a man must now (he wrote in 1784,) work ten or twelve days."* This brings the price of wheat, in the fourteenth century, to four shillings a quarter, or six pence a bushel.

The act of 23d Henry VI. (in 1444) fixes the reaper's wages at *five pence;* and others in proportion. And the account book of a convent, quoted by Sir F. Eden, dated between 1415 and 1425, gives us: wheat per quarter averaging *five shillings;* oxen, from twelve to fifteen shillings; sheep from *fourteen* to *sixteen pence;* butter, *three farthings* per pound; cheese, a *halfpenny* per pound, and eggs *twenty-five for a penny.* Fleta, who wrote about 1330, gives *four shillings* per quarter, as the average price of wheat in his day. And Hallam, whose general estimates agree with the above, calculates butcher's meat, in the fifteenth century, at *a farthing and a half per pound.* This seems a just estimate; for in the next century, namely, by 24th Henry VIII., it was decreed, that "no person shall take for beef or pork above a *halfpenny*, or for mutton or veal above *three farthings* a pound, and less in those places where they are now sold for less."

Taking the average for these various prices, it would appear, that in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, the weekly wages of an English day-laborer would procure for him about half a quarter of beef: or one and a half fat sheep, or about ten fat geese; or (the most important item) FOUR BUSHELS OF WHEAT. Manufactured articles were somewhat higher in proportion. Yet a day's labor in harvest sufficed to pay for a pair of shoes; and a trifle over a week's wages, to purchase broadcloth enough for a coat.

Cullum, already quoted, reminds us, that towards the close of the last century, upwards of a fortnight's labor had become necessary to purchase four bushels of wheat.

*Wade's "History of the Middle and Working Classes," pp. 11—12.

* History of Hawsted, p. 258.

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How is it now? The exertions of that excellent association, the Anti-Corn-Law League, supply, as the Westminster Review has expressed it, "an accumulation of facts so incontrovertable, that no person who has any reputation for accuracy or intelligence, will risk it upon the denial of the terrible truth." They inform us that the average wages of farm laborers throughout Great Britian, are now *rather under, than over, eight shillings* a week; just the price, at retail, of ONE BUSHEL OF WHEAT. One month's labor now supplies the same quantity of bread to the British laborer as a week's labor did five hundred years ago!

Nor is the proportion confined to bread stuffs alone. In the fifteenth century, a week's labor purchased sixty-four pounds of butcher's meat. Now (at six pence halfpenny, its average value per pound,) eight shillings a week procures the peasant hardly fifteen pounds; less than one-fourth what his ancestor obtained. Procures for him, did we say?—the estimate is imaginary; for no such luxury as animal food now smokes on the table of the down-trodden laborer of Britain.* So, if the comparison did not seem like mockery, we might proceed to show, that, instead of *ten* fat geese, *two* would now absorb a week's wages; that instead of *a sheep and a half a week*, the laborer must now toil *five weeks for a single sheep;* that a day's labor will now purchase, not eight dozen of eggs as formerly it would, but *two dozen and a half;* not *eight* pounds of cheese, but *two;* not *five* pounds of butter, but *a pound and a half. Four* days labor will now hardly procure the pair of shoes which a *single day* formerly paid for; and *two* weeks' labor, instead of *one*, would be insufficient in our times, to obtain the material for a winter coat; that is, if a peasant should ever commit the extravagance of purchasing broadcloth for such a purpose.†

If we assume as correct Hallam's estimate of the relative value of money, which is, that any given sum in the thirteenth century must be multiplied by twenty-four, in the fourteenth by twenty, and in the fifteenth by sixteen, to bring it to the standard of our day; it will follow that a common laborer's wages in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were equivalent to at least five shillings of the modern English currency, per day; about four times what such a laborer actually receives at present. This tallies with most of the preceding data.

The inference to be deduced from the average of the above items would be, that the British peasant could obtain, for his labor, five hundred years ago, about *four* times as much of the necessaries of life as he can to-day. But as the materials for comparison are scanty, and the estimate rests chiefly on the statutable rate of wages, some deduction may be necessary. Hallam says: "Although these wages are regulated, as a maximum, by acts of parliament, which may naturally be supposed to have had a view rather toward diminishing than enhancing the current rate, I am not fully convinced that they were not beyond it; private accounts, at least, do not always correspond with these statutable prices." And Cullum's estimate, we must remember, is for labor in harvest. To guard against all chance of exaggeration, let us deduct even one-half; and the startling fact still forces itself on our attention, that the working classes employed in tilling the garden soil of Great Britain, receive now, as the price of their toil, but *one-half* as much as their rude ancestors did, five centuries ago.

It should be remarked, however, that this encroachment on the reward of labor has not, in strictness, been regularly progressive. The documents on the subject that have reached us from the seventeenth century are particularly meagre; but if we may judge from those that are still extant, the price of labor in husbandry was, throughout the greater part of that century, very much depressed; sometimes, it would seem, nearly, if not quite, as low as it is to-day. Indeed, Barton, the author of an "Inquiry into the Depreciation of Labor," in his table of wages and prices, from the commencement of the fifteenth century down to 1813, states it in 1610 at only about three-quarters of a bushel of wheat per week. But this is evidently an error. The average wages of farm laborers during the reign of James I., were four shillings a week and upwards; the price of wheat averaged about four shillings and three pence a bushel from 1606 to to 1625; and but three and nine pence from 1625 to 1645; and beef and mutton, at the same time, were from three to four pence a pound.* Yet, even these estimates exhibit a scale of wages about as low as that of the present day.

In the eighteenth century the price of labor in husbandry somewhat revived. It is stated by Barton in the middle of that century at a bushel and a half of wheat per week. It never, however, again reached, nor indeed approached, the rates of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Barton's table goes back no further than 1495, for which year he gives the wages of a laboring man as equal to upwards of *three* bushels of wheat.

Historical evidence as to the actual condition of the British laborer in those days corroborates the above calculations. "There is one very unpleasant remark," says Hallam, "which every one who attends to the subject of prices, will be induced to make, that the laboring classes, especially those engaged in agriculture, were better provided with the means of subsistence in the reign of Edward III., or Henry VI., than at present. Fortescue, Chancellor of England, under Henry VI., and writing, therefore, in the fifteenth century, after stating that the English are 'rich in all the necessaries and comforts of life,' and that they 'drink no water except at certain times, upon a religious score and by way of doing penance,' adds:

"'They are fed, in great abundance, with all sorts of flesh and fish, of which they have plenty everywhere. They are clothed, throughout, in good woollens: their bedding and other furniture in their houses are of wool, and that in great store. They are well provided with all sorts of household goods and necessary implements for husbandry. Every one according to his rank, hath all things which conduce to make life easy and happy.'"*

Fortescue's item about "drink no water," which seems to savor of exaggeration, is somewhat amusingly confirmed by White, of Selborne, the Naturalist, who, in his history of his native village, mentions incidentally a record dated about 1380, and stating, that certain men, for their disorderly conduct, were punished by being "compelled to fast on bread and beer." And the industry of Cobbett, who quotes the above anecdote, has also dragged to light a statute of 1533, the preamble to which, after naming four sorts of meat, "beef, pork, mutton and veal," adds, "these being the food of the poorer sort."†

It is true, and should not be forgotten, that our ancestors of the olden time suffered sharply from occasional dearth, or from scarcity caused from improvident consumption. Yet these were the exceptions, not the rule. And they cannot invalidate the direct proofs adduced, that, in the wealthiest and one of the most prosperous nations of the civilized world, THE REWARD OF LABOR to the producer of wealth has, as a general rule, for five centuries past, BEEN GRADUALLY DIMINISHING FROM AGE TO AGE. It has at last sunk down to a point, at which, to employ the words of the Westminster Review, "there is not a step, but simply a hand's breadth, between the condition of the agricultural laborer and pauperism." Comfort has disappeared. Famine watches by the door. The peasant feeds his family on potatoes and salt, with a little bread and lard, and a miserable dole of scalded milk. Incessant labor keeps his head just above the rising waves of indigence; and at the first trifling accident, these close and overwhelm him. For the thousand casualties of life, there is not the scantiest provision. The indisposition of a day curtail the meager rations dealt out around his board; and the sickness of a week threatens with starvation his wife and her little ones.

The recognition of this terrible truth is the first step in the approach to the statement of the Problem we refer to. A civilized nation cannot afford bread and meat to the men who produce these! And what nation? A nation restricted, indeed, in her territory at home, yet possessed of colonies and dependencies, some of vast extent, in every part of the habitable globe; a nation whose proud boast it is, that the sun never sets on her island flag; a nation proverbial for an industry that never tires, a vigilance that never sleeps, an energy and an enterprise that have carried her arms and her commerce to the farthest ends of the earth. That nation which now looks on and de-

* The estimate once already given in the Democratic Review (for January 1843, p. 10,) quoted by the Westminster Review on the authority of the Somerset County Gazette, may usefully be recalled to the reader's memory. It is the literal account of the usual weekly expenses of a family of six, taken from the mouth of an honest and industrious peasant:

	s.	d.
Rent of two rooms and garden, . . .	1	4
Peck of wheat, 2s. Grinding and barm, 2d.	2	2
Half a bag of potatoes, ...	2	6
One pound of lard, ...	0	7½
Candles, 1d. Soap, 1d. Salt, ½d. . .	0	2½
Milk, scalded, six pints, ...	0	2
Total weekly income and expenditure,	7	0

† The following may be considered average retail prices in England at the present day:—Wheat, eight shillings a bushel; beef, six pence halfpenny per pound; mutton, seven pence per pound; a fat sheep, forty to fifty shillings; butter ten pence per pound; eggs, six pence a dozen; cheese, seven pence a pound; a fat goose, four shillings. A pair of stout shoes costs at least six to eight shillings; and broadcloth, for a strong, coarse, winter coat, probably sixteen to twenty shillings

* Wade's "History of the Working Classes," p. 66. A circumstance mentioned by Wade induces one still to doubt whether wages, even then, had sunk to their present depression.—Justices of the peace were empowered to fix the price of labor every Easter and Michaelmas, by proclamation; and in these ratings about 1610, the magistrates calculated half the day's earnings equivalent to diet for one day. A much greater proportion, as Wade justly remarks, would be requisite at present.

* "Difference of Limited and Absolute Monarchies," p. 19.

† 24th Henry VIII, chap. 3.

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clares that she cannot rescue her own peasantry from famine, maintained, not half a century since, a triumphant war against the Cæsar of modern times, with half Europe at his back; poured forth for ten successive years, men and treasure with a profusion that confounded her enemies, and astonished herself; and rising in strength and resources with the occasion, obtained from her own subjects alone, without an effort, in the very last year of that protracted struggle, a sum so vast, that it would purchase, out and out, the fee simple of some half-a-dozen among the States that compose our own Confederacy.* It is in the favorite abode of art and practical science, in the land where Watt and Arkwright, and Bolton, first furnished inanimate slaves to mankind; it is there, where the magical machinery of the age more than realizes the story of Aladdin's fabled lamp, and gorges, at its master's bidding, one after another, the markets of the civilized world; it is there, in the very midst of superabundance, with complaints of overproduction daily ringing in their ears, that thousands and tens of thousands, among those who create these countless riches, are denied the means to procure the coarsest clothing against the wintry blast, or a single blanket to cover the rude straw bed on which their weary limbs repose.

Nor is this, even, the most startling phase of the marvellous anomaly. England, at the close of a contest unexampled in the history of mankind, was no whit exhausted. The horse-leech cried, Give! Give! and still prompt answer was made to the call. The last year's enormous loan (that of 1813) was negociated from the surplus of her own citizens alone,† voluntarily seeking investment without the slightest difficulty. British industry but demanded a market—something to consume, something to destroy, something to swallow up the prodigious resources that flowed forth from her mines and her factories, her workshops and her shipyards; and, fast as one pile of wealth disappeared in the chasm, another sprung up to supply its place. War answered the purpose passing well; but any other popular Moloch of destruction would have produced a similar effect. Had some huge Polyphemus of the deep, prowling around the island, watched her armaments as they put out from port, and, wading after them, had sunk the vessels, and devoured seamen and soldier as they swam to land, England would have been as rich, except in unproductive glory and bootless ardor, as when the same death and destruction were dealt forth on the battle-field or in the naval action, according to the most approved system of warlike tactics. Destruction, in some shape, was required. There was too much labor; laborers must die; there was over-production; products must be got rid of. An insatiable customer must be had; and such a customer was war to England. While that customer lived, all went well in the island workshop. Trade throve, manufactures flourished, agriculture prospered, commerce brought rich returns. But when the *curse* of peace fell on the bustling land, the glory departed from her. When there was nothing to squander military stores and munitions, to wear out swords, and muskets, and cannon, to burn powder and scatter bullets and balls—when half the army was disbanded, to produce instead of destroying—England sank under the reverse. Her powers were there, but there was no call for them; her energies, but whither should they turn? her capital, but where might it be profitably invested? Her laborers were as willing as ever to toil on; but the disbanded warriors, formerly the customers of labor, now became its competitors. There were more hands to work, and there was less work to do. *Wages fell.*

And if England had never incurred her debt of three or four thousand millions at all—if some powerful and malignant spirit of the air had furnished to her, year by year, the gold that purchased waste of human life and of human property, yet so strangely are the elements of good and evil commingled in these modern days, that one scruples to decide whether, in that case, the situation of the British laborer would have been materially better to-day.* The market of war would equally have been closed; disbanded soldiers would equally have sought employment; yes! and even if the debt were cancelled to-morrow by the dash of a pen, although the taxes would indeed be lighter, yet those who now live by these taxes, the great army of fundholders, disbanded also and cast loose, like their kindred consumers from the ranks of war, to do something useful for a livelihood, would, like them, become competitors in the market of labor, and, like them, underbidding each other, might still depress, to a lower depth, the poor pittance that goes by the name of wages to the work-people of England. Nay, the very reduction of taxes would be the all-sufficient plea for the reduction of these wages. Labor could be *afforded* for less, and down to the very point at which it can be afforded—which means, to that point on the road to famine at which men are not starved suddenly, but die slowly of toil inadequately sustained by scanty and unwholesome food—down to that point of bare subsistence the laborer of Britain is thrust. How? Why? Wherefore? By what legerdemain of cruelty and injustice?

Here, then, our problem begins to loom upon us through the distance. Why, as the world advances, do the prospects and the comforts of the great mass of mankind darken and decline? How happens it that four or five centuries have passed over Britain, bringing peace where raged feuds and forays, affording protection to person and property, setting free the shackled press, spreading intelligence and liberality, reforming religion and fostering civilization. Say! ye who would solve the mystery of the age, how happens it that these centuries of improvement have left the British laborer three-fold more the slave of toil than they found him?

But the question has not yet been stated in all its force. There is one item just alluded to, that must be brought forward in authentic shape, to the foreground.

It relates to the new powers of producing wealth brought into being within the last century.

When England's statesmen and capitalists sat down, in 1813, to reflect, that their island, with a population of seventeen millions, had actually produced and expended in a ten years' war, some two thousand millions of dollars, over and above her former extravagant peace establishment,—a sum raised without the aid of foreign capitalists, and demanding an exertion to which the annals of the world furnish no parallel*—and when they saw the elastic energies of the nation still rising to meet the emergency, fresh capital eagerly offered on loan, and increasing riches and resources flowing in, to fill the enormous chasms yearly made by wealth-absorbing war—their wonder exceeded even their self-gratulation. The only plausible solution of the phenomenon seemed to lie

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* The exertions made by England, during the last three-quarters of a century, in carrying on her wars, would be incredible, were they not avouched by official documents. Colquhoun, in his "Resources of the British Empire," published in 1814, has collected and collated these. They form the foundation of the following details.

In 1783, at the close of our Revolutionary war, England's debt had increased to twelve hundred millions of dollars. Statesmen trembled at the amount; a gloom overspread the country; consols fell in August, 1784, to *fifty-four;* and the nation seemed on the verge of bankruptcy.

Yet, in 1793, when the French Revolutionary war began, England had already taken breath; in an eight years' struggle against republican principles and revolutionary excesses, she lavished upwards of a thousand millions of dollars; and found herself in 1801, notwithstanding the alleviation promised by Pitt's sinking fund, and the enormous sums exacted by his thousand taxes, loaded with a debt that exceeded two thousand millions of dollars. Yet, after two brief years interval of peace, England again, in 1803, rushed into war with Bonaparte and Europe. Great as had been the preceding expenditures, they were cast into the shade by those of this memorable contest. The average taxes levied in the British Isles, from 1803 to 1813, reached nearly three hundred millions annually; and the amount borrowed in addition averaged over a hundred and fifty millions more. As the war advanced, the expenditures increased. In the year 1813, the nett amount realized by taxation was £64,979,960, to which seven per cent. must be added for expenses of collection.—*Colquhoun*, p. 193. The loan obtained in that year amounted to £64,755,700, "which was negociated," says Colquhoun, "without any difficulty."—p. 275. The two sums united and reduced to dollars, give a total of nearly *six hundred and thirty-nine millions*, as Britain's public expenditure during a single year!

† Out of a debt of £766,000,000, in 1813, about seventeen millions only (less than one-fortieth of the whole) was owned by foreigners.—*Colquhoun*, p. 295.

* England's public burdens are a disgrace to the age. Honored be the sturdy reformers who seek to remove them. Who struggle to give to the peasant cheap bread, and to diminish the taxes that oppress him! These are the first steps. Till they are taken, nothing else can be done. Every strong hand should be stretched forth in aid. Every bold heart should join the free-trade band. Till the rubbish of an odious tariff be swept away, one cannot even see the path that stretches beyond. Let no one hold back, because it is a single step only. But when all is clear and open, when that one step is taken, when trade is unshackled and commerce is relieved of her chains, there are yet other errors to combat; the Problem to be solved is yet behind. The evil will be palliated, not cured; there will be relief, not remedy.

* Colquhoun gives the following as the expense of England's wars since 1775. The average each year during the American war, was £17,-396,480; during each year of the French revolutionary war, it was £33,470,867; and during each year of the war against Bonaparte, the average rose to £50,416,813; *in all cases deducting the peace establishment.*—p. 197. The same writer says of the two last wars, that they "occasioned an expenditure, which, in point of magnitude and extent, exceeds anything that history records"—p. 252.

Great Britain's entire public expenditure, during the war of 1803–13, including the peace establishment, averaged about four hundred and fifty millions of dollars annually, thus reaching four thousand five hundred millions in ten years; *an amount probably equal to the entire property, real and personal, now owned within the United States.* The average wealth in Massachusetts is about $350 per individual; in Indiana, about $150—suppose the average between these two States to be the average wealth throughout the United States (which may be near the truth,) then $250 dollars is the average for each man, woman, and child, throughout the Union. Multiplied by seventeen millions, we have $4,250,000,000 as the aggregate private property of the United States. Colquhoun states the population of Great Britain and Ireland, in 1811, at 17,086,803 persons (p. 66,) about the same as that of the United States to-day.

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in the marvellous powers of production recently obtained from labor-saving machinery. And, accordingly, the extent of these powers became an interesting subject of inquiry.

It was a great era in the history of the world, the accession of George III. to the throne of Great Britain. That weak monarch witnessed the commencement of changes that are destined to work an entire revolution, not of dynasties, nor merely of forms of government, but a complete revolution of the social condition of the masses of mankind. In 1760 he became king; in 1764 Watt commenced his improvements on the steam-engine; in 1767 Hargraves invented the spinning jenny; and in 1769 Arkwright obtained his first patent for spinning with rollers. The impulse was given; science and enterprise were engaged; and, wave after wave, the vast tide of improvement has since unceasingly rolled on.

The amount of labor which is saved to man by the various mechanical inventions which have since accumulated in Great Britain and Ireland, is estimated by political economists at an amount, for these islands, equal to the manual labor of from *two hundred millions* to *four hundred millions* of working adults.* It is beyond the scope of this Article fully to investigate which of these calculations the nearer approaches the truth; but a few particulars of the estimate may be useful and interesting.

In M'Culloch's "Statistics of the British Empire," published in 1837, under the superintendence of the "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," are given many details regarding the growth of the cotton manufacture. From the recent writer on the subject, who describes the arrangements of a cotton mill, M'Culloch quotes as follows:

"The operations are numerous, and every one of them is performed by machinery, without the help of human hands, except merely in transferring the material from one machine to another. It is by iron fingers, teeth, and wheels, moving with exhaustless energy and devouring speed, that the cotton is opened, cleaned, spread, carded, drawn, roved, spun, wound, warped, dressed, and woven. The various machines are proportioned to each other in regard to the capability of their work, and are so placed in the mill, as to allow the material to be carried from stage to stage, with the least possible loss of time. All are moving at once, the operations chasing each other; and all derive their motions from the mighty engine, which, firmly seated in the lower part of the building, and constantly fed with water and fuel, toils through the day with the strength perhaps of a hundred horses. Men, in the meantime, have merely to attend upon this wonderful mechanism, to supply it with work, to oil its joints, and to check its slight and infrequent irregularities; each workman performing, or rather superintending as much work as could have been done by *two hundred* or *three hundred* men, sixty years ago."†

Kennedy, also quoted by M'Culloch, stated in 1815, since which time many improvements have been made, that "the united effects of the spinning machines amounted to this, that the labor of one person, aided by them, can now produce as much yarn as *two hundred* could have produced fifty years ago."*

Farey, in his "Treatise on the Steam Engine," says: "An extensive cotton mill is a striking instance of the application of the greatest powers to perform a prodigious quantity of light and easy work. A steam engine of a hundred horse power, which has the strength of eight hundred and eighty men, gives a rapid motion to fifty thousand spindles to spin fine cotton thread. *Seven hundred and fifty* men are sufficient to attend all the operations of such a cotton mill; and by the assistance of a steam engine, they will be enabled to spin as much thread as *two hundred thousand* men could do without machinery." One man then, in a cotton factory, according to Farey's calculation, produces, on the average, as much as *two hundred and sixty-six* formerly did.

A work published within the last year by W. C. Taylor, D. D., on "On the Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain," says: Machines now enable one man to produce as much yarn as *three hundred* could produce at the accession of George III."

Dr. Taylor sets down, as the wages of "operatives in cotton factories," at the present day, 8,659,000 pounds sterling annually, and estimates thesese wages to average from eight to ten shillings a week. This would give us upwards of three hundred thousand operatives; with which other estimates agree. Multiply three hundred thousand by two hundred and fifty (the average of the above estimates of the power imparted to these operatives by machinery,) and we find that the cotton factories of Great Britain turn out an amount of work, that would have required, but eighty years ago, the labor of *seventy-five millions* of adults to perform!

And yet, cotton spinning is but one branch of a single manufacture, however important. In regard to another branch, and a very extensive one, Dr. Taylor says: "Machines enable one man and one boy to print as many goods as a hundred men and boys could have printed at the accession of George III." The entire number of operatives actually engaged in all the branches of the cotton manufacture, are rated at eight hundred and thirty-three thousand.† Then there are the linen, the silk, and the woollen manufactures, employing between seven and eight hundred thousand work-people,‡ and all aided by machinery somewhat similar to that of the cotton manufacture. When, in addition, we reflect, that there is hardly a department of industry in which the power of steam or the aid of ingenious mechanism abridging human labor, has not been adopted, nay, that such improvements are extending even to agriculture,§ we shall hardly resist the conclusion, that when considered equal to the labor of two hundred millions of adults, the new mechanical powers of production obtained by Great Britain during the last century, are not extravagantly rated.

Yet, for the present purpose, even such an admission is unnecessary. Suppose these powers equal to the labor of a single hundred millions only—but one-fourth more than the power *known* to be gained in cotton factories alone—how passing marvellous, in connection with the present condition of labor, are the corollaries from that fact!

The proportion of families wholly unemployed in Great Britain, is estimated at over one-fifth of the entire population; and if to this we add the distributors of wealth, it will leave but two thirds of the inhabitants, say eighteen millions of men, women and children.* Of these little more than one-third are actual laborers; say, however, *seven millions*. Now, in aid of the manual labor of these seven millions of human workmen, Great Britain may be said to have imported from the vast regions of invention, a hundred millions of powerful and passive slaves; slaves that consume neither food nor clothing; slaves that sleep not, weary not; sicken not; gigantic slaves that drain subterranean lakes, in their master's service; or set in motion, at a touch from his hand, machinery, under which the huge and solid buildings that contain it groan and shake; ingenious slaves, that outrival in the delicacy of their operations, the touch of man, and put to shame the best exertions of his steadiness and accuracy. Yet slaves patient, obedient, submissive; from whom no rebellion need be feared; who cannot suffer cruelty or experience pain.

These unwearying and inanimate slaves outnumber the human laborers who direct their operations, on the average at least fourteen to one. What has been the result of this importation?

If we shut our closet doors, and refuse to take the answer from the state of things as it actually exists, we shall say, that aid thus sent down as it were from Heaven to stand by and assist man in his severest toils, *must* have rendered him easy in his circumstances, rich in all the necessaries and comforts of life, a master instead of a slave, a being with leisure for enjoyment and improvement, a freeman delivered from the original curse which declared that in the sweat of his brow should man eat bread all the days of his life. But if, rejecting mere inference, we should step out into the world, with our eyes open and our sympathies awake, then we may begin to feel with the peasant when he burns up threshing machines, and to comprehend why the barber of Preston was driven from Lancashire by fear of violence from those who earned a living by the old mode of spinning.

We shall see the new servants competing with those they might be made to serve. We shall see a contest going on in the market of labor between wood and iron on the one hand and human thews and sinews on the other; a dreadful contest, at which humanity shudders and reason turns, astonished, away.

We shall see masters engaging, as the cheapest, most docile and least troublesome help, the machine instead of the man.† And we shall see the man, thus denied even the privilege to toil, shrink home, with sicken-

* Mr. J. Q Adams, in his Report from the Committee on Manufactures, made to Congress in 1832, estimates, that at the conclusion of the war in 1815, the mechanical inventions in Great Britain were equivalent to the manual labor of two hundred millions of persons. The increase has been very great since then.

It is now six hundred millions.—Eds. Phal.

Baines's "Cotton Manufactures," p. 243.

* Kennedy's "Rise and Progress of the Cotton Trade."

† M'Culloch's "Dictionary of Commerce," p. 415.

‡ Woollen about 350,000; Silk over 200,000; Linen nearly 200,000.

§ The threshing machine is well known; and a recent English writer on the influence of machinery, mentions a peculiarly constructed plough, lately brought into use for ploughing up potatoes, by which "one man and one horse get through as much work, as would, a few years ago, have required at least thirty laborers."—Garkell's *Manufacturing Population of England*, p. 340.

* Colquhoun, p. 109. Wade's Working Classes, p. 519.

† "The self-acting *mule* has the important advantage of rendering the mill owners independent of the combinations and strikes of the working spinners."—Baines's *Cotton Manufacture*, p. 207.

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ing heart, to the cellar where his wife and children herd, and sink down on its damp floor, to ask of his despair, where these things shall end: whether the soulless slaves, bred year by year from the teeming womb of science, shall, in very deed, surely and silently thrust aside, into idleness and starvation, their human competitors, until, like other extinct races of animals, the laborer perish from the earth?

Here, then, is another phase of the mysterious anomaly of our day. Mechanical improvements, inevitable even if they were mischievous, and in themselves a rich blessing as surely as they are inevitable—are becoming, by some strange perversion of their use, a cruel and deadly curse. They stand in array over against the laborer, instead of toiling by his side. They overstock the market; prices decline; that lowers profits; and these, in their fall, bring down wages with them.

And yet, will any man, who stands on his reputation for sanity, affirm that the necessary result from over-production is famine? that because labor produces more than even luxury can waste, labor shall not have bread to eat? If we can imagine a point in the progress of improvement, at which ALL the necessaries and comforts of life shall be produced without human labor, are we to suppose, that the human laborer, when that point is reached, is to be dismissed by his masters, from their employment? to be told that he is now a useless incumbrance which they cannot afford to hire? But no such point can ever be reached. Very true. Yet, as the asymptote to the hyperbola, we are ever approaching it. And if such a result seem flagrantly absurd in the extreme, it is actually experienced in a degree. Men *are* told that machines have filled their places, and that their services are no longer required,

For a time, indeed, even the vast machinery of England increased, instead of diminishing the demands for labor. Rapidly as accumulated the supply, more rapidly still increased the demand. England manufactured for half the world, and thus employed both the living laborer and the inanimate slave. But other countries—our own especially—have learned to manufacture for themselves; England's market is curtailed; England's employer must abridge his production by hiring less labor. The living laborer—the expensive one, who eats and drinks and wears—is dismissed. Unemployed operatives crowd the market places, and swarm in the streets. And, as it will not do, now-a-days, to put these superfluous vagrants to death, as the Spartans did their Helots, when they became inconveniently numerous; and as gradual starvation is very horrible, besides being slow in its effects; it has occurred to British statesmen to propose, as a last resort, a premium on emigration. The men cannot be used, therefore they must be got rid of.* To send off the machines might equally answer the case. But what business-man would think of such a proceeding? The cheaper and more manageable agent must of course be retained.

If this seem exaggerated irony, let us peruse the following, from the writings of one who seems, more than any other of England's modern economists, to have written in favor of the people:

"There is truly no commodity—if so disparaging an epithet may be applied to nature's noblest production—so precious as man. Even an untutored Indian from the plains of Africa will fetch a hundred pound in the slave market of America; but how much more valuable were a civilized, instructed and indefatigable European! Yet, see how he is depreciated! We give nothing for an article with which we are abundantly supplied, not even for air and water, though indispensable to support life. But an Englishman has become less valuable than either element; he is not only without price, but is actually become what algebraists call a negative quantity, that is, something worth less than nothing; and a premium has positively been offered for his expatriation!"*

Now, in these United States, there is no such condition of things at present. In this new country we have not yet reached, nor closely approached, that point. We are in what Adam Smith calls the progressive state. Labor is a commodity for which the demand, as a common rule, still exceeds the supply. An American, to emply the language of a British author, is still a positive quantity. But are not the same causes at work here, that have produced so fatal a result in the older country? Is not the laborer here, as in Great Britain, a "commodity," bid for in the market as wheat or cotton is; of much value, if very scarce; commanding less wages, as population gradually fills up the market of labor; and liable to become, as in England, a negative quantity, a wanderer, begging for toil, whenever any causes combine to surfeit the markets that are open to the produce of his labor? If his exertions increase, may not the reward of that increased exertion be an amount of production hat will deprive him of employment? If he obey the command to increase and multiply, does not growing population tend to the same result? If the inventive genius of America, no whit behind that of Europe, brings into being machine after machine, to perform the labor, and to take the place of man, is not the laborer, here as in England, thereby liable to be crowded out of the permission to work for his daily bread? Is it not here as in older States, a condition under which alone labor is assured of a fair reward, *that there shall not be too much labor?* And is it not the direct tendency of invention and of population to violate that condition? But is there any reason, *in the nature of things*, why its violation should produce other than the most cheering and desirable results; leisure, comfort, assured competence, independence and equality? Can there be any reason, other than one artificial and arbitrary, why the producers of the necessaries and comforts of life should then only be secure of their portion of those necessaries and comforts, when the world *is not overstocked with these?* As rationally might we decide, that when a huge goblet of water stands before a man fainting with thirst, he shall not be suffered to put his parched lips to the crystal liquid at all, because he cannot drain the vessel of its contents to the last drop.

Do we thank God that such reasoning applies not to our case? That we are not as other nations, or even as king-ridden England? Do we point to our sparse population, to our wide spreading domain? These assure us that the evil day is not yet upon us, but not that time will fail to bring it at last. Take New England, with her busy operatives and her splendid machinery. Close to her population the safety-valve of the public lands. Decree that when her work-people feel the iron hand of competition pressing too harshly upon them, they shall not be allowed to escape to the free woods and rich lands of the Far West. And what assurance should we have that at Lowell, and Lynn, and Salem, the same scenes would not soon be re-produced that now win our sympathy for the oppresed laborer of Britain? In point of fact, do we not find, even now, that the continual tendency of wages in New England is to decline?

Our peculiar situation, then, postpones, not avoids, for us, the fate that now imminently threatens England. When the land of refuge in the West is reclaimed and occupied, our laborers too may become the victims of machinery and of over-production.

Alchymists used to expend their lives in search of the philosopher's stone, which was to turn all baser metals into gold.—Statesmen, in these modern days have a different task before them; it is to detect that bad and fatal element in the politico-economical system of the age, that turns all good into evil; that renders plenty a curse; that changes the means of creating wealth into prolific sources of poverty; that makes peace a scourge, and war almost a blessing.

In the prosecution of that task, what vital questions cross the inquirers path! Must the working-man continue a commodity in the market, underbid by machinery, and crushed down even by the best improvements of the age? For every one that is benefitted by these, must tens of thousands be destroyed? Must civilization have her few selected sons of preference, and her millions of step-children, out-cast and forsaken? Must labor, the only creator of wealth, lose, from age to age and from century to century, one portion after another of its just and fitting reward?

And if not, what is the remedy?

When that question is answered, then will ONE OF THE PROBLEMS OF THE AGE be solved.

A SIGN.—We clip the following from the Portland Argus of May 12th, one of the most influential democratic papers in the State of Maine.

SOCIAL REFORM.—We have received the first number of the Social Reformer, published at Hallowell, and edited by John Allen, Esq. It is a small sheet, good paper, and well filled with useful information. It is devoted to the Principles of Fourier. We wish it success, and intend to devote a portion of our columns to explaining and illustrating the principles and advantages of the system.

We have paid some attention to this subject for the last few years, and can say with some confidence that it is the most, if not the only mode of association, that appears capable of indefinite increase, and *general* and *permanent* benefit to the human race. See the report of the General Convention, held in New York, May 4th, in our columns to-day.

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* British Statesmen calculate, with the utmost coolness, to what extent the market is glutted with labor. The permanent surplus of laboring people in Ireland is officially estimated at one-fifth of the entire population—*Parliamentary Papers*, vol. viii., p. 4; Sess. 1830. Enson calculates it one fourth.

In the British House of Commons, Mr Cha's Buller lately gave notice of a motion for March 14, 1843, "to move the resolutions on the necessity of *extensive and systematic* colonization, with a view of bettering the condition of the people."

* Wade's "History of the Middle and Working Classes," pp. 93—4.

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THE LADY'S DREAM.

FROM HOOD'S MAGAZINE.

The lady lay in her bed,
Her couch so warm and soft,
But her sleep was restless and broken still;
For turning often and oft
From side to side, she muttered and moaned,
And toss'd her arms aloft.

At last she started up,
And gazed on the vacant air,
With a look of awe, as if she saw
Some dreadful phantom there—
And then in the pillow she buried her face
From visions ill to bear.

The very curtains shook
Her terror was so extreme,
And the light that fell on the broidered quilt
Kept a tremulous gleam;
And her voice was hollow and shook as she [cried:
"Oh me! that awful dream!

"That weary, weary walk,
In the church-yard's dismal ground!
And those horrid things, with shady wings,
That came and flitted round—
Death, death, and nothing but death,
In every sight and sound!

"And oh! those maidens young,
Who wrought in that dreary room,
With figures drooping and spectres thin,
And cheeks without a bloom;—
And the voice that cried, 'For the pomp of [pride,
We haste to an early tomb!

"'For the pomp and pleasure of pride,
We toil like Afric slaves,
And only to earn a home at last,
Where yonder cypress waves;'—
And then he pointed—I never saw
A ground so full of graves!

And still the coffins came,
With their sorrowful trains and slow;
Coffin after coffin still,
A sad and sickening show;
From grief exempt, I never had dreampt
Of such a World of Woe!

"Of the hearts that daily break,
Of the tears that hourly fall,
Of the many, many troubles of life
That grieve this earthly ball—
Disease, and Hunger, Pain and Want,
But now I dreampt of them all!

"For the blind and the cripple were there,
And the babe that pined for bread,
And the houseless man, and the widow poor
Who begged—to bury the dead;
The naked, alas, that I might have clad,
The famished that I might have fed!

"The sorrow I might have soothed,
And the unregarded tears;
For many a thronging shape was there,
From long forgotten years;
Aye, even the poor rejected Moor,
Who raised my childish fears;

"Each pleading look, that long ago
I scanned with a heedless eye;
Each face was gazing as plainly there,
As when I passed it by;
Woe, woe for me, if the past should be
Thus present when I die!

"No need of sulphurous lake,
No need of fiery coal,
But only that crowd of human kind
Who wanted pity and dole—
In everlasting retrospect—
Will ring my sinful soul!

"Alas! I have walked through life
Too heedless where I trod;
Nay, helping to trample my fellow worm,
And fill the burial sod—
Forgetting that even the sparrow falls
Not unmark'd of God!

"I drank the richest draughts:
And ate whatever is good—
Fish and flesh, and fowl and fruit,
Supplied with hungry mood;
But I never remembered the wretched ones
That starve for want of food!

"I dressed as the noble dress,
In cloth of silver and gold,
With silk, and satin, and costly furs,
In many an ample fold;
But I never remembered the naked limbs
That froze with winter's cold.

"The wounds I might have healed!
The human sorrow and smart!
And yet it never was in my soul
To play so foul a part;
But evil is wrought by want of Thought,
As well as want of Heart!"

She clasp'd her fervent hands,
And the tears began to stream;
Large, and bitter, and fast they fell,
Remorse was so extreme;
And yet, oh yet, that many a Dame
Would dream the Lady's Dream!

Our last contained a brief notice of the Clermont Phalanx, informing our readers of the intention of our Cincinnati friends to take possession of the Domain selected for their Association. The Cincinnati Daily Atlas, of a subsequent date, contains an account of the fulfilment of this design, which is of a character so deeply interesting, that we transfer it, entire, to our columns. We are sure that all Associationists who read this account will, like ourselves, feel a sympathetic glow of enthusiasm and emotions of sincere pleasure and gratulation. The enthusiasm of our friends is an earnest and an augury of that holy religious fire, which will, ere long, burn in the hearts of humanity, and inspire to deeds of heroism of a far other sort from those which have, in times past, commanded the admiration of the world—the Noble Workers will go forth to renovate and redeem the earth and win brighter laurels than ever crowned the brows of heroes of destruction.

CLERMONT PHALANX.

The great Social Movement—Another Phalanx in Ohio—Cincinnati Associationists—Delightful Steamboat Excursion—Morally Sublime Spectacle.

The mighty movement in the world of mind, which, for the last half century has been observed by the reflecting class of men, begins to produce visible effects of a striking character in this lower world of matter. New creations of thought are constantly followed by new material forms and modes of existence, in endless variety. The mind of COLUMBUS conceives of an undiscovered hemisphere, and lo! the immediate effect is the transformation of millions of human beings from a state of degraded serfdom, ignorance and monstrous lethargy, into one of more exalted freedom, intelligence, and active enterprise and industry! A NEWTON, a DAVY, a FULTON, a WATT, or a FRANKLIN conceives a thought, and behold! the hitherto uncontrollable elements are brought under subjection to the will of man, and are made his ministering servants! CHARLES FOURIER conceives of UNIVERSAL UNITY and SOCIAL HARMONY, and we now witness in our midst a rapidly increasing multitude, earnestly active to realize the sublime conception!

One year ago, a few humble individuals of Cincinnati began to hold weekly meetings, to converse together concerning the new Science of Society, by FOURIER, which was then gradually unfolding itself through the publications of a few of its earnest advocates in New York and in Europe. Those meetings soon became public, and have steadily augmented in numbers and in interest up to the present time. The result is with them as it has been with thousands of others, a full faith in the practicability and even *absolute necessity* of reorganising Society according to the laws of order discovered by FOURIER. The *necessity* of a new form of Society appears to them in the fact, that honest industry, frugality and economy are now (under existing Society) no longer the guaranties of pecuniary independence; nor are intellectual acquirements nor the moral virtues any longer a sure passport to places of trust and dignity; but, on the contrary, that the reverse of all this prevails. Hence they are compelled to abandon a social state which produces such results, and seek a refuge in an entirely new order, based upon the Dignity of Labor, and the establishment of just relations between the three producing powers of man, which are Skill, Capital, and Labor, and of which Labor is the chief.

In obedience to these convictions, about 100 families and some single persons formed themselves into a body, taking the name of the "Cincinnati Phalanx," and united their means in the purchase of a tract of land on the fertile banks of the Ohio river, about 35 or 40 miles above this city in Clermont county, where they design putting into practical operation the principles of their new faith. They now assume the name of the Clermont Phalanx.

On Thursday last, (the 9th of May,) the whole company, with their friends and invited guests, (nearly 200 in all,) proceeded on board the steamboat Yucatan, which had been chartered for the purpose, to visit their Domain, and to leave behind them on the ground a Pioneer Band of 24 able-bodied volunteers, to make the necessary preparations for the reception of a detachment of the Phalanx as soon as possible.

The excursion was delightful beyond description; and the ceremonies on the ground were truly impressive: they were simple, plain, and without the least ostentation, and yet, at the same time, they were magnificently grand and imposing; but it was a moral grandeur and an intellectual magnificence, not visible to the merely *sensual* observer.

The day was one of the finest of the season. The pure breath of spring, wafting gentle breezes, refreshed the senses, as with an exhilarating balm; while the ever-varying landscape, redolent with beauty, lay serenely reposing, beneath the fond caresses of the smiling sun. It was a glorious day! and an image of that yet more glorious day, which is now dawning upon the world of mind, exhibiting the rising Sun of Heaven, with His resplendent beams of Love and Truth, warming into renovated life and beauty those Divine plants of true science, which spring up from the seeds of the WORD, the immutable laws of Divine order. The science of Associative Industry, is surely no other than a branch from the One Great Vine; for it teaches us how we can conform, in all our daily and hourly duties and social relations, to the great fundamental law of Him who declares himself to be THE VINE.

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"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," is the grand social law which the Associationists are seeking to establish; and an earnest of the accomplishment was given to the happy company on this occasion; for its spirit seemed to pervade every bosom and beam from every eye—it seemed to animate the graceful forms of the young maidens, and to flash from the eyes of the young men, as they moved in the mazy dance; and it was reflected back, in approving glances from the more aged matrons and sires of the joyful group. Music and dancing never seemed so appropriate as on this occasion; for the harmony of sounds and the "poetry of motion" were fitfully blended with that celestial harmony of soul which pervaded every bosom.

During the passage up the river, after the young people had amused themselves and others in the dance, one of the company drew the attention of all on board to graver things, in an appropriate discourse, concerning the spiritual interests of man, which was listened to with attention, and received with cordial approbation, and was concluded with a fervent appeal to the omnipresent Searcher of all hearts.

At about 2 o'clock, P. M., the boat touched the landing of the Domain, and the company arranged themselves into the order previously agreed upon, and marched in procession to a spot selected for the purpose, where the following exercises were performed:

ORDER OF PROCESSION.

1. Band of Music.
2. Band of Pioneers.
3. President of the Phalanx.
4. The Executive Council.
5. Members of the Phalanx and invited Guests.

EXERCISES.

1st. Reading of the Word. A part of the 20th chapter of Exodus, containing the law delivered to Moses on Mount Sinai, a part of the 5th chapter of the Gospel by Matthew, containing the eight beatitudes, and a part of the 6th chapter of the Book of Deuteronomy, (from the 1st to the 15th verses) were read in a clear and audible manner by JOHN WHITE.

2d. Prayer, by A. H. LONGLEY.

3d. An address by the President of the Phalanx. In this address, Judge LOOFBOURROW, in his peculiarly happy manner, congratulated his associates on the auspicious event for which they were assembled; took a survey of the state of social disorder from which they were fleeing; then directed attention to the "promised land," which, as from the top of Pisgah, was seen to lie before them; spoke of it as being the grand end of all civil and religious institutions which have existed on earth, since the decline and "fall" of man from a state of unity and happiness in which he once existed; as being that greatest of all good, of which the Prophets have written, and Apostles preached, and for which Martyrs have died; and declared it to be the fulfilment of the Gospel of JESUS CHRIST, in the establishment of the kingdom of Heaven upon Earth, the reign of Universal Peace, and the restoration of Universal Unity.

4th. Prayer, by J. P. SCHROEDER.

5th. Benediction, by ROBERT SMITH.

The company then separated, and forming again into various little groups, were soon scattered over the Domain, some examining the peculiarities of soil, sites for buildings, garden spots, pleasure grounds, &c., while the sweet cadences of music from the band sent back their lengthened echo from the hills, mingled with the voice of song from happy young men and maidens, making vocal with human melody the groves where but recently was heard the discordant yell of the savage Indian.

Before the company left, the Pioneer band had erected a house of boards, sufficient to shelter them from the inclement weather. Tents were pitched, and all the paraphernalia of a new settlement were scattered around. The sound of the woodman's axe, and the busy hum of industry, gave certain indications of the speedy transformation of the forest into fruitful fields, and of the wilderness into delightful gardens. Of the prowess of man's physical arm, we have had many proofs; but there is more power in the arm of man than has yet been developed. When man, by the adoption of Divine laws, yields himself a willing instrument of the Divine will, his arm will be nerved with Omnipotence, and he will learn to perceive in a far higher sense than ever before, that "The wilderness shall rejoice and blossom as the rose."

The Domain selected is in Clermont county, about 38 miles from Cincinnati. It is a pleasant, healthy situation, and comprises about 1000 acres. It lies directly on the Ohio, running back from the river about a mile, and, with the exception of about 150 acres, is heavily timbered with ash, hickory, black walnut, Locust, poplar, sugar maple, &c. There is, doubtless, a sufficiency of wood that can be cleared off, and sold to steamboats, to pay the whole cost of the place, $20,000. Most of it is rolling land, and in the hills are found springs sufficient for the purposes of the Association. The size of the trees indicate a strong and fertile soil.

Since we left, we have learned that the pioneers have purchased a raft of lumber, and are erecting a building of 84 feet long, with a spacious dining hall extending through it, and 7 rooms on each side for families. There are many families waiting and ready to move up as soon as suitable accommodations can be had. About half of the present Pioneers are farmers, and the remainder mechanics.

At 6 o'clock, P. M., the company, with the exception of the Pioneer band, re-embarked, and assembled on the hurricane deck. When the vessel had shoved out into the stream, a mutual exchange of salutes from the party on board and the one on shore, rent the air with their shouts, while the band pathetically played the tune of "*Old Lang Syne*," and the steamer returned to the city, where she arrived at half past 9 P. M.

A MEMBER OF THE PHALANX.

A WORD OF CAUTION.

Among the resolutions passed at the General convention of Associationists, held in April last, as an expression of the maturest wisdom of the persons composing that Convention, and representing the whole body of Associationists in the United States, were the following:

Resolved, 4th. That regarding Association not as an *invention of human ingenuity*, but as a *discovery of the* DIVINE ORDER *of society*, we solemnly protest against retarding this Providential and Humane movement, by premature, rash and fragmentary undertakings; and foreseeing, as we do, that success in these enterprises requires disinterestedness, sagacity and perseverance, we appeal to the friends of our Race with the request that they do not attempt to establish Association, until

I. They have secured the co-operation of a sufficient number of men and women of congenial tempers, devoted from generous impulse and conviction to this cause of God and Man; until

II. They have maturely deliberated upon and distinctly comprehended the laws of Order and the arrangements which Justice prescribes; until

III. They have actually at their command *such ample capital* as to preserve them from *anxieties* and *risks;*

For only where these conditions are fulfilled can there be realized that Attractive industry, and abundant Wealth and Beauty, which are the foundations upon which the higher Social and Religious Harmonies must be reared. Only thus can Associations be successfully established. But we rejoice in the assurance, that when once established, they will act with ever-increasing power, thoroughly to redeem the tens of thousands oppressed by want and temptation, from their present miseries — miseries which no *Superficial Charities* but only *Radical Justice* can relieve or cure.

Resolved, 5th. That in view of the vastness of the change proposed by Association; the ignorance in regard to it which still so generally prevails; the unfitness for its relationships and duties which false or defective Education has rendered so nearly universal; the infidelity, if not hostility, of the great mass of those who possess Capital or Wealth; the necessarily inadequate pecuniary resources of the pioneer Associations already commenced; and the certainty that much waste, both of efforts and means, must attend the commencement of changes so mighty, we earnestly advise the Friends of Association, every where, to proceed with circumspection and deliberation in all practical movements, and, wherever circumstances shall not imperatively dictate a different course, to concentrate their energies and efforts on the experiments already commenced in preference to undertaking new enterprises.

We reproduce these resolutions to urge them again more particularly upon the attention of our friends. There is every reason to believe that the great movement in which we have commenced, may be conducted too rapidly and without sufficient regard to the ultimate consequences we have in view. By this it is not meant that there can be too much activity and real energy displayed in the propagation of the new doctrines; for, in fact, the need of them in Society is so pressing, that many thousands of the best minds and hearts might be profitably engaged in communicating them to the public. But what we intend is, that there is danger of running too hastily into *practical* experiments, before the minds of the projectors are prepared for the change, and before they have provided suitable means for the successful realization of the truth. The forming of an Association is no small affair: it cannot be accomplished in a day, nor without money; nor should it be undertaken in advance of the most cautious and elaborate preparations. No doubt that some of the advantages of associated effort may be realized even under the most inauspicious circumstances; but this is not what the cause and the country now demand.—What we need above everything else, is a

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full and complete demonstration of the practicability and efficiency of Fourier's discoveries, which cannot be obtained except by a compliance with all the conditions his system requires.

It should be remembered that the plan of Fourier is not one which he presents as of his own devising. He insists throughout his works, and his best informed disciples, in France, in Great Britain, and in this country, insist that his principles are definite and scientific, founded upon precise mathematical calculations, and incapable of application according to the arbitrary caprice or fancy of individuals. In short, it is the Divine System he reveals; its requirements are positive; all its parts are accurately described; and it can only be rightly tested in practice as a whole.

Now, Fourier tells us that the smallest Association which can be formed, with any reasonable prospect of success, in every particular, must consist of at least four or five hundred persons. A perfect association, however, will require over fifteen hundred. The reason of this is, that it seeks to harmonize all the different interests and characters of society, which can only be done by the SERIAL ORGANIZATION. With a limited number of persons and small means the organization of groups and series can not be effected, or can only be effected on the most imperfect scale. All the varieties of industrial taste and skill can not be embraced in a small body, so that the danger of collision and conflict increases in proportion to the smallness of the number of persons engaged. Nor can those immense economies which are among the main advantages of united effort be secured, without large contributions of men and means.

We must, therefore, urge upon our friends throughout the country, not to begin any new attempts to form associations, but to concentrate on those already formed. At least they should not begin any new attempts until they have collected a fund of substantial capital, and thoroughly indoctrinated the proposed members into the philosophy and spirit of the new society. There have been already several excellent experiments started in different parts of the country, the failure of which (but this we do not yet anticipate in any case) would bring grievous disparagement upon the cause, but the success of which would be greatly accelerated by concentration. Let all those persons, therefore, who are prepared for Harmonic Life, give their aid, if possible, to the communities now in being, instead of resorting to new projects. In New England, there is Brookfarm, at West Roxbury, where the prospects of reducing Fourier's system to practice are most flattering; in the neighborhood of this city, there is the North American Phalanx, in Monmouth, Co. N. J.; in Pennsylvania, there are the Leraysville and the Sylvania Phalanx; and in Ohio, the Ohio Phalanx, besides those in other States, all of which, for a perfect final triumph, need the combined efforts and assistance of the friends of the cause in all parts of the nation. Let these efforts be heartily given; let persons who have capital invest it in the experiments on foot rather than in new trials: let men and women, anxious to see the realization of the glorious truth of Social Unity, join themselves to such as have already broken ground in the movement. In this way alone can we hope in a few years to exhibit such practical results as will silence all gainsayers.

We know, when the truths of Social Science once break upon the mind in all their beauty and fulness, it becomes ardently desirous to see their practical fulfillment. It is hard to restrain this benevolent and holy desire. Groaning as many of us are under the curse of civilized duplicity and wrong, we long to escape from it, and fly to some better state. The feeling is natural; but prudence requires that it shoul be kept in check for a time. With every good Associationist, the first wish will be to see the Justice and Love of the Combined Order PRACTICALLY DEMONSTRATED, which can only be through thorough conformation to all the laws and conditions required by that order.

The course pursued by our friends in France, who have the advantage of a better acquaintance with Fourier's views than we have, who have been many years engaged in the study of them, and are enlightened by his manuscripts and former personal communications, has been of the most cautious and deliberate kind. Thus far, they have deprecated any practical movement, but devote their efforts exclusively to the work of propagation, to prepare the minds of the people and to collect the necessary funds. In about one year from this time, they will begin a practical movement, and not till then; for, when they do undertake it, they wish it to be perfect. Such slowness, is not, of course, to be expected in this country; but greater deliberation is certainly needed.

We do not say this in order to dampen the enthusiasm of our friends, with whose strivings and aspirations we most earnestly sympathize. We honor their zeal; we love the energy so characteristic of American freemen; we will co-operate with them in all reasonable undertakings, but at the same time we wish them to beware of disunited, fragmentary and unorganized effort. It is our very interest in their undertakings which prompts us to send forth these suggestions. Our lives and hearts and reputations are so deeply staked in the success of Association, that we invoke the choicest blessings of Heaven upon all who are in any way engaged in the noble work. May God give them wisdom, and strength, and the spirit of forbearance and self-sacrifice. Hard and rough, indeed, is the way for the present; but oh! how bright and glorious opens the future!

From the Primitive Expounder, Ann Arbor, Mich.

ALPHADELPHIA.—It will be interesting to many of our readers to learn that this Association has surmounted the difficulties of a commencement, and is prospering gloriously. They have taken deeds for 2406 acres of land, 625 of which are cleared; and probably before this, deeds have been taken for 540 acres more, including 353 acres cleared. The cost of this land will be about $31,000. This includes the water-power on both sides of the river, and the choice of building on either; so that they have 2146 acres to begin with, of which 978 acres are improved.

They have drawn a plan for a temporary mansion, which is intended to be used for workshops after the Phalanstery is built, which they do not intend to commence this season. This temporary mansion is to be two stories high, 248 feet long, 23 feet wide, with three wings,—one at each end, extending each backward 80 feet, and one in the middle, 115 feet, for dining-room, kitchen, baking, and washing rooms. They have on hand from 20 to 25,000 feet of lumber, besides a first-rate saw-mill, with 74 acres of first-rate timbered land around it, and another saw-mill, which they have engaged for the season. These mills are now going day and night. The mansion will probably be located on the north side of the river, on a beautiful plain in the middle of a valley two miles wide, with a view of the railroad for miles each way, and the hills on the north and south.

The "State Journal" of this village takes an exception to the name, and wishes that it might be changed for some English or Indian cognomen, as the "Kalamazoo Phalanx," or the "Kalamazoo Industrial Association." The name *Alphadelphia* is not of our choosing, and consequently we do not feel peculiarly partial to it; but it is certainly preferable to the substitutes which have been offered. It is composed of two Greek words: *alpha*, the first letter of the Greek alphabet, used numerically to signify the first,* and *delphia*, lovely, or loving; and means when joined, the first loving association,—the first organized in the State for social reform on the principle of love. It is short, expressive harmonious, and poetical; much more so than either of the substitutes proposed; and certainly, none the worse for being Greek. Has not that editor a singular *taste*, who can prefer such long, awkard, unharmonious names as the Kalamazoo Phalanx, or Kalamazoo Industrial Association?

Without expressing any opinion in regard to the propriety of the name Alphadelphia, or the "taste" of those who may prefer another, we have a thought to express, suggested by the above, which we wish our friends would take into consideration. It is this, that in view of Associations being formed all over the country, which we have no doubt ere long they will be, *the old Indian names of the localities be selected.* They are frequently grand and euphonious, and generally expressive and poetical. It seems to us that in this way only can these rich legacies of an extinct race be well preserved. This plan will at once obviate difficulties which we see will arise in obtaining names for future Associations, and avoid those barbarous abuses of English words and that absurd misuse of classical and foreign names which have given to the towns, &c, of the United States, generally, so incongruous and ridiculous an air. Will the hint be improved?

NOTICE.—The second edition of Mr. Godwin's "Popular View of the Doctrines of Charles Fourier," is now in press.

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[From the Brother Jonathan.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

The inhuman execution of Rosanna Kean, a half-idiotic girl, under the laws of the State of New Jersey, has revived in all its force, the general question as to the right and expediency of Capital Punishment. People are no longer disposed to regard the spectacle of a public execution with the indifference or the brutal curiosity of times not long gone by. The announcement comes on us with all the horror produced by reading one of those old-fashioned tragedies, in which the most revolting crimes were openly enacted on the stage, and in which the actors generally ended the play by murdering one another. To whatever source we may trace the change, the taste of the times is now unquestionably against those bloody pageants in which the executioner figures as the most imposing personage, and the last agonies of a fellow-creature furnish the staple of the entertainment Not that the hideous exhibition could ever be congenial to human nature, at any period of our history. The heart of man recoils from the sight of a brother mortal "plunged into eternity," to use the hackneyed phrase, not in the heat of battle, or the *melee* of a drunken fray, but in the midst of the calm solemnities of justice, and with the cool deliberation of the slaughter-house. Nothing but the force of habit, and the strong belief that such retributions are essential to secure the ends of justice, could have reconciled men so long to scenes which must shock every feeling of our nature. And hence these feelings, kept down, under the high pressure of authority, from venting themselves against the higher functionaries of the death-dealing law, have wreaked themselves in idle indignation against the lowest and least responsible of them all—the unfortunate Jack Ketches and Abhorsons, who are, in reality, no more worthy of censure or odium than the rope or the axe, the instruments of their trade, as they are the instruments of the law. Society upholds and vindicates its sanguinary code, and contents itself with execrating the hand by which it is carried into execution. Judges and jury, advocates and witnesses, who have consigned a criminal to the scaffold, are all honorable men, who have done good service to their country: but to shake hands, or come into bodily contact with the person who carries their sentence into effect, would be accounted pollution. Symptoms, however, are beginning to appear, indicating that this anomalous state of things cannot last much longer. The law has already been gradually relaxing its bloody fangs. In most of the European states, capital punishment, even for the highest offences, are nearly, if not altogether abolished. And it would be strange indeed if, with all its boasted civilization, America should be the last to drop what can only be regarded as the relic of a barbarous age.

Much has been said, and said wisely and well, against capital punishments. It has been argued and demonstrated, that they only lacerate the feelings of the humane, without benefitting the criminal—that the example tends to harden rather than deter the profligate offender, and thus fails in the grand aim of civil penalties, the prevention of crime—that it cuts off the offender from what the greatest sinner needs most, repentance and amendments of life. But many of those who are loudest in reprobating our sanguinary laws, as they formerly existed, are not prepared to give up capital punishment in the case of murder. In regard to this atrocious crime, it is conceived, that an exception must be made, were it for no more than the protection of society, and that both common equity and the Divine law seem to require, that "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." Much untenable reasoning, it must be allowed, has been employed in behalf of the total abolition of capital punishment. The quietism of the Quakers, which has led them to denounce all sorts of resistence to violence, has rendered their well-meaning exertions in this field of little effect. People will not listen very patiently to arguments against judicial executions from one who expects them to comply literally with the command of turning the unsmitten cheek to the smiter of the other. Politicians of the philanthropic school have hurt their cause by maintaining that example is the sole end of all punishment—a tenet which strikes more deeply than they are aware against some of the plainest truths of revelation. Lord Brougham, with his wonted ingenuity, maintained some time ago, that the rule laid down in the text we have just quoted, in regard to the shedding of blood, and which is generally referred to on the bench when pronouncing the doom of the murderer, was not applicable to the times of the New Testament. He failed, however, to show why—to assign any reason which might account for such a law having been applicable to the Old, and not to the New Testament. On this point we beg to submit a few remarks.

The penalties attached in the Mosaic code to the crime of shedding man's blood are very strikingly severe; but we take a very narrow view of the matter if we suppose that they were intended *merely* for the purpose of marking the Divine abhorrence of murder. That there was another design, is obvious from the simple fact, that the unwitting shedder of blood, "who killed his neighbor ignorantly, and hated him not in time past"—the man who "fetched a stroke with the axe to cut down a tree, and the head slipped from the helve, and lighted upon his neighbor, so that he died"—was as liable to be punished with death, as the wilful murderer, unless he escaped by fleeing to one of the cities of refuge. The next of kin was not merely permitted, but bound in duty to pursue and put that unfortunate person to death, provided he was found without the walls of the refuge. The reason of the enactment must be apparent to all who have studied the verities of the gospel in the rites and emblems of the law. It was to teach the absolute necessity of the great Atonement for sin, or that "without shedding of blood there was no remission." The sins of the world were to be washed away by blood, in no other way, by no other ablution; and it was highly requisite, from the very commencement of the Divine administration, to teach men the value of blood. It became a type of the life, the soul of man. When blood was shed, it mattered not how, it became necessary to find an expiation for it; and as nothing but the death of the sinner, or of his surety, could atone for sin, so nothing but blood could atone for blood, unless the shedder of it took shelter in the refuge which typified the Savior. In like manner, wilful blood-shedding, if allowed to remain unexpiated, laid the whole land under the curse of heaven. Under the reign of David, the blood of the Gibeonites shed by Saul, not having been thus atoned for, brought down a desolating famine, and the wrath was only averted by the sacrifice of Saul's seven sons.

If such then was the design of that ancient enactment, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed," the impropriety of applying it as a permanent rule of criminal legislation under the Christian economy, must be very apparent. We are continuing to act upon a law after its obligation has ceased, and its original design has been fully answered. Whatever right we may have to take away the life of a fellow-creature, because he has taken that of another, we cannot plead Divine right. The Christian dispensation has entirely done away with the ancient system of retaliation. It condemns murder, not only in the act, but in the intent: he that hateth his brother is, in the gospel's eye, a murderer. But the old adage of "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," however well adapted for the economy which taught the necessity of reparation to offended justice, has no place among the laws of Him who has paid the typified forfeit of blood by dying for us on the cross. Men may still talk of the wretched culprit *expiating* on the scaffold his offence against the laws of his country; but the figure, though it once had a meaning, has none now. It once meant that the person expiated not his own crime, but the guilt of the blood he had shed, which would otherwise have come on the land which had been "defiled by blood." In point of fact, the execution of the murderer is now in no sense an expiation. So far as himself is concerned, it is simply a punishment, and inflicted by the law, not as an expiation or atonement for his violation of it (which always implies that the punishment has been remitted to another,) but as an expression of judicial vengeance. The magistrate is "a revenger, to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil." But why carry the wrath beyond the present life? Why deprive the unhappy criminal of life itself, and repeat with our own hand the awful act for which we condemn him—of sending a soul prematurely and violently into the eternal and unchangeable world? Is there no other form in which the outraged justice of the country may express, with equal significance, its abhorrence of the crime? Would not the confessions and regrets of our convicted murderers, in their penitentiaries and prison-houses, tell more upon the moral sense of their fellow-men, than the horrid ceremonial of choking the poor wretches on a public scaffold? Would not the ends of justice be more effectually reached by insuring convictions, than they can be under the present system, with the altered spirit of the age—when all concerned, from judgment bench to jury box, feel under such strong temptations to slur over the crime in order to save the criminal, and when the Executive prerogative of mercy is so frequently interposed, that the exercise of it has the appearance of a libel on the law, and the denial of it, in almost any case, is apt to be construed into want of partiality to the criminal?

"THE PROBLEM OF THE AGE."—Our readers are referred to the able article with this name. It appeared anonymously in the Democratic Review, and therefore we infer, with the approbation of the editor. Can any of our politicians give the solution?

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FUND FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE DOCTRINES OF ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the General Executive Committee on Friday evening, 24th May, a letter from Mr. John D. Wilkins, of Attakapas county, Louisiana, was read, tendering the sum of Five Hundred Dollars as a contribution to a fund to be expended in the propagation of the Doctrines of Association, by lectures, the purchase of columns in newspapers, tracts, &c., whereupon the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of the Executive Committee be returned to Mr. John D. Wilkins, for the generous contribution of Five Hundred Dollars, which he has presented for the purpose of being applied to the dissemination of the doctrines of Association.

Resolved, That a FUND for the propagation of the doctrine of Association be established, the contribution of John D. Wilkins of $500 a year to form a basis of it, which fund shall be applied to paying the expenses of disseminating the said doctrine, in such manner and at such times as the Central Executive Committee of New York shall direct.

Resolved, That the different portions of such fund shall be devoted to paying lectures, to procuring articles for the Phalanx, and circulating the same, to purchasing columns in newspapers, and to publishing tracts.

Resolved, That the different Fourier Clubs and friends of Association generally throughout the country, be requested to contribute to said fund, and that each contribution shall be applied in such of the aforesaid modes as the donor may indicate.

Resolved, That no monies shall be appropriated from such fund without a formal vote from the Executive Committee, and a warrant from the Chairman, countersigned by the Secretary of the Executive Committee.

We believe that our friends generally will be so fully satisfied of the great importance of the design expressed in the above resolutions of the Executive Committee, that no appeal on our part is necessary to prompt them to immediate and energetic action in order to accomplish it. We need not appeal to their liberality or their philanthropy, but simply address ourselves to their convictions of duty in regard to the dissemination of the glorious truths of Association, which, hand in hand with the precepts of the religion of Christ, are to realize on earth the highest and holiest aspirations of the human heart, and the brightest promises of prophecy.

The duty of spreading the truth far and wide does not devolve on any one man or set of men, but every man should feel himself a soldier in the cause commissioned from above to "preach the gospel to every creature." And if he cannot do it in person efficiently, so far as his means will allow he should enable others to do so who can. It will be seen, however, that the Executive Committee make it entirely optional with those who contribute to the General Fund, as to the mode of application of contributions, which may be either pointed out or left to the discretion of the Committee. The design is to secure an ample capital for the publication of tracts, &c., and so far as publications can be returned to the donors respectively for their distribution, the general objects of propagation will be attained

Letters to be addressed to the "Editors of the Phalanx," which in the general for this purpose may be done through Postmasters free of postage.

AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL UNION.

We have received the Report of the President of this Confederation, A. M. Watson, Esq., of the Associations in Western New-York, and the proceedings of the Council, which met at the Bloomfield Union Association on the 15th May, but they came to hand too late for this number of the Phalanx. Seven Associations compose this Confederacy, the Jefferson county Industrial, Bloomfield Union, Sodus Bay, Rush Industrial, Ontario Union, and the Western New-York Industrial Association, which were represented by their delegates in the General Council. This Union is a most important movement, as our readers will see when they read the report of the President and the proceedings of the Council, which we will publish in the next number; and the reason why it has not been spoken of before, was the desire to do so in connexion with suggestions from the Executive Committee for a more extended Union embracing all the Associations in the United States, to be consummated at the Convention in October next. These have been prepared and will also appear in the next number.

PROGRESS.

PROGRESS is an eternal and universal law. Neither the Individual nor Society can remain stationary. Man in his stages of development, outgrows the social forms and institutions of one age, as does the child its bib and long-clothes, or its rattle and doll. The growth of the Spirit will demand corresponding social arrangements. The outward must be an exponent of the inward. Several progressive ages our race has already passed through. Civilization is but a step in advance of Barbarism. Perhaps it is but the same thing disrobed of its grossness, spiritualized and refined. There are some so dull of apprehension that they can see but little difference between the robbery and warfare of the barbarian, and the selfish competition and rivalry of the civilizee, which arrays every man in deadly hostility against his neighbor, and converts our race into merciless hyenas and cannibals, preying upon each other. Others esteem it a matter of small moment to them, whether they serve some sleek sachem or pious sheik, and are fed with the refuse and offal of the camp, along with his dogs, and clad with the skins of animals, or are compelled to slave for life as despised menials of some Rag-Baron, or church-going monopolists, who live in princely splendor upon the fruits of unrequited toil, while they feed upon the crumbs of his table, or starve with their families in a hovel, and half cover themselves with his cast-off clothes. And the time is not far distant, when some will dare affirm, that as well may we sell women for the harem of the Turk, or the concubine of some "half-horse—half-alligator," of old Kentuck', as to throw her into the civilized market, compel her to choose between the alternatives, whether to drudge out her life, like the Boston Sempstress,

> "In poverty, hunger and dirt,
> Sewing at once with a double thread,
> A shroud as well as a shirt;"

or to force her from home and friends, to be run fourteen hours per day, as a machine in a factory; or thrust as a domestic into some nabob's kitchen and garret, shut out from the sympathies of her kind, and considered the lawful prey of every wine-soaked libertine of the town; or what is worse, perhaps, be sold for life to the form of marriage without the fact, in connexion with one she can never love, and whose only merit is his pile of shining dust, and his ability to keep her from the alms-house. There is a frightful parallel, between the barbarian and civilized order of Society.—Nevertheless civilization is one round higher upon the ladder of progress. It has had a mission to accomplish, and a trust to fulfil. And though it is far enough from being the divine social order, it has been a John the Baptist, crying in the wilderness, "Level down the mountains, elevate the valleys, and prepare the way for the coming of Christ in Society." Every civilized sect and party, directly or indirectly, has evolved its fragments of the truth. Every footfall of the past, every sacrifice for truth and duty, every movement in reform has been an advanced step of humanity towards a true Social state. Scientific knowledge has been diffused, labor-saving machinery invented, the mechanic arts applied, commerce created, agriculture developed, and all the necessary steps taken to render industry attractive, the human race mutually useful, and their culture universal. The world is now ready for the transition from antagonism to unity, from oppression to freedom, from destruction to creation, from Civilization to Association. Existing institutions are no longer an expression of the wants or idea of the age. The agitation, excitement, discontent and movements on every hand, are but the united voice of suffering humanity, crying for Social Reorganization and Reform.—[Social Reformer.

A MEMOIR OF MRS. JUDITH S. GRANT, late Missionary to Persia: By Wm. W. Campbell, has just been issued from the press of J Winchester. It is a modest, cheap volume of 200 pages, as unadorned in its contents as its externals, but of a class which must deeply interest all who delight to regard the better phases of human nature. The subject was a simple, truthful, humbly born country girl, who grew up a devoted Christian, and laid down her life while endeavoring to carry the light of the Gospel into long benighted Persia. We have rarely opened a book of the class which in style and narrative interested us so deeply.

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SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS UNITY.

SOCIAL PROGRESS.—SOCIAL REFORM UPON CONSERVATIVE PRINCIPLES.

THE PHALANX:

ORGAN OF THE

DOCTRINE OF ASSOCIATION.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.

ASSOCIATION, ATTRACTIVE INDUSTRY, UNITY OF INTERESTS.

OUR EVILS ARE SOCIAL, NOT POLITICAL, AND A SOCIAL REFORM ONLY CAN ERADICATE THEM.

J. Winchester, Publisher, 30 Ann-st. Two Dollars per annum, in advance.

VOLUME I. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 15, 1844. NUMBER 12.

THE PROGRESS OF CRIME.

For several weeks past, we have furnished our readers with extracts from the popular periodicals of the day, representing every variety of current opinion, and showing by the confession of all parties the growth of pauperism in every nation, and the deep necessity for a radical social reform. And having done this, it was our intention to quit the department of mere criticism for a time, and enter upon the discussion of the constructive parts of Social Science. But we find with every fresh receipt of newspapers and magazines, fresh evidences of the truth of our critical principles, and of an awaking conviction that all existing methods of reform are inadequate and hopeless. These are too important to be overlooked. They show the spirit which is secretly at work in the bosom of nations, preparing the way for the next progressive step in the social development of the Human Race. They are a valuable testimony to the correctness of those principles, by which Associationists are accustomed to judge of the tendencies and bearings of contemporaneous events. They furnish us with weapons mighty to the pulling down of the strongholds of civilized duplicity and selfishness.

In *Blackwood's Magazine* last received, for instance, we find the leading article relates to the subject of "Imprisonment and Transportation," in which, however, instead of discussing his subject directly, the writer proceeds to discourse of the general subject of the "Progress of Crime." He levels his batteries mainly against the Liberal Party of England, but in the course of his argument candidly turns up a great many facts which bear, with fearful directness, upon all parties, both religious and political. His opening sentence is this, the *italics* being his own. "Among the many causes of anxiety which the present state of society in the British Empire must occasion to every thoughtful and reflecting mind, one of the most extraordinary and alarming is, *the constant and uninterrupted increase of crime.*" And at the close of the paragraph continues, that "crime advances with the steps of a giant, sweeping whole classes of society into its vortex, and threatening to spread corruption and vice in an incredible manner through the densest and most dangerous classes of the community."

Now let us see how he makes good these horrible assertions. He says:

Authentic and irrefragable evidence of the magnitude of this danger exists in the statistical tables of committals which have now, for a very considerable time, been prepared in all parts of the British empire. Since the year 1805, when regular tables of commitments first began to be kept in England, commitments have increased *six fold;* they have swelled *from five to thirty-one thousand.* During the same period population has advanced about sixty per cent.: in other words, detected crime has advanced FOUR TIMES AS FAST AS THE NUMBERS OF THE PEOPLE.

Unwilling as we are to load our pages with statistical tables—which, attractive to the thinking few, are repulsive to the unthinking many—we must yet request our readers to cast their eyes to the bottom of the pages, where these appalling truths are demonstrated by the parliamentary returns. In Scotland and Ireland the returns of commitments have not been kept, until within the last twenty years, with such accuracy as can be relied on; but they exhibit an increase still more alarming. Ireland, as might be expected, exhibits a growth of crime which has fully kept pace with that of England during the same period: but Scotland exhibits a change which fairly outstrips all the others in the race of iniquity. In 1803, Lord Advocate Hope said in Parliament, that more crime was tried at one Quarter Sessions at Manchester than over all Scotland in a whole year; and the proceedings of the criminal courts to the north of the Tweed, at that period, amply demonstrated the truth of his assertion. In the year 1805, eighty-nine criminals were brought before the whole tribunals, supreme and inferior, in Scotland; but in the year 1842, the committals for serious offences were nearly four thousand—in other words, serious crime, in less than forty years, had augmented in Scotland above THIRTY-SIX FOLD. During the same period population has advanced about fifty per cent., viz.: from 1,800,000, to 2,660,000; so that in moral, staid, and religious Scotland, serious crime, during the last forty years, has risen TWENTY-FIVE TIMES as fast as the number of the people.

Overlooked as this prodigious change has been, as all things are which arise gradually in this country, it has yet attracted, as well it might, the astonishment of writers on the Continent. Nine years ago, M. Moreau observed, speaking of the increase of crime in Scotland—"In the year 1805, the criminal commitments in Scotland were eighty-nine; they are now 2261—that is, they have increased in thirty years thirty fold. It would appear that Scotland, in becoming a manufacturing state, has in a great degree lost the virtue and simplicity of character by which she was formerly distinguished."

What renders this prodigious increase of crime in so short a period, in all parts of the British Empire, in a peculiar manner extraordinary and alarming, is, that it has taken place at the very time when unheard-of efforts were made, in every part of the country, for the moral and religious instruction of the people.

We are very far indeed from saying that enough has been done in this way; no one is better aware that the vast debt, which the prosperous wealth of Britain owes in this respect to its suffering indigence, is still in great part undischarged, and that till it is taken up and put on a proper footing *by the state*, it never can be completely liquidated;—still, more has been done to discharge it during the last thirty years, than in the whole previous centuries which have elapsed since the Reformation. The churches of England and Scotland, during that period, have improved to an astonishing degree in vigor and efficiency; new life, a warmer spirit, a holier ambition, has been breathed into the Establishment; the dissenters of all denominations have vied with them in zeal and effort; churches and chapels have been built and opened in every direction; and though they have by no means, in the manufacturing districts, kept pace with the increase of population, yet they have advanced with a rapidity hitherto unheard of in British history. The laity of all denominations have made extraordinary efforts to promote the cause of education. In this great and good work, persons of all descriptions have, though from very different motives, labored together; but much remains to be done. We well know how many tens and hundreds of thousands, in the manufacturing districts, are wandering in worse than heathen darkness in the midst of a Christian land;—we well know what insurmountable obstacles mere voluntary zeal and exertion meet with in the most praiseworthy efforts, from the selfish resistance of property and the reckless dissipation of indigence. But still, no one acquainted with the subject can deny, that during the last thirty years, incomparably more has been done to promote education among the poor than in the preceding three centuries. Yet this period of anxious solicitude, awakened fear, and general effort to stem, *by all the known methods, the deluge of profligacy and depravity with which the country has been flooded, has been characterized by an* INCREASE OF CRIME, AND A GENERAL LOOSENING OF MORALS AMONG THE LABORING CLASSES, HITHERTO UNPRECEDENTED IN THE COUNTRY—certainly not equalled during the same period in any other European state, and, so far as we know, WITHOUT AN EXAMPLE IN THE PREVIOUS HISTORY OF MANKIND.

In this melancholy description the *italics* and SMALL CAPS are mostly the writer's own, showing the sincerity of conviction with which he writes. Having made the general statement of the increase of crime, and having dwelt in a general way upon the fact that this increase has been coincident with unprecedented efforts to spread better influences, he proceeds to dwell specifically upon the several methods of amelioration which have been from time to time adopted.

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He first shows that the experiments made in England, Scotland, and other countries, to render the Police Force more efficient, had very little effect, either way, either in diminishing or extending the prevalence of crime; and then refers to the efforts undertaken in the way of reforming prison discipline, as a method of ameliorating the statistics of crime. His observations are:

The Liberal party, in the beginning of the present century, were unanimous in imputing the vast increase of crime to the defects of our criminal law. The nominal severity of that system, it was said, and said justly, with its uncertain punishments and frequent opportunities of escape, afforded in fact a bounty on the commission of crime. Injured parties declined to give information for fear of being bound over to prosecute; witnesses were reluctant to give evidence, judges caught at legal quibbles, juries violated their oaths, in order to save the accused from a punishment which all felt was disproportioned to the offence; and thus the great object of criminal jurisprudence, certainty of punishment, was entirely defeated. There was much truth in these observations, but much fallacy in the hope that their removal would effect any reduction in the number of offences. The object sought for was carried. Humane principles were triumphant. The labors of Sir Samuel Romilly and Sir James Mackintosh, aided by the cautious wisdom and experienced ability of Sir R. Peel, produced a total revolution in our criminal jurisprudence. The old stain has been removed: we need no longer fear a comparison with the laws of Draco. For the last fifteen years so many offences, formerly capital, have had that dreadful penalty removed, that the law in Great Britain, as now practically administered, is probably the mildest in Europe. Death is scarce ever inflicted except for murder; in cases of house-breaking, even when attended with personal violence, it is never thought of. The executions in Great Britain now range from twenty-five to thirty-five only a-year, instead of a hundred and fifty or two hundred, which they formerly were. And what has been the result? Has the promised and expected diminution of crime taken place, in consequence of the increased certainty of punishment, and the almost total removal of all reasonable or conscientious scruples at being concerned in a prosecution? Quite the reverse. *The whole prophecies and anticipations of the Liberal school have been falsified by the result. Crime, so far from declining, has signally increased; and its progress has never been so rapid as during the last fifteen years, when the lenity of its administration has been at its maximum.* An inspection of the returns of serious crimes already given, will completely demonstrate this.

We know that this view of the case is contrary to that which is entertained by the enemies of Capital Punishment in this country; but we must say, for ourselves, that the tables on which this writer founds his conclusions, seem to us to be authentic and almost irresistable. Yet we believe, as a general thing, that the amelioration of capital punishment has had a good effect in diminishing the frequency of certain crimes. But here comes the misery of the present form of society: *the very best of its moral agencies are inefficient to withstand or roll back the powerful stream of its downward tendencies.* This will be more clearly shown in our next extract, where the author shows that EDUCATION, certainly an excellent thing in itself, is made under our detestable system of social selfishness, actually to contribute to the demoralization of man. Here are his words:

Next, it was said, that education would lay the axe to the root of crime; that ignorance was the parent of vice; and, by diffusing the school-master, you would extinguish the greater part of the wickedness which afflicted society; that the providing of cheap, innocent, and elevating amusements for the leisure hours of the working-classes, would prove the best antidote to their degrading propensities; and that then, and then only, would crime really be arrested, when the lamp of knowledge burned in every mechanic's workshop, in every peasant's cottage. The idea was plausible, it was seducing, it was amiable; and held forth the prospect of general improvement of morals from the enlarged culture of mind. The present generation is generally, it may almost be said universally, imbued with these opinions; and the efforts accordingly made for the instruction of the working-classes during the last twenty-five years, have been unprecedented in any former period of our history. What have been the results? Has crime declined in proportion to the spread of education? Are the best instructed classes the least vicious? Has eating of the fruit of the tree of knowledge diminished the power of the Tempter? So far from it, the consequences, hitherto at least, have been melancholy and foreboding in the extreme.

The criminal returns of Great Britain and Ireland for the last twenty years, demonstrate that the uneducated criminals are about a third of the whole: in other words, the educated criminals are to the uneducated as two to one. In Scotland, the educated criminals are about *four times* the uneducated; in England, just double; in Ireland, they are nearly equal. Nay, what is still more remarkable, while the number of uneducated criminals, especially in Scotland, is yearly diminishing, that of educated ones is yearly increasing. In France, the criminal returns have for long demonstrated that the amount of crime, in all the eighty-four departments of the monarchy, is just in proportion to the number of educated persons which each contains; a fact the more remarkable, as three-fifths of the whole inhabitants of the country have received no education whatever. Of the criminals actually brought before the Courts of Assize, which correspond to our Old Bailey and Circuit Courts, it appears that about four-sevenths are educated, and three-sevenths destitute of any instruction; which gives a greater proportion of criminals to the educated than the uneducated class, as three-fifths of the people are wholly uninstructed. But what is most marvellous of all, the criminal returns of Prussia, the most universally educated country in Europe, where the duty of teaching the young is enforced by law upon parents of every description, and entire ignorance is wholly unknown, the proportion of criminals to the entire population is TWELVE TIMES greater than in France, where education of any sort has only been imparted to *two-fifths* of the community. These facts are startling—they run adverse to many preconceived ideas—they overturn many favorite theories; but they are not the less facts, and it is by facts alone that correct conclusions are to be drawn in regard to human affairs. In America too, it appears from the criminal returns, many of which, in particular towns and states, are quoted in Buckingham's *Travels*, that the educated criminals are to the uneducated often as three, generally as two, to one. These facts completely settle the question; although, probably, the whole present generation must descend to their graves before the truth on the subject is generally acknowledged.

This able reviewer even goes so far as to say that Religion itself is quite as inefficacious as other agencies in working out the problem of Social Improvement. That we may not misrepresent his language, we quote it:

But, what is most alarming of all, it has now been completely demonstrated, *that we are not to look even to the general spread of religious instruction for any immediate or even rapid diminution of crime, or the amelioration of the habits of the laboring classes.* We say *immediate or rapid*, because none can be more sensible than we are, that it is thus alone that crime in the end is to be arrested, and that the efforts now making in this respect in all parts of the British empire, are laying the only foundation whereon in future times the superstructure of a moral and orderly society are to be laid. But, as every system must be tested by its fruits, and these fruits in the present forced and artificial state of society are so rapidly brought forth—it is worse than useless to go on encouraging expectations of an *early* reformation of society from the extension of church establishments, the zeal of dissenters, or the efforts of clerical instructors. Depend upon it, half a century must elapse before these praiseworthy and philanthropic efforts produce any *general* effect on the frame of society. WE SHALL BE FORTUNATE INDEED, IF IN A WHOLE CENTURY THE EXISTING EVILS ARE IN ANY MATERIAL DEGREE LESSENED, AND SOCIETY HAS GONE ON SO LONG WITHOUT ONE OF THOSE TERRIBLE CONVULSIONS, LIKE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, WHICH AT ONCE DESTROY THE PROSPECTS OF THE PRESENT GENERATION AND THE HOPES OF THE NEXT.

In another passage the author proceeds to account for the feebleness of education and religion in the following paragraph, wherein, our readers will see, that he has caught some glimpses of the true issue from the social pandemonium. The line in *italics* is again his own.

But to any one who reflects on the principles of human nature, and the moving powers by which it is impelled, whether toward virtue or vice, such a result must appear not only intelligible but unavoidable. It is our desires which are our tempters. All the statistical returns prove that the great majority of educated persons, generally at least three-fourths of the whole, have received an *imperfect* education. They have just got knowledge enough to incur its dangers; they have not got enough either to experience its utility or share in its elevation. Their desires are inflamed, their imaginations excited, their cravings multiplied by what they read; but neither their understandings strengthened, their habits improved, nor their hearts purified. The great bulk of mankind at all times, and especially in all manufacturing communities, can only receive an imperfect education. It is not in the age of twelve hours' labor at factories, and of the employment of children without restraint in coal and iron mines, that anything approaching to a thorough education can be imparted to the working classes, at least in the manufacturing districts. The conclusion to be drawn from this is, not that education is hopeless and should be abandoned, in relation to the great bulk of men—for we every day, in detached instances, have proof of its immense and blessed influence; the conclusion is, that it is by the active, not the intellectual powers, the desires, not the understanding, that the great majority of men are governed; that it is the vast addition civilization and commerce make to the wants and passions of men, which constitutes the real cause of its demoralizing influence; and that these dangers never will be obviated till means are discovered of combating sin with its own weapons, and by desires as extensive-

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ly felt as its passions. We must fight it, not only with the armor of reason, but the fire of imagination. It is by *enlisting the desires on the side of virtue and order*, that we can alone generally influence mankind.

Yes: verily, it is by enlisting "the desires on the side of virtue and order," that mankind are to be "influenced;" but they are equally "influenced" when these desires are enlisted on the side of vice and disorder. Surely this writer must see that the very structure of society is such that the Desires cannot be enlisted on the side of virtue and order. Its fundamental cement or principle of union is universal selfishness, which principle, we take it, is not compatible with general justice and universal order. The passions of the individual, and the interests of society, in its subversive or disunited state, are opposed; they make war upon each other; and it is impossible to terminate the conflict by any method of individual compression, repression, or any other kind of moral torture. Nothing can put an end to its pestiferous ravages but the introduction of the principles of social unity. Let society be organised as we Associationists think it ought to be, on a scientific adjustment of all interests and property; let men be arranged so that all their efforts, while promoting their own individual advancement, will promote the same good of their fellows; let the relation of the individual to society be such that the action of his very self-love will lead to social benefit; and then, and not till then, will the "desire be enlisted on the side of virtue and order." When the harmless but irrepressible Passions of the individual, which are now hampered and lashed and fretted into convulsive energies of evil, until they are commonly regarded as raging Demons of Hell, shall find society in such a state that they can all be equably satisfied, the social discord will begin to cease, and the Passions themselves be looked on as Angels of Light, designed by God to minister to our noblest exaltation of delight, and to lead us in the knowledge of Truth and everlasting Wisdom. YES! YES!! THE PASSIONS MUST BE ENLISTED ON THE SIDE OF VIRTUE AND ORDER. We thank the writer for the word. May it become a rallying cry with all classes of Thinkers and Reformers, who will remember that to repress is not to enlist, but to repulse, to excite, to mortify, and to aggravate. The desires must be drawn to goodness by other means than force.

SUGGESTIONS IN REFERENCE TO THE UNION OF ASSOCIATIONS.

The Seventh Resolution adopted by the "CONVENTION OF THE FRIENDS OF ASSOCIATION," lately held in the city of New-York, declares, "that the time has arrived, when it becomes the imperative duty of the several Associations in our country, which are based upon the truths of Social Science, as announced by Fourier, to take measures for the immediate formation of a UNION OF ASSOCIATIONS;" and recommends all existing Associations "to appoint and empower Delegates to attend a meeting which shall be held at some place hereafter appointed by the Executive Committee, on the first Monday of October, 1844, *for the purpose of deliberating upon the above-mentioned Union.*"

In pursuance of the duty assigned to them, of "carrying into effect the objects of the Convention as set forth in the resolutions," the Executive Committee take the earliest opportunity to present to the Associations a sketch of a plan of Union. But in offering the following brief suggestions, they would make two preliminary remarks:

1. That the present state of ignorance and inexperience in relation to the doctrines and practice of Association, and the present immature condition of existing "Associations," make it in the nature of the case impossible to do more than adopt a merely *Provisional Constitution* for the Union;

2. That the Outline here given is to be regarded, not as a matured design of even such a Provisional Constitution, but as a hastily-drawn ground-plan only, which it is hoped the friends of Association will greatly amend, and which is submitted to them generally, and to the Associations, simply as a convenient mode of concentrating an earnest attention upon the important measures to be considered in the "October meeting."

PREAMBLE.

The undersigned Associations, organized for the purpose of carrying out the principles of Social Science discovered by CHARLES FOURIER, in order to advance each and every such Association to the highest degree of well-being; to combine the experience, wisdom, means, and energies of the several Associations for their common good; to unite as far as practicable and prudent their various interests; to promote the prevalence of justice throughout our Nation and among all Nations; and finally, to aid in establishing Universal Unity—the Reign of Heaven upon Earth; do hereby exchange (1) our mutual pledge to observe this

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

Name and Conditions of Membership.

SEC. 1. This organization shall be called the "Associations Unity * in the United States."

SEC. 2. The "Associations Unity," shall be composed of such Associations as shall agree among themselves by their authorised agents to sign this Constitution; and of such other Associations as shall, upon application, receive a (2) *unanimous vote* for their admission, in any annual Convention, and shall then, by their authorised agents, sign the Constitution; all such Associations being bound to pay an annual contribution to the Unity Fund, and such other assessments as the Unity may judge necessary.

SEC. 3. Members of the Unity shall remain in full possession of the Rights and Privileges of membership until by a seven-eights vote of Representatives present at an annual Convention they be requested to withdraw. Any member wishing to secede, can do so by signifying its intention to the Unity at the annual meeting. And in all such cases of separation, any and every claim upon the Unity Fund and property shall be forfeited, unless the Unity by a seven-eights vote shall otherwise determine.

ARTICLE II.

Nature of Relations between Members of the Unity.

SEC. 1. The Constitution, Laws, Industrial Arrangements, Business Affairs, Books and Accounts, Educational Provisions, Religious Creeds and Institutions of each and every Association comprising the Unity, shall be at all times open to the investigation of the officers of the Unity, and of agents of the several Associations specially empowered. (3)

SEC. 2. No Religious, Political or other tests of a Sectarian, Party and Exclusive character, (4) shall be adopted by any of the Associations or by the Unity; and no Religious, Political, or other tests shall be adopted ever by the Unity, except by a seven-eights vote in three successive Annual Conventions.

SEC. 3. The original and approved Stock, and Certificates of such Stock, of each and every Association comprising the Unity, shall be receivable at par-value by all the Associations and by the Unity; (5) but every Association shall have entire power to determine what proportion of stock shall be held by actual Resident Members on its own domain, and to recall its stock by payment of just equivalents.

SEC. 4. By original and approved Stock, mentioned in the preceding section, is understood such stock as shall have been approved at the annual meeting and recorded on the books of the Unity. And statements of such records shall form a part of every Annual Report of the Unity.

SEC. 5. Each and every Association comprising the Unity, shall regulate all its Industrial operations, in a manner which shall be most conducive to the well-being of all the Associations; and to this end, shall be subject to the advice of the Annual Convention, (5).

SEC. 6. Every Member of any of the United Associations, shall be entitled to a *Minimum* (7) in every other such Association. But none of the United Associations shall admit to membership any person, whose connection with any other Association, of which he or she may have been a member, is not regularly dissolved.

SEC. 7. Every Association composing the Unity, shall annually become liable for a

*The "Phalansterian" Unity has also been suggested as an appropriate name.

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sum, to be assessed pro rata, for the formation of the Unity Fund; (8) which Fund shall be subject to the disposal of the Annual Convention, and disbursed as the Unity shall direct by its appointed officers in the way of Loans, Gifts, Rewards, Premiums, &c.

Sec. 8. The only business of Associations which shall be recognized as legitimate by the Unity, shall be a cash business; (9) all credits being considered as risks incurred by Associations upon their individual responsibility, which are to be deducted from the Approved Stock on the Records of the Unity.

Sec. 9. All cases of dispute or misunderstanding, which may arise between the United Associations, or between the members of such Associations, shall be referred to the Unity for final and equitable adjustment. (10)

Article III.

Annual Convention; Representatives.

Sec. 1. The legislative powers of the Unity shall be vested in a convention of the Representatives of Associations, which shall be annually assembled at such times and places as the Convention shall each year determine.

Sec. 2. Each of the United Associations shall be entitled to one vote in the Convention; though they shall be requested to send when convenient, three Representatives, who may be elected, (1) one by the members of the Association, (2) one by the heads of its Groups, (3) one by its Stockholders, and who shall be free to give advice and take part in the deliberations. (12)

Sec. 3. The duty of the Unity at its annual meetings shall be—to receive reports of the state and prospects of the United Associations; to discuss and arrange plans of industrial operations in the various Associations; to appoint officers for the year, and to assign their respective duties; to make appropriations; to arrange a system of arbitration for difficulties; to effect exchanges between the Associations of publications, inventions, discoveries, and other means of general improvement; and to provide in the fullest measure possible, for the promotion of the material and spiritual interests of all the Associations. (13)

Illustrative Remarks.

(1) Preamble—"Exchange our mutual pledge." The Unity must be bound together, not by *legal* but by *honorable* ties—as the whole doctrine of Association presupposes the "Law of Liberty," and enjoins a free obedience to the system of "Divine Order."

(2) Art. i., Sec. 2,—"Unanimous vote." As the Representatives in the Annual Convention will express the sentiment and judgment of the Associations, it is to be taken for granted that their vote will not be determined by personal caprice; and the fact, that one whole Association is opposed to the admission of another into the Unity, should be considered a sufficient reason against such admission. The responsibility incurred by the Unity wil be so great, that the utmost care should be used in admitting members.

(3) Art. ii., Sec. 1,—"Constitution, &c., always open to investigation." The object of this provision is to secure *perfect confidence* and to keep alive the sense of *mutual responsibility*.

(4) Art. ii., Sec. 2,—"No Religious, Political, or other test," &c. The object of this provision is to prevent the interference of controversy, bigotry, theological and political jealousies, and of fragmentary movements of all kinds, which might otherwise impair the harmony of the Unity. Of course, individual members of Associations, will be perfectly free to join with any denomination, party, or society, as they shall severally desire. It is to be hoped that eventually the Unity will be enabled to adopt some truly Universal Principles of Belief and Action, which will reconcile, explain, and justify all partial creeds. But for the present, and probably for a long period to come, such a step must be impossible. And meanwhile justice and prudence alike demand unlimited toleration. The fundamental Truths of the Christian Religion, the Laws of Morality and the Doctrines of Association being Universal, cannot be classed under the head of "Exclusive, Sectarian or Party" tests.

But while it is necessary that the Unity and Associations should avoid taking *any Sectarian ground*, it is all important, and the Committee desire most emphatically to state it as their opinion, that every Association should, in its Constitution or otherwise, acknowledge the Providential character of the Association movement; announce its purpose of practically embodying the Christian Law of Love; and cherish Religious Faith and Worship, as its central bond of Union. All the present divided sects, we may trust, will, in the fullness of time, be once again united as Members of the One, True, Holy, Universal Church.

(5) Art. ii., Sec. 3,—"Approved Stock received at par value." Fourier everywhere urges the necessity of combining the *material* with the *spiritual* tie, in order to secure harmony between individuals. The same rule applies to the union of Associations. The above provision may be expected to answer several useful ends; and amongst these, the following: (1) It will supply, in a limited degree, a medium of exchange of a safe and uniform character. (2) It will be a check upon each Association in its business arrangements. (3) It will bind the Associations together by a consciousness of mutual obligation.

(6) Art. ii., Sec. 5,—"Subject to the advice of the Annual Convention," &c. As one of the greatest evils of the present social state, and one of the chief sources of collision is *disproportioned production*, with alternate gluts and deficiencies in the market, it must be a special object of the Unity, to enable the Associations to work together, and instead of injurious competition to substitute mutual benefit. The *business arrangements* for the year will be one of the most urgent duties of the Annual Convention.

(7) Art. ii., Sec. 6,—"Entitled to a Minimum." This provision is intended to form a second material tie between the Associations, and to spread a fraternal and friendly feeling among their respective members. It will plainly operate too, as an incentive to keep up a high standard of comfort, elegance, cultivation, refinement and manners throughout the United Associations.

(8) Art. ii., Sec. 7,—"The Unity Fund." As still another bond of material interest among the Associations, as a means of fulfilling the duty of brotherly kindness, and for the purpose of relieving distresses, covering losses, stimulating improvements, rewarding uncommon success, &c. it is plainly just and wise to have some central Fund.

The project of forming *a Guarantee Fund, for the purpose of Mutual Insurance* was discussed in the Committee, but without a satisfactory result. And the subject is respectfully referred to the careful consideration of the Associations.

(9) Art. ii., Sec. 8,—"Cash Business." The propriety of limiting Associations who mutually agree to receive each others Stock at par, to a Cash Business, must be evident. But the provision is not intended absolutely to *prohibit* the opening of credit accounts, if any Association chooses *individually to incur the risk*.

(10) Art. ii., Sec. 9.—As the bond which unites the Associations is one of Honor and Love, it plainly would be a violation of the very spirit of the Unity to refer cases of difference, which may arise, to any other judges than to *arbiters appointed by the Unity*. This provision of arbitration will constantly quicken the desire for perfect justice throughout the Associations, and remind each Association that it is the Guardian of every other.

(12) Art. iii., Sec. 2,—"One Vote and three Representatives." As the Unity is an organization, not of Individuals, but of Associations, it seems consistent with its main principles to consider each Association as *one person only*. At the same time there will be great advantage in having the various interests of each Association, its "*tone and character*," its "*industry*," and its "*property*" represented in the deliberations of the Annual Convention. When convenience or economy determines an Association to send only one Representative, he will of course be judge of all its interests. When three Representatives are sent, they will determine among themselves what vote shall be given for their Association, upon any given question.

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(13) Art. iii., Sec. 3.—The Unity is the Legislative Power; and its main duty will be that of *giving advice* to each and all the Associations for the year, in regard to all their *industrial operations*. The Convention will be strictly, or at least, chiefly *practical*, though the discussion of principles and of speculative points may occur.

After consultation, the Committee decided, that it would be premature to assign executive functions to specified officers; and indeed there seemed to be strong reasons for thinking that there would be advantages in having no other officers than those annually appointed by the Unity for the execution of particular duties, which the Convention should entrust to their care. The functions, however, of an executive character, which apparently must be each year discharged, are those (1) of *General Superintendence*, including probably the visiting of each Association, (2) of provision for the most advantageous system *of exchange* of all kinds between the Associations, and for the purchase and sale of commodities; (3) of *arbitration*. The disposition of such executive functions is a subject which manifestly deserves the most thorough consideration of the Associations.

Another subject which evidently demands the attention of all Associations, and which the practical movement in Western New-York has already shown to be a matter of deep interest, is the devising of some method by which "the real and personal property" of those persons who wish to join Associations may be rendered available. This has been discussed in the Committee, but it is deemed advisable to defer the whole matter to the action of the Convention, without further remark. The Committee consider it of great importance, and it is hoped that some efficient provision will be adopted. Reference is made to the proceedings of the "American Industrial Union," and to the letter from Mr. A. M. Watson, President of the Union, whose intelligence and practical experience entitle his suggestions to the most respectful consideration.

In conclusion, the Executive Committee recommend—as the most expeditious, convenient, and thorough mode, by which a Plan of Union may be brought before the October meeting—that the various Associations, organized for the purpose of carrying out the principles of Social Science discovered by Charles Fourier, (1) discuss, each one within itself, a Plan of Union; (2) correspond with one another upon the subject, (3) and send in the result of their deliberations, to the Executive Committee, by the 15*th of September*, in order that they may be enabled to present *a well-digested and thoroughly matured plan to the October meeting at its first session.*

PARKE GODWIN,
Chairman.

O. MACDANIEL, Sec.

We commend to the attention of our readers the following letter from A. M. Watson, Esq., President of the American Industrial Union:

MESSRS. EDITORS:

I was glad to see in the last number of the Phalanx, a republication, with comments, of the 4th and 5th Resolutions adopted by the United States Convention, held in New-York in April last. There is great danger of too many attempts being made to carry into practice the principles of Association; and this arises from a variety of causes, the more prominent of which is, the want of some systematic plan by which the *real and personal estate owned by individuals, can be made available when it lies in detached parcels*, and in distant parts of the country from the Institutions already in operation. It seems to me that this is to be one of the important questions to be discussed and settled at the coming October convention; and I desire particularly to call the attention of all the Associations to this subject, that their delegates may come not only prepared to discuss this point, but to adopt some efficient plan of operations with reference to it.

All the Associations yet commenced, are, so far as my information goes, crippled for want of means, and some of them are in a very critical situation already. It is my settled conviction that so long as the Commercial interest holds the controling influence of the monetary affairs of this country, it is idle to expect that the requisite amount of ready and available cash capital can be obtained to commence an Association on the smallest scale contemplated by Fourier. The question then arises: shall we wait until there is a change in our business relations, or until, by the efforts of our propagandists, a sufficient number of individuals can be collected who can at once break up their present relations and furnish the necessary funds to commence a model Association? Prudence may answer this question in the affirmative, but such an answer will be found unsatisfactory to the people at large, and the reform proposed will to most minds appear so far in the future, while the harassing cares and anxieties of every day life will weigh so heavily upon them, that they will cease to be interested in a revolution which appears to be so entirely prospective. Nor will the time ever arrive, until the laboring man is shown his strength and his importance, when the commercial interest will possess less influence.

If these views are correct, and I state them for the purpose of being set right if erroneous, it is clear that our efforts at the commencement, will, at best, be *fragmental* and DANGEROUS—*suffering, privation and self-sacrifice, will, to a greater or less extent, be the lot of all pioneers.* The transition state is one which will require all the energy, counsel and mutual co-operation of every friend of the cause. There must be no such feeling as "each for himself," cherished in Association. Starting, as many of the Institutions confessedly have, rather hastily and injudiciously, those in more prosperous circumstances cannot, without doing violence to the principles of Association, remain indifferent spectators of the struggle which the less fortunate have to encounter; their own reputation, and perhaps safety, may depend upon the issue.

For the purpose then of giving a proper direction to the feeling already aroused, as to secure at the earliest possible period, the benefits of Association to every part of the country, it becomes absolutely necessary that those Associations already commenced, should *enter into an alliance for mutual improvement and protection.* The immediate advantages which will result from the formation of such a compact may not be readily perceived by all Associations, nor do I purpose at this time to point them out or discuss them, as I perceive that we are to have the views of the Phalanx in the next number on this subject.

The only successful method, perhaps, of attracting the attention of this money-worshiping generation, is to point out the immense pecuniary advantages which association will secure to them. Many are attracted solely by this idea, but these are doomed to bitter disappointment in the first instance, and having no higher principles involved, they must become restive and troublesome members. The transition cannot be effected without great loss of time, and waste of energy and means, and it should be proclaimed distinctly and in language not to be misunderstood, that the man whose ideas of happiness are measured by the amount of dollars he is accumulating, no matter what the amount of means he may bring into an Association, will be a curse instead of a blessing to the Institution to which he attaches himself.

I cannot close this communication without calling the attention of Associations to the fact that, in almost every instance, the managers are but very little in advance of the members in point of knowledge of the system, and find themselves frequently at fault when called upon for plans for the organization of different departments. This subjects them to censure, frequently seriously impairs their influence, and induces a resort to measures of mere expediency, which always lead to confusion and open the door to that greatest of all enemies to political as well as social enjoyment—petty tinkering through legislative action. This will be obviated in a great degree, by the formation of a Confederation, in which the best talents and counsel of all will be secured to each.

We are apt to become bigoted and intolerant sectarians when we confine our ideas of progression to the efforts making by one society, and very justly expose ourselves to ridicule when our actions show that our idea of a World Reform is confined to the organization of a few hundred individuals in a particular society. True we should not aim at too much at once, yet the grand object should always be kept distinctly in view, and our efforts directed to the application of all the means at hand for its attainment.

☞ Letters have been received from Mr ALBERT BRISBANE. He landed on the English coast on account of head winds, to take the Steamer at Plymouth for Havre.

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ANNIVERSARY OF THE NATIVITY OF FOURIER.

[Translated from "*La Democratie Pacifique.*"]

President, Mr. B. Dulary, late deputy; Vice President, Mr. V. Considerant; Committee of Arrangements, Messrs. O. Barbier, Bertin, J. Bing, Julien Blanc, F. Cantagrel, Cantagrel, Jr., C. Daly, Franchot, L. Gallien, D. Laverdant, D. Sauzet, F. Vilain.

The Anniversary Festival of the birth of Fourier, was celebrated to-day, April 10th, by a sympathetic concourse, which increases with the progress of our cause. As in past years, all classes of society, all professions, the Institute, Parliament, the Council of State, the different Departments, the University, Commerce, Industry, had their representatives among us. Poets, Editors, Savans, Artists, many of whom are known to fame, had come to testify to us their cordial sympathies. Groups of Germans, Spaniards, English, Irish, Italians, etc. rendered a pious homage to the memory of Fourier.

The following are the toasts which were given. The assembly, religiously animated, called for a repetition of several of them, and greeted them all with applause:

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE FESTIVAL.

Fourier!—His genius at last penetrates the world which it must regenerate. The obstacles which made his life a martyrdom are daily vanishing before his memory. The truths which he alone brought forth, are taking possession of all noble hearts and exalted minds. In proportion as trust in God is restored, as evil vanishes, and hope is inspired, the name of Fourier is glorified. To the Genius of Fourier—to the welfare of Humanity!

BY A SUPERIOR OFFICER.

The annihilation of War!—The peaceful organization of the human family into Unity, by the association of individuals, nations and races.

The transformation of destructive armies into industrial armies, consecrated to the great works of the culture and embellishment of the Globe!

BY A CIVIL OFFICER.

The Religious Sentiment!—The religious sentiment has stagnated in the soul of man, but it will revive again with renewed ardor; it will absorb all schisms and differences in a more enlightened and enlarged belief; hereafter it will inspire the nations with hymns of joy and happiness!

The Religion of Love and Wisdom, which shall unite man with man and man with God and the Universe!

BY AN EDITOR OF THE DEMOCRATIE PACIFIQUE.

The Freedom of the Understanding!—Filled with respect for Christian teaching, we consecrate our lives to the realization of the maxims of Christ: abolition of slavery, emancipation of woman, universal brotherhood and charity: but we know that Christianity, on account of its very elevation, can gain the soul only through persuasion. The martyrs of the sixteenth century, and the bold thinkers of the eighteenth, have won for us the absolute independence of thought! Let us make this heritage respected. God himself commands it. Intelligence is a sacred lamp given to us by God, which, like the rays of the sun, shall illuminate all the world!

Religious liberty! the right of investigation—the absolute independence of thought!

BY A WRITER OF THE LIBERAL PARTY.

Order!—Order is the grand end and the supreme affirmation of the doctrine of Fourier.

Order, which can be truly established in human societies only by the full and complete development of liberty.

Order!—The love of progress and of liberty requires us to respect it, even in its incomplete conditions.

BY A MAGISTRATE.

Liberty!—Noble aim of the constant efforts of all nations—first condition of man's dignity before his fellows and his God. Liberty in its imperfect development has too often caused selfishness, skepticism, and war; in its integral and harmonic developement it becomes the instrument of truth, order and love.

BY A LANDLORD.

The Laborers!—Those who are bowed beneath the yoke of poverty. The Combined Order insures them well-being and raises them to intellectual and moral enjoyments, by Attractive Labor and the union of all classes.

BY A DAY LABORER.

Property!—Property has introduced men to the creation of wealth; it has stimulated the progress of the arts and of industry. Arbitrary and despotic originally, it tends like all ancient powers, to the diffusion among the mass of its rights and its benefits.

Property-holders!—By the association of capital, labor and skill, Fourier furnishes them with the best guarantee against spoliation and ruin.

BY AN ENGINEER.

The Progress of the Natural Sciences! They reveal to man his power over the material world.

The developement of the mechanical arts! The mechanical arts will restore to man his true functions as an intelligent being, by gradually doing away with the cruel necessities of repugnant labor, and slavery.

The Mechanical Arts!

BY A MERCHANT.

The organization of Industry!—The creation of riches has been hitherto confused and anarchial as chaos. In order to gather the elements of a new world, generations have been devoted by hundreds to an obscure and ungrateful toil. The six days of the social creation have been full of grief and gloom; but they approach their dawn of glory! The sun of science, while illuminating Industry, disenthrals mind from the yoke of matter, and labor from the bonds of misery.

A right to productive labor is the first of human rights; it is that which most nearly approximates man to his Creator. Eternal honor and glory, then, to the legislators who shall proclaim the right to work!

BY A MAN OF LETTERS.

The depositaries of political and social power, in all countries and under all forms of government!—Those who are charged with preserving traditions and maintaining the order of society: may they, enlightened by the wisdom of the age, understand that true conservatism is ever founded upon progress.

BY AN ARTIST.

The development of the Sciences and Arts!—The conception of Fourier insures to every mind its true development; it guides the learned in their researches; it opens to poetry a world of wonders; it teaches artists how effectually to serve humanity.

BY A FATHER.

Woman!—She is the guardian of childhood and old age. Her tenderness and her inexhaustible devotion maintain the sacred ties of Family.

Among almost all the nations of the earth, women still are slaves, and their existence, even in our European societies, is precarious and encompassed with afflictions.

Fourier has prepared their gradual emancipation by ways of honor, wisdom, and order.

The time is not far distant when, with indigence, will disappear prostitution—that horrible profanation of human dignity—that monstrous witness of the slavery of woman!

The time draws near when the genius of woman will no longer be fettered and kept in custody, and her rich intelligence will be unfolded as God designed.

BY AN EDITOR.

The Press!—That powerful voice of modern times, which each morning awakes the minds of nations and sustains their sympathetic correspondence throughout the world. After having triumphed over abuses, prejudices and obstacles, it will introduce new faith, the manners and principles of a new society.

The Press! which recognizes its mission!

The union of politics and social science!

The ever-widening separation of impulses of violence of ideas from progress. May the press soon make familiar to the world the revelation of the purposes of Providence, the peaceful means of general welfare.

To the regenerated Press!

BY A GERMAN.

The union of France and Germany!—This wish was spread among us at a peri-

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od when the fire-brands of war had been cast between two great nations. Now that all chance of collision has happily disappeared, now that ideas of pacific progress already cement the desired union, we should more ardently interchange these sentiments of brotherhood.

Germans and Frenchmen, assembled within these precincts, let us pour forth this cry—Vive la France! Vive l'Allemagne!

BY AN IRISHMAN.

The French Nation!—Within its bosom Fourier has reposited the thought of social harmony. May France, appreciating her true mission, first give the example of this felicitous harmony, and invite all other nations towards it! May general politics be transformed under the influence of these social principles proclaimed by France! Thus will this great nation found its power, its glory and its dignity on the love and gratitude of all people, and accomplish its providential destiny.

BY A PROFESSOR.

Those who suffer here below!—To all chilled hearts, to all misunderstood minds, all generous instincts which find no outlet!

May this mark of pious sympathy which we tender them, amidst this festival, reach the hearts of our unfortunate brethren.

May they embrace the consoling hope of a near and better future, announced by a regenerating science.

ONE OF THE COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS.

Our absent friends!—To all those who far from us are in like manner assembled to celebrate the anniversary of the Master, and who commune with us in the same homage and the same desire!

To all those devoted men who share our sympathies and our hopes, and who link their efforts with ours to hasten the moment when we shall at last be able to realize the sublime conception of Fourier!

To those, now alas! so numerous, whom death has surprized combating in our ranks, and who, from the exalted sphere in which they are assembled, at this moment smile on the progress of a cause which is ever theirs!

To our friends who have died in the service of humanity!

Mr. Considerant rose and pronounced the following discourse, frequently interrupted by the liveliest marks of the approbation and sympathy of the assembly:

The glorious anniversary which we celebrate for the seventh time to-day, furnishes us each year a solemn occasion for reviewing the state of affairs, and noting the progress of those grand ideas of peaceful renovation, which it is the mission of all of us to promote in this world.

To-day, gentlemen, it is only the blind who are not permitted to see that something grand is preparing itself in humanity The crisis of modern societies approaches an end. The new epoch has had its prophets; the time is not far distant when its destiny will be accomplished. The event which is in preparation, the work of our age, the work on which we are laboring with all our efforts, to which we invite all men of heart and of intelligence, is the inauguration of an era of peace, of justice, and of fruitful liberty, of that settled Unity towards which Humanity has incessantly marched since the first ages of the world.

The history of the world is, indeed, gentlemen, but the Genesis, long obscure, confused and bloody, of the creation of humanity by itself, that is to say, of the organization of its Unity. It is impossible not to feel penetrated with a profound faith in this grand idea, if we cast an elevated glance over the successive developments of the work of ages, in the fusion of all races, nations and people in humanity.

As far back as we contemplate the history of the past, we at first perceive but strife and confusion in all the elements of which humanity shall one day be composed. It is a furious chaos, in which all the elements of life effervesce, and shuddering, strive in giant warfare.

In those first struggles man develops his physical powers; his conscience and his intelligence are yet asleep: it is the reign of violence, of oppression, of slavery and of the darkest gloom.

Soon a feeble light begins to glimmer in the history of humanity. The rudiments of science, of art, and of human industry appear; people form and gather themselves into bodies, States are constituted; poetry and religion disclose in the human soul enlightened principles and holy affections, and philosophy seeks to kindle the torch of reason.

Then, first the feeling of *Solidarité* [unity of the race] is awakened; the individual does not yet know that he belongs to Humanity, but he attaches himself to a country, he belongs to a nation; his affections, his hatreds, and his passions now are corporative. Such—troubled, obscure and violent—is the first development of the social principle on earth

Thus, from the earliest time humanity has marched instinctively towards the unknown and mysterious end of its destiny. It has undergone terrible trials, but it has always passed through them victoriously. The treasury of its knowledge, the magazine of its ideas, of its instruments of activity and of power, are constantly increasing through those cruel and painful combats. When one degree of civilization has passed, when a great people falls, it is to leave the heritage of its conquests to a new and more advanced civilization, to nations more fresh and vigorous. If nations are blotted out, if societies disappear from the great stage of history, it is only after having accomplished their work; and ever amidst bloody catastrophies in the great drama of successive ages, generations gather a harvest on the soil fertilized by the sweat and blood of generations that have gone before.

But the movement of expansion and of organization hitherto has been always wrought out under the dominion of force; it is the sword of conquest alone which hewed a path-way for the people's progress and unity. Divine light, indeed, had not yet gleamed upon the conscience of man.

Presently, after the efforts of those conquests which delivered to Rome the empire of the ancient world, when humanity had undergone the preparation of anterior civilizations, a calm, as it were, descended upon the earth. * * * From the bosom of an obscure people, but the depository of ancient promise, and bearing on its brow the glorious sign of the Unity of the divine Being, the Word of God proceeds, incarnate, and brings to man a revelation of the unity of the human Being with himself and with the Divinity. God has smitten, by his word, upon the human conscience, as Moses upon the hard rock of the wilderness; and from that sacred epoch, truth, light and life have burst forth in abundant streams from the bosom of humanity. Since that epoch, indeed, at whatever point of view we place ourselves, we must acknowledge the divine Logos to have become flesh: the Word of God, the word of liberation, of equity towards all, of love and unity, has been proclaimed and has enlightened the earth.

Moreover, from that important period it is, that we must date the true era of the world's redemption. Setting out from that epoch, the reign of force, of oppression, of war and of slavery, is condemned by the conscience of nations; the kingdom of God and of his righteousness is announced to men, and men believe that the kingdom of violence and evil shall not prevail against it. If the mighty of the earth remain deaf to the voice which proclaims the liberty, brotherhood, righteousness, of all men in God; children, women and slaves, the weak and the oppressed, receive with adoration the redeeming Word. The emancipating Word becomes incarnate among the masses; the divine idea takes possession of the soul of mankind, and henceforth the salvation of the world is insured; the corner stone is laid; humanity must proceed to construct the temple of its happiness and its power.

And behold, gentlemen, what new spiritual phenomena soon appear upon the earth! People who, until now, had communed only in the sentiment of nationality, presently commune in the superior sentiment of the unity of mankind. The distinctions of nations and races do not tend to disappear, because they should not be lost in promiscuous confusion, but allied in an harmonious unity. Wars ensanguine still the earth, because the doctrine of unity and of fraternity, must long be elaborated, like every germ of life before it passes into act; but nations engaged in conflict feel that war is not a law of their being; they feel that wars are only temporary facts, accidents in history; they no longer reduce the van-

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quished to slavery: slavery is passing from the Christian world, and Christendom draws nearer and nearer to a clear conception of the Unity of the Human Family.

Mind gradually disengages itself from the influence of circumstances, and controls them, mind is establishing its dominion in the world, the sentiment of brotherhood unfolds itself on all sides; the new era opens everywhere vast outlets to human intelligence, to its peaceful and productive activity. Industry advances with giant strides, the genius of invention gives birth to prodigies, and opens to mankind the horizon of a new world. Intercourse is established, commercial relations are multiplied, interests are interwoven, and every nation, every people, every race soon casts upon the soil of all the others, numerous branches which there take vigorous root.

Until now, each people was living an isolated, fragmentary life, all its vital functions were concentrated in itself, where hostile armies bristled and menaced the other members of humanity. To-day, all nations direct towards one another channels of life that meet, and veins and arteries that intertwine. Thus there is visibly established in our days, a continual exchange of products, ideas and sentiments. Thus are formed by the influence of a circulation more and more active and fruitful, a common blood and spirit, which, while augmenting the energy of each people's individual vitality, tend to unite and associate themselves, and compose those individual lives into one superior, unitary and common life.

Ay, do you not feel it in yourselves, all of you who are now listening to me, do you not feel circulating in your veins, do you not feel beating in your hearts, this great life of humanity, which seeks its law of supreme organization? Do you not feel living within you the sacred love of justice towards all, of liberty for all? Do you not feel vibrating within you those strong and hallowed chords of humanity and of fraternity, which achieved so great things for our fathers, in the midst of turmoil and tempests; for that grand cause of the nations, and of the unity of the world, for which Jesus, eighteen hundred years ago, became the glorious martyr? Well! that mysterious and holy power which stirs you, which penetrates, which governs you, is the thought, the life, the great affinity of humanity towards itself; it is the voice of time, it is the signal of the mighty creation reserved for our era. I put the question to you all: do you believe that selfishness, that corruption, ignorance and fear will prevail against it?

Nay! not to see it we must be of those who are blinded by the light. The Unity of the human family deposited from the cradle of the world among the religious testimonials of the nations; that Unity, the sentiment of which has been manifested in degrees proportioned to their own greatness among all men who have united the double grandeur of the heart and understanding, among all those great geniuses who have been the highest expressions of the genius of humanity, precursors of its glorious destinies; that Unity now has its throne prepared on earth in the conscience of the people, and the voice of the great events accomplished during the past three centuries in the bosom of nations, evokes it and proclaims its near advent. May France, so long queen in battles, abandoning at last her attitude of humiliation, take that place in the van which her genius and her past achievements have assigned her in the affairs of the world. May a peaceful and emancipating activity, at last succeeding in her to the warlike activity of the past, which is never to be renewed, and to the shameful apathy of the present, restore us our rank in the new career of mankind.

For it is time that it should be understood —destinies entirely new are opened to civilized nations. Is it then for the purpose of continuing ever barbarous and sanguinary that man has been for three centuries urging onward his way amid discoveries and lofty sciences, with such successful ardor? that he has there gathered laurels so beautiful, and that he has there regained in the sense of his intelligence and his efficiency, the long lost titles of his dignity, and the luminous destinies of his species? Is it that he may forever imbrue his hands in the blood of his brethren, that man has conquered and measured his globe? that he has conquered it in all its elements, in all its powers, and that he daily discovers a thousand new instruments for governing the forces of nature, and transforming into sources of good those which the ancients deemed ever terrible, ever indomitable, those of which they had made their gods? If man has subdued the winds and the tempests, if he has made himself master of the oceans, of fire, of light, of distances, of space, of time, is it that he should remain a slave to the ideas of barbarians, and of their ferocious and iron nationalism? We have conquered the gods of olden times: Neptune, Æolus, and Pluto, are now only our industrial agents. We have torn the thunderbolt from the hands of Jupiter with the plaything of a child. Should Mars, then, that contracted and stupid deity, be the only one of the ancient masters of heaven, that must remain god and master of men? Christian nations! Christian aations! the cross surmounts your temples, but still you ignominiously bend your knees before a god of the barbarians: you will be Christians in spirit and in truth only when you shall have obeyed the commandment of him who said, "*Love one another.*"

We must recognize the character of modern times and of the new events in preparation. The idea of the Unity of nations is abroad; it is manifested in elements most opposite. Science discovers it, the arts invoke it, industry commands it; philosophy casting aside its warlike weapons, and ridding itself of its impurities, reaches after it from all sides in proportion as it better understands the progress and the general wants of the species. In short, Unity is the thought, the true thought which, long obscure, concealed, and stifled under the shades of barbarism, and under the customs of the old world, is now emerging, resplendent with youth and glory, from the bosom of Christendom! A voice is heard from all communions and all people, proclaiming that the past translations are incomplete, and that the true interpretation of the Word is *social Catholicity*, that is to say, the peace, the unity, the welfare and the liberty of the world. Thus from the very midst of that confusion where the ancient ideas are still in conflict, proceeds a common idea, a common affirmation:

Chaos proclaims creation, incoherence acknowledges Unity.

The moment is at hand, when humanity as a whole, shall be roused in its might and its glory. No man, no people is fatally devoted to slavery, ignorance and wretchedness. Christ died for all, for the slave, for the serf, for the pauper and for the princes of the earth themselves. All shall be raised as Christ was raised. All shall bear around their brows the hallowed halo of liberty. Behold then approaching the great festival of the nations, the universal feast, the Passover of humanity! Yes, the old world trembles and is alarmed. The stone of the sepulchre is already shaken by our revolutions. A beam of light has descended from on high, heaven is opened, a new world has been revealed to us. Of yore, the guardians of the tomb, after having seen Christ resuscitated, cried out, "This was indeed the Messiah." Now, enlightened by science, they will, themselves, help to raise the sepulchral stone, and will exclaim, "People! arise and walk! Advance with us to the conquest of the promised land, of the land watered by the blood of Jesus, and all the martyrs of humanity, the land of which the genius of Fourier has traced the sublime geography! Advance, oh People in thy strength and in thy freedom! for God has willed that without each other we may not reach those happy shores!"

Three days ago the Church celebrated the Christian Passover, three days ago was the anniversary of the birth of Fourier. Let us accept the augury of this glorious coincidence. Fourier discovered by science the human means of realizing the doctrine of justice, of freedom and of unity, implanted by faith in the conscience of the nations. Let us hail then the near advent of the universal Passover, of the great communion of the whole of disenthralled mankind.

You who have first received the fruitful germs of the science of resurrection and deliverance, spread every where those vivifying germs; you who first have been revived by the new Word, go and revive your suffering brethren! revive your brethren

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who are stirring amidst the night of the tomb! inspire them with hope and with life; inspire them with faith, in showing them the Star of enfranchisement and harmony which has risen on the world!

We will add but a single word: we could wish that those who think that the religious sentiment is forever extinct in the hearts of men, had been witnesses of the impression produced upon the assembly by the toasts and the words which were uttered on the occasion.

And we, the Editors of the Phalanx, will only add, that America responds to the words of France!

FAITH AND SCIENCE.

These two words are commonly supposed to represent a different state of mind, or light and darkness in the understanding, and consequently, to be more or less exclusive of each other; because it is a fact, that many persons of strong faith have little knowledge of the facts of science, while many men of science, in the common acceptation of the word, have little faith in any thing but what they understand by "facts." There must be some foundation for this mutual suspicion of each other, between men of faith and men of science, and if we are not in error, an abuse of words gives rise to the misunderstanding. In our view, the two agree together very well; but then we differ from both parties in their partial and one-sided views, respectively.

Without faith, there can be no true science; and without science, faith is blind; but real faith and real science are not always to be found where the words are used in application. Many persons who have faith, deceive themselves by substituting a particular creed or human notion, for the real Word of God, as an equivalent, and many men of science equally deceive themselves by taking, or mistaking rather, such a substitution for the real representative of faith: in such a maze of sophistry, both faith and reason are deluded.

Genuine faith in Providence, however, is the real source of understanding; and the light of knowledge may be great, where scientific "facts" are little known, while facts may be accumulated in the memory abundantly from stores of science, without giving knowledge to the mind. Science, in the modern acceptation of the word, is microscopic in its sphere of light, and faith is naturally megoscopic. The one enlarges mental vision, and the other narrows it. The one, looks up to God and universal principles; the other, down into the smallest particles of Nature. Combined, they lead to perfect understanding; but apart, they lead to an imperfect knowledge: the one to small acuteness only, and the other to vague apprehension or mere mystic consciousness. Apart, they lead the mind to superstition and intolerance respectively and equally; together, they unite the heart and mind in faith and hope and charity. Microscopic science is excessively intolerant of faith; and megascopic faith, deluded by the substitution of a narrow creed in lieu of God's universal Word, is not less angry and impatient with the small conceit of science; while those who wish to reconcile true faith with science, are at present crucified between two thieves, who rob the truth of its divinity; the one depriving it of natural beauty, and the other, of its spiritual consolation. As with the evil doers who were crucified with Christ, however, the one is hardened and the other not, and "faith" is likely to repent, but "science" not; and this is why we sympathize with "faith" more intimately and directly than with "science," as with dabblers in exclusivism appropriating to themselves more truth and reason than belongs to them respectively. On faith, we may engraft the truths of microscopic science; but to bring the sun and all the stars within the field of vision of a fly, is not so easy, though the insect be exceedingly clear-sighted in details, and wonderfully accurate in its perceptions.

Some of our correspondents think that we appeal too much to faith and not enough to science, and that some of our analogies are not conclusive arguments, but "prove too much," by contradicting "well-known" facts in science. This, however, is not really the case, though sometimes it may seem to be. In speaking of analogies we often use the language of appearance in preference to that of positive reality, because the one is specially confined to science, while the other is adopted universally; and if we make the sun move round the earth in a comparison, it does not "prove too much," because it is the truth inverted, for inversions are a genuine part of analogical propriety, and those who have no faith in anything but "facts of science," have their understandings narrowed by the microscopic accuracy of details in science: and a most delusive sort of certainty it is. Before our faith in Providence had led us into megascopic speculation, or the study of universal Revelation, we had dabbled many years in the small facts of science or the world of microscopic vision, and the critical acuteness we had thus obtained was one of the most obstinate opponents to the progress of our mind in flexibility of vision; always contracting the mind to facts of science in a sphere of narrow comprehension, and withdrawing it from universal understanding: contrasting real facts in science with the false appearances of faith in other minds, and not perceiving that *abuse* had been mistaken for the *use* of faith, and that the falsehood of the one was not to be considered as the representative of truth within the other. And thus it is that we delude ourselves by partial knowledge and contracted vision.

From this experience in ourselves, and what we have obtained by controversy with the votaries of "science" and of "rationality," it is advisedly that we appeal to men of faith in preference to men of science, where exclusive views are held regarding faith and science; for critical acumen in one-sided science blinds a man to universal light; but faith, where it is genuine, can understand with ease the principles of universal truth when properly explained; and truths inverted are as evident as truths directly stated to the megascopic eye of faith, but the microscopic eye of science sees another world in a small fact inverted; where the head was, it perceives the heels, and then exclaims at once, "A fraud! a falsehood! What Faith proclaims a head is nothing but a tail; we are deceived; do not believe, for Faith is a deluder." It never thinks of travelling round the fact to see if movement have displaced the whole without disturbing parts; it sticks to facts; and if you move the facts it cannot follow them, but it can see that they are not the same in its small sphere of vision.

It must not be inferred from this, that we deem faith infallible in all who think that they have faith; far from it; but we feel convinced from positive experience that men of faith without much science, can more easily understand universal principles of truth, than men of "science" without much faith.

Faith is of the heart and will of man, from which his understanding is derived; and if the faith be great the understanding will be comprehensive; but where faith is narrow and contracted, so will be the understanding, though the memory be crowded with innumerable facts of science. In proof of this we may quote the following passage from Philip Harwood's Lectures on 'German Anti-Supernaturalism,' in one of which he says—"Isaiah predicted a new age of gold, new heavens and new earth, an Eden-like peace of Nature with herself and her children, a millennium knowledge, love and joy: it never came to pass; we are still waiting for our golden age as a just possible thing in the far future. No part of all this goodly prophetic vision is realized yet. Men thought it was coming true in the Christ and his kingdom; but it did not come true; the throne of David was not restored, the house of Israel was not gathered together, but scattered abroad—it all broke to pieces. There are these two things—the expectations of Hebrew seers and the realities of the life of Jesus—they do not agree. They will not join at all. There is a great gulf fixed between them; with no possible passing from the one to the other, except by the bridge of spiritualizing, accommodating interpretation, of the sort of which we have so many specimens in Paul's Epistles. Christ's own predictions did not come true either. He said, (if we may trust his reporters,) 'The sign of the Son of Man shall appear in the heaven, and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of Man coming

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in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory; and he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from the one end of heaven to the other.' Christ prophesied this, with a 'Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass away till all these things be fulfilled.' Well! that generation has passed away, and many more since that, and these things are not fulfilled, not any one of them. To square prediction with fulfillment, we must spiritualize new meanings into Christ's prophecies as Paul did into Isaiah's prophecies."

But this the men of microscopic vision refuse to do. They are determined to look at nothing but the small details of natural facts. They will not spiritualise and universalise and use the megascope of Faith. They know what a natural generation is, but they will not learn to know what a spiritual generation is; but they will deny that there is a spiritual generation, or that the words have any meaning: and what are you to do with a man that refuses to understand? You can do nothing: he is too much in love with "natural facts" and "rationality." Sceptics No everything dogmatically but understand nothing of spiritual truths.

This is why we think but little of "rational" minds and lovers of "facts" in opposition to faith. They do not believe it possible to realise the predictions of universal peace on earth; and why should we, who do believe it possible appeal to them? We do not. But one word on Mr. Harwood's critical conclusions. It is not worth while to follow him through the whole quotation; but one word on "generation."

The mission of Christ was evidently that of spiritual regeneration, from which he promised and foretold a universal change in Nature. Now the spiritual generation of Jewism and Paganism, was the generation which existed upon earth in the time of Christ, who foretold that that generation of mind should not pass away from the earth until the new generation or the regeneration of mind which he announced had taken place. Nor will it; for until the Word revealed by Christ becomes incarnate in humanity, and a new heavens and a new earth result therefrom, the old generation of vipers and unbelievers, Jews and Infidels and Heathens, will remain on earth to curse it with their falsehood and duplicity. Nor can this state of falsehood, this accursed spiritually depraved generation, pass away, until all the tribes of the earth see the Son of Man (the light of truth and of divine humanity) coming in the clouds of heaven (the natural laws of spiritual truth) "with power and great glory." When men have predetermined not to look at any thing but natural facts, or literal interpretations of the spiritual Word of God, it is quite useless to appeal to them. They prefer the Book of Nature, the natural Word of God, to the Book of Revelation, the spiritual Word of God: and they are better occupied in studying the forms of letters in the one, than universal meanings in the other. They do not like to study sentences, even in the Book of Nature; it is "theory," and they are pleased to sneer at it. The megascope of faith and universal light they cannot see through; all is darkness and confusion to them in that sphere of vision: they prefer the microscope which suits their vision, and which never leads them from the sphere of "facts" to that of theory and doctrine.

In asserting that men of "facts" study the forms of letters in the Book of Nature rather than the sense of words or groups of organized things, we mean to say that they confine themselves almost exclusively to the analysis of individual organizations in the mineral, the vegetable, and the animal kingdoms without paying sufficient attention to the order in which God has placed the various organic forms in the creation. Chemistry, anatomy, and analytical or critical examinations of the internal construction of things, absorb almost the whole attention of the scientific world; while universal analogy, the science of classification and general interpretation of the various orders of organic form, as God has placed them upon earth, is hardly recognised by men of "science" as a principle or law of nature, and its elements are deemed uncertain and unknown. There is hardly any synthesis attempted or acknowledged by the mere anatomists of "facts," and this is one great reason why the men of faith who deal in universals are superior to men of facts. The one class of minds studies the laws of unity in God's creation as it is, and in His Word; the other analyses small organic forms of nature, and pursues the study of arrangement in the infinitely small department of internal organization, until it arrives at the formation of simple elements and gas, etc., etc.; a sort of study which is useful in its way, but very apt to end in smoke, or gas, or something too evaporate and volatile for common purposes. There is not a single letter or complete organized form in the great Book of Nature, of which the men of mere "fact"-knowledge know the meaning; much less of a group or series of these letters, a sentence in the book. They have not even yet acquired a knowledge of the first letter in the alphabet of Nature, the animal called man, although they have been analysing him physically and metaphysically for centuries. They have been working at this letter anatomically, pathologically, phrenologically, psychologically and historically since the new philosophy of "facts" begun, and yet they cannot understand it; but they will have it, that, because they cannot, nobody can: and this is the cause of their opposition to the men of Faith, who seek for knowledge in the Book of Scripture and the Book of Nature as God has written them, and without reducing the letters to shapeless gas and smoke in order to discover hidden mysteries, by dissipating that which they are anxious to retain.

The study of internal organization is, however, a most useful branch of knowledge, but it falls into the arms of Satan and self-pride when it presumes to claim authority beyond its jurisdiction, which is that of elementary analysis, and not of universal synthesis. The two are, no doubt, one with God; but human frailty and presumption must be chastened in humility before it can become regenerate in the at-one-ment with Christ universal and the truth.

The literal and critical study of the Word of God is somewhat similar in aberration to the literal and critical or analytical study of the Book of Nature, when pursued exclusively; and spiritual universality is as necessary to a proper understanding of the Word of God, as natural universality, or universal correspondency, is to the works of creation. It is exclusivism which constitutes the bigotry of each, or theological and scientific superstition and intolerance.

Some of our correspondents tell us that this style of writing is offensive to men of "science," who pay no attention to the truths we utter, because they detect errors of analogy in our dissertations, which "prove too much" in contradiction of "well-known facts;" and one of our friends writes us, saying, "If you would only be practical, and omit some of your moon-struck theories about religion and politics, you might do a world of good." We know our friend intends this kindly, but we like our moon-struck theories too well to give them up: nor do we anticipate any inconvenience from this course of proceeding; for men who would not learn the truth for themselves because they thought they could prove some of our analogical inversions to be different from the direct view of facts, would never be led to study universal principles and have faith in a new state of things. If we would speak of facts alone without regard to principles, they might perhaps amuse themselves by reading our papers as a critical pastime; but that is all: and though it might increase the circulation of our papers, it would not advance our cause, and therefore, in our estimation, would be useless. But, to tranquillize our friends who happen to be sometimes doubtful of the accuracy of our illustrations and analogies, because we sometimes give appearances as if they were realities, we may inform them that the most apparently absurd of our analogies are always true, and accurate, directly or inversely, as the case may be, and that inversions in analogy are perfectly legitimate as well as in all other spheres of harmony, natural or spiritual. This, however, does not free us from responsibility for real errors, and omissions, and defective

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illustrations, when they happen in our writings; but it does not follow that we are in error, always when our readers think we are. We feel convinced, however, that men who cling to "facts" and microscopic views of science, and who scoff at theory, will never have sufficient faith and understanding and enthusiasm to comprehend a universal principle, and live for it, and it alone. They are too well acquainted with the facts of prejudice and the disinclination of the mass to welcome new ideas, and aid in their adoption practically. They want to show their critical acuteness, and get on as clever men in the world, who make a fortune for themselves, and leave the credulous to dream and starve in faith and hope of better things, which have been promised, truly, but which never come to pass, as "facts will prove." These are not the men for new ideas. They are too acute. We do not wish to draw them from their "facts" to "moon-struck theories;" but we may inform them that our theories are not opposed to facts, because we happen not to look at facts in one position only, but move round them in all possible directions to perceive their relative positions in variety of aspect, and distinguish true from false appearances, that we may not be puzzled by inversions in the laws of movement.

One of our scientific friends has written us a mild rebuke concerning what he terms an "error" in one of our allusions to analogy, in which we asked a former correspondent, "Why the limbs of horses are analogous to those of men, and why in this analogy there is a most remarkable inversion in the principal articulations; those of the anterior limbs in horses bending forwards, and those of the posterior, bending backwards, while in man the knees bend forward and the elbows backward?" This is not the "fact" our scientific friend informs us, there being no real inversion in the case, as what is termed the knee of a horse, corresponds anatomically to the wrist of a man, and the hock of a horse, to the heel of a man, etc.; and therefore, our man of "science" contends that we injure the cause we advocate, by "proving too much" in our pretended analogies.

This is what a knowledge of small "facts" leads men of "science" to, when uncontrolled by higher views of faith and universal unity.

The "facts" of comparative anatomy are true, as stated by our friend; but when he affirms that there is no inversion, he errs; there is a remarkable "inversion," as we at first stated; the appearance of which is generally understood as we stated; for that articulation which anatomically corresponds to the wrist of man, is always called the knee. It is to this universal mode of thinking and speaking that we conformed in our language, and we did it advisedly; and now we will ask our scientific friend, if he can tell us what is the cause of this apparent inversion, which he says is not real, anatomically? Can he tell us why horses walk on their "real" finger and toe nails, anatomically considered? Or can he tell us what is the primitive "real anatomical" inversion in the organism of the horse compared with that of man, from which primary inversion all secondary inversions, both real and apparent, necessarily result? We will tell him: it is because the pivotal and cardinal members of the human body are identical in direction; but in the horse they are contrasted, the limbs being vertically posited, while the vertebræ are horizontal; in man both vertebræ and limbs are vertically posited. There is a higher reason again for this "fact" in creation, which our scientific friend will never learn until he has more faith in universal science and analogy. Men of science, however, have the pretension of knowing all things, either positively or negatively: positively, knowing all the "facts" of matter; negatively, no-ing all the facts of mind.

We are also told that we are too dogmatical: if that be felt by those who read our papers, we advise them to extract the truth alone for their own sakes, from what we write, and leave the dogmatism, as good for nothing. We are quite willing to admit their right of doing as they please with what concerns themselves alone. We wish, however, not to give offence to any class or party, but we must defend the truth when we believe it to be wronged; and this we shall endeavor, in a spirit of forbearance and true charity, however much we may dislike exclusivism and bigotry in "science" and blind "faith."

From pseudo-faith, on the one hand, and contracted views of "facts" and "science" on the other, we expect nothing less than scoffing, sneering, and the like; but, when scoffers have reduced society to an insufferable state of temporal and spiritual destitution, and the worldly wise are panic-struck, we shall volunteer, with all who have true faith in Providence, and choose to help us, to build a city of attractive industry and true religious unity, and give it to the poor, that labor may be sure of its reward, and all the world may see the happiness of truth in action, and rejoice in the example. Neither faith nor science will be failing to accomplish this in God's due time.

Nor let it be affirmed that we are dreaming of impossibilities; for nothing is impossible to God and those who have true faith. It is a very simple thing we want, and easily defined—practical religion:

Universal Unity. { Unity of man with God, in true religion.
Unity of man with man, in true society.
Unity of man with Nature, in creative art and industry.

This is what we understand by faith and science and religion; and in practice, it resolves itself into the moral, the artistic, and the scientific spheres of action. In Morals, friendly unity, conjugal unity, family unity and hierarchal unity: in Art, scenic beauty, musical harmony, nutritive excellence, fragrant purity and comfortable homes: in Science, critical understanding and well-founded hope, inventive energy and genuine faith, variety of information, liberty of conscience, toleration of opinion and true charity in action.

This is what we wish to realise in unitary combination; and both Faith and Science say, "It can be done: and shall! and soon!"

ASSOCIATIONAL CONFERENCE.

In accordance with an arrangement made last winter in Boston, a Conference, consisting of two delegates from each of the three Associations in Massachusetts, viz., Northampton, Brookfarm, and Hopedale, met at Hopedale on the 24th ult. Present the following delegates: Brookfarm, Geo. Ripley and Ephraim Capen; Northampton, Jas. Boyle and Josiah Hayward; Hopedale, Adin Ballou and Butler Wilmarth. The object of this Conference was the promotion of a friendly intercourse between the several Associations, and a careful inquiry into the practical working of their respective internal economies, with a view to natural correction and improvement. These Associations differ widely in some respects, and are perfectly independent of each other. It is not intended to bring them into any organic compact, but by means of thes friendly Conferences, holden three times a year, at each location in succession, to maintain a good understanding, and especially to enable all of them to profit by a mutual comparison of merits and defects. The delegates and volunteers met at 9 A. M., and proceeded to institute a close inquiry into the statistics, resources, industrial arrangements, methods of education, and particular operations of the three Associations, whereof minutes were made for preservation and future use. In the afternoon a more public meeting was holden, at which the members of the Hopedale Community generally were present. Interesting statements and remarks were made by George Ripley, James Boyle and others, unfolding the peculiar organization and workings of the Brookfarm and Northampton Associations. The Conference throughout was very pleasant and profitable. Probably more solid practical instruction was interchanged than the inexperienced could acqure from a hundred theoretic lectures. The next meeting is to be holden at Broughton Meadows with the Northampton friends, at such time in August next as their Executive Council may appoint and announce.—[Practical Christian, Milford, Mass.

The Man and the Machine.—A few days ago, says an exchange paper, about fifty sturdy laborers were employed in baling the water out of a canal for the purpose of laying a foundation for a bridge. The labor and expenses were found so great, that it was determined to put up a steam baling machine, and the laboring men were consequently discharged, being no longer required. One, whom by his appearance, we took for one of those who had been employed, was seen looking for some time moodishly and sorrowfully at the machine. At last he gave vent to his feelings and reflections by muttering,—"Well, any how, you can't vote."

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MEETING OF THE AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL UNION.

The Council of this Confederation convened pursuant to adjournment, at the Domain of the Bloomfield Union Association, on the 15th day of May. There were present—

Benjamin Walton, Jefferson Co. Industrial Association,

E. A. Stillman, Bloomfield Union Association,

Lemuel Stansbury,* Sodus Bay Phalanx,

David M. Smith, Rush Industrial Association,

Samuel W. Lyman, Ontario Union,

Victor B. Mix, Western N. Y. Industrial Association,

the President, A. M. Watson in the Chair.

The following communication was received from the President, showing the situation and prospects of the several parties to the Confederacy.

GENTLEMEN OF THE COUNCIL:

In conformity to the Constitution of this Confederacy, I herewith communicate to you the situation of the several parties to the compact.

My other engagements and the illness of my family have, up to this time, prevented me from making anything more than a running visit to the several Associations, and I shall have to refer you to the reports which the several Councillors may be prepared to make, for a particular description of the affairs of the respective institutions.

The oldest Association in this compact, the Jefferson County Industrial, has made its first annual statement, by which it appears that Capital in that Institution will receive a fraction over six per cent. interest. Owing to inattention to the principles of Association, and a defective and incomplete organization of Industry into Groups and Series, as well as to the fact that in the commencement much time is lost, Labor in this Institution fails to obtain its fair remuneration. Another circumstance which has operated to the disadvantage of Labor is, that no allowance has been made in its favor, in the annual settlement, for Working Dresses. These facts are conclusive, to my mind, that the disadvantages of improper or inadequate organization in all Institutions, will be even more injurious to Labor than to Capital.

This Institution commenced operations without the investment of much, if any, cash capital, and they now are somewhat embarrassed for want of such means. A subscription to their stock of two thousand dollars in cash, or a loan of that amount for a reasonable time, for which good security could be given, would, in my opinion, place them in a situation to carry on a very profitable business the ensuing year. If this obstacle can be surmounted, I know of no Institution of better promise than this. This would seem to be but a small matter, but when the fact is considered that they are located in the midst of a community which sympathises but little in the movement while many exert themselves to increase the embarrassment by decrying their responsibility, it will readily be seen that their situation is unenviable. Their responsibility when compared with that of most business concerns in the country, is more real than that of a majority of business men who are considered perfectly solvent. Considering the difficulties and embarrassments through which they have already struggled, I have strong confidence in their ultimate success. The whole number of members will not vary much, at this time, from 150. They have reduced, by sale, their lands to about 800 acres, and I refer you to the annual report for further information as to their liabilities.

The next Association to commence practical operations, was the Western New-York Industrial. This Institution began operations about the first of February last, on a tract of some 1460 acres of land, at the mouth of Sandy Creek, in Monroe county, three hundred acres of which was under improvement. The managers acted on the idea of securing to its stock real and personal property of almost all descriptions, and in this I think their management was judicious. In admitting resident members, they have made the mistake which all have made, or are in danger of making, viz.: the collecting on their respective domains more members than can be profitably employed at first. This Institution is laboring under serious disadvantages from this fact at present. Their pecuniary affairs are in a safe and prosperous condition, if I am correctly informed. Their outstanding liabilities, not specially provided for, amount to about $16,000; and the real and personal property already secured to their stock, other than the land comprising their domain, amounts to $17,000. The whole number of members now on the domain is 350, many of whom they are at present unable to employ with advantage.

The Bloomfield Union Association commenced operations about the 15th of March last, on a domain of about 500 acres, mostly improved land, situated one mile east of Honeoye Falls, in the counties of Monroe, Livingston and Ontario. The Institution is indebted on account of the purchase, about $11,000, and of their subscriptions there has been actually paid in about $35,000.

The whole number of resident members now on their domain is 148, and there have been admitted, subject to notice, a large additional number of members, who will add very considerably to their capital stock; but, I am informed that it is their settled determination to allow members to move on the domain only as they are enabled to find permanent employment for them. I think they may well congratulate themselves upon their future prospects.

The Sodus Bay Phalanx commenced operations about the first of April last, on a tract of 1400 acres, at Sodus Bay, formerly known as the Shaker Tract. This location is a desirable one, particularly in a commercial point of view, as is also that of the Western New-York Industrial, both being on Lake Ontario; and the harbor at Sodus bay is at this time one of the safest and best.

Three hundred acres of the land is now under a good state of cultivation. The whole tract has cost the Association $35,000, most of which is an outstanding debt against the Institution. There has been more than sufficient stock secured to the Phalanx to cover the purchase, but they are in danger of serious embarrassments, from the fact of so great a rush of members to the domain, before branches of industry can be established, or proper accommodation for the residence of families prepared. There are now upon the domain about 260 resident members. I believe all Associations will find it for their interest to secure to their stock all the real and personal property possible; and I think this Institution will find it peculiarly so in their case. From the location, fertility of soil, the general intelligence and determination of the members, I think they may safely calculate upon success.

The Ontario Union commenced operations about two weeks since, in Hopewell, Ontario county, five miles from Canandaigua, and upon the line of the Western Railroad, on the outlet of Canandaigua Lake. They have purchased the mills and farm formerly owned by Judge Bates, consisting of 150 acres of land, a flouring mill with five run of Burr Stones and sawmill, at $16,000. They have secured, by subscription, about 138 acres of land in the immediate vicinity, which they are now working. To meet their liabilities for the original purchase, I am informed they have already a subscription which they believe can be relied on, amounting to over $40,000. They have now upon the domain about 75 members. This Institution has been able already to commence such branches of Industry as will produce an immediate return, and, as a consequence, will avoid the necessity of living upon their capital. There is danger that their enthusiasm will get the better of their judgment in admitting members too fast.

The Rush Industrial Association has not yet commenced practical operations, and I refer you to their representative for information in regard to their prospects.

For a statement of the particular branches of Industry pursued in each Society, you are referred to the reports presented by your respective members.

The subjects to which I would call the particular attention of your Board at this time are:

1st. The devising some uniform mode of keeping time accounts in Associations.

2d. The adoption of a system for the regulation of Groups and Series.

* In the place of Ira French, *resigned*.

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3d. To recommend some course to be pursued to prevent the several parties to this compact from accumulating too large a population on their respective domains, before adequate branches of Industry are organized for their employment.

4th. To recommend some plan for the organization of an Educational Department.

5th. To recommend some system by which the real and personal property subscribed to the stock of Associations can be made available.

6th. To adopt an uniform system by which members shall draw supplies upon the time credited on the books of the Association.

7th. To advise what course should be pursued by the several parties to this compact, with reference to the Convention proposed to be held on the first Monday of October next.

Your particular attention is called to the communication of T. C. Leland. Of the merits of the case you are better informed than myself. I think the matter should be presented to the different Associations without delay, and I have no doubt of the disposition to do him ample justice.

It is my intention to remove my family to the city of Rochester in the course of the coming summer, and, if the Institutions composing this Confederacy shall deem it a matter of sufficient importance, devote my time exclusively to the interests of the Confederation. But if, upon consultation, the different Institutions shall be of the opinion that it will be incurring an unnecessary expense, I will, upon being so advised, resign the office I now hold, having accomplished the great object I had in view, by the establishment of an unitary movement, on the part of the Institutions in Western New-York; and I shall retire from the field of action with the satisfaction of believing that the last three months have been better employed than any other portion of my life. On this subject I desire the Associations to speak frankly, my only object in presenting it at all being to prevent any surprise. My resolution is settled, and my future energies dedicated to the cause of Association. Yet it shall not be said of me, with truth, that my activity has resulted in the establishment of a sinecure to be enjoyed by myself. I have no feeling of a personal nature involved in this question.

A. M. Watson.

The communication, above referred to, from T. C. Leland, was received, exhibiting the pecuniary embarrassements occasioned by his public advocacy of the cause of Industrial Reform.

The several councillors reported the following branches of Industry as being already established in their respective Associations, viz.:

Jefferson County Industrial.

Agriculture, and the following mechanical trades, viz.: Boot and Shoemaking, Saddle and Harnessmaking, Carpenter and Joiner work, Planing Machine, Turning, Tailoring, Blacksmithing, Masonry, Stone Cutting, Coopering, Stone-quarrying, Brickmaking, Burning Lime, and Sawing Lumber.

Bloomfield Union Association.

Agriculture, Boot and Shoemaking, Tailoring, Hatting, Blacksmithing, Quarrying Stone, Burning Lime, Masonry, Millinery and Dressmaking, Woollen Manufacturing, Waggonmaking, Sawing Lumber, Custom Grinding, Lathe Sawing, Merchandising, Carpenter and Joiner work.

Sodus Bay Phalanx.

Agriculture, Carpenter and Joiner work, Shoemaking, Tailoring, Blacksmithing, Masonry, Sawing Lumber, Brickmaking, Coal Burning, Fishing.

Ontario Union.

Agriculture, Custom Grinding, Sawing Lumber, Blacksmithing, Edge-Toolmaking, Iron and Wood Turning and Finishing, Carpenter and Joiner work, Quarrying Stone, Millinery and Dressmaking.

Western N. Y. Industrial Association.

Agriculture, Carpenter and Joiner work, Custom Grinding, Sawing Lumber, Turning Shop, Blacksmithing, Shinglemaking, Printing, Edge-Toolmaking, Dairy business, Coal burning, and Merchandising.

On motion, Messrs. Lyman, Stillman, Smith and Mix, were appointed a committee to whom was referred the President's Communication and accompanying documents.

Adjourned to Thursday morning 9 o'clock.

Thursday, May 16.

The Council met pursuant to adjournment, the President in the chair. The committee reported an order of business which was approved.

The Council proceeded to a consideration of the means of giving an efficient organization to the several Associations forming the Confederacy, and the best mode to promote their mutual prosperity.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the several Institutions composing this Confederacy to adopt, as far as possible, the practice of mutual exchanges between each other, and that they should immediately take such measures as will enable them to become the commercial agents of the producing classes in the sections of the country where the Associations are respectively located.

Classification of Industry.

Resolved, In the opinion of the Council, one of the first steps towards Organization should be an arrangement of the different branches of Agricultural, Mechanical and Domestic work in the Classes of Necessity, Usefulness, and Attractiveness. The exact category in which an occupation shall be placed, will be influenced, more or less, by local circumstances, and is, at best, somewhat conjectural. It will be indicated, however, with certainty, by observation and experience. In the meantime, the Council take the liberty to express an opinion, that to the Class of Necessity belong, among others, the following, viz.: Ditching, Masonry, work in Woollen and Cotton Factories, Quarrying Stone, Brickmaking, Burning Lime and Coal, getting out Manure, Baking, Washing, Ironing, Cooking, Tanning and Currier business, Night Sawing and other night work, Blacksmithing, care of Children and the sick, care of Dairy, Flouring, Hauling Seine, Casting, Chopping Wood, and Cutting Timber.

Class of Usefulness.

All mechanical trades not mentioned in the Class of Necessity, Agriculture, School Teaching, Bookeeping, time of Directors while in session, other officers acting in an official capacity, Engineering, Surveying and Mapping, Storekeeping, Gardening, Rearing Silk Worms, care of Stock, Horticulture, Teaching Music, Housekeepers, (not Cooks) Teaming.

Class of Attractiveness.

Cultivation of Flowers, Cultivation of Fruit, Portrait and Landscape Painting, Vine Dressing, Poulterers, care of Bees, Embellishing Public Grounds.

Groups and Series.

The Council recommend to the different Associations the following plan for the organization of Groups and Series, viz.:

1st. Ascertain, for example, the whole number of members who will attach themselves, or at any time take part in the Agricultural line. From this number, organise as many groups as the business of the line will admit of.

2d. We recommend the numbers 30, 24, 18, as the maximum rank of the classes of Necessity, Usefulness and Attractiveness.

The Series should then be numbered in the order in which they are formed, and the Groups in the same manner, beginning 1, 2, 3, &c., for each Series.

Mechanical Series can be organised, embracing all the different trades employed by the Association in the same manner, and if the Groups cannot be filled up at once with adults, we would recommend to the Institutions to fill them sufficiently for the purpose of organization with apprentices.

Each Group should have a Foreman, whose business it should be to keep correct accounts of time, superintend and direct the performance of work, and maintain an oversight of working dresses, &c.

There should be one individual elected as Superintendent of the Series, whose business it should be to confer with the Farming Committee of the Board, and inform the different Foremen of Groups of the work to be done, and inspect the same afterwards.

The Council is thoroughly satisfied that all the Labor of an Association should be performed by Groups and Series, and although the Combined Order cannot be fully,

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established at once, the adoption of this arrangement will avoid incoherence, and be calculated to impress on each member a sense of his personal responsibility.

TIME AND RANK.

The Time, Rank, and Occupation should be noted daily, and oftener, if a change of employment is made. The sum of the products of the daily time of each individual as multiplied by his daily rank, should be carried to the Time Ledger, weekly or monthly to his or her credit. Each of the several amounts, whether performed in the classes of Necessity, Usefulness, or Attractivences, will thus be made to bear an equal proportion to the value of the services rendered

The rank as well as the number of hours of each individual should, in our opinion, be kept daily, and the aggregate of the several products obtained by multiplying the daily time by the daily rank of each individual, should be carried to the Time Ledger as before remarked. The check list or roll of the Foreman, should be filed in the office of the Secretary, and the return should be conclusive and final, all mistakes or matters of difference being corrected or settled by the Group before the account is rendered.

We recommend, both as consistent with the Industrial System we adopt, as more economical to the Association, and as a matter of abstract justice, that the capital of the several Associations be at the expense of furnishing to the several Groups their working dresses, to be used only while the members are actually employed in the business of the Group to which they belong: and that the standard of furnishing supplies to individuals, in addition to working dresses, board and house rent, be at the rate of *one dollar* for sixty hours labor in the highest rank of the class of NECESSITY. Where individuals rank in either class below the *maximum* in the class of Necessity, the amount payable will be reduced in a similar proportion.

NUMBER OF RESIDENT MEMBERS IN THE INCIPIENT STAGE.

Resolved, That in view of the disadvantages which all Institutions encounter in the first attempts at organization, there is danger of admitting too great a number of individuals to resident membership before branches of Industry can be adequately organised and established, and that in our opinion great injustice will be done to the cause as well as to the Institutions themselves, by the adoption of such a course: that the true interests of the Associations, require that all persons who cannot be profitably employed, or who have not complied with the conditions on which they were admitted, should be immediately settled with and advised to withdraw.

PRIMARY EDUCATION.

Resolved, That a BOARD OF SCIENCE should be organized in each Association, composed of at least three members, whose duty it shall be to organise an EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT, by arranging and classifying the children according to their respective ages or sex, into Groups and Series; to select proper instructors for each class; to prepare a system of exercises that shall afford the teachers and children employment in some industrial avocation during a portion of each day, the remainder to be devoted to proper and healthful recreations.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Resolved, That we respectfully suggest that the Executive Committee, appointed at the late U. S. Convention, held in the city of New-York, in April last, select the City of Rochester as the place where the Convention should be held, recommended in the 7th Resolution of their proceedings; that if this suggestion should not accord with the wishes of our friends eugaged in practical operations, we name the City of Boston as our second choice.

Resolved, That the President be requested to correspond with the Associations in the United States, on the subject of the Confederacy.

Resolved, That the application of T. C. Leland be laid before the several Associations composing this Union, for such immediate action as may seem to them just.

Samuel W. Lyman, of the Ontario Union, was chosen Chairman *pro. tem.*, in the place of Ira French, *resigned*.

Resolved, That the proceedings of the Council be published in the "PHALANX" and in the "SOCIAL REFORMER."

The Council adjourned to meet on the first Monday of January, 1845, at the Domain of the Ontario Union, Hopewell, Ontario Co., N. Y.

A. M. WATSON, Pres.

E. A. STILLMAN, Sec.

We have received quite a long communication relative to the Sodus Bay Phalanx, from Mr. D. C. Bloomer, Editor of the Seneca County Courier, a gentleman who takes a warm interest in the cause of Association, and has already done it good service by publications in his paper. A part of his letter, descriptive of the Domain, has been anticipated by an account published in the 2nd number of the Phalanx, and we shall extract only such portions as relate to the present condition and prospects of the Association.

"I paid a visit a few days since to the Domain owned and occupied by the Sodus Bay Phalanx, and I have thought that a brief notice of it might not be unacceptable to you, and that from the hints I may give you in regard to it, you might be able to give to the true-hearted and noble-minded men and women of which this Phalanx is composed, a brief notice in your paper, as also a word of encouragement.

"Between two and three hundred persons, including men, women and children, have moved on to the Domain, and it is intended to increase this number still further as soon as suitable buildings can be erected. They are now residing in buildings situated upon different parts of the Domain, but it is intended in the course of the summer to erect an edifice which will be sufficient to accommodate all. This will be done by connecting by a building some 250 feet in length, the church with a large two story building now standing. The site for the Phalanstery is eminently beautiful and picturesque, and overlooks nearly the whole of the domain, and will afford, when the intervening forest shall have been levelled, a fine view of the bay. Indeed I never saw a more beautiful sight than sunrise viewed from this point.

"As yet the Phalanx is not fully organised. Many of the men labor isolatedly, the groups not having as yet been formed. This it is intended to remedy as soon as possible. At present a group of Carpenters and of Farmers are all that has been formed The former are turning all their labors to the repairs of the mills, the temporary repairs of the buildings, &c.

"A strong group of Agriculturists have been organised, and they appear to be prosecuting their labors with skill and efficiency.

"The Brickmakers are busily at work preparing for operations in their line. So are the Furnacemen. A steam sawmill, complete in all its parts, has been put in as Stock. This it is proposed to locate on the Bay, in the very midst of a forest of excellent timber.

"The Shoemakers, Tailors and Blacksmiths are all busily at work, and I was told that they were all overstocked from the surrounding country.

"The men are a healthy, robust, vigorous race; intelligent, spirited, and high-minded, and appear to understand, as a general thing, the work in which they are engaged. There appears to be no drones among them, since all appeared willing to labor in their several vocations.

"As a general thing, all appear satisfied and pleased with their new and novel situations, both men and women, and harmony and good feeling prevail in an eminent degree. There are people among them of all religious sects and denominations and of none; and every trade and profession almost except indeed my own) appears to be represented. There are Ministers, Doctors, Teachers, &c. &c.

"The night that I stopped on the Domain I attended a public meeting held in the church, in which the propriety of a number of proposed amendments to the Constitution of the Phalanx was discussed. Mr. Watson, late of the Jefferson County Association, was present, and delivered an excellent address. There appeared, so far as I was informed, a strong feeling against over-legislation. This I deem fortunate.

"The Domain cost $35,000. Of this, $7,000 has been paid or secured, and the

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remaining portion is to be paid in annual instalments. I have no doubt that the whole will be paid by future additions to the Capital Stock. But I must stop.

"The cause of Association is onward in Western New-York. In this village, the feeling in its favor has increased most rapidly. Mr. Brisbane visited us last fall and gave us an excellent address, since which time the cause has gone on apace. We have a "Fourier Club" with about forty members, which, until recently, has held weekly meetings.

"Six families have removed on to either the Sodus or Manchester domaine, and more are prepared to follow as soon as an opportunity offers. Men of capital too, are opening their eyes to the subject.

"God grant that this great work may go on conquering and to conquer. After careful examination, I have satisfied myself that it is indeed the GREAT WORK which should engage the heart and the hand of every true philanthropist in the land, and which is to usher in the day of Millenium Glory."

We have received a small pamphlet entitled "The System of Association, by Charles Fourier, attested by NATURE and REVELATION, in a Lecture delivered before the Members of the Clermont Phalanx, and the Western Fourier Association, in Cincinnati, on Sunday, the 28th April, 1844, by J. P. Schroder." It is an argumentative and instructive discourse, plainly showing that the great moral law, "*Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself*," which is the test of all human institutions, condemns society as it is, and that it is enjoined upon man as a free agent, to re-form his social as well as his individual state, in order that he may live in conformity with the Law. We make a few extracts. In reference to a form of Association which shall meet all the wants of man, the lecturer said:

In attempting to form such an association, we must take the individually good man as a model. If we take imperfect models, we shall arrive at imperfect results. We must, therefore, look for a perfect model. We have only one instance on record, of a perfectly good man. We must therefore take him for our model, to form a moral association. But a moral association does not meet all the wants of man: he has intellectual and animal wants, as well as moral necessities to supply. We, therefore require an association which comprises within itself also, an intellectual and industrial form to supply the demand of the mind and body of the natural man; for man has a threefold existence—moral, intellectual and animal. Any association of man, which supplies the wants of one or two natures only, partially supplies his wants, and necessarily therefore is imperfect, and cannot last. I say that such an association has not the stamp of durability fixed upon it, and will necessarily fall to the ground.

Our object then is, to enquire if there is in existence a theory for an associative form, which contains the two forms, intellectual and industrial, comprised within itself, and which will accord and work in unison with the theory of a moral form, as shewn by the perfect Man, and thus make a true social form under a true form of man—a triune form?

I advance, that such a theory, containing within itself a true intellectual and industrial form, is in existence, and has been discovered and brought into the open light of day, by CHARLES FOURIER; and that that system only requires the true moral form to be united to it, to become a living and an active form; and, without which, it remains, as it hitherto has done, a dead and inactive form.

The whole of the theory of the moral form has been comprised and compressed into two precepts, by the head and origin of that form. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbor as thyself."

* * * * * * * *

Now I advance, that the social law has not as yet been fully understood by the natural man, in general, and therefore not acted up to. It contains within itself an acting and reacting point. In other words, a positive and negative action. "*Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself*"—the positive form. *Thou shalt not love thy neighbor better than thyself*—the negative form.

The present congregated form of man cannot be his true social form; because the *love of the neighbor* cannot in that form conjoin in action with the *love of self* and become united. We have only to look at the state of society at present, to be convinced that this is the fact. Commerce conflicting with commerce; manufacturing interests with manufacturing interest; labor competing with labor; commerce clashing with manufactures; manufactures with commerce; labor with all, and all with labor! I say, it is one general mass of conflicting interests. It is the same, but in a less degree, with intellect; and we have only to look at the religious or moral state of society, to be convinced it is the same there. Inordinate self-love, or its negative evil, inordinate self-denial, is the order of the day.

Now I advance, and think I can shew, that the system embodied in the Constitution of the Phalanx is one which will accord and work with the law, *Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, and thyself as thy neighbor;* for it unites the welfare of self with that of the neighbor, and *vice versa*.

Having examined the subject under various aspects, the lecturer concludes:

From what has been said I think may fairly be deduced—

1st. That the present congregated form of man is not his true social form, because the individuals or members of that form are disunited and at discord with each other;

2d. That the system of FOURIER, as embodied in the Constitution of the Phalanx, is a system which unites in itself a theory of Intellectual and Laborial Association, which will bring, if put into true action, the discordant congregated form of man into unity of action, and consequent concord, as far as the wants of the intellectual and animal portions of man's nature are concerned;

3d. That man has a moral nature to satisfy, as well as an intellectual and animal; and which can only be supplied by moral means;

4th. That religion, as embodied in the law, "*Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbor as thyself*," is the moral system to supply those wants;

5th. That the system of CHARLES FOURIER coincides, and will act in perfect accordance with this great moral system;

And consequently, to render the system of FOURIER equal to the wants of man, the BROAD GROUND of Religion must be taken for its basis and foundation, on which alone it can have a true and lasting existence.

"A PICTURE OF REAL LIFE."

Under this head our neighbor of the Star gave us an account of the death of Miss Josephine Bingham—a young English girl, who, as he says, "was driven to want by the miserable wages she received for her milinery work," and ultimately to suicide. The minor of this proposition may be true, but the major is defective—unless we admit (as no philanthropist can) that the step from *want* to *suicide* is legitimate and proper. Hundreds—perhaps thousands—in this very city, are suffering day by day for the common necessaries of life. The pinching hand of want is forever upon them; but is this a justifiable excuse for committing the crime of self-murder? Assuredly not; and while we drop the veil of charity over the errors and weaknesses of those who assume the prerogative of the Creator, and take life, we *must* condemn the act itself, and insist upon it that no possible circumstance, or combination of circumstances, can furnish an excuse. We know that female labor is, in general, but poorly recompensed, and that hundreds of delicate womomen are annually sacrificed at the shrine of incessant toil; but we do not perceive how their condition would be improved by cutting off the demand for their labor. Fashion is proverbially an arbitrary and cruel mistress, we know; but the expense of her freaks devolves at least upon the "male creatures." Meantime, her whims furnish employment to thousands; and if the real producers fail to secure a just reward for their labor, it is the fault of intermediate agents—"bosses," if you please—and not of those who give the orders. While, therefore, things are as they are, we believe this matter, so far as the votaries of fashion are concerned, could not be "fixed better" than it is.

Much has been said and written within the last few years on the Social Elevation of Humanity in general, and the *better half* of it, in particular; but as yet no satisfactory solution of the problem has been obtained. *Our* plan is, Association—not such as the Fourierites contend for, but association within the State, or as Brownson would express it, within the existing organism. Why could not a dozen or more young women, who are thorough masters (?) of their art—no matter what it may be—associate themselves together for its prosecution? They have no capital, you say; but what *is* capital? Is it money exclusively? No. The capital of most people is their skill, and although, in the present isolated state of society, money is requisite for the prosecution of any business, it is, nevertheles, an accidental part of the matter. We believe that associations of tailoresses, milliners, &c., might be organised for the transaction of business with entire success; and thus a great and increasing obstacle to the procurement of an honest and comfortable livelihood by this worthy class of persons would be gotten over at once.—[Brooklyn Eagle.

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THE POOR.

The world without is cold, dearest,
Nor heeds what we endure;
The hearts that dance in lighted halls
Care little for the poor;
Some passing thought, some transient sigh
Their well-bred pity knows;
But tears that dim the sparkling eye
Are shed for unfelt woes.

The proud one wraps his fur, dearest,
Around his shrinking form,
While scarce the poor man's scanty garb
Can keep him from the storm;
They meet upon the common earth,
Beneath the same blue sky,
As ice to ice on polar seas,
Each human brother's eye!

By Cairo's lordly towers, dearest,
Or on the desert waste,
The Arab spreads his foot, and asks
The passer-by to taste;
But what are spires that point to Heaven,
And every formal prayer,
If hearts are dead to human love,
And self triumphant there!

Oh, many a chariot rolls, dearest,
Across the rattling stones,
Whose wheels with every echo tell
Some wretched creature's groans;
The poor man must be honest,
Who loses, or who wins;
No gilded veil, to cheat the crowd,
Conceals the poor man's sins.

Yet envy haunts me not, dearest,
To walk the halls of pride;
The poor man's heart has many a thought
Worth all the world beside;
And oft he shares his little all,
Or shields the houseless one,
When down the lord of thousands lies,
No daily mercy done.

We walk in shadows here, dearest,
Nor pierce through all the show,
But Heaven still flings its blue above
And spreads its green below;
And demon-forms may scowling stand,
For gilded vice to wait,
While angel-hosts encamp around
The beggar in the gate.

And though my life is toil, dearest,
For thine and baby's fare,
There's ONE who hear's the raven's cry,
To make us still His care;
Of this be sure, he most is poor,
Were boundless wealth his own,
And unforgiven of earth or heaven,
Who lives for self alone!

SINGULAR SURGICAL OPERATION.—We have lately witnessed the successful result of a surgical operation performed by Dr. Dixon, of this city, distinguished for his operations on the eye, which serves to show the progress of surgery in a class of maladies not generally known to be within its reach—we allude to the removal of loose cartilages or small detached bones from the knee joint. We have examined two of these singular productions, the shape and size of large Lima beans, taken from the knee of a young gentleman of this city, with so little danger that the patient walked about the city on the seventh day after the operation, completely restored from a state of lameness. The theory of their formation is simply this: a small tumor, at first barely the size of a pin's head, growing from the common cartilage, and within the capsule of the knee joint, gradually enlarges from a narrow neck to the size of a bean, and by some sudden motion breaks off aloose in the joint, slipping about under the knee-cap and between the joint with every motion, causing lameness and much pain by interrupting the motion of the joint, and frequently tripping the patient and throwing him down. This is the third successful operation performed by Dr. D. for this difficulty.

DEMORALIZATION OF SWEDEN.

It is a singular and embarrassing fact, that the Swedish nation, isolated from the mass of the European people, and almost entirely agricultural or pastoral, having, in about 3,000,000 of individuals, only 14,925 employed in manufactories, and these not congregated in one or two places, but scattered among 2037 factories; having no great standing army or navy; no extended commerce; no afflux of strangers; no considerable city but one; and having schools and universities in a fair proportion, and a powerful and complete church establishment undisturbed in its labors by sect or schism; is, notwithstanding, in a more demoralized state than any nation in Europe—more demoralized even than any equal portion of the dense manufacturing population of Great Britain. This is a very curious fact in moral statistics. It is so directly opposed to all received opinions and long established theories of the superior moral condition, greater innocence, purity of manners, and exemption from vice or crime of the pastoral and agricultural state of society, compared to the commercial and manuring, that, if it rested merely on the traveller's own impressions, observations, or experience, it would not be entitled to any credit. According to the official returns published in the Swedish State Gazette, in March 1837, the number of persons prosecuted for criminal offences before all the Swedish courts in the year 1835, was 26,275, of whom 21,262 were convicted, 4,915 acquitted, and 98 remained under examination. In 1835, the total population of Sweden was 2,983,144 individuals. In this year, therefore, one person of every 114 of the whole nation had been accused, and one in every 140 persons convicted of criminal offences. By the same official returns, it appears, that, in the five years from 1830 to 1834, inclusive, one person in every 46 of the inhabitants of the towns, and one in every 179 of the rural population, had, on an average, been punished each year for criminal offences. In 1836, the number of persons tried for criminal offences in all the courts of the kingdom, was 26,925, of whom 22,292 were condemned, 3,688 acquitted, and 945 under trial or committal. The criminal lists of this year are stated to be unusually light, yet they give a result of one person in every 112 1-3 of the whole population accused, and one in about every 134 convicted, of criminal offence; and, taking the population of the towns, and the rural population separately, one person in every 46 individuals of the former, and one in every 174 individuals of the latter, have been convicted within the year 1836 for criminal offence. * * The proportion, also, of illegitimate to legitimate births in this country leads to the same conclusion. It is as one to 2 3-10ths in Stockholm. In no other Christian community is there a state of female morals approaching to this. In Paris, the illegitimate are reckoned by Puchet to be one in five births, and in the other towns of France one in 7 1-2. In England and Wales it is reckoned there is one illegitimate to nineteen legitimate, and in London and Middlesex one to thirty-eight legitimate births. * * Figures do not bring home to our imaginations the moral condition of a population so depraved as that of Stockholm. In such a society, the offspring of secret adultery, and the births merely saved from illegitimacy by the tardy marriage of the parents, must be numerous in proportion to the general profligacy. If it were possible to deduct these from the one side of the account and add them to the other, to which morally they belong, what a singular picture of depravity on a great scale this city presents. Suppose a traveller standing in the streets of Edinburg, and able to say, from undeniable public returns, "one out of every three persons passing me is, on an average, the offspring of illicit intercourse; and one out of every forty-nine has been convicted within these twelve months of some criminal offence!"—[Laing's Tour in Sweden.

ASSOCIATIONISTS' LIBRARY.

The following are the publications of Associationists, which are particularly recommended to all who are engaged in the investigation of the subject.

CHARLES FOURIER.

Théorie des Quatre Mouvemens et des Destinées Générales (1808.) 1 vol. in 8vo.
Le Nouveau Monde Industriel et Sociétaire (1829.) 2 vols. in 12mo.
La Fausse Industrie, Morcelée, Repugnante, Mensongère (1835.) 2 vols. post 8vo.
Traité de L'Association Domestique Agricole (1822.) 3 vols. in 8vo.

M. JUST MUIRON.

Essai sur les Procédés Industriels, 2nd edition (1840.)
Transactions Sociales, Religieuses et Scientifiques (1832.)

VICTOR CONSIDERANT. CAPT. DU GENIE.

Destinée Sociale (1835.) 2 vols. in 8vo.
Debacle de la Politique en France.
Manifeste de l'Ecole Sociétaire.
Trois Discours à l'Hotel de Ville.
La Democratie Pacifique—a daily paper, published at Paris, as the organ of Associationists

AMADEE PAGET.

Introduction to Science Sociale, &c.

JULES LE CHEVALIER.

Etudes sur la Science Sociale. 1 vol. in 8vo.

MADAME GATTI DE GAMOND.

Fourier et son Systeme. 1 vol. in 18mo.

HYPOLITE RENAUD.

Solidarité, Vue Synthetique sur la Doctrine de Fourier.

HUGH DOHERTY, ENGLAND.

False Association; or a Critical Introduction to Fourier's Theory of Attractive Industry: containing a Sketch o Fourier's Life, and a Summary of Ancient, Roman and Modern Civilization. Bound in cloth.
The Biography of Charles Fourier. 1 vol. post 8vo.
With a brief Sketch of his Theory of Attractive Industry, by Abel Transon and Victor Considerant; to which is added, Fourier's Defence of Christian Principles.
The Morning Star: a series of Papers on Fourier's Science.
The London Phalanx, Vol. I. First Series, with Index, bound in cloth.
The London Phalanx, Vol. II. Second Series.

ALBERT BRISBANE, NEW YORK, U. S.

The Social Destiny of Man, or Association and Attractive Industry. Published by C. F. Stollmeyer, 64 South Fourth street, Philadelphia, U. S., in 8vo. nearly 500 pages. Price $1.
A Concise Exposition of the Doctrine of Association, and which is now in the sixth edition. 80 pages 8vo. 18 cents.
What is Association?—a tract of 8 pages. 50 cents per hundred.

PARKE GODWIN.

A Popular View of the Doctrines of Charles Fourier—pp. 200, 8vo. 25 cents.
Constructive and Pacific Democracy: a pamphlet of 40 pages. Price 12½ cents.

WM H. CHANNING.

The Present: a Magazine. 1 vol.

The works can be procured through the Editors of this paper at the lowest prices, or of

J. S. REDFIELD,
cor. Beekman & Nassau sts., New York.

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SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS UNITY.

SOCIAL PROGRESS.—SOCIAL REFORM UPON CONSERVATIVE PRINCIPLES.

THE PHALANX:

ORGAN OF THE

DOCTRINE OF ASSOCIATION.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.

ASSOCIATION, ATTRACTIVE INDUSTRY, UNITY OF INTERESTS.

OUR EVILS ARE SOCIAL, NOT POLITICAL, AND A SOCIAL REFORM ONLY CAN ERADICATE THEM.

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TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM, IN ADVANCE.

VOLUME I. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 29, 1844. NUMBER 13.

SOCIAL REFORM CONVENTION AT BOSTON, MASS.

On the 28th of May a Convention of this kind was held at Boston. Mr. John A. Collins, a prominent advocate of the doctrines of Socialism, or the *Community* system, was the prime mover and presiding officer of the Convention. The Convention continued in session for four days, and on the fifth day, June 1st, the members assembled again as the New England Social Reform Society.

It would be difficult to give a true estimate of the character of this meeting. The proceedings are reported by the Boston Investigator, and occupy a great portion of two numbers of that paper. But few persons seem to have taken an active part as members proper of the Convention, although during a part of the time large audiences assembled, and there were present a number who, as opponents, entered the lists of controversy, with great zeal and earnestness. At the outset it was announced that the Convention would be the "theatre of free speech," and, certainly, this character was fully maintained. The fierce denunciation of existing institutions, and especially of Religion and the Church, by Mr. Collins, soon introduced a controversy which, at times, became furious, and continued throughout the sitting of the Convention. Clergymen, and others present, denied the charges which were made and the doctrines advanced, and in the replies, there was a display of bad feeling and intemperate language on both sides. The Investigator, a little unfairly, though we suppose it could not well be helped, has reported the speeches on one side only, to any extent, so that the arguments used by opponents are in a great measure lost; still enough is presented to give an idea of the nature and temper of the debate. This may in some degree be gathered from the following extracts:

Mrs. Rose addressed the Convention on the moral character and influence of government officers and governments. She denounced all governmental authority or power, except exercised through moral suasion alone. She illustrated her views of government by an anecdote of Russian tyranny in her own country, Poland, where the government, being in want of some land belonging to, and occupied by some twenty or thirty Polish families, (her own among the number,) kindly gave the peasants ten, twenty, or thirty days' notice to remove; and all who had not removed at the expiration of that time, were hurled, goods and persons, into the street, without a home to shelter them, and without a farthing of compensation! And in this horrible tyranny the government was aided, abetted and sanctified by the church, which thus paid for the military protection from a government by rendering holy all the doings of that government, however unjust or cruel they might be.

[Mrs. Rose was followed by one who, on being asked for his name, replied that he could give no better name than that of a "Disciple of Jesus." It was afterwards ascertained that he was the *Rev.* Mr. Goodnow, from Rhode Island.] Mr. G. announced that the world was full of evil, and no wonder—since Adam's fall it has been so continually. And the only remedy for these evils was, the religion of Jesus. The Social Reformers might defame the character and mission of Jesus, [The charge here implied is not just—it is not true that on this occasion, or on any that we are aware of, the character and mission of Jesus were defamed by the Communitists.—EDS P.] but the time would come when they would gnash their teeth in despair for their blindness, for their stubbornness. The Social Reformers wanted equality—equality of rights, powers, and privileges. There was a Social institution in almost every town, where all these immunities were guarantied to all the inmates; [sensation;] they could not object to this institution, as it illustrated practically their wants, wishes and objects. This institution is the POOR-HOUSE! [At the allusion to this institution in so unfeeling and so unhandsome and unfair a manner, and by a clergyman, the audience broke out almost into an angry howl of indignation; and the clergy who were present attempted to drown this clamor by their applause. We counted eleven "white cravats," at one moment, who were beating the floor most boisterously with feet and cane.]

Mrs. Rose replied to this "Disciple of Christ" *in a strain of sarcasm and biting irony which would have stung a feeling being to the very marrow.* The "Disciple of Christ," however, only deigned to blush once, as she replied to his ungenerous blackguardism respecting her labors and sex.

As a reason for not reporting a part of the proceedings, the Investigator says:

From Thursday noon until Friday evening at 10 o'clock, the proceedings of the Convention were but a repetition of the preceding days; a continual series of interruptions on both sides, owing to the changing character of the audiences which on more than one occasion were composed of a majority of clergymen. It being the week of Anniversaries, a large crowd of strangers had assembled in the city, and the moving of the throngs to and from the hall resembled the heaving of the tides. The discussion was continued with unexampled vigor, by Messrs. Collins, Lindsey, Taylor, Adams of Portland, Dickson of New Market, N. H., Bachelder, Pearl, Mack, Buffum, Mrs. Rose, and a swarm of clerical controversialists, until the Convention adjourned: but owing to the indisposition of the reporter, and the motley character of the discussion, a regular report of the proceedings was next to impossible. But however disjointed and irrelevant the Convention became at intervals, all its prior existence was completely thrown into the shade by the stormy excitement of Friday evening. Mr. Collins had concluded an urgent appeal to those who were already halting between social Reform and a "rotten church" Conservatism, to cast aside as unworthy of freemen, the arbitrary power of governments, Church, and a false social compact,—to abandon even to the last iota, all laws of force and violence, and to adopt that rule of action which alone could insure a true life between man and man, viz: to render good for evil, to do as we would be done by, and to abandon in every possible sense all systems and societies which recognize any fundamental errors of the present. To do this none should be made a tool of by demagogues and the partisans of strife and bloodshed, by *voting*,—nor recognize nor sanction the present monstrously unequal distribution of the means of subsistence through the exclusive ownership and monopoly of the soil. If this Come-out-ism subjected them to the restraining power of the government, where would it find jails sufficient to hold them, if every man remained true to his convictions? Resist not, but *support not*, sanction not any power which absorbs in itself all the power of the nation, and all its property also,—from the most insignificant product as property, up to man himself in *chattel slavery*.

Mrs. Rose followed Mr. C. in an appeal to the female portion of society also to abstain from a social tyranny which was more galling, more degrading, if possible, than the usurpations of government over man.—She entreated them as they valued their own freedom and happiness, as well as the welfare of their children, "never to enter again a CHURCH!" This appeal burst upon a listening throng like a thunderbolt, and they were instantly lashed into the wildest excitement of fury and applause.—The door and passage-way were crammed with spectators, most of them the devotees of the church, and the speaker was assailed

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with a shower of hisses as fierce as though Pandemonium had let loose its metamorphosed angels upon a single woman! Mrs. R. waited calmnly until the tumult had subsided, when she again repeated the injunction, and again the tumult rose still higher; and the repetition and uproar went on, until the excited multitude, unable longer to keep up the din, were compelled through exhaustion to hear the daring heresy in silence. At a late hour, the Chairman notified the members of the New England Social Reform Society that the first quarterly meeting would be held in that hall on Saturday, June 1, at 9 o'clock, A. M., and the Convention adjourned, *sine die*.

Here is a sample of shallow *rationalism* as wild and fanatical as the blindest and most intolerant religious bigotry. But when we consider the apathy of the Church (or rather Churches) and its indifference to all the claims upon it of outraged and suffering humanity, and frequently the criminal hostility with which the Clergy, whose duty it is to lead in every good work, treat the efforts of those who sincerely strive to effect some little beneficial reform, reproaching and throwing obstacles in the way; when we consider this, we cannot be surprised at the expression of any opinion however extreme, or the manifestation of any feeling, however violent, by those who have felt severely the burden of oppression, and whose souls are burning with a desire to witness the end of the reign of evil and the establishment of justice and peace on earth.

If any class of social reformers by this course of negative ultraism, can arouse the souls of men from the deadly lethargy which weighs upon them so heavily, or awaken the benumbed conscience of any, then let them go on. Even this we admit will be the accomplishment of much good, for "a live dog is better than a dead lion." Yet we deprecate the course as unjust and impolitic, as much as we dissent from the principles which lead to it as unsound and untenable. We do not believe that the world can be reformed by abusing it and denying and discarding all existing institutions. There is a providential necessity for their existence or they would not exist, and they must be maintained until better ones are substituted. A few individuals may absolve themselves from the authority of the Church and the Government, without causing much harm, but all cannot do it, for if they did, we should all be a graceless and an unruly set. Some reformers mistake the abuses of social institutions and the evil attending them, for the evidences of absolute falseness in the institutions themselves, and hence we have an indiscriminating and universal negative philosophy which denies everything and condemns everything that exists. Trade and commerce, in the hands of selfish and irresponsible agents, have their frauds, deception and spoliation, and they are denied and condemned; property, under the exclusive control of individuals, is exacting and oppressive, and it is denied and condemned; government, ignorantly organized and administered, is tyrannical and unjust in the exercise of its power, and it is denied and condemned; and religion, filled with bigotry and the spirit of persecution, is uncharitable and cruel, and it is denied and condemned. Thus it may be said of these negative philosophers that they NO all things without really KNOW-ing anything. They doubt and deny all they do not understand or do not like, and in attempting to be very rational they become very inconsistent and absurd. There is no limit to the principle of doubt, and followed out to universals by minds strong enough to reason, but, possessing no *absolute knowledge* and *positive principles*, weak enough to rely on their own reasonings, it inevitably lands them in Atheism. This is the true principle of Infidelity; nor do we use the word as a term of opprobrium or reproach, for as a mere name it has no terrors in our eye, but simply as the expression of one phasis of the human mind which no one presenting should hesitate to acknowledge if true to the principle.—But when the Infidel denies what the principle of Faith in others induces them to believe, and, deserting the principle of doubt, asserts for the truth that which rests on his own speculative reasonings only and not on *proof*, he becomes absurdly inconsistent—He should doubt himself as well as other things. Either deny all things and assert nothing until you have the proof, or "believe all things;" which latter course we think the safest way, as in some view or other all opinions are based on truth, and are intrinsically or relatively true.

It is the principle of doubt and denial upon which the Socialists or Communitists proceed, and it is this which makes them obnoxious to the public mind. It was the manifestation of this principle which characterized the Convention more than any thing else. The extreme to which it run was what we have just intimated—a denial of the existence of God. Two or three scraps of reports of Mr. Collins' speeches show this. We quote all we find on this point that fairness requires. Mr. Collins in his opening speech says:

The actions, views and policy of society, are graduated by a false philosophy,—if, indeed, Spiritualism can be called a philosophy; a thing so mystical, undefined and undefinable. These false views spring from this mysticism; for just so long as we believe that any super-human power can feed, clothe, and shelter man,—so long as we believe that any power beyond the known laws of nature can change man, or modify his condition, or relations, so long shall we hold opinions directly hostile to human welfare. So far as our philosophy is based upon supernatural power to make man good, bad, or indifferent,—just in so far as that opinion obtains, just so far it denies to him any ability to save himself.—While this opinion obtains, that evil is from human depravity,—that man has a nature hating God and loving evil, his nature is made a *scape-goat* for the evils that afflict him, and we can never inspire him with the idea that he can change his own circumstances and reform the human race. It is because they rely upon this supernatural power. You may extol the sublimity of human power, and point to the glorious achievements of man; but under Spiritualism, they believe all such philosophy useless. Every thing with them is thus left upon the ocean of doubt and blindness.—There is, in spiritual agency, nothing clear, nothing tangible, no centre for the commencement of reform, nothing positive in any direction; all is darkness, doubt, incertitude.

This certainty of a basis exists in *Mathematics*. We seek for the same in Morals, where we now emerge from darkness to darkness. The only principle which inspires us in this region of darkness and woe, is the hope that happiness will fall to our lot in the future, when death has rid us of the intolerable hell to which the present now condemns! It is this mysticism which has kept man so long in ignorance; which has enslaved him by the ideal terrors of the future; which has thrown his gigantic arms around the entire race, and consigned it to almost hopeless misery. Now, while I advocate Social Reform, I am fully convinced that no good can obtain, until man is enlightened upon his own powers. This is essential before we stir to develop social reform. We have had religion, some say 6000, but I say 600,000 years, and what better are we for it? Religion is essential to darkness. She cheats man into his present suffering, and cheats him out of present enjoyment. It is absurd to suppose that man can exist under vice and want without hope. He must have some hope upon which to fix his mind when ground to the dust beneath the wheels of this Juggernaut of the Church! Religion gratifies this hope. She tells him that heaven is beyond the grave,—that to merit it, he must show becoming fortitude under his afflictions here; that just in proportion as he suffers the keenest sorrow, will he be entitled to the highest joys hereafter. She thus cheats him of the present by a Lie, and of the future by an unsubstantial Dream.

If, now, we can enlighten man as to his own powers, if we can secure to man the gratification of his own nature, Religion would disappear from the Globe. There is much accidental philosophy in the story told by the priest to the priest-ridden sufferer,—that if all his wishes were gratified on earth, he would have nothing to wish for *when he entered into heaven, and would forget to say his prayers*! Man was placed here expressly to enjoy the development of his nature; of his *whole* nature.

Well, how does Mr. Collins know that a part of man's nature does not require Religion? Or does he only quarrel with a word, and, offended with the superstitions and mysteries with which religion has been shrouded, (for a wiser purpose than he can see) battles with it as the representative merely of them. Perhaps it has a profounder meaning or deeper significance than he can read or understand. At any rate a manifestation of it so universal in the race, deserves some respect, and it may not come under such sweeping denunciations without justly exposing those who make them to rebuke and odium. Again:

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Mr. Collins replied to Mr. Randolph, and attacked the church more vigorously than ever. Did not regard the church as based upon any essential want of man's nature—its teachings were false to man's nature—its dogmas dark, confused intangible—its character of the Deity absurd, blasphemous, inasmuch as a God of benevolence and power would not permit so much suffering as existed.

Again:

Mr. Collins in answer to the question if he believed that the creative power to which he alluded (in the course of his speech,) was endowed with personality and intelligence, replied: I see to what all these questions are tending, and what turn these clergymen would be glad to have the discussion take. You shall be gratified. I am well aware of the argument that will be brought to bear against me. You reason thus: All design implies a designer. The earth has such marks of design, and must have had a designer. The earth possesses intelligence, consequently that designer must be intelligent. And that intelligent designer is God. But these propositions all defeat their own purpose. They all prove that God must have had a designer as much as they prove that nature had. And we could ask, "Who made God?" and so on through an infinity of Gods. But if this God exists, he must possess all power and benevolence; his nature must be either perfectly good or bad. As there is no attribute in nature perfectly bad, we cannot claim any such attribute for him. Now if he is intelligent in a theological view, he perceives that misery exists to a frightful extent. If he can prevent that misery and does not, he is malignant, and worse than no God; if he cannot prevent it, he is impotent, and no God.—therefore no personality and intelligence, as these gentlemen would define them. These are my views—*make the most of them.*

There is where simple "rationality" stops; and quitting the principle of doubt, turns to rest upon its own conclusions with implicit self-complacent faith. The *inconsistency* of this doubting philosophy is also glaringly manifested when it denounces opinion or belief. For thus it reasons:

Mr. Collins again spoke upon the charge of Origen Bacheler that Social Reform was Infidelity. [And so it is when advocated on these grounds.—Eds. P.] He was an advocate of the doctrine purporting to have come from Jesus Christ, viz: "to do as you wish to be done by," and "to love your neighbor as yourself." He again alluded to the character and attributes of God in reply to the arguments of Mr. Bacheler. If God had power over evil, why did evil exist? Man's actions and happiness depended much upon his belief. *Was belief* voluntary? And unless it was, how was man criminal? If it was not, how could it be but that God had power over evil, and did not quench it? And if so, did not God make man *designedly* for all this misery? Is man, then, responsible for his belief? Man does not create one condition of his belief! We challenge one, a hundred, a million, or the world entire, to show that man creates any one of the conditions which mould his opinions! How then does man incur praise or blame? It need not be said that man can distinguish truth wherever he finds it. Man follows his convictions and they vary according to circumstances beyond his control. Truth is universal, but false circumstances has kept it from man. And just in proportion as man leaves the practice of the laws of Nature, for the spiritual laws of God, just so far does he wander into the darkness of mysticism, and become miserable.

Passing by the confused absurdity of the last sentence, we remark, that they who hold the doctrine of "circumstances," cannot consistently condemn another for his belief; and if they do, they are not only inconsistent, but according to their own standard unjust, and as reformers very impolitic. A man has no right, indeed, to claim the name of *social* reformer if he is not prepared to take the ground of *Reconciliation*, whatever views he may entertain, for, to be anything, social reform must be universal, and to be universal it must affirm doctrines positive and universal, through which all views of truth can be reconciled. Simple denial only creates opposition and strife.—True social reform must be CONSTRUCTIVE and PACIFIC.

We must bring our notice to a close. A great deal of positive truth was evolved amidst the chaos of negation and denial; and the series of Resolutions and the Address issued by the Convention, both of which are quite lengthy, contain much just criticism, and sound doctrine, together with much that is highly objectionable, confused and contradictory in principle. When positive ground is assumed, which becomes imperatively necessary, since negation is not a living, but a dissolving principle, and a *plan* has to be furnished, then is weakness and inconsistency exhibited. *Government* which has been abrogated must be organized, and power conferred. But is it done by reference to fundamental laws in nature? No; it is individual arrangement, *invention;* and those features which are *attractive* have higher origin and authority.

Still the main object in view is right; it is to do away with evil and misery and bring happiness and good upon the earth, and thus far we heartily sympathise with the Communitists, and think them far in advance of any other class of reformers or religionists; but we have a duty to perform to ourselves, by drawing a broad line of distinction between us, and for this reason we have canvassed their principles freely, wholly too, without prejudice or ill-will.

LECTURES.

We perceive by a communication in the *Spirit of the Age* of Pittsburgh, that H. H. Van Amringe, Esq., of that city, has been lecturing at the town of Greenville, Pa.—This gentleman is a Lawyer and a sincere Christian, and his services are invaluable in the cause of social reform. In our next we will endeavor to republish Mr. Van Amringe's communication which is a summary of his lectures, and a succinct statement of many important parts of our doctrine.

CORRESPONDENTS.

We have received from a friend in Dighton, Mass., a statement of several objections raised against Association by skeptics, which he requests us to answer.

The first objection is, that "association strikes at the foundation of all virtue, inasmuch as it professes to harmonize all the *selfish interests* of mankind. *Virtue* consists in the sacrifice of self for the good of others. But in harmonizing these selfish interests, you destroy *selfishness* itself.—Therefore, there can be no *denial* of *self*, and consequently *no* virtue!"

This is a specimen of the reasoning of minds that know nothing of the nature of the passions; that talk of "virtue" and "selfishness," without having analysed and arrived at a clear understanding of them, and that deal in abstractions and bestow censure or praise, as if they were teachers by right of profound study, when in fact they should be students and learners.

But to answer: Association does not profess "to harmonize the selfish interests of mankind" *alone;* it will develop and satisfy fully and truly those passions or desires which now give rise to selfishness, and make them subordinate to the spiritual passions. (There are five material passions that relate to the individual or self, and seven spiritual passions.) Association will secure to man abundance, and supply fully all his physical or material wants, and thus free him from the terrible necessity, now so often forced upon him, of sacrificing his noblest feelings, and violating the principles of love and justice to his fellow-man. Association will also establish *unity of interests* in the place of envious rivalry or free-competition and the opposition of all interests; which we are inclined to think will produce quite a favorable change in the character of "the foundation of virtue." Those who wish to preserve "selfishness" in order to practice "self-denial," may perhaps find some other mode of exercising their benevolence than that which they now admire. We refer such to the pamphlets entitled "*A Concise Exposition of the Doctrines of Association*," and "A Popular View of the Doctrines of Charles Fourier," in which they will find explained quite fully the means of harmonizing material interests, (now selfish) without endangering the cause of virtue.

The question of selfishness is not at all understood, and it cannot be without an explanation of the Theory of the Passions.

A second objection is, that "Association gives to *wealth* the power of making laws, which is but a perpetuation of what now exists." This objection, we presume, is founded on a clause in the Constitutions of some of the associations which have been formed, giving to stockholders a certain number of votes according to the number of shares which they hold. These associations are in a state of transition, and they

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must necessarily adopt many rules and regulations now established in society, and conform to the wishes of powerful interests, the strongest of which at present are those of property. Property or wealth will always possess equitable rights in Association, but the rules adopted by associations first formed, are not to be considered laws of a true social order or standards of doctrine. If those who raise this objection will consult the "Concise Exposition," and read chapters entitled: Impossibility of any tyranny of capital in Association—Union of Labor and Capital,—System of internal Government—Groups and Series—they will see that it has no foundation in the *doctrine* of Association.

The third objection is, that "Association, although it professes to render naturally repugnant occupations attractive by means of that passion in man called the spirit of self-sacrifice, proposes the highest honors, and superior *pecuniary reward* as inducements to engage in their pursuits; while it tells us, at the same time, that the youth composing the Sacred Legion, whose office it is to perform the menial services, do for the most part *naturally love* such work. With these other inducements to action, how can it be shown that there is any spirit of self-sacrifice manifested in the performance of such occupations?"

There is an apparent contradiction in this, but not a real one; and it would require a more lengthy discussion than we can now give it to clear it up completely, and even then, it could only be satisfactorily explained to those who were prepared for a faithful and elaborate investigation. The question involves some of the highest problems in passional mechanism, and cannot be treated in a fragmental manner. All attempts at explanation of the function of a single passion without a general knowledge of the functions and relations of the other passions, must be incomplete and defective, and consequently unsatisfactory. This is the case in regard to the passion of Devotion or Self-sacrifice, which, in the pamphlet before referred to, from the nature of the work, was necessarily glanced at in the briefest manner, and explained imperfectly. The language there used does not clearly set forth the idea, and connects things which, with some minds, may lead to a misapprension. We will endeavor, however, to obviate a few of the difficulties.

The sentiment of devotion and self-sacrifice exists in the soul, and in Association it will be appealed to wherever, as in youth, it is manifested by a noble disinterestedness and generous enthusiasm. But because it is aroused and becomes the *ruling* principle of action, it does not necessarily follow that other passions or desires of the soul may not also be legitimately gratified. For example, the honors and distinctions which will be bestowed on the Sacred Legion, are not inconsistent with the principle of self-sacrifice and devotion; they strengthen and exalt it, but do not create and preserve it.—It is implanted in the human heart, and it is called out by proper appeals to it. The honors it confers are secondary, and yet they are valuable incentives. They are the hallowed rewards which grateful hearts love to bestow. The patriot devotes himself to his country's welfare, and if necessary dies in her defence; still he is not the less a patriot because that country, grateful for his services, showers down upon him honors and rewards. The sentiment of patriotism impelled him to noble deeds, which were in no wise tarnished because he knew beforehand that such deeds excite admiration. A man may sacrifice himself for the good of his fellow-men; he may die for them, and the thought of the respect of future ages and approval in the eyes of God, may exercise a certain influence upon him, although a deep sentiment of devotion really impelled him. We can scarcely say that any act of man is entirely devoid of motives which relate to *self* in some degree, for utter unselfishness would be utter annihilation. If a motive prompts a person to the performance of an act to the sinking or disregard of ordinary considerations of an individual or personal nature, which act conduces to the welfare and happineess of others, the selfishness which may enter into the motive is ennobled, and is no longer offensive. And in this view, if the members of the Sacred Legion perform services in which for the time they may sacrifice personal convenience or taste, it is the passion of self-sacrifice which sustains their ardor and devotion, although they may "receive honors without end."

In regard to the indifference to dirt in many children, we remark, that this trait, so strong in many as to amount to a love for it, only comes in as a modifying circumstance in its influence upon the members of the Sacred Legion, and does not change or materially affect the principle of action. It may diminish the difficulty attending the performance of works they engage in, as high honors might strengthen the enthusiasm with which that body would operate.

But concerning "pecuniary reward," as stated in the objection, there is a misapprehension. The labors of the Sacred Legion, (or as Fourier calls it, the JUVENILE HORDES,) should, according to the general rule of compensation, be paid the *highest*, as they will rank first in the class of "Necessity;" (see pamphlet, page 58,) but in the case of the Sacred Legion, an exception to the general rule takes place—the corporation or series coming itself under the head of *exceptions*. We quote a few remarks of Fourier on the subject.

"Although the work of the *Juvenile Hordes* is the most difficult for want of *direct* attraction, yet of all the series or corporations, it receives the smallest retribution; its members would accept nothing if it were deemed courteous and polite in Association to accept no part of the dividend; they will take the least portion; [about an eighth, the general exception in universal laws, and which politeness will require should be taken;] but this will not prevent the members of this corporation from gaining the highest dividends in other employments, toough as a body devoted to *unitary* philanthropy, it will have for its law the most gratuitous devotion possible."

The dividends or sums due the Sacred Legion, which are not accepted, will go to form a fund to be applied to various purposes of unity and social charity, of which this corporation will be the dispensers.

These few observations, we trust, will make the subject clear enough to minds that seek to discover truths in new problems.

The preceding remarks were prepared some time since, but hitherto we have not been able to give them a place, and now we do so because we know that some persons have been quite puzzled about a paradox they supposed they had discovered in the statements of Mr. Brisbane concerning the Sacred Legion.

The following noble reply (in part) of Fourier to the *Gazette de France*, which had the baseness to slander him and his doctrines with the charge of Infidelity, &c., is a standin rebuke to all such vile traducers. It is a final answer to all the "Holy Willies" of the world, whether of the Gazette de France, the *Gazette de Pittsburgh*, or any other journal, who presume to misrepresent and malign the heavenly doctrines of Association.

FOURIER'S REPLY TO THE GAZETTE DE FRANCE,

IN WHICH HIS DOCTRINES WERE GROSSLY MISREPRESENTED AS BEING ANTI-CHRISTIAN.

"Having been publicly calumniated in the columns of a daily newspaper, by some pseudo-Christians, who are evidently influenced by that *false pride* which they pretend to condemn, it is my duty to refute their sophistry, and show the inconsistency of those absurd critics and false prophets who publicly admit the want of that very discovery of practical truth, which they blindly calumniate in my theory.

"'Tant de fiel entre-t-il dan l'âme des devôts?'"
BOILEAU.

Yes: Uncharitable feeling and angry prejudice possess the souls of pseudo-saints and scribbling hypocrites, who treat religion as a mere material of mercantile monopoly. These pious mountebanks would plead as zealously for Judas as for Jesus, if money could be gained by it. The most trifling incident furnishes them with a pretext for opposition against the Government of the day; to sound a general alarm, and raise a cry of "*the Church in danger*," "*religion undermined*," and "*Jesus Christ insulted*." And all this is merely to secure a "LIVING," or realize one hundred francs per column in a newspaper. Calumny, in fact, is a fruitful source of profit in mercantile Paris.

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A science which reveals the secret of abolishing slavery, banishing poverty, preventing crime, and neutralizing false doctrines, such as atheism, materialism, and other philosophical aberrations, has provoked the angry censure of the *Gazette de France*, in one of its recent numbers, (December, 1835.) The writer in the *Gazette* is indignant at the very mention of such a thing as the discovery of the science of human destiny, showing the wisdom of the Creator to be greater than that of philosophy with regard to the passions and instincts of the human race, and the industrial mechanism of society.

Up to the present time, the Creator of all things, who has displayed so much wisdom in the mechanism of the material universe, had not manifested the same harmony in the social world, which appears to have been subject to the Evil Spirit during the last 5000 years, since the fall of man; and this apparent lack of Providence has brought into repute a false philosophy or scientific superstition, amongst atheists, materialists, and matter-of-fact-mongers generally, who point to the falsehood and injustice of society as a matter-of-fact proof against a ruling Deity, omnipotent, omniscient and infinitely good.

This want of faith is now proved to be unreasonable, as well as irreligious, by the new science which demonstrates that the passions and instincts of mankind are subject to a two-fold mechanism in society,—the one being false and sinful, the other just and true. In the first, we are doomed to misery; in the second, to redemption.—(The science of social harmony may be deemed the forerunner of that spirit of the Holy Ghost, which Christ has promised should regenerate the world, and introduce the kingdom of heaven and its justice on earth.—E. P.) This science demonstrates that which we are told in Scripture, *i. e.* that the fall of man is not permanent and irreparable, but accidental and redeemable. After the fall of man, the false mechanism of the passions was a necessary and an inevitable *transition;* but this subversive state has been unnecessarily prolonged, and more particularly since the mission of Christ, by the aberrations of philosophy, and the indolence of pseudo-Christians. The work of regeneration may, however, be at once commenced by a practical demonstration of *attractive industry* and *associative economy* applied to a school of three or four hundred children, and proving its efficiency on a larger scale, by which the whole human race may gradually and speedily emerge from the gloomy maze of barbarism and anarchial civilization.

When we see the possibility of realizing these effects, may we not conclude that the real cause of anger in those who oppose us by calumny, is the fear of such a change tending to expose the deeds of false piety, and tear away the mask from those pseudo-Christians, who, having neither faith, hope, nor charity, nor a true conception of God's power, degrade his providence, by supposing that the sufferings of humanity are agreeable in his sight.

We must not be deceived by the mere differences of profession: there are false prophets and arrogant philosophers amongst both priests and laymen. I am not, however, to be duped by their disguise, and whether their sophistry assume the name of religion or philosophy, I shall show their impious tendency in striving to mislead us with regard to the will and the wisdom of our Maker.

They pretend that religion is subverted, and Jesus Christ insulted, by my theory. How can Christ be insulted by the discovery of those principles of peace and harmony which he himself taught us to seek, and which may be said to realize his own views, by a practical solution of the Christian problem? He preached the doctrine of freedom to the captive, and consolation to the poor. His Gospel has been the principal means of effecting that general emancipation from personal slavery, which was deemed impossible by the philosophy of antiquity; and my theory of *attractive industry* and *united economy* will help to complete the work of redemption by banishing poverty and emancipating labor from the bondage of indirect slavery and mercantile anarchy. One practical demonstration of this theory will be the signal for universal emancipation, to be effected simultaneously in all parts of the globe.

Three hundred millions of slaves and serfs may be rapidly introduced to freedom without any risk of lessening labor, and without incurring the expense of fiscal ransom in imitation of the twenty millions lately squandered by the English Government in blind concession to the clamors of an ill-advised philanthropy.

Such limited and partial applications of the principles of freedom only serve to excite ferment and rebellion amongst the majority of slaves still held in bondage, and particularly amongst those of the Brazils, whose numbers are said to exceed five millions, augmented by a yearly importation of forty thousand, in spite of the prohibitionary regulations. These slaves are said to be in a state of permanent conspiracy.—Rebellion has already broken out amongst them in BAHIA and PARA, where much blood has been shed, and these commotions may be deemed a prelude to the general massacre of the white population, unless a more efficient principle of manumission be speedily and generally adopted.

In the United States of America, those who speak of abolishing slavery are subject to *Lynch law*, and dispatched without ceremony. A strange result, indeed, in a Republican country, that a man's life should be forfeited by *democratic* slave-holders, for having listened only to those who promulgate the doctrines of *liberty*. Such, however, is the fact; the fruit of modern theories of mercantile economy and sceptical philosophy.

It is of paramount importance, then, that the king, the ministers, and the parliament in France, should be duly informed of the folly of sacrificing ten millions sterling to the injudicious manumission of one THOUSANDTH PART of the slaves on the globe, when the WHOLE may be rapidly emancipated by the gradual extension of social combination, and without any danger to property and industry.

The associative method of emancipation being based on the principle of *attractive industry*, will render the arts of producing wealth infinitely more agreeable than any of the ordinary pursuits of pleasure in the present state of things; and the three classes who are now the least inclined to useful industry.—that is, the free savage, the uncontrolled child, and the voluptuous sybarite,—will then become the most active and untiring agents of production.

The owners of slaves would soon be reimbursed by those whom they had held in bondage, and who, when industry became a pleasure, would soon enrich themselves, and liquidate collectively, by gradual instalments, the debt of their emancipation.

Poverty would speedily be banished from the earth; the produce of combined and attractive industry would soon be so abundant, that a decent *minimum* of subsistence might easily be guaranteed to the most humble classes of society; even to those individuals who could not labor for themselves.

That these results should irritate in prospect the writer of the *Gazette*, is somewht strange. He is perfectly free, however, to plead for the continuance of poverty and slavery; but it will not be very easy to persuade the Christian public that the final destruction of these social calamities would be an insult to Jesus Christ.

During the last thirty years, the newspaper scribes have assailed me by calumny in a great variety of forms, but none of them had ever before ventured to assert that my principles were contrary to Christianity.—Fortunately, however, the Evangelists are there to prove whether my theory or the declamation of the *Gazette* is most accordant with the principles of truth and charity; and which is the most worthy of confidence, the doctrines of the Gospel or those of the *Gazette!*

There have been two instruments of Divine Providence with whom I could not disagree without denying my own principles; and these were, JESUS CHRIST and NEWTON. (And be it understood that in speaking here of Jesus Christ in connexion with Newton and himself, Fourier does not pretend to compare his own discovery of the laws of *passional* or *moral attraction*, and Newton's discovery of the laws of *gravitation* or *material attraction*, with the Divine mission of Jesus Christ, any further than in such degrees as one class of truths

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stand related to another in the universal principle of justice and harmony.) Jesus Christ foretold the discovery and the practical application of the principles of peace and social harmony, and he forcibly enjoined his followers to seek the kingdom of Heaven and its justice, but they have hitherto failed in practising his precepts. They have, indeed, refused the task of discovering the practical mechanism of Christian principles; and in their mental darkness they have said, that truth and justice were impracticable in this world.

Sixteen hundred years, however, after the birth of Christ, Newton discovered the principles of attraction which regulate the material harmony of the world, but he neglected the mechanism of moral harmony, the principles of which it has fallen to my lot to discover in obedience to the will of Christ, whose positive injunctions were—"Seek and ye shall find; knock and it shall be opened to you; ask and it shall be given; for there is nothing covered that shall not be known, neither hid that shall not be revealed." The principles of *passional attraction* and *repulsion* are exactly analogous to those of *material attraction* and *repulsion* discovered by Newton, and both are perfectly in accordance with the precepts of the Gospel, notwithstanding the contracted views and the blind apprehensions of pseudo-Christians.

How is it possible, then, that I could be in contradiction with my two guides in science and religon? I defy the world to prove that in my writings there is a single phrase alluding to Christ which does not venarate his wisdom and his goodness. And the unscrupulous *Gazette* has the audacity to publish throughout the land that my doctrines are an insult to Jesus Christ! But I will confound the authors of this foul calumny, both mediate and immediate. I say *mediate* and *immediate*, because I know that the writer in the *Gazette* is only the tool of the PHILOSOPHICAL PANDEMONIUM, who play their game in secret, and constitute a central power of *obscurism* to swamp whatever happens to expose their ignorance.

After trying to traduce my principles in the sphere of science, the philosophical *clique* is now trying to prove that I am an enemy to Christianity. It is really an amusing novelty to see philosophers become the advocates of Jesus Christ. They were not so anxious about either him or his doctrine when both were really attacked by Saint-Simonism, which was just on the point of raising in the church a greater schism than that of either Arius or Luther.

I am not, otherwise, displeased that the scribes of the *Gazette* should have entered this field of discussion, in which it will be easy to unmask them. Jesus Christ himself shall be my advocate; I desire no other aid than that of his Gospel.

It will be easy to show that the scribes of the *Gazette* have but an imperfect idea of the meaning of Holy Writ, and that it is impossible to have a *full* knowledge of scriptural revelation without understanding the eternal laws of *passional attraction* as they are revealed to us in human nature and universal analogy. In the time of the apostles, the Doctors of Divinity were in a similar state of darkness to that which obscures the mental vision of the present age. When they accused Jesus of contradicting the scriptures, he exposed their ignorance, saying—"*Do ye not, therefore, err, because ye know not the Scriptures, neither the power of God.*" (St Mark, xii. 24.) In this manner Christ proved the incapacity of the self-righteous scribes and philosophers of that period; and the eternal truths which he then uttered will amply suffice to confound the intolerant hypocrites of the present day. But let us look into the Gospel for the light which is to guide us. Are we not therein told, that:—

24. "No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one and love the other; or else he will hold to the one and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and Mammon.

25. "Therefore, I say unto you, take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment?

26. "*Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns* (as you have the power of doing;) *yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they?*

27. "Which of you by taking thought can add one cubit unto his stature?

28. "And why take ye thought for raiment? consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin:

29. "And yet, I say unto you, that even Solomon, in all his glory, was not arrayed like one of these.

30. "Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is, and tomorrow is cast into the oven, *shall he not much more clothe you? O, ye of little faith!*

31. "*Therefore, take no thought, saying, what shall we eat? or, what shall we drink? or, wherewithal shall we be clothed?*

32. "FOR YOUR HEAVENLY FATHER KNOWETH THAT YOU HAVE NEED OF ALL THESE THINGS.

33. "*But seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you.*" (St. Matth. vi.)

Here is the two-fold destiny of humanity announced by Christ himself: a better state of society which he calls the "KINGDOM OF GOD AND OF JUSTICE:" a state of things in which we may enjoy all the necessary comforts of life without care and anxiety. And be it remembered that these injunctions relate to this world as well as to another; for we are expressly told that, if we neglect the kingdom of God in this world, we shall lose it in the next. It is evident, however, that the comforts of life and the quietude of mind, promised by Christ when we shall have established the kingdom of justice and harmony upon earth, are refused to us in those iniquitous states of society, called *barbarism* and *competitive civilization*, in which physical privation, moral depravity, mental delusion, and sectarian discord are gradually descending into the deepest regions of iniquity, instead of vanishing progressively before the light of truth and justice and religious unity.

It may be said that we are more advanced than the Jews were in the time of Christ; but I think we have but little to boast of in the present day, when it is an acknowledged fact, that two thirds of the French nation, or 22 millions out of 33, are limited to the miserable pittance of three-pence farthing a day for their entire sustenance, food, clothing, fire, lodging, and recreation. No wonder that they still exclaim, "*What shall we eat, and what shall we drink, and wherewithal shall we be clothed?*" when those who ought to guide them and strengthen their faith, refuse to seek the kingdom of God and his justice, and prefer the reign of fraud, depravity, misery, and unbelief.

And yet Christ has promised us an abundance of worldly comforts and peace of mind; but on condition that we first seek the kingdom of Heaven and its justice.—What, then, is the kingdom of Heaven for which we are told to pray, that the will of God may be done in earth as it is in Heaven? It is the reign of social harmony, by means of moral regeneration, and the establishment of *attractive industry* with *united economy*, in which state of society the practice of truth and justice would lead to wealth and honor, while falsehood and injustice would lead to shame and trouble.—In such a state of things, the religious and the worldly motives would unite in harmony: the terrestrial would be consonent with the celestial destiny; and the will of God be done *in earth* as it is in Heaven.

But let us not be misunderstood to mean that *physical comfort* would stand in lieu of moral and religious duty: we mean no such thing; but we do mean to say, that *physical privation* leads to crime, and stands in the way of religious progress. So far, then, industrial harmony would aid the work of moral regeneration.

As far as our worldly condition is concerned, the new order of things would realize the kingdom of God and his justice upon earth; and the most superficial calculation of its advantages proves that Christ was truly inspired in promising us worldly comforts in abundance with perfect peace of mind, whenever we think proper to organize society according to the principles of justice. The discovery of these principles was not difficult for any person truly desirous of finding them, for, in my writings, I have shown that there were at least sixteen different modes of making the same discovery.

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(See my *Treatise on Domestic and Agricultural Association*, vol. i. pages 108 and 342.) Our Saviour was constantly exhorting the Jews to make this discovery assigned to human reason. He not only told them to "*Seek and they would find*," but he also assured them that, "*There was nothing covered that should not be revealed, neither hid that should not be known.*"

Some of our pseudo-Christians will perhaps affirm, that if it were possible to organize a better state of society, he would have revealed to us its laws; and our sceptical philosophers will perhaps inquire, also, why he did not, if his mission were divine, reveal the scientific principles of social unity? I will tell them:—It was not his mission to reveal the principles of worldly science. The discovery of Nature's laws is a task assigned to human reason. Jesus came to prepare us for another world, and to warn us of the errors of human judgment. He admonished us of our want of faith and hope in God, and of the danger of confiding too exclusively in mere philosophers, who live by sophistry, and who, enriching themselves by misleading the minds of the people, will not submit, as I have done, to the patient and laborious study of a *new science*, during thirty-eight years, without a chance of worldly profit, and with the certainty of being paid by insult and by calumny.

Christ did all he could, in consistency with his special mission, to guard us against the aberrations of philosophy; and he told us to seek first the kingdom of God and its righteousness, and all worldly things should be added unto us. He knew that philosophers were misleading us, and he told us so, but the Jews scoffed at his warnings and crucified his body; and, by allowing his Gospel to become a dead letter, we have crucified his spirit.

It was possible to discover the science of social unity when Christ appeared, or he would not have enjoined us to search for its laws; but the arogance of blind philosophy has continued to mislead us ever since.—We have not sought the kingdom of justice with a true spirit, and thence it is we have not found it. In India, excessive superstition; in China, the spirit of familial and patriarchal immobility, have obstructed scientific progress and discovery.

In the Western world, before the time of Christ, the light of science was sufficient to have led to the discovery of social unity, had philosophy been based upon a true religious faith. The priests of ancient Egypt are said to have been deeply versed in learning, and, at a later date, the sciences were much advanced in Greece. In Rome, still later, the scientific means of progress were abundant; but all have failed, from want of a sufficient faith in Providence, and too much confidence in human sophistry.

When all these means had failed, Christ himself appeared to stimulate our intellectual energies, and bring salvation to our sinking souls. His mission, as well as that of his immediate apostles, was *positive* and ACTIVE, with respect to our celestial destiny and the salvation of our souls; but it was PASSIVE or *negative*, with respect to our terrestrial destiny and the welfare of our bodies. It is the task of human reason to seek the kingdom of Heaven, and establish its justice upon earth; and as Christ could not reveal to us the ordinary principles of science, without subverting the decrees of destiny and opposing the will of his Heavenly Father, he confined himself to stimulating our intellectual faculties, by telling us to "seek for the laws of social harmony, that all worldly comforts might be added unto us abundantly;" giving us at the same time positive assurance that "there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed, neither hid, that shall not be known."

As it was not his special mission to reveal those positive principles of worldly science assigned to human reason as its mission of discovery, he was the more particular in exhorting us not to be misled by false philosophy; and foreseeing the consequences of erroneous doctrines, he deemed it necessary to warn us of the danger; saying,

15. "Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheeps' clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves."

16. "*Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?*" (St. Matt. vii.)

Now, what are the fruits which society has reaped from philosophical theories?—Have they not always been the same calamities of *poverty*, *crime*, *bloodshed*, and *oppression*, varied in form and in degrees of intensity? In all ages, and particularly within the last century, have not the different sects of philosophy been constantly undermining the principles of Religion, the rights of property, and the laws of order in Society? The most recently hatched sects of Philosophers in Europe, the Jacobins and Saint-Simonians in France, and the Socialists in England, have been more or less hostile to Religion, to Government, and the rights of private property. Instead of "*rendering unto Cæsar the things which belong to Cæsar, and to God the things which are of God*," they seem fiercely disposed to spoilate both one and the other in the name of liberty, while they sacrifice private property on the altars of equality and anarchy. And what is still more strange, apparently, they wish to strangulate the right of private judgment wherever it be found to question the decrees of sceptical philosophy and fragmentary science. The very mention of a new science unknown to the doctors of philosophy, irritates their nerves, offends their pride, and calls forth their intolerant *obscurism*. Not one of them have ever deigned to look into the new science of *passional attraction* or *attractive industry*. If they speak of it at all, it is only to calumniate, but it will soon be proved that the real science of association is more liberal than all the sects of liberal philosophy; for it serves the interests of all classes without disturbing either property, government or religion.

The philosophers have neither discovered the true principles of social harmony themselves, nor are they willing to allow the possibility of such a discovery being made by others. Jesus Christ reproached them for this same spirit of *obscurism*, which neither seeks the kingdom of justice, nor allows others to reveal its laws:—

"Woe unto you lawyers!" he exclaims, "For ye have taken away the key of knowledge: ye enter not in yourselves, and them that were entering ye hindered." (St. Luke, xi. 52.)

I believe I am the only person who has strictly followed, in this respect, the injunctions of our Saviour. I have sought, and I have found, because I went in perfect faith and humility of spirit, to the original source of Nature, and there discovered those unknown principles of social unity and moral harmony to which philosophy has hitherto denied existence. Having steered my course in perfect independence in the unknown spheres of science, like Columbus sailing boldly in an unknown sea, I naturally met with an unknown world.

The pride of philosophy is humbled by my discovery, which proves the inutility of their speculations in *Morals*, *Metaphysics*, *Politics*, and *Economism*; and thence it is that sceptical arrogance feigns to treat my theory with ridicule; but finding that mockery leads many to a serious inquiry, they have now thought proper to adopt another sort of tactics, traducing my principles in the name of Christianity; but here, again, they are easily refuted, as I shall amply prove in my next article. [*To be continued.*

CLARKSON ASSOCIATION.

A difficulty which occurred in this Association, situated in the western part of New York, has given rise to some unfounded reports and malicious flings, by a portion of the press, against our doctrines. The absurdity of holding them responsible for all the crude and ill-advised attempts that may be made, is evident to every rational person the least acquainted with the subject of Association. We think that enough has been said on our part to point out the danger, and certainly it is not possible for the worst enemies of Association to be more surprised than we will be if there are not many failures from the same causes which dissolved the Clarkson, viz: want of *means*, *knowledge* and *organization*. We wish the success which we are sure will attend many, because in some degree they possess these *requisites*, may give them equal gratification with ourselves. The Clarkson did not belong to the "Union of Associations" in New York. It was rather a desperate undertaking, and very naturally broke up in a short time, but we understand that it has been "reorganized under new leaders" and better auspices, and is again going on more prosperously. We hope it may succeed.

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TRANSLATIONS FROM FOURIER'S WORKS.

EDUCATION OF EARLY INFANCY, EXTENDING TO THE AGE OF TWO YEARS.

There is no problem on which more contradictory theories have been promulgated than that of public instruction and its methods. To see clearly in this confusion of systems, let us first determine the object to be attained.

In all the operations of Association, the great object is UNITY. To introduce Unity into Education, it must be COMPOUND and INTEGRAL.

To be compound, it must develope combinedly both the body and the mind; the present systems of Education fulfil neither of these two conditions; they neglect the body, and pervert the faculties of the mind and the passions of the soul.

To be integral, it must embrace all parts of the body and all the faculties and passions, and give perfection to both Our present systems do not perfect the body, and they vitiate the passions by selfishness and duplicity.

The Education of Association will develope, at the earliest possible period in children, all vocations for which an instinct is perceptible, and will direct every individual to the various functions to which Nature destines him. This natural order is completely deranged by our present systems, which, with rare exceptions, employ every being in opposition to his natural capacity or vocation.

No question is so little understood as that of natural instincts for vocations, or capacities for scientific, artistic, and industrial functions. The Education of Association will fully solve this problem. It will not develope in the child one talent alone, or the capacity for a single vocation, but twenty or thirty, varied and predominant in different degrees.

Riches (by riches, we understand all things necessary to man's material wants and happiness) being the first object of attainment —the first tendency of our passional nature —the Education of Association should commence by directing the child to productive industry, which is the source of riches; to do so successfully, it must destroy a shameful characteristic of civilization, which does not exist in the savage state—that is, the coarseness and rudeness of the lower classes, and the difference between them and the higher classes in language and manners. This characteristic is believed necessary by many in civilization, as the laboring multitude, oppressed by poverty, would feel too keenly their misery, if they were polished and educated; but in the combined order, as the mass will possess an ample sufficiency, it will not be necessary to brutalize them in order to inure them to hardships, which will cease to exist, and to fit them to the monotonous drudgery of civilization, which in Association will give place to a system of attractive industry.

Attractive industry will render politeness and affability necessary among all classes; for if industry in Association is to attract and interest the rich as well as those in moderate circumstances in its occupations, coarseness of manners on the part of the latter would be alone efficient to counterbalance the charms which attractive industry should offer to the former. The richer classes would not take pleasure in exercising industry with coarse workmen, or in mingling with them in the series. Thus, to promote the welfare of the mass, and to induce the rich to take part in industry, it is important that all classes in association should be polished; the poorer classes should vie in politeness with the richer, in order to combine, in the exercise of industry, the charm of personal intercourse with the pleasure of occupation.

General urbanity, and unity of language and manners, can only result from a uniform system of education, which will give to the poor child the manners and tone of the rich. If there were in the combined order different systems of education for the rich, poor, and midling classes, as there are in our civilized societies, the same result which we now see—that is, incompatibility of classes and duplicity of manners—would take place. Such an effect would produce general discord; it is, consequently, the first defect which the policy of Association should avoid; it will do so by a system of education, which will be ONE AND THE SAME for the entire Association, as well as for the entire globe, and which will everywhere establish unity and politeness of manners.

From the moment labor is rendered attractive, it will become necessary that the working classes should be polished and well educated. It would be a serious obstacle to the ennobling of industry, if those classes retained the vulgar manners of civilized society; for they must mingle continually with the rich in the *attractive occupations* of the series. To give charm and freedom to this intercourse, elegance of manners and general politeness must exist. People in Association will have as much friendship for each other as they have at present dislike and hatred. An Association will consider itself as a single family, perfectly united; and an opulent family cannot wish that one of its members should be deprived of the education which the others have received.

A second great problem which the education of the combined order will solve, is the employment of the characters of a Nero, Tiberius, Louis XI., as usefully as those of a Titus, or a Washington.

To attain this end, it will be necessary to commence from the cradle a frank development of the natural character of the child, which our present domestic education tends to misdirect and smother from early childhood.

We will remark before proceeding farther, that the maintenance of the two extreme ages—that is, of little children up to their fourth year, and of persons extremely advanced in age, or infirm—is considered in the combined order as a branch of social charity: the Association, in consequence, will bestow gratuitously, every care upon the child until it is four years old. The Association defrays all the expenses of the nurseries where the children are taken care of. (If this gratuitous care be not extended beyond the fourth year, it is because children after that age will make themselves useful enough to pay the slight expense of their maintenance.) The series of nurses and assistant-nurses will, like other series, be paid by a dividend out of the general product.

The guide to be followed in the details of education is the same as in the whole mechanism of Association; the great object is to form series of functionaries and functions; following this rule, it will be necessary to form a series of nurses and a series of nursery-rooms, and to class the children according to characters and ages.

Early infancy, which extends to the age of two years, comprises two classes of children, which we will call *sucklings* and *weaned*.

These two classes are subdivided, without distinction of sex, into three divisions, forming a series of characters, as follows:

The quiet, or good-natured.
The restless, or noisy.
The turbulent, or intractable.

The rooms occupied by the three classes of children, must be sufficiently separated to prevent the *turbulent* from annoying with their screams the *quiet*, or even the *restless*, who are rather more manageable.

The nurses are in constant attendance; they are divided into groups, and have their duty to perform by turns, so that they are relieved every two hours. At no moment of the nigh or day must the nurseries be without experienced attendants, who are skilful in comprehending and satisfying all the wants of the children. The mother, if she choose, has no other duty than to attend at certain hours for the purpose of suckling the child. This duty performed, she can be absent from it and devote herself to all the occupations of the series to which she belongs.

As perfect liberty in all relations will exist in Association, the mother can, if she wish, have her child in her own apartments, or she can take a part with the series of Nurses, and be with it constantly in the large nurseries, in which infinitely more care can be bestowed upon it, than could be done in her own rooms.

A nurse, or person who has the care and management of children in Association, has not, like hired nurses at present, to be the entire day in the nursery. She has only to attend when her Group is on duty. This service would become irksome, if it were incessant; the nurses, consequently, will only be required to be in attendance one day out of three, and during the two days of interval they will not have to occupy themselves with children unless they prefer it, but can take part in the occupations of the other series to which they belong.

A nurse at present is scolded and found fault with by those who pay her for this most slavish of duties; in the Combined Order, on the contrary, she will be constantly complimented by mothers, who come to see or suckle their infants, and who admire the fine condition of the mats, the cradles, and the children.

The nurses and assistant-nurses receive not only a large dividend out of the general product, but they are paid also by high honors; they are considered as common mothers, and hold a high rank in all festivities. Their profession secures rapid promotion and the enjoyment of important social privileges and distinctions. The combination of all these inducements is necessary to organize a series with a passion for a work so little attractive in itself.

Society, with its present partial and defective methods, provides ony a cradle for the child as a place of repose; Association, the system of which is *compound*, furnishes the child, in addition to the cradle, an elastic mat. The mats are suspended upon frames about four feet high; the children can lie and roll upon them, but are separated from each other by silken nets. These nets do not prevent them from moving freely, and from seeing the other children around

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them, whom they can approach but not touch. The nursery is kept sufficiently warm to admit of the child being lightly dressed, and to dispense with the heavy swaddling clothes now used.

In Association, the most opulent mother would never think of bringing up her child isolatedly in her own apartments. It would not receive one quarter of the care which would be bestowed upon it in the large nurseries; for, with every imaginable expense, a series of intelligent nurses, whose characters were adapted to those of the children, with a passion for their occupation, could not be procured. The richest mother, with every outlay, could not have a nursery of so uniform a temperature, with the advantage of the company of other children of the same character, who would naturally divert and amuse each other. It is particularly in the education of early infancy that we shall see how much better the children of the poorest man in Association will be educated, than can be those of the richest potentate in civilization.

Everything at present is so arranged as to make an infant the torment of an entire house, and at the same time a torment to itself. The child desires instinctively the arrangements and comforts which it would find in the nurseries of a Phalanx, and for want of them, it distracts, by its cries, parents, servants, and neighbors, whilst it injures its own health.

We will now speak of the first germs of intellectual education which are given in Association to the child during the first and second years of its age. This primary education, the most wealthy classes cannot in civilization give to their children. A great expense is often incurred, and with no other result than to pervert the character of the child, misdirect its faculties, and to injure its health.

At the age of six months—a period at which in civilization not the least instruction is given to the children—the greatest care will be taken in Association to develope and refine their senses, and to give them corporeal dexterity; the exclusive use of one hand or arm, which renders the other awkward and in part useless, will be carefully avoided. A correct ear for music will also be given to children by singing to them three or four times a day in the nurseries, and by teaching those who are old enough, to march to the sound of instruments. Methods will also be employed to add acuteness of hearing to correctness of ear, and to give to the child delicacy of hearing.

The profession of nurse, consequently, will require numerous qualifications, and will not merely consist, as at present, in singing songs out of tune, and in frightening children with ghost stories to keep them quiet. The nurses will study the means of preventing their cries, as calmness is necessary to their health.

The noise of infants, which is such an annoyance at present, will be very much diminished in the nurseries of an Association. Those of the third class—the *intractable*—will be less turbulent, less noisy, than are at present the other two classes—the *quiet* and the *restless*.

What means will be employed to pacify them? Will the passions of these little creatures be changed? Certainly not; they will be fully developed, but diversions and amusements will be procured for them by placing them in the company of children of sympathetic characters. The most noisy will cease their cries when they are placed with a dozen other little creatures as perverse as themselves. They will silence each other by their screams, something like those braggadocios who become perfectly mild and abandon their overbearing conduct when they are in the company of their equals.

What other diversions will be given to these bawlers? That remains for the nurses to discover; stimulated by rival methods, they will ascertain, in less than a month; what will quiet them, and put an end to their incessant screams. We will here merely lay down in principle the necessity of uniting in one room, the intractable children. They will become manageable by being classed with their fellows, and will silence each other—not by threats or punishments—but by the effect of that corporative impression which softens down the most turbulent being when he is brought into contact with persons like himself. This effect neither the father nor the mother can produce; the child harasses them, and harasses itself.

And were it taken into the company of other screamers of the neighborhood, it would not be quieted, for none of those diversions which it would find in the nursery of the children of its own disposition could be offered it. On its return home it would renew its cries, and become the more furious as it had enjoyed a few moments of diversion, calculated to cause its regret. The child requires a treatment which is uniformly adapted to its character, and not a few rare and occasional diversions, which only serve to sour its disposition and increase the monotony of its lonely position in the isolated household, where it can in no case be classed with children of its own character and disposition.

Nature demands the education of children in masses, as well for their own good as for the comfort of parents. To array fathers and mothers against the present order, it would only be necessary to show them, if an Association existed, the three series of nurseries, where the sucklings, the weaned, and the next class in age, divided into groups of ages and characters, were raised with every means of developing their faculties and intelligence.

Including these preliminary remarks, let us lay it down as a principle, that man is a being made for *Harmony, and for all kinds of Association;* God has given to every age inclinations adapted to the means and resources of Association. These resources are wanting in civilization; both the child and the grown person are deprived of them; and as the child, deprived of speech, cannot explain its wants, it, *of all ages*, suffers the most from the absence of the serial organization. Infancy, being less provided with reason than mature age, insists more strongly upon the satisfaction of its instincts, for the gratification of which no means now exists. It protests, by its cries, against its subjection to a system contrary to nature—cries which are annoying to the parent and hurtful to the child. The Education of Association, in satisfying fully the infant, will relieve the parent, and render two beings contented, who are now discontented. Thus, even in early infancy, we find the pernicious action of the present system of things; it engenders double evil, instead of the double good which nature designed for us.

Of 248,554 children whose birth were registered in England during the last two quarters of 1841, 15,839 were illegitimate.

From the Telegraph, Southport, W. T.

WISCONSIN PHALANX.

The following letter containing information with regard to the first operations of the Wisconsin Phalanx, will be read with interest:

FOND DU LAC COUNTY,
Domain of the Wisconsin Phalanx,
May 27, 1844.

Mr. SHOLES—We left Southport on Monday the 20th inst., and arrived on the proposed domain, without accident, on Saturday last, at 5 o'clock P. M.

This morning, (Monday) the first business was to divide into two companies, one for finding the survey stakes, and the other for removing the tent over the ground designed for building and gardening purposes. Eight men with ox teams and cattle arrived between 9 and 10 A. M. After dinner the members all met in the tent and proceeded to a regular organization, Mr. Chase being in the chair and Mr. Rounds secretary.

A prayer was offered, expressing thanks for our safe protection and arrival, and invoking the divine blessing for our future peace and prosperity. The list of resident members was called, being 19 in number and divided themselves into two series, viz: Agricultural and Mechanical, each appointing a foreman, also a miscellaneous group of laborers, under the supervision of the resident directors.

A letter was read by request of the members from Peter Johnson, a member of the Board of Directors, relating to the general well being of the members in their general deportment one to the other, and reminding them of their obligation to their Creator.

The Agricultural series are to commence ploughing and planting to-morrow, and the mechanical to excavate a cellar and prepare for the erection of a frame building, 22 feet by 20 feet, which is designed as a central wing for a building 22 feet by 120. There are 19 men and one boy now on the domain: the stock consists of 54 head of cattle, large and small, including 8 yoke of oxen and 3 span of horses. More men are expected during the week, and others are prepared to come this summer; families will be here as the building can be sufficiently advanced to accommodate them.

A few words in regard to the domain.—There is a stream which, from its clearness, we have denominated Chrystal Creek; it has sufficient fall, and water supplied by springs, for one or two mill seats; it runs over a bed of lime stone, which abounds here, and can be had convenient for fences and building; there is a good supply of prairie and timber. Every member is well pleased with the location, and also the arrangement for business. Up to this time no discordant note has sounded in our company.

We have begun without a debt, which is a source of great satisfaction to each member, and we are certain of success, provided that the same union prevails which has hitherto, and the company incur no debt by loan or otherwise, for the transaction of business. We expect to be prepared this summer or fall to issue the prospectus of a paper to be published on the ground.

My attention is called another way and I must close for the present.

Respectfully yours.
GEO. H. STEBBINS.

OHIO PHALANX.—The fourth of July is to be celebrated there by our Pittsburgh friends.

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We take great pleasure in transferring to our columns the following "CIRCULAR to the Mechanics of New England," which we find in the "*Mechanic*," a paper devoted to the interests of the working classes, published at Fall River, Mass. A new spirit seems to be infusing itself among the laboring population of this country, and especially of New England, the manifestations of which it is truly cheering to behold. The means and instruments for accomplishing the great work of this age, the ELEVATION OF THE LABORING CLASSES, are rapidly and surely forming and becoming established. Earnest and noble-minded men are giving themselves up to the great work as lecturers, and the Press begins to execute manfully, her true mission, as Queen of Freedom! Redeemer of the Oppressed! Labor, honest and most honorable Labor, begins to assert its rights and understand its duties. Too long has an ignorant world degraded and despoiled the noblest interests of humanity, those of Industry and the Producers of Wealth, and the time has now come for conferring upon them their true rank and dignity.

Our views lead us at once to the contemplation of that glorious time of the universal elevation of mankind, the redemption of the WHOLE RACE from the utter degradation of misery into which it is now sunk, which we know to be their future destiny on earth, and all our efforts are directed to the hastening of that happy era, (for what in the present is worth living for but this?) by teaching the highest truths; but we are aware that the agencies must be many, and the processes, some of them, slow and tedious, by which the great world-reform is to be accomplished, and therefore we sympathise with and encourage all sincere and just endeavors to meliorate existing evils and improve the condition of society.

Let the Mechanics and Laborers of New England meet in convention; let them discuss thoroughly the whole question of Labor and its Rights, and consider the means of Reorganizing Industry upon principles of Justice to all parties—to Capital as well as to Labor, for the interests of the two are essentially *one*—and great good cannot fail to flow out of the movement. We take the liberty of suggesting Boston as a proper place for holding the Convention.

CIRCULAR

TO THE MECHANICS OF NEW ENGLAND.

THE MECHANICS OF FALL RIVER, TO THEIR BRETHREN AND FRIENDS ABROAD,

Greeting:

Believing that the long established, unjust and prevailing system of labor in this country, is at war with the real interest of man's physical, intellectual, social, moral and religious being; and believing that the oppressed and down trodden state of our fellow Mechanics are the legitimate results of this system; and that many of the evils in our several communities together with their serious and mournful effects, are attributable to the same cause; and having taken the subject into consideration, as we trust, in the spirit of candid investigation, with a desire to know the whole truth with reference to this matter, independent of all former prejudices and prepossessions, from a sense of duty, which we owe individually to ourselves, our fellows and our God, do send forth this Circular to the Mechanics of New England particularly, and all others interested, for the special purpose of directing their immediate attention to the importance and even necessity of calling a Convention of Mechanics, as soon as possible, to meet in some central part of New England, for the purpose of concerting measures by which we may act jointly and efficiently in our humble endeavors to point out a "more excellent" system of labor than that which has so long prevailed, and thus under God, remove the "heavy burdens" which have long rested upon us and our children, and "let the oppressed go free." The necessity of such a course is further seen in the following facts which we very respectfully beg leave to present before you.

1. The system of labor to which we have alluded in our preamble, requiring of the Mechanic and Laborer in New England from twelve to fifteen hours labor *per diem*, is more than the physical constitution of man can bear, generally speaking, and preserve a healthy state. In confirmation of this statement, we have only to acquaint ourselves with the bill of mortality which is annually rendered through the public Journals of the day, with the employments of those who have died—the nature of the disease which terminated their earthly existence, and then ascertain the cause, the *first* cause of all this, and we shall find that at least *three fifths* of all the deaths which occur among us, are attributable either directly or indirectly, to the prevailing system of labor by which we are governed:—(of course we are speaking of adult cases,)—and yearly there are thousands who come down to a premature grave, almost wholly in consequence of that system of labor against which it is our duty to contend, and which levies *such* a heavy tax upon the physical strength of man as to render him wholly unable to pay. But this is not all. The influence of that system of labor on which we are treating, is such as must of necessity extinguish the intellectual fire which heaven designed should burn and blaze *upon* and *in* every soul of man.—*Whence is it*, that so *few*, when compared with the great number of Mechanics and Laborers in this country, enjoy the pleasures and lasting benefits resulting from a regular and systematic course of study?—*Whence is it*, that they are denied these privileges but in consequence of the *old* system of manual labor? The simple *fact* is, they have been, and they still are overworked, and hence are unfitted for deep thought, systematic study, and real mental culture. In conclusion, therefore, on this point, you will allow us to add, that in our humble estimation, from the above named considerations, it becomes us as Mechanics and Laborers in New England, to exert our utmost endeavors to establish a new system of labor by which our sacred rights may be secured, and in the adoption of which, *man*, "the noblest work of God," may more fully and effectually answer the *end* and *object* of his being.

2. Another reason which we would assign showing the necessity of calling a Convention as above suggested, is the fact, that we are fast approximating toward the disagreeable, servile and degrading state of the English laborer.

Nabobs of England do not oppress and grind the face of the poor *more* than is done in this country, because they are *worse* than are American nabobs! The riches of the affluent in Great Britain, are no more "corrupted" in proportion to their power over the working classes, than are the riches of the wealthy among us, in proportion to *their* power over the laboring communities in which *we* reside. The hire of the laborer in *this* country "is kept back by fraud:" and the cries of them which have been shamefully oppressed, have "entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth." The down trodden Mechanic and Laborer of New England, with their wives and little ones have frequently had cause daily to weep over the condition that awaits them—nay more, they have cause daily to weep over the condition that awaits them, unless man arises speedily to the work of reform, and heaven interposes ere long, to *crush, annihilate, forever destroy* that system which is fast carrying us forward to the *disagreeable, servile and degrading* condition of the English laborer. But we have only space to glance at the several points to which we would direct your attention in this brief Circular.

3. A reform can only be brought about by a general concert of action: and in order to concert measures by which the laboring classes may be elevated, it is essential that we meet in convention as already proposed. The *present* affords a favorable opportunity to all persons who feel at all interested in the general good of the whole people, for giving a free expression of their views and peculiar feelings on this subject, and of securing joint efforts to carry forward a thorough and effectual change in relation to the present system of labor in New England.—The time has never been since the adoption of the present system, when public sympathies have been awakened, and when a general interest has beeen created to such an extent in behalf of the working classes, as at the present time. We are aware, however, that our opposers have never arrayed themselves against us in greater hostility than recently; but this fact has contributed, largely contributed to bring the subject in its true light directly before the people; so that all which is needed in order to consummate the great work of reform speedily and triumphantly, is decision,—fixedness of purpose on the part of the Mechanics and Laborers themselves. And as Editors of papers are the every-day teachers of the PEOPLE—and as the *Press* possesses power to nerve up, to encourage, to strengthen, to arm with moral power and energy the laboring classes; in the name of suffering humanity—the bleeding rights of thousands—the dearest interests of the People—in the name of God, of religion and justice, we call upon the Editors and Publishers of papers to direct the mighty force of the Press in defence of the rights of the poor, the downtrodden Mechanics and Laborers in New England, and in fact throughout our common country. In our view of the subject, Editors can do much towards effecting a reform in the present system of labor, by recommending the formations of Associations for the social, moral and intellectual improvement of the laboring classes—by asserting their rights—by making known

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to the world their injuries caused by the iron hand of Avarice—by contending for the great principles assumed by the Declaration of Independence, that "All men are created FREE and EQUAL," and in brief, by endeavoring to raise them to that point in the scale of being which God originally designed for ALL, viz:—*The common ground of* EQUALITY, MAN WITH MAN.

Lastly—The benefits that might, and which of necessity *would* result from a New England Convention, provided every town and city would be represented, are *incalculable*. A general system would be devised; our general views could be expressed and understood; our strength could be properly estimated; union unquestionably could be secured throughout the whole body; by our presence we should cheer and encourage each other; funds could be raised to carry forward the objects of the body at large; the united wisdom and judgment of the various Mechanics' Associations could be brought together, and in a word, the foundation laid for usefulness, happiness and prosperity, for ourselves and posterity, as PHYSICAL, *intellectual, social, moral and religious beings.*

We, therefore, in consideration of the above facts, recommend to the Mechanics of the different towns and cities in New England, to form themselves into Associations, and take active measures in relation to a General Convention, and we now offer the following Call to be signed by Mechanics and others who are favorable to the elevation of the Laboring Classes.

CALL.

We, the Undersigned, desiring the elevation of the Working Classes of New England, do hereby agree to give our aid, countenance and support to a Convention to be held for the abovenamed purpose.

We would also request all Associations or individuals, who may take action in relation to this, to send to the Mechanics' Association in Fall River, the number of names they may obtain to the above, and the probable number of those who may attend the Convention.

BENJ. T. CHACE,
THOMAS ALMY,
CHARLES BORDEN,
WILBOR READ,
Committee

In behalf of the Mechanics' Association.
Fall River, June, 1844.

From the Cincinnati Atlas.

HOUSES OF UNBURNT BRICK.

This subject is important to settlers on prairie lands, where timber is scarce and clay abundant. The Ohio Phalanx, an Industrial Association, opposite Wheeling, have written to Mr. Ellsworth on the subject, and obtained the following answer:

WASHINGTON CITY, May 16, 1844.

My unburnt brick houses have exceeded my utmost expectations. I have one here two stories high, renting for $100, and am now building three more; mine have stood two winters without the least injury. These houses are very cheap and dry—they are cool in summer and warm in winter, and can be made (the sash and doors being furnished from a factory) by common laborers.

Before the Ohio Phalanx expend much money in building, I advise them to examine my mode; the published account is in my last Report; a mason had better just come here and see all, and then he can do all. Hon. Walter Forward (who has my Report of last year and this year) visited, while here lately, my mud houses, and will give you his opinion cheerfully, having considered the matter fully.

I have a few packages of seeds left; I send you samples of such as I have. Command my services to aid in the great national cause of Home Industry.

Very respectfully yours,
H. L. ELLSWORTH.

For the benefit of our friends who would like to understand the method of building with "unburnt brick," but who cannot easily obtain Mr. Ellsworth's Report, we republish the account it contains. We think our friends should hesitate before they go to the expense of burning brick for temporary buildings, when the advantage and practicability of this cheap mode of construction have been so well established.

PLAN OF CHEAP COTTAGES.

After selecting a suitable spot of ground, as near the place of building as practicable, let a circle of ten feet or more be described. Let the loam be removed, and the clay dug up one foot thick, or, if clay is not found on the spot, let it be carted in to that depth.—Any ordinary clay will answer. Tread this clay over with cattle, and add some straw cut six or eight inches long. After the clay is well tempered with working it with the cattle, the material is duly prepared for the making of brick. A mould is then formed of plank, of the size of the brick desired. In England they are usually made 18 inches long, 1 foot wide, and 9 inches thick. I have found the more convenient size to be 1 foot long, 7 inches wide, and 5 inches thick. The mould should have a bottom. The clay is then placed in the moulds in the same manner that brick moulds are ordinarily filled. A wire or piece of iron hoop will answer very well for striking off the top. One man will mould about as fast as another can carry away, two moulds being used by him. The bricks are placed upon the level ground, where they are suffered to dry two days, turning them up edgwise the second day, and then packed in a pile, protected from the rain, and left to dry 10 or 12 days, during which time the foundation of the building can be prepared. If a cellar is desired this must be formed of stone or brick, one foot above the surface of the ground.—For cheap buildings on the prairie, wood sills, 12 or 14 inches wide, may be laid on piles or stones. This will form a good superstructure. Where lime and small stones abound, grout made of those materials (lime and stones) will answer very well.

In all cases, however, before commencing the walls for the first story, it is very desirable, as well in this case as in walls of brick, *to lay a single course of slate;* this will intercept the dampness so often rising in the walls of brick houses. The wall is laid by placing the brick lengthwise, thus making the wall one foot thick. Ordinary clay, such as is used for clay mortar, will suffice, though a weak mortar of sand and lime, when these articles are cheap, is recommended as affording a more adhesive material for the plaster. The wall may safely be carried up one story, or two or three stories; the division walls may be 7 inches, just the width of the brick. The door and window frames being inserted as the wall proceeds, the building is soon raised. The roof may be shingles or thatch. In either case, *it should project over the sides of the house, and also over the ends, at least two feet, to guard the walls from vertical rains.* The exterior wall is plastered with good lime mortar, and then with a second coat pebble-dashed. The inside is plastered without dashing. The floor may be laid with oak boards, slit, 5 or 6 inches wide, and laid down without jointing or planing, if they are rubbed over with a rough stone after the rooms are finished. Doors of a cheap and neat appearance may be made by taking two single boards of the length or width of the doors; placing these vertically, they will fill the space. Put a wide batten on the bottom and a narrow one on the top, with strips on the side, and a strip in the middle. This door will be a batten door, but presenting two long panels on one side and a smothe surface on the other. If a porch or verandah is wanted, it may be roofed with boards laid with light joints and covered with a thick paper dipped in tar, and then adding a good coat, after sprinkling it with sand from a sand-box or other dish with small holes.

Houses built in this way are dry, warm in winter, and cool in summer, and furnish no retreat for vermin. Such houses can be made by common laborers, if a little carpenter's work is excepted, in a very short time, with a small outlay for materials, exclusive of floors, windows, doors and roof.

The question will naturally arise, Will the wall stand against the rain and frost? I answer, they have stood well in Europe, and the Hon. Mr. Poinsett remarked to me that he had seen them in South America, after having been erected 300 years. Whoever has noticed the rapid absorption of water by a brick that has been burned, will not wonder why brick walls are damp.—The burning makes the brick porous, while the unburnt brick is less absorbent; but it is not proposed to present the unburnt brick to the weather. Whoever has erected a building with merchantable brick, will at once perceive the large number of soft and yellow brick, partially burned, that it contains—brick that would soon yield to the mouldering influence of frost and storms. Such brick are, however, placed within, beyond the reach of rain, and always kept dry. A good cabin is made by a single room 20 feet square. A better one is 18 feet wide and 24 feet long, cutting off 8 feet on one end for two small rooms, 9 by 8 each.

How easy could a settler erect such a cabin on the Western prairie, where clay is usually found about 15 inches below the surface, and where stone and lime are often both very cheap. The article of brick for chimneys is found to be quite an item of expense in wood houses. In these mud houses no brick are needed, except for the top of the chimneys, the oven and casing of the fire-place—though this last might be well dispensed with. A cement to put around the chimneys, or to fill any other crack, is easily made by a mixture of one part of sand, two of ashes, and three of clay. This soon hardens and will resist the weather. A little lard or oil may be added, to make the composition still harder.

Such a cottage will be as cheap as a log cabin, less expensive than pine buildings, and durable for centuries. I have tried the experiment in this city, by erecting a building 18 by 54 feet, two stories high, adopting the different suggestions now made.—Although many doubted the success of the undertaking, all now admit it has been very successful, and presents a convenient and comfortable building, that appears well to

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public view, and offers a residence combining as many advantages as a stone, brick, or wood house presents. It will add what Loudon says in his most excellent work, the Encyclopædia of Agriculture, pp. 74 and 75:

"The great art in building an economical cottage is to employ the kind of materials and labor which are cheapest in the given locality. In almost every part of the world the cheapest article of which the walls can be made will be found to be the earth on which the cottage stands, and to make good walls from the earth is the principal part of the rustic or primitive builder. Soils, with reference to building, may be divided into two classes: clays, loams, and all such soils as can neither be called gravels nor sands, and sands and gravels. The former, whether they are stiff or free, rich or poor, mixed with stones or free from stones, may be formed into walls in one of those modes, viz: in the pise manner, by lumps moulded in boxes, and by compressed blocks. Sandy and gravelly soils may always be made into excellent walls, by forming a frame of boards, leaving a space between the boards of the intended thickness of the wall, and filling this with gravel mixed with lime mortar, or if this cannot be got, with mortar made of clay and straw.

"In all cases, when walls, either of this class or the former, are built, the foundations should be of stone or brick, and they should be carried up at least a foot above the upper surface of the platform.

"We shall here commence by giving one of the simplest modes of construction, from a work of a very excellent and highly estimable individual, Mr. Denson, of Waterbeach, Cambridgeshire, the author of the Peasant's voice, who built his own cottage in the manner described below:

"*Mode of building the mud walls of cottages in Cambridgeshire.*—After a laborer has dug a sufficient quantity of clay for his purpose, he works it up with straw; he is then provided with a frame eighteen inches in length, six deep, and from nine to twelve inches in diameter. In this frame he forms his lumps, in the same manner that a brickmaker forms his bricks; they are then packed up to dry by the weather; that done, they are fit for use, as a substitute for bricks On laying the foundation of a cottage, a few layers of brick are necessary to prevent the lumps from contracting a damp from the earth. The fireplace is lined and the oven is built with bricks. I have known cottagers, where they could get the grant of a piece of ground to build on for themselves, erect a cottage of this description at a cost from £15 to £30. I examined one that was nearly completed, of a superior order: it contained two good lower rooms and a chamber, and was neatly thatched with straw. It is a warm, firm, and comfortable building, far superior to the one I live in; and my opinion is that it will last for centuries. The lumps are laid with mortar, they are then plastered, and on the outside once roughcast, which is done by throwing a mixture of water, lime and small stones, against the walls, before the plaster is dry, which gives them a very handsome appearance. The cottage I examined, cost £33, and took nearly one thousand lumps to complete it. A laborer will make that number in two days. The roofs of cottages of this description are precisely the same as when built with bricks or with a wooden frame. Cow-house, sheds, garden walls, and partition fence, are formed with the same materials; but in all cases the tops are covered with straw, which the thatchers perform in a very neat manner."—[Denson's Peasant's Voice, p. 31.

From the New Age, London.

ETZLER'S MECHANICAL SYSTEM,

FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND INLAND TRANSPORT.

We cannot give a complete description of this stupendous system, but a general idea of it may be given in a few short paragraphs. In the first place, he proposes a new system of *inland transport*, free from danger, and much more economical than railways and steam locomotives, though quite as rapid and efficient.

He first proposes to construct stationary water-mills, of fifty horses' power each, or more if required, at intervals of several miles, along the projected line of road. The construction of these water-mills would cost considerably less than that of steam-engines of equal power, and hence one great item of economy. Then comes the difficulty of finding water power to work his mills.—This he proposes to overcome by the construction of wind-mills, wherever there are suitable heights near the line of road; and this wind-mill power is to be used in raising water from the nearest source, to be collected in large reservoirs, excavated for that purpose in the highest places—the excavations to be made also by the wind-mill power and a simple mechanical contrivance, with very little cost of labor and material. When the mills are constructed, and the reservoirs excavated, the wind-mills are employed to fill the reservoirs with water, when the wind permits, and the water is constantly conveyed from the reservoirs to furnish power for the stationary water-mills on the line of road. These wind-mills work with little or no attention whenever there is wind, and therefore, the water-power costs nothing after the first expense of constructing machinery. This is one immense advantage over steam power, which requires a great consumption of fuel for its production constantly, besides the original cost of machinery.

When he has advanced thus far, he employs his water-mill power to make the line of road from one water-mill to another throughout the whole line. This is done by means of a simple locomotive machine, which he terms a "Satellite," put in connexion with the water power mills by means of a "very slender wire rope mechanism," of very ingenius construction, "requiring for the transfer of fifty horses' power to a distance of 1000 feet, a first outlay not exceeding 10*l.*, and a moderate expense afterwards for wear and tear." This Satellite locomotive, in connexion with the stationary power will pull down trees, excavate or level down the hardest earth or rocks, so as to form canals or roads of any length or breadth. The stationary power which works this Satellite or locomotive instrument, requires but one man to direct the whole operation, which is equal to the labor of hundreds of men on the present system. "The *road* on this system," says the inventor, "may pass over any hill, at any inclination, up and down, with equal safety, as well as over plains, nothing being required beyond the *smoothing* of the surface; that is, the removal of obstructions, and levelling the road by means of the Satellite."—"No rails are necessary, nor any kind of pavement; nothing is required but the level ground, of any nature, hard or soft." When the road is thus formed between the stationary water power mills, six miles distant from each other, (more orless as the case may require,) wagons of any form and size, singly or in trains, may be propelled from one water power mill to another by means of an endless rope, running at once in opposite directions along the line of road thus formed; but instead of running on common wagon-wheels, they will run on *cylinders*, (cylinder-wheels,) which, by their broad smooth surface, will *improve* the compactness, by wearing down asperities, if it be hard, and smoothing the road the more they pass over it, by compressing the earth, if it be soft, never cutting or deranging it in any wise. "The same system is applicable also to canals, either for excavation or propelling boats by means of endless ropes."

Mr. Etzler tells us, that these stationary water power mills, and the Satellite or locomotive instrument, after making the line of road and excavating the reservoirs might be applied to cultivate the land around them to the distance of several miles on each side of the road; to plough and pulverize the earth, and perform all other works of labor *on* or *in* the ground, including even sowing and harvesting, according to the amount of power applied—one stationary water-mill, of fifty horses' power, cultivating from 1000 to 5000 acres in the very best style, pulverizing the soil in a manner equal to the best garden culture.—And while thus applied to the cultivation of the land, the stationary power may move an endless rope along a line of road extending three miles each way, making a total length of six miles for each water-mill; which road may be crossed by another or by several roads at the stationary point of power, so as to form several diagonal lines of road and endless ropes, crossing each other at the centre, and extending three miles from it in all directions.

By this means, no power would be lost, as the land machines would only work slower, without stopping, when the central power was applied to locomotion on the general line of conveyance; each distinct apparatus moving slower in proportion to the extent of power applied to other purposes, but causing no interruption in any department. The railway or conveyance line would not be interrupted for a moment by the agricultural Satellite, or any other application of the stationary power.

This stationary power, as already stated, is derived from a number of wind-mill sails, placed in the most eligible localities, within a distance comprising 10, 20, 100, or even several hundred square miles, to raise water into elevated reservoirs, from which it falls on water-wheels, or endless chains of buckets, running on rollers upon the declivity of the hill or elevation at the top of which are placed the wind-mill sails and the reservoirs. This water may also be conducted from the reservoirs to distant places in canals or pipes, to cause a fall of water for similar purposes. After its fall from the reservoir, the water may return to the place from which it was first raised, if necessary, to be carrid up again by the wind-mill power. The object of this combination is, to convert the irregular and interrupted wind power into a perpetual and a uniform water power, the reservoir being large enough to afford a continual fall of water during weeks, and even months, without a new supply, when there is no wind to raise it. A reservoir of from 5 to 20 acres, from

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2,000,000 to 8,000,000 cubic feet capacity, would supply a water-mill of fifty horses' power from 20 to 30 days, when there was no wind to keep up the supply. The capacity of the reservoir would be in the inverse ratio of its height for an equal supply of power. "On sea-coasts, the power of waves (the surf) might be applied in lieu of water-falls, on the principle explained in my project of a Naval Automaton."

The whole of Etzler's mechanical system is based on the principle which shows that powers, without limit of time, or place, or amount, may be derived from the natural motion of atmosphere and water. It is a power which costs nothing but the labor of constructing machinery to use it.

The economy of this system is incomparably greater than that of any other, and its general efficiency is not inferior to any.—The inventor is prepared with working models and scientific demonstration, to prove the truth and practicability of all his statements; and those who are directly interested in such matters, would do well to lose no time in taking advantage of his knowledge and his system. His agent in London is Mr. C. F. Stollmeyer, No. 3, Northampton Terrace, City Road.

NOTE.—On most of the terrains, ropes or chains need but be used for a short ascent of a few rods; the rest of the stations may be run by wagons' gravity.

From the Christian Review, Nashville, Tennessee.

"ASSOCIATION OR FOURIERISM."

As a Journalist, and annotator, I esteem it a privilege and a duty to notice such of the passing events, as seem to have for their object the melioration of the human family. All religions, all societies, and enterprises, *profess* to have for their object, either the benefit of a few individuals, or the great bulk of mankind; and yet, it is an undeniable fact, that many human establishments have conferred but little real advantage, and others have been a real disadvantage. It is rash to pronounce sentence in reference to any matter, without comprehending it, and it is safe, to receive every *untried* scheme at considerable discount. Theories sometimes look fair, but owing to lack of qualifications in agents, or some unseen, and unanticipated defect, the practical results sadly disappoint all calculation.

To state briefly what is intended in this essay, let it be noted, that many individuals both in Europe and America, of a higher order of talent, as well as men of more circumscribed acquirements, are at this time, deeply interested in the subject of "*Association.*" This is another name for "Fourierism," and to understand both, suffice it to say, that *Charles Fourier*, a Frenchman who died at Paris in 1837, after forty years patient investigation, declared that he had discovered the true mode of *organizing* society, so as to avoid most of the *physical, intellectual, moral, governmental, commercial, social*, and *religious* evils of the world. To give the details of his system has required the publication of many books, and it cannot be expected, in a work of the character of the Review, more than the skeleton can be presented. Fourier argues that the evils of man, originate not from imperfection in political governments, or natural depravity; but from the disorganized state of society. He contends, that the surrounding circumstances bring upon us most of our miseries, and if our "*antagonist*" relations were changed, so as to harmonize with nature, and our own constitution and wants, the consequence would be perfect peace and happiness on earth.

The advocates say, "The relations instituted among men, by the present form of society, are those of *extreme* individual selfishness, and lead directly to *Indigence, Fraud, Oppression, War, Disease* and *False, Delusive Doctrines*,—effects which cannot be prevented short of thorough *Re-organization.*"

"Association" is designed to abrogate the present corrupt system of trade, prevent circumvention, lying, and duplicity of every character, ignorance, laziness, party strifes, in politics and religion, and make the earth a perfect paradise. Now the only question is, will it do it? *Nous verrons.*

The means are simple. First, all men are required to give up exclusive interest in property. Or in other words, let societies or associations be formed which shall have one common interest; so when one labors, or trades, *self* is not all he has in view; but the benefit of a community. Call this *common stock*, or *joint stock*, or a *partnership plan.* Every man who comes into the arrangement would be required to subscribe stock, to the amount of what he puts in, and although it would be active capital to the "Phalanx," yet he would own, and be entitled to profits, in proportion to capital vested, labor performed, or skill exercised.

Five-twelfths of the profits are allowed for capital, *four-twelfths* for labor, and *three-twelfths* for skill.

All men, women, and children, would be enabled to devote a portion of the time to labor, another portion to study, and another to moral culture.

"Industry" is said to be "every productive exertion of human faculties and forces, and may be distinguished for sake of precision, into, 1st, Domestic services; 2d, Agriculture; 3d, Manufacture; 4th, Commerce; 5th, Education; 6th, The study and application of the Sciences; and 7th, The application of the Fine Arts.

The objects of such associations would be to produce unity of action in every thing, to bring the rich and the poor in contact, that each may pursue the same avocation and be entitled to credit in proportion to merit. Every one would occupy the station to which his qualifications would entitle him, and all would labor in "*groups*" and "*series*," in order to prevent confusion, promote the general weal, and enable each to exert himself in the capacity which nature has designated for him. The three main points are: 1st, To make labor attractive by inuring all to it as a virtue, and placing the proper motives before the operatives; 2d, To Educate all connected with the Association; and 3d, To give a practical exemplification of thorough moral culture. No sectarianism is to be preferred; but the Bible recommended as supreme authority, though all sects and even unbelievers to be received as members of the phalanx.

This, I am aware, is but a faint view of the system, but enough has been said to induce reflection. If the cause be a good one, it will commend itself to all as fast as it becomes known; but if not of God, it must come to naught. I give no opinion as to the full details; but the leading principles are as true as God is true. The Unity of action is indispensable in any great achievement, and Physical, Intellectual and Moral education should be combined to perfect society, no one can doubt. At a future time I may pursue the subject, but at present I close by propounding two quistions:

1st. Are the people of this age generally prepared for such a state of things?

2d. Can all men be Christians, circumstanced as they now are? T. F.

A BENEVOLENT JUDGE.

The following is selected from a great number of most interesting facts collected by Horace Mann, Esq. in his European tour during the last year, and published in his very able and eloquent Report to the Massachusetts Board of Education:

"At the head of a private Orphan House in Potsdam, Prussia, is the venerable Von Türk. According to the laws of his country Von Türk is a nobleman. His talents and acquisitions were such that at a very early age he was elevated to the bench.—This was, probably, an office for life, and was attended with honors and emoluments. He officiated as Judge for fourteen years; but in the course of this time, so many criminal cases were brought before him for adjudication, whose only cause and origin were so plainly referable to early neglect in the culprit's education, that the noble heart of the Judge could no longer bear to pronounce sentence of condemnation against the prisoners; for he looked upon them as men who, almost without a paradox, might be called *guiltless offenders.* While holding the office of Judge he was appointed School Inspector. The paramount importance of the latter office grew upon his mind as he executed its duties, until at last he came to the full conception of the grand and sacrd truth—how much more intrinsically honorable is the vocation of the teacher who *saves* from crime and from wrong, than of the magistrate who waits till they are committed and then avenges them. He immediately resigned his office as Judge with its life tenure and its salary; travelled to Switzerland, where he placed himself under the care of Pestalozzi, and after availing himself of three years' instruction of that celebrated teacher, he returned to take charge of an Orphan Asylum. Since that time he has devoted his whole life to the care of the neglected and the destitute. He lives in as plain and unexpensive a style as our well-off farmers and mechanics, and devotes his income to the welfare of the needy. I was told by his personal friends, that he not only deprived himself of the luxuries of life, but submitted to many privations in order to appropriate his small income to others whom he considers more needy; and that his wife and family cordially share such privations with him for the same object.—To what extent would our own community sympathise with, or appreciate the act, if one of the Judges of our higher courts, or any other official dignitary, should resign an office of honor and of profit to become the instructor of children!

"Even now, when the once active and vigorous frame of this patriarchal man is bending beneath the weight of years, he employs himself in teaching Agriculture, together with the branches commonly taught in the Prussian schools, to a class of orphan boys. What warrior, who rests at last from the labors of the tented field, after a life of victories—what statesman, whose name is familiar in all the Courts of the civilized world—what orator, who attracts toward himself tides of men wherever he may move in his splendid course—what

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one of all these would not, at the sunset of life, exchange his fame and his clustering honors for that precious and abounding treasury of holy and beneficent deeds, the remembrance of which this good old man is about to carry into another world? Do we not need a new spirit in our community, and especially in our schools, which shall display only objects of virtuous ambition before the eyes of our emulous youth; and teach them that no height of official station, nor splendor of professional renown, can equal in the eye of Heaven, and of all good men, the true glory of a life consecrated to the welfare of mankind?"

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN MADEIRA.

The dreadful cruelties perpetrated in the name of Religion in the darkest days of the Inquisition, were not more revolting than are the circumstances of a case which recently occurred at the island of Madeira.—The superstition and bigotry revealed in the following details of the charges of heresy and blasphemy and sentence of death against a poor woman who is the object of persecution, can hardly be realized as existing at the present day in any civilized country, and would seem to justify almost any reaction of the human mind, against Religion and the Church.

By the London papers it appears that much sympathy has been excited by this case in England, and that a deputation from Scotland had waited on the Foreign Secretary on the 30th ult., to request the interference of the British Government in behalf of the woman. Lord Aberdeen answered in reply to the application, that "a proper remonstrance on the subject would be forwarded to the Portuguese Government."

These are the final proceedings of the Court that condemned the unfortunate woman to death:

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS OF THE JURY, AND SENTENCE OF THE JUDGE, NEGRAO.

1. Is the crime of heresy, of which Maria Joaquino [wife of Manuel Alva] is accused in the libel, proved or not?

Answer, by the majority.—The crime of heresy, of which M. J. is accused, is proven.

2. Is the crime of blasphemy against the images of Christ and the mother of God, against the mystery of the most holy Trinity, and the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, of which M. J. is accused in the libel, proved or not?

Answer, unanimously.—The crime of blasphemy against the images of Christ and Mother of God, against the mystery of the most holy Trinity, and the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, of which M. J. is accused in the libel, is proven.

3. Is the extenuating circumstance that the witness Antonia Maria is an enemy of the accused, and has not spoken with her for three years, proved or not? Funchal Oriental, 2nd of May, 1844. Signed, Joze Pereira Leito Pitta Ortegueira Negrao.

Answer, unanimously.—The extenuating circumstance that the witness Antonia Maria is an enemy of the accused, and has not spoken with her for three years, is not proved. Luis Antonio de Freitas, Felisbesto Bittencourt Miranda, Licio d'Enthoguia Freitas Uzel, Sebastio Leal, Manoel d'Oliveira, Filippe Constantino Silva, Antonio Joze Gonzalves de Ornellas, Joze Joaquim la Costa, P. Sorge Monteiro, Francisco Pedro Olivat, Christovao Augusto Ferreira, Gaspar Ignacio Eomes.

SENTENCE.

In view of the answers of the jury and discussion of the cause, &c., it is proved that the accused, Maria Joaquina, perhaps forgetful of the principles of the holy religion which she received in her first years, and to which she still belongs, has maintained conversations and arguments condemned by the Church, maintaining that veneration should not be given to images, denying the real existence of Jesus Christ in the sacred Host,—the mystery of the most holy Trinity, blaspheming against the most holy Virgin, Mother of God, and advancing other expressions against the doctrines received and followed by the Catholic Apostolic Roman Church, expounding these condemned doctrines to different persons, thus committing the crime of heresy and blasphemy, punished by the laws of the kingdom; and although it be affirmed that nobody can be prosecuted for motives of religion, as the principle truly constitutional, it is necessary that the religion of the State be respected, and public morals be not pervaded by words or acts that are condemned, as it is expressly established in the fundamental law, of the State, Art. xlv., § 4, which the accused, in truth, did not do; on the contrary, blaspheming against God and his saints, she gave over respecting the religion of the State to which she belongs, seeking to associate to her party those who nourished principles different from hers.—This accusation cannot be eluded by the defence to which she has recourse, but consists only in the illegality of the action, and the incompetency of the Court to condemn in the penalties decreed by the ordança, book v., tit. 1. It appears that it belongs only to the tribunal *ad quem* to decide a question on all accounts delicate. Attending, then, to the fact, that the crimes of which the prisoner is accused are found proven in the form decreed by the law of 15th Dec., 1774, and ordança of book v., tit. 2, § 1, which says thus, "And if he be a peasant, let him receive thirty strokes at the foot of the pillory, with a cord and proclamation, and let him pay two dollars," observing, moreover, that the aforesaid law of the 15th December, imposes on those guilty of heresy the penalty of death with infamy; observing, likewise, that now is abolished the said penalty of infamy and strokes, and that the greater punishment always includes the lesser, I condemn the accused, Maria Joaquina, to suffer death, as declared in the said law, and in the costs of the process, which she shall pay with her goods. Funchal Oriental, in public court, 2nd of May, 1844. Joze Pereira Leito Pitta Ortegueira Negrao.

What adds to the revolting character of the circumstances, is the fact that the condemned is the mother of seven children, the youngest of whom was at the breast when she was cast in prison, about a year ago.

From the Liberty Herald.

THE TRUMBULL PHALANX.

Our friends in this region, who have undertaken to test by experiment the virtues of "Association," concerning which so much has been said and written for the last few years, have made a location in the town of Braceville, about eight or nine miles from Warren, and have purchased, we understand, on very favorable terms, a tract of land with a fine water power, on Eagle Creek, and have commenced operations on the most favorable auspices. Mr. Jehu Brainerd, late one of the editors of the Ohio Farmer, made them a visit a few weeks since, and publishes in the Farmer the result of his observations, from which we make the following extract:

"The location which this society has chosen, is a very beautiful one, and is situated in the north-west quarter of Braceville township, (Trumbull county, Ohio,) eight miles west of Warren, and five miles north of Newton Falls, which is the nearest point on the Ohio and Pennsylvania Canal, and to which place there is an excellent turnpike road.

"The domain was purchased of Mr. Eli Barnum, and consists of two hundred and eighty acres of the choicest land, at twelve dollars per acre, about half of which is under good cultivation. There is a valuable and durable mill privilege on the domain, valued at three thousand six hundred dollars, and at the time the purchase was made, there was in successful operation, a grist mill with two run of stones, an oil mill, saw mill, double carding machine, and cloth dressing works.

"The principal buildings in the domain are a large two story brick house, grist mill and oil mill, very large, substantial, and entirely new, (frame and well painted) and a large barn; the other buildings, though sufficient for present accommodation, are old and somewhat decayed.

"There has been already subscribed in real estate stock, most of which is within two miles and less of the domain, nine hundred and fifty-seven acres of land, mostly improved farms, which were valued (including neat stock, grain, &c.) at sixteen thousand one hundred and fifty dollars. Five hundred dollars cash capital has also been subscribed and paid in, and about six hundred dollars in lathes, tools, machinery, &c., including one hundred thousand feet of lumber have been received.

"There are thirty-five families now belonging to the association, in all 140 souls; of this number forty-three are males over 21 years of age.

"Until accommodations can be prepared on the domain, some of the families will reside on the farms subscribed as stock. It is the intention to commence an edifice of brick this present summer, and extend it from time to time as the increase of members may require, or the funds of the society admit. For present necessity, temporary buildings are erected."

A correspondent of the Franklin Democrat says, "Fourierism is a species of refined French infidelity." We like to see a man know *something* of what he is speaking about before he speaks so decidedly; and every man knowing *anything* of the principles of Association as discovered by Fourier, knows that this assertion is utterly false. If a system whose principles are the great fundamental truths of Christianity, and whose discoverer was a devoted disciple and humble follower of our Divine Master, and that numbers among its most decided and ardent supporters many of our most worthy ministers of the Gospel which proclaims *glad tidings* to all men, can be French infidelity, then is Fourierism, or Association, indeed, infidelity, and not till then.—[North Adams, (Mass.) Transcript.

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THE LOWELL GIRLS.

It is mentioned as a remarkable fact, that the deposites in the Savings Bank, of the women working in the factories at Lowell, amount to some five hundred thousand dollars. We hardly know which most to feel, pity or contempt, for those who can make a marvel of the circumstance that ten thousand women toiling with slavish devotion for years, and able to lay aside a few beggarly earnings, the gross amount of which is 500,000 dollars. If leisure, and wealth, and enjoyment, should be the portion of all, in a country where equal and exact justice in every position and relation of life should be possessed, how must we estimate the ratio of justice accorded to labor, when ten thousand female laborers are made ten thousand wonders because they can save up a few dollars a-piece, not a sum sufficient to support a person decently for three months.—Ah, we have much to learn in this land of liberty, of the dignity of labor and the rights of humanity. One single speculator from gin or opium—from stocks—from the dire necessities of his fellow men—will alone make five hundred thousand dollars; and if he does not make it more than once, his riches will not be eminent. in comparison with many other individuals more wealthy. One man or woman worth 500,000 would not be a subject for newspaper remark. But ten thousand, worth 500,000 dollars, are objects worthy of editorial and general surprise. Ye children of toil—ye sons and daughters of labor—is there no better hope for you than the spirit shows which would startle with delighted surprise at the mention of your paltry pittance saved? Have ye no high positive claims? Or must the mendicity average of American labor wages, be compared with the Marasmus average of European labor wages—where the man of toil vibrates, from his crib to his coffin, between oatmeal salted and oatmeal saltless; and where the value of his straw and his rags is calculated to the uttermost fraction of a farthing in the home estimates? In the consideration of the rewards due to labor, we have nothing to do with foreign comparisons. Positive claims and dues are alone to be considered. The question should be, Is Labor with us where it ought to be? Is it rich in pocket? Is it educated and refined? Is it honored in the social scale? No. For the same reason that it is considered marvellous that a few young women of the entire mass of the country are able to save a little money from constant toil, so is it wonderful that a fraction of a fraction of them can give evidences of an education—that they have time and talent to write for a magazine. Why should they not write for a magazine? The wonder ought to be just the other way. If we were not chained to a corpse of ignorant precedents which destroys true thought and action, we would soon discover that the only reason why the Lowell young women should write, is because they work, and that hard labor should be the sun-ray, and not as it now is, the night-shade of the soul.

[Phila. Saturday Museum.

The Southport Telegraph, the same paper from which we copy the letter giving an account of those bold pioneers who have "camped" in the prairie to form the Wisconsan Phalanx, makes the following just and pertinent reflections:

We have no doubt that many associations will be established which will meet with much difficulty. Indeed, we suppose there will be none, at least of the early ones, but will encounter more or less, but it will not be that kind of difficulty which will argue against the truth of the principle. They must have their infancy—their day of doubt and struggle, to be succeeded, however, in our opinion, by a day of success and prosperity. Heaven-born though Genius may be, and as beautiful as are its conceptions, its early practical embodiments must of necessity be partial and imperfect. The mind of Fulton conceived fully, no doubt, the vast power of steam, but his first vessel moved but a few rods, when the imperfect machinery became disorganized. Some laughed, some feared, and nearly all doubted, but the living principle triumphed, and our floating palaces, cleaving the waters at the rate of twelve and fourteen miles per hour, are the indications of growing art gradually reaching up and assmilating itself to the perfect conceptions of genius. So may we reasonably anticipate it will be in this case, and though the machinery of association may grate a little harshly, and work with difficulty at first, art will yet raise it to the standard of the genius which conceived them.

It will be seen by reference to the extract at the head of this article, (concerning the Ohio Phalanx) that there is a vast difference in the price of lands there and here. The same land which there cost 20,000 dollars, can here be had for a trifle over 1,000, with the advantages, taking everything into consideration, not far from equal. Surely if they can do anything there we ought to succeed here. It seems to us that a tract of land at government price, in a rapidly settling country must be made very valuable in a short time by associated capital, skill, and labor.

BROWNSON'S QUARTERLY REVIEW.

Mr. Brownson, in the July number of his review, has seen fit to give us his opinion on the doctrine of Fourier.

When we saw the remarks in his last number, a feeling of commiseration for his ignorance induced us to say nothing in reply. It was hardly worth while to notice such puerilities. Now that he has repeated them, we have determined, at our earliest opportunity, to take some notice of his observations. We must say, in advance, that a more superficial, mistaken, silly, and pointless criticism we scarcely ever read. Mr. Brownson seems absolutely incapable of understanding any one of the fundamental principles of Fourier; and his pretended objections have only inspired us with a painful conviction that he has wandered so long in the meshes of metaphysics, that he has lost the power of recognizing truth, even when presented fully to his mind.

Either Mr. Brownson understands Fourier's discoveries, or he does not; if he does, he has wilfully misrepresented them; and if he does not, he has allowed himself to speak authoritatively on a subject he does not comprehend. In either case he is not acting the part of an honest reasoner. But we will not now enter into the controversy.

As to the charge that the doctrine of Fourier is irreligious, we refer him to the article translated from Fourier, in the present number, where he meets it with strong and manly sense, and elevated philosophy

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THE LABORER.—Friends, subscribe to this paper—"The *Laborer* is worthy of his hire." It is a judicious and efficient helper in the great work of enlightening and improving the laboring classes, and deserves the patronage of all who would promote this object; and it is, besides, a good medium of general intelligence. Published by LEONARD COX, jr., every Saturday morning, at No. 5 Exchange-street, Boston. $1 per annum, *payable in advance.*

THE ARSENAL AT SPRINGFIELD.

BY H. W. LONGFELLOW.

This is the Arsenal. From floor to ceiling,
Like a huge organ, rise the burnished arms;
But from their silent pipes no anthem pealing,
Startles the villagers with strange alarms.

Ah! what a sound will rise, how wild and dreary,
When the Death-Angel touches those swift keys!
What loud lament and dismal Miserere
Will mingle with their awful symphonies!

I hear, e'en now, the infinite fierce chorus,
The cries of agony, the endless groan—
Which, through the ages that have gone before us,
In long reverberations reach our own.

On helm and harness rings the Saxon hammer,
Through Cimbric forest roars the Norseman's song,
And loud amid the universal clamor,
O'er distant deserts sounds the Tartar gong.

I hear the Florentine, who from his palace
Wheels out his battle-bell with dreadful din,
And Aztec priests upon their teocallis,
Beat the wild war drums made of serpents' skin.

The tumult of each sacked and burning village;
The shout, that every prayer for mercy drowns;
The soldiers' revels in the midst of pillage,
The wail of famine in beleaguered towns!

The bursting shell, the gateway wrenched asunder,
The rattling musketry, the clashing blade;
And ever and anon, in tones of thunder,
The diapason of the cannonade.

Is it, oh man, with such discordant noises,
With such accursed instruments as these,
Thou drownest Nature's sweet and kindly voices,
And jarrest the celestial harmonies?

Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth, bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals and forts.

The warrior's name would be a name abhorred!
And every nation that should lift again
Its hand against its brother, on its forehead
Would wear for evermore the curse of Cain!

Down the dark future, through long generations,
The echoing sounds grow fainter, and then cease;

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And like a bell, with solemn, sweet vibrations,
I hear once more the voice of Christ say "Peace!"

Peace! and no longer from its brazen portals,
The blast of War's great organ shakes the skies!
But beautiful as songs of the immortals,
The holy melodies of Love arise.

ARRIVAL OF THE ACADIA.

SIXTEEN DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE!

SENTENCE AND IMPRISONMENT OF O'CONNELL! AND OTHERS.

The Royal Mail Steamship Acadia, Captain Ryrie, arrived at Boston on Wednesday afternoon, at about 1 o'clock. She left Liverpoo on the 4th inst., and brings us London and Liverpool papers to the morning of that day.

The Hibernia steamship, Captain Judkins, arrived at Liverpool, on the afternoon of Tuesday, the 28th ult. after a capital passage from Halifax of nine days.

The cotton market continues in a very depressed state. During the last four weeks prices have receded 1 1 2 per lb.

Switzerland has been the scene of a short though somewhat sanguinary civil war.

The debates in Parliament upon Sir Robert Peel's new currency project have been of a highly interesting description.

The vintage of the Southern part of France does not promise so well this year as last. In many places the old vines have been entirely killed off by the severity of the past winter.

The accounts from India speak of a remarkable hail storm at Sukkar in the Scinde, accompanied by a hurricane, which prostrated every thing in its path.

Murders continue to be alarmingly frequent in Paris. The bodies of two of the municipal guards were taken out of the Seine near the bridge of the Invalides, a few days ago, with marks which left no doubt that they had been murdered. Eight others had previously perished in the same mysterious manner.

The Police of London continue their war upon the gaming houses at the West End.

The French government and people appear to be wide awake on the subject of railroads.

The subject of the annexation of Texas continued to be a prolific theme of discussion in the English papers. Some of them have wasted a good deal of indignation upon it.

The general state of the English crops is good, though some of the better agricultural districts have suffered from drought.

The schism among the Jews at Frankfort and other places had become exceedingly violent and bitter.

In Portugal, Italy, &c., matters had become tolerably quiet.

Sir James Graham appears to be growing unpopular with his own party very fast. One of the Tory papers calls him the Marplot of the present Administration, and says he is a millstone about their necks.

So great has been the rage for guano manure in England, that large quantities of a spurious and worthless article, made to resemble guano, have been manufactured and sold in Liverpool. The English farmers are very indignant at the cheat.

Accounts from Ireland mention an extraordinary rise in the waters of the Shannon. That river is said to be three feet higher than it was ever known before.

Meetings in support of the factory bill, now before Parliament, continue to be held in the various manufacturing towns of England and Scotland.

The twelve experimental gun brigs for the British navy are now nearly completed, and are represented to be beautiful specimens of nava architecture.

Accounts from Belgrade state that 60 persons had been publicly executed for participating in the late insurrection in Servia; among them the ex-minister Sagewitsch. Nearly 600 others had been doomed to banishment for the same offence.

The Circassians are straining every nerve to resist the new Russian invasion, but it is feared that the independence of these noble mountaineers is nearly at an end.

The suspension of another banking house in Paris is noticed in Le Commerce, and attributed to speculations in gas and other stocks.

A fire-damp exploded on the 23d, at the Victoria coal-pit in Newton, by which two persons were instantly killed, and several others wounded.

Thirty-seven Jewish marriages were recently celebrated at one time, at the synagogue in Leadenhall street, London

Spain is comparatively tranquil, with the exception of another anticipated explosion in the ministry. Some of the refugees who had quitted the places assigned them in France, have been arrested at Bayonne, but it is uncertain whether anything will be done with them.

The Rebeccaites in Wales have made some further demonstrations against the toll-gates just enough to keep the government uneasy and the people unquiet.

The most absorbing event of the last fortnight, with the exception of O'Connell's imprisonment, has been the contest for South Lancashire. Mr. William Brown, of the great American house, Messrs. Brown, Shipley & Co., stood on the free trade, Mr. Wm. Entwisle on the agricultural interest. It was a fierce struggle, which ended in the return of Mr. Entwisle by nearly 600 votes. Both parties fought desperately.

Sir Robert Peel had entered into an explanation of the resolutions he had laid on the table of the House in reference to the currency.

THE STATE PROSECUTIONS—SENTENCE UPON THE TRAVERSERS.

The Court at Dublin was crowded on Friday to hear the decison of the Judges on the new trial motion, and in anticipation of sentence being passed on the repeal agitators. The traversers having been called on,

Mr. Justice Perrin read his judgment, which was, that Mr. O'Connell and Father Tierney were entitled to a new trial, there being no evidence whatever against the latter.

Mr. Justice Crampton decided that Father Tierney alone was entitled to a new trial, and that the verdict should stand as regarded all the other traversers.

Mr. O'Connell and the other traversers have not only been sentenced, but are in prison, very much to the astonishment, alarm, and indignation of that numerous body in England, as well as in Ireland, who have pinned their political faith to the sleeve of the Liberator, or who look upon his proceedings, in reference to the Repeal question, as calculated to assist their own views of removing the civil, political and religious institutions of the mother country.

SENTENCE ON TRAVERSERS.

Daniel O'Connell. To be imprisoned for twelve calendar months; to pay a fine of £2000, and to enter into securities to keep the peace for seven years—himself in £5000, and two securities of £2500 each.

John O'Connell, John Gray, T. Steele, R. Bartlett, C. G. Duffy, and T. M. Ray. To be imprisoned for nine calendar months; to pay a fine of £50, and to enter into securities to keep the peace for seven years—themselves respectively in £1000, and two securities of £500 each.

ADDRESS OF O'CONNELL TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND—PEACE AND QUIET.

People of Ireland—Fellow-Countrymen—Beloved Fellow-Countrymen: The sentence is passed. But there is another appeal from that sentence. The appeal lies to the House of Lords. I solemnly pledge myself to bring an appeal against that sentence, and I assure you there is every prospect that it well be received. Peace, then, and quiet. Let there not be one particle of riot, tumult or violence.

This is the crisis in which it will be shown whether the people of Ireland will obey me or not. Any person who violates the law, or is guilty of any violence, insult, or injury to person or property, violates my command and shows himself an enemy to me, and a bitter enemy to Ireland.

The people of Ireland—the sober, steady, honest, religious people of Ireland—have hitherto obeyed my commands and kept quiet. Let every man stay at home Let the women and children stay at home. Do not crowd the streets, and in particular, let no man approach the precincts of the Four Courts.

Now, people of Dublin, and of Ireland generally, I shall know, and the world will know, whether you love and respect me or not. Show your love and regard for me by your obedience to the law, your peaceable conduct, and the total avoidance of any riot or violence.

PEACE, ORDER, QUIET, TRANQUILITY.

Preserve the peace, and the Repeal cause will necessarily be triumphant. Peace and quiet I ask for in my name, and as you regard me.—Peace and quiet I ask for in the name of Ireland and as you love your native land. Peace, quiet, order, I call for, under the solemn sanction of religion. I conjure you to observe quiet, and I ask it in the adorable name of the ever-living God.

Gratify me and your friends by your being quiet and peaceable.

The enemies of Ireland would be delighted at your violating the peace, or being guilty of any disorder.

Disappoint them; gratify and delight by peace, order and quiet.

Your faithful friend,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Corn-Exchange Rooms, May 29, 1844.

Th. Traversea immediately surrendered into the custody of the Sheriff.

ASSOCIATIONISTS' LIBRARY.

The following are the publications of Associationists, which are particularly recommended to all who are engaged in the investigation of the subject.

CHARLES FOURIER.

Théorie des Quatre Mouvemens et des Destinées Générales (1808.) 1 vol. in 8vo.

Le Nouveau Monde Industriel et Sociétaire (1829.) 2 vols. in 12mo.

La Fausse Industrie, Morcelée, Repugnante, Mensongère (1835.) 2 vols. post 8vo.

Traité de L'Association Domestique Agricole (1822.) 2 vols. in 8vo.

M. JUST MUIRON.

Essai sur les Procédés Industriels. 2nd edition (1840.)

Transactions Sociales, Religieuses et Scientifiques (1842.)

VICTOR CONSIDERANT. CAPT. DU GENIE.

Destinée Sociale (1835.) 2 vols. in 8vo.

Debacle de la Politique en France.

Manifeste de l'Ecole Sociétaire.

Trois Discours à l'Hotel de Ville.

La Democratie Pacifique—a daily paper, published at Paris, as the organ of Associationists.

AMADEE PAGET.

Introduction to Science Sociale, &c.

JULES LE CHEVALIER.

Etudes sur la Science Sociale. 1 vol. in 8vo.

MADAME GATTI DE GAMOND.

Fourier et son Systeme. 1 vol. in 18mo.

HYPOLITE RENAUD.

Solidarité, Vue Synthetique sur la Doctrine de Fourier.

HUGH DOHERTY, ENGLAND.

False Association; or a Critical Introduction to Fourier's Theory of Attractive Industry: containing a Sketch of Fourier's Life, and a Summary of Ancient, Roman and Modern Civilization. Bound in cloth.

The Biography of Charles Fourier. 1 vol. post 8vo.

With a brief Sketch of his Theory of Attractive Industry, by Abel Transon and Victor Considerant; to which is added, Fourier's Defence of Christian Principles.

The Morning Star: a series of Papers on Fourier's Science.

The London Phalanx, Vol. I. First Series, with Index, bound in cloth.

The London Phalanx, Vol. II. Second Series.

ALBERT BRISBANE, NEW YORK, U. S.

The Social Destiny of Man, or Association and Attractive Industry. Published by C. F. Stollmeyer, 64 South Fourth street, Philadelphia, U. S., in 8vo. nearly 500 pages. Price $1.

A Concise Exposition of the Doctrine of Association, and which is now in the *ninth* edition. 80 pages 8vo. 12 cents.

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ORGAN OF THE

DOCTRINE OF ASSOCIATION.

OUR EVILS ARE SOCIAL, NOT POLITICAL, AND A SOCIAL REFORM ONLY CAN ERADICATE THEM.

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MR. BROWNSON'S NOTIONS OF FOURIER'S DOCTRINE.

There runs an anecdote of a wag, who was accustomed to assign the different parts of his good pastors weekly discourse to the true authors. "That's Tillotson's," he would say—"that's Taylor's—that's Leighton's—and that's Hall's"—until one day the preacher emitted a particularly stupid passage, when the wag shouted at the top of his lungs, "and that's his own." We have found ourselves pretty much in the situation of the wag, while reading, from time to time, the various essays of Mr. Brownson. "That's Dr. Channings," we would say—"that's Cousin's—that's Leroux's," &c. until we met his attempted refutation of Fourier's doctrine, when we were compelled to exclaim, "that is surely his own." The reason of our supposing it his own, was that we knew of no man but himself, living or dead, who would allow himself to write with such confident boldness on a subject of which he was so profoundly ignorant. It seems to be a peculiarity of Mr. Brownson, that the force and positiveness with which he writes, is in proportion to his want of knowledge and clearness.

We had heard of this essay before it was printed, and therefore looked forward to it with some degree of interest We had heard that Mr. Brownson had given out that he was about to completely demolish "Fourierism," and as we supposed that a considerable undertaking, we were naturally anxious to see the result of the experiment.—There were other reasons, too, why we wished to see an elaborate discussion of the matter from the pen of Mr. Brownson. We had been too long familiar with his writings, it is true, to consider him much of an original thinker, and we inferred from their general tenor, that he was a man of too prodigious self-conceit to do full justice to any really original thought; but, at the same time, we had a high respect for his metaphysical ability and a strong admiration of the manly vigor and crystal clearness of his style. We wished to see what a person who seemed to have run the gauntlett of all creeds and doctrines, would make of a new doctrine that claimed a universal and reconciling character, and which we supposed on that account fitted to arrest his attention. Well, Mr. Brownson's criticism came at last, and we recorded our impression of it, on a first reading, in the last number of the Phalanx. It struck us as one of the most lame, superficial, mistaken and preposterous criticisms that we ever read, and we were more than disposed to be angry with Mr. Brownson for playing with the public in such a childish and miserable manner. But, on reading it over again, we remembered that a man must not be expected to be very profound or clear on a subject that he does not comprehend even in its elements; and we therefore came to the conclusion that we had better bear with patience, the folly and insolence of half instructed and bigoted scribes, who pretend to judge what they cannot see. We shall, therefore give the article entire, with a few brief corrections of its many mistakes and perversions:

We read, the other day, the speeches and proceedings of a Fourierist convention in the city of New York. (1) Its president was an old and intimate friend of ours; several of the speakers were individuals with whom we have been often associated, and for whose sincerity we would vouch with our life.—These men have, no doubt, high and benevolent aims, and really believe they are pursuing a course likely to benefit humanity. There these men met and repelled with great indignation, the charge of infidelity, or of unfriendliness to Christianity, brought against Fourierism, and resolved that Fourierism is Christian, and that whoso says to the contrary is a slanderer. All very fine, Gentlemen, but who has constituted you judges of what is Christianity, and who will vouch for your own Christian faith, or be our surety that you yourselves are not, under the name of Christianity, setting forth as rank infidelity as was ever set forth by Paine, Volney, or Baron d' Holbach? (2) We see in your speeches nothing but a subtle Pantheism, or a disguised Epicureanism.—Your very starting point is at the opposite pole from Christianity, and your method is directly the reverse of that enjoined by the ever-blessed Son of God. You assume the perfection of human nature, the essential holiness of all man's instincts, passions, and tendencies, and contend that the evil in the world comes from causes extraneous to man; from causes which restrain, repress, his natural instincts and passions, and hinder their free, full, and harmonious development. This is your starting-point. Christianity, all the world knows, teaches that evil comes from within, from man's abuse of the freedom essential to his being as man, and that, in consequence of this abuse, man's nature has become exceedingly disordered, his appetites and affections depraved, his moral tastes vitiated, so that he craves and relishes the meat that perisheth, rather than the meat that endureth unto everlasting life. This is its starting point, and yet, though you directly contradict it, we must not question your sonndness as Christian believers, lest we be guilty of slander! (3)

Christianity, again, is a system of means divinely devised and instituted for the recovery of man from sin, his restoration to justice and sanctity, and his growth in knowledge and love. This system of means you reject, and substitute therefor the discoveries of Fourier, and for the Christian Church, its ministries, sacraments, and disciplines, the Fourier phalanx, with groups, series, and alternations of labor. Not the Son of God has disclosed the law of life, not prophets and apostles have discoved the laws by which man is to be recovered, and social harmony produced,—but one Charles Fourier, a merchant, or merchant's clerk, of Lyons. And yet, you are good Christians, and it is a slander to question the eminently Christian character of Fourierism! (4)

Christianity assumes that the evil originates in man's abuse of his freedom, that here is the cause of that evil in nature and outward circumstances, which reacts upon him with such terrible vengeance; it therefore proposes, as its method of recovery, to lay the axe at the root of the tree, to cut off the evil in its source, by purifying the heart, out of which are the issues of life.—Teaching that our appetites, passions, and affections are disordered, depraved, and therefore not to be trusted, it lays down as its first and great command, Deny thyself, take up the cross, and follow the Master. It would correct the outward by first correcting the inward, bring man into universal harmony by bringing him spiritually into union with God. (5) Let man be right internally, and nothing in the outward will be evil to him, for all things work together for good to them that love the Lord. You reverse this; the natural instincts, appetites, passions, and affections of man, you hold, are all only so many revelations of the will of the Creator, and the fact that man possesses these is a sure indication that it was the will of God that they should be gratified. Instead of saying DENY THYSELF; you say, very properly, taking your point of departure, PLEASE THYSELF; and if thou canst not do it in society as it is, then reform, remodel, reorganize society, so that thou canst please thyself, gratify, to the fullest, each and all of thy passions. (6) If thou art inclined to chastity, and canst satisfy thyself with being the husband of one wife, or the wife of one husband, well and good,—join the group of the constant; if not, if thou hast a craving after change and variety, and wouldst have a wide experience, pass on to another group, instituted expressly for such

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as thou, and in which thou mayest, without fear and reproach, indulge thy taste for variety and change, to thy heart's content.—Yet we are slanderers, if we question at all your Christian character!

"But these are all pure-minded, pure-hearted, spiritual, lofty, all but saintly men; admitting that they may err in some of their views, you must own that they are *Christians*, at least, in their *lives*." What mean you by men's lives? The whole of what they think, say, and do? If so, how can you call that man a *Christian* in his life, who uses the whole weight of his character and talents to bring Christianity into disrepute, and who proclaims boldly, in tones of earnestness and apparent philanthropy, doctrines which legitimate, nay, sanctify, the foulest lust, and the grossest passions of our corrupt and fallen nature? The man, who, in his private life, in secret, breaks every commandment in the decalogue, is a saint in comparison with him who corrupts the public conscience, perverts the principles of men and women, and under cover of morality, of a Divine Law, authorizes all that the revealed law of God forbids. We hold no man to be a Christian man in his life, who promulgates anti-Christian or immoral doctrines. God has revealed to us the truth; he has instituted an interpreter of his Word; and error of doctrine is without excuse. A man may always know, if he will, what is the truth. If he will not, if he will not suffer himself to learn of God, and to be decided by God's Word, it is from the pride of his own heart, it is from moral depravity, it is from setting himself up against God; and no man who sets himself up against God is or can be a Christian.

Then, again, this Fourierism is nothing but a disguised Epicureanism. The chief end of man is, according to it, pleasure, or happiness. The end proposed is, simply, to enable man to enjoy all his natural instincts and passions, so that he shall experience no evil, be exposed to no jar or discord, and never find any cross; and this, not by purifying his heart, and bringing him into harmony with nature and with God, but by bringing all out of man into harmony with man. What, according to Fourierism, is duty? Simply to enjoy, to provide for satisfying the passions. What is it to obey God? To constitute the town or parish so that man shall find, in its organization, no restraint on any of its passions or desires. Where, we demand, is duty in the Christian sense,—*duty* to love man, to love God, to live for God, and give one's self up to the commands of God? Nowhere. I find in your teaching nothing which appeals to any other motive in man than interest, or love of pleasure. I see nothing incompatible with the most perfect Epicureanism, save that the individuals who are seeking to introduce the reform are not necessarily selfish, but may be disinterested. But what, save Epicurean motives, do they hold out to induce us to join them? What in us do they address? Do they appeal to our sense of duty? No.—They undertake to show the capitalist that it will be a profitable investment of capital, and the laborer that it will be a profitable investment of labor, and the voluptuary that he will there find a pleasing gratification for all his senses. The devil has grown bold, in very sooth, and no longer takes even the trouble to put on a disguise. (7) It ceases to be necessary for him to put on the guise of an angel of light; he may venture forth in his own person, with his cloven foot and trident tail and all, and men will follow him in crowds and swear he is a Divinity; nay, *the* Divinity; and cry, "All hail, the Prince of Darkness! Welcome, thrice welcome among us!" Wealth and pleasure are the baits with which the devil allures us to our ruin, and wealth and pleasure are the attractions held out by our Fourierists. Yet, in the face and eyes of the command, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth," and of what our Lord says, "If a man seek to save his life he shall lose it," they are good Christians, and we are slanderers if we intimate any discrepancy between Fourierism and Christianity.

We know very well that Fourierists speak of God, of Christ, of revelation, and even of the Church; but what do they mean by these awful, sublime words? Mean? Why, God is the force acting in our passions and instincts, blossoming in the trees, glowing in the stars, and constituting the sum and substance of what is; Christ is the ideal of perfect manhood, which, at the same time, is the ideal of perfect Godhead, and his significance is the identity of the human nature with the Divine; and revelatio means, that, inasmuch as the force acting in us, in our instincts, passions, &c., is God, what these crave must needs be the revelation or manifestation of the will of God. The Church is the house which man builds for God, not the house which God builds for man. (8) Some men are to promenade their eyes over all existing sects, select out the true, and mould it into one complete and harmonious whole. Thus you will have the *one* faith; this one faith, working in the minds and hearts of men, will gradually gather around it, or rather build up around it, an institution which will represent or express it to the world, and that will be the *one* Catholic Church! So they are not only Christians, but Catholics; who, then, shall dare, henceforth, to question their orthodoxy, or hesitate to receive them as competent witnesses and judges of the orthodoxy of Fourierism? Fourierism *is* Christian in *their* sense, and if they are Christians. But, my good friends, the Church, that is, the Church of God, if it be any thing, is an institution founded by God himself for man, not an institution developed from man, or gradually formed through the workings of men's notions of Christian truth. The one Catholic Church is this divinely founded and sustained institution, and if you do not mean this institution by your Church, then call your Church by another name; if you are not Catholics, in the sense defined by the Catholic Church herself, then do not deceive yourselves and others by calling yourselves Catholics.

But we did not intend to go so fully into the religious, or rather, irreligious, character of Fourierism. We referred to it, merely as one of the evidences of how completely the sense of religion has been lost; so completely,—and we say it with deep humiliation, for the charge we imply might but a few years since have been brought with equal justice against ourselves,—that men of no mean intelligence, and of honest intentions, and even of benevolent aims, fancy themselves firm believers in the Gospel of our blessed Lord, when rejecting it entirely as the kingdom of mediatorial Grace, when denying its fundamental dogmas and precepts, and admitting it at all only as a bungling statement of the veriest Naturalism. The patient is never in a more dangerous condition than when he believes himself to be in perfect health. The last century was characterized by open, avowed, unblushing infidelity; the present century, thus far, has to no inconsiderable degree been characterized by an infidelity equally intense, and all the more dangerous from its believing itself to be faith. The German Rationalism of Paulus, Röhr, and others, is worse than the Deism of Voltaire, or the Atheism of d' Holbach; and Rationalism itself is comparatively orthodox by the side of the mawkish Sentimentalism of De Wette, the pantheistic Spiritualism of Schleiermacher, and the Naturalism of Strauss and his feeble echoes in this country. Infidelity, using, and with apparent sincerety, the language of faith and piety, is the most dangerous species of infidelity the devil has yet succeeded in inventing. Our age is full of this species of infidelity. Our literature is full of it; our speculations overflow with it; it drops from the sanctuary; it flows out in the political oration, and penetrates even the decision of the judge. We are all good believers; we are all enlightened, liberal believers; we believe in all sacred books; we hold the sacred books of all nations to have been inspired,—all religions to be of God; for they are of man, and man is God; and wherefore, then, call us unbelievers? Sure enough. Nevertheless, a great work is to be done, not merely to bring men back to the simplicity of the Gospel, but to make them perceive even a fundamental difference between the New Testament and the Koran, the Christian Church and the institutions of the Arabian impostor.

The worst feature of our age is its miserable eclecticism. It reads all, collects and accepts all, and comprehends nothing. It starts with the notion, that all religions, all worships, all symbols, all rites, are *symbols* of facts, of partial truths; or, in other words, that each represents a correct, but partial, view of the truth. Thus, Paganism has its truth; Mahometanism its truth; Christianity its truth; Catholicism its truth; Protestantism its truth; Calvinism its truth; Arminianism its truth; Trinitarianism its truth; Unitarianism its truth; but no one is *the* truth, the *whole* truth. Christianity is a special department of religion in general, and of course can comprehend only a part of what is essential to religion. Alas! Where is this to end? Did not Jesus say, "I *am* the way, THE TRUTH, and the life?" Do you credit him? Then how dare you say that Paganism or Mahometanism has a truth which is not in all its integrity in Christianity? (9) Are all the so called Christian denominations merely *sects*? Or shall we say, that, in point of fact, among these, after all, is the one true Catholic Apostolic Church? Does the true Apostolic Church still subsist? If you say it does not, you give the lie to Christ, who declared that he would build his Church upon a rock, and the gates of hell should not prevail against it; if you say it does exist, can you conceive it possible for there to be any *truth*, in any of the sects, which it has not in its purity and in its integrity? Do, then, take some positon; either accept the Son of God, or reject him; either accept the Church as it is, or reject it altogether. For if it has become corrupt, it is a false Church, was always a false Church, and always must be a false Church; and if it be not corrupt, but the true Church, then to refuse to accept it is to refuse to submit to God (10)

Remainder in the next number.

There are a great many points in this essay on which we have much to say, but as our whole doctrine is explained at large

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in various well-known books; and as Mr. Godwin, (and we believe Mr. Hempel) are preparing treatises on the religious aspect of Association, we shall confine ourselves to a few of the more flagrant errors of Mr. Brownson. These we have marked with figures, which refer respectively to the following notes.

(1.) Let it be understood, in the outset, that the Convention here referred to, expressly disclaimed the name of "Fourierist," and only desired to be known as Associationists; for the reason, that they hold the doctrine of Association to be a part of a great but undeveloped science, to which it is improper that the name of any individual, however eminent, should be affixed.

(2.) We have never pretended to be "judges of what is Christianity," for the simple reason that we believe Christianity susceptible of infinite applications, while we and other men of the present day are in possession of an inconsiderable portion of it only; but we do claim that we are governed in our conduct by the rules of Christian morality, that our teachings are strictly in accordance with the words of the Gospel, and that we have faith in the whole revelation of Jesus, a reliance upon his promises, an ardent desire to bring about that "reign of God upon earth" which He so frequently predicted, and a complete willingness to accept of every means suitable for the accomplishment of it, which he has sanctioned. That our principles can ever lead to the infidelity of Paine, Volney and D'Holback, we can hardly imagine, for they demonstrate, to our own minds, the false and unsatisfying nature of that infidelity, and teach us to avoid it as dangerous to the peace and virtue of society.

(3.) It has been our conviction all along, that our "starting-point" and "method" were precisely the same as those of Christ; and if they are not so, then we are certainly acting under a gross delusion. It is true, that we hold to the *original* perfection of human nature, according to Scripture, which says, when God created man, He pronounced him *good;* but at the same time, we hold that man has fallen from this "essential holiness," and become corrupt—so much so, that he is wrong in nearly all his ways and thoughts. Yet it is not true that we look upon this corruption as proceeding solely from extraneous causes. Man was himself the author it, through "an abuse of the freedom essential to his being as man," so that, "in consequence of this abuse, his nature has become exceedingly disordered, his appetites and affections depraved, his moral tastes vitiated, and he craves and relishes the meat that perisheth rather than the meat that endureth to eternal life." This is our starting-point, and we conceive that whoever contradicts us, questions our soundness as Christian believers. It is possible that some of the disciples of Fourier have made incautious and incorrect statements as to the origin of evil, but his school generally, and all who fully comprehend his doctrine, believe in the Fall of Man, which consisted in the substitution, by himself, of individual selfishness for general benevolence—the selfish gratification of his own desires for entire obedience to the will of God. What do we mean, then, by the essential perfection of Man's instincts, &c. &c.? Why, we mean that the same essential passions, which misdirected and misapplied, lead only to evil, would, if rightly directed, lead to good. The question as to how these passions can be rightly applied. belongs to the next part of our discussion.

(4.) It is untrue that we reject Christianity as a system of means, divinely devised and instituted for the recovery of man from sin, &c.; we accept it, and with it, the Christian Church, its ministries, sacraments and disciplines; and we simply look upon Association as a divinely-devised means of rendering that Christianity more effective in its application to the mass of men We do, however, reject the idea that Christ has specifically revealed all the "means" by which the knowledge and practice of his religion can be rendered more universal. The mariner's compass, and the steamboat, for instance, have been important agents in the christianization of the nations, yet we are not aware that they are particularly described by Christ. And so, we think the serial organization of industry would be an important agent in the further extension of Christianity, although it is not scientifically described in the Gospels. No one disputes that the Son of God has disclosed the Law of Life, although it is pretty evident that selfish men have obstructed the free course of that law; so that there is, consequently, no harm in attempting to discover the way of removing those obstructions, and giving that law a practical validity. That law of life, as we understand it, is, "Thou shalt love the Lord, thy God with all thy heart, &c. and thy neighbor as thyself;" but the present organization of society is such that seven-eighths of mankind are prevented from fulfilling it as it should be fulfilled. Now we wish to bring all the social relations of men into complete harmony with that law, by practicing what we can demonstrate scientifically to be the true organization of society; and for this, we are accused of opposing Christianity! Does Mr. Brownson mean to assert that man has nothing to do but to preach and pray, and go to church and receive the sacraments? If so, why does he himself take so earnest a part in the political controversies of the day? Has the proper form of goverment for this country been "disclosed" by the Son of God? Is the Democratic party, which Mr. Brownson sustains with so much inconsistent vehemence, one of the "divinely-devised and instituted means?" He can certainly mean no such thing. In a subsequent part of this same essay, he recognizes the "necessity of industrial associations;" let us ask him, then, when were they instituted, by Christ or by the Church? The fact is, that Christ has only disclosed the general principles by which men are to be governed, and has left the specific application of them in the various spheres of duty, and at the different stages of human progress, to man himself, who is to be governed in making such applications by all the light of science, experience and truth which He may have sent into the world. If that light comes through the Church, well and good: we will use it; but if it happens to come from an individual man, not in Holy Orders, we do not feel authorized to shut our eyes upon it, any more than we should on a telescope or a steam engine made by uncanonical hands.

Let us remark, however, not to be misunderstood, that we believe the Bible contains all truth, although we only see a portion of it now. As farther revelations are needed by Society, God will raise up men to extend its interpretation, and reveal the mysteries now hidden in the "letter."

The small sneer at the close of this sentence, at the "merchant's clerk--one Charles Fourier," comes with bad grace from one Mr. Brownson, who was formerly—a *blacksmith*—one of the most honorable facts in his career. Christ was himself the son of a carpenter—a reason why Christians should never look with contempt upon any laborious calling. That Fourier was a merchant's clerk, was of God's appointment; for it made him acquainted with the infernal fraud and depravity of "civilized" commerce, and led him to think of the right way of putting an end to its baneful incoherence. He deserves lasting remembrance —being a merchant's clerk, for bending his noble faculties to the high themes with which he was during his whole life engaged. Such one-sided and comparatively puny thinkers as our Boston Reviewer, may turn up their noses at one of the most gigantic intellects that God has vouchsafed the earth, but in doing so, they only place themselves on a level with a certain Lilliput who played a dirty trick on Gulliver.

(5.) We will only observe of this objection, that we propose to correct both the outward and inward together, and not any one of the two, at the expense of the other—the inward by the adoption of sentiments of fraternity and religious unity, and the outward by conforming all our external relations to the dictates of such sentiments. The difficulty at present is, that men now in possession of an "inward principle" of harmony and good will, cannot act it out in all the relations of life, except by the most painful struggles and conflicts, and then only in the most imperfect manner. The generosity of an employer, for instance, may prompt him to place all his workmen in circumstances of greater comfort, yet he cannot do this unless he ruins himself and his own family. There is an immense amount of religious truth and love in the world, which is comparatively ineffective,

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from the want of concentration, and which would be rendered altogether effective if it could be brought to the minds of men, now so scattered, so obscure, so worn down with toil and care, and depraved by the temptations of business and of corrupt associates. "Reform the inward man," says Mr. Brownson, "and nothing in the outward will be evil to him." This is not so; you must reform both the inward and outward, if you would have the perfect man. We have, however, no space for dwelling upon all these topics. and we make on this head only three remarks referring to Mr. Godwin's book, and the writings of Mr. Doherty, of London, for fuller explanations. 1st. There are large classes in existing society who cannot be reformed inwardly, until a change takes place in their outward circumstance, for the reason that they cannot be reached by religious influences, while all the actual influences about them are corrupting. 2d. Mere reform of the individual is not all that is necessary; he must be not only reformed from his present disfigurements, but all his faculties and susceptibilities must be perfected. But to perfect him, if it were possible, and still leave his outward circumstances the same, would only be to render his life more miserable. Suppose the organ of hearing made more sensitive, in the midst of that horrible discord which prevails in our cities, would it be any benefit to the individual? In the same way, would he not add to his sufferings greatly, if his moral sensibilities should become more acute? Let the outward be reformed, and then the inward progress would be a delightful and glorious gain. For, 3d., there is a mutual SOLIDARITY among the members of society, as there is among the members of the body, so that one member cannot suffer or rejoice, as St. Paul says, unless the other members suffer or rejoice with it—a fact, by the way, which lies at the bottom of the true doctrine of the Church. This notion of solidarity, strange to say, we first acquired from the pen of Mr. Brownson!!

(6.) Here is another misconception of one of the fundamental principles of Fourier. Neither he, nor any of his disciples, lay it down as a rule that you must please yourself, understanding by the term, that you must freely indulge all your propensities, without regard to what are commonly considered the dictates of morality. Our position is this—that man has a *harmonic* and a *subversive* destiny, the former characterized by disorder and incoherence in all his relations, and the other by order and convergency. The one is exceptional and temporary, pertaining to the infancy and disciplinary state of a race, and the other essential and permanent, pertaining to the maturity and advanced developement of that race. During the former, i. e. under the "curse," constraint, repression and self-denial are absolutely necessary, as can be demonstrated in many ways; but under the latter, i. e. the redemption—force and constraint will give place to attraction or love. Perfect justice, perfect truth, perfect goodwill, perfect devotion to the highest welfare of others, are duties, according to Fourier, of perpetual obligation, under all circumstances; but he adds that they can only be accomplished in incoherent society, by the most rigid self-restraint and discipline, whereas in a truly organized society, their accomplishment will be in entire concordance with the gratification of all our essential desires. How it is possible to get an unconditional "Please thyself" out of such a doctrine, without a wilful and gross perversion of it, surpasses our ingenuity. If Mr. Brownson will *read* our books he will see too, that Self-denial is an essential function of the soul, and the essence of religion, binding us to God.

(7.) For it is not pleasure or happiness that Fourier makes "the chief end of man." The chief end of man he holds to be Universal Unity, or the Unity of man with nature, in creative art and industry, the Unity of man with man, in true social relations, and the Unity of man with God, in true worship and devotion to his Will. These are the highest *duties* of man, for the execution of which he was placed on the earth. His main task is to find out, under all the teachings of Providence and Revelation, both natural and inspired, the best methods of adorning and governing the globe, by labor; the best methods of constituting his relations to his fellow men, and the best methods of worshiping the Creator in holiness and truth. In the fulfilment of this three-fold obligation alone, says Fourier, can he attain his true Happiness; for Harmony, Justice, Truth, Order, Peace, Unity are Happiness, and to nothing else can we look for Happiness, or we should say Blessedness, for when these are reached there will be no *hap* about the matter. Happiness and Universal Unity, rightly understood then, are convertible terms, and are frequently used as such throughout the writings of the Phalensterians. The attributes of God are Wisdom and Love, and when his creatures are brought to obey the laws of that Wisdom, then he communicates to them the fulness of that Love. It is a miserable prevarication for any man to attempt to deduce the notions of a voluptuous Epicureanism or a barren Utilitarianism out of such glorious truths as these! When Mr. Brownson, therefore, asks us, what motives we hold out or what duties we address, we answer him the most exalted motives and duties that can influence the human heart. It is true, that we sometimes appeal to inferior considerations, but it is always in subordination to the higher. We believe that "godliness is profitable," and so state to men, but not that "gain is godliness;" we would not "make ourselves friends of the Mammon of unrighteousness:" for we hold that if men "seek the Kingdom of Heaven, all worldly comforts will be added unto them," or in other words, that by the just and economical arrangement and distribution of the functions and proceeds of industry, the wealth of mankind would be immeasurably increased. God is good, and if we are faithful to his laws, he will pour into our laps, untold treasures, both material and spiritual. Does not Mr. Brownson believe this too?

(8.) When our eyes first fell upon these few paragraphs, we could scarcely credit their sight; we thought there must be some typographical or other error, by which the writer had been made to utter what he did not mean; we could not conceive how any honest man could invent such abominable distortions of the views of his fellow-men, and then proceed gravely to reason upon his own falsehood. Mr. Brownson, be it remembered, is here asserting as to a matter of fact and not interpreting an opinion. Now, we will not accuse him of deliberately speaking what he knew to be untrue; but we will say that for some cause not known to us, he has seen fit to put forth as gross a misrepresentation as was ever coined. The same freedom of language indulged in on any subject of business would render the falsifier liable to an action at law. He has not stated correctly our creed on any one of the points he enumerates—neither as to God, nor Christ, nor Revelation, nor the Church—but in regard to nearly all has most inexcusably misstated what we believe. This we shall show.

In the first place, let us remark however, that the disciples of Fourier have not yet determined or established any particular creed on various minor points of religious controversy. They have thus far simply come before the world as the teachers of a Science, which they wish to see judged of on scientific grounds alone, and not by the arbitrary standards of sects or parties. They propose a scheme for the organization of industry, the adoption of which they insist would be an immense step in advance of existing civilization. The real issue which should be raised against them then, is whether this plan is really in advance of the present system, whether it is consistent with itself, whether it is in accordance with the analogies of nature, and whether it is practicable. At the same time, looking upon the spirit of Christ's religion as the necessary animating principle of all reforms, they have turned their attention, more or less, to religious doctrine. Our views in these respects were thus explained in our Address to the People of the United States. The extract is long, but is pat to our present purpose.

"The basis of our Reform is Religious, although we wish to urge it only on the ground of Science. Our present aim is to conciliate, to a certain extent, all Sects and Parties, both in Church and State, by a plan for introducing Truth and Equity into our Industrial arrangements—which plan we can prove to be in consonance with Revelation, because it is Science. We accept the

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Book of Scripture as a standard both of Faith and Morals; and the Book of Nature as a test and standard of principles of Science, and by this double standard we require to be judged—received or rejected.

"The American Associationists, the only name by which we wish to be known, are not a sect in Politics or Religion; they ask all sects in Religion to try their principles for rendering Truth and Equity practical by that universal standard which all Sects adopt, the Bible; and they ask all parties in the State to leave the revolutionary field of party strife, and look dispassionately at universal principles of Scientific and Social progress.

"We long for unity among the material interests of men as the necessary groundwork and condition of higher spiritual unities. We wish to see the Truth and Love that are already in the world made practical, that by the very practice of them we may ascend to still superior degrees of Truth and Love. We think that the time for exciting and bitter controversy has ceased, and that the time for harmonious, friendly action has come. We think that the human mind has already run into a sufficient number of ultraisms to develope the infinite variety of its faculties and characters, and that the period has arrived for a general reconciliation. Matter and Spirit, Man and Nature, Earth and Heaven, have been too long at war; henceforth let them be at One.

"Associationists are not indifferent to Religious inquiry; they have a profound faith in the religious origin and destiny of the human soul; they believe in the Scriptures as the word of God; they trust in the universality of Providence; they hope to see the kingdom of Heaven realized on Earth. But they cannot set up any distinct theological creed, nor can they rely upon mere religious enthusiasm in the propagation of reform. And the reasons for their remaining neutral in these matters are, that in the multiplicity and conflicts of warring sects, they do not know which to adopt as exclusively in the possession of the truth; that they have already recruited to their ranks persons who are individually connected with every existing Church, such as the Roman Catholic, the Episcopalian, the Presbyterian, the Unitarian, the Universalist, the New Church, &c.; that they believe it to be the most just and rational policy to remain on the *positive* grounds of science which they can understand, without adventuring into the uncertain fields of speculation or polemics; and that the true Christian spirit, at this age of the world, demands the toleration of all who conscientiously adhere to religious truth. We recognize the right of every individual to remain connected with any branch of the Universal Church in which he may have been taught, or which he has conscientiously adopted; while we wish to hold up the science of Association as an Universal Science, at the service of every Church and Party.

"We do protest, however, against the fanaticism which claims the religious character exclusively for those engaged in doctrinal disputes or sectarian declamation, and which argues that a scientific body must be necessarily material or irreligious in opinion if it does not directly advocate some peculiar religious creed. We wish to promulgate the principles of Science and Order in Society; to neutralize the influence of a deadly selfishness and antagonism, both on the external condition of men and on their religious and political speculations; we wish to feed and clothe the poor, and harmonize the worldly interests of all parties, that religion may have universal and unceasing influence in reforming moral feeling and preparing souls for spiritual purity here and hereafter; and if for this we are to be accused of want of Faith and Religion, we must consider the accuser as destitute of charity, and a bigot. It is not true religion that opposes Science, nor can it be true Science that opposes true Religion, since they mutually illustrate and assist each other in the redemption of Humanity from ignorance, from disease, from suffering, from wrong, and from spiritual death.

"But we take higher than this mere defensive ground; we have positive principles to teach; we are propagandists; and while we steadily refrain from mingling with the peculiar religious feelings of any sect or individual, we yet assert that the true organization of every sect is only to be found in the principle of Association. Religious truth is the *principle* of unity and harmony, but it cannot be realized in *practice* universally, without a correspondent unity of action in the sphere of worldly interests. Association is the true form for the practical embodiment of religious truth and love; and while Attractive Industry and Unitary Combination are not themselves Religious Unity, they are the body or collective form in which alone the ordinances of Christianity, the spirit of Religion, the Universal Church can be incorporated, practically and incessantly; for without the Body the Spirit cannot be fully manifested on Earth.

"An important branch of the divine mission of our Saviour Jesus Christ, was to establish the kingdom of Heaven upon earth. He announced repeatedly, the practical reign of Divine Wisdom and Love among all men; and it was a chief aim of all his struggles and teachings to prepare the minds of men for this glorious consummation. He proclaimed the universal brotherhood of mankind—he insisted upon universal justice, and he predicted the triumphs of universal unity. 'Thou shalt love,' he said, 'the Lord thy God with all thy mind and all thy heart, and all thy soul, and thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets.' Again: 'If ye love not one another how can ye be my disciples?' 'I have loved you, that you also may love one another.' 'Ye are all one, as I and my father are one.' Again: he taught us to ask in daily prayer of our Heavenly Father, 'Thy Kingdom come, thy will be *done* on Earth as it is Heaven.' Aye, it must be DONE, actually executed in all the details of life! And again, in the same spirit his disciples said, 'Little children, love one another.' 'If you love not man, whom you have seen, how can you love God whom you have not seen?' And in regard to the *form* which this love should take, the Apostle Paul says, 'As the body is one, so also is Christ. For by one spirit we are all baptised in *one body*, whether we be Jews or Gentiles,' &c. 'That there should be no schism (disunity) in *the body*, but that the members should have the same care one for another; and if one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored all the members rejoice with it.' 'Ye are members one of another.'

"These divine truths must be translated into actual life. Our relations to each other as men—our business relations among others—must all be instituted according to this Law of Highest Wisdom and Love. In Association alone can we find the fulfilment of this duty; and therefore, we again assert that Association is the duty of every branch of the Universal Church. Let its views of points of doctrine be what they may—let it hold to any creed as to the nature of man—or the Attributes of God—or the offices of Christ—we say that it cannot fully and practically embody the spirit of Christianity out of an Organization like that which we have described. It may exhibit, with more or less fidelity, some tenet of a creed, or even some phase of virtue; but it can possess only a type and shadow of that Universal Unity which is the destiny of the Church. But let the Church adopt true Associative Organization and the blessings so long promised it shall be fulfilled. Fourier, among the last words that he wrote, describing the triumph of Universal Association, exclaims—'These are the days of Mercy promised in the words of the Redeemer, (Matt. v; 5,) "Blessed are they who do hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled." It is verily in Harmony, in Associative Unity, that God will manifest to us the immensity of his Providence, and that the Saviour will come according to his word, in "all the glory of his Father": it is the Kingdom of Heaven that comes to us in this terrestrial world; it is the reign of Christ; he has conquered Evil. *Christus regnat, vincit, imperat.* Then will the *Cross* have accomplished its two-fold destiny, that of *Consolation* during the reign of Sin, and that of *Universal Banner*, when human reason shall have accomplished the task imposed upon it by the Creator. 'Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness'—the harmony of the passions in Associative Unity. Then will the Banner of the Cross display with glory its device, the augury of victory; *in Hoc Signo Vinces;* for, then it will have conquered evil,

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conquered the gates of hell, conquered false philosophy and national indigence, and spurious civilization; *et portæ inferi non prevalebunt.*'"

Mr. Brownson intimates that he has read this address; yet, in the face of its solemn, emphatic, and unequivical professions of faith in the Bible, and in Jesus Christ, he asserts that we are about the veriest infidels on the face of the earth—that our God is a "mere force acting in our passions and instincts, and blooming in the trees," &c.—that our views of Christ are only rationalistic, that we hold revelation to be the blind "cravings of our instincts," &c., and that we utterly deny the church. Shame upon you, Mr. Brownson, for such unjust and malignant slanders.

We will, however, for the sake of those who do not belie and abuse their neighbors, be a little more explicit on these several points. Fourier only regarded himself as a man of science, and was strictly faithful to his mission in that respect. He did not meddle with theology, as such, leaving it wholly to the church; nor did he run through the whole circle of moral doctrine, adopting and rejecting each successively with an insane and satanic virulence: but, whenever he had occasion to speak of religion, in reply to the shallow and bitter sophists of the French press, he professed a faith in the Scriptures and in Jesus Christ, as his "Saviour" and "Redeemer." He regarded his discovery of the true Social Order, as a discovery of God's will as to Social Organization, and as the means of introducing that "Reign of Heaven," which Christ had foretold should come. His conceptions of God were not "a subtle pantheism," but just the reverse. God was to him an holy, good, wise, and perfect Being—a Personality, who governs the worlds with infinite wisdom, love, and power—the author of our spirits, and worthy of eternal adoration. Of Christ, as we said, he always spoke as the "Saviour of our souls," the scriptures he held to be a revelation from God, and to the church he appealed as an authority; but on this last point he is nowhere explicit. As to his diciples they have been recruited from all classes of thinkers, and have brought into the school some of their former doctrines, not with a view, however, of seeing them adopted, but in the hope that the time was at hand when all diversities of doctrine would be reconciled in harmony. Those among them who have investigated the religious aspects of Fourier's doctrine; such as Mr. Muiron of France, Mr. Doherty, of London, and to some entent, Mr. Hempel, Channing, Macdaniel, Dana, Godwin, and others in this country, have come to many positive conclusions on the points left untouched by their leader. In arriving at these conclusions, they have had an advantage over Mr. Brownson and others, that they are not left to arbitrary methods of research, nor to their individual reasons. Fourier, among other discoveries, has announced that he has found the TURE AND NATURAL METHOD of investigation, or in other words, the LAW OF THE SERIES, or the law by which God has distributed the harmonies of the Universe—the generatry formula of creation—the mould of universal order, by which variety is harmonized in unity, and which is the source of spiritual liberty and love. He holds that all natural objects, that all the functions of vegetables and animals, that the passions of the human soul, that the developments of history, all are regulated by Providence according to this law—simple in its unity, but infinite in its variety of applications, and therefore that human creeds, either in perversion or purity, are the results of the workings of this LAW—which when found will explain alike their aberation and their truth. Every variety of doctrinal opinion is the result of a peculiar character of mind, in a particular state of positive or negative development, and as God does not allow useless things, but causes even the wrath of man to praise Him, has its special function in the Universe, and when mature in growth, will ultimately be harmonized in unity. There is not a weed of natural or spiritual growth that comes into the world without a use, and our duty is to learn the USE of things, both good and bad. This we can do by the Law of the Series, which explains all mysteries in nature and in Revelation, in the Word and the Work of God. Now, we venture to say that M. Brownson, who talks so confidently of Fourierism, never thought of this law; we know that he does not understand it; and we ourselves, though we have been engaged for several years in the study of Fourier, are only imperfect in it, although there are others who have it completely in their possession.

(9.) The charge of "miserable eclecticism" cannot be brought against us; for, with the "law of the series," we have the NATURAL METHOD of investigating whatever of truth or error there may be in prevailing faiths. Mr. Brownson is right, however, in saying that we think all religions and worships contain partial truths, and that Paganism, Mahommedanism, Calvanism, Unitarianism, are fragmentary aspects of the one universal truth. But we do not hold these fragments to be of equal importance. Some are on the circumference of the circle, and some near the centre; but all are valuable in the study of the designs of Providence, and of the developements of the human mind. Nor do we regard "Christianity as a special department of religion in general," but the reverse, which is that all the good contained in various forms of religion are included and resumed in Christianity, which is the centre, the life and soul, the alone fully true, absolute, universal religion, destined to concentrate all varieties of partial light in its own general central unitary effulgence. Christ is the sun of the spiritual world, and as our sun is the pivot of the planetary world, so He is the pivot around which all spiritual planets and satellites must revovle, drawing all the light and life there is in them, from his infinite fulness.

Does Mr. Brownson regard Paganism, Mahommedanism, &c., as all evil? If not, then there is some good in them, which we are bound to seek; and if he does, then he is at war with the Roman Church, which is just now his standard of authority. Moehler, one of the most eminent of the Romanist writers, page 155, is decided on this subject. He says—"Nowhere are the religious ideas found pure; nay, everywhere they are polluted with great errors; yet in superstition, faith lies concealed; and this is the good element in the former. Even in the grossest Fetish worship, the aspiration of the human soul toward God is not to be denied, it proves that fallen man is still in possession of spiritual powers." He is here replying to the Lutherans as to their notion of the extreme corruption of man worked by the fall, and endeavors to show that in our worst estate, as heathens, we are not "all evil," which he illustrates by the religion of the Chinese and Hindoos. In all these, he argues "a divine spark still glows," they are "a kindred to divinity," bearing "an image of the God-head," and evidences that men are "striving after the truth." Shall we not be permitted to inquire then what this "divine spark" is, wherein "the element of good" consists? We doubt whether Mr. Brownson would deny this, so that his sneer at those who collect all and accept all, is more malicious than just. We have as poor an opinion of the "electicism" of Consin, which Mr. Brownson lately taught so earnestly, as he now has; but it is a lamentable error to confound that system with the method of those who have the central truth, the law of the Series, which enables them to group all varieties of doctrine in proper gradation, as those who know the laws of motion can group the planets about the sun, in their relative bearings and distances. We do not believe that any of the positive faiths which have had even an unimportant influence on the minds of men, are wholly worthless—much less those grand and stupendous fabrics of opinion, which have been the life-guidance of countless millions of men, during long ages of struggle and earnest seeking. But do we by this accept those faiths in any improper sense? Certainly not!

We are not materialists, because we find a great and important fact at the bottom of materialism, nor are we spiritualists, because we believe in the affirmations of spiritualism. For, the reason is, we do not accept either materialism or spiritualism exclusively, but admit what seems to us to be true in either, and reconcile the two as we may. Yet, whether we can reconcile them or not, we believe them, and leave it to profounder investigations to discover the mode of reconciliation. So when the Owenists preach to us that man is a creature controlled by his circumstances, we

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confess that he is; and when Mr. Emerson tells us that the Soul controls outward circumstances, we concur with him; but we differ from both, in not accepting their views respectively, as exclusive of the other, but as both partially right and susceptible of harmony. Indeed, we think that in the practice of Association, both opinions would be demonstrated, so that the influence of circumstances on man, and the influence of man over circumstances, would combine and blend in beautiful union, leading to reciprocal perfection. But we cannot dwell on this.

(10.) Here then we come to the gist of Mr. Brownson's objection to "Fourierism," and apparently everything else in the universe—the Church. Having wandered, like a lost child, through a wilderness of metaphysical and theological systems, Mr. Brownson at last found out, that there was in the world such a thing as the Christian Church; and having found this out, he straightway resolved, as is his wont when he chances to hit upon a truth that almost everybody knew before, that there was nothing else in the world. For the last six months or more, he appears to have seen, heard, talked, dreamed of nothing but the Church. It is his present hobby, which he rides on all occasions and in all places. He will hardly allow a man to eat his dinner, or do other naturally necessary things, unless he first consults the Church. Yet, incredible to relate, when he has been asked what he meant by the Church, he has been obliged to confess he did not know! It was a mysterious entity existing somewhere—he could not tell where—but at any rate, nothing could be done until its sanction had been first received. Even when the essay to which we are replying was written, he had not discovered his long sought Church, for, in a subsequent page, he whimpers that he is "without a home." But toward the close of the number, he faintly stammers out, that for the present he must put up at Rome. Well, we are glad that Mr. Brownson has found a resting-place—be it only a temporary one—after so many wanderings; and we hope, that he will now calmly survey, from his sacred retreat, the field over which he has gone, and, instead of blindly denouncing the poor wayfarers who are following his footsteps, let him lend them a kind and courteous hand of assistance in their perilous journey. As to ourselves, however, let us say, that, new as this matter of the Church is to him, it is not new to us. We have, for some time, been aware of its existence and its claims, and while he was battering its walls, were snugly seated on the inside. By this we mean, that Fourier and his School did not take an attitude of hostility to the Church. They propose a broad and sweeping reform, it is true, but it is a peaceful reform, within the Church and within the State. We ask no man, who adopts our methods of industrial organization, to COME OUT of the Church; we tell him to remain where he is, until in the Providence of God he is called to take another step; if his mind is undetermined on the matter, he must get the best light he can; but, whether determined or not, we do not counsel him to revolt against existing authorities either in Church or State. Our position in this respect was made known in an accredited publication, some three years since, when Mr. Brownson had not yet consciously turned his face toward the Church—from which the following is an extract:

The "confession of our Faith" being full and universal in the Word of God itself, we do not subscribe exclusively to any one alone of the various "confessions of Faith" in Christendom; but the difference between our private views of Christian doctrine and those taught by authority in any of the churches is limited to the mere human understanding of the Word of God, which we believe infallible in itself, however incompletely or improperly interpreted by human reason, and exclusive creeds; in which the consciences of men, particularly clergymen, have been imprisoned for a while: and we regard the advocacy of especial creeds by clergymen as that of hireling barristers, who plead from arbitrary laws and creeds for worldly fees as often as from conscientious motives.

Let us not, however, be misunderstood to say that any of the various "confessions of Faith" in Christendom are absolutely false or unscriptural; we do not mean to say so; but we deem them incomplete in affirmation and delusive in negation: sickly and sickening in professions of exclusivism: subversive in duplicity and not organic in variety

We believe that it is the duty of the Church to give complete instruction to all its members, and that every person so instructed or otherwise prepared to read and understand the Word of God, is bound in duty to "search the scriptures" for knowledge, and make known the light which God has given him, but not to claim authority for individual opinions in opposition to the Church; whether it be right or wrong in doctrine; sincere or not, in its professions.

If any private view at any given time, be more enlightened than the form of doctrine taught authoritatively, it will be ultimately, we believe, adopted by the church and taught accordingly: meanwhile it has no right to claim authority beyond the sphere of private judgment and subordinate association.

Liberty of private judgment then, and toleration of opinion, is all we claim, subordinate to the authority and discipline of the established Church in all religious doctrines.

Nor is there any danger to be apprehended for the liberty of conscience, in this submission to authority, or right or wrong in its particular creeds of orthodoxy; for, if the individuals invested with authority for the time being, should be less intelligent and conscientious than the general body of the people who have no authority, the principles of truth rejected by the sickly minds of those in power, will be rapidly assimilated by the great majority without authority; and as the ministers of power are always a minority in numbers they will be supplanted by more healthy minds in course of time; and thus the sacred principles of truth will ultimately be invested with authority, whatever sickness may afflict the minds in power for a while.

The principle itself, however, of divine authority should always be upheld, respected, and revered; for, without unity, there is no life, and Catholic authority is the embodiment of unitary or collective life. But then, authority which does not foster private judgment as an element of progress, and assimilate the truths elaborated periodically in the sphere of individual investigation with regard to doctrine, acts insanely and must die eventually of sheer inanition, as an individual who refuses to take nourishment of modern growth, believing there is nothing wholesome in the world but what has been already grown within the latitude of one small country. But orthodoxy is still more insane, for it expects the people to feed constantly upon the stale food prepared a thousand years ago, and hashed and stewed repeatedly in Protestant amalgamation without any new addition of importance to give flavor to it.

When orthodoxy which has long ago passed through the system of digestion, is served up again repeatedly for food, it causes spiritual pestilence or infidelity, and men refuse to feed upon it. In disgust they lose their rationality, denying that there is a God, or that such spiritual food can be from heaven.

Let it not be said that we confound the Word of God with orthodoxy: we do not. The spiritual food that is required must still be gathered from the field of Revelation; but old creeds of orthodoxy, like the stale food, are not the wholesome substance required for living bodies. The field of Revelation must be cultivated to obtain new spiritual food from year to year, as the great field of Nature must be cultivated to obtain new food for the material body.

In conclusion we may state that all parties should conform to the established Church and her authority, because

1st. If they do not know how to instruct themselves in religious doctrines and opinions, they should allow the church to instruct them; and

2d. If they do, with the help of God, know how to obtain instruction for themselves, and their opinions happen not to coincide exactly with the doctrines of the Church, they should conform submissively to her established disciplines, until their private views are better understood and finally accepted by the church; which, if true, they will be ultimately, and, if incorrect, they are better far without the sanction of authority.

This we believe to be Catholic doctrine conciliating the right of private judgment with that of Apostolical authority and unitary discipline.

Human creeds may err, and pass away successively, but not the Holy Catholic Church of Christ. The Word of God is perfect and immutable, but human understanding is progressive; therefore the interpretation of the Word of God and the discoveries of science in the field of Nature may vary with the various degrees of understanding in the human mind in every age; and thence we are told to "seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness and all these things (worldly blessings) shall be added unto us!" Spiritual doctrines of the Church at any given time are to be known by the fruits which they bear in ultimates or natural society.

Those who have faith in this Promise must know that all worldly blessings have not been added unto the people of Christen-

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dom, and, therefore, they ought to know that they have not fulfilled the conditions of the promise, by "seeking first the kingdom of God and his righteousness;" or if they have been seeking, they must confess they have not been seeking in the right way. Eighteen centuries of sad experience prove that we have all been seeking in the wrong direction and that a new direction must be given to our seeking before we can find the kingdom of God and his righteousness. But, in order to know what this new direction ought to be, we must know what the old direction is, and its delusive tendency.

If Mr. Brownson now asks us what we mean by "the Church," we reply, that as a School, we do not pretend to decide on the exclusive claims of the various "denominations" which pretend to be the One Holy Catholic Church. We have as yet found in none of them those signs of unity and universality which must belong to the True Church, although there are types of both Oneness and Catholicity in all. For this reason we conform to the disciplines in which we were educated, until God gives us light enough to take a higher position.

The writer of this, however, holds certain views of the Church, in which he believes he has the concurrence of many of his co-laborers. In the first place, we are quite sure that the Romish Church is no more One and Catholic than the Oriental, English or other Churches. There have been times when that Church was little more than a conclave of squabbling priests; its pretended infallible authorities have been often at open war with each other; and it is even now as much disturbed by intestine disputes and restlessness, as any of its neighbors—i. e. if Pope Gregory's encyclical letter of 1832 is to be believed. Yet the dogmatic heology of that church is perhaps more iberal than that of the majority of Protes-tants. In the second place, we are sure that the Romish Church, inspired and infallible as it may be, has committed some very gross mistakes in matters of science, and condemned a great deal that is excellent in literature, besides usurping a power over the individual conscience, for which it has no warrant in Catholic tradition or Scripture.

"What, then," exclaims Mr. Brownson, "did not Christ institue a Church?" We answer, yes! but that church has not yet come in its fulness and glory. Mr. Brownson is a metaphysician, and will therefore excuse us for using the metaphysical language of Coleridge in explaining what we mean. We say, then, that the one Holy Catholic Church of Christ has always existed *prothetically*—but that it has never existed synthetically. As a fundamental principle in potentiality, not as a synthesis of subject and object—i. e. as an actuality, has it been established. It seems to us that the Scriptures imply throughout, and it is quite certain that nearly all denominations of Christians have believed, that the present dispensation, as a dispensation, would come to an end, and be followed by another, which is spoken of as the Second Coming of Christ. All those glorious descriptions, and promises towards the Church, in which Sacred Writ abounds—all those commissions of high and infallable authority—apply to this Millenial or New Jerusalem Church—to this risen and glorified body of the Lord, who will then put all enemies under his feet. Let us here repeat what we have said to Mr. Brownson in another place.

"The Church, it is true, is the body of Christ, but it is his *broken* body: it is crumbled into pieces, and, like the fleshly body which was typical of it, must die and be buried, but after the third day rise again, a *glorified* body, and ascend to sit at the right hand of God. Let us go a little more into detail.

The true Church, we have said, must be characterized by the two divine qualities of unity and universality: for *the* Truth, like God, must be one and universal. Truth, from the very nature of it, is neither separable nor exclusive. It is one, though various, the junction of the two, unity and variety, making what we mean by universality.

Now, in the Providence of God, there has been a nation, a Church, which represented His unity. That nation was the Jewish, which worshipped *one* God, in one temple, according to one law, and through the medium of one series of ceremonies.

Gentilism, in contradistinction to Jewism, represents division. Its characteristic feature is poly heism; it is the worshipper of Nature; it has personified nature in all its parts; it has subjected the innumerable departments of the material universe to the control of imaginary deities; it is various, fragmentary, and conflictive.

There has been a Jewish Christian Church and a Gentile Christian Church, each characterized by the respective predominant feature of the two dispensations. The first was what is known as the Primitive Church of Jerusalem, the Church of St. James, described in the Acts of the Apostles. Little is there said about it, but this single thing, which is remarkable: "And all that believed were together and had *all things common*, and sold their possessions and goods and parted them to all as every man had need. And they continued *daily*, WITH ONE ACCORD, *in the temple*, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God and *having favor with all the people*." There has never been another Christian Church like this, for all that have come after it have been Churches of the Gentiles—of dispersion, of variety.

It is a notable fact this, that while there have been thousands of Christian Churches of the Gentile sort, there has been but one Christian Church of the Hebrew kind. Moreover, this one Hebrew Church was the mother of all the rest, and was the only one that ever held the Christian Church together in unity, the only one in which there existed the Christian principle of Association, "You are all one, as I and my Father are one." When this Church was destroyed, after the siege of Jerusalem under Titus, the Gentile Churches split into fragments, to fulfil their own especial functions as ministers of the Dispersion. Every subsequent effort to bring Gentilism under an ecclesiastical bond, has failed and must fail, Mr. Brownson and the Puseyites to the contrary notwithstanding, until the principle of law—*the divine law of unitary and universal government*—is introduced. The Jews, being the repositories of the Mosiac Law, typify this unitary and universal law of social government, the coming in of which is mystically foretold under the figure of the gathering of the Jews. The Church is then, not Gentile only as at present, but Jewish also; and it is this important fact to which the Primitive Church especially calls our attention, for along with community of interests, it observed all the rites and ceremonies of the Mosaic Law, and attended regularly at the ministration of *the* Temple. During nearly forty years of such ministrations, it directed the movements of the whole Christian world. It did not, however, impose the Jewish observances upon Gentile Christians. It could not. They were local observances confined to Jerusalem. And so long as Jerusalem was a locality, in such locality could the rites and ceremonies of Jewism be observed.

But Jerusalem is destined to become a universality—a doctrine—a faith—a hope—a principle—a common bond of unity—the city of God, whose walls are salvation and its gates praise—the joy of the whole earth; and until this happy period arrive, the Gentiles are dispersed, each people, sect and party to its own function, to work out the spiritual problems of the dispersion, till God arise the second time to gather the dispersed of universal Israel on the earth as he formerly gathered the dispersed of the particular Israel on the mountains of Syria. Any attempt, therefore, of a one-sided Gentile Church, be it Roman, Anglican, Grecian, Puseyite or Brownsonese, will fail because it has not the principle of universality and unity. The Jews remain the same until the end, protest-ants to the Church of the dispersion, "until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled; and then all Israel shall be saved," &c. Were the conversion of Israel to take place as the Christians expect, by mere conversion to Gentilism, Israel would be lost, the distinction between the two Churches would be annihilated, there would be no apparent end or purpose served by the eighteen hundred years of protest, which the Jews have kept up against the Gentile Dispensation.

What then, is our conclusion from all this? Why, that neither Jew nor Gentile are to enjoy the privilege of subduing each other, but that a new people is to arise, reconciling the principles of both, and by joining the *various* and the *one*, make that true universality which will be the character of the third dispensation. The law of Moses will then be restored in its glorified substance; the priesthood of Aaron will be revived in its glorified substance; then both Law and Gospel will be fulfilled, and the truth of each be made manifest. The God-man Jesus, the individual Christ, will be magnified from the individual to the universal, and the whole Church become the body, (no longer broken,) of the Son of God, and partakers of his divine nature. Christian Association, as pre-figured in the earliest Church, will come down from Heaven with power and great glory."

We have other remarks to make in the next number.

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LETTER FROM MR. BRISBANE.

The following letter from Mr. Brisbane, received by the steamer Britannia, will be read with interest by our friends everywhere.

Paris, June 13th, 1844.

To the members of the Associations now formed or organizing in the United States:

Friends—You will, no doubt, be gratified to learn of my safe arrival at Paris, and of the cordial and enthusiastic reception with which I, as Representative of the Associationists of America, have been greeted by the disciples of Fourier in France. The open arms with which I have been received by the friends of the cause here, has indeed been most gratifying to myself, on personal grounds, and also in a much higher degree as an earnest of that grand brotherhood of all nations and all the members of the race, which a strong sympathy in one common cause is soon to bring upon this earth.

I have explained to our friends here the nature of our great practical movement in favor of Association, which is now so powerfully agitated, and they feel deeply rejoiced that a People has been raised up by Providence, the laboring portion of which is intelligent enough to understand, and otherwise able to realize, in practice, the great principles of social science discovered by Charles Fourier. In Europe—the most advanced portion of the globe—they can only be carried out with the aid and consent of that portion of the population least interested in reform, and most deeply tainted with the selfism of civilization—the rich and the great—and in all other countries, ignorance and despotism are insuperable barriers.

Every aid and facility that the friends of Association in France can afford to their fellow-Associationists in America, in the way of extending their knowledge of Social Science, and helping in the sphere of practical organization, will be rendered most cheerfully. To this end a copy of the voluminous and precious manuscripts left by Fourier, will be confided to me. Copies and drawings of the plans of the Edifices of an Association will be made, and also of the Domain, including the location, relative proportions, and distribution of the gardens, fields, &c. &c., during my stay here, and all other information of a theoretical or practical character, possessed by our friends in France, will be communicated to me.

To accomplish these designs will require my stay here for the remainder of the present year, at least, and I shall not be able to return to America before April next, when I hope to join my friends again in my native land, and hold myself in readiness to lend the Associations which may desire my assistance or advice, all the aid in my power, by furnishing them with plans and directions, and visiting them personally.

As we in the United States are now entering into the sphere of practical organization, which at the outset must, of course, be more or less experimental, it is of the highest importance for the success of our cause and the welfare of the Associations coming into existence, that all the knowledge that can be obtained calculated to make our cause clear and easy, shall be concentrated; and I shall receive from the friends of the cause here the results of their studies, and their advice and counsel.

Permit me to advise you to make, during the present year, all the preparations in your power—such as preparing brick-yards, collecting building materials, planting nurseries of fruit-trees, obtaining as many different species and varieties of grains, vegetables, flowers, and animals, as possible, and all other objects necessary to the *material* organization of a Phalanx. While here, I will be happy to procure such varieties of fruits, grains, &c., peculiar to France and other parts of Europe, as may be desired and ordered.

With the warmest wishes for your welfare, and the strongest assurance of my desire to co-operate with you as far as possible in the noble work in which you are now embarked, I subscribe myself, most cordially,

Your obedient servant,

A. BRISBANE.

Mr. Brisbane has intimated his willingness to procure seeds, plants, animals, &c., which may be obtained through the Editors of the Phalanx, by giving directions, and remitting the money to be expended. Our next will probably contain some interesting information concerning the cause of Association in Europe.

SECOND PART OF FOURIER'S REFUTATION OF THE GAZETTE DE FRANCE.

For some time past the secret influence of the philosophic *Pandemonium* had enjoined the discipline of general silence in the press, concerning the science of "attractive industry," but the indiscreet *Gazette* has disobeyed the word. It is proverbially noted for its gossiping propensity, and notwithstand the tactics of *obscurism*, one of its scribes, inspired with a new idea, has aimed a fatal blow of calumny against my principle, by charging them with insult to our Saviour, Jesus Christ.

The cause of this attack was a speech made by one of my partisans, at a scientific meeting on the subject of *attractive industry;* after which, the orator, Mr. V. Considerant, took part in a religious controversy; a subject quite foreign from my science; and, therefore, whatever may have been said on such a question, does not, in the least, affect my responsibility. I never interfere with the religious opinions of those who adopt my principles of science, nor do I deem it necessary for me to do so.

Why should I be more intolerant than the Pope himself, who forms alliances and enters into contract with people who deny the Divinity of Christ? The agent of the Pope, in contracting for a loan with an Israelite banker, does not make a point of attacking his religion; and why should I, a simple individual of no authority, take upon myself to force conformity with my religious feelings and opinions? Some of my partisans are Jews; and what have I to do with that? My science, being purely industrial, is equally free to all religious sects; and though I am myself a Christian, I only teach the science of *attractive industry;* and neither my religion, nor my science, are affected by the peculiar opinions on religion held by those who advocate my theory.

If, then, it were true, (but it is not,) that the orator, Mr. V. Considerant, had professed opinions in opposition to the Gospel, my principles could not be held responsible for his errors, or for any opinions contrary to my own.

But the fiery *Gazette* has brought my name in question, and declaimed against what its scribes are pleased to call *Fourierism*, indicating my theory of *attractive industry*. Amongst a number of perfidious misrepresentations, the scribes have *manufactured* and inserted a dozen lines of libre, in which Jesus Christ is really INSULTED, BUT, BY THE SCRIBE OF THE GAZETTE, who has falsely attributed them to Mr. Considerant, whose written and spoken opinions are diametrically opposed to those attributed to him by the impious journalist.

Mr. Considerant immediately threatened the *Gazette* with an action for libel and defamation, if his own reply were not immediately inserted; but the perfidious journal, not daring to refuse insertion, evaded the effect of justice, by an unfair manœuvre in the printing, and a delay of three weeks time in its edition for the provinces.

These scribes say, that "I wish to be the *God of the material World*," and sometimes they dub me with the title of "Messiah." What a pity it is they do not add a handsome pension to these Godlike honors!

Is it, then, pretending to deify one's-self, when one simply follows the divine precept,—"Seek, and ye shall find?" and having discovered any of the laws of God and Nature, is it infringing on the power of God merely to explain those laws to man? Did Kepler and Newton pretend to be gods when they discovered and made known the laws of God concerning our solar system and the mechanical equilibrium of celestial bodies?

On the contrary, I am, perhaps, the only person who has fully ruined those who really usurp the right of God. I have proclaimed the principle of a Universal Providence, and, in virtue of that principle, the necessity of seeking for the pre-ordained laws of harmony and unity relating to society, instead of trusting to the arbitrary laws of man. Jesus Christ himself repeatedly enjoined us to seek for God's social

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code of laws, and predicted its discovery when truly sought; and if those who take credit to themselves for *ultra-piety*, had sufficient hope and faith in Providence, they would adhere to the letter of the Gospel dispensation, and believe our Saviour, who assures us that his Heavenly Father's Providence extends even to the numbering of the hairs of our heads. It is, indeed, injurious to our Maker to doubt his Providence in pre-ordaining laws of social harmony for man, when he see that, from the greatest to the smallest works of his creation, he has provided laws of unity and harmony for their correlative conditions. Having provided laws of social unity for the enormous globes revolving in infinity, and also for the smallest insects inhabiting those globes, how is it possible to think he would neglect to make a similar provision for the social regulation of mankind? "Has he not provided for the fowls of the air, and how much more worthy are we than they?"

It is impious, then, to doubt the Providence of God; and Jesus Christ has told us that our duty is to "seek that we may find" the code of social harmony and justice which our Heaveuly Father has prepared for us from all eternity. It is, in fact, impossible to think that God has not provided for the most imperious of our wants, a code of harmony for human society, to regulate industrial economy, producing an abundance of worldly comforts, for the happiness of all in perfect justice, and applicable to all the nations of the earth without exception.

The discovery of this code of social laws, is the task assigned to us by Christ himself, concerning this probationary state in which we should prepare for an hereafter; but philosophy has left us neither faith nor hope in the universality of God's providence, nor a spirit of charity extending to the whole of human-kind.

Philosophy only talks of gaining riches for one or two nations of the earth, leaving the rest to languish in ignorance and misery. Forgetting that God is the Creator of the whole universe, and that his laws are made for all his creatures,—from the greatest to the smallest, the planet to the insect,—our modern legislators and philosophers have usurped the power of God; neglected the study of his laws of harmony, and made society the tool of men like *Bartholus*, *Cujas*, *Mirabeau*, and *Target*, of whom it may be said with truth, that they usurp the power of God in governing society by arbitrary rule, instead of following the precepts of the Gospel, and studying the will of Heaven: for, not only do they themselves refuse to study the will of God revealed to us in his eternal laws of mental, moral, and mechanical attraction, but they even vilify and persecute whoever questions their sophistical infallibility.

Christ has plainly told us what we are to think of such scribes and philosophers "Ye hypocrites," says he, "well did Esaias prophecy of you, saying,—This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honor me with their lips; but their heart is far from me. But in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."—(St. Matth. xv. 7, 8, 9.)

It is utterly false, then, to say that I pretend to be a God, either of the MATERIAL or the spiritual world. I render to Cæsar that which belongs to Cæsar; and to God, that which belongs to God, the right of legislating for humanity. But why should the scribes of the *Gazette* accuse me of wishing to be the "God of the *material world*" more particularly? This is a point requiring explanation.

It is said that my principles are subversive of Christianity, because they tend to harmonize in regular development, those passions or sources of activity in the human soul, which Christ enjoined us to subdue and mortify. Now, in the first place, nothing could tend more to subdue the passions in perfect harmony, than my science of *passional mechanism* and *attractive industry*, which prevents excess by infinite variety of action; and as for the doctrine of *mortification*, it is not true that Christ intended it to last for ever. It was only meant to last during the periods of social incoherency which mark the progress from the fall of man to the full regeneration; and in these periods of ignorance, privation and injustice, it is absolutely necessary; but when, "by seeking, we have found the kingdom of Heaven and its justice," which means the laws of moral equilibrium in the physical and mental activity of human society, there will be no longer any need of an *oppressive* discipline to make us pure in heart and mind. We shall then be governed by a law of love in expansive equilibrium, infinitely more efficient than the law of fear, and compressive self-denial.

We must, of course, admit that the law of self-denial and positive restraint is absolutely necessary in the present state of things; but Christ, in telling us to "seek the kingdom of heaven and its justice, that all worldly comforts may be added unto us," has also given a foretaste of physical enjoyment to those who manifested faith in his prediction. At the feast of Cana, did he not change the water into excellent wine? and did he not multiply the loaves and fishes to feed the multitude whose faith had led them to the desert with him? This miracle he worked to recompense their faith in trusting to his power without anxiety for their own comfort. He himself took pleasure in speaking of his own dependency: "The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man has no where to repose his head."

He also rebuked those who accused him of faring sumptuously; saying,—"John the Baptist came neither eating bread nor drinking wine; and ye say, He hath a Devil. The Son of Man is come eating and drinking, and ye say, Behold a gluttonous man and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners. But wisdom is justified of all her children." It is evident, therefore, that he deemed wisdom quite compatible with worldly comfort, and in order to join precept with example, he took his seat at a table served with delicacies, in the house of a publican who invited him; and when the courtezan anointed his hair with perfume, he rebuked the publican who blamed her for her services. To the woman herself he said, "Thy sins are forgiven: thy faith hath saved thee." Compassionating with the sex that is most oppressed, he pardoned Magdalene and the adulteress, rebuking those who had accused them. Nor did he forget to say, "My yoke is easy, and my burden is light."—(St. Matth. xi. 30.)

It is clear, then, that our Redeemer was no enemy to riches and refinement; all he commanded was, that to worldy pleasures we should add a genuine faith in universal providence, and a proper use of heaven's bounty, in seeking for the kingdom of justice and the science of social harmony.

Nor be it said that Christ, in speaking of the kingdom of Heaven and its justice, alluded to a future life alone, where worldly comforts are spoken of in allegory, for he knew well that neither food nor raiment would be wanting there. It is not, then, of a future state he speaks, in promising us worldly blessings: and, the better to prevent mistake, he adds, "Let those hear who have ears to hear," meaning that his parables were true both ways, and that there are two kingdoms of heaven; one already in existence, and another to be finally established upon earth.

Philosophers deny all this, and ridicule the notion of a better state of things, because it has been hidden from their mental vision; and the unreflecting public fondle the delusion. This state of things is spoken of in Scripture, where it says—"They are as the blind leading the blind."

St. Mark has truly said of these, "Ye neither understand the Scriptures, nor the power of God."

A single instance of the power of God is quite enough to prove that the pretensions of philosophy to regulate society are incomparably deficient. The sole power of distributing our faculties, gives our Maker the facility of rendering any social law attractive and complete; while philosophers, who have no such power, can never make us like their schemes in opposition to our nature.

On the other hand, we are sure to err in misery by submitting to the arbitrary laws of human reason, which are not attractive to our innate feelings: for philosophy has not the power of altering our faculties, so as to adapt them to a liking for *oppression*, *poverty*, *prisons*, *hulks*, *taxation*, and *anxiety*, with all the other "graces" of human legislation and "liberal perfection."

These considerations are alone sufficient to inform us that God must have originally

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made a plan for social happiness, and that it is our duty to obey the Gospel, in "seeking for the kingdom of Heaven and its justice," revealed to us in all the laws of natural phenomena in matter and in mind.

Such will be the mechanism of *passional attraction* and industrial economy. And Jesus no doubt alluded to the scientific mission of an interpreter of these laws, when he said, "I speak to you in parables; but he who will come after me, will speak to you in spirit and in truth." He who wished "that the things of Cæsar should be given unto Cæsar, and that the things of God be rendered unto God," also wished that human reason should be left to do the work imposed on it by God; and thus reveal to man the kingdom of Heaven and its justice, in the scientific mechanism of *attractive industry* based upon the principles of moral and religious unity.

As John the Baptist came before Christ with the mission of *precursor*, to announce the coming of the word, so another was to come after Christ with the mission of *coadjutor*, to study and reveal the laws of social mechanism by which peace and plenty will reward the general practice of truth and justice, and the human race commence the work of absolute regeneration.

This is the task of the Messiah, of whom M. de Lamartine, in his conversations with Lady Esther Stanhope on Mount Lebanon, spoke as being "yet to come," affirming "that those who are now living will see him with their own eyes, and for whose mission all things seem to be preparing in the world."

But here, again, we may apply the words of Christ, "Do not ye after their works, for they say and do not."—St. Matthew, xxiii. 3.)

If it be true "that a man is soon to appear with an extraordinary mission in science, and that, as all things are prepared in this world for his coming, we shall certainly see him in person;" how comes it, that when he has actually made his appearance and proved his mission by revealing a new science that will solve all the problems of social and political harmony,—how comes it, say, that all the learned world refuse to hear him, and absolutely form a coalition of *obscurism* to prevent the public from acquiring a knowledge of his science, or even of his existence, though he can prove that he has strictly followed the injunctions of our Saviour, and that he speaks in the simple, clear, and *natural spirit* of *mathematical truth* which children may understand; and the science which he thus reveals will teach us how to banish from the earth those hideous social ulcers, *poverty*, *crime*, *slavery*, *mercantile fraud*, and all the moral evils so much loathed in the sight of God?

We have many philosophers who speak and write *piously*, because *piety* is now-a-days a political instrument; but it is not so easy to find people who are really pious in fulfilling the commands of Christ. If our philosophers were truly pious, they would say, "This theory of *attractive industry* should be carefully examined and tested by experience, for, if it be really true and practicable, its results would be prodigious.—Besides creating wealth in great abundance, it would totally eradicate the germs of revolution; and of moral and religious discipline, it certainly affords the most secure foundation. In our present moral theories, we do indeed inculcate a love of honest industry, but then we must admit that little has been done to render it *attractive*. This author says he has discovered the science of *attractive industry* in conformity with the natural impulsions of mankind, and that, besides being proved by all the principles of science, his theory may easily be tested by a limited experiment on a single parish containing three or four hundred families. This is a great advantage compared to the dangers of political reforms affecting a whole nation by every new experiment. Should the experiment fail altogether, it will only affect a single parish, and if it be found defective in some of its parts only, we can probably correct its defects, and improve it as a whole."

This would be the language of impartiality, but it is not to be expected from the learned corporations of this boasted centre of civilization, Paris.

The title of "Messiah" is, however, as applied by M. de Lamartine, in speaking of the man whose mission was announced by Christ, improperly applied to a mission of mere science. John the Baptist was the prophet whose mission was that of a *precursor* to Jesus Christ, and my mission is that of the prophet *post-cursor* and *coadjutor*, announced by Christ to solve the Christian problem, and complete the scientific part of human regeneration with respect to *industry alone* and *social equity;* but I am not a *Messiah*, though the *Gazette de France*, in its furious attacks, accuses me of being in pretension both a "God" and a "Messiah."

There is nothing mystical in a purely scientific mission; and though the function of a prophet and coadjutor in human regeneration has fallen to my lot, it is not the mission of one specially elected, like John the Baptist, but a mission open to all the human race, any one of whom was free to study and interpret the social code of laws devised by God to introduce on earth "the kingdom of Heaven and its justice," whenever *human reason* should perform the task imposed by Christ, of "seeking till we find; asking that it may be given; and knocking that it may be opened unto us;" to see and understand the laws of social harmony and *passional attraction*.

I have performed this mission in accordance with the bidding of our Saviour, by leaving the beaten track of arbitrary speculation and the cunning of philosophers, of whom the world's Redeemer said,—"O generation of vipers, how can ye, being evil, speak good things? for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh."—(St. Mat. xii. 34.) "Woe unto you, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites, for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness. Even so ye also outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity."—(St. Matth. xxiii. 27, 28.)

These words are truly applicable to those philosophers of our day, who land the present state of civilization as the *beau-ideal* of society, though it is based on the most odious principles, such as the following, which are openly professed:

"It is absolutely necessary to keep the multitude in poverty in order to enrich the few, and, not being able to prevent the horrors of this state of things, we must learn to look upon them as *necessary* evils."—These maxims are indeed worthy of a sect which holds the principles of sceptical philosophy, and publicly asserts "that the mass of the people can never be happy until the last of the kings shall have been strangled with the gut-strings of the last of priests," and whose watch-word in the work of human massacre, is "Down with the impostor," (*écrasez l'infâme*,) meaning Jesus Christ. Is it a wonder, then, that these philosophers oppose my doctrine, which was announced by Christ himself as the *industrial mechanism of truth* and the *simple spirit of social harmony*, to be revealed by the interpreter of God's social code, WHO WAS TO COME AFTER CHRIST?

Let me not be misunderstood in saying this; for I ask nothing for myself, neither mediately nor immediately. My mission is to speak the *truth*, and minister to the *Holy Ghost*. Jesus Christ has said, "He that loveth me not, keepeth not my sayings: and the word which ye hear is not mine, but the Father's which sent me. These things have I spoken unto you, being yet present with you, but the comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you."—(St. John, xiv. 24, 25, 26.) Now the literal meaning of the words *Holy Ghost* being the *spirit of truth*, it is clear that every principle of truth and harmony is an emanation of the Holy Ghost, or the *universal spirit of truth;* and, in this sense, the science of social harmony is the social "comforter," explaining all things relating to the practice of truth and justice upon earth.

We may again repeat with Christ, that "the light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil."—(St. John, iii. 19.) This is true of the present state of philosophy, containing at least one hundred thousand different and contradictory systems, none of which will bear the light of a comparison with that science of social mechan-

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tion and attractive industry it has been my lot to discover; and which consists in harmonizing all our instincts and desires by means of an industrial and domestic combination, the leading springs of which are,—

1. Regularly graduated scales of discord and natural inequalities.
2. The proper combination of series and groups in the functions of industry.
3. Variety of occupation, and a free choice of function, subject only to real skill and due qualification.

Whether this be or be not the true principle of industrial mechanism and social harmony, there can be no doubt that the present age, so frequently convulsed by the disastrous innovations of unsound philosophy, has need of some new science to secure stability and peaceful progress. After trusting to political and moral theories in vain for centuries and centuries past in misery, it is natural to try another mode of innovation, which, if even inefficient, is at least secure from danger and convulsion. Those who have property at stake ought certainly to tire of a philosophy which only serves to generate iniquity, and oppose the influence of pernicious doctrines by a principle which is, in all respects, the very opposite. The arbitrary doctrines of philosophy would vanish into darkness and oblivion as soon as the real principles of social policy were practically tested; for this is the principle of which Christ has said, "*Et portæ inferi non prævalebunt.*"

What are these "Gates of Hell" of which he spoke? there are, at least, two which are easily recognized: intolerant philosophy, and the spirit of self-righteousness which is not less intolerant. Both of these are worshippers at the same shrine of superstition: that of a PASSIVE and INERT resignation to the principle of evil and the horrors of competitive society. The one tells us that "crime and misery are the necessary results of civilization, and that we must submit to them patiently without hoping to avoid them;" the other tells us "that we must resign ourselves to suffering in this world, in order to obtain our reward in the next:" but those who preach these doctrines, take very good care not to follow them themselves. They invariably secure for themselves as much as they can of the comforts of life, and then deliberately tell their starving brethren to suffer patiently the wrongs which they endure.

It is no doubt proper to resign ourselves with patience and forbearing, as long as society remains in ignorance and poverty; but Christ himself has told us that this state of things was not to be *perpetual*, and that it was our duty to escape from it as soon as possible, by seeking the kingdom of Heaven and its justice, that all worldly comforts might be added unto us abundantly.—He expressly told us also to be *active* in our faith, and not to indulge our idleness in a *passive* and *inert* resignation to the principle of evil; but to seek that mechanism of social justice which is now revealed through the science of *attractive industry* and *combined economy*.

What can be the cause of this passive and inert resignation to the principle of evil, in the church? During eighteen centuries the ministers of Christ have warned us against the baneful doctrines of philosophy; was it not their duty, therefore, to follow the injunctions of our Saviour, and seek, till they discovered, the science of social harmony, and its principles of truth and practical equity? But, supposing their efforts to have been constant, thoug inadequate, is it not, at least, their duty to protect the man who has devoted thirty-eight years of a laborious life to the seeking and discovering of the principles of justice and social regeneration?

The Church has evidently lost her equilibrium: she has been betrayed into the hands of vain philosophy; for those who call themselves the "pillars of the Church," are neither more nor less than sceptical philosophers.

What are these scribes or the *Gazette*, but sceptics in disguise, forming a pandemonium of *obscurism*? proscribing every attempt at social progress, and supporting the monopoly of privilege and sophistry.—Its proceedings in 1829 were more scandalous than those of any other journal published in Paris. It is a well known fact, that the most abominable system of intimidation was used to terrify those amongst the public functionaries who did not generally purchase the *Gazette*.

These pretended champions of religion, are betraying both the monarch and the Church, for no party is more deeply interested in the welfare of the people, than the clergy of the Church of Rome, and the King of the French nation, who is more or less suspected by all the kings of Europe.

The vessel of St. Peter has evidently lost its rudder, for, during the last half century, it has been so badly governed, that the clergy have lost almost all their former influence; and as for the throne of France, it is so far humbled, that it dares not venture to resist the influence of American chicanery, which has recently constrained us to admit a doubtful claim upon our treasury.

All parties, then, are equally interested in the progress of truth and general prosperity; and, as all the schemes of fanciful philosophy have failed, it is but rational to expect a contrary result from the practical application of those principles which are, in all their bearings, the very opposite of incoherency and *individualism*.

It is in vain for the blind members of the Church to think, that if it were possible to establish harmony and justice in society, Christ himself would have revealed to us the science of its organization; for, I have already proved that he commanded us to seek it in ourselves, and by the aid of *human reason*, in connexion with an ACTIVE faith in Providence and all his promises.

Ministers of the Church,—you whose mission it is to call sinners to repentance—are you not sinning, yourselves, against the doctrines of Christianity? By adopting the tactics of sceptical *obscurism*, and opposing my theory by your premeditated silence, are you not opposing the will of your master, who announced the scientific mission of human regeneration?

You are witnesses to the declining influence of Christian principles and the spreading influence of mystical and sceptical philosophy; and though you may deem these systems of philosophy too absurd to be generally introduced, still it is your duty to be active in your opposition; for the general aberrations of material and inductive philosophy may give rise to sects whose doctrines would be no less offensive than the Atheism of the Owenites, and the spoliating tendencies of St. Simonism in its doctrines of inheritance. If you remain blind to the duties of your mission, you will shortly have in Europe as many heterogeneous sects of religious doctrines as there are in America, and civil war is almost the inevitable product of this religious anarchy.

In this dilemma, your only safety lies in bringing into practical consistence my principles, which will rapidly supersede the influence of your natural enemies, the sceptical philosophers.

You need not be alarmed at the risk of fostering an error; for, one single experiment would prove it to be true or false without endangering the present constitution of society. Remember, also, that the most useful discoveries have been generally ill received at first: the simple grain of *coffee*, and that very useful root the *potato*, were prohibited as *poisons*, by the learning of a Parliament. The first inventors of steam-engines were most of them insulted, and some of them were even put to death. Columbus was banished for announcing even the probable existence of a New Continent, and the thunder of an excommunication was hurled upon his head from the Holy See of Rome; then, surely, you should pause before you condemn.

And yet, we can hardly expect to find wisdom and discernment in the Church, when we see the Universal Bishop stigmatising equally both friends and foes. In the last *index*, published at Rome, we find names classed together without any rule of justice. The Church, in her distress, has lost her mental equlibrium and discernment. She has inconsiderately classed the name of the celebrated Christian poet, *De Lamartine*, with that of *St. Simon*, the avowed opponent of the Roman clergy; and to make the matter worse, my name has been connected with the enemies of property, although my principles would introduce at least twenty-four new sources of security to private property, in addition to those which are already in existence.

It is a strange anomaly, that the Christian Pontiff should denounce the only man

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who has demonstrated, by *mathematic revelation*, the necessary existence of a God, and the universality of Providence. Before my discovery, the very existence of Deity was questioned in the name of science; but this delusion of Atheism, arising from the aberrations of reason, is now completely dissipated in the sphere of real science.

These errors of the Church prove that vain philosophy has stolen its way into the Vatican, and the bewildered Pope of Rome is now the dupe of scepticism.

This language may be deemed severe, but no one has so good a right as I to call the Church to an account for her neglect of duty. I am, perhaps the only innovator, having every chance of founding a new religious sect, who has not thought of doing such a thing. My doctrine satisfies, at once, the natural desires of both soul and body, in this world and in the next: I have had, therefore, several chances of founding a religious sect, which no man ever had before.

But my mission is not to create a new sect; in fact, I look upon all religious schisms as brands of discord: and, as my task is to conciliate all parties in both Church and State, by the institution of *attractive industry* and *social equity*, I am opposed to all the arts of policy which would cause disturbance, and class me amongst mere turbulent agitators. I disavow also, beforehand, whoever might, when I am gone, make any such abuse of my conciliatory principles, which serve invariably the interests of all parties.

[To those who have "ears to hear," and "eyes to see," nothing can be more beautifully clear than Fourier's elucidation of the Gospel; but many there are, within and without the pale of the Christian Church, whose mental vision is too much obscured to recognize the light. The Church itself has long been more or less eclipsed by negative philosophy; but soon, we feel convinced, the shadow of uncertainty will gradually vanish, and leave the type of unity to re-assert her mission by dispensing light and heat, in spirit and in truth, to all the human race.]

From the Spirit of the Age.

ASSOCIATION.

Visit to Greenville, Pa.—Lectures—Association not Infidelity.

Mr. Foster—According to my promise, I now proceed to give you a very brief statement of my visit to, and lectures at West Greenville, Mercer Co., Pa., on the subject of Association.

West Greenville is a beautiful town, in the north-west part of Mercer Co., on the Shenango Creek. The Beaver Division of the canal runs through it. Not only is the town very handsome, and the valley in which it is, very rich, but the adjacent country, is also fertile and beautiful to the eye. The town is 73 miles, by the canal, from Bridgewater on the Ohio.

West Greenville contains about 900 inhabitants; and the mechanics of the place I do not think are exceeded by those of any other, for intelligence, skill, and correct deportment.

Owing to your valuable paper, the citizens got to know something of the movements going on in Association, and they did me the favor to ask me to visit their town, for the purpose of delivering lectures on this great subject, which so nearly and deeply interests humanity. With unfeigned pleasure did I accede to their request.

I delivered two lectures on Thursday the 6th inst., two on the day following, and concluded my remarks on saturday afternoon, by reading letters from Mr. Thornburgh, of the Ohio Phalanx, and Mr. Macdaniel of New York. Mr. Macdaniel had greatly obliged me, by writing me a long and excellent letter, giving a particular statement of the progress of Association; and his and Mr. Thornburgh's letters were very gratifying to the meeting.

I had understood that some objection existed at West Greenville against Association, on the supposition that it was an infidel movement. I therefore, in my first lecture confined myself to the consideration of the *religious* objections against Association. I told the meeting that I should not occupy their attention by refuting the objection of *infidels* against the science—because infidels opposed Christianity, as well as Social Science; but I would take up the three objections of well-meaning religious people, and show them to be unfounded. These three objections were, 1. The representative headship and fall of Adam; 2. The curse upon the ground; and 3. The total depravity of the unregenerate heart. However paradoxical it might seem to them, I stated that these three objections against Social Science, were the *threefold foundation* upon which I intended to prove the truth, necessity, and easy practicability of the Social Reform.

Adam was our representative head. The creation of his individual body was and is a type of the true Social organization or Societary Man, designed by the Lord, to be formed by the combination as co-members one with another, of all the members of the human family. Adam's body formed of the dust of the ground, before it was quickened by the breathing of the Lord, is a type of unregenerate man,—but his *living* body, quickened by the divine influx, is a type or representative of the Souls of Men, and of the Societary man, made alive by the spirit of the Saviour. I showed this by reference to divers passages of scripture, and by the fact that Christ is called the last Adam, or second Man. The formation of the first Adam, his being put in the garden of Eden, his spouse being taken from his pierced side, the river which went from Eden, and became into four heads,—all these I compared with the second Adam, the Lord from Heaven, his being placed in Judah, which under the Mosaic despensation, was separated from the world, and planted with commandments of righteousness, his being cast into the sleep of death, and his church or bride being taken from his bleeding side and presented to him, and the rivers of righteousness flowing thence, north, south, east and west, viz: into all the Nations of the earth.

Christ, the second Adam, is our representative head, as well as the first Adam; and the second Adam came to bring us back into the paradise of God, and to give us to eat of the tree of life in the midst of the garden, from which the first Adam, by transgression, had been driven, that he might not eat of the tree. The word of God, as a flaming sword turning every way, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and discerning the secret thoughts and intents of the heart, will not let us enter into rest, exept through obedience in Christ. Why should we not enter at once? now is the accepted time! All those who are living members of Christ, are co-members of one body. *They form a new Societary Man.* This is the design of the Deity prefigured in the formation of the first Adam, and the incarnation of Christ, our God and Saviour. As therefore this is the design of God, the state of society, symbolized by the body of Jesus, is true and necessary, and as Jehovah, infinite in power and in goodness, works for us in it, it is practicable and easy. It is the *fragmentary* state of the *fallen* man, driven from Eden, *which is unnatural and difficult.*

As regards the curse upon the ground, this is a consequence of the expulsion of disobedient man, from paradise or his rest in Christ. We must be at unity with God, in his works of creation or nature, if we would have this curse removed. All curses from the Lord are actual blessings, being intended to give us an desired end.—Jeremiah xxix., 11. The Babylonish captivity was a curse; yet its design was to cause the Jews to call upon the Lord, to pray to him, and to be restored to his favor and to their land, and this was the consummation. So the curse upon the earth, while we live in disobedience to the laws of God, is an actual blessing, having the design to lead us back to Eden. Where society is fragmentary and subversive, one man builds a house and another dwells therein, one man plants a vineyard and another eats the grapes thereof; in short, the workman is defrauded of his recompense. (Deut. xxviii., 29–37.) But when we see the curse and the blessing, and return to God, then the land is again blessed and fruitful. Deut. xxx., 9.

England, Scotland and Wales yield in agricultural productions alone, in one year, more than 500 millions sterling, yet the land is, notwithstanding, cursed there to the laboring man,—the men who do the work—because society is subversive.

I illustrated my position by the demonstration of Fourier concerning deserts, marshes, tempests and other causes of public calamity and destruction of human life, showing that the earth must be subject to the divine curse, and man cannot exercise dominion over it until all the members of the human family become one Societary Man, prefigured by the physical body of the incarnate Jesus.

In regard to the third objection, viz: total depravity, I admitted and strongly insisted upon the fact, that men are totally depraved in all their thoughts and actions, while existing in subversive society, and opposing a change to societary unity in Christ. There are three unities,—unity of man with God, unity of man with man, as societary man,—and unity of man with the laws which the Deity has assigned to Nature;—these three unities are necessary to destroy the total depravity of man; and now is the accepted time, when we see the evils which afflict us, to escape from them.

I also admitted and urged that mere social organization cannot make a living man.—we must have the spirit of Christ. But this spirit is promised. Seek, and ye shall find; ask, and it shall be given. John the Baptist, went before Christ, making *prepa-*

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ration for the spirit. When Ezekiel prophecied to the dry bones, (Ezek. 37–8,) the bones came each to his proper bone in place, and then the sinews and the flesh came, and afterwards the skin before the breath. But the breath did also come in due time; and the bones became a living and exceeding great army.

Thus the three objections of the representative headship and fall of Adam,—the curse upon the ground,—and the total depravity of dismembered man,—are three substantial proofs demonstrating that the new Social Organization offered for our acceptance in Christ, as co-members of his risen living body, is true in itself,—necessary in the nature of things,—and of easy and happy practicability. The sooner we adopt it the better. For the axe is now laid to the roots of nations; and this remedy of societary regeneration in Christ, is pacific and constructive and the only refuge from the calamities which threaten us.

As my discourses were extemporaneous, I give you only the heads and purport of my observations; not the identical words used by me.

The second and third lectures, at West Greenville, were designed to give an exposition of the discovery of Charles Fourier, and to elucidate the principles of his Social Science.

His centre principle is this; the Deity being ONE and INFINITE and HARMONIOUS, and all creation, as proceeding from the hand of the Deity, being a reflex, image, or impression of the one harmonious and infinite Mind of the Deity, it is evident that all creation must contain within itself a principle of oneness, or unity and harmony. In other words, there exists an universal analogy or harmony in every order of creation; and it is the duty of man to discover (*not to invent nor fabricate*) but to discover the various groups and divisions or series, ascending and descending, of this universal divine harmony, and place himself in obedience to, and conformity with the law or mind of God.

Fourier's Science of Universal Unity or Harmony, is built upon these three unities or trinity in unity.

1st. The unity of man with God.

2d. The unity of man with man.

3d. The unity of man with the universe, (including all the laws which, under the command of the one God, govern the material world.)

It was manifest, therefore, that those persons fell into, or committed a very great error, who charged Fourier with irreligion; for the whole of his science is founded on the Divine Mind; and Fourier expressly holds that all departments of human society and industry must as radii be directed to the Deity as the centre. His doctrine that Man can never be at perfect and predestined unity, or *one-ness*, until we possess the three unities viz: with God,—with our fellow men—and with the physical laws of existence—is a correct, indisputable doctrine; and if controvertists think that Fourier was under a misapprehension in his views of some truths, they should not, on that account, be indifferent to, nor hinder the great, vast and magnificent movement now going on for the redemption and regeneration of the world; but with honest motives, they should throw themselves into that movement as zealous co-workers, and with christian spirit, correct what they deem wrong, and supply what they may see deficient. Fourier has already done more than any other mere man; let those who come after, complete and perfect what he has so happily begun. The Associationists in this country, do not bind themselves, blindly nor submissively, to the teaching of any Master; they call themselve not *Fourierites*, although they gratefully acknowledge their obligations to that really great man; but they term themselves AMERICAN ASSOCIATIONISTS, and what they can prove and approve they receive and retain as unshaken parts of science; but whatever will not bear the tests of experiment and sound argument, they reject. As Fourier's system purports to be a demonstration, or a science, and not a scheme, it must be apparent that any truth which he lays down cannot be departed from safely; for truth is one and harmonious: we should, therefore, be careful not to reject any part of the discoveries of Fourier, without just cause. Every division into groups or series, which is an essential feature in the Social Science, must be in conformity with the natural laws; and as these laws were long and deeply studied by Fourier, we should, in common prudence, delight to learn from him.

In this connexion of my subject, I spoke of the manner in which Fourier came to the knowledge of his System of Harmony; of the radical, total and all-separating differences between his Social Science, and Owenism and St. Simonism. I spoke also of the Sakneateles community in New York, and of the movement of other Reformers in community, and the Christian zeal and love of John O. Wattles, and of his great success. Mr. Wattles and his brethren had not rejected the revelation in the Holy Scriptures, nor did they consider it as a *partial* revelation, but a revelation to be declared and preached to the universal family of man, and for gathering all to God. But, as I differed from the understanding which I had of his views in regard to the rights of self-defence, and of government, and I thought that the reorganization of society must be based upon *the whole nature of man*, I gave my preference to the science disclosed by Fourier.—Each movement had its ardent friends. Let each proceed in its holy and benevolent march, with christian and brotherly emulation, inciting each other to greatre diligence and purity.

There are three elements of production, labor, capital and skill, or science. Fourier's Social Harmony protects them *all*, and unites the whole three in a common interest. We wage no war against Capital. On the contrary, capital is the accumulation or evidence of *past labor*, and should be protected as well as present labor. So far from wishing to diminish the stores or security of capital, we wish to enlarge them: for the richest man is poor and insecure compared with what his condition would be in Association. The rich do not enough consider this. In Association, the position of each individual is a co-member of the great Societary Man, knit together with one spirit in the Lord, would be more majestic than that of the wealthiest monarch, in subversive society. Capital can never be secure until united in association with labor and science; the three, combined in a just unity, are unassailable.

As my second and third lectures, each of which was of considerable length, were devoted to an exposition of the System of Fourier, its division into natural groups and series, its various and powerful attractions, and incalculable economies, its inevitable effect to render industry pleasurable, and to abolish Slavery not in the South only, but in the North, the Middle and the West, with all colors of complexion and every where; it is impossible for me, in this very brief and hasty outline, to do any thing more than state some of my points,—entreating the attention of your readers, as I did of my hearers at West Greenville, to the published works of Associationists.

I availed myself of the illustrations by Fourier, of the notes of music, and the prismatic colors of solar light, to convince the audience that there may be elements of unity and harmony, unappreciated by persons who have not bestowed attention upon them, but which when once placed in right positions and combinations by knowledge and science, produce the most delightful effects. So it is with the shades of prismatic colors of human character and disposition, or the notes of the diatonic scale of the human heart, viz: the *passions*. Nothing that God has made is wrong in itself; our sins are in the abuse of our passions, sentiments, or faculties, and not in our mental constitution as derived from the Creator. Let us sound our passions, as the notes of music are sounded, in harmony with the divinely appointed and natural laws, and all will then be harmony; we should not complain that there are dissonants in the human soul, any more than that there are discords in music.

Much of the third lecture was occupied by a description of the excellent effect of Fourier's Science, in ensuring the fullest education, physical, moral and intellectual of children. But I can now only name this immensely important interest.

While other plans of social reorganization are partial and defective, and many of them violent and tumultuous, Fourier's has this advantage, that it embraces all the wants and the entire Constitution of man, and is peaceable, pleasurable and conservative; for it erects other and better modes of living, before it pulls down the existing securities.

The Fourth Lecture was appropriated to the development of the law of progress and actual advancement in Society.

We may compare the growth of Society or collective Mankind, in its different ages or eras, to the growth of an individual man, from his infancy upwards. Looking at the history of mankind from the creation to the present day, we shall find that the Deity has been educating society upwards from its original infancy, to its ripening maturity.

The parent takes an infant in her arms, and only gradually accustoms it to use and depend upon its limbs for its own locomotion and defence. So God, the father of Man, took Adam and the infant state of society in his arms, by miraculous interpositions and instruction, and only gradually accustomed infant society to use its own natural powers. I believe the Bible account of the creation of our first parents, and that God conversed with Adam in the garden. The very long lives of the Antediluvians, were designed, I question not, to enable the human family, in that infant condition of society, more readily to emerge from mental weakness, and to accumulate knowledge.* The mental vigor of Society, at subsequent dates, was greater than in the infant state: the human mind does not degenerate; its

* Mr. Van Amringe should remembe also, that the *names* of the patriarchs do not apply to *individuals* only, but to whole *tribes*, each representative of some idea or passion.—EDS. P.

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energies increase. The years by which the lives of the Antediluvians were reckoned, I believe were of the same kind as the years employed for stating the ages of the patriarch Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. For Noah lived 350 years after the deluge, and died only about two years before Abraham was born. Terah, the father of Abraham, was 70 years old at the birth of Abraham, and died at the age of 205. Can we have any hesitation in believing that Terah's years were of the same kind as the years by which Noah's age was computed? Why then should we deny that Abraham's 175 years, Isaac's 180, or Jacob's 147, were all of the same character? Abraham derived his knowledge of past transactions from Terah, who obtained his tradition from Noah, and thus the history of former ages was correctly and accurately handed down to Moses.

These circumstances will account for the degree of knowledge, and the form of society which existed at the building of Babel. They were the relics of bygone ages; and from the same principle, we shall at this day see vestiges of the same pristine history, conveyed by the descent and circulation of traditions through all nations of the earth.

It is a mistaken notion that society has ever or can ever by its own energies and mental talents educate itself upward from savage to civilized and refined life. The direction is downward and not upward; mankind left to themselves fall and sink deeper and more deeply; they do not ascend. To meliorate the condition of any nation, requires the miraculous interposition of Providence, or the action of an *eternal* agency, directed as an instrument in the hands of the Deity, for his own wise purposes. If any one will candidly consider, he will perceive that the Deity, all through the histories of Nations has been pleased to use the agency of Nation upon Nation or Empires as the great means, under his own especial providence, for breaking up the footholds of error and vice, and establishing the principles and spread of his all-glorious truths. It has been so from the age of Nebuchadnezzar to that of Napoleon: it is always so. The French Revolution, fearful, bloody, demoniac as it was, served as a scourge, a rod in the hand of the Lord, by which he smote and dashed the nations against each other, and prepared them for great things. We cannot be blind to this fact.

From the earliest known transactions to the present day, the great mass of the human family has been in a state of *slavery*. The Barbarian Nations which were overrun by Greece and Rome, held their fellow men in bondage—the most abject bondage; and the people who formed the conquering nations, were themselves the slaves of their monarchs. Who were the boasted freemen of Greece and Rome? *Some few soldiers who had arms in their hands!* Christianity, when it became united with the State, was corrupted and ceased to give a true light. But notwithstanding, corrupted as it was, it modified very beneficially the condition of slavery,—slavery from being *personal* became *predial* or *landed*, until with the enlargement of arts and sciences, commerce introduced new orders, and then, in process of time, as the barons had formed leagues against their monarchs, so commercial cities formed leagues of burghers and merchants against kings and barons. The very corruptions of persons claiming the name and power of the Christian Church, were made instrumental in extending liberty. The contests between Rome and the Emperors of Germany facilitated the independence of cities in the North of Italy; hence in that country, as early as the 11th or 12th century, slaves had very sensibly decreased. The change was followed in other parts of Europe until at last predial slavery wore itself out, or rather a new era was introduced with new improvements in arts and sciences. For the state of the spirit of the world gives a shape or form to the outward condition of the world.

The truth of this position is enforced by tracing the course of events from the invention of the art of printing, the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, and the revival of learning, to the improvement in navigation, commerce and manufactures, the settlement of new countries, and the character of modern revolutions, policy, manners and agitations.

But with the present century, began a new age, distinguished beyond all others. The magnificent discoveries in the science of Chemistry and of the application of steam power to machinery, have thrown the world so far forward in resources and wealth, have brought Nations, Territories and Departments into such close contact with each other, have excited all the agencies not nations only, but of individual men every where, into such near, eager and active rivalries and operations, that already the power of *money* controls all others, and slavery to capital, is fast taking the place of the former predial and personal bondages. The RAG BARONS are now the feudal lords of the time, and the monster Bank in London is the Supreme Liege Lord. The inevitable tendency of the state of things, in subversive society as now constituted, is to make the few rich and the many poor; and there is no help for the people but at once to go into Association on principles of united interests, and naturally distributed and attractive industry. The wars now to be feared are not the wars of Nations under martial kings, as formerly; for bankers and stock jobbers do not like wars. Mammon is a power above kings. The warring monarchs now are bankers and monopolists; their armies are bands of speculators; their inroads are made upon the productions of the working people, and their conquests and desolations are felt in commercial and financial distress and revulsions in general bankruptcy, and the haggard misery of the mass.

We often hear it said that machinery works for the benefit of the operatives. In a true state of society this would be so; but that the reverse is the fact in society founded on principles of false competition, as the present, is undeniable. Suppose a man has five hundred persons in his employ, and by improvement in machinery, he can dispense with three hundred of them. These three hundred immediately become competitors for employment, against the two hundred that are retained; and as they must have work or perish, their wages are brought down to the *starving point*; feed us, and give us a miserable shelter for our families and we will work for you,—*we fear to starve!* Living flesh and blood, needing daily food and clothing and shelter, are brought into unnatural competition with the wood and iron of machinery working by steam, and can we be surprised at the fatal and deadly results,—at the sight of the many and increasing tens of thousands perishing by hunger, in the midst of the very abundance, which their own hands have contributed to make! The greater the wealth they produce, the greater their sufferings; for the more that the market is overstocked from the excessive work of falsely competing factories, the less demand there is for the continuance of manual labor: more of the operatives are then driven from employment, and those who are retained, are reduced in wages. Besides through the channels of commerce, and the facilities of inland communication, the whole industry of all nations is made tributary to the country in which the greatest pauper population, the largest capital, and the most powerful machinery are resident; in our own country, Eastern merchants are indebted to England, country store-keepers to Eastern merchants, and farmers to these storekeepers; and thus the wealth of the nation is drained through innumerable channels into foreign coffers; and our domestic workmen, not in the service of Factory Capitalists, may perchance, get some odd job or so at *mending*, but daily their occupation as independent and master workmen is becoming less secure.

In England, the great workshop of all nations, the men who produce the wealth are starving,—literally STARVING; and on some occasions, their dead and famished bodies have been found in the fields, their tongues stained with the green grass which they had devoured, in the agonizing effort to sustain life. Most horrible! will not the judgement of God, visit a state of society, upon which such evils and crimes are entailed? And yet the rich man says virtually,—*am I my brother's keeper!*

But my limits in your paper do not permit me to state the particulars of the observations which were made, to exhibit the increasing misery and poverty of the mass, with the increase of productive machinery and capital in a nation. Robert Dale Owen's most excellent pamphlet on WEALTH and MISERY, places this truth in a startling clearness. Most certainly, the doom of the present falsely competitive and subversive form of society, is pronounced,—the handwriting is against it on the wall,—it must perish and pass away for ever.

Association will, it must thrive! It is the appointed order of social organization prefigured in the body of the *first* Adam, and the incarnation of the *second*. I is built on the rock of ages,—the eternal truth of God, and although particular societies at the outset, from the difficulties of a first undertaking and a pioneer movement may fail, yet eventually the cause will prosper, for the word and the power of God fight for it.

I have now given you a brief sketch of the substance, not the words of my lectures at West Greenville. The lectures were delivered in the Congregational Church, and well attended by large numbers of the men and women of the borough and adjacent country. A deep and strong interest was excited by the importance of the subject; and although I am but a poor lecturer, and unfit to do justice to the great doctrine on which I spoke, yet the truths to which I referred, being strong and plain within themselves, found their own way to the hearts of the people. I am confident that very many of the citizens of West Greenville will be found ready and efficient workmen in one or other of the great social movements now progressing in the world for the happy redemption of the entire race of man. H. H. VAN AMRINGE.

Pittsburgh, Pa., June 18, 1844.

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For the Phalanx.

THE ALPHADELPHIA ASSOCIATION.

ANN ARBOR, May 20th, 1844.

GENTLEMEN: Your readers will no doubt be pleased to learn every important movement regarding Industrial Association; and therefore I send you an account of the present condition of the Alphadelphia Association, to the organization of which all my time has been devoted since the beginning of last December.

The Association held its first annual meeting on the second Wednesday in March, and at the close of a session of four days, during which its constitution, &c. as a society were perfected, and about eleven hundred persons, including children and adults, admitted to membership, adjourned to meet on the Domain on the first of May. Its officers repaired immediately to the place selected last winter for the domain, and after overcoming great difficulties, secured the deeds of two thousand eight hundred and fourteen acres of land, nine hundred and twenty-seven of which is under cultivation, at a cost of thirty-two thousand dollars.—This gives us perfect control over an immense water power, and our land debt is only five thousand seven hundred and seventy-six dollars, (the greater portion of the land having been invested in stock,) to be paid out of a proposed capital of two hundred and forty thousand dollars, fourteen thousand of which is to be paid in cash during the summer and autumn. More land adjoining the domain has since been tendered as stock, but we have as much as we can use at present, and do not wish to increase our taxes, and diminish our first annual dividend too much. It will all come in as soon as wanted. At our last meeting the number of members was increased to upwards of thirteen hundred, and more than one hundred applicants were rejected, because there seemed to be no end, and we became almost frightened at the number.—Among our members are five Millwrights, six Machinists, Furnacemen, Printers, Manufacturers of cloth, paper, &c. and almost every other kind of mechanics you can mention, besides farmers in abundance.

Farming and gardening were commenced on the domain about the middle of April, and two weeks since, when I came away, there were seventy-one adult male and more than half that number of adult female laborers on the ground, and more constantly arriving. We shall not however be able to accommodate more than about two hundred resident members this season.

There is much talk about the formation of other Associations in this State, (Michigan,) and I am well convinced that others will be formed next winter. The fact is, men have lost all confidence in each other, and those who have studied the theory of Association, are desirous of escaping from the present hollow-hearted state of civilized society, in which fraud and heartless competition grind the more noble-minded of our citizens to the dust.

The Alphadelphia Association will not commence building its mansion this season, but several groups have been organized to erect a two story wooden building, five hundred and tweenty-three feet long, including the wings, which will be finished the coming fall, so as to answer for dwellings till we can build a mansion, and afterwards may be converted into a silk establishment or shops. The principal pursuit this year, besides putting up this building, will be farming, and preparing for erecting a furnace, sawmill, machine shop, &c. We have more than a hundred thousand feet of lumber on hand, and a sawmill, which we took as stock, is running day and night.—

The fact is, I do not see any obstacle to our future prosperity. Our farmers have plenty of wheat on the ground. We have teams, provision—all we ought to desire on the domain; and more than all, since the location of the buildings has been decided, we are perfectly united, and have never yet had an angry discussion on any subject.—We have religious meetings twice a week, and preaching at least once, and shall have schools very soon. If God be for us—of which we have sufficient evidence—who can prevail againt us?

Our domain is certainly unrivalled in its advantages in Michigan, possessing every kind of soil that can be found in the State. Our people are moral, religious and industrious, having been actually engaged in manual labor, with few exceptions, all their days. The place where the mansion and outhouses will stand, is a most beautiful level plain, that wants no grading, extending nearly a mile in every direction, which can be irrigated by a constant stream of water flowing from a lake. Between it and the river is another plain, twelve feet lower, on which our manufactories may be set in any desirable position. Our mill race is half dug by nature, and can be finished, according to the estimate of the State Engineer, for eighteen hundred dollars, giving five and a half feet fall without a dam, which may be raised by a grant from the Legislature, adding three feet more, and affording water power sufficient to drive fifty pair of millstones. A very large spring, brought nearly a mile in pipes, will rise nearly fifty feet at our mansion. The Central Railroad runs across our domain. We have a great abundance of first rate timber, and land as rich as any in the State.

Our Constitution is liberal, and secures the fullest individual freedom and independence. Whilst capital is fully protected in its rights and guarrantied in its interests, it is not allowed to exercise an undue control or in the least degree encroach on personal liberty, even if this too common tendency could possibly manifest itself in Association.

As we proceed I will inform you of our progress. H. R. SCHETTERLY.

THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.—This able and learned periodical—the organ of the Unitarian Christians—contains, in the July number, an article on the doctrine of Fourier. It is a very imperfect view of the subject, although comparatively favorable to us, and exceedingly kind and courteous in its spirit. We are pleased to see the editors of that Review disposed to discuss all questions of human interest with candor and large-mindedness. If they proceed in this temper, they will doubtless soon perceive that the higher philosophy of Fourier, is the true universal and reconciling philosophy of Christianity. It must be borne in mind, however, that so grand and mighty a subject is not to be comprehended at a glance. We shall take up this essay of the *Examiner* as soon as we have disposed of Mr. Brownson.

SOCIAL REFORM, *or an appeal in Behalf of Association, based upon the Principles of Pure Christianity.* By James Boyle. Northampton Association, Mass.

We have received this little pamphlet too late to review it, or express an opinion as to its merits, but will do so in our next number.

THE CLERMONT PHALANX celebrated the Fourth with great spirit. A steamboat, chartered for the purpose, conveyed 500 persons from Cincinnati to the Domain, thirty miles distant; and more than one thousand were present at the celebration. John White, of Cincinnati, was the Reader, and T. W. Whitley, late of this city, the Orator of the Day. All partook of an excellent collation, prepared by the Pioneers, and great enthusiasm prevailed.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE for June and July, 1844. Boston, Mass.—The crowded state of our columns prohibits an extended notice of this little messenger of peace and its interesting contents; but we hope in our next to be able to address a few thoughts upon the great subject of Universal Peace, of which it is the advocate as the organ of the AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY. All we can now say is, that the deep hold which the principles and sentiment of Peace is now taking of the hearts and minds of Christian nations, is one of the most beautiful traits of the age in which we live, and is the sure prelude to that happy era—"the reign of heaven on earth,"—promised, prayed for, and prepared by the Prince of Peace.—"Blessed are the peace-makers."

NORTH AMERICAN PHALANX,

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SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS UNITY.

SOCIAL PROGRESS.—SOCIAL REFORM UPON CONSERVATIVE PRINCIPLES.

THE PHALANX:

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIBERTY AND EQUALITY

ASSOCIATION, ATTRACTIVE INDUSTRY, UNITY OF INTERESTS.

ORGAN OF THE

DOCTRINE OF ASSOCIATION

OUR EVILS ARE SOCIAL, NOT POLITICAL, AND A SOCIAL REFORM ONLY CAN ERADICATE THEM.

J. WINCHESTER, PUBLISHER, 30 ANN-ST.

TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM, IN ADVANCE.

VOLUME I. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 27, 1844. NUMBER 15.

MR. BROWNSON'S NOTIONS OF FOURIER'S DOCTRINE.

(*Continued from page 204.*)

In our last number we gave about one-half of the recent essay on Social Amelioration, by Mr. Brownson, in such comments as occurred to us in a hasty perusal of its strange positions. We now furnish our readers with the remaining portion of the essay, with some further remarks. Let us say, in the outset, however, that we make these remarks, not so much to affect Mr. Brownson's own mind, the laws by which it operates being unknown to us, so that we should hardly know how to address him, but simply for the elucidation of topics which he has been pleased to misrepresent to the minds of others.

The following is the closing part of his argument:

"We press this point upon those who are demanding social ameliorations. We showed in the article in our April number, headed, No Church, No Reform, that there is no reform possible without the ministry of the Church, which not only represents our faith in the supernatural, but which actually embodies supernatural power, and brings down the Holy Ghost to the aid of human effort. We now say, and proceed to show, that this Church must be ONE and CATHOLIC, or still it can afford us no aid. No Church, no Reform, we began by saying; we now say, No Reform under Sectarianism. With the Christian world cut up into hostile sects, each with its special idea, special point of view, special law, no scheme of reform, however wisely devised, or however just and practicable in itself, can avail anything.

This position we could demonstrate from history, and we hold it not difficult to prove that the general condition of society, in a temporal as well as a spiritual point of view, has deteriorated, and been steadily deteriorating, ever since the great schism in the sixteenth century; but we choose, for the present, to take a shorter course, and to demonstrate it by considerations which all can appreciate, and which none can gainsay. (1)

We will add here, however, that we may avoid all occasion for misapprehension, that we are not opposed to industrial associations, nor do we at all question the importance—if you will, the necessity—of organizing industry on new and better principles; but we are decidedly opposed to all associations for reform in any case, or in any department, not founded on the principles, and under the sanction and control of the Church. (2) Either God has established the Church as the medium of the good he designs us to receive or to work out, or he has not. The Church either is this medium, or it is not. If it is not, then we have nothing more to say, and nothing to do but to fold our hands and remain inactive, till Providence interferes anew in our behalf; if it is this medium, the divinely appointed instrument of human regeneration, of social as well as individual progress, then we should be contented with it, and confine ourselves to its principles, and to such modes of action as it ordains. A multitude of associations have sprung up in our midst, that we shall one day see cause to regret. The Church is superceded in the affections of a great majority of our church-going people, by Abolition Societies, Moral Reform Societies, Temperance Societies, and the like. Temperance is, no doubt, a cardinal virtue; but associations out of the Church, for the suppression of intemperance, ought not to be tolerated, can be tolerated by no consistent Churchman; for they say at once, the Church is inadequate to the work of maintaining the morals of the community, which is to condemn the Church in the severest terms, and to declare it utterly unworthy of our support. (3)

Associations within the bosom of the Church, authorized and controlled by it, as a part of its own ministry, as it were, may be very proper, and of the highest utility. So asciations formed for the purpose ameliorting our social condition, of rendering more just and equal our industrial relations, to remove the great disparity of conditions which now obtains, to elevate the poorer and more numerous classes, physically as well as morally and intellectually,—formed, not on Fourier principles, but on those of the Gospel, under the express sanction and control of the Church, we are far from believing would be mischevous; nay, we believe they might do much, very much, towards realizing the kingdom of God on the earth, and hastening forward the time when the whole earth shall be the Lord's and all its inhabitants, filled with his spirit, and sealed for immortality. But these associations, by whatever name they are called, must look not to Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier, or to Robert Owen, for the theory of life on which they must build, and the exposition of the principles after which they must organize the human race; but to Christ the Son of God, and to the authorized interpreters of his will; (4) and moreover, they must associate, not because they would gain more in wealth and pleasure, but because they would make greater sacrifices for God, and attain to higher degrees of Christian sanctity. The feelings, the convictions, which carry men into the association, must be those which led to the establishment of monasteries and convents, although the rules may be different. Yet we have some doubts, whether the associations which do not recognize celibacy, as one of the fundamental rules, will ever succeed. The experiment of a married order, which was tried in the thirteenth century, failed, became so corrupt that it was supressed by the authority of the Church; and the miserable remains of the party concerned are now known only as an heretical sect, which passes generally under the name of Beghard,—the forerunners, as some term them of Protestantism,—really so, we may believe, of the Anabaptists.—But be all this as it may, we mean to offer no objections to such associations, for industrial reforms, or the reorganization of industry, as may be formed, as we have said, on the principles of the Gospel, and under the sanction and control of the Church. (5)

But here comes up a serious difficulty.—What do you mean by the Church? Do you mean that the association should be formed on the principles, and under the sanction and control, of some one of the religious *sects?* If so, *which* sect? And why that sect rather than another? Here we are. We have proved that we can accomplish nothing without the Church; but we see now that we can accomplish nothing with it, if it be but a mere aggregate of conflicting and hostile sects. Suppose we get the phalanx established. While we are working to get it established, zeal for association, the excitement of the labor itself, sustains us, and we do not feel very deeply the absence of religious faith and worship. We satisfy ourselves with the idolatrous worship we offer to Association. But we will suppose this labor over, that the phalanx, or township, is organized, the groups and series all constituted, the music-box wound up, and set to playing the tunes it is constructed to play. Well, one of the two consequences must necessarily follow:—1. Either total indifference to all religious matter, and then the association must fall to pieces for the want of organic principle; or, 2. Sectarian controversies will arise, and the phalanx will be dissolved through the bitterness and alienation of the members.

Fourierism proposes to organize families into the phalanx or township; townships into counties; counties into states; and states into one grand harmonic association for the race. The phalanx, in its grand scheme of association, is the unit, of which groups, series, and individuals are the fractions. Now this unity, or integer, that is to say, this *whole* number, is composed of say some fifteen hundred or two thousand individuals, distributed into groups and series according to their natural temperaments, aptitudes, and attractions; and of course, unless perfect harmony can be maintained between the individuals in the series, and between the series in the group, and the

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groups in the phalanx, there can be no *phalansterian* harmony, the whole plan fail, and Fourierism fall to the ground. Fourier and his disciples seek the guaranty of this harmony in human nature. They say, man and nature are constructed originally in harmony, that one is adapted to the other. The principles of this harmony Fourier has discovered; he has ascertained all the original passions of human nature, and, by the rule of permutations and combinations, determined the number of changes and variations it is possible to introduce; then he has passed from man to nature, and ascertained the same in regard to that, and has given the result of the whole in his Theory of Association, or doctrine of Universal Unity. Now, once arrange all the outward circumstances which are to affect men, according to the ascertained laws and possible changes and variations of man and of nature, and, of necessity, the desired harmony is produced and secured. So a Fourierist cannot comprehend the necessity of any thing to preserve the harmony of the phalanx, when once it is established. The security is in the *phalansterian* arrangement itself, and cannot fail, unless either man or nature shall undergo a fundamental change. (6)

But this, plausible as it may seem, is not conclusive. If man and nature were originally created in harmony, if one was perfectly adapted to the other, and started, so to say, in tune, whence the present discord? And if, notwithstanding the original harmony and perfect mutual adaptation, this discord has been possible, what shall hinder it from being still possible after the organization of the phalanx?

The Fourierist must assume one of two things; either that man is free, or that he is not free, and is only a sort of musical box, he may again get out of harmony, for he has nothing to keep him in harmony, which he had not at first; if he is free, therefore capable of abusing his freedom, what shall guaranty us that he will not abuse it again, as he did in Eden? The Fourierists resolve that they are Christian believers; then they must own that man had in Eden every desire gratified as perfectly as will be the case in the phalanx, and yet he abused his freedom, sinned, and involved all humanity in the guilt of his transgression. Shall we be told that there will be no temptation to sin? Why not, and as much as there was in Eden? Why may not the serpent find his way into the phalanx, and a new Eve, moved by curiosity or wantonness, put forth her hand and pluck the forbidden fruit? More than all this, is it certain that no man can sin without an external temptation or solicitation to sin? Nay, do our Fourierists need to be told, that the very prosperity they promise would be itself a source of sin, that man under it would wax proud, rebellious, and therefore sinful? "Jeshuron waxed fat and kicked." When men grow fat, we must expect them to kick, and against all laws, human and divine. (7)

We say, then, that you cannot find in human nature the organic principle you need, nor the necessary guaranties of harmony, even if once introduced. This organic principle and these guaranties can be found only in religion, in the life of the Gospel. If this life, which is the life of love and sacrifice, be suffered to die out, and men become indifferent to all spiritual matters, with their thoughts and affections confined to this life and to this planet, with all their appetites and passions gratified, they become too near akin to the brutes that perish, to be able to maintain any thing like social order, or a communal arrangement. The phalanx would have no bond, no principle which would hold it together, even as to its form.

But on the other hand, suppose the members to be deeply interested in religious matters, but belonging to different and hostile sects, would there be harmony in the phalanx? O, they would tolerate each other's differences! Toleration is, however, the very thing which is impossible to a sincere and earnest mind, for any thing which is not held to be indifferent. Now, you must either make the member more interested in something else than they are in religion, so much so, that they become indifferent to religion, and then the phalanx fails through religious indifference; or you must suffer them to hold religion to be the paramount consideration, the one thing needful, and then toleration is out of the question. Sincere, earnest individuals, members of different communions, will not, cannot, have that warm, cordial fellow-feeling without which the Fourier phalanx cannot operate. So again, differences of faith and worship would alienate one phalanx from another. The Protestant phalanx will hold no intercourse with the Catholic, and the Calvinistic phalanx and the Unitarian will be merely two phalanxes drawn up for battle. The same remarks are applicable to all other divisions. If, then, we are to have association at all, under any circumstances which can promise any thing, we must get rid of sectarianism, and have only one Catholic Church. (8)

In our view, contrary to the views of the associationists, the Church is the highest, the paramount association; and without unity, harmony, in that, it is in vain to look for it in any thing below it. We can never consent to an order of things which would raise industrial associations above the Church, or render our interest in what concerns our industrial relations superior to our interest in what pertains to our relations to the eternal God, and to the world to come. The religious interests, represented by the Church, must always be, in every moral state of society, the great and engrossing interests; if they are so, you can effect nothing in subordinate interests, while in relation to these religious interests you are divided, separated, alienated, and hostile. Our first duty, then, is, if we would effect any thing by way of association, to return to the unity of the Church, through which we may come to one faith, one baptism, one calling, one spirit. Having, thus, unity in that which is highest, we may easily obtain it in that which is lowest. We pray our associationists to consider this, and learn that the Church question is the first and paramount question. Return to the unity and catholicity of the Church,—and then?

And then, what? Perhaps then it will be found that the *phalansterian* organization of society will not be necessary; perhaps then it will be found that to organize society, with a special view to wealth and enjoyment, is not, after all, either the Christian method, or that which man's highest good here or hereafter demands. But be this as it may, we shall have then an authority competent to resolve our doubts and to direct our labors. (9)

It is strange how slow we are to believe Him who rebuked us for being troubled about many things, and declared that "one thing only is needful." If we would diminish the poverty and suffering of the world, we should not labor to multiply material riches, or to facilitate the acquisition of this world's goods, but to restrict men's bodily wants, and turn their activity in a moral and spiritual direction. St. Bernard, living on the water in which pulse had been boiled, laboring at the head of his monks, is more to be envied than Apicius at his feast; and far better was it for Lazarus, who begged the crumbs that fell from the rich man's table, than for the rich man who fared sumptuously every day. On wishes, wishes grow; one desire gratified, a stronger takes its place; one demand answered, another and a greater is made. The richest man in this world's goods has more wants he cannot satisfy, than has the poorest beggar himself; and to die of starvation is not more terrible, view the matter rightly, than to die of a surfeit. You must once more make voluntary poverty honorable, and canonize anew, not your rich old sinner, gorged with the spoils of the widow and orphan,—whose eyes stand out with fatness, whose heart vaunts itself against the Lord,—but the man who voluntarily submits to poverty, that he may lay up riches in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, nor thieves break through and steal. You cannot serve God and mammon; and the Fourier attempt to reconcile the service of one with that of the other will turn out a miserable failure, and cover with merited disgrace all concerned in making it.

God has told us what is the kingdom of heaven, in what it consists, and how we may enter therein. He has not left us to the dim, uncertain light of our own unillumined minds, but has himself pointed out the way; has himself given us the law which is a lamp to our feet and a light to our path. We must follow his law, walk in his way, or all our efforts, however well meant, however sincere and earnest, will be worse than vain. O, why can we not consent to believe that God is wiser than man, and that his thoughts are above our thoughts, and his ways better than our ways? Believe me, my friends, we show more wisdom in adhering to God's word, in following his Church, than we do in leaving the fountain of living waters, and hewing out cisterns for ourselves, broken cisterns that can hold no water. Raise man above the world, if you would make him blessed while in the world.

(1.) We have no doubt that Mr. Brownson could prove what he asserts, viz: that the condition of society has deteriorated since the Reformation, but he would take a very imperfect view of the subject to ascribe this deterioration wholly to the reformation. It has arisen from other causes than those involved in the dispute between Catholics and Protestants. Those causes are the defective organizations of our societies. Fourier has shown, with a force of demonstration which it seems to us impossible to resist, that nine permanent scourges have resulted from the want of a right organization in society—as Poverty, Fraud, Oppression, War, Derangement of Climates, Artificial Diseases, vicious schemes of improvement, Universal Selfishness and Duplicity of Action, which no amount of virtue or religion in the scattered individuals of society alone could have prevented. They are organic evils and require an organic remedy. They

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are not superficial or local diseases which the timely application of some external salve, in the way of alms, or some internal medicament in the way of mere benevolent principle can cure. Nothing short of a remedy that can reach the organic functions of society is at all adequate to the healthy restoration of the patient.

Now this is a kind of remedy that has never been proposed by any of the Churches —Roman or Protestant—for the excellent reason that they have none of them sought for this kind of remedy, and consequently did not find it. Christ, it is true, told them to seek that they might find, but the larger number, we fear, went looking after very different objects from those rerquired to destroy poverty, fraud, and suffering among the people. The Romish Church was, perhaps, foremost in seeking things which did not concern her peace and advancement; but, at the same time, we must say in justice that her arrangements for the alleviation of the condition of the masses, were superior to any that have been devised by the Protestants. She has always, in theory, acknowledged her obligations to the poor, and to some extent fulfilled them in her material provisions, while she has been lamentably and systematically deficient in her spiritual nourishment. Had she been faithful, in all respects, there never would have been occasion for a reformation out of the Church. It was because she grew proud, and failed to make provision for her people, materially and spiritually, that she has been smitten with delusions. If her popes and councils had sought God's organization of society instead of pursuing the beggarly elements of this world, they would have made her the glory and ornament of the earth, the representative of God, the ark of safety, and an infallible guide into all truth.

(2) We should like to know from Mr. Brownson, what "the principles" of the Church are, in regard to "industrial associations." We have been a pretty faithful reader of her history and of her authenticated publications; yet we cannot call to mind any one of them in which these "principles" are even mentioned. As the "necessity" of such associations is admitted, it seems to us important that the plan for the organization of them should be made public. Does it hold to individual property or the community system—the system of wages or that of equal labor? If Mr. Brownson will be kind enough to apply to his Bishop, or to the venerable Papa at Rome, for the documents in which the matter is explained, we will do all that we can to give them a circulation. In this region they appear to be most strangely neglected. The larger part of the members of THE Church, as we see them around us daily, would be greatly benefitted by the application of "principles of industrial association;" for now they are dragging out life in rags and wretchedness, in miserable huts on the banks of our canals, or more miserable cellars in the densely crowded and noisome parts of the city themselves and their children in a state of great degradation, with most imperfect education, half the time starving, and but for the Temperance Society—*out of the Church*—mostly drunkards. Is this the kind of organization which THE Church provides? Are these the "principles of industrial association," which alone Mr Brownson approves? If they are, we will say, with all deference to his infallible and inspired authority, that we think we know where he could find much better! Nor do we believe that the mass of ignorant and debased Germans and Irish, who throng the sinks of our cities, would be at all injured by being transferred to some good domain in the country, where they should find pure air, comfortable habitations, plenty to eat, enough work and education for their children, and the untrammelled worship of God, according to the ceremonies and creeds of the Churches in which they have been reared. Even if the Church did not give her "sanction and control," we hardly think that the experiment of placing them in such a condition would lead to very frightful results.

(3) "Either the Church is the medium of the good God designs us to receive, or it is not." Suppose we say that it is a medium—the highest medium, if you please—does it follow that it is the only medium? Every thing that God has made, if rightly used, is a medium of good to man. Nor does man's using God's gifts *rightly*, always depend upon the sanction and control of the Church. He sends his rain upon the just and the unjust, and both partake of the blessings it bring with it, in the shape of fresh air and fruitful fields. An ample dinner is a medium of good, especially to a hungry stomach, even when that stomach has not consulted THE Church. A beautiful piece of natural scenery—the mighty mountain, the solitude and grandeur of the ocean, an exquisite painting—a noble poem—the society of learned and upright men—the sweet smiles of woman—are all mediums of more or less good, nor does the full realization of their benefits depend exclusively upon the sanction and control of the Church. There is an anecdote of an inveterate joker, who was accustomed to say that "he hadn't been to church for twenty years, and he never enjoyed better health." Are there no ministries of good to those who do not know of the existence of the Romish Church? or were there none to those who lived before it was established?

If Mr. Brownson means that every blessing of life comes through Christ, then we admit what he says, for "by him were all things made, and without him was not any thing done which is done." Or if he means that all the workings of Providence are designed for the sake of the Church, then our only disagreement with him is in the fact that he confines these glorious promises to a particular and exclusive communion.

As to the latter part of this paragraph, in which the writer inveighs against the various benevolent societies of the day, let us ask, if their existence is not a signal proof that the Churches have been unfaithful in the discharge of their duties? If the Church had been willing to respond to the benevolent aspirations of men, there would have arisen no necessity for these extraneous agencies. Above all, if the Church had been sufficiently tolerant to enable all who acknowledge Christ to work together in the prosecution of their common objects, these Associations would not now be almost the only platform on which Christians of nearly all creeds could unite in worship and work. Instead of denouncing these associations—inadequate as they are to the ends they propose to accomplish, we should rather rejoice that there are places in which even an imperfect exhibition of Christian union and love can be made—that there are brief periods of exemption from the hellish spirit of bigotry and exclusiveness.

(4) Mr. Brownson, it seems, condescends to favor associations, "founded not on the principles of Fourier, but on those of the Gospel." Well, we say that the principles of Fourier are the principles of the Gospel. Let us recur to the general formula of Universal Unity which includes the whole of Fourier's principles, and see if there is any less in it than is embraced in Christianity. By Universal Unity, we mean first the unity of Man with Nature, which is realized by the full and harmonic development of the human body, and of the "passions" connected with the five senses, through the agency of industry in its various branches, such as agriculture, manufactures, &c. and creative art, such as painting, architecture, gastronomy, &c; second, the unity of Man with Man in the various social relations, which are those of friendship, love between the sexes, the family, and ambition or corporate sympathy—all which relations, are to be brought into the highest state of purity and happiness, by the harmonic regulation of society; and third, the Unity of Man with God, or the full and perfect reconciliation of the will of Man, now so much revolted, to the Will of God, his Creator. Does Christianity propose to do more than this for Humanity? If it does, we should like to see the particular omitted in the generalization, pointed out; and if it does not, then it must be confessed that the theory of Universal Unity sums up the whole of the general aims of Christianity. It is true, the gospels say nothing about "Industry," but they take it for granted, particularly in the passages which speak of rendering the body a fit temple for the Holy Ghost, by which is no doubt meant that the body is to be purifyed and perfected to the extent to which it is susceptible of healthy development. In their aims, then, the system of Fourier and the Gospel are one.

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But Mr. Brownson will say, the means you propose for carrying out these aims, are social organization, whilst the means proposed by Christ were his Church. Admit the position—admit that Christ did establish a Church, and that that Church is discoverable as an existing external body—then we say, that Christ meant his Church to be a progressive church. He intimated that much that he had said to his earlier disciples could not be understood, but that they should be "guided" eventually into all truth.—Now, unless the Church has already attained all truth, there is some truth which it has to learn. The method of rendering the spirit of religion collectively practical, is of his nature. It has thus far not been disclosed to THE Church; yet we maintain that it is known. We assert that a man of Genius has been raised up to show us the true mode of organising society, for the collective reception and practice of religious truth. We hold that we can prove his method to be true, by the analogies of universal nature. We say that our principle of organization pervades all the kingdoms of Creation, that the principle has been discovered, and that as the Providence of God must be universal, extending to society, as well as to the meanest insect or plant, society must be gradually organized according to the progressive requirements of that method. We propose this truth to the Church; we insist it is the duty of the Church to adopt it; but whether the Church adopt it or not, it is nevertheless true. Our position is not a position of antagonism to the Church; on the contrary, we wish to enlarge and extend the influence of the Church, so that the spirit of Christ's religion may cover the earth as the waters cover the sea.

Again, perhaps, Mr. Brownson will interpose, "but the Church has no need of your method—she is already in possession of every necessary means." This we deny, and in proof that she is not, read the word church in what sense you please, either as a particular communion, or as the whole body of worshippers, we appeal to eighteen centuries of history, in which the Church has been struggling for existence in the midst of innumerable evils within and without. We say, further, that Christ did not design to inspire his Church immediately with a knowledge of the principles of science. The discovery of these he left to the investigation of human reason. Researches into the organization of nature, as astronomy, geology, chemistry, industry, &c. were not the special function of the Church, although it was no doubt under obligations to adopt truths found in this way as soon as they were clearly demonstrated. When the Roman Church, therefore, attempted to pass an opinion upon the scientific discoveries of Galileo, she transcended her proper sphere, and as Pascal has said, God gave her over to the assertion of a great lie as if to rebuke her for her error.

But, we do not accept Mr. Brownson's peculiar interpretation of the Church as yet nor can we, unless we unlearn all that we have read of history. We are compelled until new light breaks upon us, to regard the Church as the whole body of men existing in various organizations, who are inspired by the eternal Word—to which body we profess to belong, and to which we offer our discoveries for adoption, assured that they will be found the most powerful means for the extension of our common Christianity that have yet been vouchsafed to Humanity. As a peculiar school of thinkers, we condemn no denomination, but we say to all, "here is truth, you are bound to take it, or live on in comparative inefficiency."

(5) In regard to the motives which should induce men to "associate," we agree with the Reviewer that they should be, "not wealth and pleasure, but the higher degrees of Christian sanctity." So far as the older Christians, then, went into monastic life to subserve the will of God, we are willing to approve their motives; but we doubt whether a life of contemplation and bodily maceration is the best way of fulfilling that will. We think that a life of useful and active industry is more near to the destiny that God designed for us, than the continual pattering of prayer; and with regard to the scourging of the flesh, we have too much respect for the body He has given us, to abuse it either by unnatural indulgences or still more unnatural mortifications. At the same time, let us add, that our system embraces what we esteem to be the true theory of self-denial and celibacy, very far from Epicureanism, but which we have no space to dwell upon in this place. They are explained in our writings on the higher questions of philosophy and religion. However, that our readers may see that our system omits no aspect of truth, we will give one quotation on self-denial. It is from one of our authorities, and was written three years ago, as follows:

"Self-denial is the essence of religion, the principle or bond of universal unity.—According to Fourier, it is the seventh note or element of every principle of action in the soul of man in true development, and every corporation in associative unity will contain a group of votaries devoted to the service of religious unity and self-denial, temporal and spiritual, corresponding to the sabbath, or the seventh day of every week which God has set apart for worship and religious contemplation.

"The law of life and universal unity, according to Fourier, is this, that 'God distributes to his creatures, their particular attractions and desires in due proportion to their destinies respectively, and the exception to this law of distribution is, that man, while here on earth, aspires to heaven and a higher destiny than he can here enjoy. This being the exception to the law of life which binds him to the earth in his attractions and desires, is then the link of universal unity which binds the soul of man to heaven while yet on Earth, and every seventh function in material and spiritual life, should be religious and diverge from earthly satisfaction to immediate heavenly aspiration as an act of self-denial and devotedness, or sacrifice of self to God and universal unity. This is the principle which leads Fourier to organize a group of self-denial in every corporation of industrial activity in a united body, as well as an especial corporation of the Clergy as the Spiritual Pastors of the flock. It universalises the religious aspiration and reduces it to practice as a principle of self-denial and devotedness in every sphere of action in society; and all the special groups and corporations of religious self-denial in both temporal and spiritual life, in every sphere of art and science, industry and education, commerce, government, and general economy, will be controlled by the established clergy; so that self-denial and religious purity will run through all the veins of social life, and purify existence in its very source.

"This would be impossible in false and individualized society, as it exists at present, but in genuine associative unity according to the principles ordained by Providence, it is not only practicable but essential to the purity of life, both individually and collectively. It is the bond of universal unity, the christian principle of truth and heavenly self-denial manifested in all mankind, as Christ himself was manifested individually in the flesh. The ministers of Christ would then be universal in their functions: they would have direct control in every sphere of action, high and low, material and spiritual, and that control would always be divine, and through the medium of self-denial, organized in every corporation as an active element of life. The divine spirit of Christ would be in every thing, and every thing in it: but now the Pastors of the people have no hold on them: they cannot penetrate the darkness and the falsehood of material life; and spiritual destitution is as general as worldly want throughout society.

"And this must ever be the case so long as civilized society is based on incoherency and competition. The very elements of science and of progress only tend, in such a state of things, to generate corruption and depravity. It is the duty of the clergy then, especially, to aid us in our work of self-denial, to promote the practice of associative unity and neutralize the elements of dissolution in society."

(6) Here, again, we find another fundamental mistake of our doctrine, but as it is one into which a superficial reader might readily fall, we shall not rebuke it very severely in Mr. Brownson. Fourier has himself, in his writings thus far published, dwelt so much upon the external applications of his theory, that even some of his less instructed disciples have been led into

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the error of ascribing the results they expect to the mere "phalansterian arrangement." This would convert the doctrine of our teacher into a mere system of naturalism, and is, in the estimation of all those who have studied the subject with any degree of profundity, a fatal misconception. Let us say, then, to Mr. Brownson, that in stating the doctrine, he has precisely reversed what we hold, or to use a common figure of speech, he has put the cart before the horse. We do not regard the Phalanstery, as Mr. Brownson has quite wittily said, as "a musical-box," nor do we look to the mere mechanical organization for that glorious harmony which is the obvious destiny of man on earth. The organization is the mere body of which the animating soul or spirit is religious unity. Without that soul the body would be dead. It would be like the dry bones in the valley, a mere receptacle of life, but not life. The indwelling spirit of love to God and to Man must be there to preserve its existence. And it is in this very particular that it differs from the present and all previous organizations of society. The existence of these is possible, even though all men should hate each other, but the Phalanx is only possible on the ground that they love each other and love God. Such, at least, are the views of our doctrine set forth in our accredited documents. Muiron, the first disciple of Fourier, has published a work in which it is clear throughout, that he regards religion as the centre and substance of the system. M. Considerant says that the "Religion of Love and Wisdom alone can unite men." Mr. Doherty, among a thousand other remarks to the same effect, says:

"Religious truth is the *principle* of unity and harmony, but this cannot be realized in *practice* universally, without a correspondent unity of action in the sphere of worldly interests; and thence it is that in the present state of disorder and discord in the world, though spiritual light and truth are the first in principle and importance, natural light and unitary combination are of primary interest as the practical foundation of a perfect superstructure; and to frown upon the science of industrial unity, as an inferior thing of mere material importance, is silly and thoughtless. The man must be emancipated from the degradation of the brute before he can be imbued with elevated views of God and a future life."

Mr. Godwin, in this country, says:

"We seek to effect this practical embodiment of religious truth and love, in daily life, by attractive industry and unitary combination; neither of which are in themselves alone Religious Unity, but the *body* or collective form in which alone the ordinances of Christianity, the spirit of religion, the Universal church, can be incorporated practically and incessantly, for without the Body the Spirit cannot be manifested fully on Earth. We do not deny, then, the spiritual truth of Religion; we desire to organize a body to receive that truth; a practical reality, and not a mockery."

And this language was repeated, in the address and resolutions of our National Convention, which were sanctioned fully by the whole body of Fourier's disciples.

Any one who will take the pains to understand the theory of the Passions, as taught by our school, will see that it is impossible to escape this conclusion; for the Pivotal Passion of the soul, that which penetrates and moulds all the other passions, and around which all the others revolve in subordination, is called Unityism, and has for its object to unite us in all the functions of life to God. It is, therefore, the passion of Religion itself, which means, from its derivation *religo*, TO UNITE. To undertake to form an Association, according to Fourier, without looking to religious faith and hope for its soul, would be like attempting to form a human body without a heart or a head. On this account, we particularly rejoice that the associations already undertaken in this country, have mostly begun in deep and solemn religious convictions, and in that spirit alone we trust they will continue to be conducted. Their success depends solely upon the degree of their religious devotion.

Our readers will now see that we do not regard the mere outward arrangement of Association to preserve the harmony of the Phalanx; but to the living principles of the soul, (called Passions by us,) through which, rightly directed, God manifests his will, and which, if we obey their dictates, will lead into higher degrees of purity, happiness and devotion to God. Yet these Passions are subject to a contrary or *subversive* movement, and it is only to their dictates, as enlightened by Science and Revelation and the Holy Spirit that we listen. In the forms of society that have already existed, these passions have been preparing for the higher life of Harmonic Society, as the embryo gathers the different parts of its organization, before it can be brought forth a perfect child, or as the child, during the period of its pupilage, gathers the elements, spiritual and material, of its future more vigorous and independent existence. There has been for some time religion enough in the heart of Humanity, for the simple organizations of associative life, and it has only wanted a body for its reception.

Religious unity, then, is the life which needs a body for its complete and collective manifestation. At the same time, let it not be overlooked that this rightly organized body will have a powerful retro-active influence upon the vigor and health of this religious life. It would be a beautiful task to explain this reciprocal action at length, but our space will not allow us: we can only illustrate it briefly by the natural action between the mind and body of the individual. If the body is diseased, it is the *spirit* of the man which leads the way in his efforts towards cure: but when once the cure is effected, the very health and soundness of the organism react upon the mind, and impart to it increased elasticity, vigor and joyfulness. In the collective body in the same way, the mere soundness of the organization will contribute to the intensity and permanence of its religious life. It is on this account that our writers have dwelt so emphatically upon the necessity of the external organization, generally overlooked or imperfectly explained, by the thinkers of other schools.*

We are now prepared to consider the next objection of Mr. Brownson.

(7) "What, after your Phalanx is formed, is to keep it together?" This is the question we are about to answer; but, before doing so, we will make one remark.

We have no doubt that some, perhaps many, of the practical experiments at unitary life, will fail. They will be begun under a want of the necessary material and spiritual elements, and thus not conforming to the law of Wisdom, will fall into embarrassment and decay. Some, even that begin properly, may through peculiar causes, be broken into fragments. But any number of failures would not convince us that Association is not the destiny of man, which must, sooner or later, be realized on earth.

There is every probability, however, to suppose that the enterprises commenced under wise auspices will not fail. We say this, because we believe that in the Phalanx, along with the absence of external temptations to do evil, there will be the presence of the strongest motives to do good. There will be few or no temptation to do wrong, outwardly, because we could not injure others without directly injuring ourselves, and there will be strong motives to do good, because by so doing we shall promote our own highest good. Besides that, in the arrangements of groups and series, opportu-

* It is a current doctrine, we are aware, with some modern physiologists, that Life is the *result* of organization; but this, it seems to us, is a gross error. Liebig, in his Animal Chemistry, speaks of vitality as a force derived from the organism; and some of his disciples in this country, we are told, have carried this fanaticism of pretended science so far as to assert, that if we could bring the various elements of the corporeal organization together, a living being would be the result. This is no less impious than preposterous. It is the LIFE alone that can bring these elements into a living unity—yet the bringing of them together is necessary for the manifestation of that Life. In the same way, in the social body, the life of religious truth and love can only bring together the various parts of the social organization, whilst, at the same time, that organization must be effected before there can be an integral and perfect manifestation of social life. It is not the mere chemical attractions of the body which make it a living organism—the soul is needed; nor is it the mere natural attractions of men that can render them a living social unity—for the pervading principle of religion is wanting to give it a soul.

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nity will be afforded for the gratification of every essential desire, so that any one desire will not grow up into imperious and pernicious power. Again, a thorough system of unitary education will introduce a high and refined standard of manners, while the institutions of religion being universally diffused, will tend to cement and strengthen the bonds of paternal and Christian feeling, which the more tightly they are drawn, enlarge the sphere of spiritual freedom. Thus, it will be seen, that associative life appeals to every class of motives, to selfism as well as to benevolence; but its chief reliance would be upon the promises of God, that he will come and make his abode with all who strive to do his Will, in all their acts. He has said, "seek and ye shall find, knock and it will be opened unto you"—"come all who will, and partake of the waters of life freely"—"he that cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out."

If, now, it be further said, that after all there will be some men who will not "seek" or "knock" or "come"—men who will from pure perversity of nature, resist the will of God; we reply, that admitting the possibility of such a thing, the supposition is an extreme one, and will apply with equal force to any mode of social amelioration that can be named—to THE Church as well as to Association. What is to preserve the unity of the Church, in those future days, when we are told, it will be in its glory? You will say, the spirit of God. But the spirit of God must operate through the freedom of man, and so long as he is free, "he is capable of abusing his freedom." Now, we also trust to the spirit of God, working through our freedom, but our science teaches us that in proportion as man grows in the knowledge of truth and in the practice of religion, his freedom increases while his liability to the abuse of that freedom decreases. The danger to be apprehended from the "perversity" of individuals would be the greatest in the outset of Associative existence, and would become less with every year of successful experiment. Nor would abundance of prosperity cause pride and rebellion, because, as every one would see, that such abundance was the result of conformity to the will of God, there would be no inducement to "kick" as we "waxed fat"—any more than there is among the angels of Heaven, whose overflowing felicity is only another motive for their devotion to the Source of all Good.

(8) But, exclaims our reviewer, your very religious earnestness would prove a source of bickering and final separation. "Toleration is impossible to an earnest mind, for anything which is not held to be indifferent." Is this so? It may be in the Romish Church, but surely it was not so considered by Christ and his apostles. "Judge not, that you be not judged." "Bless them that persecute you." "He causes his rain to fall on the just and on the unjust." "Him that is without sin, cast the first stone." Cephas, it seems, "tolerated" the false teachers in the very bosom of the Church; and Jesus himself sat at meat, and partook of the communion with Judas, a thief and a liar, whom he knew was at the very time plot ing his betrayal. But, says Mr. Brownson, toleration is impossible! As perhaps he thinks that our blessed Lord was not "sincere and earnest" against all manner of wickedness. What an absurdity it is! Toleration impossible! No! sir, it is only impossible to those who know not Christ, and are filled with narrow and malignant prejudices, from the pit! Unless we have utterly misread the life and doctrine of our Saviour, toleration is one of the highest features of his religion. "Charity," says St. Paul, who seems to us on all occasions to have been considerably in earnest, "suffereth long, and is kind," "seeketh not her own, *is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil*," "*beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things*, ENDURETH ALL THINGS." "Brethren, be not children in understanding, howbeit in malice ye be children"—of which spirit the words and character of our Divine Master are full. And it is this spirit we hope to bring about, by the ties and affinities of a better social life than we now enjoy, where nearly all the influences of the world tend to neutralize the inspirations of the gospel. As to the grounds, then, of this toleration which we expect, they are explained in the following passage of an essay by Mr. Doherty, who has given close attention to the religious aspects of our system. He says:

"But dissonance is requisite in harmony as well as consonance, and in the music of the soul, the dissonance of passional variety is not less necessary than in common music; and the law of perfect equilibrium is similar in both; though, in the present state of things, the fallen or perverted soul of man is out of tune with perfect love, and not so easily subdued to harmony as will be finally. The religious sentiment, for instance, which ought to be the easiest of all to harmonize, will be, at first, the most refractory and difficult, intolerant and blind, both positively and negatively, or superstitiously and sceptically. The lowest mode of harmonizing this subversive state of passion in the Phalanstery, will consist in rational toleration or negative charity, according to the positive injunction of the Word of God: "Judge not, that ye be not judged."—(Matt. 17. 1.) This is negative charity only, because it does not lend man any aid or do him any good, it merely refrains from persecuting him or doing him positive injustice. The Word of God being the only standard of authority admitted by all religious sects and parties, it is the only standard which all the members of the Phalanstery are expected to admit. The next principle of harmony is the Church itself, or Catholic authority based on the liberty of private judgment, or toleration of opinion, or negative charity. Our views on this question has been expressed at some length in the seventh number of the "Monthly Phalanx," December, 1842, in which it is stated that we conform to the established Church in Catholic countries, Greek, Anglican or Roman, with regard to public worship, without being under the necessity of violating individual liberty of conscience in subscribing to exclusive articles of creed composed by human or traditional authority alone. In acknowledging the Church established, and subordinating individual opinions, we acknowledge Catholic supremacy and unity in its traditional aspect of authority, as well as Revelation, so that we do not encourage schism, or otherwise oppose the Church. We merely claim the right and privilege of private judgment in subordination, which principle of freedom is the very life of faith. As a general basis, then, of religious unity in the Phalanstery, all parties admit the authority of Revelation and of Catholic Tradition in the established Church, and all conform to the ordinances of the Church and its established forms of worship. This is the basis of religious unity in its two-fold form; the invisible and the visible; the Word and the Church; Revelation and Tradition: and varieties of doctrinal opinions and conceptions are harmonized in subordination to this principle of unity, by means of corporate affinity. That is to say, those persons who have a decided preference for the study of a particular aspect of religious doctrine, form a spiritual corporation, and meet together as often as convenient, for mutual instruction in that branch of scriptural knowledge and understanding. Those who delight most in contemplating the "Calvinistic" or inflexible aspect of Providence, which is akin to what is termed "philosophical necessity," meet together in subordinate consociation for that purpose, and divide themselves into inferior groups of difference in minor shades of opinion. Those who take delight in studying the moral aspect of Providence, according to which God promises to turn to man if man will turn to him, form a distinct corporation in the Phalanx, and meet together in subordinate consociation for reciprocal advantage and religious sympathy. Those who delight especially in studying the various aspects of Prophetic inspiration, form themselves into a distinct series of spiritual corporations also, for their favorite investigations, and thus individual liberty of choice in spiritual life and action is like that of natural activity, at once refined and harmonized in order by the law of series graduated and contrasted in variety and unity. Those who cultivate the infinite variety of spiritual flowers and delights whose seeds are to be found in Revelation, organize themselves in corporate associations, or series of groups, according to the various attractions

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of the spirit, just as natural attraction leads the members of the Phalanx to form separate corporations for the cultivation of the natural delights and uses of industrial occupation, art and science, and amusement. The Word of God is the centre of attraction and of unity for all the spiritual corporations in the Church, and the varieties of doctrinal opinion or perception are acknowledged and protected in subordination, as the various orders of monastic discipline and doctrine were acknowledged in the Roman Catholic Church in its meridian splendor, centuries ago.

"We have distinguished only three general varieties of spiritual doctrine or opinion here, because that is the lowest form of a complete series, but the reader will easily conceive that any number of diverse opinions in religious doctrine may be reconciled in toleration or subordinate variety in unity. It is worthy of remark also, that what we term the moral aspect of religious doctrine, in contradistinction from the calvinistic and prophetic, has always been the orthodox predominancy of opinion in the Church established, Anglican, or Greek, or Roman, down from the first Apostles to the present day; and this is also, the favorite aspect of Divinity with us, though we have great delight in the two others. The orthodox aspect of divinity or doctrine, corresponds to the moral nature of the soul, directly; the Calvinistic, to the intellectual or the mathematical; the prophetic, to the imaginative, or the sensuous and infantine. All are good in their respective spheres, and only become evil and defective in proportion to intolerant exclusiveism and bigotry. Apart, they are uncharitable and schismatic, full of anger and self-righteousness, repulsive "Evangelical," and "Protestant;" together, they are Catholic and tolerant, attractive, meek, and holy.

"From this it will be seen, that all who follow the commandments of the Gospel, and are disposed to "Love one another" can unite in brotherly affection and religious toleration, without any sacrifice of principle. Variety in unity at once secures the liberty of conscience without fomenting schism in the Church, or animosity of any kind. This alone would prove the series is the divine law of unity and order."

(9) We do not make industrial association superior to the Church, but we make it subservient to the enlargement and perfection of the Church—which is sufficiently elucidated in what we have already said. We doubt, however, very much, whether it will be possible to bring about "the unity of the Church, through which we may come to one faith, one baptism, one calling, and one spirit," until we have begun to introduce unity into the practical and every day relations of men; or, at any rate, this unity cannot be brought about in *spirit* without effecting it in practice; for the total and hellish disorder which reigns in both Church and State, is an irresistible proof that the unity of spirit has not yet come. And when Mr. Brownson insinuates that after "the unity and Catholicity of the Church is returned to, the Phalansterian organization will not be necessary," he perpetrates great nonsense. Can there be a complete and perfect unity of spirit and faith without its expressing itself in the outward act? Can we love and think as brothers, and yet not live as brothers? What is the meaning of *action*, if it be not the outward realization of some inward *thought* or *affection*? Well, then, we say that the Phanlansterian organization, or in other words, Passional Harmony, would be the inevitable result of "unity and Catholicity." If all men could be filled with the Love and Wisdom of God, so that they were as the angels in Heaven, they would live in Association, and precisely under the relations which Association proposes. It is the nature of LOVE to impart itself to others, which can only be done by association with others, and in the various forms of Friendship, Sexual attachment, Familism and Corporate Sympathy. If Mr. Brownson knows of any other mode in which we can love our fellow-men, we should be pleased to have him point it out for our information.

(10) It is enough to observe here that Fourier does not attempt to reconcile the service of God and Mammon; but he does more than that; he makes Mammon himself resign his usurped throne, and fall prostrate before the Lord Most High. He shows how those desires, which in their false action lead to universal selfishness, may be converted into efficient agents of universal happiness. This is all he does.

(11) The mock solemnity and cant of Mr. Brownson's conclusion would provoke a smile, if we were not rather moved to pity by the qualities which it betrays. For Mr. Brownson, who has been all his life tossing about on the wild waves of doctrine, without compass or guide, and who is now making into a strange port, with a sort of feeling that it may be after all only a false haven, to affect the love of superiority towards men, who have long watched his devious and driving course, from the high grounds of a positive science, it is a piece of consummate arrogance. It is not *he* that should address us in this lofty magisterial tone; but it is for us to address him; for we can show that organization of society which is according to Divine order, which is not of man's contrivance, but which is the work of Him, whose thoughts are above our thoughts, and his ways better than our ways. How long, oh, Mr. Brownson, will you be hewing out broken cisterns, that can contain no water—how long will you be resisting God's will—how long will you wander among the devices and follies of deluded men, seeking in the strength of your own intellect, that peace and happiness which only come from a complete obedience to the Heavenly Father in all our ways, in business as well as prayer, in attractive and cheerful labor, much more than in barren or silly metaphysics, or the endless word-fights of inflated philosophism? We beseech you, then, to lay aside your intellectual pride and the bitterness of self-conceit, and with the humility and artlessness of a little child, receive the Kingdom of Heaven!

We have thus taken up several of the more important objections of this writer to the doctrine of Fourier, but in a hasty and desultory manner. We might have said much more on the whole subject, but have been compelled to be brief for the want of room for fuller developements. Perhaps, in our remarks, the bad spirit of much of what one author has said, has betrayed us into unnecessary harshness; if so, we must beg the pardon of the reader. Our object is not controversy, but truth—and we deem it at all times desirable to write in the spirit of truth. That Fourier, then, has defects may be readily admitted; but they are not in the direction in which Brownson supposes. Whatever they are, or wherever they may be found, however, let us say, that he was too good a man, and too profound a thinker to be handled in the superficial and conceited manner in which the Boston Reviewer is accustomed to approach his topics.

One remark more, before we close. The replies we have made to this essay were in many respects unnecessary, because its objections have scarcely related to what we teach, as a school. They mostly refer to those higher questions of theory and speculation which are not as yet recognized by us, save in the publications of individuals who speak for themselves, and not in the name of the class. Collectively, we are only a body of Associationists, who believe that the principle of Unity of Interests and the Social Organization of Society, would be a great step in advance of the present social order. We break no statute; we change no law in morals; we interfere with no man's or church's religion; but we simply propose a peaceful experiment in the sphere of worldly interests, which we say is required by the politics and religion of the existing age. All that we propose to do, at present, in the way of political reform, is to organize labor according to the law of perfect justice and religious love. If we fail, the injury resulting from failure must be inconsiderable; and if we succeed, then we shall be prepared for the discussion of higher questions, and the adoption of higher truths.

At the same time, we acknowledge that the theory of Fourier looks much farther than this, and is received and taught by some of his disciples much farther than this; but none of them look to the present reduction of these speculative parts of his theory to practice. What is said, then, either by Fourier or by his disciples, in re-

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gard to marriage, to morals, and to religion, must be regarded in the light of individual affirmations. This distinction is a clear one, and which the school has been obliged to make; first, because it comprises men of various denominations of christians, whose views on such points are already established; second, because Fourier's own assertions often are difficult to be understood; third, because we believe God will not give us higher light until we are faithful to the light of duty that we already have. No one, therefore, who is convinced of the necessity of the Organization of Industry, need to be afraid of joining us, because he may have scruples as to certain doctrines which we do not profess, and which we entertain as subjects for individual investigation, but not as the *sine qua non* of a creed.

The foregoing replies, therefore, are made in defence of "Fourierism," and it would not be inconsistent with a belief in "Association," to reject more or less of what we have said.

The time is soon coming, we hope, when as a school we shall be able to take more positive grounds, even on questions of Religion, Faith and Worship.

BROOK FARM.

Nine or ten miles from the city of Boston, amidst a pleasant country, is the abode of a growing Association whose aim is the unity of human interests. Figure to yourself a rural domain, its present extent two or three hundred acres of undulating land, traversed by a shallow brook, decked with a half dozen buildings, and contiguous to a wood, and you have the appearance of this farm. First on the site is the edifice called "the Hive," where strangers are received, where some of the classes are instructed, and the associates assemble for meals. At a little distance are the barn and workshops. That fawn-colored building, beyond and to the right, perched on a rocky base and approached by terraces, is "the Eyrie:" linen and laces of the laundry are disposed here; it contains a valuable library, and is sometimes vocal with the music of a soirée. Next, in sober burnt umber, with its four gables, is "the Cottage:" here is a class-room, there is a gathering of little ones. Farthest, that white house, because erected by a descendant of the pilgrims, and accommodating sojourners, and being at a distance, is known as "the Pilgrim-House." All these are temporary homes. Feeling the want of a unitary edifice, to save time and prevent exposure, a situation is chosen for it, and the foundation dug, on a suitable declivity.

Agreeably to the principles of the Institution, there is, of course, for so many people, a variety of occupations, whose bases are agriculture, mechanics, economy and education. And the labors of these departments are distributed among groups designated by name, as "the Consistory," "the Dormitory," &c.; and their respective hours are appropriated with exactness, so that the machinery may not jar or a needful operation fail.

A little child smiles with greater delight at the skeleton of a horse rudely penciled on a slate than at a faultless image of the animal limned by the graver's art. Young imagination is pleased with filling up the outline: in the perfect picture there is nothing left to do, and it is simply contemplated in fancy's repose.

With the feeling of a child have I looked on this infant effort of associative thought, and conceived the possible excellence of its future development. And faith says here that one's conceptions are more imbued with a prophetic sense than with the dreaminess of the castle-builder. Originating in a wish to retire from the falsities of the world, and disclose the life of the individual soul, it has gathered gradual accretions around its little nucleus, heard and read and adopted suggestions from the genius of Fourier, and is striving, as its powers grow, and its acquaintance with his science extends, to assimilate to itself the teachings and practice of his theory. It is obviously but the incipiency of a great work. With few more than a hundred souls—one fourth of the number required for the minimum organization of groups—it is but the chrysalis of a phalansterian institution. Yet the chrysalis is healthy and active. And as you consider the vitality of its cheerfulness, the pervading spirit of devotion to a great idea, bodied in solidity of attainments and garnished with graces of manner, your heart and hope foretel that this struggling creation will ere long strengthen and rise and float in beauty through the atmosphere of being.

A mere worldling is not a competent judge of the merits and purposes of such an institution. A man who would look curiously on novel things, to talk of them again, or print them in his superficial travels, may see oddities and suppose discrepancies, as opticians used to teach us that objects are painted inverted on the network of the eye. A man who does not understand that he is a limb of corporate humanity, will not feel the pulse from its heart beating in his arteries. If you have no inkling of the science of unity, you cannot pronounce an enlightened sentence on its modes of education, powers of attraction and purposes of labor. God forms of men, through the centuries, instruments to shed brighter light upon the pathway of human destiny.

When you have rolled an hour and a half from Boston over the fine road to Brook Farm, entered its domain, alighted at "the Hive," and given some consideration to its society, your attention is arrested by its simple, fraternal courtesy. Your sympathy is bewitched, and a prevalent cheerfulness rests on your spirit. I could prescribe myself no better exorcism of "the blues," than an hour, or day, or week of mingling in its ranks, and participation of its feeling. One has an intuition that rudeness would be overawed and discord ostracised by the presiding *genius loci*. All these germinant groups are apparently controlled by one sense of propriety and happiness. And there are among them persons from the age of speechless childhood up to three score years and ten; men from the undistinguished walks of life and those whose names are not "unknown to fame." What reconciles and blends these diversities? This harmony is now years old, bidding the false prophets of the past to eat their words.

Then you witness the phenomenon of the absence of servitude. You see yourself waited upon at table by persons whom the mass know to be their superiors—probably your own superiors: and the ready skill of intelligence, the motion of grace, dignity of bearing and smile of pleasure, gild vulgar labor with a charm which, at your plain meal, minds you of the ministries of angels. You begin to ask your common sense the question, What is there more menial in carrying a plate than in carving a duck—in changing a cover than in pouring out tea? It is for my equals, and therefore polite; it is voluntary, and therefore agreeable. . . . In another direction, a well-bred lady, or a scholarly barrister, is busied in the small and rough details of the culinary department, and doing it from aptitude or choice. A travelled visitant of courts tends the "toddling wee things" of the nursery, or stirs among the linen of the laundry, or tills and weeds a garden, and this with passion and a face radiant with rose-hue and smiles. Gentlemen whose pens contribute to the literature of the day, swing the scythe with a thewy arm, or drive a plough afield. To be sure, like the rest, they vary their occupations, and sometimes pay a visit to Mt. Parnassus, or court the melodious inspirations of St. Cecilia. But Association is showing the world how to tear down the gossamer fallacies of factitious society; and as, in mediæval periods, learning was left to monks, and it was only fitting men of mark to fly the falcon, tilt, or fight; and the last four centuries have ennobled learning; so, the present age will dignify labor, and teach the training of an integral man.

Now, solve me this problem. Yon fawn-like girl, with the camelia on her cheek and dove-note on her lip, engages in the toils of the study or cares of the chamber, and through all her various relations, disturbs not a tone of the reigning accord. Here is a gentlewoman erewhile fed from the golden spoon of opulence, renouncing the cushion of luxury as readily as if its tassels were thistles, and its down were thorns. There is her junior, who declared herself ineffably indolent and the victim of ennui in this boastful, backward "civilization," voluntarily transformed into an assiduous, self-

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sacrificing devotee of domestic industry. There is the accomplished archon of the establishment, amid a hundred things, unaffectedly and quietly yielding a moment's precedence to a little boy, who is vanquished by politeness. This person, with a face bearing the idiosyncrasy of India, is a recovered invalid from distant Manilla. That one is a stanch Roman Catholic, a lover of true church, with force of character, evinced in his resolute and persevering self-denial of an evil habit. Whence this content, concord and devotion?

Actual employment is one solution. It is an extraordinary fact that men of consummate skill and women of genius in their art, of willing minds and faultless temper, cannot, in the incoherent, disorganized condition of society, obtain requisite occupation for their hands or heads. They desire it, and they are desired; but are crushed in the crowd, or cannot emerge from this social labyrinth into the light. And who knows whether, unheralded, they are worthy? Or how can they, again, insure their recompense? Six instances presented themselves casually to my personal observation in a single day. To weep tears of blood had been to them a useless sympathy. To grind one's teeth in agony, or growl a reproach over extant institutions, providing no general protection, heedless of the general welfare, had been worse than useless. After one upward glance of assured hope at enthroned Providence, it seemed better, under Heaven, to study the means of extricating the masses and refined sufferers from their common predicament.

Actual and fit employment is often as impossible in one's own home. You may study till you "weary the flesh," stupify the brain and disease the lungs in sedentary immobility. You may invent expedients of solitary gymnastics, profitless to the world, talk impiously of "killing time," or die the daily death of listless lassitude. Under these circumstances, the physical and moral parts of man are undeveloped, the whole man has not appeared. Now, actual employment dispels despondency and puts ennui to flight. Actual employment of the material as well as spiritual man discloses the powers, improves the health and is an inlet of positive knowledge. Actual employment keeps a person too busy to crave the consolations of intemperance, or to indulge long in spleen, and of itself yields both stimulus and cheerfulness. And knowing that this employment is given to the degraded, uncherished being of a false society by a band of courteous brethren in whose fostering midst he moves, you discover a secret of its restorative magic, and the impulse of his pure resolution.

Another solution of the problem is in their variety of labors. This variety at present is inadequate to fulfil the requirements of the theory. Brook Farm will be able to accommodate more residents when the contemplated building is erected, and then new and more various industries may be introduced. There should be so many in every phalanx, that each taste may find its several diversities of daily employment. Already the distribution of labors affords a charm. It is not as in the great world, where the cook cooks all day, and the tired sempstress gets a stitch in her side, and "the ploughman homeward plods his weary way," and Mr. Magister Syntax has talked himself into a bronchitis. The horse who runs a journey on a dead level will be more fatigued than he who runs up hill, down hill, and on a level. Instead of wearying one set of muscles, he has brought three sets into play. Soul and body both desire an alternation, and when you furnish it, you perform a deed to reconcile a man to his estate.

The sympathy with which you are infected here, amidst the ranks, is almost irresistible. It is a source of enthusiasm in labor. The words of an orator are wasted on an individual in a solitary hall; in a crowd they leap like electricity from heart to heart, and then reflect an inspiration on the speaker's soul. A panic or an exultation spreads through a whole armed host. And so, if you make a visit to the residents of the Farm, you catch the contagion of industry. You may abide as a boarder, or visit as a guest. But one presently feels shabby in indulging the *dolce far niente* of "civilization:" for here idleness is not among the insignia of nobility, refinement or wealth.

Yet another solution of the problem is in the inspiration of a grand idea. They see how many writhe beneath the lash of petty authority and contumelious office. Many feel the outrageous mal-administration of law, and the tyranny of false opinion. Young orphanage may suffer, without reflection or research. Poverty, whose emaciate cheeks are wet by no tears, for its heart is dulled by wo and exhausted by want, may crave and fain enter a home of insured comfort upon any terms. But there are souls of plain men and sensible women who feel the perversion and wrong of society, and have caught the hope of "some better thing in store" for the race, and sublimated it into an inward prophecy, and are striving to work out its practical fulfilment. And there are souls of elevated men and accomplished women who witness social injustice, error and woes with anguish, who aspire to exterminate them, who believe the means revealed, who paint their ideal of man's dawning glory on a sky of prospect with the pencil of faith, who look through the vista of time on a panorama of industrial beauty and universal happiness, who write their hope and trust in glowing poesy and body it in living action. There are people of such spirit in Brook Farm and similar institutions in other States, where the germes of harmonic principles are just bursting into being, and promise to cover the material earth with verdure and bloom, and to load the spiritual atmosphere with fragrance and music. They are animated by this sacred hope, this grand idea; and it enables them to sacrifice the enervating pleasures of affluent homes amidst false relations, and endure temporarily rude privations coupled with the delights of truth, justice and charity, and forming the future basis of general wealth untarnished by the canker of selfishness and crime.

It is true that the originators of this association controlled its gradually accumulating elements by presenting the example and infusing the leaven of their own character, conduct and manners. A pure moral tone and urbane amenity of deportment ought to introduce the organization of every phalanx. It should not be undertaken without much forethought and serious resolve, without an understanding of its theory and an investigation of the living materials that compose it, without a desire not merely to acquire tangible riches, but to disclose the beauty of the soul. With such examples, it is astonishing to the uninstructed, how soon in association the contagion of self-sacrifice, truth, elevated morals and gentle manners is diffused. When Brook Farm is augmented and enabled to apportion the specific rewards to talent and capital, as it does to labor, we look to witness still higher improvements. Its success is already a moral triumph.

A. B. H.

☞ We are compelled to defer several articles intended for this number, on account of the length to which our comments upon Mr. Brownson have extended, and the interesting descriptions of Brook Farm, and the Clarkson Association, which have precedence of other matters. Among others, we postpone a reply to the inquiries of the PEOPLE'S RIGHTS, a paper published in this city. We shall only say now, that questions like these could not be put to us by one acquainted with our doctrines, which the Editor is *professedly*, and which he should be, as a seeker after truth and the means of accomplishing what he himself desires as an *end*. Let him consult our writings for full satisfaction; there he will find a full exposition of the questions, and, more than that, a *solution* of the problems involved. We add, however, that we do most distinctly maintain the right of man, and all men, to the Land—*to the use of the Soil*—and by Association it is secured, but we are opposed to all agrarian projects of division of the land into "lots," or parcels, subject to individual control, which are absurd, and defeat the object; and further, we look with fear and loathing upon every such self-sufficient scheme, which looks to man's "invention" for the government of Society, and not to the Wisdom and designs of God.

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CLARKSON ASSOCIATION.

We have stated in the previous number that the Clarkson Association had dissolved and had been reorganized on a better footing, but the following letter, from a gentleman on whom we can rely, presents a better account, and we therefore publish it.

BATAVIA, July 10th, 1844.

Editors of the Phalanx:

GENTLEMEN—I have just returned from a visit to Clarkson Association, partly made on account of my general sympathy with all Associationists, and partly to ascertain the truth or falsehood of the many rumors which have been so industriously circulated by those who are inimical or indifferent to the success of our cause. I am convinced, from all that I have seen and heard during my stay on the domain, that our friends have been grossly slandered. True they have passed through many and great trials, have been beset by enemies without and foes within; but they are now, I am happy to say, in a fair way, with proper exercise of vigilance and perseverance, to see their experiment crowned with success.

The original founders of this association, no doubt actuated by good motives, but lacking discretion, held out such a brilliant prospect of comfort and pleasure in the very infancy of the movement, that hundreds, without any correct appreciation of the difficulties to be undergone by a pioneer band, rushed upon the ground, expecting at once to realise the heaven they so ardently desired, and which the eloquent words of the lecturers had warranted them to hope for. Thus, ignorant of Association, possessed, for the most part, of little capital, without adequate shelter from the inclemency of the weather, or even a sufficient store of the most common articles of food, without plan, and I had almost said without purpose, save to fly from the ills they had already experienced in civilization, they assembled together such elements of discord, as naturally in a short time led to their dissolution. The real friends of Association, those who were determined to adhere to the cause under all circumstances, saw that it would be useless to resist the clamors of the selfish and the disaffected, and in order to bring good out of evil, consented to the request of a number of the stockholders to dissolve the society, and wind up their affairs. It was resolved, however, in a private meeting, to form forthwith a new organization, under better auspices, inasmuch as by being relieved from the influence of the idle and the disaffected, and being freed from the responsibility of a large debt for lands which could be of no immediate profit to them, and being under the guidance of a new and efficient corps of officers, in whose judgment and practical experience they had great confidence, they still hoped by perseverance to win the reward of associative industry.—They have adopted a new constitution, (a copy of which I send you) and under whose government they have labored for the last fortnight; they are settling the accounts of the disaffected and are sending them away as fast as they can find means to satisfy their demands, and they hope in a short time, to have no one upon the ground who is not of one heart and one mind with regard to the end of their labors, and who is not willing to make great sacrifices to carry out the doctrines of Jesus Christ as illustrated by Charles Fourier, in all their labors and intercourse with each other. The formation of industrial groups and series is fast being made; they ardently seek for all the information they can obtain, and rather distrust their own judgment in deference to the opinions of the great founder of the system. An application has been made to unite with the UNION OF ASSOCIATIONS formed in this State, and they recognize the importance and are determined to co-operate in all the important measures which this Union contemplates.

They have now about 250 members on the premises, and do not wish *at present* any accession to their numbers. Their accommodations are only such as would content an ardent disciple of Fourier. They live simply, but seem to enjoy contentment and health. Of the landed property they only retain about 600 acres, mostly cleared land, and timber which is convenient to their sawmills, and they have lately added to the cleared lands an excellent tract of about 200 acres, for which they have made part payment. I see no reason to believe that Clarkson will not, under the auspices of their present organization, realize eventually the fondest hopes of her zealous members, and the most ardent wishes of every friend of industrial and moral reform.

Poor as must have been the enjoyment of their first hasty and inconsiderate organization, I am told that those who left the society during their troubles, now wish to come back. They find, they say, more pleasure was to be felt in the poverty and hardship of Association in its imperfect state, than in the miserable antagonism they are compelled to suffer in civilization.

The experience of the past has been highly useful. I doubt not that they will avoid hereafter with strictest care, the sources of evil from which they have so deeply suffered. I hope to be able to vist them again some time this summer, when I am confident I shall have the satisfaction of sending you good tidings of the prosperity of our friends at Clarkson. D. S. O.

P. S.—The following tables exhibit the mode of keeping the account of a Group at the Clarkson Domain. The total number of Hours that each individual has been employed during the week, is multiplied by the Degree in the Scale of Rank, which gives an equation of Rank and Time of the whole group. At Clarkson, for every *thousand* of the quotient, each member is allowed to draw on his account for necessaries to the value of seventy-five cents:

SERIES OF WORKERS IN WOOD—GROUP NO. 2.

MAXIMUM RANK 30.

1844. Rank		Mo.	Tue.	Wed.	Thu	Fri.	Sat.	Total Hours	Hours &Rank
24	Chas. Odell,	10	9	10	13	8	9	56	1344
30	John Allen,	10	10	2	6	10	8	46	1380
20	James Smith,	Sick	—	—	—	—	3	3	60
30	Wm. Allen,	10	12	10	10	10	10	62	1860
30	Jas. Griffith,	10	10	10	10	10	10	60	1800

The above is a true account of the time and rank of the whole Group, working under my direction for the past week.

JAMES GRIFFITH, *Foreman.*

Entered on the books of the Association, by WM. SEAVER, *Clerk.*

Clarkson Domain, July 6th, 1844.

SERIES OF TAILORESSES—GROUP NO. 1.

MAXIMUM RANK 25.

1844 Rank		Mo.	Tue.	We.	Thu	Fri.	Sat.	Total Hours	Hours &Rank
20	M. Weed,	6	10	3	—	—	5	24	480
25	J. Peabody,	10	10	10	12	10	10	62	1550
20	S. Clark,	10	10	10	11	8	—	48	960
25	E. Clark,	2	10	10	Sick	—	—	22	550
18	H Lee,	6	4	10	6	4	4	34	612
15	J. Folsum,	3	3	2	6	5	3	22	330
12	Eliza Mann,	4	4	2	2	6	4	22	244

The above is a true account of the time and rank of the whole Group, working under my direction for the past week

JULIA PEABODY, *Foreman.*

Ent'd on the books of the Ass'n, by WM. SEAVER, *Clerk.*

Clarkson Domain, July 6th. 1844

TRANSLATIONS FROM FOURIER'S WORKS.

EDUCATION OF EARLY CHILDHOOD.

We now arrive at the period when the initiation of the child into industry, or the awakening in it of a taste for industrial occupations, takes place. Unless the development of industrial instincts be early commenced, the whole system of education will be a failure. The first tendency of man being to riches—that is, material elegance and abundance—we may say that the education of the child is falsely commenced, if in the outstart, at about the age of two years, it does not devote itself freely and spontaneously to productive industry, which is the source of riches; and if, like the child of civilized duplicity, it runs into all kinds of mischief, and breaks and destroys whatever comes in its way, which foolish parents think "delightful."

As soon as the child can walk and run about, it passes from the class of the

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weaned to the next class in age, which we will term the Commencers. If it has been brought up from its birth in the nurseries of an Association, it will be strong enough at the age of twenty-one months to join the children of this class. There is no distinction made at this age between the two sexes, as it is important to mingle and confound them in order to facilitate the free development of industrial tastes or talents. The distinction between the sexes commences with the class next in age—with children from three to four and a half years old.

We have before remarked that nature gives to each child a large number of industrial instincts or talents—about thirty; some of which are primary, or directing instincts, and should lead to those which are secondary

The first object is to discover in the child its primary instincts: they will be awakened as soon as it is brought in contact with the occupations to which those instincts direct it. As soon as it can walk and leave the nursery, it is confided to the care of class teachers who have the instruction of this age, and whom we will term Mentors.—Their systems will differ from those of tutors at present, who endeavor to smother nature, and substitute their doctrines in place of her true impulses.) They will take the child through all the workshops of the Association, and to all industrial assemblages of children; and as it will find little tools and little workshops placed alongside the large ones, where children at the age of thirty-six months are taught to perform some trifling branch of work, it will wish to mingle with them in their occupations, and handle the tools; it will be easy, in consequence, to discover at the end of a couple of weeks which are the workshops that attract it the most, and for what branches of industry it shows a taste.

As the branches of industry of an Association are extremely varied, it is impossible that the child surrounded by them should not find the means of satisfying several of its predominant instincts; they will be awakened by the sight of little tools, handled by children a few months older than themselves.

In the opinion of parents and teachers, children are lazy little creatures: nothing is more false: children from two to three years of age are very active, but we must know the means which nature employs in the passional series, and not in "civilization" to attract them to industry.

The predominant tastes or characteristics in all children, are:

1st. Propensity to pry into everything, to meddle with and handle whatever they see, and to vary continually their occupations.

2nd. Taste for noisy occupations.

3rd. Propensity for imitation.

4th. Love of little tools and workshops.

5th. Progressive influence of the older children upon the younger.

There are many others, but we mention first these five, which are well known at present. Let us examine the application to be made of them to direct the child in its early age of industry.

The mentors, or tutors, will first avail themselves of the propensity of the child to pry into everything, a propensity that is so strong at the age of two years. It wishes to enter everywhere, handle everything and meddle with whatever it sees. This instinct in a child is a natural incentive to industry. To awaken in it a taste for its occupations, it will be taken to the little workshops, where they will see children three years old capable of handling little hammers and other tools. Its propensity for imitation will be aroused, which it will wish to satisfy; some little tools will be given to it, but it will desire to take part with the children a little older than itself, who know how to work, and who, in consequence, will refuse to receive it.

The child will persevere, if it has a decided inclination or instinct for the branch of industry. As soon as the mentor perceives this, he will teach it some little detail connected with the work, and it will soon succeed in making itself useful in some trifles, which will serve as an introduction.

In all branches, some trifling occupations are left for childhood, as a means of initiation into industry. For the child of two years old these occupations must be very easy of execution, but in performing them, it will believe that it has done something of consequence, and that it is almost the equal of children three or four months older than itself, who are already members of groups, and who wear their little ornaments and uniforms, which inspire with profound respect the young beginner.

MEANS OF DEVELOPING INSTINCT FOR INDUSTRIAL VOCATIONS IN CHILDREN.

1st. Charm of little workshops, and of little tools, adapted in size to the different ages.

2nd. Application of all playthings—such as little wagons, wooden horses, &c. (which are useless at present) to purposes of industrial instruction.

3rd. Charm of ornaments and uniforms: a feather at present often suffices to bewitch the country lad, and induce him to enlist; what then will be the power of handsome ornaments and uniforms with the child in inducing it to take a part in gay and happy groups with its equals?

4th. Privilege of appearing on parade, and of using tools: we know how much such privileges stimulate children.

5th. Gaiety and animation, which always accompany assemblages of children, when they are engaged in occupations which are pleasing and attractive.

6th. Pride of having performed some trifle which the child believes of high importance; this illusion is cherished.

7th. Propensity to imitation, which is so predominant in children, and which acquires a tenfold intensity when their emulation is excited by the exploits of groups of children a little older than themselves.

8th. Full liberty in the choice of occupations, and in the duration of the same.

9th. Perfect independence, or exemption from obedience to superiors, whom it has not chosen from inclination (being subject to the groups only which it has preferred.)

10. Minimized exercise, or the advantage of choosing in each branch of industry the minute detail which pleases.

11th. Charm of short occupations, varied frequently and animated by rivalry. They are desired, because they do not occur frequently. This is the case with those occupations even which take place daily, for they only require by turns a third or a fourth of the members of the group.

12th. Absence of paternal flattery, which is counteracted in Association, where the child is judged and criticised by its equals.

13th. Influence of a regular gradation in uniforms, tools, etc., adapted to merit and ages, which is the only system which charms the child, and can call forth dexterity in industry and application in study.

14th. Attractive effect of large assemblages, and charm of belonging to groups, in which an enthusiasm is awakened by uniforms, music, and corporattive celebrations.

15th. Emulation and rivalry between children of the same age, between groups of the same series, and between divisions of the same group.

16th. Periodical chance of promotion to classes higher in age.

17th. Admiration for prodigies performed by groups of older children—the only beings whom the younger ones choose as models.

18th. Rivalries between children of different associations; meetings of groups, and emulative contests between them.

There are other incentives not here mentioned, and which commence acting only after the age of four—such are:

Contrast and emulation of sexes and instincts.

Love of gain, or spirit of acquisition.

The combination of these incentives will develope in the child, in less than a month, three or four of its primary tastes or inclinations, which with time will call forth others: inclinations for more difficult branches will be awakened later.

The teacher, in taking the child through the workshops and manufactories, will discern the most proper occasions for presenting to it any particular branch of work; he makes a memorandum of what has appeared to please it, and two or three trials are made to ascertain whether an inclination manifests itself. A delay of a few months may be judged necessary, and there is no urging in case a taste be not evinced. It is well known that twenty or thirty industrial inclinations will be developed in the course of the year, and it is of but little consequence which they are. (These numerous varieties of instinct relate to very minute details of industry, each of which may be learned in a very short time.) They are minimized divisions of labor.

A mentor will commonly take with him three children at a time; with one child he would have but few chances of success, but of the three, one will be more skillful, another more ardent, and the two will influence the third. The mentor will not take them all of the same age; he will change children in the different workshops, leaving one with a group engaged in some occupation, taking with him the others who have evinced no inclination, and a third, who has finished its work.

The function of mentor is adapted to both sexes, and requires peculiar talents, which may be found in both. The function of nurse is confined to women.

The best incentive for the child commencing its industrial career, is impartial criticism, which it never receives from the father or the mother, who praise at this early age even its faults. This indiscreet flattery will be counteracted in Association: children, among themselves, show no quarter, but ridicule without mercy an awkward associate, and dismiss it with disdain. Turned away by the older children, it will go crying to its teacher, who will give it lessons and present it again, when it has acquired sufficient skill. As some easy and trifling work is always reserved for this age, the child soon obtains admission to a dozen groups, in which its education progresses rapidly and by pure attraction. Nothing is learned well and rapidly which is not learned by attraction.

Of all the means of awakening a taste in the child for industry, the one least known

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and most perverted in our societies, is that which we will term the spirit of ascending imitation, or the tendency of the child to imitate others a little older than itself, to pay deference to their views and decisions, and to consider it an honor to be associated with them in their occupations and amusements.

This spirit of ascending imitation is pernicious at present, because the amusements of a band of children, left free, are dangerous, or useless; they play games in which they run the risk of maiming themselves, acquire bad habits, and learn vulgarity of language and manners. In Association, with the stimulants we have just ennumerated, these same children would be led to devote themselves actively to productive occupations.

The ignorance of the true application of ascending imitation shows the great defect of all our "civilized" methods of education.

We said that all authors of systems of education have fallen into the error of considering the father and the tutor as the natural instructors of the child. They are not guides whom the child follows willingly and from passion: the leaders whom it chooses naturally are children a little older than itself.

At eighteen months it admires the child of two years, and chooses it as its guide.

At two years it chooses the child of thirty months.

At three years, the child of four.

At eight, the child of ten.

At twelve years, the child of fifteen.

This ascending difference will be greatly increased in strength, if the child sees children a little older than itself members of groups, and enjoying a merited respect for their progress in knowledge and industry.

The natural instructors of children of each age are, consequently, those a little superior in age. But as children at present are all more or less inclined to mischief and entice each other into it, it is impossible to establish among them a gradation or ascending order of useful impulses and make each age the guide of the next younger: this can only take place in the passional series, out of which any approximation to a system of natural education is impossible.

This natural system of education will be one of the wonders which will be admired in the first Association. The seven orders or ages of children will direct and educate each other, as nature wishes, by the influence of ascending imitation, which can only lead to the good of the whole; for if the older children take a proper direction in studies, industry, and morals, they will influence and direct rightly the children next in age, who in turn will influence and direct rightly those who are younger, and so on until all ages are directed to good. The different ages, directed by the spirit of ascending imitation, will, although left to their full liberty, vie with each other in excellence and activity, industry and social harmonies. On beholding this prodigy, it will no longer be doubted that attraction, developed in passional series, is the agent of divine order, the hand of the Creator, directing man to his greatest good.

We will conclude our remarks upon the functions of the mentors with one or two more observations. So far from flattering and excusing the child, it will be their task to see that it meets with refusals and rebuffs in different groups, in order to stimulate it to vindicate itself by proofs of skill. A father could not fulfil this duty; he would blame the group which had rejected his child. The function of mentor, as well as of nurse, will require persons of a firm and judicious character, who, from a corporate spirit, will be interested in the progress of the children in general, and not in the caprices of a few favorites.

The function of mentor is of high importance, because it acts upon a decisive epoch in the education of the younger age; if the child succeed well in the commencement of its industrial education, it will be a guarantee of success for the entire career of its childhood. Once initiated into some branches of industry, it soon will be into a large number, and at the age of fifteen it will be acquainted with the various branches of agriculture, manufactures, arts and sciences, which its own and the neighboring Associations pursue. Let us examine how this result will be obtained.

A child, were it the son of a man of the highest rank and fortune, may, at the age of three years, exhibit a taste for shoemaking, and wish to visit the workshops of the shoemakers, who in Association are as polite a class as any other. If it be prevented from visiting their workshops, if its inclination for shoemaking be thwarted, under the pretext that it is not a dignified occupation, or is wanting in intellectual elevation, it will take a dislike to other branches of industry, and will feel no interest in those studies and occupations which its parents wish it to pursue. But if it be left to commence as attraction directs—that is, by shoemaking—it will easily be induced to acquire a knowledge of tanning, then of chymistry so far as relates to the various preparations of leather, and then of agriculture so far as pasture and breeding of cattle has an influence upon the quality of skins.

Thus the child, by degrees, will be initiated into all branches of industry, a result of its primitive inclination to shoemaking. It is of little consequence how it commences, provided it acquire in the course of its youth a general knowledge of the various branches of industry exercised in its locality, and that it conceives a lively affection for all the series from which it has received instruction.

This general knowledge cannot be acquired in our societies, where science and industry are not connected. The scientific declare that the sciences form a chain, each link of which connects with, and leads to, all the others; but they forget that our isolated and conflicting relations sow discord among the industrial classes, and render each indifferent to the labors of the others, whereas in Association, every person is interested in all the series, from connexions and rivalries with some of their members upon questions of agriculture, science, and art. The connexion existing between the sciences is not alone sufficient to lead to their general study; we must add to that connexion ties which arise from the association of functions and individuals, and from emulative refinements—an impossibility in our present social order.

There is in the education of children of the second order, the Learners, (from the age of three to five) a branch of which we have not spoken: it is the art of determining the character and temperament of the child. This is a question which we will not enter into at present; we merely mention it to point out the important duties of the teachers—both male and female—of Association, to whom these scientific functions belong.

In Association the foolish error will not be committed of excluding women from the profession of medicine and the higher branches of teaching, and of reducing them, as at present, to the insignificant occupations of cooking and sewing. Nature gives equally to the two sexes a capacity for industry, arts, and sciences, except that to each sex, particular branches are respectively adapted. The cultivation of the sciences, for instance, is particularly adapted to men, and that of arts to women.

Before terminating these articles, we will examine another means of exciting emulation in children for study. There is hardly any fancy more general in parents than that of having forward children; hence our modern systems of education endeavor to initiate the child into scientific subtilties, to teach it things at the age of six which it should not commence before the age of twelve.

Association will follow the natural order of things, which is to perfect the body before it educates the mind. We see that nature produces the blossom before the fruit. Association will follow this progressive method in education, and will make use of characters as they are, without aiming at precocity. Compound precocity, however, will be one of its results, but to obtain it, children must be induced from their early age to take part in useful industry, which, in the present system, possesses no attraction.

Studies should follow second in order, and a curiosity awakened by industrial occupations should lead to them. In childhood, study must always be connected with industry, and the practical occupations of the latter must awaken in it a desire for the acquisition of knowledge.

Edmund, for example, who is six years old, has a passion for pheasant and violets, and takes an active part with the groups which are devoted to their care and cultivation.

To induce Edmund to attend to the schools, resort will not be had to paternal authority or to the fear of punishment, the hope even of rewards should not be held out. Edmund, and children of his age, must be induced to solicit instruction. How can this result be obtained? By exciting their curiosity, and producing an impression upon the senses, which are the natural guides of early childhood.

The teacher who presides over the group of children occupied with the care of pheasants, and aids them with his advice, brings with him to their meeting, a large book containing engravings of all the various species of pheasants, among which are those of their Association.

Engravings are the delight of children of five years and six years old; they examine them with eager curiosity.

Under these "pretty pictures" is a short description of the birds; two or three are explained to the children, they wish to hear the others read, but the teacher tells them that he has not time to comply with their wish.

It is understood that all those to whom they apply will not explain to them what they wish to know; the instruction which they solicit is adroitly refused them, and they are told if they wish to know so many things they have only to learn how to read; some children are pointed out not older than themselves who, possessing this knowledge, are admitted to the library of the younger age.

The teacher then takes away the book containing "pretty pictures," which he says

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is wanted in the schools. The same stratagem is used with the children cultivating violets; their curiosity is excited without being fully satisfied.

Edmund is piqued at the disappointment he has met with in the two groups, and wishes to learn how to read, in order to gain admittance to the library and see the larger books which contain so many pretty pictures. Edmund communicates his project to his companion Henry, and they together form the noble plot of learning how to read. This desire once awakened and manifested, they will be aided in satisfying it; but in Association means must be devised to induce them to solicit instruction. Their progress will be a great deal more rapid when study is the effect of attraction.

We have here put in play one of the predominant tastes for children, the love of colored engravings, representing objects in which they take an interest, because they are connected with their industrial pursuits.

This means will be sufficient to awaken in the child a desire of learning to read. If we analyze it, we shall find four incentives; two material and two mental, connected with it.

1. Material—Impatience of knowing the explanation of so many "pretty pictures."

2. Material—The relation between these engravings and the animals and vegetables with which the child from passion is occupied.

3. Mental—The desire of admission to the class of children six years old, who would not receive him, if he did not know how to read.

4. The irony of the more forward children of his own age, who, knowing how to read, ridicule him for being backward.—(We may here observe that RIDICULE is not subversive of good feeling in the groups of early childhood in which friendship is the leading or predominant affection. It stands in lieu of paternal severity which is indeed subversive and unnatural, and never to be used in true society.)

Let these four-fold means of attraction be applied, and the progress of the child will be as rapid as it will be slow and doubtful if recourse be had to "civilized" measures—to the commands of the father or a tutor, or to menaces and punishments.

The same system should be applied to all branches of studies—such as writing, grammar, etc. A double inducement, like concerted refusals and innocent stratagems, which awake emulation, will always be resorted to. It is only for those branches of studies which are connected with the industrial occupations of the child, that this combined interest can be awakened. The child, consequently, should commence its education by the practical pursuits of industry.—How defective and partial are our present methods, which endeavor to make of the child a geometrician or a chymist, before interesting it in occupations which can awaken in it a desire of acquiring a knowledge of chymistry and mathematics, and of combining those theories with its industrial pursuits. It is, consequently, in agriculture, manufactures, and the care of animals, that the education of the child should commence; it enters the schools only to complete the introductory knowledge which it has acquired in the industrial groups to which it belongs.

BRANCHES OF AGRICULTURE ADAPTED TO CHILDHOOD.

Nature, in the vegetable kingdom, must have calculated upon an extensive employment of children, for she has created in great abundance, little vegetables and shrubbery, which should occupy the child and not the grown person. Two thirds of our gardens are composed of little plants which are adapted to the labor of children. (The word *nature* is here used advisedly by Fourier; not in the naturalists sense of denying God as an invisible spirit, but in allusion to his Providence in the visible creation: not two Gods, but two aspects of one God, analogous to that which is in human nature really two in personality; man and woman. It is a means of showing that divinity in one is not unlike humanity divided. The infantine part of the creation, is universally under the immediate influence of Providence in the natural maternal aspect, as infants are intrusted to the care of mothers chiefly, and adults are under the guidance of the spirit chiefly of man individually in science, and of God, collectively in Revelation and religion.)

Flowers, with the exception of a small number, should be cultivated by them and by women. Nature, in consequence, has given them a strong inclination for shrubbery and flowers, in the cultivation of which they at present take no part.

The child in the combined order will take an active part in the rivalries of one Association with another. A group of children cultivating strawberries, are mortified to find that some varieties of those of a neighboring Association bear away the palm as to size and flavor. The vanquished wish to know the cause of their failure, which perhaps, may be owing to the difference of soils. This offers an occasion to the tutor who directs the group, to give them a lesson on the varieties of soils, and this study continued in other groups will initiate them by degrees into an elementary knowledge of the mineral kingdom. This incentive will be an inducement for them to attend to the schools, and apply themselves to the study of some branch of mineralogy, such as the classification of earths.

Thus Association never gives to the child any SIMPLE INSTRUCTION. It only initiates it into any science, by combining that science with practical notions previously acquired in different branches of industry, particularly in agriculture, masonry and carpentry.

Agricultural rivalries will early accustom children to a speculative or investigating turn of mind. It is very necessary in the cultivation of flowers: what is more difficult to raise to perfection than the jonquil, the narcissus, the tulip, the varieties of the rose and violet. If nature requires so much knowledge in the care of these flowers it is because she wishes to accustom the minds of children, who have a passion for their cultivation, to a habit of examination and reflection.

Nature has also reserved them some parts in the heavier branches of agriculture—such as the cultivation of buckwheat, beans, peas, etc. A group of children, devoted to the cultivation of these vegetables, is obliged to study the qualities of soil and manure, and to understand the influence of climate, in order to comprehend the cause of success in this or that Association. A child devoted from rivalry and passion to the occupations will insensibly become a chymist and a naturalist, thinking itself occupied merely with the rivalries of its groups and its Associations.

The whole system of agriculture is deranged by the exclusion of women and children from its occupations, to whom nature assigns the care of so many varieties of fruits, flowers, and vegetables. The greater portion of our garden and all the smaller classes of fruit trees and shrubbery should be allotted to women and children. The child, so far from devoting itself to useful industry, enters the gardens only to eat fruits which it has not aided in cultivating, and to pluck and destroy the flowers; as a consequence, what is most to be desired for gardens is, that children, in the present state of things, should not set foot in them.

An incontestible proof that we do not know, at present, how to apply the labor of women and children to agriculture is, that man is obliged to abandon those branches of industry which are specially allotted to him by nature, such as works of irrigation and the care of forests. He cannot, in the present order, devote himself to these branches of industry, because he is occupied in works which properly belong to women and children—such as the care of small domestic animals, of poultry, the gardens, etc.—cares from which he should be relieved by those two classes.

The male sex has excluded women from industry, believing that the trivial occupations of the household are those alone to which she was destined by nature. What is the result? Man himself has become a slave: instead of having made woman subordinate, he has excited both in the woman and the child a disgust for industry. He is reduced in consequence, to attend to occupations of which they should take charge, and has, besides, to support them both out of the product of his labor. This is the result of all tyranny; it is caught in its own snares.

The true occupations of the male sex are those which require bodily strength, such as—

Works of irrigation.
Care of the forests.
Cultivation of grains.

The third branch absorbs the others; the agricultural classes can neither attend to the care of forests, nor to works of irrigation. On the contrary, the forests are fast disappearing in all the older countries, and the streams, which are the principal means of irrigation, are, in consequence, drying up.

What a career will be opened to man in rural industry as soon as Association makes use of the labor and activity of women and children!

Association once organized, five sixths of the women will immediately be free to devote themselves to productive occupations; this result will be produced by the suppression of the complicated and useless works which arise from the multiplicity of little households, from the troublesome care of children, from the bad quality of manufactured goods, and from the foolish changes of the fashions, which absorb in endless works of the needle, and in superfluous trifles, so many women.

When this complication, waste, and disorder cease, it will be found that five sixths of the women will be relieved from their present duties. How will they occupy themselves? In rural occupations, horticulture and floriculture, in which they will perform a large portion of the minor works which now occupy men. The rest will be performed by children, in whom a love for industry will be awakened by the stimulants of the passional series.

As a consequence the performance of the heavier branches only of industry will de-

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volve upon the male sex; among those branches are to be included the three above mentioned, and laborious parts of masonry, blacksmithing, carpentry, etc. In all the minor branches of agriculture—such as the cultivation of vegetable and flower-gardens, they will merely take an accessory part, instead of having the constant charge of them, this duty will devolve upon the women and children.

The whole burden of production now falls upon man alone; he slights the task of his own sex, in order to attend to that of women and children.

EXPERIENCE OF ASSOCIATION IN FRANCE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE DEMOCRATIE PACIFIQUE.

We call the attention of our readers to the following article, recently published in the *Echo Rochelais:*

The province of Loir-et-Cher is composed of three districts, in two of which, that are purely agricultural, indigence is scarcely known. In the third, on the contrary, that of the Romorantin, an intense degree of misery oppresses the population, which is constantly on the increase.

The causes of this inferiority of condition, have frequently been the object of study by men of science, and all agree that they may be resumed thus: unproductiveness of soil; ignorance of the cultivators; insalubrity of the climate, occasioned by stagnant water with which the country is filled; and diversion of industry at some points from agriculture to manufactures.

These various circumstances, acting together, or singly, spread their fatal influences even to the great land proprietors, lessening their territorial income; but each one confined to his own little sphere, yields to that which he considers his destiny, because all remain convinced that there is no possible remedy for the evils of which they are the victims.

This is fatalism in all its nakedness.

But to combat this fatal doctrine, an elevated intelligence was necessary. M de Beauchesne intervened; he entered into the lists of combat, and notwithstanding the blind criticisms, the prejudice of custom and systematic opposition at all times, he has come out victoriously.

Possessing 478 hectares of land in the township of Villeherviers and of Selles-Saint-Dennis, he looked to Social Science for the means of making it productive, and to ameliorate at the same time the condition of the unfortunate people around him; and as the methods employed in the district were without any results. he thought it would be well to proceed by *absolute departure* from them, that is to say, by recourse to a system diametrically opposed to the system which had been hitherto followed.

Thus, when he leased his property, his rents never amounted to more than three thousand francs, ($600) and still they were not paid, because the farmers were ruined. He abandoned then the system of leasing.

Afterwards, he tried to cultivate his estate with laborers and domestics. But domestics and laborers took no interest in the prosperity of the master, and their wages, though mean, added to the expenses of draining, grubbing and improving the land, of planting, of culture, &c., absorbed more than the products of the domain. He abandoned also this second system.

He felt, besides, that both methods, even if they had been profitable, would have been so for him only; and in his enlightened philanthropy he desired that his own well-being should be extended to those unfortunate beings which surrounded him.—The word *Association* was pronounced; this word alone, well conceived and well applied, was destined to solve the problem.

But one capital question presented itself, a difficult question which thus shaped itself in his mind: What are the elements to be associated? Social Science answered this question. He himself possessed the intelligence which directs, and the capital required: he wanted, then, only the hands to execute. These he added. After having selected the men who should second his efforts, he said to them:

Until this moment you have been hirelings only; your wages have been low and insufficient. Poverty and sickness have destroyed you and your children and your wives, and your masters have also suffered the reaction of the scourge. All this must cease. From this day you must cease to be hirelings, you shall become partners. We will enter into partnership. I will furnish for my part the land, the stock and the capital; I will besides direct the operations, and you will give your labor. On these conditions, you will participate in the product; but as it is neccessary to live until the time of division, I will assure you a daily *minimum* of subsistence, to be well ascertained and deducted from your share of the profits for the year.

It is not necessary to say that this proposition was accepted. Thus there was an association of the productive powers of man, viz: *skill*, *capital* and *labor*. It is exactly the associative theory developed by M. Tripon in his pamphlet on pauperism.

Would you know the results of this Association? Here they are:

The cultivation of the domain, re-united in one body, was undertaken according to scientific methods of agriculture. The ponds of stagnant water were drained. On one side they cleared up, on another they planted. Animals were raised which made an abundance of manure. The good management improved and fertillized the land, and extinguished the sickly exhalations and the misery, and from the first year, (1842) the estate which produced a rent of only three thousand francs, ($600) often not paid, lodged, clothed and fed comfortably all the laborers, and gave, besides, ten thousand francs ($2,000) as the net share of M. de Beauchesne. The profit gained by M. de Beauchesne furnishes a standard to judge of the benefit realized by the other *partners*.

To ascertain these facts, suspected at first of exaggeration, the Society of Agriculture at Paris sent a commission to the place.—This commission have visited the domain; they have taken an account of the system of Association and cultivation; they have verified the books of receipts and expenditures, and at the end of their investigations, they have established officially in their report that every statement was true and fully proved, and that the system would not only increase the profits in future, but also change, if applied generally, the unfortunate condition of the inhabitants of the whole province.

Thus, it is well established, by experience, that the theory of Association applied to the production and distribution of riches, is fruitful in good results, as well for the rich as for the poor. It remains only to give it a complete application, and it will then show all its power. The way is open; it will be followed of course. Circumstances so positive, so conclusive, should, indeed, make an impression on many minds, as we conceive. Men versed in questions of economy, will readily understand by study, in theory, the power of the principles here applied; but it is not so with those who are entirely ignorant of such questions, of whom there are the greatest number. A theoretical exhibition for them is a sealed book.—Floating in uncertainty, deprived of every directing compass, they oppose, confusedly, principles by mere words, logical reasoning by empty phrases, invulnerable arguments by ideas without foundation, which contradict and destroy each other. For them *facts* are every thing: we give them those above stated.

For a long time the ideas of Association have remained in the domain of speculative philosophy; they begin at last to penetrate in the domain of practice. The feeble trial of M. de Beauchesne is far from uniting all the necessary conditions for a complete demonstration of the theory of Association; nevertheless, if upon so small a scale, and with such limited resources, results so brilliant have been obtained, what may not be hoped, when all the proprietors of a district shall feel the advantage of associating, not only with their workmen, but also with each other? Such trials, if conducted with prudence, will very soon prove that the principle of Association furnishes the only means of saving the laboring population from misery, of spreading abundance and instruction among the people, and solving all the problems which agitate society.

Our friends of the Ohio Phalanx appear to have celebrated the Fourth of July with as much hilarity and enthusiasm as those of the Clermont. The western people partake of the character of the country—they are fresh and vigorous and burn with zeal and public spirit, and devotion to all noble enterprizes. We select the following toasts and remarks from the account of the celebration in the Pittsburgh Spirit of the Age.

OHIO PHALANX FOURTH OF JULY CELEBRATION.

Several persons from a distance reached the Domain at a little after eight o'clock on the morning of the Fourth, and others arrived afterwards. About ten o'clock the members of Association, with their guests, were seated beneath the shade of spreading trees, near the dwelling, when Mr. GRANT, the President, announced briefly the object of the assemblage, and the order to be observed, which was: first, prayer by Dr. Rawson, then an address by Mr. Van Amringe, in which the present condition of society, its inevitable tendencies and results, were contrasted with the Social System as delineated by Fourier. It is not doing full justice to the orator to say merely that his address was interesting and able. It was lucid, cogent, religious and highly impressive. This portion of the festival was closed by prayer, and benediction by Rev. J. P. Stuart, and adjournment for dinner.

After a good and plentiful dinner, the Social Party resumed their seats for the pur-

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pose of *hearing* rather than drinking toasts, and whatsoever might be said thereupon.—The following are the regular toasts which were read at the head of the company by the President, and reiterated by the Vice President, Dr. Rawson, at its foot:

REGULAR TOASTS.

1st. THE DAY WE CELEBRATE—Distinguished by the noble declaration that all men are created free and equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness: these rights can be held and secured to all, *only by industrial association.*

2d. THE MEMORY OF GEORGE WASHINGTON and his thousand compatriots—When the cause of their country required their services, they threw themselves at once into the movement; they did not stand by inactive that they might see whether hardships and sacrifices were to be endured by the first soldiers.

3d. THE LAW OF SOCIAL PROGRESS—It has brought man from barbarism to civilization; it will advance him to a brotherhood of peace and love.

4th. THE MEMORY OF CHARLES FOURIER—The greatest discoverer who has ever existed; for to him is due the honor of having discovered the laws of social and industrial order, unity and harmony.

5th. INDUSTRIAL PHALANXES — Unlike the Macedonian Phalanxes, they are armies for production, not for desolation; their victories are marked by peace, plenty, and joy; not by carnage, devastation, and tears.

6th. THE WORKMEN—They plant vineyards but others eat the grapes; they build houses but others dwell therein; in isolation a curse is upon their labors. But when they become one new Man, in Social Unity, they shall retain the fruits of their own work.

7th. THE PRESENT AGE—The beginning of a new era, far more happy and glorious than any which has preceded: let all be up and doing to advance the great reform.

8th. SLAVERY OF ALL KINDS—May it be utterly and forever abolished: may peace be to the unquiet, knowledge to the ignorant, and liberty to universal man.

9th. THE UNION OF ASSOCIATIONS—We witness with joy the efforts of Associationists, to unite all the Phalanxes in a brotherly union: may a favoring Providence smile upon the design.

10th. JOHN D. WILKINS, OF LOUISIANA—His name will ever be cherished for the prompt and generous aid which he has rendered the cause of Association; may he live long and witness the prosperous results of his benevolence.

11th. THE ASSOCIATIONISTS OF PITTSBURGH AND CLERMONT, and also our brethren in Trumbull county and at Zanesville—May abundant success crown their efforts, and may the emulation between us be, which shall do the most good for the common prosperity.

12th. THE PIONEERS IN NEW YORK in the grand movement for social regeneration—Well do they deserve the undying gratitude and ardent respect of all true hearts.

13th. WOMAN—Every joy of man is increased by her participation; each grace and refinement are heightened by her aid; may the day be hastened, when her condition shall really be that which the beneficent Creator intended.

VOLUNTEER TOASTS.

By the Phalanx.—THE BIBLE, the book of languages—the book of Ideas—the book of life. May its pages be the delight of Associationists, and its precepts practiced by the whole world.

By Mr. Andrews.—E. P. GRANT, the true disciple of the great Fourier, the indefatigable worker in the cause of Social Reform, and the champion of the Ohio Phalanx; may his devotion to the great cause meet a cordial response in the earnest co-operation of all philanthropists. [Mr. Grant modestly declined the merit ascribed to him, claiming only zeal for the cause, and a will to serve it.]

By Dr. Rawson.—THE OHIO PHALANX, may her foundation be a true religion—her walls a true social order—her covering or security, justice and mercy—her light, harmonious passional science—her safety, unity and peace—her protector, the God of harmonies; her worship, the God of truth.

By Selah Wright.—ASSOCIATION, a name that is dear to our hearts; let it be inscribed in letters of gold on our banners, and unfurled to the gaze of a suffering world; may its principles be disseminated throughout the length and breadth of our land—throughout the whole world, until the divine law of universal love, brotherhood, union and harmony, shall prevail from sea to sea, and from the rivers to the ends of the earth.

By Rev. J. P. Stuart.—DR. DUNHAM, editor of the St. Clairsville Gazette, the philosophic editor, always ready to declare the truth, though but few will hear; may he soon be heard from Maine to Louisiana, on the great system of Industrial Association.

Dr. Dunham, who participated in the festival, hereupon arose and replied in a neat and appropriate address, which was well received.

By the Ladies of the Phalanx.—Rev. J. P. Stuart, the man of integrity and devotion to TRUTH, whose voice is heard in urging onward and upward the march of mind upon the progressive science, despite of the iron rule of synods, the powers of sectarianism, or the convulsions of political strife.

To this Mr. Stuart responded briefly, yet earnestly and modestly. It is a subject of regret to the reporter, that these impromptu replies have passed off without being *daguerreotyped*, for they cannot be supplied, and ought not to be lost.

By Jeremiah Green.—Hon. Walter Forward, of Pittsburgh, a great statesman, an eloquent orator, too honest for a politician; he should join the Phalanx.

By Mrs. Stuart.—Mr. Van Amringe, the professed Theologian, the honest Lawyer, and the conscientious *Bachelor*, may he live to see his system of divinity reduced to practice, the legal profession unnecessary, and to abandon his single blessedness.

Now how was all this received? Those who put the question should have been there to hear and see.

Mr. Van Amringe, as is well known to many, is an impressive speaker. He arose and gave, with dignity and seriousness, a brief outline of the views he had long since entertained in relation to religion—the Creator, man and the universe. For these, which in some aspects are almost identical with those of Fourier, he had been reviled, he said, and pronounced *a madman*. But he had arrived at them by the faithful application of such faculties as were given him by the Creator, and could not do else than entertain them. As regarded the profession of the law, he said that he would not decry its usefulness in reference to society as at present constituted; but how could a man, possessing a true human soul, be content to wrangle whether Jack or Tom owned this or that particular strip of ground, when it was most evident that the whole earth almost was claimed and owned by those who refused to the beings whom God had created to dwell upon and till it, the means of subsisting upon it by their labor. There remained but another matter for Mr. V. A. to notice, and that was the fact of his *peculiar* isolation as a bachelor, and as to that he must remind his fair friend of the adage that "it takes two to make a bargain."

By Rev. J. P. Stuart.—Thornburg, the MAN without title or epithet; may he soon see the desire of his earnest heart in the universal triumph of the principles of Association.

Hereupon the *toasted* responded with seeming diffidence; spoke of his being no orator "as Brutus is," nodding to Mr. Van Amringe; and concluded with the modest declaration that, as Mr. Van Amringe had done *all* the talking, it fell to his share to do *all the thinking*.

By H. H. Van Amringe.—THE SOCIAL DESTINY OF MAN.—Can we doubt that the Deity has predestined a social form for the embodiment of the actions of the human mind. No more so than that he has invested the spirit with a living body, formed of comembers one with another. Like Fourier, "seek and ye shall find."

By Mrs. Eliza Weld.—The cause of Association, let the men stand firm till the ladies falter and all will be well.

By the Phalanx.—The Ladies: Not the sickly refined ones of boarding schools and cities, but the pioneers of the kitchen and washroom. May our race appreciate their self-devotion in the cause of social reform.

By Miss Doty.—The Brook Farm Association: Composed of a little band of philanthropists who have done more for the cause of mankind, than all the political quacks in the country.

By Selah Wright.—The Ladies of the Ohio Phalanx: A galaxy of worth, intelligence and beauty, not to be found every day, worthy of all esteem and admiration. Our best respects to them all. God bless them.

By R. B. McCabe.—Our absent heroic friend and brother, Albert Brisbane, and his mission abroad.

By G. M.—The Ohio Phalanx, may it ever be prospered by the blessings of God, and flourish like a green bay tree; and may the sons of freedom that compose it, raise their banner to the skies and let them wave over the miseries of civilization.

The Ohio Phalanx.—What though it should fail: "Truth crushed to earth must rise again."

Horace Greeley, Editor of the N. Y. Tribune.—"An honest man 's the noblest work of God."

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By Miss Lydia A. Bowen.—Our Domain: Once peopled by a Phalanx engaged in savage warfare; now by one engaged in the arts of peace and industry.

By Oliver Bowen.—The Young Men of Ohio: They deserve immortal honors for their exertions in the great cause of Association.

After all the toasts were heard, &c., the company dispersed, on foot, on horseback, in carriages, &c., and the Reporter most reluctantly left the scene of friendly intercourse and sympathetic attraction, to mingle again in the struggle for life and freedom—which never ceases in an insane and conflicting civilization.

NEW PAPER.

☞ Below we publish the Prospectus of a new paper devoted to our cause. The Editor is a gentleman well qualified for the conduct of such a journal. But whilst every exertion in the cause of Association is observed with pleasure, we question the policy and advantage, at the present moment at least, of starting new publications to advocate it. We believe that the same expenditure of money, labor and talent, would be more judicious and efficient otherwise applied. The risk and trouble of starting a new paper are great, the circulation limited, and consequently the influence small; for these, and other reasons, we consider established papers the best medium of communicating our doctrines to the public, as a general rule. The Phalanx is an exception, simply because an organ is needed to speak for the whole country, and to discuss questions which require elucidation and cannot find a place elsewhere. We mention another circumstance, which, as there is no personal interest involved, we may do with propriety—and we think the force of it will be admitted. The *Phalanx* needs the *assistance* of all our friends to sustain it, and every such enterprise must, for the time being, more or less, cause a diversion from its support.

PROSPECTUS
OF THE
NEW INDUSTRIAL WORLD;

A Periodical Newspaper, devoted to the Science of Associated Industry, and the Cause of Social Reform.

IT is the intention of the undersigned, to publish a periodical sheet, semi-monthly at first, and weekly as soon as circumstances will admit, in which the important claims of the new science of INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION to the attention of all classes of our citizens will be presented.

THE NEW INDUSTRIAL WORLD will be printed on a super-royal sheet, with new type, and will contain the current news of the day, in addition to the specific subjects for which it is instituted.

The paper will be published on the *cash system*, and sold by the news-carriers, at the lowest possible rate, the object being usefulness rather than pecuniary gain. The first number may be looked for about Wednesday, the 24th of the present month

JOHN WHITE.

Cincinnati, July 12, 1844.

For the Phalanx.

EDELFRIDA.

Women there are that sit on royal thrones
The sovereign ministers of human power:
But thou hast more than kingdoms for thy dower,
And lordlier pomp than any monarch owns.
The boundless continents are thy domain,
And every isle the heaving seas enfold—
Where dies the faintest sigh of human pain,
Where the old tale of human wrong is told,
Where lives a human soul, there is thy reign.
The heart of man is thy imperial throne—
His deathless hopes thy gleaming diamonds;
Majestic Thoughts and Love that in the bonds
Of life-deep sorrow sadly wise have grown—
And a clear will—its own serenest fate—
Like loyal kings, attend upon thy state.

D.

THE WANDERING JEW is the title of a new work from the pen of Eugene Sue. The "Mysteries of Paris," "Matilda," and other writings, have placed Eugene Sue foremost among modern authors in the school of romance. But his writings are by no means "fiction;" they are graphic delineations of fact; wonderful analyses and portraitures of human feelings and human actions, individual and collective. No novel-writer of the present, or indeed of any time, has so thoroughly comprehended the mysterious powers of the human soul, and their workings in the individual and society, as Eugene Sue; and none have surpassed him by a grander or more elegant exhibition of his subject. But we did not design, and space will not permit us, to dwell upon the character of his genius or his writings; we wished merely to notice the publication of the first part of the series in which it will appear, of the "Wandering Jew." At another time we hope to say more of both, and to draw upon his masterly criticisms of society, for beautiful illustrations of our own views: our only remark at present is, that Sue is an Associationist, and has drank deeply at the well of Fourier's inspiration.

The "Wandering Jew" has been obtained by the publisher at a great expense, and he is furnished with a copy of the manuscript in advance of its publication in France, where it will appear as a "Feuilleton," in the *Constitutionnel*, nearly simultaneously with its publication here. One feature of Sue's novels is, that you do not have to wade through an interminable mass of introductory unfolding of the plot, and explanation of the characters; they are explained and unfolded of themselves, and you are at once introduced into the heart of the subject. The part now published is interesting from the first line, and, no doubt, as the story proceeds, the powerful charm which invests it will not decrease. The prominent idea of the title is not a new one; it has been treated again and again in prose and poetry; we shall now see the conception of a master-mind. The Prologue, which may be taken, we suppose, as a syllabus of the work, is lofty, majestic, and impressive. Like a magnificent drop-curtain, it seems fitted to prepare the mind for the splendors that are behind and to succeed it. J. Winchester, Publisher, 30 Ann-st.

SPIRIT OF THE AGE.—The last number of this paper announces a change in the editorial management. Mr. R. W. Middleton takes the place of Mr. J. Heron Foster. The liberal and independent course of the "Age," and the very spirited manner in which its late editor has espoused and advocated the cause of industrial Association, have won for him a high place in our esteem, and we part with him with sincere regret; the more because we see an intimation that he quits his connexion with the press. But this is not so easy, we believe, and we hope soon to see him in some other sphere of usefulness battling against error and evil, and fearlessly spreading the truth and laboring for the good

The AGE promises to maintain its previous character: we trust it will.

The foregoing was crowded out of the last number.

NORTH AMERICAN PHALANX,

Monmouth Co. N. J. (Address Leedsville, P. O.) 35 miles from New York, via steamboat ORUS, from Fulton Market to Red Bank daily during the summer. Mr. EDWARD GILES is the accredited Agent of the Phalanx in New York, and may be consulted on its business from 3 1-2 to 6 o'clock P. M. at his residence, No. 122 Walker-st.

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OF THE
GREATEST ROMANCE
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PRICE 12½ CENTS—WITH A PORTRAIT,
THE
WANDERING JEW.
BY EUGENE SUE.

Author of "Mysteries of Paris," "Matilda," &c

This work has met with an unparalleled sale, and has more than justified our highest anticipations in relation to it. It is pronounced, on all hands, to be the greatest romance of the 19th century, though only one number has yet appeared. It certainly possesses an extraordinary degree of interest, which is greatly increased by the admirable translation of Mr. H. W. HERBERT, an accomplished scholar, and well known as the author of "Marmaduke Wyvil," and other interesting works of fiction.

"The Wandering Jew" will be continued in numbers as rapidly as the advance sheets can be received from Paris and translated, and will be published in a beautiful style, and cheap as in the cheapest possible manner!

A FRENCH EDITION

Is in process of publication, which will be comprised in shilling numbers, the whole cost not to exceed $3 when completed. Orders solicited.

Address J. WINCHESTER, 30 Ann-st.

No. II. of "The Wandering Jew" will be published on Thursday next, August 1.

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SOCIAL.
POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS
UNITY.

SOCIAL PROGRESS.—SOCIAL REFORM UPON CONSERVATIVE PRINCIPLES.

THE PHALANX:

ORGAN OF THE

DOCTRINE OF ASSOCIATION.

SOCIAL
AND POLITICAL LIBERTY AND
EQUALITY.

ASSOCIATION, ATTRACTIVE INDUSTRY, UNITY OF INTERESTS.

OUR EVILS ARE SOCIAL, NOT POLITICAL, AND A SOCIAL REFORM ONLY CAN ERADICATE THEM.

J. WINCHESTER, PUBLISHER, 30 ANN-ST. TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM, IN ADVANCE.

VOLUME I. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 10, 1844. NUMBER 16.

THE RIGHT OF MAN TO THE SOIL.

THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS, a paper published in this city, is the organ of an agrarian party, whose principal object and avowed policy are, a division and a free appropriation of the public lands to the actual settler, upon a plan of its own, to perpetuate "the right of the laborer to the soil." It advocates its views with much zeal and considerable ability, and as they are calculated to impress a certain class of minds and a portion of the community with a show of justice and right, and to inspire them with hope, the doctrines advanced are gaining popularity in some quarters, particularly among the working-men of this city. The People's Rights, in a late number, desires an expression of our views on the subject. In the last number of the Phalanx, we gave a brief and summary expression of them; but now we shall do it at more length, and the more readily because we believe the querist to be actuated by good motives, and governed by a conviction of the truth and importance of his peculiar notions. But we have no idea that anything we shall say will disabuse him of the erroneous and delusive nature of those notions, for nothing is more difficult than the enlightenment of a mind wedded to a single idea. And this, in our humble opinion, is the case with the People's Rights and the agrarian party. We shall endeavor to make it apparent, not for the sake of doing so, however, as we proceed in our remarks in reply to the inquiries addressed to us.

The People's Rights says:

We should be glad to have the views of the *Phalanx* on a matter immediately connected with the RIGHTS OF LABOR and CAPITAL. Does it recognize the *natural* right of every laborer to a *portion* of the soil to labor upon? And if acknowledging the natural right, is it in favor of preventing the further sale and monopoly of the yet unappropriated soil in violation of that right? Is it in favor of allowing the laborer, who has been deprived of his right to land up to this time, and whose labor has, in consequence, been appropriated by capital at its own price, the partial justice of *now* going a thousand miles from land that he ought to have been in possession of, and taking possession of a portion sufficient for his maintenance that capital has not yet appropriated? In short, does the *Phalanx* consider that Labor has a right to stand upon its *own ground* and make its own terms with Capital?

It is proper, we think, that, in order to bring about any "Re-organization of Industry," it should first be ascertained whether those who propose such a re-organization admit the claims of Industry to a birthright in the soil. We may as well know, first as last, how Fourierism stands in relation to this matter. It does seem to us that it ought not so long to have been silent.

To cover the whole ground of inquiry, and do the subject full justice, would require an extensive discussion of several distinct propositions which are involved, and which require solution before we can arrive at true conclusions. But this we cannot do here, and we must rather advance conclusions arrived at by previous investigations, in explanation of our views. The doctrines are new and unsettled in the public mind, and the argument cannot be entirely satisfactory to any one until at least the following questions have been answered, and when these have a true solution, there are others still higher and more important to present to our agrarian friends, before we can assent to their doctrines. We must settle, first, What are the *natural* rights of man? second, What are the *acquired* rights of man? third, How shall his natural and acquired rights be equitably and amicably adjusted? fourth, What *is* Capital? fifth, What are the true relations of Capital and Labor, and how shall their rights be reconciled to their mutual satisfaction?

All these and other incidental questions, require a solution before we shall be able to understand clearly the whole subject, and know how we stand with reference to the main question, How can we effect a Re-organization of Industry upon principles of justice and equity, which shall restore to Labor its natural rights, and guarantee protection to those of Capital?

It appears to us that they who advocate merely an agrarian division of the Land, overlook all of the most essential points in these questions, and cherishing with single-eyed tenacity one answer only to the question, What are the natural rights of man? they lose sight of all others, and compromise cardinal principles. The answer is, Man has a right to the Soil. But, then, the answer is compound in its nature, and not *simple*, as our agrarian friends state it. The right of Man to the Soil being admitted, the answer they give is, that every Man has a right to a "portion" of it, and upon this answer they build their whole scheme of an agrarian division. In our estimation, this is a very childish, as it is a simple and unphilosophical answer to the question. And as nothing is easier than to fall into gross error and delusion, by having only an imperfect view of the truth, and being ignorant of other truths to which one known truth is related, so our agrarian friends, from partial knowledge and incomplete views, hold and advocate doctrines that are false and delusive. It is thus doctrines the most baneful and noxious have frequently derived their vitality from a partial perception of right principles, and been based upon some fragmentary and imperfect view of truth. The agrarian proposition of a division of the land into "portions," is an error of this class. It is founded upon the great and primary truth, that a man upon coming into the world has the right to LIVE—*and, consequently, a right to to the products of the earth for his subsistence*, and as these are to be obtained only from the earth, that he has a RIGHT TO THE USE OF THE SOIL. But, then, as we have before said, this Right is wrongly stated by the agrarians. The right itself in principle is a "natural" one, but it does not follow that the way in which one may propose to secure it is a natural one. Therefore, when our friends ask if we "recognize the *natural* right of every laborer to a *portion* of the soil"? we tell them that they are guilty of an illogical assumption; they make a sophism which deceives and misleads them. We must go back to first principles, and a primitive state of Society, to the Savage, to ascertain what truly are the "natural" rights of man, and *all* his natural rights. By doing so in the present inquiry, we find that the Savage, or Man in a state of nature, possesses the Right of Forage, as we may term the right to the use of the soil as enjoyed by him; which right embraces the right of fishing, of hunting, of pasturage, and of plucking the spontaneous fruits of the Earth wherever he may find them. These rights are fully enjoyed by the savage within the precincts of the horde; they are the natural rights of man in a normal state, growing out of his right to live; they are necessary to his sub-

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sistence, and constitute a sovereign unalienable title to the use of the soil. But the exercise of these natural rights are consistent only with a wild, uncultivated domain, for so soon as there is any cultivation or labor bestowed on the soil, then the rights of property, or rather the rights of Labor begin: the rights of Capital are derived from those of Labor, and hence the two cannot be separated without doing violence and injustice to both. When, however, the rights of property begin, natural rights are not lessened or destroyed in principle, as they have been in reality by the operation of false societies; the necessity arises for a modification merely of the ways in which those rights shall be satisfied. It is very obvious that the natural rights of the savage, roaming over an uncultivated region, must be greatly modified without sacrificing them in the civilized man residing permanently on the soil improved by human industry.

Man possesses *the right to the use of the soil*, or as it is expressed by our School, the right to the USUFRUCT of the Earth, and he cannot be deprived of this right on which his subsistence depends. The right of Usufruct belongs to the "civilized" man as well as the Savage. How then shall we secure it to him? This is the question we have to solve. Does the agrarian method of a division of the land into "portions" afford the solution? We think not. We answer emphatically, No! to the inquiry if "we recognise the *natural* right of every laborer to a *portion* of the soil." We do not recognise the right of any man to a "portion," inasmuch as this is not a "natural" right, as we have shown, but an assumption of a right, a sophism quite as absurd and almost as mischievous as the right asserted by Capital to monopolize the land. We *maintain*, though, the right of every human being to the Usufruct of the Earth, or the use of its surface, to draw therefrom subsistence.

We might advance many and cogent reasons why we do not approve of such a tenure in the land as is proposed by the agrarian scheme, and demonstrate that it is as unfeasible in practice as it is erroneous in principle, but we shall not attempt it now, and will confine ourselves to a few simple interrogatories.

Admitting to our agrarian neighbors that the population of the earth has been all regulated, and attained an unvarying maximum, which is one point to be considered in any appropriation of the soil, provided the arrangement is to be perpetual among all nations and generations, which it should be if true and principle, and also that the surface of the Earth has been duly divided into proportionate lots or parcels, suitable for the occupancy and subsistence of individuals and families; then, as a member of the race, entitled to the Usufruct of the Earth, I ask, Who shall say which is my "portion"? I must reside on and cultivate my "portion" to entitle me to its use, who then shall assign to me the spot upon the face of the Earth which I shall occupy? These questions have many bearings, but they bring to mind immediately another *natural right*, which it is necessary to provide for; a right, perhaps, not perceived, as it appears not to have been considered by our agrarian friends. The right we allude to is a very important one in our estimation, and one of which the great majority of "civilizees" are quite as much deprived as of the right to the use of the soil. This is the right to TRAVEL! Perhaps our friends never heard of such a right, or never conceived it to be abridged in falsely civilized society, and yet the right exists, although terribly circumscribed. The abstract possession of a right is nothing without the *power* to enjoy it, and comparatively very few "civilizees" have the means of travelling, or of going from place to place, when and where they please, in any part of the world. The right of travelling, like the right of Usufruct, with the Savage, is confined to the domain of his tribe, but to this extent he enjoys it without restriction, and it is as highly prized by him as any other right that he possesses. It is a *natural* right, then, and would be quite as precious in the eyes of civilized man as of the savage, if he knew how to enjoy it. Indeed, its value increases with the extension of the sphere for its exercise; and as man asserts his "dominion over the earth, the seas, and all that therein is," the Freedom of the Globe, the unrestrained right (with power) of locomotion on the magnificent domain entrusted by a beneficent Creator to his care, for cultivation and embellishment, become more and more precious to him.. He *will* one day enjoy it.

This *natural* right of man certainly conflicts with the "natural" right of our agrarian friends to a "portion" of the soil; but if they cannot reconcile, they can dispense with it, and make short work of the matter by denying the necessity of preserving such a right, although other members of the human family may dissent from their views, which deprive them of a primary and inestimable privilege.

We have answered the question put to us—we are *not* in favor of giving "a portion of the soil to the laborer to labor upon." We think there is a better way of obtaining and securing his natural right to the soil. We regard *all* his rights and his higher nature, now smothered and trampled in the dust, as ignominiously as any of his fundamental rights. We would elevate him above the condition of a mere "laborer" to that of true manhood, and make him a *whole* man, conscious of his own divinely derived dignity, a being not merely the possessor of "a portion of the land," but a FREE-man, King of the whole Earth!

The second question addressed to us by the People's Rights, is more readily disposed of: "And if acknowledging the *natural* right, (to a "portion" of the land,) is it (the Phalanx) in favor of preventing the further sale and monopoly of the yet unappropriated soil (the public lands,) in violation of that right?" We have pointed out the origin of the fallacious views of our agrarian friends, the sophism on which they are founded the assertion that the "natural" right of man is, to a "portion" of the soil; which is not a natural right, but an assumption, and a limitation of his natural rights. All the deductions they have made from these premises, of course, fall with them, and the question just quoted becomes a question merely of state policy. This question we need not discuss. But we will make a few general remarks.

Leaving universal principles of reform entirely out of view, which no true system of social reform can do for a moment, yet, we cannot perceive how the laboring population, even of this country, to any great extent, will be benefitted by such a "distribution of the public lands," as the agrarian scheme proposes. The possession of land by the laborer is not sufficient to insure him abundance and comfort. Thousands and tens of thousands are already in possession of more land than they can use, who are very far from being in an enviable situation It is a notorious fact of the present day, and, apparently, a strange anomaly, that men grow poor on the best land. We see also that whole nations enjoy the freest use of a fruitful soil in the most favored climes, and are still far from being happy. It may be said, "this is no argument against our 'plan,' as it obviates the evil which you refer to." No, it is not an argument against the plan, but it is an argument against the fundamental idea in the doctrines you advance—that the root of the evil which oppresses the laborer is his *dispossession* of the land, and to be cured by giving him possession. If it is said that besides this, we have the plan of the divided and subdivided township, which gives to every man his "portion," then we ask you, Whence do you get your PLAN? Is it your own plan, or is it a plan derived from a higher source, and sanctioned by a higher authority than your own? Is it, in short, the plan of Divine Wisdom, based on the laws of Eternal Order? Not a human invention, an expedient of the time, but a Divine System, perfect in all its parts; an *organization* in conformity with universal and immutable laws, and adapted to the whole nature of man. If it is not this, then is it as utterly worthless as any and all the schemes of human legislation and "constitutional" quackeries that ever deceived and persecuted the human race. It is no better than Grecian or Roman agrarianism

Not to dwell too long upon the subject, but to show a little farther the *uselessness*, at least, of urging such a disposition of the public lands as is proposed, we make one

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more remark. Unless the Government or Capitalists undertake the direction of colonization, and provide the working classes with all that is necessary as an outfit, as well as with the land, they cannot avail themselves of what is deemed a "natural right." It is very certain neither the Government nor Capitalists will do this. If it is not necessary that they should, then neither is it necessary for the government to give away its public lands, in order that our agrarian friends may realize their project. There are millions of fertile acres in this and other countries, which they can have for the settlement of them, "without money and without price."

Our friends are deceived in another respect; they derive their ideas from a country where the circumstances do not agree with our own. The idea that "the root of the evil" is in a monopoly of the land, comes from England. There bloated monopoly has indeed most effectually shut out the laborer from the soil, and there the cry of the English Chartists, who are of the same class as the men here who are advocating the agrarian doctrine, is, rightly enough, *to the Land! to the Land!!* The cry is not applicable here, at least in the sense in which it is there uttered. "The root of the evil" is, indeed, the same in both countries, and the cure is the same for both. It is necessary *to go upon the Land*, not, however, on the principle of "division," but on the principle of Unity. On the principle of united interests, and a joint-stock property in the land, which will secure to every individual his and her natural right of *Usufruct* of the soil, the TOWNSHIP must be organized, and the people spread over the face of the Earth. Industry must be rendered ATTRACTIVE by the application of the Divine Law of the "Series" to its methods, so that Labor shall no longer be a "curse" and a burthen to be avoided, or even regulated by a "ten hour" or any other short time system, but a blessing, which will be to man the source of the most exalted happiness.

We might enlarge upon the pernicious principle of "antagonism," which is the ruling principle of our agrarian friends, and betrays itself in their third question, when they ask whether we "consider that Labor has a right to stand upon its *own ground*, and make its own terms with Capital?" This not only shows great ignorance of our principles, but also of the "rights of Labor," which are not to be found or considered as antagonists of those of Capital, making "terms" with it, but as adjuncts and colleagues, reconciled, united, and going hand in hand in all things.

We will close with a word of caution. You wish to serve the cause of the Laborer, but except indirectly, by agitation, you are not doing it; on the contrary, you are merely running blind-folded into the meshes of political demagogues. They are already eyeing, and some of them nibbling, the bait held out to them. You profess to despise politics, but your scheme cannot be consummated except by political action, and yet you can hardly hope to change the *character* of politicians. You add one more ingredient to the "witches cauldron" of politics, and the country may be agitated to its centre, but the people will be deceived and defrauded still.

As a question of state policy, the agrarian project of a distribution of the public lands, may attract politicians, as it may a certain class of the working-men, from its show of justice; and if our friends have eyes to see, they will perceive that this affords an explanation in great part of that interest manifested in some quarters their cause, which they mistake for cheering signs of interest in their ultimate *object*. Politicians of the present day are as far from desiring to free the laborer from the evils he endures, as the agrarian plan is from affording the means to do it.

Look to yourselves, not to politicians, look to the plan of God, and not your own!

THE TWO MASTER PASSIONS—THE RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL.

It may seem rather an abuse of the word —science—to apply it to the art or mystery of popular excitement; but as the word is vulgarly understood, there is a little infusion of science in the skill which the various parties, ecclesiastical and political, theological and philosophical, religious and irreligious, employ to produce the effects which they respectively aim at. And this skill or cunning may be perceived and pointed out in departments, where one would naturally expect the greatest simplicity, and absence of all human art or contrivance. In political partisanship we expect nothing else than scheming and special pleading, and deception and cajolery. In religious partisanship, we expect strong passions, overheated zeal, and occasionally some extraordinary specimens of self-denial and mortification to accomplish the end in view. Talent and skill in both of these are most essential pre-requisites for success. But who could imagine that talent and skill in prayer to God were as indispensable as when employed to move the hard and stony heart of men? Yet so it is; there is an art, a skill, a science of prayer, which is at this very day most especially studied by a large portion of our population, under the discipline of men, who employ it as the most successful means of spreading abroad that species of religious agitation to which the name of "revivals" has been given. Let the following suffice for an example of the art and mystery of Public Praying, as an instrument of agitation. It is from Dr. Reed's narrative of the "Revival of Religion" in Wycliffe Chapel, Stepney, in 1839:

"The prayer meetings at nine and three were held. They were kept short, that the most busy might not be hindered; while all were exhorted to redeem as much of the day as possible, *if not the whole*, for secret and domestic *exercises*, adopting a little variety in giving the address before the prayers. My *object* was to *quicken* attention by the *change*: and especially to break up that round of formal petition on *all subjects*, which may prevail in free, as well as in written prayer. The occasion was special; and I wished the fervor of prayer to be directed chiefly to the subjects most congenial *with the design* of our meeting. In seeking a revived state of religion, nothing needs more attention I have seen a *common place prayer*, which might be called *good*, destroy the finest impressions on a whole people. *Nothing is more difficult to get right than this.* The remedy is not in prescribing a particular topic for each supplicant: it is in *quickening him* into a right state of feeling, and *getting him* to pray as he feels. The little *variation* to which I have referred was a considerable help to us. The prayers were very *feeling*—very appropriate—the meetings well attended, and *the effect* serious and solemn."

We do not quote this passage for the purpose of reprobation, but merely to show that there is an art or skill employed even in praying to God, which looks for its result by re-action on the popular mind; for it is not supposed that the prayers to God would be equally effectual, if they were not heard by the people, or, indeed, that they would be effectual at all. Moreover, it is not the mere language or meaning of the prayer that contains the power, but it is the *tone* or feeling, the *music* of the voice that arouses the passions.

The result always bears a perfect analogy with the means employed. Where tone or feeling is the principal means made use of, nervous affection is sure to follow. We have a striking illustration of this nervous or sentimental result, in the description which the celebrated John Wesley gives of the effect of his own preaching:—

"A woman suddenly cried out as in the agonies of death, and continued to do so for some time with all the signs of the sharpest anguish. One felt, as it were, the piercing of a sword, and could not avoid crying out, *even in the street*. Two others were *constrained to roar*, as seized with great pain; another as out of the belly of hell. A young man, suddenly seized with violent trembling all over, sunk down to the ground. One and another and another sunk to the earth. *They dropped on every side as thunder-struck.* One was so wounded with the sword of the Spirit that you would have imagined that she could not live a moment. A woman broke out into strong cries, great drops of sweat ran down her face, and all her bones shook. A Quaker dropped down as thunder-struck, in an agony *terrible to behold*. Another person reeled four or five steps and then dropped down. One fallen

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raving mad, changed color, fell on his chair, screamed terribly, beat himself against the ground, his breast heaving as in the pangs of death, roaring out 'O thou Devil! legions of Devils!' &c. Three persons almost at once sunk down as dead. A *little boy* was seized in the same manner. A young man, fixing his eyes on him, sunk himself down as one dead and beat himself against the ground; six men could scarce hold him. Others began *to cry out*, insomuch that *all the house* (and *indeed all the street* for some space) *was in an uproar*.—Some were so torn with convulsive motion in every part of their bodies, that four or five persons could not hold one of them.—While I was speaking, one dropped down as dead, presently a second and a third. Five others sunk down, most of them in violent agonies, in the pains of hell and the snares of death. One an hour in strong pain, one or two more *for three days*."

Such are authentic specimens from the pen of John Wesley, of the effects produced by powerful preaching and praying to the feelings; and it is a revival of such power that is eagerly sought by many enthusiastic *feeling* professors of Christianity, as the highest species of reformation attainable in this world, being nothing less than an outpouring of the Spirit.

"At preaching this morning," writes a young lady, whose letters were printed and distributed by the Methodists, "I was so overcome by the love and presence and exceeding glory of my triune God, that I sunk down unable to support it. It was long before I could stand or speak."—"Before he had spoken ten minutes, I was filled with the triune God, sunk motionless under an exceeding great weight of love," &c.

It is evident from these specimens, that the effects of this system of agitation are enfeebling to the body, which sinks down beneath the weight of sensation. Deaths, accordingly, are very numerous amongst the converts. In fact, they are chiefly feeble persons originally, or persons rendered feeble by the agitation. These, however, are the excesses, and it is not to be denied that good of a certain description is effected amongst those who are moderately impressed by such means, which keep up a kind of religious fear in the public mind, which very frequently seizes hold of the profligate, and as often deters the indifferent from falling into gross immoralities, which an absence of religious terror is calculated under present circumstances, to encourage amongst the poor and ignorant.

We might easily prove, by numerous and indisputable evidences, that the opposite system of education, that is, the merely rational and scientific, produces results equally deplorable, though very different. It encourages sensuality and profligacy, to which the mind is necessarily propelled by the individual instincts and passions, unless it be checked by the social instincts, the legitimate guardian of morality, the spiritual feeling. Each is bad when it excludes the other. Religious feeling sanctifies reason, and reason liberalizes and socializes the intemperate ardor and intolerance of blind religious feeling.

We see none of those convulsive motions amongst politicians, which John Wesley has described amongst his enthusiasts. The passions addressed are of a different nature, but still passions. The blind religious passions are internal, and have reference to God and the individual.* The political passions are external, and have reference to man and his fellow man. Hence the excitement of the one goes inward; it is *in*citement, and that of the other goes outward—it is properly speaking *ex*citement. The one leads to nervous passive agitation—the other to nervous active agitation; the one leads to individual efforts to destroy the enemy of souls and his temptations—the other to social or combined efforts to destroy the enemies of the body. Hence the latter naturally and necessarily tends to riot and bloodshed. It is the tendency of both to unite for this political consummation, but we speak at present of the characteristics of each.

Excessive political excitement is equally enfeebling to the system as religious enthusiasm. It dissipates the mind and destroys industrial perseverance by creating a restlessness of disposition. It is a great misfortune to poor men dependent upon daily labor; it increases their poverty; and as their poverty increases, their excitement increases with it, and thus the disease becomes incurable by feeding itself. The victims of this political passion are more numerous in this age than the victims of religious fanaticism, because we are in a political or material age of *ex*citement rather than of *in*citement. We have refugees from all parts of the world who are deplorable specimens of the ruin which it entails, and every profession or trade amongst ourselves can point out its numerous enthusiasts who have lost friends—lost property—lost business—character, and all that is valuable in life, by the irresistible tyranny of this political passion. Politics has its martyrs as well as religion—it has its fanatics—its madmen—its suicides—its missions—its propaganda—its persecutions—its inquisitions. It is the exact counterpart in the corporeal of what religion is in the spiritual; and we insist upon this for the purpose of checking the presumptuous censorship of those who argue from the individual instances of religious excesses, that the very principle of religion itself is an evil, since, by the same mode of reasoning, the principle of social government must be equally pernicious, as it leads in extreme cases to corresponding excesses. Our mode of reasoning is very different: we conclude, from the power of these two passions over the individual mind, that they are the two principal social passions in human nature. Their combinative power is greater than that of any other passion. Neither science nor art of any description can so electrify and organize masses of men and women, as can these two universal passions by which every individual to a greater or less extent is influenced. The highest legislative wisdom, therefore, is that which can legislate for both, in such a way as to calm the storm which the winds of conflicting doctrines have raised, and set up a standard of conciliation, around which all may rally, and in which all may see the consummation of their earnest and enthusiastic desires. Till this be done, there must be war in the two worlds, increasing in virulence as time progresses.

We believe that the exclusives of both parties are perfect counterparts—equally removed from right reason combined with fine feeling. Mankind are more sensitive than reasonable. It matters not where they assemble—Churchmen, Dissenters, Christians, or Infidels—they are always most powerfully addressed through the feelings. The style is the same for all: the object of praise and blame only is varied. There must always be a friend and a foe—one to love, and another to hate; a God or a devil for the one, a Reformer, or Conservative, or Whig for the other. Hence political agitation naturally tends to violence, because it excites the passions in relation to individuals and parties; and political agitators, knowing this, collect all sorts of scandal, wherewith to blacken the reputation of their enemies, and work up the feelings of their auditors to the proper pitch of excitement. Their scheming is perfectly analogous to that of Dr. Reed's prayers. They employ the best means of "*quickening* their hearers into the right sort of feeling;" and the end, though apparently different, is, in the universal providence of God, equally useful.

By means of social revolutions, Providence conducts society progressively onwards from stage to stage, till the grand drama of humanity is consummated. By means of religious movements, individual feelings are created, which become essential and powerful elements of these social revolutions, and serve as a check upon the wantonness and profanity, and the coldness of philosophy and materialism. By means of philosophy and materialism, cold is introduced into the sultry and enervating heat of fanatical enthusiasm, which reduces its temperature. And thus, by means of what mechanicians call the resolution of forces, a compound result is obtained, which is neither the direct result of the torrid zone of religious fanaticism, nor the frigid zone of

* The truly religious feeling, in its universality, has reference not only to God and the individual, but to the unity of man with man; of man with the creation, and of man with the Creator; and thence it is we say that the religious zeal which has reference only to God and the individual, is blind, fanatical, intolerant, and selfish.

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irreligious materialism, but inclining more or less to either, according to the preponderence of one or the other nature.

It is, therefore, in the extremes where the vicious excess is found. *Wisdom is in the mean*, but there are two ways of following the mean of medium. There is a positive and negative: the positive wisdom understands the principle of its own movements, the negative wisdom follows the medium merely by "the pressure from without;" and unprincipled men, or men of indifference to principle, are under such circumstances most likely to attain power, merely because, by their indifference or unprincipledness, they are more easily swayed by the undulations and oscillations of conflicting parties, than those men whose affections are positively fixed upon a sectarian extreme, to carry out the "principle" of which, it is necessary to keep up the preponderence of that sectarian division of the people to which they belong. The increase of sectarianism, therefore, or ultra Protestantism, favors the accession to power of unprincipled men, or men whose faith is, "God favors the strongest;" and Catholicity, (not Roman,) or the universal harmony of Religion and Politics, is the anchor of hope for humanity, because it secures the enthronement of wisdom and love.

PRAYER.

The Boston Transcript, remarking upon the great want of rain in that vicinity says:

"The Right Rev. Bishop Eastburn, sensible of the importance of rain at this season for vegatation and the comfort of man, read the prayer for it last Sunday, according to the provision of the Episcopal Church.—Should the drought continue, we hope the Prelate will be followed in other Churches."

There is no great objection, perhaps, to this offering up prayers for rain, or for any other specific blessing of a temporal kind, that either prelates, ministers or people may fancy themselves in need of; but it argues something like presumption in short-sighted and erring man—who, at best, in his world-pilgrimage, sees as through a glass, darkly—to suppose that a wise and overruling Providence needs to be informed of his particular wants, or to be importuned, as it were, into the granting of relief. He who made the earth, and seas, and all that in them is—who maintains the planets in their course, without whose notice not a sparrow falls to the ground, and upon whom the Christian rests his hopes both for time and eternity, cannot be required to be instructed by the creatures of his power in regard to "the importance of rain at this season for vegetation," &c; and it detracts vastly from what we conceive to be the lofty and sublime character of prayer to go into particulars. No one ever thinks of praying audibly for sunshine in case of long-continued storms or for good weather upon some specific occasion—such as Christmas or the Fourth of July; and yet, we can see no greater impropriety in such petitions than in praying for wet in time of dryness. If those who dwell in one section of the country do not receive as much rain as they think desirable, they may rest assured that others get it who need it more; and that, in the main, the favors of Providence are wisely and impartially distributed. That beautiful and comprehensive passage, "Thy will be done," embraces the whole matter. An old clergyman who resided formerly upon this Island, seems to have had a pretty correct view of the case. On being solicited by a part of his congregation to pray for rain, the good man replied, "Brethren, I am perfectly willing, but must, at the same time, express my belief that it *won't rain till the wind changes*."

If we may judge by the various remarks of the press upon the circumstance above recorded, of the prayer for rain by Bishop Eastburn, the object and virtue of Prayer are but little comprehended among our contemporaries generally. We have noticed all kinds of comments on it, alternating from the ribald sneer of rank infidelity at every species of devotion and acknowledgement of dependence, to the humblest expression of humility, and of the most infantine reliance upon the efficacy of any form of appeal to heaven which a blind faith may dictate or a venerable superstition sanction.

The error of people, generally, is, to take a *simplistic* or one-sided and partial view of a subject, and hence, consequently, they run into opposite extremes, and their opinions are irreconcilable. The above extract from the *Brooklyn Eagle*, is a sample of this one-sided and simple mode of reasoning, which always leads to false conclusions. It argues that it is ridiculous to pray for any special benefit, the question then arises, what should we pray for? This question is not answered, and as it is foolish to pray for one thing it may be for another, and thus all prayer, seemingly, becomes folly.

Rational philosophers maintain that it is wrong to pray to God as we are taught in Scripture, "because," say they, "if enlightened reason can teach us any thing of the Infinite, it is that he must be just in all his acts, benevolent in all his purposes, invariable in all his determinations. What he wills, he wills once and for ever. There is no variableness nor even shadow of turning in him. To pray to him, therefore, to alter his will, or change his purpose, is at once a mark of folly or impiety. To ask the Infinite to do what we wish, rather than what he intends, is to doubt whether he knows as well as we do ourselves. It is self-evident that to offer petitions to the Divine Being with the idea that they will have any effect, and that every thing will not proceed exactly as if no such petitions had been made, is to suppose the petitioner either wiser or better than his Maker—either knowing better what is fit to be done, or more in earnest about the doing of it.—The best species of public worship is that in which the Divine Agency is harmoniously explained in the laws and works of the intellectual and material universe. This is to hold communion with God in that way which tends most to manifest his perfection, and conduces most to his real benefit. Even Christ anticipated, in his early day, a period when the worship of the Deity, in stated formularies and special sanctuaries, would be abandoned. 'The time is coming,' said Christ, 'when neither on this mountain nor at Jerusalem, shall ye worship the Father. God is a Spirit, and they that worship must worship him in spirit and in truth.'"—*Religion of the Universe*, by Robert Fellowes, L. L. D.

The serious puerility of this logic can only be justified in application to the childish reason which supposes that God commanded us to pray, that he might alter his general plans in accordance with our wishes, which is a very infantine and thoughtless notion; for all enlightened minds must know that prayer is instituted for the sake of drawing our hearts to God, that we may thereby *conditionate* ourselves for the reception of his grace, and walk before him according to the laws he has commanded us to study and obey as his unchanging Will. It is not that God may alter his divine decrees then, that we pray, but that we ourselves may understand his will and alter our own course of life in due conformity with His commands, and by the aid of his forgiving grace and mercy.

Prayer is not a thing of "*reason*" by which man presumes to call upon his Maker to conform to his rationality, as blind faith may lead us to think, or as rational philosophers suppose in their attempts to limit everything within the sphere of "rational" exclusivism, but prayer is a *feeling* of devotion, in which human reason seeks to purify itself from vain presumptbyion, submissively applying to the source of love and wisdom as a cleanser of the spirit. It is an ordinance for bringing man to God, and *human* reason and affection in submission to Divine, and not for turning God from infinite wisdom to finite rationality. It is a prayer or a petition to our Maker showing we are willing to conform to His commands if he will give us grace and light to understand them, in order that we may escape the punishment of ignorance and perversity.

In prayer we have a hope, no doubt, of turning God to us, and calling down his mercy, but it is by giving proof of our return to Him in heart and will that we are grounded in the hope of finding mercy in his sight. It is not to cleanse the sea we bathe in it, but that we ourselves may benefit by the ablution; and by prayer, we are immersed in the source of spiritual truth and purity and holiness that we may be absolved from sin and wickedness; or if we cannot reach the source itself at once, to turn to God that we may live in Him and He in us; that we may become clean in spirit both externally in worldly actions and internally in Heavenly aspirations.

This is what we understand by prayer, and not vain rationality, supposing that God

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will change His designs of universal justice to conform to individual notions of beneficence. "Let the wicked forsake his way and the unrighteous man his thoughts; and let him turn unto the Lord and he will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon." Isaiah, lv. 7.

CONDITION OF WOMEN IN HARMONY.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF MADAME GATTI DE GAMOND.

Since social questions have been generally mooted, the condition of women is that which is most obscured by prejudices. Their emancipation is essential to real progress; but the word alone alarms and irritates one-sided minds, who couple liberty with immorality, or turn a serious subject into ridicule. In irresponsible disunity no liberty can be allowed to women, it is true, without exposing them to danger and depravity; but in associative unity, the case is very different. The corporation everywhere protects the individual from vice.

Fourier expresses the greatest solicitude for the condition of women; in them he sees at once the class the most oppressed, and the most powerful instruments of social regeneration. His system of attractive industry enables them to act in groups, securing independence by their industry, and raising them from degradation liberates them from their misery.

No class is so interested as that of the women in the realization of his system. It solves all the difficulties of their position, and assures them the full emancipation which they need. What is this emancipation? This is a word which has been so much abused, that it requires some explanation.

By the emancipation of women do we only wish to express modification, amelioration, progress? Who can deny that the condition of woman is susceptible of improvement as well as all human institutions?

Woman in the savage state, whose destiny is often so sad that when she brings into the world a child of the weaker sex, will destroy her new-born babe, that it may be spared a painful existence, must she not desire to advance a step in social progress? It is from this excess of degradation and misery that woman, in passing through the various social phases from complete barbarism to the present state of civilization, has always been released from servitude, and raised to a degree of dignity. Since, then, her condition has been already modified, what may she not desire, what may she not hope for?

Let us glance at the present condition of many wives and daughters among the people—the one condemned to the hardest labor, enduring every kind of privation, their feelings tortured by anxiety; the other sunk in vice and infamy, the consequences of misery and bad education—then say, if you will, that society has done all it can for woman! that she ought to be content with her lot; that there remains nothing for her to desire or to hope for! The most immediate cause of woman's misery is poverty. If she asks for emancipation, she does but ask, as the first condition toward her melioration, a reform in the social economy, effectual in removing distress, affording to all some education, the bare necessaries of life, and the right to labor.

It is not only the wives of the people, but women of all classes, whose evils result from the present social state. The great majority possess but a moderate portion, insufficient for their support; those who have a competency are in danger of losing it from mismanagement. They have not, like men, opportunities for earning an independence, and they are everywhere surrounded by dangers and difficulties. Marriage and the cares of a family are their destination; the laws, the customs, education, permit woman only to form her social position by marriage. Unmarried, she is solitary, dependent, and subject to perpetual humiliations. And yet, though society offers to woman marriage as her exclusive destiny, educated for this one end, taught to consider it a duty, and her happiness dependent upon it, marriage is not in her own power. Men who have a profession, independence, and many occupations, do not deem it absolutely necessary; their self-love is not concerned in it as that of woman is; and they profess not to wish to marry, till they find one in whom the advantages of fortune and all desirable qualifications are united Unportioned young women are in danger of vegetating in isolation; those who possess fortune dare not be very scrupulous, nor delay their choice, in the fear of their youth passing, and opportunities becoming less frequent. Hence it is so many women marry unfortunately, and find in marriage but disgust and sorrow!

Fourier's system gives independence, and opens a career to woman; it reconciles her household cares, and the duties of maternity, with intellectual development and art and general employments. It does even more—it gives her a high place in general estimation, a dignified and pure position, favorable to her own improvement and society's regeneration.

Strange, indeed, is our error with respect to woman. We have feared, that in promoting her education and elevation, there would be an increase of depravity and vice. This is indeed sadly misconceiving her very nature: vice is hateful to her—she does not voluntarily consent to it: even in yielding to it she detests it, she struggles against it and the conditions that cause it, and she ceases not to blame an unjust and cruel society, which condemns and degrades her, offering her no means of escape. Among the daughters of the people, misery and wretchedness drive the sex into the abyss of degradation; among the independent class, ennui, disgust, the soul's void, resulting from isolation, and the unhappy marriages which have been contracted from necessity, produce the same effects. Misconduct among women is almost always the effect of misery, subjection, and idleness. We must then understand, by moral emancipation for woman, an independent position, conducive to the free exercise of her affections and her talents, without the necessity of making engagements contrary to her inclinations.

The subjection of woman, her state of miserable and precarious dependence, is the first cause of her moral degradation. Though she may, in manners and appearance, be more polished and refined than in the past century, yet all the old evils exist, a frightful depravity has insinuated itself into all classes, illicit connexions for young girls, adulterous ones for married women—corruption, which, being tolerated neither by morals, nor by custom, nor by legislation, gives birth to hypocrisy, falsehood, cunning, to vices the most shameful, crimes the most horrible. Society has actually filled up the measure of its iniquities, and corruption, like a canker, is destroying its vitals. The evil is so vast, so dark, so deep, that hypocrisy, falsehood, all that can mask or disguise it, is regarded as a necessary palliation. Falsehood is the main support of society. Were the state of general corruption suddenly made visible, and vice exhibited in all its deformity, the world would shrink with horror at itself, and civilization crumble under the sense of its own iniquities.

It must be understood, that all progress in the condition of woman depends upon a social renovation, which, securing her independence, permits her to act with honesty and sincerity in all the relationships of life. Falsehood is a palliation which kills, though for the moment it appears to save. It is for woman to substitute truth for falsehood throughout the whole social mechanism. But how can she be a monitress of truth, if she be not free in her words, in her actions?

In all times, in all countries, what protection has been even pretended for good morals, the purity of young women, the chastity of wives? The same which has been given to all social duties, has been given for the protection of chastity—fear, oppression, punishment. Woman has been generally held in ignorance and degradation: she has been shut up in the seraglio, and strictly watched; to husbands and fathers an unlimited power over her has been granted; upon mere suspicion she has been cruelly punished, degraded, and chastised. Education, legislation, religion, all have united to frighten her by their thunders and their edicts; and yet the experience of ages has proved, that neither fear nor cruelties have checked the impulse of the passions—that, on the contrary, they have stimulated and excited them. Experience has proved, that the more woman is dependent and degraded, the more she is corrupted, the more she transgresses the social laws; and that she is pure and chaste in proportion as she is free, intelligent, and independent.

It is not merely an opinion or prejudice that modesty, reserve and dignity are woman's special and native qualities. In vain have falsehood, constraint, and punishment been arrayed against her; they have but made her act contrary to her nature. The instinct of woman maintains in her the virtues of her sex: and it is because purity and modesty are a law in her, the attractive and natural law, that fear and punishment do but harden and deteriorate her. Let the social state be changed, so that woman can think and act freely, then will she revive all that is good and true in morals and in manners—then will she prove herself to be, what God designed her, the dispenser of peace, harmony, and happiness in all societies.

Vain is the attempt to depress woman, to reduce her to a negative influence. Woman is one-half of the human race: the inseparable companion of man, she excites in him the deepest joy, the bitterest grief—she leads him to virtue, or seduces him to vice. The guardian angel of infancy, the beautiful ideal of youth, the object of man's liveliest affections, the perpetual dream of his life, the consolation, the support of his old age, woman exercises incessantly upon him an influence which he cannot resist; she attracts, wins, draws him, even when he tramples her under his foot, as his dependent slave. If he escapes her salutary in-

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fluence, it is to the destruction of his noblest sentiments, his most exquisite enjoyments. Woman gives to creation its poetry; she inspires all the generous sentiments of affection, devotedness and enthusiasm, she spiritualizes the world. For him who knows not her all-powerful sway, nature is dead, materialism rules, there is no longer poetry nor love, the globe is an inert mass, the law of attraction has ceased to exist!

It is with society as with the individual. Woman cannot be deprived of her social influence; it is decidedly either salutary or pernicious. The more woman is depressed, the more she is held in subjection, in ignorance, in ignominy, the more society becomes dull, stern, and prosaic. Moved alone by selfishness, it petrifies even at its core, retaining only the appearance of life, after the heart has ceased to beat and the blood to flow.

Love is the most powerful of all attractions—none can escape its influence; it captivates and charms, gives a new life, and makes of earth a heaven. It ensures to woman her empire in man; for it is by love that she can stimulate him to noble and generous actions, enkindle in him all that is good and beautiful, and inspire him with faith—for love and faith are intimately blended.

And yet what does Love, the gift divine, become in the society where all the passions, turned from their natural courses, are subverted, dark and cruel? Love, the stimulant to noble actions, engenders nought but discords, falsehood, and treachery—it conducts to vice, impels to crime: Love, the source of joy, ecstacy, and of enchanting affections, is but too often a torment, a torture, a bitter deception. It is transformed into hatred and revenge, causing infidelity, incredulity, or blasphemy! Love, the throne and pedestal of woman, causes her but grief and humiliation; instead of ennobling, it degrades her—instead of elevating, it debases her—instead of happiness, it offers her but anguish and regret! Ah! What has become of Love in this age of vice and corruption? What has become of the beautiful illusions of youth, the hope of happiness, heaven opened in a look, a smile? What has become of the beautiful youth of life? Who is young now? In the cradle, man already despises woman, defies her power, thinks of her but as a plaything, a victim! Cold, stern, and calculating, greedy, selfish, and contemptuous, his wisdom is gold—it is gold he sighs for, gold he amasses. How can Love dawn in souls petrified at their birth, in whom faith has ceased before they begun to believe, who have denied Love and its spiritual flame before they have felt it? Yet, not having been able wholly to withdraw from its influence, Love itself they have materialized; they have perverted woman's angelic nature, they have formed it into a being submitted to their caprices, to their will—a sort of domestic animal, fashioned to their pleasures and wishes. They have divided women into two classes. To the privileged, marriage is permitted, the cares of the house, maternal love; to the poor, disgrace, misery, and reproach—everywhere oppression, nowhere liberty. And man rules in the social desert, where all the generous sentiments remain barren, where all the true affections are subverted.

And what becomes of woman in this dreary waste—she whose mission is to vivify by noble sentiments, by glowing faith? Woman completes the iniquities of her age, for she corrupts even as she is corrupted. Woman suffers in proportion to all preserved in her of the pure, the generous, and the good. Woman, deprived of her real empire, of her divine mission, encloses in her soul all the sorrows, all the evils of humanity. In the middle ages, the victim of monastic institutions, of the arbitrary will of parents, woman was oppressed, tyranized over, immured in convents, reluctantly forced to the altar, or by the cruel jealousy of a husband, banished or otherwise punished. But Love had not lost its empire; she loved and was beloved; religion united itself with Love in her heart; woman was enthroned by Love, it was the epoch of illusions, of credulity; the whole of society, men and women, old persons and children, were moved by a word, were guided by a sign, whether of Peter the Hermit or of Joan of Arc. Society suffered, woman suffered; but what were these sufferings, repaid by Love and Faith, compared to the void, the ennui, the deathlike coldness which are now in all souls, rendering them waste and desolate, making suicide the scourge and malady of the age? If ever the faculty of believing and loving, the power of devotedness, could perish in woman, society would become like a galvanized corpse, whose forced and convulsive movements give only a semblance of life. But, notwithstanding this coldness of heart and faith, woman remains loving and devoted, even without an object, without finding one to whom to give her love, to offer her devotedness. It is long before her illusions pass; she preserves them, even while watching them fade, and feels only by degrees the soul languish, and hope die.

The system of education, which fashions woman, is quite different to that which fashions men. With these, it is all matter of fact, scepticism, dogmatism; with woman it is innocence, modesty, ingenuousness, golden dreams—Love around her deceiving, flattering, bewildering. From her childhood, all speak to her of Love—conversations, books, theatres, society, beneath the deceiving mask of gallantry, her own illusions, unknown emotions, involuntary sighs and tears. Who then can understand them? Youthful maidens, ardent and sincere, ye know not that your whole sex is blighted and trampled on; that ideal Love, as you feel it, as you dream of it, is but a deceitful illusion; and that woman's life can be but a succession of disappointments and grief.

Soon all these early illusions give way to reality—soon does woman herself conform to the customs of the age, and calculation, as a sum in arithmetic, is consulted in her destiny. Already has Love undergone its first transformation in her soul; Love now means marriage. Love in marriage is woman's second dream. Filled with sentiments of her dignity, surrounded with the charms of youth, of purity and grace, she expects the homage to which she is entitled—she expects to choose, to love, that she may be chosen as a beloved. But one step more into actual realities, and the world, with all its contradictions, is opened before her.

It is true that modesty and reserve belong to woman. Is it not even in the present order, that man aspires to her love, and that woman grants it, as a good that has been long desired? Is it not thus, that, preserving her dignity, her independence, she exercises a salutary influence, and incites man to noble actions? If, on the contrary, woman is humiliated, abased, if her position is in exact opposition with the peculiar qualities of her sex, how is it possible she can retain her influence, or fail to become degraded, and changed in her very nature? But how can woman preserve her dignity, her feelings of modesty and reserve, when she has, in a greater degree than man, the desire and capability of loving—when marriage is for her an indispensable necessity, her only social position, the only aim given to her destiny—when, instead of choosing, she thinks herself happy in being chosen—when smallness or deficiency of fortune is considered a vice, for which she is disdained—when she must yield as the object of cold calculations—when inflicting on herself every sacrifice and self-denial, she calculates, subdues her inclinations, and stifles her feelings? How is it possible that woman should not lose her native qualities and character, when education and manners are a perpetual deception around her—when she knows not what to think or what to believe, and as she advances in life sees that she must cast aside, as she would an old garment, the sweet illusions, the beautiful sentiments, the holy faith of her youth—when she must herself put on the mask of constraint, of dissimulation, of hypocrisy—when she is entangled in petty rivalries, contemptible intrigues—when vice surrounds her, and society petrifies her faculties, closing her heart with its frigid selfishness, its vicious immoralities, and its cold, its dead materialism?

Civilization, or the system of separate households, offers no remedy for the ills of woman, offers no escape from sorrowful and painful subjection, to the daughters of people. It is in vain, that legislation, morals, and education combine to reform the manners, to stem the tide of corruption, to regenerate woman, to strengthen family relationships: all must fail, as society is now constituted. Remove the cause of corruption, then you efface misery; establish unitary education, then you give a free development to the faculties, and assure independence by labor. The question is not whether it is desirable or not to give to woman political rights, and to put her upon an equality with man? In the present state, it would be but a new source of disorder. But perhaps it may be said, that in the present state, every industrious, artistic, and scientific path is opened to woman, and that a great number earn their own livelihood; but nevertheless, the difficulties of a profession for a woman are very great: first, by education, which seldom prepares her for it; secondly, by the obstructions which surround all social undertakings. Besides, how can women, absorbed in household details, the fatigues and the cares of maternity, occupy themselves with regular labor? It is in this sense that the independence of woman cannot be reconciled with separate households, and that even the right to labor cannot be granted her. What can become of an unhappy woman, when her husband is either a gambler, drunkard, dissipated, or extravagant? What can become of her if she has children and no fortune? Even when the laws permit divorce, is she in circumstances to profit by it—must she not endure all, suffer all, for the sake of her children? In the present social state, no remedy can be found for the ills and oppression of woman.

Fourier's system insensibly introducing, without struggle, without injury to any interest, a society in society, resolves all the difficulties in the position of woman. With-

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out changing the legislation, or proclaiming new rights, he stops at once all the sources of corruption, reforms education and manners by the effects that naturally flow from his system, in which Unitary Education and the independence of woman are ensured by the rights of labor; independence rendered possible by Associated Households, Attractive Industry, and Wealth increasing rapidly. Women are no longer the mere slaves of solitary household duty; they are organized in corporations of industrial, artistic and religious unity, and have a morally collective, a truly social existence, in addition to their individual position in the private family. The daughter or the wife at home, in private domesticity, is known to the collective body of the Phalanx, as a useful member of society connected with some corporation of importance with regard to art or industry, religion or instruction. She is an artist, or an educator, an adept in floriculture, or in needle-work, a useful member of society, in fact, as well as wife and daughter in the private family; and when society is organized on unitary principles, the wife and daughter will have time for all her duties, social and domestic.

☞ The following piece, from the *Démocratie Pacifique*, is the production of a Frenchman, born on the banks of the Rhine, and who having for many years resided in Germany, participated in the combats sustained by the literary and political press of that country. The *Cantique d'amour* of Mr. Alexander Weill bears the impress of the German character; but if the reader distinguish the Germanic influence in some eccentricities of style, we trust that he will remark it more particularly in the poetry of its images and warmth of its sentiments. We are indebted for the translation to the pen which lately favored us with a contribution on the state of "Brook Farm."

A CANTICLE OF LOVE.

I.

PRELUDE.

Many a tear shed over the woes of humanity has already furrowed my cheeks. Songs of gladness and of youth no longer resound in my breast; and my chants of love are now only remembrances, interrupted by sighs and sorrowful thoughts.

I have wandered long in the country of the Germans, which they call a *land of love*. Alas! there, as everywhere, there is love for all except for the poet.

Country where they speak the language of my mother! O thou land of my illusions and my errors, among the millions of young girls whom I saw blooming like roses in the garden of thy poesy, I have not found one willing to love the young, but poor poet.

A poor man is not loved. His love is hated even. Hatred is his only heritage. In that day when the poor shall no longer e compelled to hate, all men and all women will love each other as brethren and ters.

Not until the moment when I quitted the ecate of my youth, did a ray of love appear struggling to reanimate and tranquilize my heart, lacerated by so many deceitful hopes. It was too late. The dawn of morning resists but briefly the suffocating heats of day.

Excellent Germans! they reproached me for the inconstancy of my mind. They know not that motion is the singular and only repose of the mind.

Motion is to the mind, what the rocking of the cradle is to the infant, or the undulation of the waves to the fish.

Farewell, then, old Germany! Thou hast robbed me of the loveliest years of my youth, but, in requital, hast disclosed to me the secrecies of man and the world. Hail to thee, my beautiful France! whom I should never have left. My whole life, all my thoughts, shall be consecrated to thee, for it is in thee alone that I have found an asylum and a little love.

II.

My heart is filled with intoxicating sensations, with aspirations of love. Where shall I find the cherished bride of my soul, to unburthen my heart to hers?

Ah! should I find a kind and simple lover, mild and artless, how earnestly could I love her! I should feel the deepest cords of my soul vibrate, while saying to her, "I love thee!"

See, my friend, I would say to her, I have not the gifts of beauty: cares and pains have early furrowed my brow with wrinkles, but I love thee!

When I was young, in years when I made verses to the stars, I had silken locks, and my cheeks were roseate as thine. In those days I did not reflect; I lived the life of a plant: but since I have thought (and, alas! thought early became to me a haunting sprite,) my cheeks are pale, my hairs grow thin—but I love thee!

Once, young girls praised in secret the fiery glance of my blue and liquid eye. Alas! my eye is dim; its fire was quenched by the toilsome reading of dusty books. Ah! my friend, the whole of science is not worth an hour of love. Thou understandest not that, happy child? No matter; provided thou permittest me to love thee—provided I may see thee—may graze thy long lashes with my burning lips, I will renounce science forever. Because I love thee! and, believe me, all science that leads not to love is false.

What strange tremors! How restless and agitated is my heart! Neither slumber nor repose!—it submits not even to the magic power of sleep!

The night, how beautiful! Almost more beauteous than day. In it there is a strife that rejoices the poet. The moon combats the darkness, and the stars emulate the moon. Day is the grand victory announced by a million trumpet-flourishes and *Te Deums*, chanted and executed by all the beings in nature. When, then, will *the* grand day appear, the great victory of mankind?

Night is the black cuirass which love is armed with, to shield itself from men.

In the night my heart beats more swiftly; all the faculties of my soul are doubled and tripled. Yes, by night, I doubly feel that I am wretched.

How often I traverse my little room in its length and breadth, vainly seeking to quench my thirst of love in the quickening source of thought. All around me breathes of love. I cannot escape this feeling. The spider in her web, the fly on the window, appear more happy than I: they are not alone. The spider has companions in every corner of my chamber; perhaps she loves! The fly, I know, has a friend. I alone see but my troublesome shadow.

I throw myself on my couch. O, sweet sleep, twin brother of death, receive me to thy arms. Alas! In vain I invoke him. He never could vanquish the ardor of love. The thought of love is more consuming than love itself! The brazier filled with glowing coals burns more profoundly than the coal itself.

It is in vain that I turn to every side of my couch: in vain my tears bedew my pillow: they cannot extinguish the furnace-flame of my heart.

I rise; I wrap myself in my cloak; the door bursts open, and I stand before the star of night; I breathe at last.

Well, I have escaped from prison, but I drag after me my chains. I cannot fly my heart.

The sky flings down upon me its million glances; the moon seems to taunt me.—I still go onward.—A patrole pursues me, taking me for a robber; a robber is at my heels, thinking me rich; but onward still I hasten through the streets, the squares, the lanes, the alleys, goaded by this nameless fever, the fever of motion.

At last, behold me on the hill. Thence, at least, the view is more extended. An ocean of houses is spread out at my feet; my soul expands; the stars glisten with a pure splendor. Ah! tell me, dear comrades of my early youth, where shall I find the beloved of my heart; tell me where there is rest? For me, I know but two places of repose—the arms of my affianced, and the tomb. The first have never wreathed their nuptial ring around my neck; the second, alas! will be perchance my only resting place.

Hospitable earth, thou art yet my best friend! How often have I laid my head upon thy throbbing breast! how often hast thou rocked me to sweet slumber! Here once again I have recourse to thee, and sleep upon thy lap. * * *

In my dream, I saw the betrothed of my soul.

And when the hallowed hour of love was passed, I woke. The heavens looked like a vast fire; the tincted dawn was mirrored in the glassy surface of the adjacent river, and gilded its slumbering waves; the fields

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saluted it with joy; the trees all bent their heads in token of rejoicing, and all the flowers sipped with delight the dulcet dew; all birds broke forth in songs of gladness; and all the brooks murmured their melody of thanksgiving, and all young dames smiled on me like angels, and all hearts breathed but love. Before the mighty wonders of nature, I fell upon my knees. Tears of gratitude rolled down my cheeks: I had become man again; I understood God!

III.

I roam through all the city to seek the beloved of my heart. She is of the people; I am sure of it.

A pearl is more easily found among pebbles than in a heap of false pearls.

My betrothed is neither rich nor lettered; she is simple and beautiful, mild and sweet

Through the window, I see three women in a narrow street. Mother, daughter, and grandmother. They are chatting and laughing together. The maiden is as lovely as the morning star. There reign peace and concord; it is there I would repose. My heart tells me that it is she. * * * *

IV.

For these six months, almost every day, I have seen my dear Susanna. She loves me—I love her—but we have never told each other so.

My Susanna is beautiful as a vernal rose. Her face is radiant as that of the Blessed Virgin: never has the breath of man profaned her lips.

Her hair is black and abundant. It descends and toys with her heels, like the waving branches of a willow bathing themselves in the river.

Her black eye is large, majestic as night; her glance lightens it with a pure brightness, like the dawn of day.

Her cheeks are of snow, mingled with carmine, and her neck is almost as white as her teeth. Little flames flash round her lips, which die with every word and revive with every smile.

Thou art beautiful, my Susanna! Tell me, hast thou never yearned for love? * * *

—While I was still at Passy (I was fifteen years old, and now I am eighteen,) I used frequently to walk alone by moonlight in our tiny garden. All around me, everything was mantled in a religious silence; I heard only the crackling of the gravel trodden by my feet, and the hammer-like palpitations of my heart, as one of my arms rested on it. Suddenly, I felt in my bosom a convulsive pression. I could not explain it; I am ignorant; I have never read anything but the history of St. Maud, and I have never been at the play. Oh! said I to myself, if I were truly loved by a man, how I would press him to my heart! Heavens! what a thought! cried I. I was afraid of the moon which had looked at me; the gravel no longer crackled under my feet, it had listened to me: I ran quickly to my chamber, and, after having hastily said my prayers, I hid myself in the clothing, covering up even my head. Soon I fell asleep. In my dream, a pale young man approached me, and looked on me with a languid air. He told me that he loved me, and I let him kiss my hand. Next day I thought I saw a red spot on my hand. Since then I have often seen him in my dreams.

—Tell me, Susanna, am I the pale young man? Thou answerest not, and castest down thine eyes. My friend, wilt thou suffer me to press thy hand against my lips? O happiness! I am the pale young man of thy dreams! Ah! my Susanna, dread nothing, thou shalt be a saint to me.

Were there gods still abiding in Olympus, they would ravish thee away. But our God also is jealous of his poor creature. He recalls innocence and virtue soon to himself. Thou hast no fear of death, and thou art right. Love dies not. Life, with thee, is everywhere; without thee, I see only death. Wherever thou art not, is earth with its hatreds and prejudices; wherever thou art, I behold heaven and divine love. Thou sayest thou wilt brave all dangers to love me? I recognize, in that resolution, the celestial power of love. I, on the contrary, almost lose my courage. Like fire, which hardens what is soft, and softens what is hard, love enfeebles the strong and fortifies the weak. It gives courage to woman, and often takes it away from man.

Dear Susanna, yet one word: I love thee!

V.

Thou hast not yet inquired, my Susanna, who I am; whether I am Jew, Turk, or Catholic, merchant, laborer or artist. There I discern the Frenchwoman; only the Frenchwoman makes a religion of love.

The more I contemplate, the more I admire thy angelic beauty. But a sad presentiment agitates my heart, when I think of our love. I know that a bee sucks the nectar of the rose; she turns it into honey: but when I see it pressed by a wasp, my heart contracts with indignation.

Susanna, knowest thou thy neighbor? He is very ugly, but he is rich. He inherited the estate of an aunt, who amassed a fortune by the traffic in human flesh. Well! my beloved, that man will be thy husband; he has just asked thee in marriage of thy mother.

And now I will tell thee who I am. I am a poet, rich in love, but poor in fortune. I have neither uncle nor aunt; I possess only a heart, and courage enough to battle with adversity.

Knowest thou what a poet is in our society? He is a Cain, marked on the forehead by human justice. The latest upstart makes laws for him. I am shut out from all that is exalted and beautiful in my country, because I am poor; and the poor has no rights, not even that of loving.

The rich will take thee for their paramour. They would enjoy thy charms, and be intoxicated with thy balmy breath. They will wed thee, to display thee on the public promenade, and say to passers-by, That handsome woman whom you admire is mine; she is my wife, my property; I bought her, not with my heart's blood, but with my aunt's money. She is mine, body and soul, and I dispose of her according to my lordly liking.

The poet, on the contrary, has eyes but to admire thee, ears only to hear the sweet sound of thy voice; he has words to tell thee that he loves thee—a heart to feel the sympathy of thine—a soul to comprehend and life to consecrate to thee.

Thou shalt ever be to me a chaste, pure sister.

I love thy soul, and the beauty which is its expression, rather than thy physical charms. *Thou never wilt be mine!*

The poet cannot marry; he may die indeed, but not live for his beloved.

Thou weepest, my sister; oh! let me dry up thy tears with my kisses. They may, indeed, prevent our union, but no power on earth can hinder me from loving thee for life. Thine image is imprinted deeply on my molten soul. It is so incarnated within me, that, should I never see thee more, I could none the less feel thee as a moulded statue. When one day my soul shall soar to the divine principle of creation, there thy cherished image will be recognized, and my last word shall be Susanna,—my sister, my friend!

VI.

The town clock strikes midnight. The wind growls with fury: the black sky is visible only in intervals, when the swift lightning flashes, like a thought of hope on the sombre countenance of the wretched.

Some one knocks at my door. Who is there?

—O my brother, open the door; it is I!

—Thou Susanna, my sister, and at this hour?

—My mother having forbidden me to see thee, I am obliged to come at midnight. Lock the door, O my brother; do not receive me so coldly; I love thee, and need all thy love. There 's not a fibre within me that does not love thee.

—My Susanna, leave me, I pray thee. Thy kisses set my heart on fire, as breath kindles a flame. Tell me, my love, didst ever try to resuscitate the dead with the aroma of thy breath?

—I do not wish to revive the dead; I would that all men were dead, and only thou wert here, that I might love thee.

—But, what ails thee? Thou weepest, and thy hair is in disorder. Tell me, my treasure, has any misfortune happened? Hide nothing from me.

—Ah! ask me nothing; tell me that thou lovest me; repeat it to me forever; clasp me in thine arms—press me to thy bosom; I need all this to support my life.

—My sister, thou knowest that I have

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sworn to preserve pure and unsullied the white veil of thy chaste beauty. On my knees I pray thee, leave me; thou makest me mad; I am no longer master of myself.

—Oh! thou knowest not how wretched I am. To-morrow, my brother——Why must I tell thee?—Behold me at thy feet. It is thou who hast kindled my heart, by thy ardent soul and thy breath of fire; it is thou who hast inspired me with this delirious passion which consumes me. Have pity, then, and do not drive me from thee. I have no longer a mother. Be my brother, as thou hast always said; protect me—protect me from myself, for I am the most unhappy creature in the world.

—Courage, my sister. I know thy soul; it is strong and well tempered. Follow my example, for—it must be said—I have renounced the bliss of seeing thee at my side. We are the slaves of society. Here have I struggled twenty years against it and its prejudices; it was the tooth of an insect gnawing a skeleton. Happiness, here below, appears only that man may renounce it.

—But thou understandest not thy misfortune. When it shall be known that I came hither, they will say that I am dishonored. Well! to-morrow I am to be dishonored publicly; and pending the act of my shame, while I shall be sacrificed like a slave to the caprice of a master whom I despise, they will sing and dance and shout for joy. To-morrow I shall be married, by force, to our neighbor. My mother has already signed the deed of sale. In vain I have told her that I never could love my husband. "I have never loved thy father,,' she replied, "and yet I have lived with him more than twenty years."

—So soon? to-morrow? Anathema! curse on you, civilized brood, race of cannibals, worshippers of a bit of metal! To-morrow? so soon? Oh! I foresaw it. And to feel that I cannot protect thee—that I have not the power to tear thee from the talons of these malignant animals. Ah! never have I felt my poverty and weakness so much as at this moment. Oh! now I understand those human beings who devote themselves through eternity to infernal spirits, that they may taste for an instant the pleasure of avenging themselves upon men. Let us weep, my Susanna; the only comfort that remains to us is tears.

—My brother. I have done thee wrong. Forgive me. I have always been a child of misfortune. Oh! I ask thy pardon, my brother. Ah! if we could die together!

—Die! No! They would laugh at us; they would make romances on us to charm the tedium of their imbecility. No! let us live, and be superior to them. Thou seest, I am not desperate. The thought of surrendering thee has long haunted me. At first, I confess, it was hard to entertain the thought; but, at last, I have triumphed, and conquered my heart. Reason, in this world, is a continual antagonist of the heart. Our social life is a permanent conflict between the soul and what is called reason. One day, it will be otherwise. Reason, then, will be but the celestial torch, the guide of our affections. One day, too, my Susanna, we shall see each other again; our two souls will be, in reality, but one. It is a single life with two aspects. Yes, my sister, we shall one day be reunited, and it is this assurance which has given me strength to renounce thee. Both of us must accomplish our mission. A flower that we tend, a bird that we save, a wretch whom we rescue, is enough to bid us accept and support the burthen of our existence. Go, my love, it is not without an aim that Providence sent me hither, to give to thy soul the imprint of my own. Thou wilt be a wife in the holiest acceptation of the word. My mission is accomplished; thine begins. Love thy husband. Perchance he is not so perverse as they have said. Men are wicked, it is true; but not so wicked as they would fain make us believe. Haply the soul of thy husband will become pure in contact with thine. Be faithful to thy duties and to thy plighted vow: govern him by gentleness and resignation, rather than by domestic retaliations. When a mother, thy mission will be still more sacred: the soul of the child remains ever attached to that of the mother. Thou wilt have nourished him with thy blood, to teach him afterward to love his fellows and mankind. It is easy to die for an idea, but more difficult to live for it. Show thyself worthy of thy brother, who will ever love thee. Go, my sister; give me a last kiss--ah, me! the last; and may our Maker's will be done!

☞ We have received the first number of the *New Industrial World*, edited and published by John White, at Cincinnati, Ohio, the Prospectus of which appeared in our last. The paper presents a good appearance, being a fair sized and well printed sheet. The contents of the present number are not very diversified, as a great portion of it is occupied with the Address of the Convention, held in this city in April; and, in our opinion, the editor could not have made a more judicious appropriation of his columns, as this document, which was prepared with great labor and consideration, contains as complete and masterly a summary of the practical features of our system, and the reform we propose, as can well be stated in such a compass. The practical views it presents are most needed by the general reader, and therefore it cannot have too wide a circulation. Indeed, the intention in putting it forth, was, as far as possible, within reasonable limits, to furnish a *text-book* of our doctrines and position as reformers, with regard to the *practical* bearings of Association upon Society. In this connection, we again urge upon our friends to reproduce it wherever they can find opportunity, and also return our thanks to those papers which have given it a place in their columns, a number having done so already.

Notwithstanding our previous remarks deprecating the issue of new papers at the present time in advocacy of the cause of Association, which are entirely prudential with reference to private as well as public interests, we most sincerely hope that the New Industrial World will be well sustained, and exert a happy influence in awakening attention to the subject of Association, and enlightening the people of the West on the vast and important interests it embraces. We are pleased to see that the Editor plants himself upon the very highest doctrinal grounds of Social Science—Passional Harmony, and Universal Unity. These are the Alpha and Omega of Social Science, presenting to the mind and the heart the grandest truths and holiest aspirations—true Science and true Religion. The sound head and genuine religious spirit of the Editor, are a warrant of the efficiency and chastened zeal with which he will advocate the principles and doctrines of Social Science.

We present our readers with the Editorial Introductory, which, as a whole, is an excellent address; but we would state in advance, that the partial explanation of the Passions, is not in strict accordance with true theory, and the character and function of the third class, herein called the Heavenly, and termed by Fourier and his school the Distributive Passions, are not clearly apprehended; nor can these, or any of the Passions, be properly explained, except by by the most elaborate and scientific demonstration. Nothing but the most general and vague exposition of the Passions can be given in an ordinary essay; and to appreciate and understand them rightly, requires profound study and high scientific attainments. The mere names by which they are generalized and designated, give no just idea of the Passions. The names adopted by Fourier only indicate *results* of the action of the Passions, and not their real metaphysical distinctions.* The Science

* To understand fully the Passions, it is roquisite to have a knowledge of the Law of the Series, which is the Law of Universal Order and Analogy, and, preliminary to the possession of this knowledge, the student of Passional Harmony must be thoroughly versed in some one or more of the positive sciences, and have a general knowledge of them all to some extent; and also an acquaintance with the Serial Method of investigation and analysis. The Sciences, as the philosophers say, form a circle, although they have not been able to show their connection and explain the principles of their Unity, and all of them bear upon and illustrate each other by analogy; they are all, therefore, so many lights to guide the student in his researches, and aid him in acquiring a knowledge of the "Law of the Series." We can-

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of the Passions is the MASTER SCIENCE and is the key to universal truth.—They enfold the Mysteries of Nature and of Revelation, of God and the Universe, and thus open the Book of Knowledge, so far as the mind of man in this "Mundane World" is capable of comprehending. There is no divine truth out of the Passions, that is, that the LAW OF THE PASSIONS does not include and explain. But while the Doctrine of the Passions is of so transcendental a character that it cannot, in the present age of general darkness, be made a subject of popular disquisition, it may be presented in many of its aspects and bearings in a way to engage the deepest interest in the minds of men, and inspire their hearts with the most rapturous conceptions of the Glory of the Creator, and the Dignity and Destiny of Man.

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS.

TO THE READER:

YOUR attention is called to a grand subject—a subject of weighty interest to yourself individually, to your country, and to the whole human race. It is the subject of ASSOCIATIVE UNITY—which is the first step toward the realization of UNIVERSAL UNITY—that high ground, or moral eminence, symbolized in the oracles of God by a "MOUNTAIN"—and which has been, and still is, the ardent aspiration and inspiration of every true-hearted man and woman, in every age and nation, since the decline and "fall" of our race from its pristine state of Eden.

But, let us retire, for a few moments, to a quiet place, where, undisturbed by the noise and care of business, we may contemplate our theme, and gain some evidence of the near approach of this Kingdom of Peace—this reign of UNIVERSAL UNITY.

Here, from this retirement, let us elevate our views, and look abroad over the face of "civilized" society, and witness its actual condition. Alas! there is no Unity there! All is confusion, strife and discord; competition, jealous rivalry, mad ambition, mingled with cruelty, oppression, hatred, fraud, violence and murder—and, ever and anon, the most furious outbreaks of multitudes of the people, ending in dreadful slaughter and carnage! But, see that ye be not disturbed; for these are but "the beginning of sorrows;" they are merely *effects*—the *causes* of which we shall see presently. We shall see that they are but the bitter fruits of subverted passions, which, influenced by the too close contact of gross earthly matters, have been drawn aside from the great central and regulating point of the soul's attraction—the LAW OF LOVE.

Now, leaving, for a time, the tumultuous disorders of that lower outward world, let us pay attention to the things of this higher world within us. Let us examine well the true aspirations of the human soul, and see whither they tend, when merely local attractions (physical wants and necessities) are removed at a distance. Let us see whether they do not tend to Universal Unity—Unity with God, with Man, and with Nature—as truly as does the undisturbed magnetic needle direct itself toward the pole. And, having seen this to be the truth, all that false philosophy which has so long and so strangely deluded human reason, will vanish from before the mind, like mists from before the risen sun; and then will appear the absolute necessity of a new Social Order, in which all the faculties of the soul may be brought out and educated to the performance of their proper functions—a thing altogether impossible under existing social arrangements.

CHARLES FOURIER, by forty years of patient and laborious study, has rendered this an easy task for us. He has shown us, that the human soul is ONE IMMORTAL PASSION, ASPIRING TO UNIVERSAL UNITY; and, by the most strict analysis, he has exhibited its elementary parts, dividing it into twelve radical passions, the functions of each of which are accurately defined; so that all who are willing to be taught by him, may have living confirmations of the truth within themselves, that poverty, and suffering, and misery, and, in a word, Disunity, is not the Destiny of Man on Earth. Indeed, the very thought that it is, is impiety and distrust in the Providence of God. It is real Infidelity—a term with which the *whited sepulchres* of the day are very fond of reproaching Associationists, without even attempting to point out the error of their doctrines.

But let us look at these twelve elementary passions of the human soul, and we shall see wonderful things. We shall see that it is only necessary to provide for their free and full development, by the proper adjustment of our Social Relations, to do away entirely and forever with all FORCE, compulsion, constraint or restraint (externally) upon the actions of men; and that Harmony and a true Social Order can never be obtained on any other conditions. It is Fraud and Injustice only that require Force to sustain them. Goodness and Truth neither need nor ask any such aid in the administration of their Just Government.

It is known, that man has a three-fold existence; that he has a Physical, an Intellectual, and a Moral being. But vague and very indefinite is the knowledge which the Schools impart upon these three attributes of the human soul; and, were we left to their guidance and instruction, we should soon fall into the darkness of unbelief as to the very existence of such a thing as the soul. God, in his mercy, has saved us from falling into that horrible pit, by sending us teachers capable of imparting to us rational and true views upon this subject—but whom the Schools, in their pride, reject. Their pride, however, shall be humbled.

The three orders or degrees of man—the Physical, the Intellectual, and the Moral—may also be termed the Natural, the Spiritual, and the Heavenly; and these latter will be seen to be the proper terms to be used, when this Trinity in man is fully understood. It would require much more time and room to fully unfold this part of our subject than can be devoted to it in one paper. Nevertheless, it can be indicated in some sort, and the work must be begun.

FIRST, then, the Natural order or degree of Man, consists of FIVE elementary Passions, which are manifested through the media of the five senses: Taste, Feeling, Smell, Sight, and Hearing. It is the activity of these Passions in true development that forms the lowest of the three Unities—the Unity of Man with Nature or the Material Universe. They require for their satisfaction, food, clothing and comfortable shelter, wholesome air to smell and breathe, agreeable varieties of form and color for the sight, and pleasant sounds for the sense of hearing. These are the motive powers that incline man to Industry; and it is their promptings that give birth to all the creations of Art. But the exercise of these Passions, without the true action of the higher orders, leaves man a mere animal, in whom nothing truly Human is manifested or brought forth.

SECONDLY, there is the Social or Spiritual degree of Passions, which forms the Second Unity—the Unity of Man with Man. They are Spiritual Passions, because man is spirit, an image of the One Great Spirit, who is God. But oh! how sadly marred is the fair face of these Passions in their present state of derangement and subversion, with scarcely a trace left of their Divine original, owing to the wretched provision which Society furnishes for their development! Association, however, is destined to do the work which Civilization fails to perform. Yes, it is in Association alone, that these holy Passions can come forth, and flourish, and shine in all their God-like glory, to re-

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not do them a greater favor at the present moment, perhaps, than to suggest to those inquiring minds among our readers, who desire to solve and understand the highest questions of Social Science, the necessity of some previous scientific attainments, and to advise them to prepare for future usefulness in this sphere, by an acquisition of some of the positive sciences. First in importance, perhaps, because it has been more thoroughly explored and brought to light, is the Science of Music; but Mathematics generally, Arithmetic, Geometry and Algebra, are more or less indispensable; and Optics, Accoustics, Anatomy and other sciences and natural knowledge, are valuable and almost necessary acquirements for the student of Passional Harmony, or the Doctrine of the Passions.

We have made these observations to indicate the profound nature of the subject of the Passions, and the insufficiency of partial explanation; and what we say applies as well to our own writings as those of others. We take this occasion to say that all that appears upon these high questions should be put forth and esteemed rather as individual speculations than *absolute truth*, whether in the Phalanx or any other publication, until sanctioned by competent authority, which can only be vested in a body duly representing the School of Social Science. Any other course than this would be a violation of the principle of Unity, by which, in all things concerning doctrine or universal policy, we should, as Associationists, be governed constantly. With this view, that is, for the purpose of establishing principles and deciding upon doctrinal questions, was the Annual Convention of Associationists instituted, first formed as the centre of movement of the United States, from which the light should emanate, but soon, as we hope, to be superseded by, or rendered subordinate to, a still higher authority, representing both hemispheres, or all the world. Positive affirmations of doctrine should emanate only from such a source, and everything coming from other quarters, not having the sanction of the school, should rest on individual responsibility alone.

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deem, and bless, and beautify, and brighten into smiles of love and joy the Poor—the oppressed, the miserable sufferers of the Earth. These Passions are four in number, and may be denominated, 1. Friendship, 2, Love, 3. Paternity or Family Affection, 4. Corporate or General Sympathy. Their functions may be thus briefly defined: The offices of Friendship are made up in general of generous dealings, under a strict adherence to sincerity, integrity and truth. Those of Love, consist of mildness and an unceasing, disinterested devotion to the good of the object. Those of Paternity, in instructing, and educating, and guiding the young and inexperienced mind with care and tenderness. Those of General Sympathy, in awarding a proper respect and deference to all with whom we are in any way connected, according to the respective merits of each. These are the Social or Spiritual Passions, which, when brought into their true action, under the influences and regulations of the Combined Order in Associative Unity, will render Society a Heaven upon Earth. All the arrangements of that Order are adapted to the fullest and freest expansion of those noble Passions.

THIRDLY, there are the Heavenly Passions, which form the Unity of Man with God, and complete the Universal Unity. There are three of these, which may be denominated, 1. Love of the Marvellous; 2. Love of Alternation or change from one pursuit or subject to another; 3 Love or Order and Progress. The love of the Marvellous, is a Passion which finds heavenly attraction in the discovery of the mysterious workings of the Creator, through revelations of His Word and Works, which are Spiritual and Natural Laws; and in the perception of all things of the Sublime and the Beautiful. It is sometimes called enthusiasm; but this is merely an effect of its activity. When rightly developed, it is invariably accompanied with humility, and gives the marvellous sensation of the highest exaltation of soul united with the most profound humility of feeling; and its language is that of Divine inspiration: "I will praise Thee, for I am fearfully and wonderfully made: marvellous are thy works; and that my soul knoweth right well." (Ps. 139.) It causes the soul to rejoice and exult in the displays of the Creator's wisdom and beneficence, while at the same time the spirit is chastened by a reverential fear lest it should offend so great mercy and love. It is essentially a heavenly Passion. The Love of Alternation is also a source of heavenly delight; because it would be fatal to the blessedness of either man or angel, if he were too long detained in one state of mind. The most exalted joys would soon become monotonous, and lose all their powers to charm, if they were not varied and alternated from one thing to another; and hence the Love of Alternation is a source of perpetual delight. The Love of Order and Progress, is the most powerful attraction of the soul, which draws it towards God the Creator and Preserver, who is Essential Order. It inspires the soul with a desire for progressive improvement, continually and for ever; and thus preserves it from falling into listless inactivity and indifference, which would be to sink down into the Shades of Death. But this love causes the soul to rejoice in the prospect of an Eternity of active progression and improvement, and to dread nothing more than inactivity and useless life.

These twelve elementary Passions of the human soul, arranged as above, into three distinct Orders, are susceptible also of another classification, in which the whole twelve are arranged into one scale of merely Natural Passions. They may be multiplied, too, by a more minute analysis, so as to present a scale of Faculties far more numerous than those recognized by Phrenology. But we have chosen to present this arrangement of them, (brief and imperfect as it may be,) for the purpose of impressing upon the reader a deep sense of the absolute necessity of a radical and thorough change in our Social Relations, in order that these Divinely organized powers of the human mind may be permitted to come forth, uncontaminated and unperverted, in their native purity; for it is on the preservation of the purity of these Passions, that the happiness of the Individual, the order of Society, the stability of Civil Government, yea, the very Heavens themselves entirely depend!

Will any man in his senses say, that Society, as it now exists, is favorable to the growth and right development of the higher and purer faculties of the soul? Surely, there are none. Then we ask your calm and careful attention to the Science of ATTRACTIVE INDUSTRY and SOCIAL UNITY, as given to the world through the instrumentality of CHARLES FOURIER, who, it is confidently believed, has sought and found the true, the Divine Order of Society, which, when adopted, will unite all interests, and be the means of banishing discord, duplicity, ignorance, vice and crime from the Earth; and this, by giving free action to ALL the heavenly powers of the mind. Do we not know, that man is created to be a temple of the living God? Is it at all surprising, that the observance of the laws of strict Justice in our Social Relations should beget Love one for another? Who does not know that this is the case; and also that hatred is generated in the mind of him who acts unjustly towards the victim of his injustice?

But we must close these remarks, with the confident assurance, that so long as Society remains as it is, without a fixed Standard of Justice, in the relations between the three producing powers, of Labor, Capital, and Talent—so long must its disorders continue, and increase to an extent so frightful, that they cannot be contemplated. Scenes like those recently enacted in Philadelphia, must be looked for in other quarters—yes, in every quarter; because the *causes* of ANTAGONISM are active in every department of Society, from the Church to the Brothel! Let us then be wise in time. Let us arise, and flee to the "Mountain"—that is, unite in Association, to do perfect justice to our neighbors as to ourselves; for this is "the Law and the Prophets."

THE EDITOR.

☞ We cheerfully comply with the request to publish the following Call for a Convention, to be held at the NORTHAMPTON ASSOCIATION; and we trust the response will be such as to enable our worthy friends of that institution to consummate their wishes. It affords us great pleasure to learn that the manful battling of earnest spirits, with the adverse circumstances naturally attendant upon all such undertakings at the outset, and which we know have been particularly severe in the present case, has been so far successful as to place them in a position of confident hope for the future:

TO THE FRIENDS OF A RE-ORGANIZATION OF SOCIETY THAT SHALL SUBSTITUTE FRATERNAL CO-OPERATION FOR ANTAGONISTIC SELFISHNESS; A RELIGIOUS CONSECRATION OF LIFE AND LABOR, SOUL AND BODY, TIME AND ETERNITY, IN HARMONY WITH THE LAWS OF GOD AND OF LIFE, INSTEAD OF FRAGMENTARY, SPASMODIC PIETY.

THE NORTHAMPTON ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATION AND INDUSTRY, having struggled through many obstacles incident to novel enterprises and especially to those that are opposed to ancient prejudices, feel themselves now on the threshold of earnest progress. Although they have heretofore been somewhat embarrassed by a debt of some magnitude, yet they have the satisfaction of being able to announce that by recent subscriptions to their capital, and valuable accessions to their resources in other respects, they find themselves placed in a position more favorable than ever before for pecuniary success. A thoroughly organized system of labor has recently been introduced, which has given a great degree of efficiency to their industrial operations, and cannot fail of being attended with the most favorable results. Indeed, such is their present condition—so encouraging—so full of hope—that they feel an unwavering *assurance of success;* and in inviting others to unite with them, and to share with them in their enjoyments as well as in their labors, they feel confident that they are not inviting them to participate in a hazardous or doubtful experiment. They wish, without further delay, to make provision for extending their operations and increasing their numbers to something like their ultimate limits. With their present accommodations for dwellings, they can receive but few persons more. They must have a building for that purpose; and they wish now to make such definite arrangements as will enable them to commence immediately the erection of a commodious edifice, which they hope to see completed and occupied by a hundred families before two years more shall have passed away. For this purpose, and to receive suggestions from their friends in reference to the improvement and perfection of their plan, and to consult with them on all subjects connected with their enterprise, they propose holding a CONVENTION, AT THEIR ASSOCIATE HOME, ON SATURDAY, THE 31ST OF AUGUST NEXT. To this Convention, they earnestly invite those who wish to know more of their principles and undertaking, those who wish to take part in it, and those who would aid them with their counsel, to spend as much time as may be found profitable in discussing principles and plans, and in devising ways and means to have them realized; that so a home for humanity, worthy of her high aspirations, may be speedily completed.

They desire the aid and counsel of the friends of Progress of all classes. Especially do they desire the co-operation of intelligent and industrious mechanics and farmers with moderate capital, but with spirits and energies ardent and resolute for the redemption of the race from *all servitude* to the perfect liberty of obedience to the laws of God.

Although their accommodations are limited, yet they can provide lodgings for a

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considerable number of their friends on the above occasion. If the number should be greater than can be thus taken care of, good accommodations can be procured by such as desire them, at the public houses in the town of Northampton, only two miles distant.

By direction of the Executive Council of Northampton Association of Education and Industry.

DAVID MACK, *Sec'y.*

Broughton Meadows,
Northampton, Mass., July 19th, 1844.

STARVATION NOT UNAVOIDABLE.

BY AMASA WALKER, ESQ.

From the Christian Citizen.

TALK with an Englishman of the suffering and starvation of his countrymen, and if he admits the fact that such do exist, as he generally will, unless he be a high Tory, he will nevertheless, in the next breath, assure you, with a great deal of emphasis, and not a little complacency, that "all this is unavoidable." The population is so dense, there is so little land, and so many mouths, that it must be so. He will proceed to congratulate the American, that in his own country there is a plenty of land, and consequently of bread. Having said this, his conscience is satisfied, and he acquiesces very coolly in that necessity which he has told you is the cause of all his countrymen suffer. He sees nothing wrong; and, although there are many things to regret, yet they are unavoidable, and cannot be helped, being the misfortune, not the fault of England.

Such is the reply, and now is it true? Is it in any degree true? That is the question. We answer then, that however plausible the assertion is, there is no truth in it. It is not the fact that the people of England do not every year produce enough in value to furnish all the inhabitants of the country with bread, clothing, education, and all the comforts of civilized life. True it is, England does not produce food enough to give a full supply to her population; but does she not produce enough value every year to supply all the wants of her population? Unquestionably she does. If the value created every year, were every year fairly distributed, giving to labor and capital their respective shares, there would be no more want, no more suffering in England than in the United States. England can raise corn as cheap as Ohio, but by a different process. England can produce corn in the workshop as cheap as America can on the prairie; and if there was a perfect free trade, as there should be, and as there always would have been but for the English corn laws, she would no more suffer for food than we do. The difficulty is not that the English as a people are *poor*; no, far from it—but it is not rightly distributed. All the difficulty is in distribution and not in production.

The country may be said to groan under its load of wealth, and yet half of the nation are starving! What a solecism! Capital is lavished with a degree of extravagance unparalleled in any part of the world, on all useful or useless undertakings; on Railroads, Thames Tunnels, &c., and yet millions upon millions of laborers suffer for want of comfottable habitations as well as daily bread!

A greater delusion never existed than that there is any natural necessity for all the misery and privation endured in England. There is no such thing and nothing like it. This seems to us Americans something almost inexplicable. We can hardly conceive by what legerdemain of legislation and government in church and state, all this could be so effectually brought about, yet it is done; and if we would patiently study British institutions, and thread the labyrinth of fraud and injustice which class legislation has framed for that unhappy country—if we would trace the bearings of its almost innumerable monopolies, and discover the true and ultimate bearing of them all, we should see, that it is to these, *to her institutions*, and not to her limited territory, that England should trace all her miseries. The delusion of which we speak is not an innocent one. It is a great practical evil, inasmuch as it paralyzes all effort to remove the true cause; it is forever putting men upon the wrong track. It is the trick of the aristocracy to keep the people from looking to the true source of their misfortunes. But, thank God, numbers begin to look at the matter aright. The spirit of inquiry and reform is aroused and will never sleep. The anti-corn law and other kindred movements are opening the eyes of the people to their true condition, and making them acquainted with their real oppressors. The mask is being stripped off, and the monster will be at last exposed to the full gaze and detestation of the people of England and the world, and it will then be found that there is none too dense a population in England to get a plenty of bread, even were the present population doubled.

And this is a matter in which Americans are not uninterested. Not only as philanthropists, who are bound to regard the world as their country, and all mankind as their brethren, but as citizens of this republic we are deeply concerned in the great question whether Man has a right to the fruits of his own toil; whether he shall enjoy the privilege of selling his products in the dearest markets and buy his commodities in the cheapest market he can find. The same false principles are propagated in this country, and but too generally received, which have brought England to her present state of misery and starvation. We do not intend to moot the great question of commercial freedom, but say this much, that those who read may reflect on this deeply interesting subject, and argue the point in their own breasts. In New England, at least, we generally maintain that no man or body of men have a right to rob a human being of *all* the fruits of his toil, and may it not be a fair question whether government has any right to rob him of *any part* of his own earning, under any pretext whatever?

REMARKS BY THE PHALANX.

There is much of truth buried, not brought forth, in the preceding essay; that is, there are many sound principles started, but they are again covered up and lost in the desert of "civilized" policy. You must look beyond civilized incoherency to Associative Unity, in order to understand the principles of Free Trade. It is all obscurity and uncertainty short of that.

We publish the remarks for the tone they possess, and the main idea they would illustrate. It is very true that nations need not *starve*, and the prevalent idea fostered by the false theories of political economists, such as Malthus and others, that POVERTY is unavoidable in human societies, is as impious as it is absurd It is unavoidable only in the eyes of short-sighted fools, who cannot see out of the infernal confusion of civilization, and are destitute of all Faith in Divine Providence.

But what is true in a collective sense, in principle, is not true individually, in fact, and thousands starve outright, and many thousands more in "days of lengthened misery" starve by slow degrees, both at home and abroad. The following scrap, from an English paper, shows with painful force how the attempt is made by individuals to avoid starvation:

HOW TO STARVE.

A new art has arisen in England. Our ingenious people, heretofore so renowned for inventions that have contributed to the power and enjoyment of mankind, have now fallen on a contrivance of a totally different character. They are learning and practising the art of how to starve. It has made rapid progress among them, and the same genius seems to have taught them it at once in different quarters of the country. In Scotland they nail up the windows, or shut out the daylight, in order to keep the children in bed, and keep them quiet, for the parents say they have nothing to give them to eat, and cannot bear to hear their cries. In Yorkshire and Lanchashire they lie a bed for two days together, and pray, we are told, when they lie down, that they may never wake more. They are quite ingenious in their contrivances. They can get water, and they say, which is worth the knowledge of physiologists, that by taking a drink of water, and lying down, they lessen the pangs of hunger. It is in solemn, serious, earnest, that the people of the manufacturing districts, are learning the new art of how to starve.—[Suffolk Chronicle, Eng.

WHITE SLAVERY.

Mr. S. C. Hewitt, of Massachusetts, an ardent friend of Association and the Working Classes, is now upon a lecturing tour in that state, and writes as follows to the Mechanic of Fall River. His communications are made in the form of a Journal, in which he narrates the circumstances that present themselves to his notice, and very interesting and instructive they are too. We hope he will continue to detail all the monstrosities of the present system of industry, as they now really exist in New England, on that soil which we so often hear boasted of as the abode of none but freemen, and of which but too much ignorance prevails beyond the immediate sphere of the victims of oppression and outrageous wrong.

The Mechanic, it will be remembered, is the advocate at Fall River of the "ten hour" system, and Mr. Hewitt is directly engaged in the interest of this cause, which, so far as it tends to alleviate human misery and prepare the way for greater reforms, is a holy cause.

Extracts from Mr. Hewitt's Journal:

AN INCIDENT.—As an illustration of the

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curse of the long hour system of hard and incessant toil, Mr. Parker related the circumstance of his having called, that afternoon, on a family, most of whose members worked in the mills—those social hells of the present system of labor—where he had an opportunity to perceive the killing effects of such labor. Those operatives, compelled to toil through the long hours of Summer, in the pent up and impure atmosphere of the factory, having no time for relaxation and rest, were wasting away the living energies of the physical structure, and sowing the seeds of premature decay and death! One young lady, in particular, he remarked, told him that so hard and severe was her toil from day to day, that she had scarcely strength enough left at night—to drag herself from the mill to her residence; or ambition sufficient to do what she felt necessary to be done, aside from her daily task. O! when will reformers *reform* themselves sufficiently to perceive the more direct and general causes of the evils they are endeavoring to remove! When this is done, we may hope their efforts at reform will be somewhat effective, but not till then.

Forty Children in Slavery in Providence.—I am told on good authority, that one of the Screw Factories here employs about forty children between the ages of *six* and *ten* through the long hours of the day, giving them no time to *live!* Here they are compelled to grow up *dwarfs* in body and dwarfs in mind. Is not this slavery? They may not be *goods* and *chattels* personally, *nominally*, but are they not so *really?* Slavery exists *nearer home* than many are in the habit of imagining. Methinks this *screw* factory is rightly named, for there the very *life* and *energy* of those designed for *living* beings, are really screwed out of them. These children are mostly Irish, and I am told, the fact of their oppression having come to the ear of the Catholic priest, he advised the parents to take their children away as soon as they could possibly find other and more comfortable situations for them. The priest has some *soul!* which certainly cannot be said of all who profess to be christians.

MECHANICS' NEW ENGLAND CONVENTION.

It will be seen by the following minutes of a meeting of the Mechanics' Association at Fall River, Mass., who lately issued a Circular recommending a general Convention of the Mechanics of New England, that in pursuance thereof the time and place of holding the Convention has been decided on. We should like very much to attend this gathering of the sons of honest toil, who burn with impatience to cast off the yoke which oppresses them, and if possible, will do so; but if we cannot, our friends in Boston and the vicinity can be there, and we hope they will be, as we are sure their counsel will be advantageous and their presence encouraging.

FROM THE MECHANIC.

The following resolutions, in relation to the Mechanics' New England Convention, were then offered, and after some remarks illustrating the fitness of the time and place named, unanimously adopted:

Whereas, the late agitation on the subject of *human rights* throughout most of the Northern States, and especially in New England, and the very general expression of a desire that a *Convention* may soon be held for the purpose of taking into consideration the best means of securing to the working man the inherent rights of his nature, without infringing in the least upon the same rights of the employer; and whereas, the eastern section of the New England States, in and around Boston, seems at present to be the centre of interest on this subject, therefore,

Resolved, That we decidedly recommend to all concerned, the City of Boston as the most proper place for holding the said convention, for the following among many reasons.

1. As before stated in effect, it is the most *central* for the majority that would most probably attend.

2. It has as great, if not greater, facilities for travelling.

3 The Mechanics' Fair is soon to be held there, which will most probably bring many to the convention who would not otherwise attend, provided that the latter is held at or about the same time as the former.

4. Boston is called the "city of Notions," and we have a *notion* of adding one of the *best notions* to its list, even the notion of a *Working Man's Convention.*

Whereas, the Mechanics' Fair is to be held in Boston in September next, and as that season of the year in all respects seems better adapted to the meeting of the proposed Convention than any other time previous, therefore,

Resolved, That we also recommend to all interested, the *time* above suggested as that most proper to hold the said Convention.

THE TRUMBULL PHALANX.

To the Editor of the Cleveland Plaindealer:

This Association is located in the Northwest part of the township of Braceville, Trumbull county, Ohio, eight miles from Warren, and five from Newton Falls, the nearest point on the Canal. The number of acres is between 1,500 and 2,000, but neither this, nor the amount of capital can be ascertained, for farms, money, and other property are put in from day to day. The present advantages are: water power sufficient for all necessary purposes, a grist mill, with two run of stones, saw mill, oil mill, carding machine, clothing works, and some other powers. Horses, oxen, cows, wagons and farming utensils are abundant.

The number of persons belonging to the Phalanx, is about 200; some reside on the domain proper, others on more distant farms belonging to the Phalanx. Indeed as regards room, they are much crowded, residing in loose sheds, nevertheless, on no consideration would they exchange present relations for former ones. More convenient residences are to be erected forthwith, but it is not contemplated to erect the Phalanstery, or final edifice, for a year or so, or, until they are possessed of sufficient means. Then the magnificent palace of the Combined Order will equally shame the temples of antiquity and the card-houses of modern days.

For the present year, hard work and few of the attractions of Association are expected. Almost every thing is unfitted for the use of Associations, being too insignificant, or characteristic of present society; made to sell rather than to use. Mechanics for the most part labor harder to convince the world that they are good workmen than would suffice to make them such. The members of the Trumbull Phalanx, knowing how to work truly, and fully understanding that it is a gigantic labor to overturn the despair which has been accumulating so long in men's bosoms, have nerved themselves manfully, showing the true dignity of human nature.

Labor is partially organized by the instituting of groups, and to much advantage.—Boys who were idle and unproductive have become producers, and a very fine garden is the work of their hands. They are under the charge of a proper person who permits them to choose their foreman from among themselves, and at certain hours, in grounds laid out for the purpose, to engage in sports. Even the men themselves, at the close of the work, find agreeable and salutary exercise in a game of ball. Some going to school, earn six or seven shillings a week, and where they work in the brickyard from three to four shillings a day. These sums are not final wages but *permits*, for when a dividend is declared there will be an additional remuneration.

On the Sabbath I attended their Social meeting, in which those of all persuasions participated. The liberal views and kindly feelings manifested by the various speakers were such as I never heard before. They spoke of the near relations they sustained to each other, and of the many blessings they looked to receive in the future, meanwhile, the present Unity gave them an idea of Heaven. One spirit of joy and gladness seemed to animate them, viz: that they had escaped from the wants, cares, and temptations of civilization, and instead were placed where public good is the same as individual good, hence, nothing save pre-conceived prejudices, fast giving away, prevent their loving their neighbors as themselves. This is the spirit of Christianity. Their position, then, calls for union; no good can arise from divers sects, no good ever did arise, and they will all unite, Presbyterians, Disciples, Baptists, Methodists, and all, and if any name be needed, under that of *Unionism*. After meeting, the Sacrament was administered, then followed a Bible class, and singing exercises closed the day.

Those not accustomed to view the progress of combined labors will be astonished to see aggregates. A vast brickkiln is raised in a short time, a touch plants a field of corn, and a few weeks turns a forest into a farm. Only a few of such results can be seen now, but enough has been done at this Phalanx since last Spring, to give one an idea of the vast results which will arise in the days of the New Industrial World.—Seating myself in the venerable orchard, with the temporary dwellings on the opposite side, the joiners at their benches, in their open shop under the green boughs, and hearing on every side the sound of industry, the roll of wheels in the mills and merry voices, I could not help exclaiming mentally: Indeed my eyes see men making haste to free the slave of all names, nations and tongues, and my ears hear them driving, thick and fast, nails into the coffin of Despotism. I can but look on the establishment of this Phalanx as a step of as much importance as any which secured our Political independence. And so much greater is it than that which gained the Magna Charta, the foundation of English liberty, that I am forcibly led to conclude that when Man shall have been regenerated physical-

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ly and intellectually, then are other steps to be taken, equally great in the progress of Human Destiny.

But as yet, there is nothing clearly demonstrated save by faith. That which remains to be seen is, whether families can be made to associate in peace, enjoying the profits as well as pleasures arising from public tables, granaries, store-houses, libraries, schools, gardens, walks and fountains, or, briefer, whether a man will be willing that he and his neighbor should be happy together. Are men forever to be such consumate fools as to neglect even the colossal profits of Association? Am I to be astonished by hearing sensible men declare that because mankind have been the victims of false relations, that these things are impracticable? No, no. We have been shown by the Columbus of the New Industrial World how to solve the problem of the egg, and a few caravels have adventured across the unknown ocean, and are now at the dawn of a new day, drawing nigh unto strange shores, covered with green, and loading the breeze with the fragrance of unseen flowers.

NATHAN C. MEEKER.

From the Philadelphia Ledger.

CAPITAL AND LABOR.

This subject has long engrossed the attention of a certain class of writers, called political economists: and the object of the majority among them has been to show, not how the greatest degree of human happiness can be most extensively diffused, but how the majority of human beings, used as money-making machines, can contribute most effectually to *national power and glory*. Most of them belong to the English school; and those of American *production* have generally followed this school very faithfully in principles, though dissenting from it in details. We must remember that the English school is founded upon the present condition of English society, and must not suppose that this condition of society has resulted from any original conformity to the maxims of the schools. Society has not assumed this condition, because governors were educated in this school, and directed society according to its precepts. Society was impelled to this condition by other causes, and the school has been founded to justify and perpetuate this condition. The school did not make the rulers; the rulers have made the school. The present condition of England originated in the feudal system which divided the land among a few, the owners of both soil and produce, and left its cultivation to the many, upon rewards prescribed by the owners. Upon this system of aristocracy has been founded and regulated every department of business in that country. The feudal lord owned land and produce, and the cultivator, *producer, creator*, of this produce, produced it for *wages;* for a portion which left him to be fed, clothed, lodged and instructed in modes far below the condition of the owner. Upon this system of ownership by a few and production by the many, originated the commerce of the middle ages; the merchant and the ship owner being a lord, taking nearly all the produce of labor, and the clerk, the carter, the cooper, the carpenter, the ropemaker, the rigger, the mariner, being vassals whose labor produced all the results, and whose *wages* were a small portion of them. Next we find the manufacturer. Originally the mechanic trades, the business of creation, were conducted by the *owners* of their labor; and though mechanics were not so well paid as merchants, they still received the whole produce of their labor, and sold what they produced to the consumer, without any enhancement of price to the latter in the form of profit to a mere distributor. But eventually the mechanic trades assumed the condition of agriculture and commerce, the distinction between production and ownership, lord and vassal; and now, strictly following the principles of the feudal system, the business of mechanical production is conducted by lords and vassals, *owners and operatives*, the first the few who fare sumptuously upon nearly all the produce, and the second the many who subsist scantily upon a small portion. Thus we see how every department of business, in modern times, has conformed to the feudal system, founded in conquest and in wrong, which established a distinction between the owner and the producer, and exalted the first upon the degradation of the second.

To those who would trace the present condition of society to this feudal source, we recommend an examination of the English statutes of the middle ages for the regulation of *labor* on lands and in towns. The prices of agricultural labor, and the condition, even the dress of the laborers, were prescribed by justices of the peace, overseers of the poor, and other authorities, and all for the benefit of the landholder. The merchants, the commercial barons of the towns, following the example set by the landed barons of the country, assumed the same authority and practiced the same tyranny. Next followed the mechanics, who established that system of tyranny, the laws of apprenticeship; a system under which a human being must learn a trade, which may occupy two years, and then give the proceeds of his labor to the employer for five years more, in payment for subsistence, costing, perhaps, one fourth of the proceeds of his labor. To the same source we may trace the English laws for the government of mariners—laws which regard them merely as beasts of burden, to be beaten and starved, and worked to death as soon as possible. Many of these statutes for the regulation of laborers, mechanics, apprentices, mariners, &c., are curiosities in modern times, through the minute details of dress, diet, lodging, hours of labors, and compensation and *punishment* to which they descend.

Most of the feudal tenures have been abolished. But their fruits, the distinction between the laborer and the owner of his labor, the degradation of the former and the exaltation of the latter, remain in all their original force, and produce, through certain additional causes of modern origin, results even more deplorable, outrages upon humanity more cruel than in the first days of their institution. The principal of these modern causes is *paper money*, the "credit system;" a system which, by an accumulation of moneys in the hands of the few, who already own the many, enables the few to tyrranize more extensively, more thoroughly. Banks, the contrivance of commercial barons, have always been used by the few to control the labor of the many. And they never can be used for any other purpose. Bankers lend only to the wealthy, for the poor can furnish no security for borrowing; and the wealthy borrow merely to control, to *own* more extensively the labor of the poor. Why should the agricultural laborer borrow? He owns no land, and cannot *buy* strength or intelligence to cultivate a crop. But the land owner can borrow, for he can buy more land for the laborer to cultivate for the *subsistence* of himself and the *profit* of the owner. For the same reason a journeyman mechanic will not borrow, while his employer, the *manufacturer*, the capitalist, *will*. So the mariner will not borrow; but the owner, whose cargo he transports for almost nothing, *will*. And so throughout every ramification of society, banking, paper money, are devices for the benefit of those who already own comparatively too much, and devices enabling them to control still further those who own comparatively too little.

Here, then, is the feudal system still, in all its force, sustained by the united efforts of the few, and fortified by the opinions of *ancient*, and the contrivances of *modern* times; and upon the condition of society thus produced, has been founded the modern school of political economy, a school devised to justify and perpetuate this very condition. This school teaches that *capital* cannot be too much accumulated, that *wages* cannot be too much reduced, if the laborer be not starved beyond the power of production. All its precepts, all its recommendations, are for the benefit of capital; and it treats labor, not as something endowed by God with the right to comfort, to happiness equal to that of the capitalist, but as an *expense* incidental to capital, which the capitalist cannot avoid entirely, but should *reduce* as much as possible. The land owner, in calculating the profits of the crops which he has *not* produced, deducts the expense of *laborers, cattle* and *implements*, regarding all as *chattels*. The manufacturer, in calculating the profit upon a thousand bales of cloths, deducts the expense of his *operatives* and machinery regarding both as mere instruments.

And this condition of society, we are told by these political economists, promotes national strength and glory. How? It furnishes soldiers for armies and sailors for fleets; it promotes concentration of power in the hands of politicians, and sends them to seek new quarrels and subdue distant communities, in search of means to sustain the system. Through injustice, blood and devastation, the *market* in China is opened. For whose benefit? For that of the *capitalist*, the manufacturer, the merchant, the politician who kindly condescends to govern the world. But where is the reward to labor? It drudges and starves for *wages*, just as it did before.

[And is it not evident that the only remedy is Association, which will *unite* the interests of Labor and Capital, whether wielded by land-baron, merchant or banker? —Eds. P.]

TRANSLATIONS OF FOURIER'S WORKS.

THE SOUTHWESTERN FARMER, published at Raymond, Mississippi, like a great many ardent friends of our cause, is anxious to learn something about the translation of Fourier's Works, and for the satisfaction of all we shall explain. The Farmer says:

Will the editors of the Phalanx inform us whether the *Treatise on Domestic and Agricultural Association*, by Fourier, has yet been translated in a separate form; and if so, its price. We again urge the importance of supplying this part of the country

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with the different works on the great science of Universal Unity. We feel more and more persuaded of its truth—and we wish our belief to be Universal. What we wish to be, *we believe will be;* but the people must have light. The millennium, we believe, will be; but not by miracle. *Believers* must offer themselves up as instruments, in ushering in that day—"living sacrifices" they must become—willing to spend and be spent—to endure hardships--to suffer anything, so that dark ignorance be dispelled, and mental and moral light be shed abroad.

We have long wished to see schools established in every neighborhood in Mississippi. The thing is utterly impracticable under the present system. Let the scheme of Fourier—nay, we will not give Fourier the credit for it, for he does not claim the paternity of it—we rather say, the system which Christ Himself enjoined upon mankind, but which even the Christian churches do not embrace in all its spirituality and power—let that system, we say—the Christian system of Industry and Economy—prevail; and then will a school be brought to the door of every family. Then, and not till then, will knowledge fill our land, "as the waters cover the sea."

None of the Works of Fourier have been translated and published in a complete form, and very few, if any, perfect translations, have appeared in English besides those which have been published in the Phalanx. But we have long felt the necessity of providing for a growing want in this respect, and preparations have been made to meet it as early as circumstances will permit. In presenting Fourier's Works complete rendered into English to the public, we are conscious of assuming a deep responsibility, and on this ground, if there were no other, the utmost prudence and deliberation are imposed upon us. His writings are not of an ordinary nature, to be translated in an offhand or capricious manner; they are venerable, and much of them invested with a sacred character, demanding the *united consideration* of several minds to render and present the sense and living spirit breathing through them fully. Therefore, great pains attend their preparation. A good translator is now, and has been for some time past, constantly engaged in their translation, and a large portion of them is now in English manuscript; but before being published they will be revised here, and sent to Paris to undergo revision by Hugh Doherty, Albert Brisbane, Victor Considerant, and other eminent disciples of Fourier, in order to ensure the most perfect and correct translation. This will not probably be accomplished during the present year; but as soon as it can be, and other matters connected with the publication are properly arranged, the works will be put to press, and issued in parts, as rapidly as is practicable or judicious. The published Works of Fourier are quite voluminous, comprising five or six large volumes, and the undertaking, consequently, is not a trifling one, viewed merely in the light of a business operation, but is attended with some risk and considerable outlay.

But we would inform our readers that there are several excellent publications in English, on the doctrines of Association and Social Science, which will be found enumerated in an advertisement headed Associationists' Library; (which has been published in the Phalanx, and will probably be in this number,) and the Works of Fourier complete, as there mentioned, in French, may be obtained, as stated, of the Editors of this paper, or of J. S. Redfield, Bookseller, at the lowest prices for which they can be afforded; and also other valuable works in French, by the disciples of Fourier.

We would inform our friends of the Southwestern Farmer, that we will endeavor shortly to cause the news-agents at Natchez and Vicksburg to be furnished with a supply of the publications on Association.

THE LOUISVILLE JOURNAL, famous for its wit, as well as distinguished for its general ability, contains, in a recent number, a very liberal and favorable notice of the cause of Association. After indicating the progress and present condition and character of the movement, by various extracts from our own and other papers, the Journal remarks:

The Associationists all seem to have a high appreciation of agriculture, as a science as well as an art, and, in most instances, have gone upon their domains with the avowed determination to make agriculture their chief avocation, and to pursue it upon approved scientific principles. In fact, there can be nothing in the way of their carrying agriculture to its utmost perfection in this country, unless, as is feared by many, their associations are soon broken up by discord. They have, in most instances, scientific men among them, who, as teachers, officers, and practical operators, will be likely to exert a salutary influence. They profess to make education a prominent object with them, and promise to all the children educational advantages not inferior to those of a university. They will of course then be supplied with the most complete libraries and apparatus, and, as all the youth among them labor a portion of each day, there will be little danger that their science will not be rendered subservient to agriculture, which will be their principle means of subsistence and wealth Besides, we believe they all have mills, in most instances propelled by water power, which will enable them at small expense to irrigate their domains, and propel various kinds of agricultural machinery with which they can easily be supplied by their own mechanics. We perceive that they are commencing with attempts to supply themselves with the best of animals and fruits, and the most approved of farming utensils.

NORTH AMERICAN PHALANX,

Monmouth Co. N. J. (Address Leedsville, P. O.) 35 miles from New York, via steamboat ORUS, from Fulton Market to Red Bank daily during the summer. Mr. EDWARD GILES is the accredited Agent of the Phalanx in New York, and may be consulted on its business from 3 1-2 to 6 o'clock P. M. at his residence, No. 122 Walker-st.

THE POOR MAN TO HIS DEAD CHILD.

From Tait's Magazine.

Yes, lie thou there, my little one,
The death dew 's on thy brow,
Thy eyes are closed on flower and sun,
Thy pulse is quiet now.

No more thou'lt ask, my famish'd boy,
For bread with wailing cry,
When I'd have given my flesh with joy,
But bread I could not buy.

Poor child! thy sharp, cold features speak
Of pain, and want, and care;
Oft did the tear drops on thy cheek
Freeze in the biting air.

But colder than the keenest wind,
Were human hearts to thee,
Because, though claiming human kind,
Thy lot was poverty.

The proud ones say, 'tis heaven's award:
They but kind heaven obey,
To keep the gifts of nature barr'd,
From those who cannot pay.

My child, 'tis sadly sweet to think
Thou'lt never hunger more,
Nor gaze with wistful eye, yet shrink
From bread's inviting store.

But, oh! my faded flower, for this
Was thy young being given,
To meet with nought but wretchedness,
And frowns from earth and heaven?

Was this the pledge of cradled smile
That spoke the happy dream,
And gave *me*, worn with pain and toil,
Of passing bliss a gleam?

And yet, mayhap, thy fate is bless'd,
And I should rather joy
That thy young heart the woes have miss'd
That wait the poor man's boy.

The cold repulse, the galling sneer,
That drives to theft and shame;
The madd'ning thoughts the soul that sear,
The scorn'd and blighted name.

O, yes; or haply worse than all,
Thou might'st have lived to be
A servile, crouching, flattering thrall
At some wealth-dagon's knee.

Than this, thy eyes I'd rather close
On all thou might'st have seen,
All stricken through with many woes
As thy young heart hath been.

THE SYLVANIA ASSOCIATION.—We are requested to state that the Sylvania Association having become satisfied of its inability to contend successfully against an ungrateful soil and ungenial climate, which, unfortunately, characterize the Domain on which it settled, has determined on a dissolution. Other reasons also influence this step, but these and the fact that the Domain is located in a thinly inhabited region, cut off almost entirely from a market for its surplus productions, are the prominent reasons. A grievous mistake was made by those engaged in this enterprise, in the selection of a Domain, but as a report on the matter is forthcoming, we shall say no more at present.

☞ THE BOSTON INVESTIGATOR, containing a review of our remarks on the late Community Convention held in Boston, comes to us after our paper is made up. We may notice it in our next.

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SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS UNITY.

SOCIAL PROGRESS.—SOCIAL REFORM UPON CONSERVATIVE PRINCIPLES.

THE PHALANX:

ORGAN OF THE

DOCTRINE OF ASSOCIATION.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.

ASSOCIATION, ATTRACTIVE INDUSTRY, UNITY OF INTERESTS.

OUR EVILS ARE SOCIAL, NOT POLITICAL, AND A SOCIAL REFORM ONLY CAN ERADICATE THEM.

J. WINCHESTER, PUBLISHER, 30 ANN-ST. TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM, IN ADVANCE.

VOLUME I. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 24, 1844. NUMBER 17.

THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER ON THE DOCTRINE OF FOURIER.

In a late number of the Phalanx, we gave a criticism of our doctrine from the pages of Brownson's Quarterly Review; we now furnish another criticism from the same part of the country, which we find in the Christian Examiner. Our readers will perceive at once that there is a great difference in the tone and style of these two articles. What the former was they have seen; what the latter is, we shall give them an opportunity of judging, by extracting the greater part of it into our columns. It will be immediately apparent that *this* article emanates from a gentleman and a Christian. We infer from the initial letters affixed to it, that the writer of it is the Rev. James Freeman Clarke, of Boston, one of the most accomplished scholars, just-minded reasoners, and warm-hearted and devoted clergymen that we have the happiness to number among our acquaintances. He has, it must be confessed, given a very inadequate representation of the doctrine of Fourier, but it is not a wilful misrepresentation. He has done the best he could in his present state of knowledge on the subject; he has endeavored to discover the truth which is at the bottom of our movement; and he has done justice to the motives and characters of those who are engaged in the work. In these days of narrow thought and bitter denunciation, when men, pretending to be leaders of public opinion, feel at liberty to malign and denounce opinions, the very simplest elements of which they have not taken the pains to comprehend, it is grateful to meet with a writer who seems really anxious to get at the truth of a matter, who does not deal in wholesale anathemas of what he does not understand, whose bitterness and falsehood does not increase in proportion to his ignorance. We must therefore thank Mr. Clarke for having approached the doctrine of Fourier in a fair, candid and liberal spirit—in that teachable and inquisitive temper in which the genuine disciple of Jesus Christ must approach whatever purports to be noble and good, no matter from what quarter it may come. There is so much prejudice abroad—so much self-conceit and arrogance—so much complacent satisfaction with our own notions, and such sovereign contempt of the notions of others, that it becomes one of the highest duties of the Christian of this age, "to prove all things." It was a profound and beautiful thought of Bacon, that the truths of science, like the Kingdom of Heaven, can only be received by "little children," by those docile and tractable natures which are willing to cast aside every preconception, and to be guided solely by the TRUTH. When, therefore, we see as we have seen, even the sworn teachers of Christianity say that they had no need of examining the principles of Association, because they had an "instinct" against them, we are pained by the bigotry and intolerance which such an assumption betrays—we are shocked at its want of reverence for truth—we deplore the illusions to which it must inevitably lead on more subjects than one. But this we are glad to find is not the spirit of our present reviewer.

We must also thank the Christian Examiner for admitting to its pages an article conceived in such a spirit of candor and fair dealing. It is what we had a right to expect from the professed liberality of the chief organ of the Unitarian Christians. With the theology of that branch of the church of Christ, we do not altogether agree; yet we have always admired the honesty, intelligence, and general love of truth by which it has been characterized. To one of its distinguished ministers, now departed, Dr. Channing, as radically as we differed from him in our conceptions of the nature of Christianity, we are indebted for impressions that have controlled our lives; he was one of the fathers of our spirits, particularly in the sphere of Christian tolerance and forbearance; and we should be sorry, indeed, to find those who believed the creed which he believed, sinking into the mire and filth of mere sectarian exclusiveness and self-sufficiency. But we are detaining our readers from the criticism of the Christian Examiner. The first few pages relate to the life of Fourier, after which the writer proceeds as follows. The figures refer to a few notes we have thought fit to append.

"In 1835 Fourier published part of another work, entitled "False Industry." Before it was completed he died, in the year 1837, sixty-five years of age. He was a thoughtful and a benevolent man. His life appears to have been free from vice, and he devoted himself, with his whole energy, to the study of those plans and methods which he believed necessary for the happiness of humanity.

What then was his object? What did he propose to do? What are the evils in the present social system which need to be corrected, and which make this new organization of society desirable?

Without overlooking or undervaluing the advantages of our present civilization, without joining in any extravagant condemnation of the present social system, no thoughtful person, we suppose, will deny that there are social evils existing among us, for which society, as at present constituted, fails to provide any remedy. Modern civilization, in the old world, has resulted in evils and dangers of the most appalling nature. In England, for example, we have the monstrous paradox of a nation of enormous and growing wealth, a large and increasing portion of which is nevertheless ground under the hardest poverty. We have a nation, which during its continental wars was able to raise easily three or four hundred millions of dollars annually, and yet the greater majority of whose population have scarcely food to eat, or clothes to wear; a nation, whose labor-saving machinery does the work of many millions of men, and yet whose children, scarcely out of the cradle, have to work day and night, kept awake by the whip, and crippled in their tender limbs, by unnatural toil. It is a nation overflowing in wealth, doing the business of the world, yet containing tens of thousands who would gladly labor all day long for food and clothes, and can get no work to do. It is a nation in fine, to use Mr. Carlyle's striking illustration, in which a horse is sure of comfortable support for the work he does, but a man who is willing to work may starve. Surely there is something wrong in this state of things. (1)

The same evil exist, in a less degree indeed, in this country. Then look at other evils—consider the unjust division of profits, the low rates at which female labor is remunerated; consider the specific social evils of intemperance, war, slavery, licentiousness; consider the abuses of trade, of the professions, the evils in church and state. As we remark these things, society seems radically deceased. We are disposed to exclaim, with the Prophet, "The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint." The Prophet did not mean to be taken in the absolute strictness of the letter. Neither do we. There were good things, good customs, good men, good hopes, good efforts, in his day, as well as bad ones. So there are now. But in society we find disease,

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prevailing disease. There is not the color of good and perfect health anywhere. We are none of us quite well. There is a langour in our spirits, a drowsiness in our interests, a coldness in our love, a death in our life. Who has not felt it? Who does not feel it? That there is something wrong in our social condition is abundantly testified by the fact, that there is a selfish coldness and barrenness, a want of interest and joy, in the wisest, and easiest, and most virtuous circles of society. Who is happy? Who is perfectly *at home* in his position, and feels that he wants nothing more? (2)

Granting, then, the existence of social evil, we ask next—what is its cause, and what its cure? To these questions there are different answers given by different classes of reformers. Some of these have been confounded with the answer of the Associationists, but ought, in fairness, to be distinguished from them.

Some reformers say, that *ignorance* is the cause, and *knowledge* will be the cure for social evil. People mean to do right, wish to do right, but they do not understand what right is. They do not know how they ought to live. They wish for light, but cannot get it. They do not know the natural laws of the body and the soul, of nature and man. Knowledge is the cure for social evil.

Now, undoubtedly, ignorance is one [illegible] cause of evil. Men as honorable, and true, and kind as any that live are continually doing wrong and mean things ignorantly. For want of liberal knowledge men are narrow bigoted, persecuting and tyrannical. This is all true, and a great deal more.

But it will not do to say that ignorance is the *only* cause of social evil, for men very often know what is right, but will not do it. It is not knowledge, but *will*, which is often wanted. In all languages and all lands it has passed into a proverb, that

"We know what's right, and we approve it too,
Condemn the wrong, and yet the wrong pursue."

How can any one say that ignorance is the only cause of evil, who sees the simple fact that no one acts up to the light he already has?

Another man says, *government* is the cause of all social evil. Only give us a good government, good laws, a good tariff, a good bank, let our party win the election, and all will go well enough. Government and laws influence society undoubtedly, but not so much as has been thought. The laws are the effect of the conditiou of society, more than its cause. Solon, the lawgiver, being asked long ago whether he had given the Athenians the best possible laws, replied, "*No; but as good as they can bear.*"

All the laws ever made, cannot make a base people noble, a cowardly people brave, an intemperate people temperate. Laws are good on moral subjects, chiefly to restrain the vicious from openly displaying their vice and putting needless temptations in the paths of the innocent. They are not armies, they can make no conquests from the territory of sin; they are rather like fortresses to retain what has already been conquered.

Another man says, the *institution of property* is the cause of all social vice. Have everything in common, and there would be no more covetousness, nor envy, nor greed.

This doctrine of community of property is called *Communism*, and was the doctrine of the St. Simonians. It is also the doctrine of Owen and his followers, in England and America. There are communities in this country established on this basis, but this is not the Fourier doctrine. It ought to be distinctly understood that the Fourierites, in all their arrangements, acknowledge and maintain the right of individual property, and assert in the strongest language that "a community of property is the grave of individual liberty." Property they regard as the outward expression of personal and individual character. Property, they say, is accumulated labor, it is the labor of the past; and if I have a right to the fruits of my present labor, I have a right to the results of my past labors. Fourier regards the idea of property as an indestructible element of human nature, and his object is, not to expel it, but to consecrate it, limit it in its operation, and give it a beneficent direction. (3)

Another class of reformers say, that the *Church* is the cause of all social evil. The Christian Church, they say, as now constituted, opposes all reform, and is the bulwark of all evil institutions. It sanctifies [illegible] the [illegible] on society, [illegible] and expose them. It [illegible] consciences to sleep, and so long as they will believe its creed, and go through with its ceremonies, and pay for its support, it allows them to indulge their selfishness and cruelty toward their fellow-men.

If such language as this has been held by some of the speakers at the Fourier meetings, here and in other places, it is not the language of Fourierism, nor of its authentic teachers. Fourier has no quarrel with the Church. His system gives a place for any and all the churches In the "phalanx" churches of all denominations may find a place, just as they do in our present towns and cities. Fourierism, we repeat, attacks neither Christianity nor the Christian churches. (4)

Let us look, however, for a moment, at this charge now brought against the Church. We would not defend it from any just accusation. The Church is not as good as it ought to be. We know that very well. It is too sectarian, too intolerant, too much bent on securing Orthodoxy, and too careless in securing what a modern writer calls Orthopraxy. It sets right thinking above right living. It tolerates slavery, as it formerly tolerated the slave-trade. The same General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church which gravely decided that a child's dance was a sin, refused to pronounce that slavery was a sin. (5) No wonder that zealous reformers, seeing these things, should declare the Church the bulwark of slavery, and fancy in their haste that it is necessary to overthrow the Church in order to overthrow the social evils which it sanctifies.

Nevertheless, even granting that the Church is the bulwark of slavery, it by no means follows that in order to overthrow slavery, we must overthrow the Church. When the allied armies approached Paris, they found the heights of Montmartre defended by the troops of Marmont. These heights were the bulwark of the city. It could not be taken so long as they were occupied by the French Marshal. But did they therefore try to overthrow them? Did they endeavor to batter down these hills? No, *they took possession of them.* Reformers who believe the Church to be the bulwark of social evils, should endeavor to take possession of it, and not try to batter it down. The Church can never be overthrown. Its roots run deep into the nature of man, its rocky summits rise in indestructible strength, supported by the everlasting needs of the human soul. It cannot be overthrown, but it may be occupied by the forces of liberty, and instead of being the bulwark of despotism, become the fortress and defence of freedom.

To accuse the Church of being the cause of social evil shows extreme prejudice. We have only to travel through the Western States to find towns containing often eighteen hundred inhabitants, where as yet there is neither any church nor any Christian institutions. Yet there is no lack of social evil there. These places are far from being the homes of good-will and honesty. In proportion to the absence of the church is the presence of gaming, drinking, lynch-law and bowie-knives. And let some poor Methodist preacher, a man of ardor and sincere devotion, come into these towns, carrying all his wardrobe in one saddle-bag, and all his library in the other; and after a few months, in which he has preached and prayed and visited, a change becomes apparent to all eyes. Vice retires and hides herself. Riot turns to order, tumult to quietness. Good men come forward and unite together, and the coming of the Church has been the cure, not the cause, of social evil.

The Church is not as good as she might be, but she is infinitely better than the world. We speak generally, of course. There are exceptions, we know. But as a general thing, the Church is in advance of the world, far in advance. The Church is our mother; she is the mother of those who abuse and rail at her, because she does not at once see into the feasibility of their plans and the usefulness of their projects. But they themselves, these bold reformers, drew from her breast the earliest nourishment of their moral nature; in her arms they spelled their first rudiments of goodness; by her hands they have been supported in their first tottering attempts to walk alone in the ways of virtue. She is our mother. To us Unitarians indeed she has been rather a stern one. We are not her favorite children. She almost disowns us, and would shut us out of her family. But it were ingratitude to deny that we owe her much, very much; and let not those who fancy they have outgrown her creed and can improve on her practices, forget that she has helped them to arrive at this stature.

We now come to the Fourier explanation of the cause of social evil. It lies in the structure of society itself. False social arrangements; the individual household; a want of union, harmony, associated action; here lies the root of all our woe. (6) No reform can ever thoroughly succeed while our present social organization continues. At a certain point your Temperance Reform, your Peace Societies, your Benevolent Societies are obliged to stop. They can go no further. But organize society on its true basis, and this one reform will include all others. You will not need a Temperance Society, nor a Peace Society. Association will put an end to slavery, intemperance, war, licentiousness and poverty, all together.

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Man was made for society. He was made for social organization. This is a law of his nature, which cannot be violated with impunity. Humanity is a whole, of which each individual is an organic and necessary part, having a work to do, not for himself alone, but also for the whole. Man therefore has never existed without society, any more than without religion; yet society, like religion, may be more or less perfect. Now it is a remarkable fact, which Fourier noticed, and which lies at the basis of his theory, that *modern civilization has disorganized society.* In the feudal system, society was organized. From the serf to the king, every man had his place, his relation, and his duty toward every other man. In Hindostan, society is organized by four castes. In Egypt, it was organized by seven. In Lacedæmon, an organization having reference entirely to a military education, covered the whole state. All of these systems of organization were defective in their aims and methods, and injurious in their results. But modern society has no system of associated action at all. Every man chooses his own work, and does it in his own way, without helping his neighbor or being helped by him. Each family, in the same way, is isolated. The modern idea of freedom, carried out in religion into an extreme individualism which has broken up the Church, has in like manner, in social life, resulted in an individualism which has broken up social organization. The problem to be solved by the religious reformer is, to restore the Church, and yet retain individual liberty; the problem for the social reformer is, to restore a social organization, preserving in like manner the essential independence of the individual and the family. This problem, the Fourierites believe, is solved in their system. By protecting the right of personal property, and giving to each family its private home in the association, they believe they have preserved freedom, while they have gained union.

To show more plainly the evils flowing out of our present social arrangements, and the way in which Fourierism proposes to correct them, let us look at three points; Division of Labor, Competition in Trade, and the Individual Household

Modern civilization prides itself upon its application of the principle of division of labor. The political economists show how immensely production is increased by it. Yet even these writers admit that it has its evils. A man who is occupied all his life in making the thirtieth part of a pin, is evidently not living as he ought. His mind and soul are narrowed and cramped. His work does not enlarge and ennoble him as it should. This is the most obvious evil of division of labor, and it applies to all pursuits. He who works only with his mind, he who spends his life in writing reviews or essays, is narrowed by that exclusive labor almost as much as the pin-maker by his. We all need a wide and varied experience, a diversified culture. We need to educate, by work, our head, heart and hands. But as society now is, only one part or faculty of our nature is educated. That becomes preternaturally active, and is monstrously developed, like the left leg of a fencing-master, while our other powers wither away. As Mr. Emerson expresses it, in his Phi Beta Kappa oration, "the state of society is one in which the members have suffered amputation from the trunk, and strut about, so many walking monsters,—a good finger, a neck, a stomach, an elbow, but never a man. The priest becomes a form, the attorney a statute-book, the mechanic a machine, the sailor a rope of the ship."

As a consequence of this, also, work becomes uninteresting and odious. After we have become thoroughly familiar with one occupation, and have mastered all its details, we need variety. It is very tiresome to spend one's whole life in doing what can be thoroughly learned in a week's time. The world was made so wide and various, that we might acquire from it a diversified culture.* Change, and progress through change, are evidently the wants of our nature.

Fourier does not give up the principle of division of labor, nor renounce its advantages. It is carried out more thoroughly in association than in our present arrangements. This will be especially the case with female labor. One woman will be engaged in preparing pastry, another in cooking vegetables, another in cooking meat, one in washing fine linen, one in ironing sheets, another muslins. One man will devote himself to the cultivation of stone-fruit, and another to seed-fruit. But while labor is thus distributed into more minute details, the evils of such division are avoided by frequent change from one work to another. Each individual may, in the course of the day, be engaged in from five to thirty different occupations. This will give variety of culture, will break up the monotony of existence, enlarge continually the extent of attainment, and lighten toil. Such diversity of labor would be an advantage even to those whose work, as society is now constituted, is most favorable. How much it would help the physician, lawyer, merchant or clergyman, to work with his hands a part of the day! Mind and body would be both refreshed by it. How much more would be the gain of those who are obliged to spend their whole life in carrying bricks, in digging cellars, in washing clothes, to have this opportunity afforded for diversified and more intellectual employment.

But this diversity of occupation is but one of the modes by which industry is rendered attractive in this system. Another is the plan of *social* labor. No one works alone. All industry is distributed into groups, that is, small bodies of laborers devoted to some particular employment. At every change of employment, the laborer leaves one group and enters another. To this attraction of *society*, that of *emulation* is added. Each member of a group is anxious to excel the others in the quantity and quality of his work, and each group, in like manner, is engaged in emulation with other groups. The evils of emulation are avoided by the continual passage of an individual from one group to another; so that those who were just now his rivals are now his mates. If any of our readers remember the pleasure they enjoyed when they went out with other children to gather berries, and how hard they tried to get the fullest basket, they can imagine the attraction which may be given to industry, by the principle of groups.

Let us now consider the second point—competition in trade. The evils arising from want of organization appear most evidently when we consider this other great principle of modern society,—freedom in the direction of industry. We have adopted the free trade principle in its fullest extent. We say, leave trade and industry to regulate themselves. We say to Government—'*laissez faire*, let us alone. These things will regulate themselves. Labor will go where it is wanted. Let the career be laid open to talent.' Competition will develope energy. Interest will be the safest guide in deciding the direction of industry.'

But is this so? It might be so, provided man was a being of calm calculation only, with no passions to blind his judgment. We make laws to prevent truckmen from beating their horses unmercifully. Why so? It is decidedly the interest of a man not to abuse his horse; why not leave it to that? Because we know that anger and brutish obstinacy are often stronger than interest, and something more is needed to protect the poor beast from ill treatment than the calculating reason of his master. So undoubtedly it is for the interest of the southern planter to treat his slaves well, and not overwork them. But this, we know, does not always protect them from his caprice, violence, and blind love of present gain. Just so as regards industry. Some departments of industry are crowded, and others comparatively neglected. We have for example, in Boston, two or three hundred lawyers. Does any one suppose that these are all needed to do the legal business of that place? A fifth or tenth part of the number would be sufficient. The profession is chosen by young men, not because more lawyers are needed, but because it is a profession attractive to an ambitious spirit. A lawyer is a gentleman, has influence in society, and has the best opportunity for political distinction. But as some two hundred of the number are not wanted, they must be unproductive and unemployed. Yet all must be supported, and live expensively, like gentlemen. Consequently, the little work which they do must be paid for in fees, disproportioned to its actual value, and many of them are compelled by their situations to promote lawsuits, and make themselves business, and it becomes the interest of the whole body to increase, instead of diminishing the expense and the amount of litigation.

The same is true in regard to commercial pursuits. These are also, attractive to the ambitious. They offer the hope of wealth, influence, ease, and a high social standing. Consequently, thousands of young men, who ought to remain in the country and cultivate the ground, enter the cities every year to engage in trade. There is an unnecessary multiplication of those who come between the producer and the consumer, adding nothing to the value of the commodity. It is not too much to say that a quarter of those now engaged in commerce in our cities could do the work which all do. Consequently, the consumer is obliged to support three-quarters of them, who are thus leading an unproductive, if not useless life. A large proportion of those in all kinds of commercial business are sitting idle behind their counters a great part of the day. Where they attend to fifty customers, they might as easily attend to one or two hundred. But as they must be supported, it is necessary for them, somehow or other, to get as much profit out of their fifty customers as they would otherwise do out of more. Hence all the tricks of trade, the thousand deceptions practised upon the ignorance of the purchaser, the arts of puffing, the various devices to attract buy-

* "Dass wir uns in sie zerstreuen
Darum ist die Welt so gross."—Goethe.

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ers, which, when not absolutely dishonest, are at least unworthy and degrading.

Is it in the order of nature that hundreds of young men, in the prime of life and strength, should stand behind the counters doing woman's work? Poor women, who depend on their labor, are obliged to toil half the night at the needle for a miserable compensation, because the situations which they ought to fill, in all kinds of retail business, are taken from them by men who should be ploughing the fields.

On the "let alone" principle, capital will always be able to take advantage of labor, and for this simple reason, that capital *can wait*, labor cannot. At the great fire in New York, forty or fifty dollars were paid for the use of a dray. Capital could not wait then, and therefore it was at the mercy of labor. This was the exception which proves the rule. The rule is, that labor cannot wait, and is therefore at the mercy of capital. When a man must have work to-day, or go without bread for himself and family, he is not in a position to make a fair bargain.

Capital is able also to look about, and take advantage of all the circumstances which will enable it to reduce the wages of labor. The large clothes-dealers in the cities have their agents in the country, who get their work done at the lowest prices. A gentleman told us the other day, that he saw the daughter of a respectable farmer making shirts for eleven cents apiece for one of these dealers. He asked her whether she thought that a sufficient price. "No," said she, "if I were obliged to support myself, I could not do it by this work; but I merely employ time which otherwise I should not use." It had not occurred to her, that she was thus lowering the price paid to those who did depend on their labor for subsistence. But this is only one out of a multitude of examples, to show that the principle of competition does not regulate itself as it ought; that the "let alone" principle does not produce results which are in accordance with truth and justice. The principle of free competition is a good one for the strong, the sagacious, for those who have talent, means, energy; but it gives no chance to the weak, the poor, the friendless. It developes great energy, and produces great results; but it makes one part of society the tools and instruments by which another part may carve out their way to fortune.

Instead of competition, Fourier would substitute co-operation. His system gives to capital, to talent, and to energy, a fair compensation, but it guarantees a just recompense to industry. It puts an end at once to unproductive labor. There will be no more merchants, lawyers, or physicians in an association than are really needed. They will not be tempted to use any of the arts of competition, for they will be recompensed in proportion to the actual value of the work which they do. An immense economy will result from this single source. Moreover, there will be no danger in an association of any one department of labor being crowded, while another is neglected. All industry will be made attractive, none will be considered menial, for each member of a community will take part in such a variety of labor that the usual distinctions arising from occupation cannot find place. In selecting their work, individuals will follow natural, instead of artificial and false motives. Each will select the varieties of occupation which suit his own natural tastes, capacities and tendencies, instead of consulting his ambition, his vanity, his love of ease, his love of accumulation. And as these tastes are confessedly various, every variety of occupation will be chosen.

Let us now look at the third point—the individual household. The most obvious disadvantage of this is its wastefulness. Three hundred families, as society is now arranged, require three hundred separate houses, kitchens, fires, cooking utensils, and women to cook. If they are farming families, they require also three hundred small farms, three hundred barns and teams, and innumerable walls and fences.

Fourierism will bring all these families together into one household, and one building, conveniently arranged. Instead of three hundred kitchens and fires, it will have four or five large kitchens by which the cooking can be done, and the whole edifice warmed. Instead of three hundred fire-places and cooking-stoves, it will have extensive kitchen-ranges, large boilers, and the best machinery for facilitating culinary operations. Instead of three hundred cooks, it will have a few experienced ones, who will relieve each other by a change of work; instead of three hundred poor teams, standing idle half the time, it will have the requisite number, and of the best quality; instead of the walls and fences now needed, it will have a few extensive hedges; instead of making its purchases at retail, paying to traders half the profits of its labor, it will make them at wholesale, and in the most economical manner.

These are but a part of the economies of association. Other advantages are, that it will extend to all its members the comforts and luxuries which now are necessarily confined to the wealthy; that it will abridge the amount of drudgery, that it will give to all the advantage of every new discovery in art, architecture and social comfort, that it will combine the advantage of city and rural life, that it will tend to cultivate the mass of men by bringing them into natural and pleasant relations with the educated and refined. Meantime, Fourier does not propose to infringe the privacy of home, or the sacredness of the family. In the phalanx each one can be as private as he will, he can have his rooms and suites of rooms for himself and family as he does now. (7)

These examples illustrate, to some extent, the leading ideas of this system. We have no space here to enter at all into its details. We refer our readers to the works mentioned at the beginning of this article, especially that by Mr. Godwin, which is the most clear and comprehensive, and the pamphlet of Mr. Brisbane, which contains the most numerous details. We can merely now add a few criticisms.

To pronounce any decided opinion upon the truth or falsehood of the system, or its practicability, is not our intention. The tree will be known by its fruits. It is the work of earnest men, who are endeavoring to correct acknowledged evils. They deserve to be treated with respect. Those who would oppose these plans by ridicule and sneers, are, as it seems to us, not acting a wise part. If this counsel or work be of men, it will come to nought. These are builders, not destroyers; their work is to construct, not to pull down; their principles, if false, will therefore prove themselves so immediately, by not working well in practice. These men do not come to oppose or destroy any of our institutions; they merely wish to establish better ones, which they expect will swallow up quietly and peacefully whatever is evil. They are, we repeat it, not destructive, but constructive reformers. If there have been those at their conventions and other meetings who have attacked church and state, this is not the spirit of Fourier or his leading interpreters. It was natural that radicals, who have been in the habit of denouncing and attacking society, should bring the old spirit of destruction with them when they became Associationists, and continue for a time to use their old language. But the spirit of Fourierism is essentially a reconciling, pacific, and productive one.

For ourselves, seeing and feeling the manifold evils of society, we are ready to say "God speed!" to every earnest and conscientious attempt to remove them. We are by no means convinced that the system of Fourier is able to correct these evils. But let those who are so convinced, go forward and try their plans. Let us prove *all things*, and hold fast what commends itself as good.

There is, however, one danger to which Fourierites are exposed, and one tendency which we have observed in their discussions, which we feel bound to warn them of, before closing this article. The danger is of expecting from a new outward arrangement, what no such arrangement can ever accomplish; of looking to outward forms for a cure of the evils which have their root in the soul and heart. The tendency is to throw all the blame of social evil on society, and to underrate individual responsibility and ability. We do not think that these tendencies are necessary to the system, nor do we believe them universal with its advocates, but we know that they are common among them. (8)

"Society itself," say many Associationists, "is the cause of the evils which exist in it. Society is the culprit, individuals are the victims. Social usages are all wrong, and individuals are compelled, by the heaviest penalties, by loss of bread, and loss of character, to do as others do."

That the customs of society are very peremptory, very despotic, and that these are often very bad customs, who can doubt? How hard, for instance, for a young man at the South to refuse to fight a duel, if he be challenged; and how hard here at the North for a lawyer or trader to do business differently from the usual way, even though it seem unjust to him. How hard, in private life, to live more simply than others are living; to do your own work, to clean your boots, sweep your own sidewalk, dine on bread and milk. Differ from your neighbors in any of these particulars, and what a storm of censure and wonder arises. 'What a singular person! what affectation; how visionary! why don't he do as other people do?' This is the lightest penalty—to have sharp and venomous tongues employed about you everywhere. But if you are any way dependent on the public favor; if you are a teacher, and deem it your duty to admit a colored child into your school; or a preacher, and walk with a colored man through the streets; or a physician, and commit any of the like enormities; or an editor, and admit any opinion or sentiment foreign to the tastes of your readers; how quickly do scholars, patients, parishioners, subscribers, take their leave, and with them the bread you were putting into your chil-

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dren's mouths. Society, we admit, is somewhat tyrannical.

And yet, after all, society is only strong because we are weak. She is terrible, because we are cowards. Let a man take the course which he believes *right*, be it ever so unusual and unpopular, and what harm can the uproar of society do him? It is "the crackling of thorns under a pot." It has no strength, no force—all this clamor. Live quietly on a few years, if you *are* right, society will soon be on your side. One man who sees a truth, who does a right action, is stronger than all men together who do not see it, or refuse to do it The strength of a world cannot drive him from his position if he be brave and faithful The least grain of truth will force its way in a very short time and make itself known and reverenced. When Coleridge first wrote, his writings were triumphantly pronounced to be perfectly unintelligible. Wordsworth's poems were welcomed by the critics with the declaration, "This will never do." Carlyle's writings at first scarcely found in all England five approving readers. But there was gold, fine gold, in all these men. and what a different verdict the world has already pronounced. They were not afraid to go on their own way, a strange and new path, and already multitudes are following them. It is just so in morals. A few years since respectable and good people would sometimes go out of the church when Dr. Follen got up to preach, because he was an abolitionist, and now Dr. Follen is reverenced wherever his name is spoken. (9)

The punishment of starvation seem ma they more difficult to bear than that of unpopularity. But we speak metaphorically when we talk of starving. We can live on very little; not as other people live, but comfortably, with good health and better spirits. In this country it is not easy for a man with two hands to starve. To dine on apples, or meal, or potatoes, seem a painful thing to us, to be sure; but with the seasoning of a good conscience, one might, we think, find them palatable. And then, besides, such an one has "meat to eat" that most of us "know not of." Those of us who have always been propped up on cushions, who have had every thing to our hand, comforts and luxuries always, know nothing of the strength, freedom and love, which he acquires who has been compelled to live without any of these, for conscience' sake, and finds he *can* live so and yet be happy. We reverence, we almost envy such a man's experience. Nothing can crush him hereafter, nothing affright. He knows the worst that men can do him, and it is little. He is perfectly independent therefore. He can say to his parishioners, patients, customers, subscribers, clients, when they are offended with his honesty and leave him,—"go in peace. He is not angry with them, for they have not hurt him. It seems to us that this is even better than the comforts of a Community. (10)

Then as to that other assertion which we hear so often, "that *society* is to blame for all these social evils; that society is responsible, and individuals are victims." We do not exactly understand how society can be responsible and individuals not so. It has been well said "wherever there is a sin, there must be a sinner." What is society but an assemblage of individuals? How can the individuals be all right, taken separately, and yet taken collectively be all wrong? How can every single grain of sand in a heap be white, and yet the whole heap be black? What are these customs of society, which tyrannize over us? If every individual would give up his bad habits, society would very soon give up its customs. We confess, we do not like this way of throwing off the responsibility from ourselves upon society; taking great credit for our denunciation of social abuses, and taking no blame for practising them ourselves. Such a proceeding deadens the conscience. No one feels that he is to blame for these sins of society; on the contrary, he feels very virtuous for having talked against them and denounced them. This is not a promising state of things. (11)

Reformers, who speak in this general way of the sins of the world and the immoralities of society, would do well to take a lesson from that Church of Christ which they consider so impotent and so behind the age. She has always addressed herself to the conscience, not of society—for society has no conscience—but of individuals. She has said, "the *soul* that sinneth, *it* shall die. She has placed the solitary soul before the bar of God; she has taken it away from society and caused it to feel that it was not to compare itself with others, nor excuse itself by their example and customs, but to compare itself with God's standard, and judge itself by his holy law. (12)

And this brings us to the consideration of what we believe to be the deepest cause of all social evil. It is Sin—individual sin. The profound cause of all outward misery and crime is inward; it is our selfishness, our want or love, our want of faith in God, our unwillingness to obey him. As long as we are selfish in our soul, so long will the outward world be full of misery. No external arrangements, no improvement of social mechanism, no constitutions, no laws, can produce outward peace and happiness while the black root of evil is in the heart. We have in this world one great work to do; it is, to struggle against and conquer this evil principle within us, and nail it to the cross of Christ. Until we have done this, we carry a devil within us, and we shall have a hell around us. When we have done it, God dwells within us, and heaven blooms around us. If we wish then to reform society, we must first of all reform ourselves. To see a man undertaking to reform the world, who is full of vanity, who is a sophist, who uses low arts, who is self-willed, malignant, bitter; all this excites the derision of the world, and the sorrow of good men. But when one comes forward as a reformer, whose youth has been passed in purity and earnest studies; who is meek yet brave, a hero yet a saint, joining lofty hopes with practical wisdom; then all are touched, the strongest prejudices are softened, the most vulgar minds are moved to reverence, it is an angel who comes down to trouble the dark pool of social existence, and we feel that from such troubling as this must come healing and peace. (13)

This is the principal cause of social evil —*sin*. We do not mean to say that men are naturally or totally depraved, but we do say that in every soul there is moral evil to be struggled against and conquered, with agony and tears and in most souls it is not conquered; and that, therefore, because men are false, society becomes false. We do not mean to say that this is the only cause of social evil. Bad governments, false views of wealth, a wrong organization of society, sectarian churches, may increase this evil; but the main root is in the perverted aims and depraved desires of the soul of man. We deceive ourselves, therefore, in thinking our misery comes mainly from without, from social arrangements; it comes from within, from our want of faith, hope and love. We deceive ourselves, in thinking that we should become more free and happy in some different situations, in some different relations. Can you get away from yourself by joining an association?* Be brave, upright, gentle, holy, loving, pure, *where you are*. The apostle John did not have to join a Community (the Church) in order to be full of "the love-spirit;" nor did Jesus Christ copy the associations of the Essenes, nor teach his disciples to imitate their hermit virtue. (14)

The main cause of social evil we hold to be sin; secondary causes are to be found in ignorance, sectarianism, and inartificial social organization. (Consequences, not causes.) The great cure must be looked for in individual virtue; in single souls filled with heroic courage, with calm determination to live as God's children ought. A deeper, more earnest, more simple, more practical religion, a Christianity of love, can alone cure the evils with which selfishness has poisoned the springs of our life. (Must not this be *acted out?*)

The cure for social evils is to be found, we believe, first, in individual courage and holiness, and secondly, in an improvement of social organizations and arrangements. But only mistakes and an increase of evil can come from beginning at the wrong end. If we suppose that by bringing together into an association a body of selfish, cowardly and false individuals, we can produce a generous, brave and true society, we wofully err. (If they are brought together on *selfish principles*; if not—then the reverse!) "I have learned," says Paul, "in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content." It is a great thing to learn. Any spot where a free foot is planted is a land of freedom. Any place where a brave man stands, is a castle and a fortress, impregnable to the assaults of evil. Any society where a loving soul abides becomes magnetized with his love and is the home of affection. Wherever the pure in heart dwells, he sees God; and wherever faith, hope and love are to be found, there is heaven. J. F. C.

(1) This is true, so far as it goes, but is of course extremely inadequate as a representation of the condition of England. A writer in a late number of Blackwood's Magazine has shown by the indubitable evidence of carefully collected statistics, that crime increases in Great Britain seven times faster than population, notwithstanding all the benevolent efforts by which the last century has been distinguished. He shows that all the modes that have been devised by piety and zeal, such as Education, Prison Reform, Church Extension, Emigration, &c. &c., have had no more effect in staying the rapid increase of destitution and crime, than a dam of shingles would have had against the recent flood of the Mississippi. In this position, he is sustained by other recent writers, such as the author of the "Perils of the Nation;" and similar state-

* Patriæ quis exul
Se quoque fugit?

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ments have been made by competent statisticians in regard to several of the nations of the continent—France and Belgium in particular. These then are facts, not of Fourier's supposition, but of living and awful reality. How are they to be accounted for, and, above all, how are they to be remedied? We know not how the Christian Examiner may account for them, nor to what causes it looks for that remedy, but we will say for ourselves, after several years of close and incessant inquiry, that we have found nothing in the works of the Political Economists, (and we have read nearly all of them,) nothing in the principles of political parties, and nothing in the declarations of divines that have approximated a satisfactory solution of the difficulty, and hardly a suggestion of an adequate remedy. In Fourier's Science of Destiny alone have we discovered a complete explanation of the causes of the terrible evils of Modern Society, and in his plan of Association, on the principle of Organic Unity and Distributive Equity only, have we seen a rational issue from existing confusion and woe. We are not by nature a very sanguine person, we are rather of a plain practical and scientific structure of intellect, yet we have found in Fourier's reasonings, on the sources of social distress, such masses of truth that our hearts have been made to swell with emotion almost to bursting by the glorious convictions with which his rigid demonstrations have filled us. We are no longer oppressed by the fearful facts which modern social statistics present to the mind; the prospect of society is no longer dark; we are not left to vague and glimmering Hope of the future; our confidence in God's designs towards man is no longer a mere faith; we can see our way out of the labyrinth; our Hope has become knowledge; our Faith Science: the aspirations of our hearts are now sustained by the rigid mathematical deductions of Reason. This change we owe to the Science of Fourier, who, in speculating on the laws of creation and growth, has discovered the laws by which Divine Wisdom produces, educates, and perfects human society on this Earth. We say this, as moderate and sane men; and surely the very assertion of such a grand discovery, by those who will not deceive and have some reputation for sobriety of intellect, should lead all inquirers after truth into a careful and patient investigation of the matter.

(2) It is admitted by the Reviewer that Society is diseased; but he should have gone further, and shown the nature of the disease. That it was not simply a local inflammation, or a temporary derangement of one or two members, but that it was an *organic* distortion,—not a complete dismemberment, which would be death, but a general derangement of functions, so that the very good which is introduced into the system becomes itself a nourisher of the disease. If the Reviewer had gone thus far, if he fully comprehended the nature and extent of the "subversion" of the Social System, he would have been better prepared to decide upon the proper remedy. He would have seen why many of the ameliorations which are attempted have no effect, in the fact that when a body is diseased, its natural food is converted to the use of the disease, and often increases the very ailment it was intended to heal. How often do we see the sick made more sick even by the plainest and most wholesome diet? Is it not an incontestable fact, too, shown by the statistics of England and France, that Education, which is a wholesome diet for the soul, has actually had the effect of extending crime, against which it was intended to provide.* The only remedy, then, for any kind of malady, individual or collective, is one that will go straight to the seat of the disease. Now the disease of society is universal selfishness, by which we mean that it is organized on the principle of individual interests, which inevitably leads to selfishness, (although in some this tendency may be checked by various influences, moral and religious;) and the only remedy is to be found in universal benevolence, not regarded as the *sentiment* of individuals, but as the *principle* of organization. There is enough of the *sentiment* already, blessed be God, in the heart of Humanity—all its wants is means for its complete outward manifestation and embodyment. In the absence of those means, the *sentiment* is perverted through the diseased action of society, just as the best of food is perverted in the unhealthy body. There is what Fourier calls duplicity of action in our lives—we have no sufficient modes of realizing our inward thoughts and affections in outward acts and deeds. Take the sentiment of love to man, for instance, will any one pretend that this is at all adequately gratified in the modes of manifesting it acknowledged in the present state of social relations? Is it enough to meet its demands, to give alms to the poor, to fill their stomachs, to cover their nakedness, or even to build hospitals and colleges? No; for although these acts are grand and full of joy in themselves, they are yet only the *types* of those higher manifestations of Love reserved for higher states of society, when, instead of giving a few dollars to the needy, we shall be able to impart the boundless wealth of our heart's affections to all our brothers. Every man who thinks of these subjects must be conscious that his Love is now fettered in almost every direction—that his most vigorous exertions in behalf of others are unsatisfying, and seeing how little he can *do*, that he is often tempted into despair, distrust, repining, and sometimes utter indifference. His aspirations turn inward for the want of outward fulfillment, and become in many cases sources of discontent and torment. The best desires when repressed, turn into troublesome companions, as the most virtuous sexual love, when denied, becomes a life-long source of agony, often leading to the commission of dreadful acts. One of the divine glories of Christ's religion is, that it is intended to guard against the effects of this passional reaction, by its inculcation of moderation, denial, self-command, resignation, active beneficence, &c. &c., during those periods of social existence when, for very wise purposes, constraint and repression prevail.

(3) We could wish that we had room to explain fully Fourier's theory of property, which is to our minds one of the most beautiful specimens of metaphysical analysis and logical deduction that we have met with in all the course of our reading, and when we see it confounded with the crude notions of Owen or St. Simon, we look upon the mistake as a dreadful profanation of truth. We may take up the question in a future paper.

(4) It not only does not attack Christianity and the Church, but it claims to be the only method in which Christianity can be fully realized on Earth, and therefore the right mode of organizing the Church. At present, we content ourselves with mere toleration of all "denominations," but we look much higher than this mere negative ground for the ultimate condition of the Church, which is to be realized in spiritual and temporal association. We look for Unity and Catholicity in the Church, and not only spiritual, but temporal and visible unity. Christianity is spiritual—being founded upon the Lord Jesus, who is the Word of God—the Truth, the Life, and the Spirit—but its spirituality must be embodied in a material organization, just as the soul of man is individually manifested in the body. And this organization should be like that of the body, a trinity in unity—sensuous, moral and mental in the individual—political, social and doctrinal in the Church. The spirit of the Church, then,

* This view is exceedingly important, and our Boston friend, if he will faithfully follow out the analogy, will find some truths that are perhaps new to him. Why are restraints, and disciplines, and prisons and scourges, necessary in the early stages of society? Evidently for the same reason that we use *poisons* for medicine in cases of bodily disease! The same view also throws light upon Fourier's doctrine that in "subversive" or diseased societies, constraint, repression and force are necessary to the control of the passions, while in organic, harmonic, or regenerated society, attraction and perfect freedom will be the law. In disease we use poisons; in health, sound and wholesome nutriment. Under the "curse" the law is constraint, fear, mystery, and suffering, and the exception is Happiness; but under the "Redemption," the law will be perfect liberty, happiness, love, and the exception, Imperfection.

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should be borne into the body of the Church, by means of ordinances, and these ordinances should embrace industry and science in organic association with each other and with true religion. The disciples of Fourier, therefore, although they dwell particularly upon industry and science, are by no means innifferent to religious doctrine—they long sincerely for the reconciliation of the severed Church of Christ; for the union of spiritual freedom with Catholic authority; for one Lord, one baptism, one faith—for the gathering of the scattered tribes of Israel in the Universal Church of Christ, formed of living and precious stones, in both temporal and spiritual unity. But we think that material association must first be brought about, according to the plans of God, who forms the infant body before it takes fully either mind or soul. There must be industrial unity before there can be political and religious unity; and for this reason, we stand on the negative ground of religious tolerance now, in the hope of preparing the way, in the Providence of God, for religious reconciliation—unity and universality—hereafter, which must come.

(5) Yes: and the same distinguished *Unitarian* clergymen, who could stand up in this city, as a sort of half-way apologist of slavery, in a few weeks after could write a letter to the disciples of Fourier, expressing in a discourteous way, "an utter want of sympathy" in their objects, although some of those disciples were his brothers in the Ministry, and those objects must be confessed to be among the noblest that can engage the attention of man. The positions of the person to whom we refer, were taken evidently in both cases to please the spirit of New York Unitarianism. Let us be just to all, good neighbor of the Examiner!

(6) It is hardly an adequate representation of our opinions to say that the "false structure of society" is in itself the simple and only cause of social evil. It would be more strictly true to say that the cause of social evil, and all evil, was the substitution in the soul of mankind of a principle of selfishness for a principle of benevolence, of the worship of the creature for that of the Creator, which substitution has its immediate practical expression in the "false structure of society." Fourier never takes a *simplistic* or one-sided view of any question; his problems are all compound, and his solutions are compound. The causes of social evil, therefore, are both material and spiritual, acting through and on the body, as well as through and on the mind. They are selfishness in the inward man, and selfishness in his outward organizations—both co-operating to their mutual perversions—as in the individual, body and soul deteriorate or grow together in disease or health. To ask why selfishness took the place of goodness, is to raise the question as to the origin of evil, which we confess we cannot answer, and which all our reading has never enabled us to do. Fourier and Swedenborg have given us more light than any other men on the subject, but we believe that it will not be fully understood until Evil shall have wrought out all its effects in the universe, when we shall know *why* it was permitted to exist. In the meantime we can only acquire partial but ever enlarging views of this grandest mystery of Time. But what concerns us most just now, is not the *origin* of evil, but the *end*, not how it came into the world so much as how it can be sent out of the world. If our light is deficient on the first point, we think it gloriously full on the last; if we cannot explain the Past metaphysically, we can demonstrate the Future practically, to the good of Man and the glory of God. Our plan of getting rid of evil is this—The Religion of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ—or the Love of God and the Love of Man—embodied according to the law of Divine Wisdom, or the SERIES, in one Holy Catholic Church—of perfect individual liberty and private judgment conciliated with collective order and authority—full of life and love and peace and harmony, where perpetual industrial activity will create in forms of Beauty, the conceptions of Wisdom, for the gratification of Love! How absurd, then, the thought that Fourier "attacks" Christianity—Fourier who, by his Science of the "Serial Organization," has taught us how we can make the whole of life religious, how art, industry, science, commerce, education, all can be made to converge towards one grand centre, which is Religion—the Revelation of Jesus Christ, who is the Sun of the spiritual universe—the source of Life—the Alpha and Omega, worthy of honor and praise forever and ever. In the technical language of Fourier, Christ is the PIVOT, around which Prophets, Apostles, Saints and Men of Genius revolve in various spheres of subordination, like primary, secondary, tertiary, &c. satellites, reflecting different degrees of His light, for the illumination and guidance of his Church upon Earth.

This statement will enable the reader, who wishes, to see the precise relation in which we stand to Fourier. We do not regard him as the only teacher that has ever been sent into the world, nor do we accept his views exclusive of those of all other men. We think him a man of extraordinary Genius, an acute and comprehensive thinker, who has been the happy instrument of important revelations in science, but not an infallible authority even in science, much less as the founder of a new religion. He comes to us as a Man of Science, and we receive him as we do all other men of Science. The characteristic of Science—its test and authority—is DEMONSTRATION, and only so far as Fourier's discoveries can be demonstrated, by strict scientific methods, does he ask us to accept them—not on his personal authority, but on that of the DEMONSTRATION. His speculations, therefore, on Morals and Religion, are mere individual opinions—earnestly asserted, it is true—but not authoritatively—only in subordination to the Catholic Church. He says expressly that changes in moral institutions and religious doctrines he leaves entirely to the Church.

(7) The foregoing remarks are a pretty fair exposition of Fourier's criticism of trade and society, but of course very incomplete—which is not the fault of the writer: for no man can condense several severely reasoned volumes of criticism into a few pages. It is a good assistance, however, always, in giving an account of the system of Fourier to keep in mind his frontal principle, which is, that there is ONE law of organization running through the whole created universe—that minerals, flowers, birds, beasts and man are all made according to this one law, in its various applications, and that consequently human society and all its concerns to be in unity with the universe must conform to this law of organization. The law is called the SERIES, and Fourier criticises and constructs everything according to this law. Even his central building, the Phalanstery, is not a large Hotel, as one might infer from the description of the Examiner, nor yet a solid block of buildings as we see in cities, but a Serial Mansion, combining unity of design with variety of accommodation—a grand whole adopted to a large variety of individual and family tastes.

(8) We are perfectly aware of the tendency which our brother points out, and we approve, and thank him, for the caution. We think there is great danger of supposing that a mere "outward arrangement" can reform mankind; but just at the present time there is much more danger in supposing that mere inward resolution, without the outward manifestation, is all that is required in true Christian life. We dwell particularly on the evils of "Society" not because we forget the individual, but because we think there are men enough to attend to him, while they utterly overlook Society. In this city, every week, not only a "forty-parson" power is at work, but a three or four thousand parson-power, in urging individuals to reform—with how little efficacy the result shows. The great tide of human selfishness still sweeps on in a resistless torrent. How different would be the effect if all these preachers and editors only recognized the simple fact, that the *spirit* without a body is a mere ghost or phantasm, and that it can only be manifested *fully* and *integrally* by means of a body? If all the wealth and time and energy now expended in a thousand partial efforts at reform were concentrated in one general movement of social reorganization, what a mighty revolution would soon be brought about? Individuals, in their state of dispersion, go driving away at their petty schemes of spe-

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cific amelioration, accomplishing virtually nothing, while if they would come together in a solid Phalanx to resist all evil, a "nation might be born in a day."

(9) This is all very fine and very true; but how many men think you, born upon the earth are, Dr. Follens or Carlyles? And why are there not more just such men? Our brother will perhaps say, because they do not *will* to be so; but what man is there who would not be greater than these, *if he could?* There is something, then, besides the mere individual will which is wanting, which we think, is a true social medium for the development of our individual natures. Carlyle, Coleridge, &c. are great men, yet very imperfectly and distortedly great. The wars which they waged with poverty, prejudice, and manifold difficulties, may have strengthened certain of their faculties, but have not made them in reality greater men. In a better condition of society they would have been more complete —more holy (wholly) men. It is the duty of every man, we admit, to struggle against iniquity in all shapes; but do not let us fall into the common error, that these severe and cruel oppressions of circumstance aid us in our development. On the contrary, they hinder us to a certain extent, and in many cases completely crush us. It seems to us, that the means of growth, in every sphere of nature, is not idleness or luxurious ease on the one hand, nor hard stern struggle on the other, but varied and equable, or integral exercise. A plant exposed to the storms and obstructed by rocks, may grow up knotty and tough; but that state will not be the perfection of the plant. So a plant may be pampered in hot beds into a tender and graceful delicacy, which the first blast will wither—nor is this the perfection of the plant. The true medium is one in which all its parts and powers will be vigorously but harmoniously unfolded, in their natural integrity, beauty and strength. Weeds are often hardier than flowers, but they are still weeds. The characters of men formed by the combats of a tempestuous life, become very rugged and unsubduable, but they are generally one-sided and not whole characters—such as that of our Saviour.

(10) We certainly reverence those souls who prefer starvation and unpopularity to wrong-doing, and if we are compelled to make a choice between the two things, pray God that he will give us strength gladly to prefer the former. At the same time, we have only to look at man as he is, to see how few there are, in the complicated relations of life, who are capable of exalted virtue. In the decision of the question between starvation and wrong-doing, we are not always alone interested in the event Individually, it might not be difficult to make the choice, but what is to be done when wives, or children, or an aged mother, or friends are engaged in the alternative? Must we not pause long before we decide? Are not the temptations, of affection perhaps, often too strong for us? Is it not a terrible state of society which forces such alternatives upon us, and one which needs reform. The same Divine Being who teaches us to resist evil, also teaches us to pray daily not to be led into temptation, by which he implies that we ought to remove the causes of temptation from society.

(11) No one pretends that individuals are all wrong collectively and all right individually; but that some are wrong and some are right originally, by which the right are overborne by the wrong. The black grains contaminate the white until all become more or less black. Individuals cannot give up their bad habits, because others do not, so that the innocent suffer for the guilty, and a reform to be effective must be general. Disguise it as we may, we are all victims of the vices of others, who in their turn are victims of our vices. Individuals are responsible for sin, but they are frequently responsible *as* members of society, and not merely as individuals.

(12) The Church has addressed herself to the individual conscience, but the Church is also an Association, and her strength has been in her collective force as much as in her addresses to individual consciences. Indeed, her shortcomings have consisted in the fact that she has dealt too exclusively with individuals, and not enough with societies. Had she always insisted upon carrying the spirit of religion into all our social arrangements, she would have made a deeper impression during her two thousand years of effort.

(13) Our Reviewer is a little rhetorical in this passage, although we confess what he says is quite beautiful, and mainly true Let us ask him, if it is not possible "to conquer the evil principle within us," and yet find a very hell around us? Does not every good man feel this, every time he walks abroad in society as it is? Heaven blooms around us, rhetorically, but not actually; it is a hell, and a hell which becomes more frightful just in proportion as we grow in grace. In the degree in which our moral sensibilities are aroused, does the actual contemplation of society offend and distress and even overwhelm us. Walk through the streets of this city, at any hour of the day or night, and if you find a Heaven blooming round you, your imagination is more heavenly than any we ever possessed. Our own experience has been that our hearts have been torn and wounded to an extent that was perfectly unendurable. We have suffered as much as, if not more than, the poor and miserable wretches more directly concerned in the poverty and degradation meeting us at every step. Not only in thought and emotion, but in physical nature, we are the victims of social influences. The air we breathe, the water we drink, the food we eat, are all contaminated by the foul corruptions which spring from the vices of our fellows. Sin is the cause of evil, but it is not always our own sin. We are involved with others—their frauds, their licentiousness, their selfishness, react upon us, through nature, through opinions, through laws, through institutions; and while we are bound to eradicate evil from our own hearts, we can do so effectually and completely only by eradicating it from the breasts of our neighbors. It is not enough to save ourselves, we must save the race.

(14) It seems to us that throughout the reasoning of the latter part of his essay, Mr. Clarke, in the rigid assertion of individual responsibility, has run into an extreme which virtually denies the necessity of all social reform. He does not mean so, but such is the effort of his argument. "Be brave, gentle, loving, pure," he says, "where you are." Most true! but is that enough? Is it enough to say to the slave at the South, be brave, loving, holy, where you are? Is it enough to say to the Northern slave, who works twelve hours a day, for a few dollars a week, be brave, &c. &c. where you are? Do we discharge our duty to these classes by such preaching? Are we not bound to make them brave, by every means in our power, by amelioration of their condition among others? If then their condition is to be ameliorated, shall it be partially or completely, fragmentary or radical, imperfect or perfect? This is the point.

"Can you get away from yourself by joining an Association? No; but you can get away from bad influences into good influences. You can leave, as we have known to be the case, wild and dissolute companions, whose solicitations you are not strong enough to resist, idleness the mother of vice, care that chokes up virtue, customs that drown religion, and go to generous and upright companions, to healthful activity, to a salutary freedom from anxiety, to simple and devout manners, where your soul will again resume its wings, and spring with joyful alacrity towards God.

"John did not join a community, nor did Jesus build an Association!" Ha! is that so? Did not Jesus institute a church, and was not John a member of that church? And this leads us to observe, that our friend, in this part of his reasoning, appears to have overlooked one very important and solemn consideration—a fact in human nature that cannot be escaped. It is what the French call the Solidarity of humanity, and St. Paul describes as "being members one of another"—the life of each man an indissoluble part of the life of all men. We are members of *one body*, whether that body be in disease or health. One part may be sounder than another, but let it be never so sound it must suffer and rejoice with the rest. We cannot live alone, physically nor spiritually: our life is bound up

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in that of our neighbor's; we cannot get rid of Association; but must live in it or by it, whether it be good or bad. The Romanists and High Churchmen are right when they say there is no salvation out of the Church—their error, in our opinion, is in defining what is the Church. There may be natural life, there may be rational life, there may be a traditionary and derived spiritual life, but not full and perfect Christian life, and, therefore, not salvation, or complete union with the Lord. The "communion of the saints" is the life and soul of saintship, and the more perfect that communion, the higher the degree of life. It is for this reason that Fourier speaks of Universal Unity as a source of permanent revelation or inspiration, as the means of guiding man into higher and higher knowledge of truth, and closer and closer approximation to God.

We have neither the time nor the space to unfold the metaphysical grounds of this truth of "communion," but we hope sooner or later to do so, to the best of our ability. But we will ask our dear brother at Boston, if he ever grasped the hand of a real friend, when soul was knit to soul in the bonds of loving sympathy, without feeling that his spirit was elevated into a nobler region than earth, and that a divine glory was kindled in the act? Whence the glow, the enthusiasm, the almost superhuman strength which is revealed when a body of warm-hearted disciples meet for the prosecution of some great common aim? Why, in meetings for prayer or worship, distracted as they often are by worldly influences, is the soul lifted into a clearness of vision, and a firmness of purpose, which we sigh for in vain at other moments? And if such things are done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry? "Where too or three are *gathered together* in my name," says the Saviour, "there am I in the midst." How much more intimately will he be with us, when not only two or three, but hundreds, thousands, nay, the universal church, shall meet together in unity of devotion and labor! Oh! my brother, let not your "individualism" in any form—good and proper as it may be in its sphere, and never so good and so fully recognized as in Association—blind you to the celestial joy of Catholic Oneness or Passional Harmony. UNIVERSAL UNITY—unity in industry, in art, in social affection, and in religion—these are the prophetic and glorious words of this age and nation. Let those who have ears to hear, hear the words of salvation!

THE CONVENTION IN OCTOBER.

THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE held a special meeting on Thursday the 22d inst., to consider and select the most suitable place for holding the Convention in October next of Delegates of Associations, as provided for in a Resolution of the General Convention of the Friends of Association in the United States, held in the city of New York, in April last, to wit:

Resolved, 7th. That with a solemn sense of our responsibilities as advocates of the cause of UNIVERSAL UNITY, with an earnest desire to secure consistent co-operation among the ASSOCIATIONS of the United States, and to prevent in the outset all possibility of those disunions among Associations, which waste the resources and paralyze the energies of existing Society, we hereby declare that, in our opinion, the time has arrived, when it becomes the imperative duty of the several Associations in our country, which are based upon the truths of Social Science as announced by Fourier, to take measures for the immediate formation of a UNION OF ASSOCIATIONS; whose objects, among others, should be:

I. A complete Organization of Industry in each all of such Associations.

II. The establishment of a system of Integral Education.

III The securing of harmonious co-operation in all respects between the Associations.

IV. The using as far as practicable, for the benefit of all, the peculiar advantages which each one possesses of soil, location, climate, &c.

V. The adoption of a uniform system of Finance, and such Business relations as may make the property of individuals most available for the purpose of Association.

And, as these objects can be most successfully attained by the adoption of ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION, we recommend to all existing Associations:

1st. Carefully and thoroughly to consider what arrangements and provisions will be necessary to secure these ends.

2d. To select from among their members such persons as are best fitted to correspond upon the subject with other Associations.

3d. To appoint and empower DELEGATES to attend a meeting which shall be held at some place, hereafter appointed by the Executive Committee, on the *FIRST MONDAY* of October, 1844, for the purpose of deliberating upon the above mentioned UNION.

The Committee having duly discussed the matter, adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That in accordance with the duty imposed upon the Central Executive Committee at the General Convention held in the city of New York, in April last, to select the place for holding a Convention of Delegates of Associations on the first Monday, the 7th day of October next, the Committee having duly considered the eligibility and advantages of various localities for holding said Convention, do hereby select the city of Rochester, state of New York, and designate it as the place of meeting.

The Committee would suggest to the friends of the cause, and to every Association, the propriety of taking measures immediately for carrying out the foregoing resolutions, first on the part of existing Associations by the appointment of Delegates to represent them in the Convention, and secondly, of friends generally, by making preparation to be at Rochester at the time of holding the Convention.

All the Associations in the various states should be represented if possible, as measures of a most important character, affecting the interests of each as well as the general welfare of the movement, will undoubtedly come before the Convention for discussion and adoption; and a full attendance of the friends of the cause is desirable, as General Meetings will also be held and speakers be present from various places. Our friends at Rochester are requested to make all necessary arrangements for holding the Convention. It is probable that an arrangement can be made with the Railroad Companies to take our Eastern friends from Albany at a reduced fare, which will be ascertained and due notice given.

It is hoped that the several Associations will return to the Executive Committee, by the 15th September, their views respectively upon the various points embraced in the Articles of Confederation, submitted some time since for their consideration.

PARKE GODWIN, Chairman.
OSBORNE MACDANIEL, Secretary.

SOCIAL REFORM, OR AN APPEAL IN BEHALF OF ASSOCIATION, BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF A PURE CHRISTIANITY. Northampton, 1844.

This is the title of a small pamphlet lately issued by the friends of the Northampton Association. It is written with great force of style, clearness of method, and liberality of spirit. The author, said to be Mr. James Boyle, deserves the thanks of Associationists for the knowledge and zeal with which he has discussed the whole question. His criticism of society, and his demonstration of the benefits of combination, are both admirable—showing a fine analytical intellect and a warm sympathising heart. We rejoice to hear such a voice—so manly, decided, and universal—from Northampton. It proves to us that the true spirit is at work there, and that the banner of Universal Unity will soon be unfolded, in all its breadth and glory, from its walls. There is no experiment of associative principles which we watch with more interest than that at Northampton; it is every day drawing more near to the grand discoveries of Fourier, discarding its earlier crudities, and we have no doubt will in the end prove a practical exemplification of the Divine Order. We shall, as soon as we have room, make a few extracts from this excellent address, which we commend to all our readers In the meantime, may we ask that the obvious injustice in the last paragraph of the extract, page 67, may be corrected.

THE SPIRITUAL PURITAN.

This is the name of a paper published at New Haven, in which we find the following extract: (the writer is speaking of Mr. Boyle's pamphlet.)

"It prefers Fourier's system, especially the better part of it; but it keeps clear of the wish-wash stuff which lumber a greater

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part of the writings of Fourierites; and substitutes for it the principles of pure Christianity."

This Puritan is wise in his own conceit, it seems to us, and talks very glibly of matters which we venture to say he does not understand. Will he be pleased to tell us what he considers "the better parts" of Fourier's system, what he considers "wish-wash stuff"—elegant phrase!—and wherein the principles of Fourier differ from "pure Christianity"? After several years of patient, impartial, and severe study of Fourier's writings, and that too under circumstances that would try the "stuff" even of a Puritan, we have the profoundest conviction that Fourier's system *is* Christianity; but if our friend of New Haven, who pronounces so confidently on the subject, has found out something more than we have, we beg him to let us have his light. And not only we, but others much superior to us—some to be ranked among the proudest minds and noblest Christian hearts of this country—have arrived at the same conviction. Our learned brother, we trust, will not allow all these to waste their talents and energies on "wish-washy stuff," but redeem them from their errors; for we can assure him that there is not one who is not willing to accept the truth, and the whole truth, the moment it is demonstrated.

As the Puritan is in favor of a sort of Association, let us ask him, before he superciliously condemns "Fourier's system," which it is perfectly evident, from the paper before us, he has never studied, to look at it dispassionately and with patience. His petty plan for an Association of Labor and Learning, where the members are to work only five hours a day, and learn all the rest, is well enough in its way; but what is it compared with the Divine plan of universal and progressive Association, in which Christian Love and Purity will be gradually carried into all the relations of Life—in which Industry, Art, Science, and Education shall be made to converge, under the influence of Religion, to the grand end of elevating the human race, in Wealth, Knowledge, Beauty, Good-Will and Happiness—and by which, we expect this Earth will be redeemed from the curse of unfruitfulness and malignity, Man restored to wholesomeness of body, and the mind and heart of our poor suffering and debased fellows raised to communion with God. These are the objects of the "Fourierites," from which the ignorant and unkind sneers of personal vanity and puritanic self-complacency shall not easily turn them; for they believe that these are among the designs of the Father in Heaven.

It may be that there is much that is objectionable in "the writings of the Fourierists," because it is a part of their philosophy to encourage the expression of opinion fully on all subjects; but at the same time, we feel warranted in asserting that no body of men have arisen among us whose publications contain so little extravagance, or are marked by a more prevailing tone of good sense. Take the "Concise Exposition" of Mr. Brisbane; the "Democracy, Constructive and Pacific," of Mr. Godwin; the Essays in the Present, by Wm. Henry Channing; the Address on "Education," by John S. Dwight; or that on "Religion," by Charles A. Dana; the "Lectures" of Mr. Van Amringe; the Address of our National Convention, or the "Social Reform" of Mr. Boyle, not professedly a Fourierist, although nearly every idea to be found in it is taken from Fourier and his school—and we know not where you would find more plain, practical, dignified and forcible presentations of the peculiar views of a body of men. Compared with our political writings, our religious tracts, or our Abolition speeches, they seem to us immensely superior in every respect. The sneer of the Puritan, therefore, is a very small sneer, quite unworthy of an honest-minded and charitable man. But, perhaps, there is nothing in the universe so small as a small mind which has seized hold of only the corner of a great idea—which seems to be the case of those who talk of "improving" upon Fourier—a god-like genius, who labored alone and in poverty for forty years in the honest investigation, not of his own thought, but of his Master's Will.

HUSBANDRY IN ASSOCIATION.

EXTRACT FROM FOURIER.

"We vaunt our progress in agriculture; we admire it in comparison with the unskilfulness of barbarians: is it then marching to perfection to be a little less stupid than an uncivilized neighbor? If we could see the husbandry of Phalansterians at the end of a half century, the time necessary for the restoration of the forests, which cannot grow, like cabbages, from one season to another, we should be greatly surprised to find that civilization with its jargon of perfectibility, is altogether unrefined in various branches of culture, and that, on other highly important objects of interest, as the waters and the forests, we are far beneath the savages; for we do not, like them, limit ourselves to leaving the forests uncultivated; we carry into them destruction, whence result the falling in of the soil, the laying bare of slopes, and the deterioration of the climate. This vice, by destroying the springs, and multiplying storms, causes in a double sense the disorders of the aquatic system. Our rivers always alternate from one excess to another; from sudden increase to long dryness, causing periodical inundations, and scarcity of fish, which we take care to destroy in spawn, and reduce to the sixth of what they should produce. Thus we are evidently worse than savages in the administration of waters and forests.

How much our descendants will have to complain of civilization in seeing so many mountains denuded of wood, laid bare of soil like those in the south of France, which the industrial armies of harmony will be obliged to clothe with wood at great expense during several centuries! This havoc is quite recent, and principally the work of the times named the "brilliant era of art and poetry," under Louis XIV., and the "enlightened age of philosophy" under Louis XV; these two splendid periods of modern times will be named hereafter the two Vandals of agriculture and climature which they have ravaged and subverted, giving us by way of compensation beautiful theories, but very impracticable, on the management of forests.

The social husbandry will include three modes amalgamated:—

1st. The simple or massive order;
2d. The ambiguous or vague order;
3d. The compound or interwoven order.

1st. The simple or massive order is that which excludes mixtures; it prevails in our greatly-cultivated countries, where all is field on one side, all is wood on the other, although we see, in the mass of corn land, many points, which would suit many other crops, especially garden vegetables; likewise in the mass of woods, there are many slow declivities which would well suit a clearing for cultivation, and ameliorate the forests, where open spaces should be contrived for the play of the sun's rays, the circulation of the air, and the maturing of the wood.

2d. The ambiguous or vague and mixed order is that of the confused gardens named English, and which ought to be named Chinese, because England has borrowed from the Chinese this method, which is very agreeable when employed judiciously, but not when mountains and lakes are crowded together in a square of some few hundred yards. Harmony, being opposed to uniformity, will employ on the different points of a domain, and especially in hilly countries, such as that of the Pays de Vaud in Switzerland, this Chinese or vague and ambiguous method, which will assemble in commixture all sorts of culture and industrial enterprise; it will form a striking contrast with the massive and interwoven style of distribution.

3d. The compound or interwoven order is the opposite of the civilized system, according to which each one tends to classify himself, and voluntarily surrounds himself with bulwarks and batteries of great size. Each individual, in civilization, wishes to entrench himself, and make a citadel of his property. There is a reason for this, however, in civilization, because this society is but an aggregation of great and little sharpers, of whom the great form leagues to ruin and transport the little; but in harmony, where the smallest theft cannot be committed, the compound or interwoven distribution of husbandry will be preferred as much as possible for the advantages of moral discipline and unity. Each series will strive to spread ramifications on all points, extending advanced lines and detached squares in all the posts of these industrial series, of which the centre of operations will be found far from its own.

The massive order is the only one which has some relation with the rude methods of civilization: it will unite all the flowers on one side, all the fruits on the other; here, all the meadows, there all the corn lands; finally, it will everywhere form masses destitute of intermixture.—The present state of culture is a sort of universal incoherency and of methodical excess.

On the other hand, almost every small proprietor or farmer makes an abuse of the

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interwoven method; and wishing to raise on his soil the objects necessary for consumption, accumulates twenty kinds of crops on land that is not fit for such variety of culture.

A peasant cultivates pell-mell corn and wine, cabbages and radishes, hemp and potatoes, on soil that suits corn alone; then the entire village sows with corn exclusively some distant land, because it cannot be guarded from theft, though naturally it is fitted for diversity of crops.

In harmony, the distributions of husbandry will be established in perfect suitableness with the soil, and nothing will prevent each soil from receiving what is fit for it. This distribution will operate according to the three modes just enumerated: the massive, the vague, and the interwoven. The social state, cultivating a considerable range of land, as if it were the domain of a single family and without risk of robbery, may admit of three methods in combination. Their amalgamation will unite the useful and the agreeable in perfect security; it will unite the advantages of profit with those of artistic beauty, and will have the faculty of joining groups of husbandmen in local contiguity, combining their efforts, and inciting them by emulation; it is the union of the good and the beautiful in accordance with Divine love and truth.

For this purpose, each branch of husbandry will strive to interweave, and spread out branches among the others. Thus, the parterre and the kitchen garden, which are generally now both close to the house, are not in a Phalanx clustered, and confined to the neighborhood of the palace: both of them will extend into the fields strong detachments, or separate masses of flowers and vegetables, which, diminishing by degrees, will unite each other by successive detachments in the fields, orchards, prairies, and forests, where the soil will suit them; and, likewise, the orchards, which are urther from the Phalanstery, have, in their vicinity, some rallying points, some lines of trees united to the kitchen garden or between the lines of flowers and of vegetables."

This interweaving, at the same time that it pleases the eye, will favor the mechanism of labor for impassioned groups and corporations, in Attractive Industry.

Integral association, multiplying riches indefinitely, is but the material side of the system; man is not made merely to produce and consume—he must have enjoyments of the soul, the development of the faculties, the free scope of the harmonic passions; he must have liberty and light, enthusiasm for the good, the love of the true. It is by the discovery of impassioned attraction that Fourier assures us of all these advantages.

Mechanics' New England Convention.—We see suggested in several of our exchanges the propriety of postponing this Convention until a more thorough and general organization in the various towns of New England can be effected; and in our opinion this will be a very judicious step, as well on this account to secure a better representation, as another, which is to enable a better knowledge of the objects to be accomplished and the measures to be adopted, to reach the *minds* and *hearts* of the people.

☞ By the following Card, copied from the Cincinnati Morning Bulletin, it will be seen that the editor of the New Industrial World has judiciously determined to suspend its publication for the present, and that the Bulletin, a daily paper already established, will be made the direct medium of communicating with the friends of Association in that section, and for propagating the doctrine. A leading editorial article in the Bulletin further informs us of the Editor's purpose to devote a portion of his columns regularly to the investigation of a subject which he considers so vastly important, and now commanding such general attention. We tender him our thanks for his noble resolution, and trust that our friends will use all their powers to sustain him in it, both by contributions of articles and subscriptions to his paper.

There has been much liberality in the course of the press of Cincinnati generally.

TO THE PATRONS OF THE "NEW INDUSTRIAL WORLD."

It becomes my duty hereby to announce to the friends of the cause of Industrial Association, who have so generously offered their aid towards the establishment of a periodical devoted to the grand science of Associative Unity and Social Harmony, that, in my opinion, the time has not yet arrived when a paper devoted *exclusively* to that cause can be sustained in the West, without greater pecuniary sacrifices than is within my power to make. Therefore, the publication of the New Industrial World is suspended.

In making this announcement, it affords me great satisfaction to be able to inform our friends that the columns of the Cincinnati Morning Bulletin are this day opened for the presentation of the claims of the new Science;—and it affords me still greater satisfaction to see all our friends unite in sustaining the Morning Bulletin in this noble determination to allow an impartial hearing to the claims of the greatest Science that has yet shed light upon the darkness of the Earth.

JOHN WHITE,
Ed. New Industrial World.
Cincinnati, Aug. 14, 1844.

CONVENTION AT HALLOWELL, MAINE.

An account of a Convention of the friends of Association in the state of Maine, lately held at Hallowell, contained in the Social Reformer and Herald of Universal Health, a paper just started at Boston to advocate our views, a notice of which is made in another place, we publish it below, together with an interesting letter to the Convention from Mr. Charles A. Dana, of Brook Farm. The spirit of inquiry on the subject of Social Reform and the Reorganization of Industry, is fairly awake in New England, and soon she will present throughout her borders the most gratifying demonstrations of her determination to settle the question by practical answers. What New England has already done in a partial way by individual enterprise—infusing life and vigor and intelligence wherever she has sent her sons—we have a presentiment she will do for the whole earth, by taking the lead in the grand work of the Reorganization of Labor—on which rests the Progress and Destiny of Mankind! Let all efforts that tend to its speedy accomplishment be cheered on!

Pursuant to previous notice, the Social Reform Convention assembled in Hallowell on the 20th of June. Delegates were present from all the principal towns in the valley of the Kennebec river. Cheering reports of the prospects of the cause were presented from every quarter. General inquiry is awakened relative to the doctrines and aims of the Associationists. Many are convinced that Industrial and Educational Association is the only remedy for the evils of our social state; and are impatient to be in the practical movement.

The following resolutions, presented by John Orvis, in behalf of the business committee, were discussed and adopted by the Convention:

Resolved, That our evils originate in Social and not Political causes, and therefore that the remedy is to be sought in a Social Reform.

Resolved, That it will be in vain to attempt to harmonize human society, so long as our interests are competitive and conflicting; that the jails, prisons, government and religion of civilization are impotent to redress the wrongs of society, so long as their power and influence are directed to the defense and sanctification of the present isolated and subversive social arrangements; that these arrangements perpetuate the wrong which they presume to rectify, by offering premiums upon fraud, violence and oppression; that they offer rewards to the idle while they render thriftless the industrious and honest, by giving the fruits of industry to pamper idleness and to establish a commercial feudalism; and therefore that the next step of progressive reform, demanded alike by our circumstances and by the spirit of the age, is one of Unitary Interests in Associations of Attractive Industry.

Another resolution, relative to the necessity of combing the interest, capital and skill of the Associationists upon a general movement, instead of commencing a number of small fragmentary Assoications in different places, was introduced, discussed, and laid on the table, to give place to a discussion between John Orvis and Rev N. Gunnison. The discussion was deeply interesting, and though somewhat personal on both sides, perhaps, led to a better understanding of the subject of Association, and will certainly be no injury to the cause.

The following persons were appointed on a committee to call another Convention, at such time and place as should be thought most desirable:

F. A. Day, and John Allen, Hallowell; Mr. White, Winthrop; Dr. Bartlett and Mr. Turner, Vassalboro; Mr. McFarland, Bowdoinham.

Josiah M'Clinch, Chairman.
S. McFarland, Secretary.

LETTER FROM CHARLES A. DANA.

Brook Farm, June 17, 1844.

Dear Allen:—Your Convention has the greatest attraction for me. I imagine that you will assemble an amount of steady enthusiasm such as few occasions have

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ever called together. I should rejoice to be with you and to exchange greetings and words of encouragement with all earnest friends of social unity and true liberty. Especially would it give me pleasure to meet the ardent recruits that the hills and river sides of Maine are sending to our standard. In them, as far as I know them, is found the genuine spirit of peaceful warfare. I would fain, with the living voice, welcome them to our extending ranks, and from their fresh zeal, myself draw strength and inspiration for the work. But this is impossible. I most gladly seize your suggestion to give you, in the form of a letter, some of the actual results of Association. You will permit me to add a few thoughts, which in the present stage of the movement amongst us, seem to me to deserve consideration.

I confess that I speak of results with great hesitation. Cheering as they are, they still seem so poor and meagre, compared with the magnificent ideal which is in our minds, that they are hardly worth thinking of. When the future condition of Humanity lies before us, and we behold a United Race moving in beauty and intelligence to the fulfilment of its divine destiny, all present men and achievements sink into insignificance. But to be reassured and convinced that our efforts are not worthless or ineffectual, we need only to look back to civilization. Measured with it, the most defective of our associations is a paradise. The stale interests, empty excitements and paltry rewards which it brings before us, are, at their best for a whole life, not worth an hour of the true human activity that the rudest form of the combined order produces. In all points of view the contrast is similar. In every aspect of Civilization we behold the falsehood, injustice, the oppression of the weak, the blind folly of the strong, increasing disorder and general unhappiness. In life it is the same tragedy to all, whether it wears in dullness and inanity, or is fooled off in empty shows, or as happens with a great part of mankind, is one prolonged scene of want, of misery, and of degradation. Its institutions nowhere guarantee the satisfaction of the simplest necessities of man, or embody the idea of brotherhood, of union, and of mutual help. No man feels that he is in the midst of his friends, but each with the same sorrowful distrust seeks his own selfish path. Sundered, hostile, miserable, destroying each other. Yet each filled with irrepressible longings for an unknown unity—such are man in civilized society. But even in the infant state of our practical enterprise this is greatly changed. Struggling as all our associations still are, with obstacles that might almost seem impassable, limited in numbers and in means, with hardly the germ of a Harmonic Organization, we have for ourselves at least settled the problem and experimentally confirmed our original conviction, that a better social state awaited Humanity in the course of the Divine Providence. And I am sure that no man not entirely prejudiced, could for any length of time witness even the imperfect operation of universal principles, which we are able to obtain, without being convinced that Man was formed for social unity, and without regarding civilized disunity with horror and pity. I do not hesitate to say that we already have glimpses of that sublime Harmony for which Humanity is destined. Though it will arrive long after you and I have been withdrawn from this sphere of action, it is still an unspeakable happiness to labor for its advent. And in the fruit of our labors we shall leave to those who come after us the noblest inheritance in our power!

All our experience accords with the conclusions of science. The law of groups and series, the doctrine of Education, of Human Rights and of Social Economy as demonstrated by Fourier, have had in America experimental proofs to a greater or less degree. I regard them as established by practical trial, though the means of complete experiment have not been in our power, and though to outward observers great doubt may yet remain.

Of our own Association I may be allowed to speak with a personal affection. Indeed, no member of it, especially those who have been connected with it from the first, can help looking on with the deepest love and gratitude. Here our hopes are centred; here we have learned lessons that can neither be estimated nor forgotten; here our strength has been expended, and our life passed in freedom and in happiness. We have had heavy cares and responsibilities indeed, but still the genial gayety in which a really solemn and universal purpose is fitly prosecuted, has not been wanting. Were it all a little less earnest it would be a dream; it has such various and healthy enjoyments, such a summer gladness, is so free from false constraint, and from the austerity that is too apt to vitiate reforms. I might speak of particulars, but it is unnecessary. I will only say that whether we regard its objects, its circumstances, or its results, compared with life in Association the most fortunate life out of it seems worthless or intolerable.

For Fourier I learn daily a new reverence. His intellect is so symmetrical and balanced, so free from eccentricities and one-sidedness, that its greatness is not seen. It is only when we have become familiar with him that we can really be aware of his power. In his broad generalizations no necessary clearness is overlooked. In elucidating the Laws of Society and of the Universe, no least fact is ever left out of the account, but each is subjected to the same sure analysis. And in his grandest strains of scientific enthusiasm, when his head seems to tower among the stars, as he utters his answers to the sublimest questions that the human mind can propose, we feel that he yet stands on solid footing and moves in those lofty regions calmly and naturally as their native inhabitant. Nor is his merit that of a discoverer merely. He has taught us not the science of Association alone, but the art also. His practical insight and judgment seem almost wonderful. I believe that he has foreseen most if not all the difficulties that will arise in the course of actual experiment, and scientifically provided for them. Surely we do not err in regarding him with gratitude as a chosen messenger of Providence.

I trust your Convention will not adjourn without at least looking towards positive action. Talk is good, but action is much better. The question just now most important in the movement will be likely to arise among you, that is—what is to be done? If our past experience has taught us anything, it is that success cannot be guaranteed to any Phalanx which does not start with a sufficient amount of scientific knowledge in its directors, with a large capital and with effective laborers. We must, more than almost anything, avoid partial enterprises, which if they do not fail still cannot succeed. It is better to wait and bear the old burdens a little longer than to run the risks which must be encountered in such attempts. What, as Associationists, we most desire is to see an experiment upon such a scale as shall put scepticism at rest forever. To this end the friends of the cause must not dissipate their means and energies here and there, but concentrate them upon the point best fitted for the trial. Let them invest money in an amount sufficient to organize attractive industry without any needless delay. Let them select their best men and women to engage personally in the business, and the men most profoundly versed in the science be called to assist in its conduct. Then we shall see such results as the world has never dreamed of.

To me this seems plainly the shortest, nay more, the only road to our common end. Fifty partial associations may struggle on for years and not produce the effect which a well organized Phalanx would accomplish in as many months. Our object is not alone to get into association ourselves, but to bring the whole world into it, and this cannot be done till the vast amount of capital which, under Providence, civilization has been accumulating for this very purpose, is put at our command. To effect this nothing is necessary but the organization of Attractive Industry and the Harmony of the Passions. When these are once seen all men will hasten to lay aside their prejudices and their opposition, and will only desire too impatiently to participate in the benefits of the combined order. I know you agree with me in these views. I hope you will urge them upon the Convention. You will not misunderstand me to be so weak as to suppose that I am speaking in favor of any particular location. I do not know which of the Associations already established would be the best for the purpose. Devoted as I personally am to the interests of the cause at Brook Farm, I should be unwilling to have it chosen as the seat of the grand essay, except on a careful comparison of advantages it should be found most suitable. And in selecting one of the existing associations for a complete trial, none of the others ought to be forgotten. We are bound to maintain them all, and each in its turn should be furnished with the means of thorough organization, for each constitutes a group of the grand Phalanx into which this nation, now torn by so many conflicting interests and poisoned by so many fatal evils, shall in Health and Unity ere long be transformed.

Most faithfully yours,

CHARLES A. DANA.

THE MORAL OF THE WANDERING JEW.

When we before noticed this work we had not seen the Dedication of the author, the publisher, J. Winchester, not having received it with the advanced copy of the manuscript forwarded to him. It has, however, been subsequently published, and is of such a marked and important character that we give it a place in our columns. We have previously mentioned that Eugene Sue belonged to our school, and this Dedication confirms what we have said. The work as it advances will, without doubt, unfold additional testimony to the great thought and principles which the noble author has under-

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taken to illustrate so attractively. Indeed, the third part, already published, begins to unravel one thread of the design which is to exhibit in beautiful symmetry the whole embroidered warp, in which we may read the history of a false and competitive commerce, an unjust and oppressive system of labor, and perhaps the prophecy of a glorious reform of the complicated mass of fraud, outrage and misery which now pollute all the practical institutions of the world.

Eugene Sue has already distinguished himself as a brilliant writer, he will immortalize himself by the dedication of his talents to the great work of the age—the elevation of the laboring classes from the thraldom of Repugnant Industry—leading it onward through the flowery field of romance.

DEDICATION OF THE WANDERING JEW.

TO MR. C. F.

Favor me, dear Camille, by accepting the dedication of this book. It is a token of very real friendship; it is, moreover, a tribute of my lively gratitude. I shall never forget how your admirable labors, the fruit of long and cultivated experience, have served to set, on this side and on that, in strong relief, and active motion—so far as regards my humble sphere of novelist—more than one alarming or consolatory fact, relating more or less intimately to the organization of labor, that all-exciting question, which must ere long absorb all others, because it is to the masses a question of life or death.

If, in some of the episodes of this work, I have endeavored to demonstrate the admirably beneficent and practical effect, that a man of noble heart and enlightened intellect may produce on the laboring classes, to you be the credit due!

If, as a contrast, I have elsewhere depicted the fearful consequences wrought by the forgetfulness of all justice, of all charity, of all sympathy, upon those who, for a long time given up to all privations, to all wretchedness, to all grief, suffer in patient silence, and claim only the right of labor—that is to say, of earning a certain salary, proportionate to their toilsome exertions, and adequate to their moderate wants—again I say, to you the credit be due.

Yes! my friend, the touching and respectful affection which you have bestowed on the multitude of laborers you employ, and whose condition, both physical and moral, you are hourly meliorating, is one of those rare and glorious exceptions, which render yet more deplorable that ignorant selfishness which too often sacrifices with impunity the interest of a race of workmen, honest at once and laborious.

Farewell, my friend. The dedication of this book to you—to you, an artist so eminent—to you, one of the noblest hearts and clearest intellects I have ever encountered—shows, I hope, that in default of talent there will be found at least in my work wholesome tendencies, and generous convictions.

Ever your friend,
EUGENE SUE.

Paris, June 25, 1844.

THE SOCIAL REFORMER.

The first number of a new paper, under this name, has made its appearance at Boston. The editors are John Allen and Joseph A. Whitmarsh, both sincere and devoted friends of the cause of social reorganization. In the opening address of the editors, we rejoice to see that they announce that "the object of the paper will be the exposition of the Science of Unity, and the laws of attractive organized industry discovered by Charles Fourier."

But before we say any more, let us make one criticism on the new journal. We do not altogether like its first name—"The Social Reformer"—not that the name is not in itself good, but because it will be understood in the community in an imperfect and erroneous sense. Nearly all the reformers that start up, at this day, take the name of Social Reformers,—from the followers of Owen to the Transcendentalists, and we should dislike to see the friends of Association confounded with such a promiscuous hash. They stand upon distinct, positive and universal grounds, and do not teach the mere whims and notions of any man, or set of men, but what they consider the deductions of an exact and Catholic Science. It is doing essential injustice to their characters, then, to confound them with petty tinkers and cobblers in the way of reform, who would solder and patch the defects of existing institutions, and not reorganize them wholly, on sound principles. [Besides, "social reformers" generally have been nothing but Reformers, while the friends of Association are both Reformers and Conservatives.] They reform all that is bad, by preserving all that is good—the Word and and Works of God, interpreted by the law of the Series, being the standard of judgment.

The second title of the new paper is excellent—the "Herald of Universal Health"—a noble name. What can be loftier or grander in aim, than Universal Health,—which would be universal Justice, Happiness and Harmony. Would that our friends would take this name exclusively—for it covers all our objects—the Health of the Body and the Spirit, individual and social universal redemption, material and spiritual, personal and collective—of "the creature not willingly made subject to vanity," and of the mind, immortal in its nature and destiny.

This is all we have to say critically: but we might say a whole volume in commendation of the spirit of our new ally. The writers speak like men in earnest, are deeply penetrated by a feeling of the need of broader reform than any heretofore attempted, and, with a full appreciation of the grandeur and depth of Fourier's genius, yet keep their minds open to light from all quarters. This is the true position of all Associationists. They must be both Catholic and Protestant;—united yet various; maintaining common interests with private property; combined labor with individual taste; oneness of worship with doctrinal variety. The law of the Series, which is the law of universal distribution, in all spheres, material and spiritual, includes all these, and, when rightfully applied to Industry, Science, Education and Religion, will harmonize all aspects of mind and truth in a loving and glorious unity.

Two things in the "Reformer" particularly please us—the first, that it is determined to discuss all questions according to "universal" principles, and not on partial, one-sided and fragmentary grounds; and the second, that it looks to Religion as the basis of all movement. The last point we hold to be of essential, vital importance. The great mistake which men in this country have made—some of them even our professed friends—is, in regarding Association almost exclusively in a mechanical aspect, and not in its religious spirit and bearings. Association, as a mere machine, would be worthless. It must have the soul. It is only a body, which the Passions, in true harmonic development, must animate and refine. An outward form, apart from its indwelling life, is dead. The *form* of Association is industrial groups and series—the spirit—"thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, &c. and thy neighbor as thyself;" or, in other words, Christ's Religion, reflected and refracted through the various passions, called Friendship, Familism, Benevolence, &c. &c. Our friends have expressed this well, where they say:

"This universal desire for unity and harmony among men, has been on the increase, ever since Jesus Christ appeared. It is out of the deep heart of universal humanity, progress, and the tendency of things. It is not the growth of a year nor an age. The science and mechanism of Association will come out of present necessities, experiment and practice, more than otherwise. The Science of Life is needful, but to be scientific only, is to be a soulless body. Humanity *demands* truer conditions for the manifestation of that love and desire for unity which it feels and has long been struggling to express consistently and unitarily. Unity and Love demand Unitary and Love conditions. And they *must* and *will* be made. It is not "Man the mere creature of circumstances," but the Spirit of Truth and Love in man, making outward conditions conformable to the Spirit of Truth and Love. It is not only professing, but actualizing the command—'LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THYSELF.'"

Again, in another place, referring to Fourier's admirable letter to the *Gazette de France*, on the charge of infidelity, they say:

"With persons, however, disposed to examine the principles of Association, and to compare them with the teachings and example of Christ, it will not be necessary to rebut the charge of infidelity. For what matter is to mind, what the body is to the soul, what oratory is to psychology, Association is to Christianity. It is an outward organism instinct with the idea and spirit of

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Jesus. It is an exemplification in a Social body of the laws and loves incarnated in the character of Christ. It is the actualisation on the earth of the prophetic church, the reign of universal justice and love. It is a commune, in which all are members one of another, and where if one member suffers all the members suffers with it. It is a society of equal brothers, where the weak are not victimized by the strong, where lean and bony want never enters, where the clanking of the servile chain is never heard, and where the sword of the embroidered butcher is never drawn. It is a home of humanity, where the sacredness of the family hearthstone is respected, and the neighbor loved as ones self, where the child is welcomed from the hand of its Creator, and every power of its body and every faculty of its soul is developed to integral manhood, and where the race will achieve the noblest terrestrial, social and immortal destiny." A.

This is in the right spirit, and we ask for our brothers every success in their undertaking. We shall have frequent occasion to quote from their pages.

LETTER FROM MR. BRISBANE TO THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE.

Mr. Brisbane has commenced a series of letters to the Tribune, the first of which, received by the Acadia, is just published. Knowing the lively interest which our readers take in whatever comes from this source, we transfer the letter, although somewhat long, entire to our columns. And we would add, for the information of the numerous friends of Mr. Brisbane, that he enjoys excellent health, and, in concert with our friends at Paris, is industriously preparing the way for combined and efficient action in the great work of social renovation. Mr. Doherty and Mr. Brisbane are assiduously engaged in the examination of Fourier's unpublished MSS., of which he left a large quantity, throwing great light upon many problems not fully explained in his published writings, which were, in a great measure, merely introductory to works which Fourier designed, but did not live to see accomplished. The hiatus in Fourier's works do not relate so much to questions of a practical nature, for these he has treated most lucidly, but to principles and problems of asublime and transcendental character, concerning universal movement, and which are of immediate interest only to the profound student of Social Science and Universal Unity; and it is confidently believed that, through the knowledge possessed of the generating principles of the Law of the Series, by Hugh Doherty and others of the Social School, the omissions of Fourier in the higher parts of his doctrine, can be filled, and the path of study and progress in Universal Science rendered clear and easy.

Mr. Brisbane's letter should be read with great attention, as it is not of the ordinary stamp of travellers' letters, merely descriptive and superficial, but of a profound, philosophic nature, exhibiting the secret springs and impulses of society which produce national peculiarities and distinctions. The remarks of Mr. Brisbane upon the Right of Man to the Soil, aptly and appropriately follow our own on the same subject, in the last number of the Phalanx, and illustrate the vast importance of the question.

Paris, July 30, 1844.

Horace Greeley—

My Dear Sir; It was on the morning of the 17th of April that I bade you and other esteemed friends adieu to visit once more Europe, which I had not seen for some ten years. Our passage, (per packet for Havre,) owing to head winds and calms, was a protracted one; and, having arrived off the South-western coast of England, I landed and proceeded by land and steamer to Havre. I traversed in England a part of Cornwall, and visited the cities of Plymouth, Portsmouth and Southampton. I came from the latter city by steamer to Havre, and thence to Paris, my place of destination. In this excursion through the two countries, although partial and hurried, I had an opportunity of marking some of their leading features, and of contrasting them in a few of their striking characteristics.

I was very much struck and very much pleased with the *material* aspect of England. The country is most beautifully cultivated—far beyond any thing, no doubt, that exists or has existed elsewhere on the earth; and the immense development which is given to Industry must excite admiration in the mind of any man who has reflected upon this great element, the development of which is one of the primary conditions of the progress and elevation of the Human Race.

The three cities which I visited on the Southern coast of England are neat and handsome—much more so than the more Northerly cities, like Liverpool or Manchester, which are of a commercial and industrial character; they are more pleasing, also, than our own cities I was particularly charmed with Southampton; the houses, except in the business part, are generally separated by small yards, and tastefully ornamented by trees and shrubbery. They are built mostly of stone or a kind of white brick, and are varied in their style, so that those interminable and mononous rows of brick houses, without separations and foliage, which characterize our cities, disappear here. The city of the United States which called most to mind the character and general appearance of these Southern cities of England, is Boston. I took some pains to examine the quarters inhabited by the poor in Southampton, and I must say that they were remarkable for cleanliness and an appearance of order and comfort, which I was very far from expecting to find. The South of England is, I believe, much better off than any other part; and those cities on the Southern coast offer a striking contrast with the more Northerly ones. I mention these facts because I expected to find a very different state of things, and to meet with examples of great destitution and distress, in every part of England.

In traveling through England, you cannot but be delighted with the beauty of the landscape; and what adds to it very much are the numerous country mansions and villas, the residences of the noblemen and the rich, which are scattered over it. They give to the scenery a life, elegance and refinement, which are very necessary to enliven the landscape, and without which it wears rather a solitary and often a desolate character In France it is very different; you see, comparatively, very few country houses. The cause of this difference is to be found in the sentiment or ruling spirit of the two people. In the English character, the *family feeling* predominates; it is the strongest of the social affections, and in the family are concentrated the pleasures, the hopes and the interests of the individual; he is willing to live isolatedly in this little circle—and to this peculiar moral trait of the English character is due, in a great measure, the numerous country seats which are scattered over the land. How deeply it pervades and distinguishes the English people, is well portrayed in the poetry of the nation, which dwells so much upon the domestic affections and the comforts and delights of *home*.

In the French character, the *social sympathies* are predominant. The individual must have ties and interests out of the family circle; he finds it too narrow, and he will not consent to live absorbed within its limited sympathies. You cannot induce the French to live isolatedly in a country house, cut off from the rest of the world; they seek the towns and cities, where there is more social life, setting too much price upon it to sacrifice it even to pecuniary advantages, to which men sacrifice so much. The principle of sociability in the French character is, I think, one of the main causes of the absence of the beautiful country residences which cover the face of England.

For my part, I prefer the French character; I like and admire the principle of sociability which exists in it. I think that this principle is more noble, more generous, than the family sentiment, which is so contracted, and so deeply tinged with selfishness in present society. In true society this character will not exist, and the family sentiment will bloom with beautiful devotion, whilst broader sympathies and more benevolent feelings towards those not connected by ties of consanguinity, will be cultivated and cherished.

This contrast of character in the two nations explains many things connected with their social life and their history. The English are formal, reserved and cold in their manners; with talent there is often

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dignity; without it there is stiffness and frequently brutality. The French are expansive, unreserved and enthusiastic: with talent you find great tact, delicacy and politeness; without it, frivolity and exaggeration.

The English have developed in their social life the domestic or private side of human character. Look at England's history for the last two centuries: (I speak of this period, because the history of European nations during that time has been more matured and intelligent than during previous ages, possesses more collectiveness and unity of character, and reflects better the spirit of the whole people;) look at her history, and you will find that it is strongly infused with the family spirit—with the social affection predominant in the people. She has been busily engaged in developing her own internal resources, particularly Industry, which is a thing of a family character in present society; in disciplining her laboring masses—her children of toil—and in concentrating her power. Her principal external action has been to found colonies; but this forms a part of the family policy—speaking of the family policy as manifested in its national degree.

How different has been the history of France during the same period! Her action and policy have been mainly external; all Europe has been her field of action, and she seems to have been animated by a desire to universalize the principles which she herself had accepted, and wished to realize in her own social life. Look at the great movement of the reign of Louis XIV. and the still greater ones of the French Revolution and of Napoleon's career: they have filled up the principal part of the history of France for the last two centuries: and we may say that her history, during that period, has been European nearly as much as French.

France has been backward and negligent in the *development of Industry*, (Agriculture, Manufactures and Commerce.) Agriculture, which is the fundamental branch, is particularly in a low state, and probably without the brilliant example of England before her, all branches would have been much more behind hand than they now are.

France has colonized very little, and she is acknowledged to be the worst colonizer of all the European nations. Both of these great branches of national activity—the developing of Industry and Colonization—appertain to the family spirit and policy operating in a national degree; in both has England been powerful and successful; in one France has been quite deficient (with a few exceptions,*) and in the other very unsuccessful.

France, however, has exerted a powerful influence, in a political and social point of view, upon Europe: she has been in social politics the Pioneer Nation, and is so still, and I believe that with the generous enthusiasm which animates her, and her spirit of scientific research, she will be one of the foremost, if not the foremost, Nation, in guiding mankind to a higher and nobler destiny on earth—to a destiny of peace, of universal prosperity and enlightenment, of refinement and happiness, instead of the present state of war and discord, of general poverty and ignorance, of degradation and misery.

This noble work, which is to be the grand and absorbing occupation of the latter half of the present century, will be directed principally, I think, by France and the United States. England is too much engrossed in the care of her vast possessions, in her family policy, and her industrial interests, to direct her attention to universal principles and organic reforms; the rest of Europe is politically too much enslaved, so that the task of leading humanity onward to its destiny must devolve upon France in the Old World, and upon the United States in the New. It is quite possible that the United States may take the lead in the great work of an organic or Social Reform, on account of the superior intelligence of the laboring classes, or mass of the People. Such a reform must commence in Industry, not in Politics, and gradually embrace and correct the falseness of other departments of Society. The People feel keenly the evils of Industry as it is now prosecuted, such as,

1. False and envious Competition.
2. Profit absorbed by Commerce.
3. No just rewards according to Capacity and the difficulty of Labor.
4. Monotonous and often unhealthy occupations prolonged the day and year through without change or variety
5. Painful and degrading obedience of the individual to the individual—of the hired classes to employers, master-workmen and capitalists, and injustice and rapacity of the latter.
6. Absence of a free choice of occupations, and of the guarantee of the right of Labor or regular employment.
7. Bad organization of Labor, and poor tools, implements, machinery, workshops, &c. &c.
8. Industry rendered repugnant and dishonorable from the above circumstances connected with it, and poorly recompensed.

The People feel severely these evils, and the next great Reform which is to take place in Society, must be of an Industrial and Social character—for Political and Administrative Reforms have been sufficiently tested to prove their inefficacy. It is probable that the country where the mass of the People are the most independent and enlightened, will take the lead in this great movement, because they are more sensible of the evils which oppress them, as well as able to understand the causes which produce them.

Although it is likely that France and the United States are to be the prominent actors or leaders in the great work of Organic Reform and Social Progress, which modern civilized Societies *must accomplish*, or sink under their iniquities as did those of Greece and Rome, still England is aiding powerfully in various ways to accomplish this transformation. Let us take a single circumstance as an example.

In 1830 France effected a Political Revolution, which brought up a higher order of Political and Social questions than had ever before been discussed.

In 1830 England built the first Railroad, that between Liverpool and Manchester, and gave a new movement to internal communication and industry.

Both of these facts are important ones, and have been the means of developing the germs of mighty future events, which are now but dimly foreseen. Europe is now nearly covered with Railroads, and capital is eager to seek an investment in them; they will give a new life to her; they will produce union and Nationality in those countries, like Germany and Italy, where they do not now exist, and will be the means of cementing in bonds of friendly union Nations that have heretofore been divided by envious rivalry and National antipathies. The unity and safety of Europe, as at present constituted, is in her Railroads.

Before closing my letter, there is one more point on which I must touch, and which should interest deeply all those who take an interest in the welfare and elevation of the People.

In traversing England I was powerfully impressed, and in a practical and palpable manner, with the truth of a principle which I have long understood and advocated in theory, to wit, the necessity of securing to the Laboring classes the *Right of Labor* and the *Right to the Soil*. Unless this double right be secured to the People, they

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* In Industry the French have developed in predominance the *artistic* side or aspect; hence the beauty and perfection of their silks, porcelains, mirrors, furniture, jewelry, and other objects, in which taste and refinement can be introduced. While they have given this perfection to some branches of Industry, others, and more important ones, have been shamefully neglected: their agricultural implements, for example, are miserably rude and defective. In this respect they resemble the Chinese somewhat, who, while they make a fan that astonishes by its perfection and ingenuity, use a plow that is the most perfect type of rudeness and ignorance. I consider the care and interest which a people take in perfecting their agricultural implements as one of the strongest signs of practical common sense. The French are now making very decided efforts to improve their agriculture and its attendant branches.

The English have developed in industry the *useful* side or aspect; and hence the great perfection which they have given to everything of a useful or practical character, and the neglect to a considerable degree of the *artistic*.

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must inevitably sink in the course of time into poverty and slavish dependence. Unless this right be realized in practice in society, it is utterly impossible to improve the condition of the laboring classes, that is, of the *vast majority* of the population, and elevate the condition of the people to a very high standard of intelligence, independence, and happiness. Let me add a few words in explanation of this assertion.

In travelling through the beautifully cultivated regions of the South of England, to the inquiry to whom belonged this or that tract of land, I received as answer, "to Lord such a one," to "Earl such a one," or to "Marquis such a one." The land was owned mostly by Noblemen, and was entailed in a few noble families, so that *the possession could not pass out of their hands.* The right or ownership of the soil descended from generation to generation to the eldest members of these noble families, and the great bulk of the population were consequently excluded from the soil, and have to come to them to buy or beg the privilege of working upon it in order to produce the means of supporting themselves and their families.

Let us look for a moment at the effect of this exclusive ownership of the soil by a very small minority, to the exclusion of the vast majority: it is the most gigantic of all monopolies that has ever existed.

There are in Great Britain, which comprises England, Wales, and Scotland, about eighteen million inhabitants. The great majority must live, of course, by agriculture and manufactures—probably ten million by agriculture, and three million by manufactures. In all countries agriculture is the fundamental source of subsistence, and it is to the land that the great majority must go to live.

The landed property of Great Britain is in the hands of less than fifty thousand families, or supposing five persons to a family, to two hundred and fifty thousand individuals. Mr. Colquhoun, a distinguished writer upon statistics, estimates the number of persons of independent fortune, in Great Britain, that is of persons who can live without daily labor, at only sixty thousand, making their families three hundred thousand, and in this number he includes merchants, bankers, &c. We may then safely conclude that the great bulk of the landed property of Great Britain is in the hands of less than fifty thousand persons.

Thus we see on one hand about ten million of persons, or two million of families, that must live from the soil, entirely deprived of all right or control over it, and on the other hand, the soil owned by fifty thousand families, which control it exclusively, and can say to these two million families, who own none of it, "This soil is ours, you cannot come upon it without our permission; we will grant you the privilege of cultivating it upon certain conditions, but if you do not choose to fulfil them you can go and starve." This is the language which a false state of things necessarily puts in the mouths of those who have the monopoly of the soil in their hands. And what are the conditions which the two millions must fulfil to obtain the privilege of working upon the soil, which, it is evident, God created for the whole human race, as they are all His children? The conditions are, that they shall give to the few who own the soil very nearly all that they can raise from it by persevering and unremitting toil, except just enough to support animal existence, and that in a very rude and coarse way.

Free competition among the ten million, who are excluded from the right to the soil, induces them to bid against each other to obtain the privilege of working upon it, and the enormous prices paid for the rent of land in England—a price which nearly crushes the cultivator—is not the effect of direct extortion on the part of the land owners, but of reductive competition among the laborers, which enables those who have monopolized the land to fix their own prices for the use of it, and to satisfy their cupidity without exercising the least force or direct compulsion.

How did this monopoly of the soil take place? In the following manner: During the middle ages the military leaders or chiefs took the soil by the force of the sword, each as large as he could get or keep; they became the nobles of the land, the dukes, earls, &c. and entailed their estates in their families, so that the exclusive ownership of the soil became fixed in the few families which had thus forcibly and unjustly usurped the possession of it.

This monopoly of the soil may and will take place in the United States, if Association does not interfere to prevent it, although if it does, it will be effected in quite another way; still the same result—the exclusion of the mass from the right to the soil—will follow. Already in the older States the landed property is fast going into the hands of the Capitalists, Merchants, the Banks, Trust Companies, &c., and once there, the cultivator will rarely be able to accumulate enough to buy the land.

The enormous profit which Capital and Commerce make will enable them to absorb in time the landed property of the country; in fact, they must invest a portion of their profits in it, for there are not otherwise outlets for accumulated capital.

In the first periods of civilization, or during the middle ages, the soil was monopolized by *direct encroachment*—by the great Barons, who employed military force and violence in taking it. In the modern age, the soil will be monopolized by *indirect encroachment*—by the Bankers and Merchants, who, with the aid of the immense profits which they make, will gradually absorb the small farms of the country, and the cultivators must go and beg of this new race of aristocrats, the aristocrats of wealth, the privilege of cultivating the earth, as they now do in Europe of the titled nobility. A Commercial Feudalism is rising in this modern age in the place of the Military Feudalism which is sinking

If the subsistence of the People is drawn from the soil, it is very evident that the People must have the right to cultivate the soil, and enjoy the products of their labor. Take from them this right, and you cut short at once their means of subsistence and welfare.

The Right to the Soil is of a hundred fold more importance to the People than the Right to Vote, and the other rights which the Constitution guarantees to them: it is of all rights, the fundamental and most important one.

Intelligent and honorable Statesmen should endeavor to discover the means of securing to the People the Right to the Soil, while at the same time, individual Right in Property is respected. How can this be done?

Let them seek for the means with the same energy and industry that they seek for places of individual profit and honor, and they will soon discover them. The problem however, *is solved*; the means *are discovered*; and if politicians and statesmen will not interest themselves in this great question, the People should have common sense enough to see the necessity of a solution, to inquire whether one exists, and realize it in practice when it is presented to them.

In my next I will speak to you of Paris and some of the Celebrities here.

Very truly, yours,
A. BRISBANE.

P. S. The celebration of the Three Days—the anniversary of the Revolution of July—has passed off very quietly: the only things worthy of note were the magnificent Fireworks, and the splendid illumination of the avenue of the *Champs Elysés* (Elysian fields.) The entrance to the avenue was made to represent a palace, formed of lights of different colors, and the sides of the avenue for about a mile in length, represented a magnificent colonnade, composed also of lights of various hues. Vast chandeliers hung over the centre, and the whole scene presented a magic and fairy-like effect which cannot be described. It was probably the finest illumination that has ever taken place in Europe.

The general character of the *divertissemens* and *jeux* (mats de cocagne, public spectacles, etc.) offered to the people by the Government, were of that frivolous and contemptible character, which excited pity both for the mass and the Government.

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SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS UNITY.

SOCIAL PROGRESS.—SOCIAL REFORM UPON CONSERVATIVE PRINCIPLES.

THE PHALANX:

SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.

ASSOCIATION, ATTRACTIVE INDUSTRY, UNITY OF INTERESTS.

ORGAN OF THE

DOCTRINE OF ASSOCIATION.

OUR EVILS ARE SOCIAL, [illegible]ITICAL, AND A SOCIAL REFORM ONLY CAN ERADICATE THEM.

J. WINCHESTER, PUBLISHER, 30 ANN-ST. TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM, IN ADVANCE.

VOLUME I. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1844. NUMBER 18.

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS.

As announced at the outset of the publication of the Phalanx, our design was to make it a Weekly paper "as soon as the subscription list would warrant it."

For a time we published it monthly, but on account of the urgent wishes of some of our friends, and various encouraging circumstances, we were induced to make one step towards the completion of the original design, by issuing the paper every two weeks. We regret to state now that we cannot continue to do so, without incurring greater pecuniary sacrifice than it is in our power to sustain, and we are compelled to retreat to our original position, and issue the Phalanx MONTHLY.

Two circumstances have mainly contributed to defeat our purpose for the present: the first, a very large falling off in the sale of our papers at Rochester, Buffalo, Pittsburg, Cincinnati, and various other places, where we formerly sold large numbers as they came out, in consequence of our friends in those places very generally having united with the Associations recently formed in their respective neighborhoods; and second, the political contest which absorbs attention so universally, and diverts it from almost every other object.

These two causes have retarded our progress, and the only course left for us is, to take safe ground, and wait awhile, until they cease to operate. When the political storm now brooding over the country has passed over, we may hope to have a fair field to work in, and we do not doubt but our progress will soon again be onward. The people will listen to our voice when they have become sick of the empty clamor of politics.

The next number of the Phalanx, then, will not appear for one month from the present time, and after that MONTHLY, for a short, and, as we hope, for a very short period. The terms remain unchanged, viz: $2 for 52 numbers, or $1 for 26 numbers, *in advance*. A discount of *twenty-five per cent.* will be allowed to all agents, or to persons who order more than five copies. Address J. Winchester, 30 Ann street, New York.

We are under obligations to many of our friends for their exertions in obtaining subscribers; but of the supineness of others we have good reason to complain. The cause of Association is the cause of every man, and not ours alone; and every one who enlists under its banner should do so as a soldier, ready and willing to contribute all in his power to speed its glorious triumph.

Friends of Association—of the sublime Cause of Universal Unity!—if you think the Phalanx can do any good and should be sustained, let it have your aid. Let every man get one more subscriber!

A REPLY TO THE SWEDENBORGIANS.

CRITICISMS from various sources have crowded upon us so fast recently, that we have had but little to do besides replying to the inadequate or unfair objections of our contemporaries. A science so comprehensive, so grand, so complicated, so much opposed to prevailing prejudices, so many-sided and all-pervading as that of Fourier, must expect to meet with a great deal of opposition; and whoever enlists in our cause with a hope that he has engaged in a mere holiday warfare, has committed a great mistake.

"Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis,
Tempus eget,"

but patient, brave, stout-hearted men, prepared to encounter every variety of hostility, to sacrifice reputation and friendships, to be misrepresented and maligned, and even to go to their graves, unhonored and unacknowledged, the willing sacrifices of a great but rejected truth. And not only from the ignorant and the malignant, like O. A. Brownson, but from the truth-seeking and charitable, like Mr. Clarke and the friends we are about to reply to, must we look for misconception and perversion. The system of Fourier would hardly be entitled to be regarded as truth, if it did not, like the children of Israel, wander through the wilderness, amid encompassing hosts of enemies, before it entered the promised land—if it did not, like the great source of all truth, our Lord, experience a period of humiliation before it arose to its glorified and heavenly state. The advocates of that system, therefore, must learn it as their first lesson, to treat all gainsayers — except, perhaps, the wilfully false and bitter—with great sauvity, moderation and kindness. This is the spirit we endeavor to preserve in the discussions of the Phalanx, although, in some instances, we may be provoked into severity, by the ignorant self-conceit and viperous malice of some pretended philosophers and religionists.

But while expecting severe criticism from all sides, we must confess that the last quarter to which we should look for unfairness of statement, or narrowness of judgment, is to the followers of Swedenborg. Not to say, that being themselves the victims of a vast amount of unfounded and noxious prejudice, they should learn to sympathize with others in the same condition,

"Haud ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco,"

the simple fact of the singular and extensive coincidence between the conclusions of Fourier and Swedenborg, on very many points, should exempt the former from harsh and hasty depreciations. We have for some time been familiar with the writings of both of these men, and accept all that we understand of both, with renewed surprise every day, that two intellects, so widely distinct in their characters, and working in such different spheres, should have arrived so nearly to the same views. The great difference between them, is more in the employment of terms, and in the specific application of principles, than in the principles themselves—Fourier using the language of science in relation to human society, and Swedenborg the language of Faith in relation to revelation and heavenly order. That Fourier never opened a book of Swedenborg, is perfectly evident from the known habits of his mind. Yet the coincidences of the two, sometimes even in the use of terms, is astonishing.

In the doctrine of God, of Correspondency or Universal Analogy, of the progressive states of the Church or Society, of the nature and necessity of Uses, of Order in all perfect societies, of the relation of faith and good works, and on various other points, we can discover no essential difference in principle. Fourier is, we think, the more precise and scientific, but Swedenborg the more devotional. Nor can we see how the one can be fully understood, in the higher questions of religious philosophy, without the other. But we will not dwell upon this matter, as a gentleman of this city,

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(Mr. Hempel) has already prepared a book upon the subject.

It remains only to give the history of the subjoined article. It was prepared by our accomplished and profound friend, Mr. Doherty, in reply to the criticism of the New Jerusalem Magazine, Boston, made some time last year. The editor of that periodical did not, for what reason we cannot say, see fit to insert it, and it was accordingly procured for the Phalanx. Our readers, we trust, will derive from it the high pleasure which it has afforded us.

London, January 30, 1844.

To the Editor of the New Jerusalem Magazine, Boston, U. S.:

Sir:—My attention has been called to a letter, in your magazine for December, 1843, in which the System of Fourier, is very candidly commented on, but not correctly. I am also informed that similar ideas of the social theory which I profess, are held by some of the members of the New Church in this country. My friend, Lord Wallscourt, informs me that he called last week on Mr. Newbery to inquire for a book, and on asking if Fourier's works were sold by him, the reply was, that "he had formerly taken some interest in the theory of association, but when he learned that Prostitution was a part of the system, he held it in abhorrence." He also said that "he had received an order for a complete set of the Phalansterian publications, but he deemed it his duty not to supply them."

Now, Mr. Editor, these are very graves charges, and, were they merely verbal, I should not deem it necessary to trouble you with my observations, but your printed correspondence is not less condemnatory and prejudicial; I must, therefore, beg your serious attention to my observations, which shall be as brief as possible, consistently with the importance of the subject, and the necessity of neutralizing, at least, a part of these very, very erroneous appreciations.

Before I enter into the question, allow me to say one w about the influence of prejudice in blind.. the eye of the mind. I will merely state a fact.—About twelve months ago, I was conversing with a clergyman of the Church of England, who has adopted the Phalansterian theory of Association, and he was desirous of knowing how Fourier reconciles his views of marriage, with the injunctions of Scripture: after a short conversation on this point, I recommended him to read a book which I put into his hand, as a preliminary step to further explanations, and there the subject dropped. The book was Swedenborg's "Conjugial Love," and to my very great surprise, it was returned early on the following day, with a short note of polite rebuke, for putting *such* a book into his hands. Now, this gentleman is confessedly very much puzzled by the question of marriage, and yet he would not deign to read a book written by "Swedenborg," because he was already prejudiced against the name, and took it for granted that nothing good could come from "such a source."

This parallel applies to Mr. Newbery, who would not supply Fourier's works; and now let me return to your correspondence. I will comment on a few only of the most important phrases, taking them seriatim.

"Depend upon it, the followers of Swedenborg ought to have some *opinion* upon this matter."

This is very good, but the word, "opinion," is fraught with danger; for opinions may be derived from false knowledge, or imperfect appreciation, as well as from true knowledge, as your correspondent's friend's *opinion* clearly proves to my mind. Those, then, who have received the light through Swedenborg, should have a well digested, scientific knowledge of the Laws of Social Harmony in the natural world, and if they cannot obtain this through Fourier, they should make the attempt, and not be hasty in forming their opinions, before they are really sure of what is true, and what is not true, in Social Science. This I believe to be your correspondent's meaning, and I dwell upon it, only with a view to careful observation.

"But the plan of Fourier does not seem to me to include a *special Theology*, nor, so far as I can judge, to be a *safe guide* any higher than economic order, or association and natural science."

This seems to me correct in a very general and vague sense, but not less liable to misconception in what may be termed the internal aspect of details: the root, in fact, of the *opinion*, as an affirmation.

The word "special Theology," as I understand it, means a particular "confession of Faith," or doctrine of interpretation applied to the Word. Fourier does not give a special Theology or doctrine of interpretation, but he gives his explanation of the *Laws of Order*, universally according to which the Word itself is given and the *World* created. This universal law of order he terms "Series," in technical language, and he affirms that, though the Word is one, its aspects in the *human* mind are various, and that each period, or age of the world, as well as each distinct class of mind in the human family, has its own "special Theology" or degree of light and understanding of the Word. Revelation, in the Scriptural sense, flows from one source, by inspiration, but "special Theologies" are merely human degrees of understanding, which progress with the gradual influx of light into the mind of man, as it were, imperceptibly.

The law of order, or "Series," then, is the only doctrine of interpretation, or law of understanding, which Fourier gives abstractedly; but he refers us to the living law of interpretation in the Church, for special guidance in the application of this Law of Series, as a "special Theology," or doctrine of interpretation adapted to the special states of the human understanding, at a given period in the age of humanity collectively.

To make this more clear, it would be necessary for me to dwell at some length on our understanding of the difference between *Inspiration* and *Influx*, as mediums of light in the spiritual world of mind, and that would carry me beyond the limits of an incidental correspondence. I will, however, make a few observations on the words "safe guide."

Fourier does not pretend to be inspired, and, therefore, he appeals to demonstration in the sphere of Science. He is a "safe guide" only, after demonstation—not before; and he himself lays down the rule that all which he affirms without sufficient proof of truth and accuracy, is to be deemed "conjectural" until the knowledge of future generations has become sufficiently mature to judge of his assertions and deductions with the power of demonstration. He expressly states that the present generation should not act according to his conjectures of future Institutions, but be guided by the prudence and experience of the Church and the legal Institutions of Society. It is hardly necessary for me to state that by the word "church," we do not mean the established clergy exclusively, but the appointed rulers of the church on earth, in all its various degrees of order.

The Phalansterians, however, have a religious creed, which is analogous to what is termed "special Theology," though it includes a complete series of "special Theologies" or doctrinal views of the Word. This creed is resumed in the words:

Devotional Unity,
Doctrinal Variety.

We believe that all the sectional varieties of doctrine will be purified and gathered in one Unitary Church, the Church of Christ, but the spiritual universe of realities being not less infinitely various than the natural or external world of appearances, will afford as many varieties of distinct spiritual sciences, or theologies, as there are and will be distinct branches of natural science. Fourier has said but little on this subject in his printed works, because he believed the work of associative unity would be commenced by sectional churches before they could be reconciled to each other, and he has given many reasons for his opinion, but in his unpublished manuscripts he has written much on the subject of Religion and its future rites and ceremonies. One of the most sublime conceptions I ever met with, occurs in one of these, which is—that when religious harmony has been established on this globe, one of the religious rites will be that, twice a year, at the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, the whole

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human race will rise at dawn and stand in each locality, joined hand in hand, to hail the rising sun with welcome joy, and sing the psalms of praise and gladness to the Lord of Heaven and Earth, whose spiritual influence in the church is typified so gloriously by that of solar heat and light in nature. This ceremony of univeral thanksgiving, before and after the natural harvest which spreads the table of abundance for the whole family of man, is the universalization, if I may use the word, of grace before and after meals, in the individual family; and all the forms of worship and thanksgiving will be similarly universalized in harmony, according to the views of Fourier with regard to order in the church in its regenerated state on earth.

I mention this to show that Phalansterians are not indifferent to religion, though they do not meddle much with biblical controversy, nor establish what is called a special doctrine of Theology. It must not be inferred from this, however, that they are Deists, or mere natural religionists. They believe that Christ is the Lord of Heaven and Earth, "the light of the World;" that he is to men and angels in the spiritual universe, what the natural sun is to the planets which revolve in the solar system. Fourier is not their guide in the infallible sense of the word; he is merely a light to them in science, with no other authority than that derived from scientific demonstration. It is not a new religion that Fourier wishes to establish, but a new state of Being in the Church of Christ. The Word of God and the Laws of Nature are the only infallable guides in natural and spiritual knowledge! The Word of Inspiration is a "safe guide," but it is not safe for us to trust our individual understanding as an infallible mirror of the Word, at all times and under all circumstances. In this case we must look to the living law of interpretation and authority in the church as a "safe guide" for the time being. History proves, however, that this authority is not absolutely infallible. However strong our faith may be in the Word, we ought always to suspect the weakness of human understanding; but with regard to Fourier as a "safe guide," I may state that he confesses his light to be not that of Inspiration or prophecy, but influx, or what is commonly termed Reason. We have a right, therefore, to question the truth of his assertions, as well as the powers of our own reason, but not to condemn without due study, that which is capable of demonstration, either positively or negatively. The only "safe guides," then, for human reason being the Word of Inspiration and the Law of Science, we must judge Fourier's theory by this standard, to the best of our ability and candor.

"The doctrines of Transmigration of Souls, Transmutation of Sex, the conscious life of the Planets, Suns, and of the material universes generally, will not be *readily* accepted by the New Church."

So much the better that they should not be "readily" accepted by any party, without sufficient examination; but should they be readily rejected, or prejudged without investigation? Fourier derives them from the science of analogy or correspondency, and asserts that they are capable of demonstration when the mind is sufficiently acquainted with the Laws of Science and of Nature to understand the subject thoroughly. The members of the New Church should bear in mind, that there are many things known in Heaven, and shown to Swedenborg, which he was not permitted to communicate. It is, however, quite orderly that they should wait for scientific demonstration before they accept any doctrine or corollary from Fourier. I only wish to guard them from erroneous and prejudiced opinions.

Fourier refers us to the Word of God, as the only "safe guide" in Revelation and Religion, inculcating the discipline of individual subordination to the collective authority of the church in matters of unsettled controversy. Not that he opposes the liberty of private judgment in religion, for no one ever used more freely of that liberty; but he maintains that individual opinions ought not to arrogate authority as long as they are not adopted by the church collectively, which they must be, in time, if true. He and all the Phalansterians, believe that there are many true varieties of doctrinal interpretation, or fragmentary explanations of the Word, and that the church will harmonize them all in unity, when positive ideas of association and consociation are once universalized. Meanwhile, I am free to confess that I have received more light from Swedenborg on spiritual doctrines, than from any other special doctrine of theology; but I have also received light from other sources, which I have not found in the "New Church" theology.

As I understand Phalansterianism, the Apostolic Church will be the established Holy Catholic, or universal Church of Christ, in which all will join in worshipping the Lord of Heaven and Earth, without regard to the ascendancy of any one variety of doctrine or "special theology," and all legitimate varieties of doctrine or Scriptural Science, will be cultivated by particular groups of minds in the Phalanx, as various branches of natural science will be cultivated by particular groups or consociations: so that the universal church will be one Catholic Association, composed of numerous dictinct consociations or sects of special doctrine, harmonized in unity:

Doctrinal variety:	Special consociations: Protestantism.
Devotional unity:	General Association: Catholicism.

The harmony of Free, Protestant, or Individual Sects, then, in the collective unity of the Apostolical Church, is the work of reconciliation in Christ which we propose to realize in Phalansterian order, or the New State of the Church, and we have no "special theology" but the Word itself and the "Series," as a law of order and interpretation. This law of order is our guide, and we believe it to be a "safe guide" to the right understanding of the Word and of the Works of God. It is not an arbitrary guide of man's creation, but human reason may be liable to error in applying it, and hence the necessity for strict investigation and demonstration in all spheres of doctrine and opinion, both Scriptural and natural.

I now ceme to the opinions of your correspondent's friend, Mr. Elwell, which opinions appear to me to be exceedingly defective and unwarranted, thought not illiberal in spirit.

"I have not had time to read more than Fourier's "*Nouveau Monde Industriel*," but I *think* that is enough, from its necessary variety of subject and importance of purpose, to enable me to *designate* him."

Now I believe that *that* is not enough to enable Mr. Elwell, or any body else, to "designate" Fourier's social theory. It is professedly a mere compendium of the theory, and refers very often to his larger work, the *Traité d'Association Domestique Agricole*," for a complete explanation of certain views but partially developed. With regard to the proof of the "immortality of the soul," Fourier expressly states in his larger work, that he has given but one link of the chain of demonstration, which contains, at least, a dozen links or terms; but his reason for limiting his demonstration to one chief or pivotal term is twofold: first, the necessity for brevity in a work of general exposition; and secondly, the comparative or relative completeness of one principal term or theorem, which is to all the others, what the white solar ray of light is to the colors of the spectrum: namely, a fusion of them all. From his general theorem that "the attractions or affections of the soul are proportional to its final destiny," he demonstrates the necessary immortality of the soul, and I am prepared to substantiate that demonstration to Mr. Elwell or any other person, both positively and negatively: that is, to prove the accuracy of the demonstration on the one hand, and the impossibility of refutation on the other. The *Nouveau Monde Industriel* contains only a summary of the demonstration given by Fourier in his larger work. It is hardly necessary for me to observe that no demonstration can be given to a person who is not sufficiently acquainted with the elements of that particular branch of science which involves the nature of the demonstration. A preparatory course of instruction is necessary, and I believe that Mr. Elwell is not sufficiently acquainted with the elementary affections of the soul in metaphy-

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sical analysis to understand at once the demonstration thence derived. If he be, he must prove it, before his *opinion* can have any serious claim to authority.

"He has clearly kept to epicurianism, for, says he, 'Let your own individual passions have their full play—they'll counterbalance one another, and by effecting the full play of every body else too, counterbalance all your own, *and so there can't be any harm.*'"

This is a very unfair version, inasmuch as it is very one-sided and incomplete, and therefore calculated to mislead the judgment of the reader. I hardly know how to neutralize it in a few words. In harmony, where all the passions or affections (for by passions, Fourier means, moral, intellectual and physical impulsions,) are subject to internal spiritual discipline, like notes of music put in tune, and external variety of uses and occupations, like various instruments of music harmonised in concert, the affections of the soul being constantly applied to uses will harmonize each other in subordination to the laws of order, individually and collectively; but, without subordination to the laws of order and associative equilibrium, and without constant application to real uses, and without internal spiritual discipline to prepare the soul for the life of uses in associative and consociative unity, the passions are necessarily subverted in their tendencies, and they produce, instead of harmony, the present state of civilized duplicity and conflict, discord, vice, and anarchy. Left to themselves, then, as Mr. Elwell's version would lead the reader to suppose, the passions would not "counterbalance" each other, but the contrary, as experience has proved abundantly. Mr. Elwell's "hence his laxity about marriage, and hence his baits to ambition in having kings and queens, &c. &c., all which are proper accompaniments to dissolute manners," is not a true inference or allegation, as I hope I shall be able to show, but I will reserve the question of marriage for my conclusion, and dwell, at present, on one or two other points of Mr. Elwell's commentary.

"The system throughout is thorough paced French skepticism, boasting itself quite *up to* all high and spiritual truths, &c."

This is a mere unwarranted allegation, and I deny it. I am a believer in the truths of the New Church, and have read nearly all the writings of Swedenborg, and I have no hesitation in saying that without Fourier's explanation of the laws of order in Scriptural interpretation, I should probably have doubted the truth of Swedenborg's illumination from want of a grouud to understand the nature of spiritual sight in contradistinction from natural sight; or if I had been able to conceive the opening of the spiritual sight, and credit Swedenborg's doctrines and affirmations, I should probably have understood them only in the same degree, as most of the members of the New Church whom I have met in England, and that would seem to me, in my present state, a partial calamity of cecity. I say this in all humility and sincerity of conscience, with a view to future reference to Swedenborg himself in the spiritual world, and as a means of inducing the members of the New Church generally not to be conten a superficial or limited knowledge r own doctrines. In connexion w is observation, I will put one question to them: if there are three Heavens, or three distinct states of the Church in Heaven, what are the corresponding states of coexisting doctrines to be in the New State of the Church on earth, or rather in the natural external world? and how are they to be harmonized in unity under the government of the Lord? and what will be the Hell or the exceptional state of mind in the regenerated church here? and how will this Hell or exceptional state be reduced to order? If they will read the writings of Swedenborg with this inquiry in the mind, they will find much light, I believe, which has not been yet received into their minds. I will now group several of Mr. Elwell's allegations, and answer them collectively.

"Fourier either slights or positively affronts the commandments, except so far as he can prove them laws of Nature. This is epicurism. One of his checks to population is the number of women attached to the industrial armies, who, living promiscuously, could have no children."—"Fourier seems disposed to loosen the family bond altogether."—"I have also another very grave *suspicion*, viz: that as the light of Divine truth spreads in the form of an intellectuallys-atisfactory belief, a naturalism which will keep God *within* the idea of of Nature, will spread too, and from its daring character produce a more fearful opposition to truth than the world has yet seen, more subtle, stinging, maddening, and, consequently, demanding a deeper shelter in the Lord. With me it need come to saying such a thing is pure naturalism, pure epicurism, &c., in order that I may fish in the waters without putting myself in danger of drowning."

I fully concur in this very eloquent conclusion, but I regret that it should be so unwarrantably applied to Fourier. Under the influence of such feelings of apprehension, however, it was the duty of Mr. Elwell to speak out candidly, but with the determination to examine further, in order to confirm or rectify his judgment; for his acknowledged paucity of investigation was not at all conclusive or sufficient, whatever he may think of it.

With regard to the "family bond," Fourier is so far from even "seeming" to "loosen it altogether," that he positively proves it to be the only bond of affection which cannot possibly be loosened at all. He shows in his analysis of the affections, that we are free to form the bonds of friendship, with whom we like, and also those of love, as well as those of consociation or corporate alliance; but we are not free to form the bonds of consanguinity with whom we like. The offspring of our loins is not a matter of free choice in the affections: the "family bond" is indissoluble, and cannot be loosened in the slightest degree. It is an exception to the rule of freedom in the bonds of affection, three of the cardinal links of which are free, while the fourth is absolute; and Fourier proves that were it not for this absolute bond of affection, society could not exist at all, in the unregenerate period of the career of humanity: under the fallen state. But that which has misled the judgment of Mr. Elwell in this matter, is probably some of Fourier's views with regard to the due subordination of individual family interests to the laws of general order and the collective interests of society. At present the "family bond," in many cases, is the cause of much injustice in society, by monopolizing certain privileges and exclusive rights within the limits of one feudal family alone, to the injury of many others, and consequently to the injury of general society. It is the loosening of feudal monopolies and family privileges, which Fourier aims at, for the mutual benefit of all the "family bonds," and every other bond of affection in society.

The bond of conjugial affection is the next which Mr. Elwell alludes to in his allegations with regard to "laxity of marriage"—"living promiscuously"—"slighting the commandments," &c. &c. These are questions of very great importance, difficult to treat with accuracy and sufficient delicacy, in the present state of general depravity of mind and morals. Many persons who read Fourier's writings, misunderstand them entirely on these points, and in order to prevent mistakes and avoid unprofitable controversy, both Fourier and his partisans declare that none of the innovations in conjugial life are applicable to the present generation: they would make disorder worse than it is at present, if reduced to practice by an unregenerate race of beings. They are intended, however, by Fourier, to be conducive to the highest order of purity and freedom in conjugial affection, notwithstanding their appearance of "laxity," &c.

Before I attempt to explain this, I must refer to Fourier's analysis of conjugial affection or Love, which he very properly distinguishes into two parts: *Love* or spiritual affection, and *Lust*, or natural desire of sexuality.

True marriage is that of mutual spiritual or conjugial affection, and where this exists, it sanctifies the sexual connexion, which otherwise would be adultery or fornication. From this analysis he proves that many couples, bound in the mere legal bonds of marriage without being really united in spiritual affection, are living in a state of permanent adultery, and are, therefore, an abomination in the sight of God, notwith-

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standing their human legal and false sanction of [illegible] life and sexual connexion.

E[illegible] knows, or almost every body, of adu[illegible], I believe, knows from experience, that the first birth of love at the dawn of puberty, is a purely chaste and spiritual affection, unalloyed with any sexual desire, and perfectly distinct from it. There can be no doubt, therefore, of the correctness of Fourier's distinction between lust and true affection: and he is so far from either "slighting or positively affronting the commandments," that his whole scheme of marriage or conjugial order, is professedly devised for the purpose of combining spiritual sympathy with sexual connexion in all cases of cohabitation, and also for the purpose of preventing adultery, or the profanation of conjugial love by sexuality without affection. He believes, however, that almost every law of Divine order, terminates in an exception, and that certain exceptional states of desire being ineradicable, if I may coin a word, by instantaneous discipline, are analogous to partial or continuous insanity, and that, like the Hells in the spiritual kingdom, these exceptional states must be reduced to order, and made subservient to general harmony, in lieu of being left to spread disorder uncontroled throughout society. It is the regulation of this exceptional class of passions or desires or impulsions, which causes many minds to misconceive the drift of his whole theory regarding marriage and conjugial harmony. But let us go to the "commandment" in question before we proceed further with these observations:

"Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, thou shalt not commit adultery.

But I say unto you, that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her, already in his heart."—Matth., 5: 27.

From this commandment it is plain that even the thought of lust, or sexuality, apart from spiritual marriage, is adulterous, and this is the light in which Fourier views it; but the churches have so far sunk into darkness on this point, that they regard mere legal bonds of marriage as obedience to the law, without a due regard to motives of connubial annexion. Again:

"It hath been said, Whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement.

But I say unto you, That whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery: and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced, committeth adultery."—Matth., 5: 82.

"To the pure, all things are pure," and we believe that the Word of God should be read spiritually as well as literally.

As we understand the word fornication, it means sexual connexion without spiritual affection, and, therefore, if a wife have no genuine affection for her husband, she committeth fornication by the union of lust alone, and may be rightfully put away: and the same with the husband. But if the wife have true affection for the husband, and does not put him away for his defective reciprocity, but he puts her away by divorcing her, then whoever marries her while her affections are still with her ungrateful husband, commits adultery by sexual union apart from her affections and during her real spiritual marriage with another, her real husband or conjugial partner, though inconstant.

This is our mode of understanding true marriage and the divine commandment. We do not confound the legal abuse of conjugial union, with the real use of divine marriage. Fornication or adultery does not depend upon human laws of sanction, but divine, according to our understanding; and this makes a very considerable difference between our views of conjugial harmony and those of civilized duplicity. We are shocked at the pretended chastity of carnal hypocrisy. Fourier's analysis of marriage and adultery in civilized society, is the most horrific dissection of depravity and sexuality that was ever laid open to the mind of man. Society as it is now constituted, is clearly proved to be but one enormous sink of fornication and adultery in every rank and every class, with very few and very rare exceptions of first love, too often crushed before it blooms, or steeped in animal pollution as it buds.

Perhaps the sickly saints of spurious conventionality will be displeased with Fourier's ideas of exceptional intercourse, or the "laxity" of admitting any possible exception to their legal notions of inflexibility. It is not with persons in such a state of mind that we can reason on the laws of marriage and conjugial harmony, bnt we may ask them to reflect on the following text, in which Christ dwells on the law of exception:

"His disciples say unto him, if the case of the man be so with his wife, it is not good to marry.

"But he said unto them, All cannot receive this saying, save to whom it is given.

"For there are some eunuchs which were so born from *their* mother's womb: and there are some eunuchs which were made eunuchs of men: and there be eunuchs which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive *it*, let him receive *it*."–Matth. 19: 10, &c.

Here again, our understanding of the Word differs from that of the world, to some extent. By "eunuchs" we understand persons who are incapable of forming spiritual marriages, not having the conjugial affections developed in adult age, but dormant or obscured, as in childhood; the sexual faculties alone being developed at puberty, in such cases. Hitherto the word "eunuch" has been understood materially, but natural things are but appearances: spiritual things are real, and the Word should be read and understood spiritually. In fact, we may here state, that, as a general rule, our understanding of the laws of divine order in the Word and in the laws of Nature, differs entirely from the common understanding, for the very reason that we believe the common understanding to be in a subverted state, which views the laws of order and of truth inversely. We agree exceptionally with the world, and this exception forms the point of contact between the old world and the new, the old state of the church and the new. It is the old state of mind which views Fourier's theory inversely and misunderstands it.

It is not in conjugial affection only that our views of heavenly order differ from the notions of the world, but also in the corporate and friendly bonds of social harmony. The men who are most honored and esteemed for rank and wealth, and princely pomp by common people, seem to us in many cases to be but legal plunderers and guilty squanderers of that which should be given to the poor to save them from temptation and iniquity. We think as little of a prince as of a beggar, and as much of one as of the other, when the laws of honor and of equity are questions of consideration. It will not be prudent for professors of inflexible "morality," according to the rules of civilized duplicity, to wage contemptuous war with us in any court of the affections, or in that of spiritual unity—Religion. Our laws of order in the courts of honor and of equity, conjugial love and educative discipline, are not to be compared with those of civilized duplicity, in which oppression and iniquity, adultery and imperfection are the rule, not the exception, with both irreligious and professedly religious bodies.

But to return to the question of marriage. Fourier's system, or rather his view of the law of divine order in marriage, is, that no sexual connexion should take place where there is not a spiritual affection to render it legitimate, and prevent adultery or lustful animality; and his exceptional arrangements for exceptional cases, should not be substituted or mistaken for a general rule. It may be also that exceptional cases would present themselves more rarely than he supposes, and I am very much inclined to believe with Mr. Elwell, that the industrial armies would not necessarily involve a disproportion in the sexes, when athletic power has been more extensively superseded by machinery in rural as well as urban occupations. These questions must, however, be decided by experience in future ages, and our present care must be to forward true morality and true religion, irrespective of false dogmas and unwarranted opinions.

Fourier wrote for a material generation, who would not have listened to religious truth immediately derived from Revelation; he was forced to dwell almost exclusively on science, therefore, as a medium of communication with the public mind in France, at that particular time. Nor do I deem the

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English people better qualified to understand the laws of harmony. With all their boasted faith and spiritual knowledge, it is not the highest understanding of religious harmony they strive for, but the triumph of their own inferior doctrines of theology: not an elevated understanding, but a low and sometimes vile interpretation of the Word. To this there are, of course, some genuine exceptions, and I hope and trust they are sufficient to save all the rest from being scattered to the wind; but error reigns with pride and avarice in hearts professing faith, as well as in the hearts of selfish infidels. The works of men proclaim their faith, and evil deeds are not the fruits of true Religion. Those who are really religious, should "prove all things, and hold fast that which is good."

In conclusion, I will ask your correspondent and his friend Mr. Elwell, and all the members of the "New Church," if they do not think there are "special theologies" enough in the world to separate the whole family of man into consociative groups or individual congregations? And if they do not think one *general theology* or principle of order and associative unity, like that of the "Series," which wars with no particular doctrine or "special theology," but neutralizes all exclusive prejudice in each, is now required to reconcile these doctrinal divisions in harmonious association or confederation, as so many various links or branches of spiritual science, differing in some respects from one another without necessary contradiction, except on points where all are ill informed, and destined to agree in universal principle, as natural sciences of various branches, all agree in fundamental laws of unity?

What is more likely than this law of "Series" to be the gathering instrument of all the members of Christ's mystic body, without destroying the individuality of those distinct members, by fusing them like particles of sand into one lump of glass, or pounding them together by compressure into jelly?

And what can be a "safer guide" in harmonizing all the members of Christ's body in associative unity, than Revelation in His Word and in the laws of Nature, and the free acknowledgment of such a standard as the universal rule of faith and life?

And what can be more definite in the sphere of special doctrine or theology than the laws of "series," which shows that every series has its head or pivot, and that *necessarily* to reason as well as *verbally* to faith, humanity must have a personal head or pivot to revolve upon, and feed upon and live upon, and *from*, both naturally and spiritually, as the individual planets of the solar system have their central head or pivot in the natural sun, on which they rest in serial order and continuous evolution, and on which they live and move and have their being, physically?

The Phalansterian doctrine of theology is ONE principle or law of order and of understanding, comprised in one word, the "SERIES" or law of universal harmony. This one word or law opens all the mysteries of God and Nature. In it the Word is written and creation moulded. Divine humanity is one immense series of series, one church in Heaven and in Earth, the "grand man," and Christ is its God; its Head and Heart and Life and Ruler; very God and very man: there is no other. He is the "light of the world." Is that not a definite, or "special theology," and has not the church on earth been organized, and ordinances instituted by the chosen Body of Apostles? Is it right that we, as Phalansterian Christians, should institute new ordinances in the universal church without authority? Or is it not sufficient to fulfil our mission, that we preach association as the law of unity, the practical embodiment of the "Series" in social life; the law of harmony and truth in Heaven and in Earth: the key to all the mazes of the mystery of iniquity?

It is not a New Religion that we are commissioned to establish, but a new development of life and order in the church, established by our Lord in person when on earth; and Swedenborg himself did not mean otherwise, if I have understood him rightly. He did not leave the Apostolic Church: he was commissioned only to communicate new life to it.

I do not wish to sit in judgment on his followers, but I must be candid with them, as I wish them always to be with me and with each other, and I believe they have not rightly understood their mission, or, at least, not fully; but the time will come.

I acknowledge the mission of Swedenborg in the Church, and I rejoice in it. I hope also that the members of the "New Church" will be able to acknowledge other missions from the Lord, and learn to understand them and rejoice in them, and not fall into the depraved conceit which prompts to say "stand by thyself; come not near to me: for I am holier than thou." They should bear in mind that it is written: "These *are* a smoke in my nose, a fire that burneth all the day."

I do not wish to counsel them to mix up sacred with profane, or not to use their judgment in accepting or rejecting things according to their uses, but I wish to caution them against that pride of knowledge which is darkness and perdition. Let them pass all things through the fire of Love, and hold fast that which has been "proved," but let them not mistake the fire of anger for the fire of Love.

I will now put a few questions to the members of the "New Church" generally, which the doctrine of "correspondency" may enable them to understand. First, then, as every thing is in every thing, by the law of correspondency, how is the unity of the "grand man" in Heaven, to be represent in the "New Church" on Earth? Or, to put the question in a more tangible shape, for those who are not learned in the doctrine of correspondency, how are the four cardinal characteristic periods of the individual career of human life to be represented simultaneously, as well as consecutively, in the whole church in its regenerate state? The four periods to which I now allude are, first, that of friendly confidence and faith, as the ruling affection of life from birth to puberty; second, that of conjugial love, the ruling affection of life from puberty to the apogee of life; third, that of the love of knowledge and of uses, which is the ruling passion or affection, from the apogee to the decline of life; and fourth, that of consanguinity or family affection and parental providence for the welfare of children, which is the ruling worldly affection or passion of declining age. The whole of these being subordinate to the Love of God at all times, in a well ordered and religious life.

These four states must be represented simultaneously in the church, as one class of adult minds will be in the infantine state, to which pure Faith in the Word of Prophecy, without much doctrinal understanding, will be the most attractive; a second class of adult minds will be in a more advanced state of collective and individual being, corresponding to the age of puberty, and to this class the doctrine of conjugial love, in all its heavenly bloom, will be the most attractive, little or no attention being given to the love of uses, in this period or state of spiritual bliss: (this I regard as the present state of the "New Church;") a third class will be still more advanced in doctrinals, and the love of uses will be its ruling love in the church: (this corresponds to the present state of those Phalansterians who think that Fourier's doctrine of uses or association is all-sufficient of itself, without regard to other states of mind and doctrine;) a fourth class will be still more advanced in the consecutive sense of progress, which is the opposite of the simultaneous qualities of state, and this class will delight most in the Calvanistic doctrine of Necessity, which is analogous in mind to the affection of consanguinity, which is not free, but absolute.

In the universal church, these four states must of necessity exist simultaneously and consecutively, if every thing be really in every thing; and if so, how? I hope the members of the "New Church" will endeavor to answer this question in their own way; meanwhile, I will give them a glimpse of my way of answering.

First. In the consecutive career of the human race collectively on earth (I avoid mentioning the state of the church in the spiritual world, for the sake of brevity alone,) the church has hitherto been in a state of infancy, the life of which is *Faith*,

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preeminently without much light, (bearing in mind always, that all things are in all things, and that all the states have been represented, even in collective infancy.) It is now entering upon a "New State" collectively, the ruling affection of which will be "conjugial love." It will in time pass through two other states collectively. There will be much of Divine Love and wisdom in the "New State" of the church on earth, in which we are now entering, but the four cardinal states will be represented in it, doctrinally and sympathetically. Faith in Prophecy, will be one ruling doctrine and affection with that class of adult minds which corresponds to infancy; "conjugial love" will be the ruling doctrine and delight of another, and the largest class, the one which will give its coloring or character to the whole church, as corresponding to the present consecutive period of the collective man on earth; the "love of uses" will be the ruling devotion and delight of a third class of minds, corresponding to the third state or period of an individual career, in which descent commences from the apogee of life, and thence the scientific or the naturalistic aspect of doctrine will be its leading feature. Fourier has been sent to initiate the church into this state collectively: Swedenborg, into that of "conjugial love." The Law of Necessity will be the ruling Faith and discipline of a fourth class of adults, corresponding in their views of Providential government to the fourth or declining period and state of the individual man. Faith in Prophecy, "Conjugial Love," the "Love of Uses," Faith in Providential Necessity: These four leading doctrines, corresponding to the four cardinal states of the human mind, must coexist in harmony, when all things are gathered together and harmonized in Christ our Lord. We shall then have a higher understanding of the doctrine of the "atonement" in its universalized meaning. We cannot realize one of its meanings, that of "at-one-ment," until we reconcile in harmony this first candinal degree of unity, which is not a complete view of all the "series" of variety in doctrine to be reconciled to each other in the New Unitary state of the church. This may be understood by the members of the "New Church," if they will read attentively No. 76, page 191, in the "Four Leading Doctrines of the New Church," where it is explained that "with Man, the quality of the church is according to his understanding of the Word."

What we say here with regard to the four leading aspects of doctrine to be harmonized in the New Church, must not be mistaken as substitutes for the "Four Leading Doctrines" in our estimation: such is not our meaning, but we must learn to see every thing in every thing by correspondency.

We should all endeavor to guard ourselves against believing that no new light will be given to the church, and that from the little we know already of what has been given, we are fully prepared to sit in judgment on all new views of truth.

From these few observations, I hope it will be seen that we have reason to differ from Mr. Elwell in his opinion, when he states—"I am quite confident that the *Nouveau Monde* is one grand ramification of the infidelity of France as it exists now, and I give this opinion after two years reading of their most popular authors."

I hold a very different opinion, after ten years reading of Fourier and two years reading of the writings of Swedenborg. "Opinions" are very serious things, and should be well considered before they are given to the world.

The Phalansterians accept the light of Swedenborg because they find it good, and they are not less interested in the truth and in the Love of Christ, than those who inconsiderately impute "laxity" of principle. What is there in the principles of orderly association to encourage worldly-mindedness? It is a great mistake to look upon the Phalansterians as an irreligious body. Their doctrine is the deepest root of order and of truth, the principle of which is Christ, the Head of all.

Some persons may profess the doctrines of associative unity before they have been thoroughly imbued with their religious import; but this will happen in all parties, and is not a fair criterion of judgment. May peace and understanding, and the Love of Christ be with us all, to harmonize us, and enable us to bear with one another in our weakness.

I am, dear sir, with due respect, your obedient humble servant,

HUGH DOHERTY.

THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS AND THE RIGHT TO THE SOIL.

THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS has replied to, but certainly not answered, our article upon the question of the Right to the Soil. Still the reply is conceived in good temper, and evidently dictated by a fair and liberal spirit, and we think the question better rest between us where it is. An irregular discussion of the subject will not throw much light upon it, and we feel satisfied that our views will not be rightly comprehended without a better knowledge of our doctrines than our agragrian friends avowedly possess. We have no objection either to their agitating the question on their own ground, as their views being what are called more *radical* than ours, though we cannot admit that they go to the root of the matter, they will draw upon them more directly the attention of the public mind. The *principle* involved being once admitted, as it may be by many more readily by direct and naked appeal, independently of all other considerations, it will be easy at the proper time, to adjust opinion according to a true doctrine of form for the development and actualization of the principle. Man *has* a right, an unalienable right, to the Soil, but the way in which it shall be secured to him peacebly, effectually, justly, is a question of no slight consideration. The way will be made clear to all in time, who are sincerely seeking the end.

Some of the positions stated by the People's Rights are correct, but there is much of error and incompleteness mixed up with his conclusions and deductions. These, as before said, we will not undertake to set right or refute, nor even to correct some misrepresentations of our views; but will make one or two extracts merely, and add a single remark, to satisfy our readers that, by its own admission, The People's Rights is not sufficiently acquainted with our doctrines to discuss with us this question.

"We shall be told, that is, if our Fourier friend still sticks to *his* 'one idea,' which, as an honest man we trust he will not, because we think we have exposed the fallacy on which it is based in our brief exposition of the true relations of Capital and Labor; but if we have been unsuccessful in our effort, our friend of the *Phalanx* will tell us we have not *studied* Fourierism. To this charge we plead guilty. Fourierism, we are told, is yet (although a divine science) in great part developed only in six large volumes of untranslated French; and we only went through half a course of French, nearly all of which we have forgotten. To be sure, we have read "Brisbane on Association," a good-sized duodecimo, and have got some smattering knowledge of the 'Groups and Series,' the 'Sacred Legion,' 'Passional Harmony,' and the rest of it; but, as we were in search of an *immediate amelioration* of a social system, under which misery and crime are increasing in a dreadful ratio; an *immediate check* to a stupendous system of injustice and fraud; we actually did not think it worth our while, (supposing we had the ability and means,) to study a scheme, one branch of which requires us 'to be thoroughly versed in some one or more of the positive sciences, and have a general knowledge of them all to some extent.' We consider it a fact sufficiently demonstrated, that men have an equal right to the soil; and if they *have*, of course government should cease to *sell* the common property; and any scheme of reform, to entitle it to one moment's consideration of the *landless*, should not only acknowledge in theory, but provide for carrying out in practice, that Equal Right to the Soil."

Our doctrine is not *all* and only in "six large volumes of *untranslated* French;" but if it was, and laid claim to be a "divine science," there would be no propriety in rejecting it for some plan of "an *immediate amelioration* of the social system." The case may be urgent, as indeed too truly it is, but it is too vast a matter, this re-forming, re-modeling of society, to be decided upon so hastily and upon such slender information. Society being a "divine" thing, requires divine processes, and not human ingenuity and devices, to lift it out of the

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seething gulph of iniquity, in which it is now lying prone. We believe, hu but firmly, that Fourier has been th venly instrument of revealing the a methods of proceeding, and with our best means we are striving to put them into operation, the sooner to bring about the glorious end we have in view—the realizing of divine order and harmony on earth.

We have but one word to say in reference to the following sentence, which occurs in the article of the People's Rights:

"In claiming the right of every man to a *portion* of the earth, the *Phalanx* has misunderstood us to contend that every man should have his *separate* portion. This is not our position. We contend that, as in the *Savage* state, as it is termed, a man might live by himself or with the horde, so, in the civilized or agricultural state, a man should be at liberty to occupy his separate portion, *or* to unite with others, enjoying their land in common; but that, under no circumstances, should a man be deprived of his right to use the land either in one way or the other."

Now, although this may be a view of the People's Rights held in reservation, certainly not hitherto broached in its pages, the principle remains unchanged, it is the principle of *division* and not of UNITY, and we cannot agree to it. Individual liberty is fully provided for, but collective authority is supreme in the Combined Order, and in the disposition of the land as well as other essentials of society, the individual's caprice is subordinate to collective welfare.

Our thanks are due The People's Rights for publishing our article, and we would return the compliment if we supposed it at all necessary.

THE COMMUNITIST, published by the Skeneatelas Community, Mottville, Onondaga county, N. Y., has reached its seventh number, and comes to us much enlarged, and in an entirely new dress, presenting a paper of very good *outward* attractions. This argues well for the prosperity of the Community, which we are pleased to learn is in a flourishing condition. But the "terms" of the subscription to the paper have been changed. Hitherto it has been "without money and without price" to its "subscribers," but our Community friends have discovered that this system wont work in the publishing department, and though greatly against their inclinations, they have been forced to bend the principle of no-property to meet existing circumstances, and *charge* the "outside barbarians" who will not deal with them on principles of reciprocity. But they shall explain their own case in an extract from their Address, which follows:

OUR PAPER.—From the commencement it has been the desire of the friends here, to issue a weekly paper from this place, as soon as circumstances would permit. They have felt the importance of having an organ, through which to communicate their principles and progress, to the public—to develop the workings of community principles not only in this, but in other lands. In starting an enterprize like this, the means have been so limited, the work to be done so great, and the hands to perform it so few, we have been unable to give that attention to the paper which is desirable. It was proposed at first, to send out our paper gratuitously, relying upon the donations of those interested in the progress of our movement to sustain it. But we found these insufficient to meet the expense of publishing from home. We felt unwilling to suspend the paper and unauthorized, while heavy debts were resting upon us to incur the expense of new press and types, and still continue to issue it upon the same conditions which have, heretofore, failed to sustain it. The only step left for us to take was, either to suspend the paper or make some new arrangement which would warrant its support. By reference to the terms upon the first page, it will be seen that the conditions for the Communitist are, one dollar, in advance, for twenty-six numbers. This may appear to some like a retrograde step—a practical denial of the principles we have convened to work out. We do not so consider it. Our design, from the first, has been, and still is, to ascertain and enunciate true principles, and then reduce them to practice as fast as possible.

Every practical mind must readily perceive that from the relations we sustain to the human family, we must, more or less, partake of the nature of the institutions around us. We affirm that buying and selling are monstrous falsehoods—evils which have deluged the world in poverty, tyranny, servility, crime, anarchy and blood. In so far as the earth and its products are made objects of barter and sale, by so far the great principles of the human brotherhood are practically denied. Viewing all commerce in this light, we seek, by the best means within our reach, to bring this system to a speedy termination.

With this object in view, we have commenced the establishment of a Community of common possessions and interest, and practically recognize, among ourselves, the great principles of equality and a common brotherhood. If those out of community will not sustain this relation to us, certainly it is not our fault.

While we freely acknowledge that this determination of our Community friends, being one of necessity, does not militate against their principles, yet we must tell them they have much to learn about this matter of property and exchange, which *experience alone will teach them.* As we have said in former notices, they are right enough in condemning existing false institutions and ways of society, but they are wrong in their absolute *negation*—which repudiates and destroys, instead of re-*forms* and rectifies. Now, in regard to Commerce, no one can more heartily condemn the present infamous, cut-throat, grab-game system, than Fourier and his School, as may be seen in Fourier's searching criticism of it in the forthcoming number of the Phalanx; but we are satisfied that the "monstrous falsehoods of buying and selling" do not originate in the principle of property; they are the *consequences* of defective and vicious methods of exchange, which abuse and pervert this principle to illegitimate ends. We may preserve the principle as one of the regulating balance wheels of communities and nations, and direct it to legitimate and beneficent, instead of baneful purposes. Communityism destroys the principle and loses the balance wheel, which it is vainly supposed is compensated by some other principles in the human heart—the principles of brotherhood and equality. These are well; they have their place; they are high and holy principles, but they cannot work alone; they are only parts of the social machine, and from the very fact of their exaltation need the support of other parts to maintain them in perfection and purity.

The terms of the Communitist are $1 for 26 numbers, in advance. Address John A. Collins, as above.

VICES OF FALSE COMMERCE.

One of the most abominable vices of "false" or civilized *free* commerce, conducted by the irresponsible agency of individuals whose only object is their own private gain, is the adulteration of the primary articles of consumption. The enormous extent to which this commercial vice is carried, like moral and every other species of vice in civilization, perpetrated in the secret recesses and corners of an incoherent society, can be only approximately estimated, not determined. It might be almost safely asserted that there is not a single article that enters into commerce which is not in some degree or other subjected to adulteration or deterioration before it reaches the consumer, either in the manufacture or preparation, or in its passage through the hands of commercial agents. "Every trade has its trick," and "all trades cheat but ours," are proverbs which convey instructive and lamentable truths. There is, indeed, no end to mercantile deception and fraud. Volumes would not suffice to exhibit them in all their enormity and ramifications. In many things we are only most vilely cheated out of our money, in others we are most infamously poisoned in our very vitals. We do not wonder at people becoming Grahamites, and eschewing everything but vegetables. We will take up the subject of "commercial adulteration" some day, at present we refer our readers to the following extract from an English paper:

ADULTERATION OF BREAD.—Another of the thousand ways in which our food is adulterated has been brought to light. So long ago as April last, the commissioner of police in this town, Mr. Dowling, received an anonymous letter from Cumberland, stating that gypsum, that is primitive alabaster, was ground in large quantities, at a mill near Carlisle, and forwarded to Liverpool, under such circumstances as rendered the suspicion reasonable that it was used in the adulteration of flour, which it strongly resembles in appearance. Due vigilance being exercised, it was found that quantities of it arrived from Carlisle, consigned to a person here whose name is known, and who received it as gypsum, but after-

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wards shipped it to Runcorn as flour. It was consigned to a miller in that neighborhood. The authorities were put on the alert by Mr. Dowling, and some rumors having transpired, it was observed that the sacks of gypsum lay unclaimed for many weeks. At length, however, when the affair seemed to be lulled, it was called for, and immediately afterwards, we learn, Mr. —— ——, of ———, near Weaverham, was fined £10, by the Cheshire magistrates, for having gypsum in his possession. The officers detected him in the act of mixing it, and flour which was purchased from him was found adulterated with gypsum. They found and seized 23 bags of that article, and some further charges for mixing and selling it are to come on at another meeting of the magistrates. This is our "daily bread" adulterated; thus is the craft of the mason carried on in our very stomachs, and mortar there produced which is of mortal effect; and thus a family wishing to purchase a stone of flour, is literally furnished with flour of stone. Three years ago we recorded the dreadful sufferings of a gentleman who had eaten of bread adulterated with plaster of Paris, from a mill in Staffordshire. Gypsum is solid rock; it is altogether indigestible; and the deterioration of health, and the destruction of life itself, must be the consequence of using it mixed in food.—[Liverpool Mercury.

ATTRACTIVE INDUSTRY.

FROM THE FRENCH OF MADAME GATTI DE GAMOND.

The free development of the faculties constitutes true liberty, and natural equality: therefore, even in constitutional countries, liberty is purely illusory, since all, with very few exceptions, are tied to repugnant labors, and are not free to follow natural desires and inclinations. Life is passed in doing what least pleases us. There are, above all, two chains for the most useful class of laborers—misery and ignorance. General education, the development of all the faculties, of all the aptitudes, and a career open to all vocations, can alone realize equality of rights, and class each according to his capacity. Republicans have partly understood it: unitary education is the basis of their system; but how is it possible in a state of society, which is not, like that of Sparta, founded on slavery—how is it possible to engage men refined by the culture of science, literature and art, to undertake repugnant labors and domestic service? If they do not voluntarily engage in them, ought they to be forced? Instead of liberty and equality, this would be the most tyrannical despotism, the most intolerable oppression.

In civilization almost all labors are repugnant. If we consult the laborers in all professions, with a few exceptions, each will complain of fatigue and disgust. From the manufacturer, the agriculturist, the workman, languishing in the monotony of never-ending labor which deadens all the thinking faculties, to the tradesman behind his counter, the soldier who obeys, the officer who commands, the pedagogue in his chair, the artist who labors for a living; from the lowest officers of state, up to the minister, the greatest number are annoyed in mind, and bodily fatigued by the insipid labors, which daily recommence with an eternal and insufferable monotony. Each sighs for repose, and only recommences his daily task from the necessity of providing for wants, which daily enlarge by the increase of a family, the education and the establishment of children. False civilization would be destroyed suddenly, if it did not make labor a rigorous necessity, if it did not interest some individual passions in the heart of man, such as vanity, ambition, love of wealth, of pleasure, of luxury, and family affection. Either hunger or subversive passions set in play, are necessary to conquer in the hearts of ignorant men, their disgust and repugnance for monotonous drudgery; and there is hardly one in ten thousand who does not sigh for a change of fortune, which would permit him to do nothing but amuse himself. And, yet, if the labors of false civilization are generally repulsive, and keep the mind in a perpetual desire for change, the idlers, to whatever class they belong, by the simple fact of their idleness, offer a spectacle of ennui, satiety, and a vague inquietude of desires, without object; whence the moralists conclude that nothing on this earth can satisfy man; that his nature presents but caprices, absurdities, and contradictions.

Is it not false civilization alone we must accuse? a state of things which changes all the laws of nature, and produces this apparent contradiction in man, by placing him between his duty and his pleasure, the individual interest and the collective interest. Is it labor itself which repulses, or are there not accessory causes? Industry is, certainly, a law of nature; a divine law. The destiny of man on the earth is evidently to cultivate it, and embellish it, at the same time that he provides for his wants, and creates for himself enjoyments. Can labor, coming from God, be a hard law? Can God have wished that the life of man, necessarily consecrated to labor, should be a painful effort, a constant fatigue? Do we see that, in the state of nature, labor is painful for the animals? Is it to the savage, who, free in his labors, free in his repose, prefers a thousand times his life of misery and of privations, ever-present dangers, a constant struggle of nature, to all the arts and prodigies of a false civilization? Never has the savage voluntarily consented to live among us, and addict himself to our labors. His heaviest imprecation against an enemy, is to wish him to "drive the plough;" in his eyes, the symbol of civilization. Civilization has never been able to vanquish barbarism or savageism. The savages and the barbarians despise us, and esteem themselves happier in their apathy, and their uncultivated manners, than we who pride ourselves in false refinement. This single fact proves that competitive civilization does not contain within itself any means of arriving at the social unity of the globe. What is it then but a state which does not satisfy even those who live under its laws, and keeps beyond the pale of its laws six hundred millions of savages and barbarians, who, nevertheless, form a part of the human race, and are our brothers, according to the natural and divine law?

As labor is a positive law for all men without exception, as it is the providential destiny of man on this earth, is it not attractive labor, which would conciliate duty and pleasure for man, and by drawing the savages and the barbarians to industry and to the arts, would harmonize the human race by a spontaneous impulse, and a natural attraction?

In what is labor repulsive? Let us look around us; let us go to the root, and we shall see that labor is repugnant when it is forced, obligatory, arbitrary; when it is continuous and monotonous; when it is isolated, without emulation. The peasant who ploughs an [illegible] his field during twelve hours of the day, without any other stimulus than that of gaining a morsel of bread; the seamstress who, alone in her garret, plies her needle all the day, and a part of the night, without any other stimulus than the necessity of gaining a subsistence; the clerk who grows pale in a counting-house, fixed to his desk for twelve hours, by a thankless necessity, which procures him neither honor nor advancement, but merely a meagre salary at the end of the month; all these slaves of false civilization cannot but have a profound repugnance for their daily labors. But change some of the accessories of these labors, and already they become less repugnant. The harvest and the vintage, where the assembled laborers animate each other by their presence, and rival each other in promptitude and address, these labors are not painful, but, on the contrary, they are attractive. The young needlewomen, united in the magazines, trying who can finish her task most quickly, or fasten most gracefully a knot of ribbons, or the fashion of a corsage, amusing each other, and enlivening themselves with laughter and playfulness, find the work less painful than the seamstress who must accomplish it in silence and in solitude. These examples, which might be multiplied with ease, prove that the same task, without changing its nature, simply by a modification of circumstances, may become repugnant or attractive in different degrees.

We may assert as a maxim, that all voluntary labor is attractive. Idleness is contrary to nature; almost every one, as he has more or less leisure, creates labors as a means of amusement, and in a manner gives play to particular aptitudes, and peculiar tastes. How many amateurs in music and painting there are who cultivate these arts passionately in their moments of leisure! On the contrary, how many artists by profession, who, forced into this career in spite of themselves, exercise it with disgust! It is the same with all the branches of industry and science. In following a particular vocation, quite natural and instinctively, men apply to it earnestly and passionately; but if the attraction fails, with ennui and repugnance. How many pleasures there are which are truly laborious, to which men passionately addict themselves! We see them support the greatest fatigues, cold, heat, hunger, wet, mud, etc., often without caring even for the game or the fish they catch, merely because it is a voluntary labor, and excites their minds by various chances.

Different aptitudes and inclinations manifest themselves in children; and by a wise arrangement of Nature, we see the majority incline to the most generally useful works. Few children have a taste for abstract studies, or show dispositions for the sciences; but almost all are fond of culture and of gardening, and this taste always grows with opportunity. How many are happy, if, possessing a little garden, they can cultivate it with their own hands and show the produce! The taste for the mechanical arts and trades is as general as that for agriculture. We see children voluntarily amuse themselves with masonry, wood-work, smith-work, and in these departments show themselves ingenious, adroit, inventive.—Many men preserve this taste, notwithstanding all that education and circumstances

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have done to turn them from it: we see them generally interested in mechanics, arts and trades; many even, practising for their amusement, are joiners, watchmakers, masons, architects, mechanics, in their moments of leisure. The predilection of Louis XVI. for lock-making, is a fact well known; Peter the Great himself practised eagerly all the arts and crafts, particularly that of ship-building, he wished to introduce into Russia; the late Emperor of Austria took delight in making sealing-wax; Ferdinand of Naples, sold in the market the fish he had caught himself. Every one has an aptitude for various occupations, and the taste always follows the aptitude. Unfortunately, in civilization, neither the aptitude nor the taste is consulted. Education depends on fortunes and conditions; those enjoying competence cannot consent that their sons should become masons, locksmiths, joiners, agriculturists; the artisans and the peasants have not the choice of a profession for their children; so that few are occupied in favorite pursuits, but are constrained to pass their lives in occupations for which they have neither taste nor aptitude. This is perhaps the principal cause of the uneasiness, the ennui, and the disgust which commonly assail the minds of men, and make of life a burden it is found impossible to lighten.

Among women aptitudes and innate tastes are equally observable, and become more definite in proportion as they are special to their sex, and useful to the human race. Almost all have the desire to take care of little children and instruct them, even before they become mothers; the greater part have a taste for all that relates to dress, as well as for domestic order, household economy. But their various aptitudes are not limited to these; they have, as well as men, a taste for nearly all the branches of art and industry, which do not exceed their physical strength, and are not detrimental to the grace and modesty belonging to their sex.

It is therefore certain that labors are not in themselves repugnant. What makes them appear so is, in the first place, the fetters opposed to the development of the faculties, the law of necessity which constrains the great majority of men to follow those professions they dislike, while those which suit their natural taste are not within their reach.

In the second place, it is the endless monotony of the same labor. Every man pursues but one profession; he does one thing for twelve hours, and each day recommences the task of the preceding. The more monotonous an employment is, the more it engenders ennui; the less it calls into action the intellectual faculties, the more it deadens them. The tradesman who measures cloth all day; the clerk who is from morn to night comparing columns of addition; the seamstress who plies her needle without ceasing; and the workman, who from day to day and week to week, the whole year round, makes pins and needles, must, in the long-run, blunt their feeling and their thinking faculties, or find themselves the wretchedest of beings. The man chained to a professional routine becomes like a machine. On the other hand, nothing is so natural as the taste for variety; nothing develops the faculties so rapidly. Monotony makes man an animal; it blunts him physically and mentally. We see a striking example of this among the Polish and Russian serfs, who, being devoted to the smallest division of labor, and always doing the same things, become stupid, and even lose the power of conversing. They by degrees forget to think and to feel, and become like idiots. Are there not some parts of France where the peasants offer the same deplorable results? Misery operates like slavery. England presents a similar degradation of man among the lower classes.

If we observe persons who are masters of their time, we shall see that they constantly vary their occupations, and even their pleasures. What we call pleasure becomes insupportable if continued too long. What man wants is variety; besides, the continuity of the same occupation is in opposition to the natural aptitudes, for every creature is endowed with a variety of aptitudes, which education should develop and the social state employ; but, on the contrary, education seem to take pains to stifle all, and the social state to satisfy none. In antiquity, and in the middle ages, when education, better understood, was more free, more spontaneous, the greater part of noted men distinguished themselves in many special branches of study, being at the same time warriors, artists, farmers, statesmen, orators, legislators. Now, education lessens men; they excel but in one thing, when they do excel. We no longer find the natural variety of aptitudes, except among the wealthy classes, who, in addition to some convenient profession, indulge their taste for the cultivation of literature, the arts, the sciences, and the mania, as it is termed, for some particular branch of industry, building, wood-work, or agriculture. This is likewise the most envied class; it can follow its tastes, and work for its pleasure. Every one feels instinctively that this is the normal state of man, and that the greatest misery is to do, each day, and through a whole life, that which is for ever unattractive. This is the lot of the most useful and the most numerous class. But while the legislator has not even thought of providing a constant supply of labor for the mass who have no other source of income, how can he have thought of seconding the will of nature, by rendering labor attractive?

This is the place to examine the prejudice which tends to banish all women from the sphere of general industry to the interior of their household, and limit their activity to secondary occupations. The aptitude, the attraction, for the cares of the household, and the education of children, is general among women; but none should be entirely limited to these alone. Women, as well as men, have need of variety; nature has taken care to satisfy them in endowing them with different artistic and industrial aptitudes.

Notwithstanding the fetters of education, and of prejudice, these aptitudes dawn among a very large number of women, whose evident talents cannot be denied. The cares of a household can so little absorb the life of women, that, among the easy classes, we see them supply them by hirelings, and look for variety in fashion, since it is not to be found in attractive labor. In the poorer classes, we see unfortunate women forced to join the cares of a household and of children to some profession which shall serve to gain their daily bread; we see them distracted by bustle, and passing their life in privation, in misery, and each day recommencing the fatigue and trouble of the last, without hope for the future.

There is another class of women of whom the moralists and philosophers (who wish that the household should be their exclusive destiny,) have never dreamed, and who, nevertheless, form one-third of the women; those, namely, in all classes from the lowest to the highest, who never marry, whether from excess of misery or relative degrees of poverty; these are the women, who, in a society professedly based on the unity of the family, have no family, have never found husbands, as it is commonly said, and have neither household, nor children, nor affections, nor support, nor future, nor career, nor any aim in life. Of all the beings who are victims of civilization, it is not to be doubted the most miserable are these women, and they are miserable in proportion as they have a noble, elevated soul, an active mind, a loving heart. Add to these women, all those who find in marriage bitterness and disappointment, who have no children, who have lost their children, who, though seeming to enjoy a life of leisure, suffer constraint, privations, misery, without education having taught them to work and without society offering them any career, and then say, if we have heart for it, that legislation and philosophy have provided sufficiently for the lot of women, in giving them for their only care, their only aim, for the only nourishment of all their noble faculties, the care of the household and of children; even where they have children and a household to take care of.

Thus the household, which is pretended to be the exclusive destiny of women, is beyond the reach of one-third of their number; it does not suffice to engross the life of the small number, who, while happy mothers, happy wives, enjoy the gifts of fortune, and is but an overwhelming burden, a devouring ennui for the mothers who, unable to obtain assistance, are, from morning to night, occupied in putting order into disorder, and must add to these troubles, the load of gaining their daily bread.

Monotony, and the continuity of the same employment, does not accord with the active faculties of women, any more than with those of men. For the one and the other, variety is a necessity, that different tastes and aptitudes demand. Women are especially the victims of the present system, which enslaves them exclusively to dull domestic cares.

Labor is repugnant in the actual state, through the isolation of the laborers, and the want of interest in results. Every one must know from experience the difference of solitary labor, without either aim or emulation, and works performed in companies, where there is gayety and emulation. This is so well understood that solitary confinement in our prisons is regarded as the greatest punishment. In colleges, notwithstanding the dryness of the studies, the simultaneous method already gives some attraction to the most repugnant labor. It is principally in the schools of mutual instruction that the power of emulation can be judged of. The nature of the child is always more curious to observe, when, free from constraint and fetters, it can abandon itself to natural attraction. See the school-boys in hours of recreation forming themselves into groups, according to sympathy and the conformity of tastes; they invent a great variety of games, and imitate a multiplicity of works, display address, strength, and a mind singularly inventive

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and ingenious. All the games or occupations they imagine, please them the moment they are spontaneous and participated in. There is no peril they are not ready to brave; they feel neither hunger, nor cold, nor pain. See them sliding on the ice, throwing snowballs, falling, hitting each other, and never ceasing to laugh and make merry; see them even growing pale over their lessons and instructing each other, if there is a stimulus of some examination to undergo, of some prize to win; see them devoting themselves to gardening, handling the spade and the rake, building, constructing, making ditches, pallisadoes, feigning combats, striving who can best support pain and fatigue. It is because pains, fatigue, and labors, become pleasures and enjoyments when there is gayety and emulation. War is the saddest, the most frightful of professions. Who is the soldier that could go alone, and with sang froid expose himself to the enemy's cannon, or plunge the bayonet into the heart of a fellow being? Yet what labors have been more decidedly attractive? engendered more enthusiasm, more heroism? what labors have had more attractions, in certain times, than war? It is because it is executed in common, offering a great variety of chances, and having many powerful though subversive motives, such as emulation, love of glory or of country, the prospect of booty or advancement. It is thus that the passions when excited, can give attraction to works the most repugnant, even the most unnatural. In all industry, when the workmen can unite in groups, enliven and excite each other, the work appears less hard to them, and if they are stimulated by some passion, it becomes attractive. Solitary labor is death to man; pleasures even, on this condition, would become insipid. Prepare a magnificent ball-room, with an excellent orchestra, and amuse yourself with dancing alone for a whole evening! Force amateurs to play before an empty pit, and unoccupied boxes! Emulation, mutual excitement, love of art, useful aim, generous ambition, self-devotion, enthusiasm, religious zeal, these are the passions which constitute life, and transform labor into pleasure.

Industrial, artistic, and scientific labors, therefore, have nothing repugnant in themselves; they may, on the contrary, become eminently attractive by the excitement of the elevating passions. Therefore it is not by constraint, by misery, by the law of an inflexible necessity, that men must be forced to labor: such a policy subverts the natural attractions of the soul, and renders them ungovernable. It is sufficient to entice them to it by attraction, by pleasures, ardor, enthusiasm. This law of attraction, discovered by Fourier, will change the world, and render it a scene of happiness, rejoicings, and perpetual activity. Then truth and innocent simplicity will reign in every heart, and God will be adored in love. Religion will no longer by a mockery of truth, a cloud of fear and darkness overshadowing the minds of men, and shutting out the soul from the pure light of heaven and the sun of love. Then shall men feel and understand the beauty of the Word of God, "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." (For He is the truth, and truth renders industry attractive.) "Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light." The yoke of Christ is easy and his burden is light, and so are those ot truth and of attractive industry, but not those of false civilization and repugnant labor.

DIALOGUE ON ETZLER'S PARADISE:

BETWEEN

Messrs. Clear, Flat, Dunce and Grudge.

CLEAR. Great news, gentlemen, a Paradise is invented, where all men can live in plenty of every good thing of this world without labor.

FLAT. What is that?

CLEAR. A Book, entitled "The Paradise," has appeared, where the author speaks of new means, to make of earth a paradise, by the application of inanimate powers, that would cost nothing, on machines, to do all human works.

FLAT. Oh! that book I have seen; I saw it advertised in a newspaper, and supposed at first it was a kind of poem like Milton's Paradise Lost, or some romance; but when I saw it, I found it not worth reading, all full of foolish pretensions and promises, humbug or crazy bombast.

CLEAR. If you did not read it, how did you discover its contents to be but pretensions and humbug?

FLAT. Why, the very first page, and the first lines, say enough to show to anybody in his senses, that the whole book is a sort of quixotic nonsense. Only think of the promises there, to do all works without labor, to travel across the ocean in three or four days on floating islands, and the like nonsense.

CLEAR. Well, he gives his reasons for these things.

FLAT. Reason! Fiddlestick! the man, who can waste his time with such nonsense and give it to print, must be a fool, or take the public to be fools to believe such things.

CLEAR. Why, Mr. Flat, as to that, there are many fools among the public, who waste their time in reading worse books than that, who pass days, weeks and years almost chiefly in reading plays, romances, novels, and other worthless fictions, and many people have made their fortune and fame, by writing and printing such books.

FLAT. Oh! that 's quite another thing; those books are written with talents and taste; you would not compare it, for instance, with the great Milton's poetical work, the Paradise Lost, which is an ornament to every library?

CLEAR. To be sure, that famous poem cannot be compared to the present. Milton speaks of the imagined transactions of Adam and Eve, the Devil, etc.; and it concerns our holy writ. But this man, who speaks but of a terrestrial paradise within our reach here below, treats but on plain material things, with which our world is filled.

DUNCE. I have seen that book, too, and glanced in it here and there; and I must say it is full of the greatest extravagance I ever heard of. But I find, it is hardly taken any notice of, though it has appeared some years ago already.

FLAT. Ah! a work written with talent and taste soon takes with the public, and is largely commented upon in public papers and conversation. For my part I never care for a book that is not much taken notice of by the public; I read only classical books.

CLEAR. Classical books were once despised as much as you can despise any book, which has not yet got into fame; and some authors of them had to live neglected, and in the misery of poverty, without ever seeing their productions noticed or desired. Examples of that kind are plenty.

FLAT. Oh! but those books had something in them to recommend them to posterity and fame, or else they would never have acquired their fame.

CLEAR. So you suppose all the books of fame are excellent?

FLAT. Well, when all the world acknowledges them for excellent, I would not presume to think otherwise.

CLEAR. Then your judgment, Mr. Flat, has a very broad foundation, but not a very solid one. For it is known that whole nations are in deep errors, and our own ancestors have been so at times. There are differences of opinions. It was at all times the case that, what all the world, that is, the mass of the public, found excellent, was discovered by the few of self-reflection, thinking a little further than the bulk of the people, to be of very mediocre or of no merit.

FLAT. Well the majority rules in all matters, and so it is the safest side at any rate.

CLEAR. What would have become of our mathematics, our astronomy, our chemistry, our botany, in short, of any and all sciences of our age, if but the majority of minds had to be the guide in these matters? for this majority, so powerful, so venerated by you, were never philosophers, astronomers, chemists, etc.; and never promoted sciences and enlightening matters.

FLAT. Oh! you go too far; I do not mean to despise sciences.

CLEAR. Well, the present Paradise is a matter of science.

FLAT. You do not say.—But I have too good an opinion of you, Mr. Clear, as to think you capable to take such trash for a matter of science.

CLEAR. The book speaks but on scientific subjects, and intends, by their combination, to produce the purposed ends.

FLAT. If it were a scientific book, why say our men of science nothing about it?

CLEAR. For a similar reason: why all the inventors of some new matters of science were always used in the same way, as the present book is, by all the learned world for a time.

FLAT. But if at last, after having passed the ordeal of investigation, they found the matter correct, they manifested then their greatest satisfaction.

CLEAR. But the time of their investigation and acknowledgment, arrived rather late, generally after ages.

FLAT. Well, I am no scientific man, it will be time enough to read it, when the scientific world has acknowledged its merits.

DUNCE. Why does the author of the Paradise not carry into practice any of his schemes, he might get rich by so doing, if there were anything practicable in it?

CLEAR. I suppose for the same reason that the poor man does not build a palace to live in.

DUNCE. But he says, the Paradise can be effected without labor.

CLEAR. He says, by the use of certain obtainable powers of nature, that cost nothing, and by machinery. Now, you know, machinery does not grow like trees.

DUNCE. Well, then, the machinery costs, perhaps, more than the work done

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in the usual way. Where is then the utility?

CLEAR. He says it costs much less, and proves that it would cost not one hundredth part; though a capital of some thousand pounds be required to carry it into practice, on a sufficiently large scale to afford such profit.

DUNCE. Then why does he not apply to capitalists, and show them the profit of such schemes.

CLEAR. He has, by this publication, where he gives his general reasons, and solicits examinations of them, and application to him for farther special communication.

DUNCE. But, I suppose, they found his reasons not good enough.

CLEAR. They did not find them bad either.

DUNCE. Why did none of them take hold of his propositions then?

CLEAR. For the same reasons as you, Mr. Dunce and Mr. Flat, have expressed. They did not examine, and did not care for what the book might say; they thought it was all nonsense; they thought, at any rate, it was none of their concern, and that it would be time enough to make use of new inventions after others had tried them fully by experiments. And so the author of that Paradise might wait to the world's end before any one would come forward to examine what he proposes, if every one should always think like you, Mr. Flat and Mr. Dunce.

DUNCE. In the name of common sense, how can you, Mr. Clear, suppose for a moment, that such stuff as to plough the land by windmill could be within reason?

CLEAR. It might be done in a similar way as wagons are propelled by steam power.

DUNCE. Ha! ha! ha!—will he put windmills before a wagon?

CLEAR. No: he will leave the windmills in their places stationary, as usual, but connect a sort of wagon with the windmill by two ropes, which, by the windmills turning, pull a balance wheel alternately at each end, so that it vibrates like the balance beam on a steam-wagon. You know that is all that is required to make the steam-wagon go. The balance beam on this contrivance is to be longer, besides there are other different adaptations to the purpose, as one may easily conceive.

DUNCE. What is to become of the ropes when the wagon runs away?

CLEAR. It may run the same distance all around in a circle, or nearly so, being steered by a man as is done with a steam-wagon. But it may also go towards the windmill, or remove farther from it in any other direction, when the conductor may wind on or off the ropes in a certain mode, and keep the ropes pulling in all cases at the balance beam.

DUNCE. Poor work, that!—the wagon could not go very far without having to drag along ropes so heavy by their own weight, that the windmill's whole power would be too weak to move them one inch on the ground by themselves alone, without the wagon. And then the ground must be level, and have no obstruction whatever. The ropes would soon be worn out.

CLEAR. As to these objections, they are removed. When the distance from the windmill, or any other stationary power to be used, is not more than five hundred or a thousand feet, a sort of chains lying in straight lines on the ground, on rollers, run to the intended place, and may be of one thousand or four thousand feet length; they reach at their ends to a horizontal wheel, each end passing round it in opposite directions, so that by their alternate pulls the wheel vibrates, from which pass two ropes above ground, not exceeding one thousand feet, to the balance beam of the locomotive, to cause there the vibratory motion of that balance beam. So, all that is required to to propel the locomotive is a crank at the windmill, which causes the alternate pulls of the chains and ropes.

DUNCE. Well, but then how can the wagon be moved all round by this contrivance, when the chains lie on the ground for such an extent?

CLEAR. The locomotion is effected in any direction at will, fixed at one place around that horizontal wheel on a circle not exceeding one thousand feet in radius, the ropes being kept above ground by some means or another as he indicates: when this is done, then the chains on the ground are laid in another direction from the stationary power, when the wagon performs in the same way its operations, and so forth from place to place: thus, all around the stationary power, even through between trees, and buildings, etc. As the chains may be laid on the ground in straight or zigzag lines, easily conceivable, the locomotive may move in all directions at will, and within at least one mile's distance, which makes an area of nearly two thousand acres.

DUNCE. Well, suppose all this to be practicable, it follows that when there is no wind blowing the work must stand still, and the farmer has to do, perhaps, without crops, or with incomplete crops: not being able to till all his land, unless he makes up the defect by applying horses or oxen, as heretofore.

CLEAR. Not so fast, Mr. Dunce! had you read with some attention that book, you would know how many number of windmills may be used at once, and how to collect thereby power, and store it up as it were, for any length of time wanted.

DUNCE. Ha! ha! ha!—you do not mean to box up the wind in store, to blow upon the windmills when wanted?

CLEAR. A very funny idea, which has pleased some stupid fellow so much as to publish it already in newspapers, as a critique on the subject

DUNCE. The man must be crazy.

CLEAR. But how do you know that he means to do such crack-brained follies?

DUNCE. How else can he pretend to store up wind power?

CLEAR. In this way: windmills raise water into a pond, as highly situated as can be found or made, and store water in it, that thence may fall continually a stream upon some water-wheel, which will then turn perpetually if the pond is always resupplied by windmills, before it becomes entirely empty, at intervals, as the wind may blow.

DUNCE. But that must be a large pond which will run out day and night for many days, perhaps, many weeks, before there will be a chance for resupplying, without getting empty.

CLEAR. Not larger than a few acres for doing the ploughing on many thousand acres.

DUNCE. Has he tried that?

CLEAR. No. But there is no occasion for it. For such things, namely, to raise water by windmills, is nothing new, and to know how much water of a certain height or fall it takes for producing a certain power on a water-wheel, is what every mili-wright knoweth from experience, thence the sum of water for a day, a month, etc.; and thence the area with the given depth of the pond required may be calculated by every schoolboy.

DUNCE. But what an immense expense such a pond, with its dam, etc., would cost, much more than horses and everything now in use.

CLEAR. You again suppose what you do not know. Had you taken the trouble to examine that book, you would know that the author can make use of his wagon, driven at first by a windmill, to form his dams and pond.

DUNCE. But how can, after all, a wagon, suppose even a steam-wagon, pull a plough; its wheels will turn without moving from the spot.

CLEAR. If you suppose a common wagon with common wheels, you might be right. But the author does not pretend to such a thing.

DUNCE. Well, how will he then effect it?

CLEAR. By taking, instead of two wheels, turned by the machinery as on a steam-wagon or nearly so, a cylinder with strong pricks all round, which, by the weight of the locomotive, necessarily are pressed into the ground, and while revolving cannot slip on the ground, but must of necessity advance the locomotive. And then not merely one plough, but a row of four to twenty ploughs, or more may be pulled along at once; to plough one fourth to one rod, or even more, in front at once.

DUNCE. What is he to do on uneven rocky, etc., ground: where such large machines of one rod in breadth cannot be used?

CLEAR. The same machine may clear the ground from obstructions and level it, and finally do all the other works the author states.

DUNCE. If he could even succeed in ploughing land by machines, this would not prove that he could do all other works as he promises.

CLEAR. Why, if once the fact is established that a locomotive machine can plough land with a number of ploughs at once, it can also scrape or scoop land, and level it, or elevate it, make dams, or ditches, ponds, which work all may be reduced to the simple operation of ploughing and scraping, and shoving the loose earth piece meal from one place to another.

DUNCE. But there are many other labors man has to do. He says a paradise without labor: he must be very silly if he supposes people would be satisfied merely with food, and that requires a good deal of preparation.

CLEAR. It is with these your hasty conclusions, as it was with your previously expressed ones. First, you found it very foolish to pretend to plough land by windmills; then, to store up powers of wind; and, when you have found out those things to be within sound reason, you proceed to other suppositions quite as precipitant, without correcting your habit of prejudging before you take the trouble to inquire and reflect: what will you say, then, when you find that this problem is likewise within sound reason.

DUNCE. Ah! neither you nor anybody can make me believe that.

CLEAR. If you are determined to refuse

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belief to what may be proved to you, it is an ungrateful task to instruct you.

DUNCE. But do you really think all human labors can be superseded by machinery?

CLEAR. There is a possibility of it. The author has shown that there is abundance of power freely to be had for all our works, and it is established beyond all dispute, that it is at least humanly possible to make machines to perform all operations for all human wants by given power.

DUNCE. So instead of tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, and all sorts of mechanics, we shall have but machines to do their business?

CLEAR. Not quite so fast again, Mr. Dunce, in your suppositions. After the man has shown how to turn a wheel forever by an interrupted wind power, and store and concentrate that power to any amount desirable in any country, or place, or circumstances, he has *proved*, not merely *promised*, where and how any machine may be driven by a power that costs nothing. Moreover, he has shown by what sort of contrivances locomotion, with any amount of power, can be effected by a stationary machine; then he proceeds to show how to till the ground with the same means, and excavate, level, or elevate earth. Then it requireth hardly his proof, to know that the same locomotive may harrow and pulverize the soil, sow, mow, and be used as a means to transfer any power from one place to any other, for any temporary purpose. Consequently, we need not his proof, though he gives it in a sequel of his Paradise, how to attach some saw or saws to that locomotive, and make them saw on any spot where wanted; so trees may be felled, and cut to pieces on the spot, without using the human arm for that purpose: also, heavy hammers of various shapes adapted to the purpose may be lifted by, and at, the locomotive, after being conducted to the spot wanted, and let fall upon the objects to be crushed, cut, split, etc. Rocks might evidently be crushed to atoms at their surface, and removed piecemeal, and likewise any other obstructions for levelling the ground.

DUNCE. Oh, yes! he promises to level mountains, fill valleys, drain or fill lakes, and the like monstrosities.

CLEAR. You take it in a very ill sense, as if he pretended to do this all merely for amusement, and to gratify a silly vanity, without having any useful object in view. We might say the same thing of the use of gunpowder without lying, but would any man of sense connect with this great power no better idea than that of vain and useless destruction?—Would he not rather think of applying it to many useful operations, in exploding rocks, in mines, etc., as is really done?

DUNCE. Oh! but your author of the Paradise speaks at once of removing mountains, lakes, and such hyperboles?

CLEAR. There is no hyperbole in it, Mr. Dunce. You may see now, already, how it is practicable to plough one rod in front at once, by one machine and one man for its conductor. A little arithmetic, which settles all gabbling, show then how one man can plough in one hour four acres, if the machine moves but at the slow rate of two miles per hour—for a tract, one rod broad and twice three hundred and twenty rods long, contains four acres: it follows, then, if he goes on in that way, he will plough in twenty-four hours ninety-six acres, and in one hundred days nearly ten thousand. Now, the author says, as one man cannot attend continually day and night to the work, three or four men are to be employed for the short and easy task of guiding a machine for eight hours every day each man.

DUNCE. But what has this to do with his pretensions of levelling mountains and such quixotic jobs?

CLEAR. You will see. How many men would you suppose ten thousand acres would require, to plough, pulverize, and level the ground, sow, and harvest in the common way?

DUNCE. This might perhaps require one thousand laborers.

CLEAR. Well, if this can be done as well or better by machines—for machines, if well contrived, generally do the work better, and more regular than hands—four men would do as much as one thousand, or one as much as two hundred and fifty.

DUNCE. But he exaggerates, and speaks of doing by one man as much as a thousand.

CLEAR. If one machine can move two miles, it can also be made to move four miles an hour, and if one rod its breadth can be, it can also be two and three rods, provided there is power enough, which is the case, as proved by him; then, instead of ten thousand acres, it can do the work of four or six times that extent; or of thousands of men by one man. But this is not all: if the operations as stated can be effected, then the ground can be cultivated as finely as the best garden; and equally as good, at least, as if done by the spade, and rake; the soil sifted and covered or mixed with manure or better soil from the neighborhood; provided with ditches to irrigate or drain the soil as occasion may require, to weed it, or rather to keep it clean from the germs of weed, etc. Now, such a kind of garden-culture would require much more laborers than mere ploughing; and ten thousand acres only would require at least three thousand gardeners, which may be done by three men, and if twenty thousand may be by one machine cultivated, it would only take one man to do the work of two thousand men, which may still be doubled and tripled.

DUNCE. But all this does not show how to remove mountains.

CLEAR. If one man can do by these new means as much as thousands of men in tillage, the same proportion may easily be conceived in any other work on the ground quite as simple or simpler still. Now, if a population of one thousand individuals, which would be not more than the inhabitants of one village, should apply three hundred such machines, they would be enabled to do as much as one million of men or more in the common way. Now, calculate what short work an army of one million of men, armed with mattocks, hoes, axes, spades, etc., would make to level a hill and carry it into the next valley. Why, in one night they would perform such a job to gazing uncalculating man.

DUNCE. Still all this does not justify his egregious pretensions to supersede all trades.

CLEAR. Ah! Mr. Dunce, are you not yet aware that it was you who was guilty of most irrational pretensions?

DUNCE. How so?

CLEAR. Have you forgotten so quickly, that you termed all pretensions of that book as folly, quixotic nonsense, humbug?—And cannot you see now your fault, after you are made aware that the best part of those pretensions are proved as realties, namely, the production of human food without labor?

DUNCE. I do not see that quite clear.

CLEAR. Of course you do not see all the operations quite clear, because you have not studied the subject. But you are at least forced to admit, by what I exposed to you, that all these things can be done.

DUNCE. Well, never mind my faults—I am no mechanician, and do not pretend to judge upon these matters absolutely.

CLEAR. But you did so, however, in the most unsparing terms.

DUNCE. Well, well, there is no harm in it, a body has a right to form an opinion and to express it.

CLEAR. There would be little harm in such barefaced injustice, if it was you alone, who thought so; but, sir, there is great, monstrous harm in it, if all, or nearly all, people are guilty of the same fault—for then it prevents all progress of mankind: it is this fault of yours to judge without reasoning, without examining any new subject, if it does not come from high sources, to reject, to condemn it as absurd, as deception, or anything bad or foolish, before knowing, though presented for examination: it is this fault that was ever the heaviest curse of mankind, who ridiculed, neglected, opposed, or persecuted such men as Columbus, Copernicus, Gallileo, Fulton, and all other individuals observing and reasoning a little more accurately than their fellow-men: it is this fault that defamed, tormented, burned and punished in thousand ways, heretics, witches, infidels. etc. without crime.

DUNCE. Oh! you take it too serious, Mr. Clear, I am sure I meant no harm.

CLEAR. That is to say you thought there was no harm in ridiculing and villifying a subject and its author against all justice and reason: an individual who never did you any harm, but devoted a part of his time to instruct you and all his fellow-men, how to save themselves from the sufferings of want, fears of want, and the slavery of unceasing labor: how to make of earth, which is now a hell and a penitentiatiary for most people, a paradise for all. How would you like it, if all the world were showing to you the same contempt and derision for some good, honest action, which rather claimed some kind acknowledgment?

DUNCE. I declare I did not consider the matter so serious.

(CONCLUDED IN OUR NEXT.)

From the Working Man's Advocate.

WHICH IS THE BEST, THE LIFE OF THE INDIAN SAVAGE, OR THE WHITE OPERATIVE?

In the year 1827 a Florida Indian was slain by a white man. Blood must have blood, is the law of the Indians, and it is always rigorously enforced by them against the whites when an Indian is slain by any of the latter. In such cases, they demand the death of the murderer, and if that cannot be obtained, the first white man that can be reached, is sure to fall a victim to the Indian *lex talionis*.

Consternation of a peculiar character pervaded the territory. There was no war, yet every man was afraid of the enemy, and dreaded to leave his house as if at the risk of losing his life by some ambuscade. Everybody knew that no more than one

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life would be taken, but each was afraid the lot might fall on him. There was no way of uniting the people in any plan of common defence, for there was no army to oppose, there was no enemy in the field to encounter. All believed that a party of Indians, or probably only one, was on the path for a victim, but where was the party? who was to be the doomed one? were questions none could solve; and the mysterious fatalism in prospect everywhere, in all directions, and to which every one was equally exposed, spread a peculiar consternation over the territory.

I had just entered Florida, journeying on to Tallahassee. It appeared strange to me that every house on the roadside was closed up and not a soul to be seen. After having passed several, curiosity prompted me to ride up to one of them, and knock at the door.

"Who's there?" demanded the voice of a man.

"A traveller, who is very thirsty," I replied.

"About two miles further on, you will find a branch of good water crossing the road, where both you and your horse can drink," the voice said.

"But I want to stop a while and eat some dinner, and I think, stranger, that you might as well open the door."

"Well, I reckon I will," and the door was opened.

Inside I discovered a number of persons, white and black. Dinner was had in a short time, and I was informed of the existing danger. When I resumed my journey, it was with no comfortable feelings; but my course was onward nevertheless. In about a quarter of an hour the road before me presented a winding descent, and when I reached half way down, I had a view of the branch of water mentioned by my host. But I beheld at the same moment, on the further side of the branch, an Indian in full costume, and I also saw his rifle leaning against the tree near which he stood.

I never felt half as bad in my life, but there was no retreat, and I was totally unarmed. I rode on, having no recourse but to behave *a la Chesterfield* to the Red Man. I approached him bowing, smiling, and extending my hand. He seized his rifle.

I looked at my horse—he was a noble and trusty animal, not to be scared at the sound of a gun, for I had often fired when on the saddle. He needed neither whip nor spur—he better understood my voice; one word could put him at his best speed. I was well appareled—saddle-bags well stuffed, and had money in my purse, besides. With all my blandishments, I kept my eye on the rifle, for it was probable my last hour was come.

We shook hands. He uttered thrice the word *Tabakaw*. I would have given ten dollars for a quarter of a pound of Tobacco to give him, but never used that weed, and had none with me. In desperation I thrust my hand in my saddle-bags, and handed forward a bottle of whiskey. He tasted it—took a drink—returned me the bottle, giving a peculiar grunt of satisfaction. He sent forth an unspellable Indian sound, and in an instant a band of red men stood close by me. I was startled; my confusion excluded all the rules of Chesterfield out of my memory; but I handed one of them the bottle mechanically. He drank and handed it to others, but it was exhausted before all had partaken. The luckless ones looked chagrined; this was rather alarming;—fortunately I had a pocket flask, and they emptied it. They all in turn shook hands with me, and one of them, about the ugliest and most ferocious looking Indian, I, or any body else, ever set eyes on, seized the bridle of my horse, and led him, with me on his back, off the road into the woods, the other Indians following. In a short time I was in an Indian Camp, on the margin of the Lake Yamona.

I dismounted from my horse in obedience to a sign from my ferocious looking guide. His hair was black and matted—his whiskers were bushy, and his beard was short and grizly. His color was a deep florid brown, but his lips were clear red. In addition to his gun and tomahawk, he had in a belt a pair of large shears, which I then suspected might have once been the property of some unfortunate tailor. This fellow had a reckless manner, which, taken in connection with his head, face, and accoutrements, impressed me with the realization of a Seminole villain of the worst kind. He fixed his eyes upon me with the most devilish leer ever seen upon the face of a bandit, and thus addressed me:

"Go-man-na—Dhe-od!"

I was completely astounded, could scarcely believe my ears. Often when a boy had I heard this salutation, with the usual reply, among the natives of the Emerald Isle; but, was the mother-tongue of the Irish and the Seminole dialect the same language? I never was so puzzled. Here, thought I, is a discovery, equal to that of the Welch Indians.

"Go manna Dheod ma Boughill! repeated he, impatiently.

I answered him at once with the reply I had often heard, "Go manna Dheod's Muere dhuid."

"Hanna mon Dhouel, give us your fist agra! Little did I think that I'd ever see a boy from the sod in these parts. By the holy post I'm glad to see you any how, this blessed day."

"You are not gladder than I am," said I, "for you must not let these Indians take my life on account of the one slain by the whites in these parts. I am a stranger in Florida, and don't want to die yet awhile."

"Make yourself aisy, you're not in the laste danger," returned he. "Look on that pole, and you'll see a white man's scalp to settle that account. And if it was not settled, by the holy stone you should not be brought into the settlement."

I looked in the direction he pointed, and the scalp of a white man, as he said, was hanging on a pole stuck in the ground.

"But what are you going to do with that scalp?"

"We'll exhibit it to the nation, and then hang it up in the wigwam of the Indian who was slain, to be a consolation to the widow and family."

"A very extraordinary kind of a consolation," I exclaimed.

"It suits the crayters any how—and now that I'm used to it, I think it's far more natural than wearing black, and has far more sense in it. Revenge is sweet, you know."

"And how long have you been used to these Indian customs?" I inquired.

"More than fifteen years. I came first to Pensacola, in a vessel with goods to the great firm of Innerarity & Co., or rather Forbes & Co., known for the great land speculation of Forbes's purchase, who bought more lands, by fifty miles long and five miles wide, than the Indians ever sold to the firm. The trees were blazed anew, to take in the good land just before the United States got hold of the Territory. I took a fancy to an Indian girl, and as I could not get her to go with me, I went with her, body and sowl. As they made a tailor of me in the ould country, I took care of my shears, and became a great man among the men, and a favorite with the women, in cutting and making their dresses for them, and the divil a kinder set of crayters on the face of the earth, it's myself can say it, Jimmy Hogan; but that's not my name now, for I'm called by an Indian name, which manes double knife, or two knives, on account of my big shears."

"And how do you like your Indian mode of life?" was my inquiry.

"Your question manes a great dale, for it puts me in mind of what I was some years ago, and what I am now. I must first and foremost tell you, then, that I never liked the tailor trade—cramped up on a board all day, and part of the night, working for other people. There's a great deal of talk about liberty, equality, and such great things among the white people; but the divil a bit of liberty or equality did I find till I came among the Indians. Every red man can do as he likes, and that's the reason there is no trouble in an Indian town, at all, at all. There's no trouble about the land, except in the cultivation of it, and that a man need not do, if he don't like. For my part, I wouldn't give my big sheras for as much land as would make an estate for a Lord or a Duke in the ould country. We have plenty of fish in the lakes and rivers—plenty of deer, turkies, and squirrels in the woods—plenty of land to plant in corn, batates, and other things. We fish, we hunt, and plant when we like. There's no one to drive you, nor can you drive any body but yourself, and that's what I call liberty and equality."

"You appear to be highly satisfied with living an Indian life," said I.

"It's myself that is, and no thanks to King, Bishop, or Landlord. The King gets no taxes from me—the Clargy gets no tithe part of my crop, my stock, my hunting, or my fishing. As for the Landlord, we have none but the great Landlord of the whole world, and he never asks rint of any body, and if he, the real owner, don't, nobody else has a right to ask such a thing. Great raisin I have, indeed, to be satisfied among the Indians, where I am as good and as great as any body, and a great Powwow besides. Among the whites I was nothing but a poor journeyman tailor, and never could be anything else, if I'd live to the age of Methusalem."

"Now I want to ask you a question or two."

"I shall willingly answer them if I can."

"Did you ever in all your travels fall in with an ould friend of mine, Tim Donnelly?"

I shook my head negatively.

"Nor Felix M'Connell, Pat Riley, nor Teague Doran?"

I told him I never saw nor heard of them.

Och, och! Many 's the bit of fun we've had together, and if they were only here I'd be perfectly contint. To tell you the truth, I've been dreamin of them lately, and its afraid of their being dead that I am. Rest their sowls in glory, I wouldn't like to see

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their ghosts in my wigwam of a moonlight night!"

But why not? It would show that they had not forgotten you."

"But it would show that I was near my latter end, and I've not the laste notion of dying. But, come, we are on our trail home, and you must go with us; we are going to start."

I begged to be excused—gave him my best thanks, and interchanges of kindly professions and promises, which fate prevented from ever being fulfilled, and in a short time was on the road to Tallahassee.

VIDI.

From the Laborer, Boston, Mass.

NORTHAMPTON ASSOCIATION.

MR. EDITOR:—I have been gratified and instructed by the improvements made and making at the Northampton Association. I will endeavor to speak the views and objects of this benevolent society, as they were more largely explained to me by one of its members.

"Sir," said he, "we have nearly five hundred acres of excellent land, partly upland, and partly interval; about three hundred under cultivation, and the remainder wood-land and pasturage. We have six dwelling houses inhabited by fourteen families—a large brick factory, four stories high, 120 by 40 feet, the two upper stories of which are occupied by 70 or 80 persons who board in common—and the two lower stories are used for the reeling and manufacture and dying of sewing silk and twist—for a blacksmith and machine shop, &c. This factory is located upon a never-failing stream of water, called Mill River, and has 29 feet fall. The association owns on this same stream, two saw-mills—one of which runs two saws, which operate on an entirely new principle—the saws being attached to horizontal beams above and below, which rock upon pivots, so that one saw ascends while the other is descending. With this mill are connected two railways; by one the logs are drawn out of the pond into the mill, and by the other, after being sawed, they are immediately passed over the river into a lumber yard, where they are put up for seasoning.

We have also a mill nearly fitted up for grinding all sorts of grain, a shingle and planeing machine, turning lathes, and circular saws, &c. We have a large Cocoonery more than a hundred feet long, in which we can feed at once about three hundred thousand silk worms, and with which is connected 30 acres of the best sort of mulberry trees. We expect to feed this season about a million of worms, which will produce not far from 200 bushels of cocoons. In the silk-growing department we find occupation for about twenty small girls and boys, who, in the ordinary state of society, would be of no service whatever to their parents or themselves—but here they can at least earn their subsistence, and acquire industrious habits without being oppressed. The association has in operation a boarding school for the reception of scholars from abroad of both sexes. The smaller scholars work one hour and three quarters, and the larger ones three hours, and pay one hundred dollars for board and tuition, lights, washing and fuel. All the children connected with the association receive tuition daily in the educational department, and all the young people, and even the older ones may if they choose it, in any branches of learning, from the alphabet to the various languages, higher mathematics, philosophy, science, music, painting.

The members of the association number about one hundred and fifty—forty of whom are heads of families—with whom are connected about sixty children—the remainder being young or unmarried persons. The association do not hold to an absolute community of property—they are made up in part of joint-stock proprietors, who own the real and personal estate as joint co-partners—but the greater part of them own no stock in the establishment—yet all share equally, both men and women who are over 18 years of age, in the products of capital and labor. No interest is paid on stock, but the stockholders after four years from the time of investing it, by giving ninety days notice at any time thereafter, may withdraw it, if they become dissatisfied.

The officers of the association are a President, Secretary, and Treasurer, who constitute a Board of Trustees, to whom all the property is deeded in trust for the association; and who are also an Executive Council, who superintend and conduct all the business affairs of the Industrial Community—who appoint Directors of the different departments of labor, education, and trade, and who, if they mismanage affairs, may be removed by a meeting called at any time by giving ten days notice. The different departments, each having its separate Director and its quota of laborers or teachers, are the Agricultural, Horticultural, Lumber, Mechanical, Boot and Shoe Manufacturing, Silk-growing, Silk manufacturing, Cutlery, Book-keeping, Sewing, Store-keeping, Boarding-house, and Educational departments. Every one as nearly as possible chooses his own department and kind of labor corresponding with the age, ability, and taste of the individual. The adults work 10 hours per day when well—the next youngest 8, still younger 6, 7, 4, and the youngest, capable of labor, one hour and three-fourths. All are provided with education, with medical aid, and nursing in sickness, and in old age and infirmity with all they need, free of all expense to them, if they have no stock—but if they have, it is employed in maintaining them, when incapable of labor, as far as it will go, and then they are as freely maintained at the expense of the association. All are expected to labor who have the ability—no privileged idlers or aristocrats are admitted as such, yet all are expected to choose their own more familiar associates, to cherish what religious or political opinions they please, not inconsistent with the universally admitted principles of true morality and common humanity. Meetings are held the last Saturday evening in every month to receive and consider applications for admission to membership—once every three months to receive reports respecting the business operations of the departments—once every year to elect officers and to hear the annual report, giving a full account of all the incomes and expenditures of the year—and twice every Sunday for moral and religious improvement—in the morning for the special benefit of the children and in the afternoon for all classes, in which all are free to participate.

The entire estate cost the association $42,000, and is now estimated by the best judges in this vicinity, and by intelligent business men who have visited us, as worth, at least, fifty thousand dollars. It cost the old Silk Company, of which the association purchased it, $140,000.

The design of this association is to establish equality of rights and interests, to secure universal harmony, peace and freedom from care, anxiety, dependence, and oppression—to recognize the perfect brotherhood of the human race, and so to put an end to slavery, war, fraud, intemperance, licentiousness, and crime of all sorts—to abolish competition in religion, politics, business, labor, and between labor and capital—to blot out of the human vocabulary the terms, with the ideas they express, of rich and poor, slave and master, hireling and employer, high and low, first class and second class, &c., and to secure to all the highest intellectual and moral education and discipline."

Yours, truly, AGENT.

THE MOVEMENT AMONG THE WORKINGMEN OF NEW ENGLAND.

We are rejoiced at the ferment of the spirit among the Workingmen of New England: it may evolve much that is crude and impure, but it has the grandest elements of good in it of any movement which ever agitated a people. It has a firm foundation, for it rests upon Industry; it has a wise direction, for it avoids all collision with established powers; it has a noble sentiment, for it preaches conciliation and equity; and it has a glorious end, for it aims at the disenthralment and elevation of the laboring classes!

We are sure our readers will be impressed with the truth of these remarks when they read the following PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTIONS, adopted at a meeting of the "Mechanics and Workingmen of the city of Boston, holden at the Tremont Chapel, on Monday evening, the 19th August:" reported in the "Boston Laborer."

How far as a school we have been instrumental in stimulating and giving *character* to this movement, and how far it may be necessary to interpose and give it shape and direction, time will disclose and indicate.

PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTIONS.

Whereas, Through the operation of influences, known or unknown, our condition, as the Workingmen of America, is fast verging to the servile dependence of our brethren in the Old World, our industry, already, no longer entitling us to a fair proportion of the value we produce, and our lives being wasted in over-protracted toil—by which also we are denied the cultivation of our social and mental natures;—and, whereas, these evils are gradually increasing, both in number and magnitude, threatening not merely the destruction of our social happiness, but our national prosperity, and the enjoyment of our civil rights; therefore,

Resolved, That it becomes our duty, as lovers of our country and humanity, to investigate the causes of these evils, the principles from which they derive their power, and the extent to which they have already operated; and to see if measures may not be taken to check their progress, and put an end to their disorganizing and destructive influence.

Resolved, That we *fully* approve the

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wholesome doctrines set forth in the Declaration of our Rights, that "ALL men are born FREE and EQUAL;" that "Government is instituted for the COMMON GOOD," "*not* for the *profit*, *honor*, or *private interest* of any one man, or class of men;" and that at all times "the people *have a right*, in an orderly and peaceable manner, to assemble to consult upon the common good;" therefore,

Resolved, That we will do all in our power to carry out the spirit of these doctrines, that we may possess, in *fact* as well as *theory*, the liberty for which our fathers so freely shed their blood.

Resolved, That the present depressed condition of the industrial classes in New England, and particularly in this city, calls for an immediate and radical reform, that the now isolated and conflicting interests of individuals may be harmonized so as to subserve the interests of all.

Resolved, That we are admonished, in the present movement, by the too oft repeated failure of those which have gone before, to act with prudence though promptly, under the influence of a zealous caution, and a bold determination.

Resolved, That we sympathize deeply in the efforts which our fellow laborers in various parts of the state and country are now making to secure their social elevation and the possession of those rights which belong to Humanity and man, and we heartily cooperate with them in the emancipation of the workingman.

Resolved, That while we contend for *rights of labor*, we show no hostility to *capital*; seeking merely the peaceable possession of the one, and determined only to resist *the aggressions* of the other, and conceding willingly to ALL the rights we would claim for *ourselves*.

Resolved, That we heartily respond to the call of our brethren at Fall River with reference to a New England Convention of workingmen, to be holden at such a time and place as may be thought most desirable, and that we will not fail to evince the interest and sympathy we feel by securing a glorious representation in that body.

Resolved, That immediate measures be taken to secure a *thorough organization* of the workingmen, of every name and calling, in this city, and the formation of such a society or association as shall ensure our united and effective action for our common good, and to enable us the more successfully to carry out the spirit of the foregoing resolves.

SAMUEL H. ALLEN, Chairman.
LEONARD COX, Jr. Secretary.

CELEBRATION OF THE FOURTH OF JULY AT LERAYSVILLE ASSOCIATION, PA.—We have received a paper containing an Oration delivered on the 4th of July, by Doctor Solyman Brown, late of this city, at the Leraysville Phalanx, which institution he has joined. The oration is a very creditable production, and as it was listened to by the neighbors as well as the members of the Association, must have exerted a highly favorable influence. This is the way in which every Association will become a little centre of propagation.

THE CONVENTION.—Are our friends alive to the importance of the meeting at Rochester in October?

From the Southport (Wis.) Telegraph.

MACHINERY.—Almost every paper we pick up, contains a notice of the invention of some new labor saving machine. In almost every department of labor, we find that the slow process of individual hand labor is being superceded by that of machinery, and a work which gave employment to numerous able-bodied men, is accomplished in many cases by one woman. What is to be the result of all this. What becomes of these men who have been trained from youth to a particular business, and find themselves thus suddenly deprived of the means of subsistence. We find in no instance that this machinery results directly or indirectly to their benefit. It falls, as a matter of course, into the hands of the wealthy employers, who have never yet hesitated to use it solely to their own interest. We fail to perceive, so far as the welfare and happiness of the mass are concerned, a particle of good which has resulted from the use of machinery. It is true we have more articles of elegance and perhaps more of convenience, but contrast our condition with that of our fathers and forefathers. Instead of the general comfort and contentment of that day—the general prevalence of good order and morality—and the general sociability and good feeling which pervaded all classes, what have we? The extremes of exerything except virtue. The extremes of wealth and poverty. The useless palace with its worse than useless luxuries, and the hovel with squalid poverty and its attendant miseries. The good feeling as well as morality of society are gone. An unnatural strife appears to exist among men; on the one hand to add luxury to luxury, on the other, for the bare comforts of life. We consider machinery as the main instrument in conducing to this condition of things. By the great facility with which articles of every kind could be produced, an unnatural thirst for gain was caused. The machines, of necessity controlled by the few, are used as instruments of oppression to the many. This world is alive with them; day and night they continue unceasingly their operations, and the world is running over with their products. But is there less of sorrow, of suffering and degradation abroad? Alas, no: for sorrow, suffering, and degradation are on the increase in every walk of life.

But was it for this end, that man has been enabled by his creator to press into his service the elements? We think not. A glorious result will yet be accomplished by machinery. Every machine, with its never ceasing clank, may be considered a powerful instructor in urging man to his duty, and its instructions cannot be disregarded. From the hurry, strife and toil which now animates mankind, these machines will force leisure by the over-abundance of their production. Such must be the result of their operation, and with leisure comes thought, and with thought, new and better action. They will themselves demonstrate the folly of the purposes for which they are now used, and instead of being engines of oppression, leveled against one portion of mankind, they will be used as the servants of all.

We doubt not, at the present time, the introduction of every new machine is a source of evil, but we hail them as results of the onward march of science, which will eventually elevate man to his true sphere.

THE POOR-HOUSE.

BY BARRY CORNWALL.

I.

Close at the edge of a busy town,
A huge quadrangular mansion stands;
Its rooms are all filled with the parish poor;
Its walls are built by pauper hands;
And the pauper old and the pauper young
Peer out, through the grates, in sullen bands.

II.

Behind is a path of earth, by thorns [plains;
Fenced in from the moor's wide marshy
By the side of a gloomy lane, that steals
To a quarry now filled with years of rains;
But within, within! There Poverty scowls,
Nursing in wrath her brood of pains.

III.

Enter and look! In her high-walled yards
Fierce men are pacing the barren ground:
Enter the long bare chambers;—girls
And women are sewing, without a sound;
Sewing from dawn till the dismal eve,
And not a laugh or a song goes round.

IV.

No communion—no kind thought
Dwells in the pauper's breast of care;
Nothing but pain in the grievous past;
Nothing to come but the black depair—
Of bread in prison, bereft of friends,
Or hungry, out in the open air.

V.

Where is the bright-haired girl, that once
With her pleasant sire was used to play?
Where is the boy whom his mother blessed,
Whose eyes were a light on her weary way?
Apart—barred out (so the law ordains:)
Barred out from each other by night and by day.

VI.

Letters they teach in their infant schools;
But where are the lessons of great God taught?
Lessons that to the parent bind—
Habits of duty—love unbought?
Alas! small good will be learned in schools
Where Nature is trampled and turned to nought.

VII.

Seventeen summers, and where the girl
Who never grew up at her father's knee?
Twenty autumnal storms have nursed
The pauper's boyhood, and where is he?
She earneth her bread in the midnight lanes;
He toileth in chains by the Southern Sea.

VIII.

O Power! O Prudence! Law!—look down
From your heights on the pining poor below!
O sever not hearts which God hath joined
Together on earth, for weal and woe?
O Senators grave, grave truths may be,
Which ye have not learned, or deigned to know.

IX.

O wealth, come forth with an open hand!
O Charity, speak with a softer sound!
Yield pity to age—to tender youth—
To love, wherever its home be found!
But I cease—for I hear, in the night to come,
The cannon's blast, and the rebel drum,
Shaking the firm set English ground!

What is the Poet's Task?—We have received a spirited little poem with this title, but unfortunately it has been mislaid, or lost, and we must request the author to send us another copy in time for the next number of the Phalanx, when we shall gladly insert it.

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SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS UNITY.

SOCIAL PROGRESS.—SOCIAL REFORM UPON CONSERVATIVE PRINCIPLES.

THE PHALANX:

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.

ASSOCIATION, ATTRACTIVE INDUSTRY, UNITY OF INTERESTS.

ORGAN OF THE

DOCTRINE OF ASSOCIATION.

OUR EVILS ARE SOCIAL, NOT POLITICAL. AND A SOCIAL REFORM ONLY CAN ERADICATE THEM.

J. WINCHESTER, PUBLISHER, 30 ANN-ST. TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM, IN ADVANCE.

VOLUME I. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1844. NUMBER 19.

THE ADVENT OF ROBERT OWEN.

The event of the month has been the arrival, on the shores of America, of Robert Owen, the inventor of what is called the Rational System of Society. His disciples have welcomed him, with many demonstrations of respect, and he has been visited in this place by a large number of our most respectable and liberal-minded citizens. Mr. Owen will make a journey to Indiana, where his family resides, after which he proposes to return to Washington, to begin a series of labors for the propagation of his opinions.

As this distinguished philanthropist did us the honor to call upon us, and presented us with several of his books, we are able to speak for him and his cause with more fulness and accuracy than we otherwise might have done. He is now in the seventy-fourth year of his age, but looks not more than fifty, being an admirable proof of the efficacy of temperance and exercise in preserving the integrity and health of the physical and intellectual faculties. It is perfectly evident, after a few moments conversation with him, that he is a man of great sincerity of conviction, of strong benevolence and tenacity of purpose, and considerable mental acuteness and vigor. His expression of opinion is decided but without passion, and his judgment of others marked by a pervading feeling of charity and good will. But a phrenologist would say of his head, what we soon learned from his talk, that along with a large developement of firmness, benevolence and the observing faculties, there was some narrowness in the intellectual regions, little veneration, and a positive deficiency in the organs of fancy and sentiment. His characteristics generally are rather sharp and angular, than broad and full.

The work which Mr. Owen requested us particularly to read is called "The Book of the New Moral World," and it professes to unfold a system of society entirely different and immeasurably superior to any that has heretofore existed or been proposed, and which, if adopted, will produce universal plenty and happiness. We have, of course, read the book with a great deal of interest, and while the impression it has made is fresh on the mind, will proceed to give a few brief thoughts in regard to what it teaches.

Mr. Owen's first fundamental principle is this:

"That all facts yet known to man, indicate that there is an external or an internal cause of all existences, by the fact of their existence; that this all-pervading cause of motion and change in the universe, is that Incomprehensible Power, which nations have called God, Jehovah, Lord, &c.; but that the facts are yet unknown to man, what that hitherto Incomprehensible Power is."

Here we have the whole of what is termed the new Rational Religion, and we must say that, to our Reason, it appears a most inconsistent and inadequate statement of the doctrine of Deity. We have no disposition, in this place, to go into an argument on the being and character of God, because we believe that such an argument is some thousands of years behind the present state of human knowledge. It is a question, we think, settled at least as far back as the time of Socrates, and one upon which every step the human intellect has since made has thrown a clearer light. But let us ask, what reason Mr. Owen has for inferring the *existence* of an Incomprehensible Power, from which we may not infer with equal force, other *qualities* of that Power. If the fact of "motion and change in the universe," prove the existence of a Cause, then the fact of an intelligent, wise and good end, which is everywhere manifested by such motion and change, proves the existence of an Intelligent, Wise and Good Cause. For our own part, we are perfectly convinced by what is called the external evidence of Deity, even as it is set forth in the elementary books on Natural Theology, in spite of the objections of Coleridge and some of the modern German spiritualists. When Paley and others say that "Contrivance proves design, and the predominant tendency of the design, the object and character of the Designer," and these show us in every part of creation with which we are acquainted the most abundant evidence of this Contrivance, they take a position from which they have never been dislodged by any of our pretended Rational philosophers. And although it is not, in our estimation, the highest proof which can be given for the being and attributes of God, it is sufficiently strong to be impregnable to the assaults of ignorant and blind atheism. The highest evidence to us of the being and character of God, is Inspiration, in which we devoutly believe, but as Rationalism holds to a profound contempt for all doctrines of Spiritual Illumination, we are willing to take it on its own ground, and maintain that even in the sphere of Natural Science it is one of the most irrational states of mind on earth.

But, continues Mr. Owen, "the facts are *yet* unknown to man which define what that hitherto Incomprehensible Power is." If this assertion merely meant that we do not know all that we *may* know of God, it is a commonplace truth enough, but if it means that nothing is yet known of God, we ask what right Mr. Owen has to say so? Does *he* know all that is known? Has he taken the measure of the thousands of millions of intellects which have been upon the earth, and are now upon the earth, and ascertained precisely what it is possible for them to know? May there not be some one who has searched deeper and wider into the infinite field of creation, and found a truth which he has not found? And if one, why not many? Where does he get his authority for limiting the universal intellect of man to the standard of his own? This *ignoring* the whole human race appears to us a most preposterous pretension. It is equivalent to saying that Mr. Owen has exhausted the entire scope of possible knowledge, and is in possession of every degree of truth which mankind can attain. The only position which the denier of a God can take, in logical consistency, is that to *his* mind there is no evidence of such a being. He has no right to pronounce upon the degree of advancement in this kind of knowledge which can be made by other minds; for unless he is himself omniscient—and therefore a God—he cannot tell what revelations of truth may have been vouchsafed to other minds. It may be right for *him* to say, as the King of Siam did, that *he* does not *believe* in the existence of ice, because *he* has not seen it; but he certainly has no logical right to say that others have not seen ice. He cannot consistently argue from his own ignorance, the ignorance of all his fellows. A simple *negation*, therefore, is made by Mr. Owen the foundation of a *positive* system of Religion, designed to control the minds of all mankind!

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Again: Mr. Owen intimates in the passage we are considering, and says expressly in another place, that it may be possible for man hereafter to obtain more definite and fuller notions of this Incomprehensible Power than he now has. But if such knowledge is attainable in the future, why may it not have been attained in the past? Can he point out a single circumstance which shows that it was impossible for man to attain this knowledge in the past? And if it was not impossible, why may we not have attained it? How does Mr. Owen know that Man has not attained that knowledge? *He* may not believe it; he may say legitimately that *he* has not seen any proof of it: but we again assert, that it is the height of presumption in him, to assume that his own attainments are the measure and bounds of all knowledge. The truth is that Mr. Owen sets out with a DENIAL, a doubt, a mere negative assertion, (which in the very nature of it is insusceptible of proof,) and then insists that it should be made the ground of a positive faith. Now, we say, that we have the most satisfactory evidence, not only of the existence of Power, as the Cause of all movement, but of the Intelligence and Goodness of this power, that the universe is only incomprehensible in the absence of this knowledge; that without Him, the past, the present and the future are alike dark to us; that our faith in Him is the source of a profounder and higher joy than our faith in anything else; that our souls feel to their inmost recesses the want of such a faith; that it inspires us with the loftiest conception of thought, and the noblest purposes of life, of which we are capable; and that not only we, but millions of our fellow creatures have been made happy by similar convictions: that these are facts as clear to us as our own existence, as clear as any facts in nature, so that the denial of them by Mr. Owen, or any body else, may prove the state of his own mind, but cannot prove that they are not FACTS to the minds of other men. He may speak of the religious phenomena of all history—as constant, and as universal as any phenomena made known to any science—as "vain imaginations:" for they may seem so to him: but to us, who see in them a mighty reality, his denials avail nothing, except to prove what we consider his blindness. Besides that, our Reason teaches us that it is not enough for a man pretending to Science to say, when he is presented an accumulation of *facts*, like those which are contained in the religious history of man, that they are "imaginations." *Our* reason requires something more precise than this. We wish to know why these "imaginations" have existed, in their various shapes—why this notion of God has led to so many wars and overturnings, as Mr. Owen speaks of—why it takes so strong a hold of the mind, in all stages of its development—why it appears so nicely adapted to the human soul—why, in its pure form, it affords such a high, ennobling, and glorious consolation? It will not do to cry out "fancy, fancy:" for it is no fancy to us: it is a reality, more permanent and deep-seated than the reality of the outward world; and we want a more intelligent account of it, than a shallow or impartial doubt. But we will not dwell on this topic. To the readers of the works of Charles Fourier, what we have already said must seem as though we intended to insult them, by a discussion like this: but we write for others as well as for them.

One remark, however, in regard to these very Rational Philosophers, is important. Their weakness is in supposing that nothing is worthy of belief which is not discovered to us, or which can not be demonstrated by the understanding, leaving out of view that vast mass of truth which has its origin and its proof in the sentiments and the affections. On this question of a God of Infinite Holiness and Love, for instance, we should believe in his existence merely from the profound *feeling* that we have of it, even without a demonstration, and, we think, *against* any adverse conclusions of our own reason, acting under bare natural light.

Rejecting the idea of God, Mr. Owen necessarily rejects the religion of Jesus Christ, sustained as it is by such an overwhelming accumulation of evidence, external and internal—evidence derived from history, from its divine and beautiful character, and from the personal experience of its hallowing effects felt by thousands upon thousands, who have been regenerated by its life-growing influences. Is there anything in his whole scheme of philosphy which can account for the existence of such a character as that of Jesus of Nazareth—a character so pure, so lofty, so glorious in every respect, and so immeasurably superior in its acted reality to the noblest conceptions that the human mind can form of excellence? The more we advance in knowledge, the higher our attainments in virtue—the further the character of this ONE Being strides on before us, as an ideal which we strive in vain to realize. How does Rationalism, with its doctrine of "external circumstances," account for that? Was it formed by the "circumstance" of the besotted and bigotted Jewish nation; and why has there been no such character before or since, even with the additional "circumstance" of his influence?

But we are anticipating Mr. Owen's second fundamental position, which is this:

"That it is a law of Nature, obvious to our senses, that the internal and external character of all that have life upon the earth, is formed for them, and not by them: that in accordance with this law, the internal and external character of man is formed for him, and not by him; and that knowledge of this fact, with all its important consequences, will necessarily create in every one a new sublime and pure spirit of charity for the convictions, feelings, and conduct of the human race—seeing that this varied life is formed by the same Incomprehensible Power that has created human nature and given man his peculiar faculties."

In other places this position is stated thus: "That man is a compound being, whose character is formed of his constitution or organization at birth, and of the effects of external circumstances upon it from birth to death: such original organization and external circumstances, continually acting and reacting upon each other."

Mr. Owen's inferences from this position are: Since man is wholly the result of irresistible external forces, that there can be neither merit nor demerit in anything that he does—that he has no free-will nor moral responsibility—that the words *duty, obligation*, &c., are mistakes that have crept into all languages—and that the means of happiness or improvement is to be found only in the adaptation of external circumstances to our inward organization.

There is so much important but neglected truth, mingled with so much equally important error, in the doctrine of Circumstances thus stated, that we might exhaust a volume in remarks upon its various aspects. We shall, in this hasty notice, therefore, refer to a few points in which we think Mr. Owen's account of human nature defective.

It must be obvious, at the first glance, that if Human Character is the result of the action and reaction of the internal organization and external circumstances, the very first step to be taken is to determine the *nature* of this inward organization, and the precise *relation* it bears to external circumstances. In the process of developing character, how much is due to the *action* of circumstances, and how much to the *reaction* of the inward organization? We say this is the first step to be taken, because the inward organization may be such that its *power* to act is greater than the *power* which acts upon it, and character may consequently be the result of an inward organization acting upon external circumstances, which is the reverse of Mr. Owen's statement. It may be that this inward organization is a spirit—a living force—a self-determined power—able to control the outward circumstances. We do not now say it is so; we merely say that it *may* be so, and that Mr. Owen has no right to assume that it is not so, until he has demonstrated what the inward organization really is.

Singular to say, this first step—the preliminary step to all advancement in our reasonings—is one which Mr. Owen has most superficially considered. All that we have in regard to it is, that "human nature is a compound of animal propensities, intellectual faculties, and moral qualities." What are *propensities?*—what are *faculties?*—what are *qualities?* Are they material substances, or something very different from matter? If different, how are they related to matter? Are they results of the material organization, or the causes, or neither? Come, let us know, for this is the very point.

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How? You are silent! Then we say that you have gone a very little way toward the solution of your first problem. You assume throughout your book that there is an action and reaction between the external and internal, but you say nothing about the nature or mode of this reciprocal influence, which we must know, to some extent, before we can say whether the character of man is formed *for* him or *by* him; for it would seem, from your own statement, that as the character is partly formed *by* the "original constitution,"—which constitution, we take it, is *the* man—therefore it must be formed *by* the man. You cannot move an inch until you tell us what this "original constitution, or organization," is; whether material or spiritual—whether active or passive, living or dead.

This is the more important for Mr. Owen, because he proposes to adapt circumstances to human nature, which he cannot do wisely until he knows precisely what that nature requires. The "circumstances" must greatly vary with the different views we may take of human nature. For instance, what is called the sexual desire may be a mere animal propensity, or it may be a sublime spiritual passion, of which the animal instinct is only the instrument or base; now, how obvious is it that the "external circumstances" adapted to this desire, considered in these different lights, must be very different? If it be the same in man as it is in an animal, nature dictates that "circumstances" should allow of its gratification in the same way; but if it is something higher than the instinct of the animal, then the "circumstances" under which it is gratified must be altogether different. We might make a similar observation of every other feeling in man, so that Mr. Owen is again brought back to the logical necessity of making, as a first step in his reasonings, a *rigid and complete analysis of the human constitution.* This, we repeat, he has nowhere done! He often speaks of the science of human nature, but he has not at all explained that pretended science; and what he has said seems to us shallow beyond description.

Such an analysis is important in another view of the question, in order to explain some of the remarkable phenomenas of human history. There are men, for example, appearing from time to time upon the earth, who are in every way entitled to our respect, whether we consider their intellectual power or moral elevation, and who perpetually affirm that they bring us a divine commission to instruct us in higher truths than we as yet know, and which are not to be got out of the most laborious study of nature. They claim that they hold an immediate intercourse with the spirits and realities of another world—they announce deep and far-reaching truths—and only, perhaps, centuries after they have departed does mankind discover the full import of their messages. These are the prophets of the human race. They are obviously a distinct, peculiar, and ever-recurring class. How are they to be explained? Mr. Owen will doubtless say, that such *characters* are formed by the "imagination;" but what is this "imagination," which plays so important a part in all the affairs of life? Does it follow known and ascertainable laws of development? What are they, and may they not be as *authoritative* for us as the boasted laws of reason? Or, if such characters are the result of a peculiar internal organization, acted upon by external circumstances, what is that organization, and what the circumstances by which it is developed? Mr. Owen says that "no two organizations are precisely the same at birth." Well, then, in the infinite variety of these "organizations," may there not be some possessed of *faculties* or *qualities* infinitely superior to ordinary reason? May there not be some "organizations" capable of perceiving relations of truth altogether above and beyond those seen by the reason? Who shall assign the degree of different faculties, or the degree of difference of the same faculties, in different individuals? Who has told Mr. Owen that his "senses," or that his "reason," is the highest authority possessed by the human race? If both reason and the prophetic fancy, of which we speak, be the result of "the action and reaction of original organization and external circumstances," why may not the affirmations of the latter be just as good authority as the deductions of the former? We do not assert that they are, but we do assert that Mr. Owen has no right to assume the superiority of one over the other until he has given us a more penetrating and accurate analysis of human nature, and shown the precise function of all its parts. Thus, we are brought in another direction to that fact which we say he has quite overlooked, or most imperfectly considered—a rigid determination of the human nature.

In Charles Fourier's "Theory of the Passions," which Mr. Owen is pleased to speak of as "imaginary and fanciful," there is a most profound and brilliant attempt at such an analysis. He says that Man has a soul, which is one grand and immortal Desire, or Passion, or Love, agencied into twelve subsidiary Passions or Loves, and that these passions are springs of action, sources of movement, incessant and irrepressible motives or powers, that make use of the intellectual and physical organs as instruments. Five of these Passions are *sensitive*, connected with the five senses, and prompt to various modes of material refinement in the useful and ornamental arts; five are *social* in their nature, and lead to the aggregation of men in society; three are *intellectual* impulses to knowledge and order; while the whole are presided over, and constitute the compound Passion of Unityism, Universal Harmony, or Religion. But the explanation of this theory is too great a work for this place; and yet it is the only theory we have met with that throws a satisfactory light upon those great FACTS, *liberty* and *necessity—free will* and *responsibility.* Mr. Owen is compelled to deny one order of these facts—free will and moral responsibility. Fourier accepts them, as demonstrated by the universal consciousness of the human race, and explains them according to science.

He says that the Passions are not *free* to change their own nature, to like what they dislike; nor are they free to change the nature of circumstances that actually exist. But they are free to choose the *modes* by which they seek their own immediate satisfaction, and by which they modify the circumstances in which they are placed; they are free to prefer a slight degree of present suffering to an intense degree of future suffering; the mind, considered collectively, is free to satisfy one passion in preference to another, when circumstances do not afford the means of satisfying each; and, when in such case there are several desires claiming immediate satisfaction, the Reason, as an arbiter, may discover which it is best at the time to gratify or repress. The passions, then, are free to reason according to the lights of science and experience. By the immutable laws of necessity all the elementary principles of activity in the soul are permanently impelled to seek, individually and collectively, their own satisfaction, and therefore, the will can only be free, in so much as external circumstances afford a choice in the mode of satisfying these natural impulsions. Free will is graduated according to the various degrees of liberty which circumstances allow to the developement of the Passions; and responsibility corresponds to the degree of reaction produced by the discordant developement of these passions, considered individually and collectively in all their bearings. If these passions are allowed to follow their respective impulsions, according to certain laws of order, which they themselves reveal, they will lead to harmony and happiness; but thwarted in their developement by external circumstances, they become the sources of individual misery and general discord. Favorable circumstances, therefore, are necessary to the full and harmonic developement of the passions; yet the circumstances are not in themselves the *positive* principle of progress, but only the *negative* condition, or the mould and containing form, the necessary basis of improvement. The *life* is in the passions—the more or less favorable state of circumstances being the measure of the more or less perfect degree of that life. All that man can do towards the improvement of his nature is to adapt circumstances to its healthful and integral developement; he cannot change his innate nature, which can be changed alone by Him who first created it intrinsically—and hence the beauty of the Christian doctrine of GRACE, a divine influence in the effectual regeneration of Man.

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But our limits warn us to leave the discussion of the theoretical parts of Mr. Owen's book, to say a word of his practical policy. Here, too, we should be disposed to object to much of it, because, as Mr. Owen has not analyzed human nature, his arrangements are not perfectly adapted to human nature. So far as he opposes competition and industrial strife—so far as he would feed and clothe and educate the whole human race—so far, in short, as he introduces unity and peace into the social relations—his scheme is immeasurably in advance of the present system of society. But to the disciples of Fourier, who understand the laws of Compound Association, it must appear as nothing more than one form of what they call "Guaranteeism," which is much better than "Civilization," but not to be compared with "Association" even in its simplest shape; we cannot see that Mr. Owen, in his practical arrangements, has any higher guide than the imperfect generalizations of his own reason. He constitutes himself the legislator of the human race, wherein he differs from Fourier, who looked to God for all his laws. Take a single example, the Marriage relation. Mr. Owen's plan is this:

"In the new world about to be introduced, marriages will be solely formed to promote the happiness of the sexes, and if this end be not attained, the object of the union will be defeated. Should the parties, therefore, after the termination of twelve months, at the soonest, discover that their dispositions and habits are unsuited to each other, and that there is little or no prospect of happiness being derived from their union, they are to make a public declaration, as before, to that effect, after which they return home and live together six months longer, at the termination of which, if they still find their qualities discordant, and both agree to make a similar second declaration, both of which being only registered and witnessed, will constitute their legal separation.

"The above cases apply only when both parties unite in the last declaration. Should one alone come forward upon the last declaration, and the other object to separation, they would be required to live together another six months, to try if their feelings and habits could be made to accord so as to promote their happiness. But at the end of the second six months, if the objecting party shall remain of the same mind, the separation is then to be final, and the parties may, without diminution of public opinion, form new unions more suited to their dispositions."

This arrangement, we suppose, is to be regarded as the Law of Nature, for Mr. Owen pretends that his system is founded on the laws of Nature. But let us ask where we find anything like it in nature? It strikes us as nothing more than the mere *dictum* or invention of Mr. Owen himself, and is to be adopted exclusively on his authority. All the sanctity and importance, then, which men have almost universally attached to marriage, is to give place to their respect for Robert Owen. What guarantee does he give us that this is the true and immutable rule for governing the relations of the sexes? As far as we can see, none! Marriage becomes wholly a matter of personal convenience or of external regulation. In the former case, it would lead to indiscriminate intercourse; and in the latter, subject the affections to the despotism of society. Indeed, sir, we fear that your "improvement" would hardly be as good as the present system of compulsion; for this has the recommendation of partial order, while yours has neither the recommendation of Order nor Attraction.

How inconceivably superior the method of Fourier in treating of these matters! In present society, he allows of no change in the marriage institution. When woman shall have been secured her rights to property, to labor, and to complete education, he would sanction a larger liberty in divorce. And only when the human race shall have been regenerated by good institutions and religious influences, would he permit higher degrees of amorous freedom, and then only; only when it shall have been demonstrated to the perfect conviction of the Church of God, composed of parents and women, that such freedom was absolutely required by a law of God, which pervades the entire creation. He proposes no change in any institution on his own authority, but solely on the authority of Demonstration, as derived from Nature and Revelation. In this we should have a substantial and permanent guide, which is much better, we take it, than the arbitrary decrees or conclusions of any man or set of men.

We cannot now, however, follow Mr. Owen into his various practical details. With great respect for him, as a benevolent and self-sacrificing lover of his race, we feel considerable repugnance both to his theories and practical arrangements. At the same time, we will say there is much, very much, in his book, which may be read, by all classes of men, and particularly by the Christian clergy, who so lamentably neglect the question of social reorganization, with profit and instruction. For his general spirit of charity towards all men, we love him, but we deeply regret the delusion in which he indulges in regard to religion, and above all the Religion of Jesus. Meanwhile, we are confident that the propagation of his system in this country will prepare the way for the sublime discoveries of Fourier, who stands upon such indescribably higher ground.

But, before we close, we have one word to say to the Christian World. It is this: The great cause of the day, is the cause of Social Unity. It is taking deep root into the hearts and aspirations of men. The masses of the working-men, ground to death by the oppressions of actual society, are looking earnestly to the principle of combined effort for relief. They are beginning to move in their might. Shall their movement be directed by Christianity or by the opponents of Christianity? Shall they fall into the hands of those who, like Mr. Owen, are unable to see the divine glories of the revelation of the Son of God, or shall they be instructed into the associative principles of one, who acknowledged Christ as the source of all life and truth, and who, for forty years, in loneliness and obloquy, patiently sought to do the will of his Master in Heaven. Oh, my friends, this is no trivial question! Issues, more momentous than the pen can well depict, hang upon the decision. Let us, then, with a seriousness of conviction that sinks to the inmost centre of our hearts, beseech you to look into these things with the calmness, sagacity, and independence which will do honor to the disciples of the Saviour.

☞ We have received a letter from an officer of the *Wisconsin Phalanx*, which shows that Association to be in a prosperous state, of which the following is an extract:

CERESCO, FOND DU LAC CO.,
WISCONSIN, Sept. 12th, 1844.

* * * *

Finding ourselves possessed of sufficient numbers and capital for a commencement, we determined to select a location of Government land. Our locating committee, after a long search, selected the place where we are now located, being ninety-two miles north of the north line of the State of Illinois, and seventy miles south of Green Bay, and sixty miles west of the village of Sheloggan, on Lake Michigan. Our Domain is about twelve miles south of Fox River, on a small stream running into Gree Lake, which stream runs through it from east to west, and on which we have three good mill sites, with an abundant water power. The bed of this whole country is limestone, which in many places comes to the surface, and of which we have an inexhaustible supply for building, &c. We have many valuable streams and brooks on the Domain, by which the whole is finely watered. We have a sufficiency of timber, (no pine,) and are surrounded by almost boundless prairies. The soil is a rich and deep loam, inclining to sand more than clay, both of which are scarce in a pure state. We now own 1160 acres of land, and expect to pay for more soon. Between five and six thousand dollars capital stock have been paid in, and we have no debt or incumbrance, and sufficient means to sustain the resident members until we can get a return from the soil.

I will here remark, that we admit no members without sufficient stock subscriptions to maintain them until we can reap a return for labor from the soil.

Our first company, consisting of about twenty men, arrived here, and commenced improvements about the 27th of May last. We put in about twenty acres of spring crops, mostly potatoes, and buckwheat and turnips, &c, and have now one hundred

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acres of winter wheat in the ground. We have erected three buildings, designed for wings to a large one to be erected this Fall —in which there are about twenty families snugly stored, yet comfortable and happy and busy, comprising in all about eighty persons, men, women and children. We have also erected a saw-mill, which will be ready to run in a few days, after which we shall proceed to erect better dwellings. We do all our cooking in one kitchen, and all eat at one table. Our labor is all (excepting a part of female labor, on which there is a reduction,) during the present summer deemed in the Class of Usefulness, and every member works as well as possible, where he or she is most needed, under the general superintendence of the Directors. We adhere strictly to our Constitution and Bye-Laws, and adopt as fast as possible the system of Fourier. We have organized our Groups and Series in a simple manner, and thus far every thing goes admirably, and much better than we could have expected in our embryo state. We have regular meetings for business and social purposes, by which means we keep a harmony of feeling and concert of action. We have a Sunday School, Bible Class, and Divine service every Sabbath, by different denomitions, who occupy the Hall (as we have but one) alternately as they can agree, and all is harmony in that department, although we have many members of different religious societies. They all seem determined to lay aside metaphysical differences, and make a united social effort, founded on the fundamental principles of Religion.

In the rapidity of your movements in Association in the East, do not forget the West. This is the country for Associations, where land is cheap and good. We have commenced, and have secured a permanent property, and are bound onward, determined on success if in our power to succeed.

Respectfully yours,
WARREN CHASE.

NORTH AMERICAN PHALANX.—A recent visit to this Association has assured us of the justness of previous accounts, that this Association is based on a sure foundation, and contains elements of certain success. Time does not permit any description at the present moment; and we will only remark that a well directed effort has already accomplished a great deal with very limited means, and that among the members prevail the most delightful harmony and unity of purpose, strong devotion to the principle of social reform, and an earnest desire and determination to illustrate the benefits and beauties of Association, both moral and physical, in practice.

A fine steam engine (15 horse-power) has been erected, together with a saw-mill, machine-shop, and extensive buildings for various branches of Industry, which will be prosecuted as soon and as fast as members with means and suitable abilities shall join. An admirable chance is here offered to skilful mechanics, who have a small capital. The address is Leedsville, Monmouth Co., New Jersey.

BROOK FARM.—The Revised Constitution, and the quarterly statement of this Association, ending August 1st, has been received, but too late for publication. Our friends at Brook Farm are cheered on by the most flattering results attending their recent efforts. A large net profit, upwards of twelve hundred dollars, has been declared, for the operations of *one* Quarter; that is to say, after the payment of all expenses of living, &c., and of the interest upon Capital, this amount has accrued to Labor. One wing of a large unitary building is well under way, and advancing rapidly to completion. Before it is finished more members cannot be received into the Association for want of accommodation; but many now waiting will be immediately after, who possess both mechanical skill and means.—Onward is our glorious cause!

N. B.—The Constitution of Brook Farm may be had at Redfield's, corner of Nassau and Beekman streets, N. Y.

OHIO PHALANX.—We have received a paper containing the Constitution of this Association as amended upon practical trial, together with a partial statement of their affairs, representing them to be in a flourishing condition. But we refrain from making any further publication than this notice in the present number, as a desire has been expressed by the President, E. P. Grant, Esq. to occupy one number of the Phalanx with a complete exposition, which will probably be made immediately.

☞ Letters from Mr. Brisbane, dated Paris, Sept. 15th, have been received by the steamer Caledonia, just as we are going to press. Mr. Brisbane is arduously engaged in the study of the voluminous manuscripts left by Fourier, which, he says, are charged with the most precious disclosures concerning the laws of Universal Unity. They are being copied for this country. The cause in France progresses slowly, but surely, and only among the higher and more intelligent class of minds.

INDUSTRY AND CAPITAL.

The following excellent remarks, by the People's Advocate, published at Belfast, Me., are among the numerous signs now coming to light of the spread and penetration of just ideas upon this all-important subject:

"The capital and industry of the country should become friends and co-laborers in the field of productive operations. They should be yoked up together, employed in the same enterprise, and made to uphold and sustain each other in the development of our native resources. How are they now?—friends or enemies, united or estranged? Do capital and industry work together, and produce the legitimate fruits of so natural a union? No. Much of the capital of the country stands arrayed in open hostility to industry, and, as now employed, instead of being a benefit, is a positive injury to the community. Capital, out upon *usurious interest*, is a most deadly foe to industry. It is a canker-worm upon its fair proportions, eating out its very vitals. All the capital employed in *shaving* the farmer, the mechanic, and the laborer, so far as the happiness and prosperity of the great whole are concerned, had better be sunk in the ocean. It impoverishes the community, discourages industry and enterprise, and dwarfs the productive energies of our people. It may enrich the *shaveor*, but it ruins the *shavee*, and, as the *shaveors* are few, and the *shavees* many, the country is essentially injured and depressed by its employment. The farmer, whose farm is encumbered with heavy mortgages, the usual indices and monuments of usurious interest, is disheartened, and allows his farm, or rather his *shaveor's* farm, to go to wreck and ruin, and he himself, too often, becomes an idle and useless member of society. The mechanic and the laborer, who pay tribute to the usurer, may, for a while, stem its withering influence, but every year sinks them deeper and deeper in the embarrassment, until they, too, are broken down, ruined, and become drones upon the community.

ON THE PRESENT COMMERCIAL SYSTEM—ITS KNOWN DEFECTS AND ITS UNKNOWN DANGERS.

TRANSLATED FROM FOURIER'S WORKS.

INTRODUCTION.

WE are about to touch upon the tender point of the present Social Order, called Civilization. It is a painful task to raise the voice against the folly of the day, against chimeras which are in full vogue.

To speak at the present day against the defects of Commerce, is to expose one's self to anathemas as great as if one had spoken against the tyrannies of the Popes and Barons in the twelfth century. If it were necessary to choose between the two posts of danger, I consider that there would be less risk in offending a sovereign, by telling him disagreeable truths, than in offending the mercantile spirit, which reigns like a despot over both civilization and sovereignty itself.

It is never in the midst of popular infatuation on any subject that sound judgments are formed upon social affairs, a proof of which we find in the general infatuation for Commerce; a slight analysis would prove that it is extremely defective, and that upon the subject of Commerce, as upon all other subjects, we are more and more bewildered under the guidance of the uncertain sciences.

The Commercial controversy has existed but half a century, and its authors have already put forth thousands of volumes without perceiving that the machinery of Commerce is constructed upon principles quite contrary to common sense. It subjects the Social Body to a class of men who have

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the exchanges of products in their hands, and renders all the essential classes of society, the cultivator, the manufacturer, and the producing classes in general, and even government itself, subservient to them.

I shall establish the point that, in a good Polity, the members of the commercial body should constitute a whole, be *mutually and reciprocally responsible*, and that the Social Body should be *insured* against Bankruptcy, Stock-jobbing, Monopoly, Usury, losses from waste, and other disorders which spring from the existing system; a system which long since would have been critically analysed by political writers if they possessed a shadow of the respect for good morals of which they make such great profession.

In this first essay I design only to make a prelude to the question, to point out the commercial follies and excesses, which prove our ignorance, and should induce a research for a system of Commerce, or mode of exchange of products, less corrupt than the existing one called *Free Competition*.

In Commerce, as in all other social relations, we find a mode peculiar to each period of Society: for example:

In the 4th Period, or Barbarian Society, *forced sales*, arbitrary prices, government monopolies, &c.;*

In the 5th Period, or Civilization, *free competition*, the non-responsibility of the mercantile classes;

In the 6th Period, or Guaranteeism, *social competition*, solidarity, mutual and reciprocal responsibility and dependence, and subordination of the commercial corps to the interests of producers, manufacturers, cultivators and proprietors.

There are still other modes peculiar to the different social periods, of which I do not give a table, it being my design to speak of the sixth mode only, *Social Competition*, which is compatible with our customs, and which is as much to be preferred to free commerce, as the latter is to be preferred to the arbitrary prices, government monopolies, and other usages of the fourth Period, or Barbarism.

This is a question which I shall treat upon as if the laws which govern human societies had not been discovered. Let us forget the fact for a moment, and reason as though our object was *to seek* a remedy for the commercial disorders of civilization. Let us see what course Economists ought to have followed under these circumstances, attributing to themselves as they do a clear knowledge of mercantile affairs.

In pursuing this subject, I shall have occasion to express opinions not very flattering to Commerce in general; but let me observe, once for all, that in criticising a profession, I do not criticise the individuals who exercise it. He who declaims against the manœuvres of stock-jobbers, usurers, or others, would perhaps surpass them in avidity if he were in their place; we should not blame individuals, but civilization alone, which, opening to the passions only vicious means of gratification, forces man to practice vice to arrive at fortune, without which there is no happiness.

The discussion will be carried on under the following heads:

1*stly. Origin of Political Economy, and Mercantile Controversy;*

2*dly. Spoliation of Society by Bankruptcy;*

3*dly. Spoliation of Society by Monopoly;*

4*thly.* " " *by Stock-jobbing;*

5*thly.* " " *by Losses* from Waste and Complication.

6*thly. Decline of Civilization through the Commercial Spirit, which leads to Commercial Feudalism.*

I.

ORIGIN OF POLITICAL ECONOMY AND MERCANTILE CONTROVERSY.

This is a subject truly worthy of an epic. O Muse, tell us the exploits of those audacious Innovators who have overthrown ancient Philosophy. The sect of Political Economists, which has arisen suddenly from nothing, has dared to attack the revered dogmas of Greece and Rome. The true models of virtue, the Cynics and Stoics, all the illustrious lovers of poverty and mediocrity are discomfited, and flee before the Economists, who fight for the cause of riches. The divine Plato, the divine Seneca, are driven from their throne; the black broth of the Spartans, the radishes of Cincinnatus, the frock of Diogenes, the whole arsenal of the Moralists is struck with impotency; everything yields to impious Innovators who sanction the love of affluence, good cheer, and the vilest of metals, such as silver and gold.

In vain have Jean Jacques and the Mablys courageously defended the honor of Greece and Rome. In vain have they represented to the nations the eternal truths of Morality, "that poverty is good, that we must renounce riches and embrace Philosophy, without delay."* Useless remonstrances! nothing has been able to resist the onset of the new dogmas: the corrupt age breathes forth only treatises upon commerce and balances of trade by pence and farthings; the standards of the Portico and Lyceum are deserted for Academies of Commerce, and the Societies of the friends of Commerce; in fine, the irruption of the Economists has been for the uncertain sciences another battle of Pharsalia, where the wisdom of Athens and of Rome, and all glorious Antiquity, have experienced an irreparable defeat.

Humanly speaking, civilization has changed its phasis: it has passed from the second to the third, in which the commercial spirit rules and controls the Social Polity, to the exclusion of other influences. This change has arisen from the progress of the nautical art, and colonial monopoly. The Philosophers, who always take part in the Social Movement *after* the change has taken place, have sided with the opinion of the age, and have begun to preach up the commercial spirit, since they have perceived that it has become dominant; hence has sprung up the sect of Political Economists, and with them the Mercantile Controversy.

For what reason have the philosophers changed their minds after so many ages, and condescended to busy themselves about commercial affairs, the object of their former disdain? Through all antiquity they never ceased to ridicule commerce. They then held the merchants up to derision, and repeated, with Horace, that the Science of Commerce was reduced to the knowledge that, "at twenty pennies each, one hundred francs make five pounds."

However, they might have foreseen, by the influence of Tyre and Carthage, that the commercial power would one day master the agricultural power, and control the whole administrative system. *But the thing had not yet come to pass, and hence it never would come to pass.* This is the rule of judgment, of Politics and Philosophy; they

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* According to Fourier, five social periods, or systems of Society, have existed on the earth.

1st. The Primitive Society, of which we have but a few vague accounts, and which is generally designated by the name of Eden, the Golden Age, &c.

2d. The Savage State;

3d. The Patriarchal State;

4th. Barbarism;

5th. Civilization.

If five systems of Society, have existed on the earth, each of which has been a progress upon the preceding one, why may not a sixth or seventh be established, which would be far superior to Civilization, the most advanced of the five?

Guaranteeism is the name which Fourier gives to the system of society, that would in the natural course of social progress follow the present one called Civilization. It is a system of universal insurance, and guarantees against wastes, losses, calamities, monopoly and leagues, and false individual action in commerce and industry.

* These are Seneca's own words, the Man of Eighty Millions! He advises all to abandon their riches at once; he gives no delay. "What do you wait for? says he, do not put it off until to-morrow; abandon your riches at once, to devote yourselves to Philosophy."

Such are the juggleries which have occupied civilization for two thousand years; these idle fancies have passed for wisdom. At the present day people perceive the folly of these pretended philosophers who advise us "to throw our corrupting riches into the bosom of the ocean." (J. B. Rousseau.) Well, these phrase-makers, after all, are not the most ridiculous; there is another sect more unskilful and more culpable; it is that of the Political Economists, who are the more dangerous, as they take an appearance of rationality.

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view the Social Movement only in relation to the past; hence, future generations will represent the political wisdom of civilization by a head set hind-side before, looking backwards.

Up even to the middle of the eighteenth century the uncertain sciences entertained the ancient prejudices, which caused Commerce to be looked upon with contempt: witness the spirit which reigned in France as late as 1788. Then scholars in their disputes would sometimes say to an adversary, "*Son of a merchant*," and this was a cruel insult. Such was the opinion in the provinces; the mercantile spirit was confined to the ports and principal towns, where resided the great bankers and capitalists. It was not until 1789, [epoch of the French Revolution, and the breaking down of the landed aristocracy,] that Commerce was exalted, and ranked at the head of Social interests.

Commerce, then, in its origin, was misunderstood by philosophers, who even now know so little about it that they confound with it the class of manufacturers. Commerce did not obtain the homage of these *Savans*, until it was in the full tide of triumph, just as the farmers of the revenue begin to be praised only when they appear in a carriage with six horses; then orators celebrate their virtues and devour their good repasts. Thus has philosophy acted with regard to the commercial spirit; when it had reached the pinnacle, it poured forth its flatteries, and until then did not deem it even worthy of attention. Spain, Portugal, Holland and England, for a long time exercised a commercial monopoly, and philosophy thought neither of praising nor blaming them. Holland had known how to amass her immense fortune without asking any light from the Economists; their sect was not even yet born, when the Dutch had already gathered tons of gold. At that epoch, philosophers were altogether occupied with rummaging the learning of antiquity, or mingling in religious quarrels.

At last they perceived that this new polity of Commerce and Monopoly would afford matter for filling large folios, and would raise a new coterie into credit; then it was that philosophy brought forth the sects of Economists, who, spite of their recent origin, have already in an honest way heaped volume upon volume, and promise to equal in number the tomes of their predecessors.

According to the custom of all controversial writers, these new comers have entangled the matter as much as possible, in order to feed the controversy, and live at the expense of those who read them. We may truly say, that the Economists, far from having effected any discovery, do not yet know of what they treat; for upon the most important questions, such as *the limits which should be assigned to population*, they confess that their science has no fixed principles. It gives them no positive results, and on this account we cannot see what use it serves; but this concerns the authors very little; the presses groan, the books are sold, and the aim of controversy is accomplished.

We might ask of the Economists, whether it is their intention to diminish or increase the existing political scourges, such as the addition of imposts, the encroachments of intriguers, the augmentation of armies, the progress of bankruptcy, the increase of taxation, &c. Beyond all doubt, these evils have never increased so rapidly as since the birth of the theories of Political Economy; would it not have been far better that science had made less progress, and the evil also?

What could have induced philosophers, those indomitable champions of truth, to array themselves in the eighteenth century under the standard of falsehood, that is to say, of Commerce? For what is Commerce? It is a system of falseness, with its train of bankruptcy, stock-jobbing, usury and fraud of all kinds. Modern philosophy passes the sponge over all these scandals. Let us point out the causes of such shameless procedures, and apply to the conduct of these erudite men the analysis which they say they wish should be universally applied.

In deciding upon extolling Commerce, they considered alone the weight of gold, the vastness and rapid growth of mercantile fortunes, the independence attached to that profession, at once the freest and the most favorable to the development of ambition, the air of loity speculation cast about vile manœuvres, which the veriest dunce might plan and direct at the end of a month's tuition, if he were taught them, (but then nothing is taught in Commerce;) in fine, the luxurious style and display of stock-jobbers and monopolists, who rival in this respect the magnates of the land. All this splendor has dazzled these savans, reduced to the necessity of exercising so many vigils and intrigues for the gain of a few crowns before obtaining some disgraceful protection. They have been amazed and confounded at the very sight of these commercial Plutos; they hesitated between adulation and censure. At last gold outweighed their scruples, and they became altogether the very humble servants of the merchants, and ardent admirers of the mercantile science which they had so often ridiculed.

And why not admire these stock-jobbers, these men, who

——"sachant pour tout secret,
Cinq et quatre font neuf, otez deux, reste sept,"
BOILEAU.

succeed by such a science in acquiring a palace in the city which they had entered in wooden shoes? We see them in the capital leading a life of splendor, side by side with learned men in the depth of misery; a philosopher, admitted to the saloon of a stock-jobber, finds himself seated at table between a courtier and an ambassador. In such a case, what course shall he take but to cry up the idols of the day?

For in civilization truth seldom makes its way, and so philosophers, nourishing all the while a secret hatred of Commerce, have knelt before the golden calf, and dare not write a page which is not filled with the praises of "the Commerce immense, and the immense Commerce."

They had everything to gain in attacking it; they could have recovered public consideration, and repaired the discredit into which their theories had fallen since the [French] Revolution, by denouncing the frauds of Commerce, which they despise in secret, as much as Commerce despises them.

An analysis of these depredations will demonstrate that the body of traders (we must be careful not to confound them with the manufacturers,) constitute in the social order only a band of confederated pirates, a flock of vultures, who devour agricultural and manufacturing industry, and enslave in every sense the social body.

We say this without criticising them individually; they are themselves ignorant of the perniciousness of their profession; and even were they acquainted with it, who can blame these spoliators in civilization, when the very society itself is nought but one uniform game of dupe and rogue; a truth already pretty well understood, and of which we shall acquire a new proof in the following chapters.

II.

SPOLIATION OF THE SOCIAL BODY BY BANKRUPTCY.

When a crime becomes very frequent we habituate ourselves to see it without emotion. In Italy or Spain, we see unmoved an assassin poignard his intended victim, and enjoy impunity by retiring within the walls of a church. In Germany and France, where the national character is an enemy to treachery, such an assassin would excite so much horror that he would perhaps be torn in pieces by the people, before justice could seize upon him.

How many other crimes do we see predominate in one nation, and abhorred by a neighboring nation! In Italy we see fathers mutilate and ruin their children, to perfect their voice, and the ministers of God of peace encourage these cruelties, by appropriating these unhappy victims of paternal cupidity to the service of the altar. Behold another abomination which excites the horror of every other civilized nation.

We find likewise among the French, Germans, Russians and English, still other revolting customs, which would excite the indignation of an Italian or Spaniard; for example, the custom of the English, who lead their wives to the market with a rope about their necks, to expose them for sale, and many other gross customs of that nation, whose populace is more savage than

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civilized, were it only for their habit of insulting and molesting strangers, who are often more respected by savages than by the populace of London, and the country people of England.

If national customs and opinions differ so widely in the civilized order, how much must they differ in different forms of society, and how odious must the tolerated vices of civilization seem, in societies less imperfect! In the 6th, or Guaranteeism, which is still far from being a perfect society, they will hardly comprehend how empires, claiming to be polished, and who have theories of equity and justice, could have tolerated for a moment abominations like Bankruptcy.

Bankruptcy is the most ingenious and impudent species of knavery which ever existed. It assures to every merchant the opportunity to rob the public of a sum proportioned to his fortune or his credit. Thus, a rich man may say to himself: I begin trading in 1808; I intend on such a day in 1810, to steal so many millions from to whomsoever they may belong.

Leaving aside an incidental means of correction, the new French code, by means of which they expect to repress Bankruptcy, (for opinions do not agree in this hope, and means of eluding the new laws are already discovered) let us wait the result of experience concerning them, if perchance civilization shall exist long enough to make the experiment. Let us reason provisionally upon what we do know, upon the disorders caused by the philosophic system, according to the principle of, "leaving to the merchants an entire liberty, without requiring any guarantee of their prudence, probity, and individual solvency."

From this doctrine, among other abuses, Bankruptcy has arisen; a robbery more odious than that of the highway. We, nevertheless, are so habituated to the toleration of it, that we recognize a species of *honest bankruptcy*, as, for example, when the speculator steals but half the estate or property entrusted to his care.

Thus the banker, Richard Roe, possessor of two millions of francs, wishes, in some way or other, to become rapidly the owner of four or five millions. By means of his known possessions, he obtains credits to the amount of eight millions in bills of exchange, commodities, etc.; he can then operate upon a fund of ten millions. He enters into deep speculation in goods, public stocks, etc. Perhaps at the end of a year, instead of having doubled the two millions which he possessed, he shall have lost them; you would believe him ruined; not at all: he will possess four millions just as though he had succeeded; for there remains in hand the eight millions obtained upon credit, and by means of an *honest failure* he stipulates with his creditors for a gradual payment of one half in the course of some few years. And thus, after having lost the two millions of his own patrimony, he finds himself possessor of four millions stolen from the public. What a fine thing is this commercial liberty! and can you now comprehend the force of the saying daily made of some merchant, "*he is quite at his ease since his failure.*"

Another chance for the bankrupt: Richard Roe after his theft of four millions, preserves undiminished his honor and the esteem of the public, not under the title of a successful rogue, but of an unfortunate merchant. Let us explain:

Richard Roe, while premeditating his bankruptcy, makes sure of the public favor; his fetes both in town and country, have gained him warm partisans; gay youth is entirely in his favor; the ladies pity his *misfortune* (misfortune at the present day is synonymous with Bankruptcy;) they praise his noble character, so worthy of a better lot. It would seem, to listen to the apologists of a bankrupt, that he is even more unfortunate than those whom he has robbed of their fortunes. All the blame is laid upon political events, disastrous circumstances, and such like verbiage common to attorneys, who excel in their ability to sustain a charge of irritated creditors. After the first onset, Richard Roe interposes some mediators, a few rouleaux having been distributed quite apropos, and very soon opinion undergoes such a change that one would be considered no better than a cannibal who should speak against Richard Roe. Besides, those from whom he has stolen the largest sums are at a distance of 100 or 200 leagues from him, say in Hamburg or Amsterdam; they will become calm in the course of time; and if they don't it is of little consequence, their distant clamors can have no great effect upon the opinion of Paris. And then, Richard Roe does not make them lose more than half, and custom has decided, that he who effects a loss of but one half is more unfortunate than culpable; thus Richard Roe is made every whit clean in public opinion from the first. At the end of a month, opinion is distracted by other bankruptcies which cause greater sensation, and which present a loss of two-thirds or three-fourths. A new wreath for Richard Roe, who stole but half; besides, his is an old affair, and it is time it should be forgotten. And now the house of Richard Roe opens little by little to the public; his cook reigns anew over public taste, and confounds the cries of certain splenetic creditors, who have no regard for the unfortunate, and no acquaintance with the conduct due to good society.

Thus terminates in less than six months, the operation by which Richard Roe and his like steal millions from the public, ruin families who have entrusted their property to them, and draw after them in their train honest merchants to a forced bankruptcy, which confounds them with the knaves. Bankruptcy is the only social crime which spreads like an epidemic, and which subjects the honest man to equal reproach with the rogue. The honest merchant who loses by the bankruptcy of some twenty knaves, is in the end compelled to make a failure also. Hence it happens that dishonest bankrupts, who compose nine-tenths of the clique, claim all to be honest men, who have been *unfortunate*, and cry in chorus, "*I am rather to be pitied than blamed.*" To hear them, one should think them little saints, like the galley-slaves, who all pretend that they have done no wrong.

Here the partisans of commercial license will speak of repressive laws, of tribunals, &c. Oh yes! tribunals for people who steal millions at a single operation!

The dictum which pretends that justice overtakes only the little rogues, is false in matters of commerce; the bankrupt, even the smallest, escapes from the pursuit of authority, under the shield of the merchants themselves. As for example:

Scapin, a little shopkeeper, makes a small bankruptcy of 40,000 livres only; he sets aside 30,000 livres, which constitute the gain of the operation; then he presents to the creditors a remainder of 10,00 vres. If they ask him for an account of the deficit of 30,000 livres, he replies that he is not able to keep books like the great merchants, and that he *has met with* MISFORTUNES. You will believe, perhaps, that they will punish Scapin, because he is a little robber, who has stolen but 30,000 livres; but don't the creditor's know that if Justice intervenes, she will consume the 10,000 livres which remain? It will be but a breakfast for her. After the 10,000 livres are consumed, there will be nothing decided in the case, and if they wish Scapin punished, they must perhaps expend some 10,000 livres more, without even then being sure of success. They had far better take the small amount of 10,000 livres, than to expend double the sum about it. Scapin makes use of this argument through the representations of an attorney, so that it is the bankrupt himself, who threatens his creditors with the law. And why should the creditors of Scapin be so severe against him? Some think of imitating his noble example; the others have preceded him in the career. But as wolves do not eat each other, Scapin soon finds a certain number of signers, who adhere to his propositions; others sign through fear that if Justice interferes she will leave them nothing; some are still more obstinate, and speak of sacrificing all, to send a rogue to the galley. Then Scapin sends to them his wife and children, who entreat for mercy in well studied appeals; thus Scapin and his notary obtain in a few days, a majority of signatures; after which they do not care for those who refuse, of whom they have no longer any need. They laugh at their anger. Scapin answers with smooth words and profound bows, and already he medit-

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ates a second bankruptcy, seeing the success of the first.

It is vain to mention that some fraudulent bankrupts have been punished, when 99 out of an 100 escape; and if the 100th miscarries, he is doubtless a goose who could not conduct an intrigue, for the operation is so sure now-a-days, that old precautions have become quite disused. Formerly, the bankrupt fled to Trente, Liege or Caronge; this custom has been done away with since the political regeneration of 1789; the custom now is to go into retirement for a while after the bankruptcy. They prepare the affair tranquilly, and when it is made public they go to pass a month in the country, in the midst of kinsfolk and friends; the attorney meantime settles the whole affair. They return after some weeks, and the public is so habituated to this sort of thing, that it is treated as a clever trick; it is called "*a lying in*," and they say very coolly "*there is such a one just delivered.*"

I have observed that Bankruptcy is the only social crime which can become epidemic, and which by force compels the honest man to imitate the rogue. I will cite, for example, a bankruptcy "*by platoon.*" There are more than a hundred kinds of bankrupts, thanks to the perfection of reason in modern philosophy.

Bankruptcy by platoon. The Jew Iscariot comes into France with 10,000 livres of capital, which he has gained in his first bankruptcy; he establishes himself as a merchant in a city, where he has for rivals six well accredited and firm houses. To take away their good repute, Iscariot begins by offering all his merchandise at cost; this is sure to attract the multitude. Presently the rivals of Iscariot utter loud remonstrances; he laughs at their complaints, and continues to sell at prime cost.

Then the people cry out aloud; competition for ever! hurrah for the Jews! philosophy and the fraternity! All kinds of goods are lowered in price upon the arrival of Iscariot, and the public say to the rival houses: "It is you, gentlemen, who are the real Jews, and who wish to gain too much; Iscariot only is an honest man; he contents himself with a moderate profit, because he has not an establishment as splendid as yours." In vain do the old merchants represent that Iscariot is a rogue in disguise, who sooner or later will commit bankruptcy; the public accuses them of jealousy and calumny, and patronize the Israelite more and more.

See now the plan of the villain: in selling at cost, he loses only the interest of his money, say 10,000 livres a year; but he has a fine way of escape from this difficulty; he establishes in the ports a character of having a large custom, and he obtains a wide credit upon the strength of a few punctual payments. This game continues for two years, at the expiration of which Iscariot has gained nothing, though all the while his sales have been enormous. His manœuvre runs no risk of being divulged, because all in his employ are Jews like himself, a people who are the secret enemies of all nations, and who never betray each others' roguery.

When all is made ready for the issue, Iscariot pushes his credit to the utmost, gives large commissions in all the ports, and makes purchases on time to the amount of 500 or 600 thousand livres. He sends away his purchases to a foreign country, and sells at a moderate price what is left in his store. At last, when he has turned everything into money, the honest Iscariot disappears with his portfolio, and returns to Germany, whither he has directed the goods purchased upon credit. He quickly realizes their value, and finds himself, upon leaving France, four times richer than when he entered it; he is now possessor of 400 thousand livres, and sets out for Livourne or London, ready to commence a third bankruptcy.

And now the veil has fallen, and the people of the city which w s the theatre of Iscariot's play, return to the exercise of their good sense. They recognize the danger of admitting Jews, and vagabonds, who have no fixed estate into the privileges of commerce. But this bankruptcy of Iscariot is only the first act of the farce; let us follow out the results, and witness the *Platoon Bankruptcy.* The Israelite had six rivals, whom we shall call A, B, C, D, E, and F.

A had been for some time in straitened circumstances; he sustained himself without fortune and upon his good name; but the arrival of Iscariot having taken away all his custom, he struggles on for a year, after which he loses courage, and not understanding the new philosophical systems which protect vagabonds, finds himself compelled to yield before the superior tactics of Iscariot, and commits *Bankruptcy.*

B has sustained the attack somewhat longer; he foresaw in the distance the knavery of Iscariot, and waited for the storm to pass by, when he might regain the custom of which he was deprived by the wily Israelite. But in the meantime B is injured by some bankruptcy in a different quarter; this hastens his downfall, and instead of maintaining his position for two years, as he had hoped, at the end of fifteen months he is compelled to commit *Bankruptcy.*

C was in company with a foreign house which is ruined by another Iscariot, (for such are found in every city); C is hurried onward by the fall of his partner, and after having made sacrifices for eighteen months to sustain a competition with the Hebrew robber, is likewise forced to commit *Bankruptcy.*

D's honesty was more showy than real. Although he has suffered for twenty months from the competition with the Jew he yet possesses sufficient means to sustain himself; but irritated by the losses he has undergone, he allows the example of others to lead him to crime. Three of his brethren have taken the lead, and by setting forth fictitious or real misfortunes he may very creditably make the fourth in the rank. So that D tired out with a strife of twenty months against Iscariot, very prudently commits *Bankruptcy.*

E had loaned large sums to his four brethren who have lately failed. He believed them perfectly solvent, and so indeed they were before the manœuvre of Iscariot had deprived them of the means of realizing anything from their industry. He is taken unawares by the failure of the four houses, and, besides, his custom is gone. The whole public patronize Iscariot who sells at cost. E finds his resources destroyed, his credit depreciated; he is pressed by his creditors, and not being able to meet his engagements, ends by committing *Bankruptcy.*

F, though possessing a capital, finds his credit depreciated in all the sea ports by the failure of the five predecessors; their example makes it suspected that F. will not be long in imitating the acts of his compeers. Besides some of them who have compounded with their creditors sell at an exceedingly low price, to raise means to cover the first payments of their contract. Wishing to hurry the sales, they lose a tenth, and gain nevertheless four tenths, since they had compounded for half the loss. F finds himself ruined by this circumstance and compelled, like all his brethren to commit *Bankruptcy.*

Thus the establishment of a Jew, or a vagabond, suffices to disorganize the entire corps of merchants in a large city, and draw very honest men into the commission of crime; for all bankruptcy is more or less criminal, although covered over with specious pretexts like those in which I have pictured forth these six bankrupts, there being scarcely a modicum of truth in them all. The great aim is to seize skilfully upon a good opportunity to commit a roguery which may go unpunished.

If to Bankruptcy we add Stock-jobbing and so many other infamous acts, the fruit of philosophical theories, we shall readily fall into the opinion heretofore expressed, viz., that civilizees have never committed so many political follies, as since they have given in to the mercantile spirit, and been swayed by systems which lay it down for a maxim, that every mercantile enterprise must eventuate in public good, and that we must leave the merchants in uncontrolled freedom without exacting any guaranty for the results of their operations.

And why have not the philosophers, who dream so much about counterpoises and guarantees, thought of procuring for the social body such a guaranty as governments have the good sense to exact from their fiscal agents? A prince secures the fidelity

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of his receivers by a pecuniary obligation, and by the prospect of inevitable punishment if they dare to hazard and squander the public property of which they are the guardians.

Why do we not see the one half of the public receivers appropriate to themselves the receipts of their office and say to government, in a lamentable address: "Oh the hard times—critical circumstances—deplorable reverses—etc. In short, I am a bankrupt; I have failed, (or some such phrase). Your chest ought to contain ten millions; I offer to return you the one half—five millions—payable in five years. Have compassion upon the disgraces of an unfortunate receiver; continue to me your confidence and the keeping of your chest, without which I shall not be able to pay you the half which I offer; but if you will continue me in my place and office, I will endeavor to meet my engagements: that is to say, I will treat you to a new bankruptcy, when the chest shall be filled again."

The above is an abridgment of all the letters of bankrupts. If the receivers do not follow their example, it is because they are well assured that no philosophical theory will save them from the punishment which bankrupts escape, under the dictum, "*Leave the merchants a perfect liberty without requiring a guaranty against their malversations.*

To resume, the corps of merchants being depositaries of a portion of the public fortune, and every merchant making use of the entrusted property to enter into hazardous speculations, having no control but individual caprice, numerous blunders and failures must of necessity ensue, in consequence of which the producers and depositors of capital sustain the losses accruing from foolish enterprises to which they have not consented. To remedy this injustice, the commercial body must be subjected to such a guaranty that every merchant and company of ceivers shall be able to put to risk and lose no more than their actual possessions.

A plan which would make the commercial corps a mutual assurance company, and should insure the social body against the frauds of commerce, would attain this end. This scheme once carried into execution, bankruptcy, stock-jobbing, and discredit, could no longer exist. The commercial relations would require not more than a fourth part of the agents and capital which they now divert from productive industry. It is not here necessary to go into a detail of this operation, which is a process peculiar to the 6th period, entirely opposed to the ridiculous method called *Free Competition*.

We will continue our notice of mercantile scandals, of the robberies which induce us to suspect in the mass the whole existing commercial system, and seek a system of exchange less vicious than Free Competition, which should more rightly be called "*Anarchical Competition.*"

[I have only described three species of bankrupts; I shall give in my treatise a series of forty-two species, but three will suffice in a *Prospectus.*]

II.

SPOLIATION OF THE SOCIAL BODY BY MONOPOLY.

"E'en ugliness, in golden raiments clad,
Seems beauty."

Never was this maxim more perfectly verified than in the protection and consideration which monopolists have obtained under the protection of modern philosophy, whose judgments are controlled by weight of gold alone, and which flatters all the prevailing vices to conceal its ignorance of a remedy for them.

Monopoly is the most odious of commercial crimes, since it always attacks the laboring classes. If there happens to be a want of articles of subsistence, or any article of produce, the monopolists are all upon the watch to aggravate the evil, by getting into their possession the stock in market, arresting the supplies, withdrawing them from circulation, doubling and tripling the price by underhand dealings, which increase the scarcity and give rise to fears whose illusory character is only detected when it is too late. They perform in the industrial corps the office of a band of plunderers, who go upon the field of battle only to aggravate the distresses of the wounded.

One circumstance which has contributed to the favor which monopolists enjoy at present, is that they have been persecuted by the Jacobins; they came out of the contest more triumphant than ever, and he who would raise his voice against them would seem, at first blush, a mere echo of Jacobinism. But do we not know that the Jacobins massacred, without distinction, people of all classes, as well honest men as rogues? Did they not send to the same scaffold Hebert and Malesherbes, Chaumette and Lavoisier? And because these four men were sacrificed by the same faction, does it follow that they were similar in character, and that Hebert and Chaumette were good men, because like Malesherbes and Lavoisier they were sacrificed by the Jacobins? The same reasoning will apply to the monopolists and stockjobbers, who, because they have been persecuted by the enemies of good order, are not the less disorganisers, vultures let loose upon honest industry.

They have, nevertheless, found advocates among that class of savans called *economists*, and nothing is at present more respectable than monopoly and stock-jobbing, under the title of *banking* and *speculation*, for it is indelicate to call things by their real names.

A very singular effect of the civilized order is, that if any one of the subversive classes be suddenly repressed, such as the monopolists for example, the evil becomes increased, and provisions become still more scarce, as was the case during the reign of Terror. Hence philosophers have concluded that *we must let the merchants alone.* An excellent remedy indeed for a disease, to foster it because we know of no antidote against it. They should have sought for one until they had discovered it, and should have condemned their medley of useless doctrine, instead of making it a subject of vain-glorious boasting; they should have provoked a research for a plan capable of repressing the evils they admit do exist.

And why do philosophers throw a palliating cloak over such calamities as Bankruptcy, Stockjobbing, Monopoly, Usury, &c.? It is because public opinion would reply to them, "We are acquainted with all these evils which you so loudly lament, but since you are so much wiser than we are, use your endeavor to find suitable remedies; for until you do, your rhetoric is as useless to us as would be the verbiage of a physician to a sick man, to whom he discourses quite learnedly in Greek and Latin concerning the pathology of his disease, without affording any relief." The philosophers, foreseeing this troublesome compliment, deem it expedient to deafen us with declamation about the evil, instead of quietly acknowledging it; and thus they prove to us that Monopoly and Stockjobbing are the very perfection of perfectible perfectibility. With their verbiage about analytical methods, metaphysical abstractions, and perceptions of sensations as the origin of ideas, they plunge you into a scientific lethargy, they persuade you that everything is on the march to perfection in the social order; compelled to subsist by the sale of their books, and to compose them upon some subject or other; habituated like lawyers to plead a bad cause as well as a good, they find it rather to their interest to praise and embellish the dominant vices, than to occupy themselves in devising correctives, in a research for which they would subject themselves perhaps to useless toil, without fill- a single volume.

Hence it happens that the Economists, Adam Smith among the rest, have praised monopoly as an operation conducive to the public good. Let us analyse the exploits of these monopolists or speculators. I will cite two, one in the monopoly of bread stuffs, which is the most dangerous, the other in the monopoly of raw material, which is comparatively excusable, because it kills industry alone, instead of directly killing the people.

1st. *Monopoly of grain and bread stuffs.* The fundamental principle of the commercial system, the principle that "*merchants must be left at entire liberty,*" gives them an entire and absolute property in the commodities in which they traffic; they have the right to remove them from circulation, conceal them, and even to burn them, as the East India Company of Amsterdam have done more than once, who burned publicly store houses of cinnamon in order to in-

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crease the price of that article: what they did with cinnamon they would have done with wheat, if they had not feared being stoned by the people; they would have either burned it or left it to rot in order to sell the remnant at quadruple its value. Indeed, is it not an every day occurrence in the seaports, to see damaged grain thrown into the sea, which has been spoiled by waiting for a rise in the market. I myself have presided in the capacity of clerk over these infamous proceedings, and on one day I caused twenty thousand quintals of rice to be thrown into the sea which might have been sold before spoiling, at a fair profit, if the holder had been less greedy of gain. It it is the social body which sustains these losses which are every day committed under the shelter of the philosophical principle, "*Let the merchant's alone.*"

Let us suppose that according to this principle a wealthy company of merchants should monopolise, in a year of famine like 1709, all the grain of a small country, Ireland for instance, when the general scarcity and the prohibitions of export from the neighbouring states should render a foreign supply almost impossible. Suppose that the company, after having collected all the grain in the market, should refuse to sell it at a price triple or quadruple the cost, saying: "This grain is our property; we choose to gain upon it four times what it cost us, if you do not like to pay this price, you can procure supplies from abroad." It may be that, meantime, one fourth of the people will die of famine, but that is of little consequence to them; they persist in their speculation according to the principles of commercial liberty, consecrated by modern philosophy.

I ask in what respect the proceedings of this company would differ from those of a band of robbers? For its monopoly forced the whole nation, under penalty of death by famine, to pay to the company a ransom equal to three times the value of the wheat they had purchased.

And if we reflect that the company, according to the rules of commercial liberty, have the right of not selling at any price, of letting the grain rot in the granaries, while the people were dying for food, do you believe that the famished nation would be obliged, for conscience's sake, to die of want, in honor of that excellent precept of philosophy "*Let the merchants alone?*" Certainly not. You would then recognise that the right of commercial liberty ought to be subject to restrictions according to the wants of the social body; that a man possessed of a superabundance of a commodity of which he is not the producer or consumer, ought to be considered as holding the article as a CONDITIONAL DEPOSIT, and not n absolute ownership. The merchants or ents of exchange should, in their operans, be subordinate to the good of the mass, not free to interrupt the general relations by the most disastrous manœuvres, which ae the admiration of economists.

Should the merchants alone be free from the obligation to perform duties towards the social body, which are imposed upon so many other classes? When a *carte blanche* commission is tendered to a general, a judge, or a physician, they do not therefrom recognize an authority to betray an army, kill the sick, or rob the innocent; when these classes act treacherously they are punished. A faithless commander is executed; a whole tribunal is summoned before the minister, while merchants alone are inviolable and secure of impunity! Political Economy prohibits all interruption of their machinations. If they reduce a country to starvation; if they suspend its industry by monopolies and bankruptcies, all is justified by the magic word *merchant*! Just so the quack in the play, killing every body with his pills is justified by the omnipotent *medicus sum;* and yet, in this age of regeneration, they would fain persuade us that a class, by no means the most enlightened of the social body, can never in its various plots act contrary to the good of the State. Formerly it was the infallibility of the Pope, now it is that of the merchants, which they wish to establish.

2d. *Monopoly of Raw Materials or Commodities.*—I will illustrate this mischievous procedure by an event actually passing under our eyes at this moment. It is the enormous rise in the price of colonial products, sugar, cotton, coffee, &c.; I shall speak particularly of cotton, because it has undergone the highest advance in price, and because there was an urgent need of it for the use of our infant manufacturing establishments, commenced within a few years past under the fostering care and encouragement of the Emperor. And what I shall say with reference to this particular article will apply equally to monopolies of every kind.

During the course of the last autum (1806) it was apprehended that the arrival of colonial products, and especially of cotton, would be interrupted, and that the necessary supplies would be retarded; nevertheless there was no reason to apprehend a failure in the supply of French fabrics, because the warehouses contained cotton sufficient for a year's consumption, taking into the account the purchases made abroad, and on their way to France. The Government, by taking an inventory, could have determined the fact of a sufficient supply for a year, during the course of which they had full opportunity to take all necessary precautions for future contingencies. But the monopolists stepped in, bought up and removed the existing supplies, and gave out the intimation that the the manufactories would be compelled to stop in less than three months. The price of cotton took a sudden rise to double the ordinary price, and this rise threatened the destruction of the greater part of the French factories, who were not able to raise the price of their cloths in proportion to the price of the raw material; in consequence a great number of manufacturers suspended operations and discharged their operatives.

Still there was no actual deficiency of raw material; on the contrary the wealthy spinners were themselves monopolists, and speculated upon their superabundance after reserving a supply sufficient to sustain their own factories. In short, the speculators possessed the superfluity which the actual consumers stood in need of; and in the end (after all the outcry) France neither wanted raw material, nor was threatened with the want. Such was the fact in the case.

In this operation what fruit was gained from *Commercial Licence*, from *Free Competition?* It tended,

1stly. To double the price of a raw material, of which there was not any real scarcity, and the price of which should have been raised but little, if at all.

2dly. To disorganise the manufactories slowly and laboriously started.

3dly. To enrich a coalition of gamblers, to the detriment of productive industry, and to the disgrace of the sovereign whom they injured by destroying his work.

These are plain matters of truth. To all this it will be replied, that if the authorities should interfere with the free Free Competition and the license of Monopoly the evil would perhaps be worse yet. I grant the fact, but by this you only prove that the Economists do not know of any remedy for Monopoly But is this any reason why a remedy should not be sought, and does it follow that Monopoly should be considered a benefit? When you are ignorant of an antidote for social vice, dare at least to avow that the vice is a calamity; do not listen to your philosophers who extol the vice in order to exculpate their ignorance of a remedy. When they counsel you to Stockjobbing and Monopoly for fear a greater evil may result from their suppression, they resemble an ignorant quack who advises to allow a fever to take its course because they no no remedy for it.

And because people were ignorant of the means of preventing Monopoly, was it prudent to tolerate it without limit? No; and I will prove that authoritative interference would have often prevented great evils without committing injustice, or exercising too arbitrary power. As an illustration let us recur to the case just mentioned.

I will suppose that the Government, to save its cotton manufactories, which had sustained so fatal a blow from England, had wished to repress the Monopolists, and that the police had visited a banker in Paris, who in January 1807 was in the possession of a quantity of cotton worth five millions at price cost, and for which he refuses eight millions cash, because he designs, by speculation upon it, to double his capital in three months. The Government could have addressed him with the following: "The col-

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lections of raw material, which you and your accomplices have made, threaten our manufactories with ruin, because you refuse to sell to them at a fair profit; consequently you are ordered to surrender your magazine of merchandise at a profit of 20 or 25 per cent. instead of the double profit you intend. Your cotton shall be distributed among the small manufacturers, and not the large ones, who are themselves monopolists leagued together for the purpose of extortion upon the small."

What would be the result of such a procedure?

Let us, in the first place, observe that there is nothing of imposition in all this; for the monopolist receiving, at the end of three months, six millions for a magazine which cost him but five, would gain in three months 20 per cent., which is four times as much as a proprietor, cultivating his domain at great cost of labor, would make in a whole year.

And in consequence of this step of authority, all the other monopolists, who intended doubling their capital, and who would have succeeded therein, would determine to surrender their cotton at a profit of 20 per cent.; the manufacturers would have suffered little or not at all, and would not have been compelled to shut up their factories and send away the workmen. This act would have protected industry and called down blessings on the Government. It would not have abated the supplies received from our allies, for if the Americans in 1806 would send us cotton in the hope of making a sale at the rate of one hundred crowns the quintal, they would do so more readily if they could sell it for one hundred and twenty crowns the quintal; hence we conclude that authority ought to interfere against Monopoly, not after the manner of the Jacobins, who robbed the possessor by paying him in worthless paper, but by interfering to limit the profit, when it degenerates into extortion.

Whenever, then, it is foreseen that a scarcity of a certain commodity is about to occur, and that the demand for it might excite speculators to a Monopoly, it becomes the duty, even of civilized polity, to declare it EXCEPTED FROM COMMERCE, and to establish the maximum of profit upon it, assessing it in such a manner as to encourage importation, to a fourth or fifth more than the usual amount; to inderdict all mere speculators, who are not consumers or actually engaged in the particular channel of trade, from any acquisition or traffic in the article, direct or indirect; and to limit the supplies of each merchant in proportion to his ordinary sales for a given time, which may be determined by an average of his sales of several years.

I do not stop here to indicate other provisional measures against Monopoly, measures which it is very superfluous to mention, since the social competition of the sixth period will absolutely *prevent* Monopoly and other disorders, instead of merely *repressing* them. But in the ignorance of preventive means, it was unpardonable not to have tried palliatives at least, such as *Exception from Commerce*, which France might have adopted with regard to cotton in the winter of 1807; for the prosperity of her cotton manufactories would have struck a fatal blow to the English East India Company and the home fabrics of England.

And, after having allowed the price of raw material to double, were the supplies increased? No; the material quadrupled in value, without this rise removing the obstacles (of war) which prevented its importation. The rise of the material only tended to rob the manufactories and consumers for the special benefit of the monopolists. But in a crisis, when even law and custom may be set aside, who are most worthy of protection, the mass of consumers and manufacturers, or mere birds of prey, banded together to disorganize industry by factitious alarms, and by a monopoly of commodities, in which they possess neither the interest of labor, trade, consumption, or knowledge.

How easy would it be to confound these speculators by retorting upon them their own arguments! To believe them, a perfect want of everything is about to take place; and very soon commodities cannot be purchased for their weight in gold. To which Government may very properly answer. "You believe, or you do not believe that the manufacturer and consumer can be supplied. In either case you ought to be compelled to surrender your magazines; for if the supplies are hereafter to cease, and the scarcity is to be complete, it is useless to protect your machinations which accelerate the fall of industry by a course of extortion and hindrance at a critical time. But if means of importation and supply still exist you are only disturbers and alarmists who aggravate a temporary evil. Thus, whatever may be your real opinion of the case, you are in either instance criminal, and you should consider yourselves fortunate in the mildness of your punishment in being Excepted from Commerce, and compelled to the sale of your magazines at the enormous advance of 25 per cent. upon cost."

By prolonging this discussion I might easily shew, that without constraint upon commercial relations, and without going beyond the circle of civilized polity, a curb might be placed upon the licence of monopolists; the necessity of such a course in relation to bread-stuffs has been already felt, and that the Governments of all countries should interfere therein. They know that if speculators in grain should enjoy an unrestrained liberty, if they could form companies to secure the crops and store the grain, without putting it into circulation, a regular and graduated famine might occur even in the most abundant year. Indeed, how many times have speculators succeeded in famishing a country, spite of the danger of being stoned by the people, and harrassed by Government, who in a time of distress ought to open the magazines and sell their contents, rather than reduce the people to despair. And if speculators now so uniformly brave every danger, what would they not do if they enjoyed an absolute liberty and full protection in the monopoly of grain?

And you political writers who compose theories about the the duties of man, do you not also admit the existence of duties of the Social State? And is not the first of these duties the repression of parasites who desolate industry, and who found their fortunes only upon the wounds of their afflicted country? If you had had the courage to denounce these vices, the corrective, Social Competition, would have been discovered long ere this. Oh how much wiser was Antiquity (all ridiculed as it is) in Commercial polity! It held the mercantile vices in utter contempt. They condemned to execration these industrial robbers, these monolists, worthy the flattery of modern philosophy, the shameless apologist for every infamy which has for its objedt the amassing of gold.

(TO BE CONCLUDED.)

LABOR AND LABORERS IN ENGLAND.

THE superior consideration which is yielded to the man of ease over the man of labor, to the man who lives in indolence over the man who toils, has always seemed to us as one of the strangest anomalies. It is a signal illustration of the subjection of the mass of mankind to the shows of things rather than the substance of virtue. In this case, as in a thousand others, the applause and the respect of the multitude is bestowed upon the less deserving. The man of ease holds a higher position in society than the man of work.

It would be difficult for the philosopher, who looks into the reason of things, to assign any rational ground for this difference. No comparison can be instituted as to the relative worth, intrinsically, of ease and labor, or of their relative value to society; the one is a vice, the other a virtue; the one a burthen to the State, the other essential to its existence.

There is nothing in labor itself which can be regarded as a badge of degradation; on the contrary, there is a high dignity and elevation in it. Its indispensable necessity, its paramount utility, separated from all its other elements of worth, would elevate it to the rank of virtues. Labor is imposed upon mankind by a law of the most irreversible and binding authority—the law of his nature. While ambition, avarice, or any other form of desire, continue to be elements of man's soul, so long the necessity of labor will endure. Nothing upon which the mind can fasten as an object to be coveted, is attainable without it. From the gold which the miser craves, to the immortality for which the poet aspires—from the fame for which the hero bleeds, to the noisy laughter for which the buffoon grins—everything which can increase our comfort, solace our vanity, gratify our pride, must be pursued through the steep and rugged path of toil.

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But this is not the only law of man's nature, which will enforce the necessity, and perpetuate the true dignity and elevation of labor. While a preference for what is pleasant over what is painful continues to be a principle of the human mind, while man delights in happiness and dreads misery, the ranks of labor will always be swelled by the best part of the race, by all in whom the sensual does not entirely predominate over the spiritual, by all who have sufficient of the divine spark to be tortured by that weariness of spirit, that stagnation of all the energies both of body and mind, that consciousness of worthlessness which finds in the past no consolation, and which wishes the future annihilated, that final apathy of the soul which fears no degradation, which can be stimulated by no hope, that is a necessary consequence of a life of indolence, if not a retributive visitation of God upon its guilt.

If what is essentially a law of man's nature perpetually decreed, could derive any addition in dignity and importance from being ratified by the organization of society, we should allude to considerations like the following. Wealth, which in a civilized age is the true "master organ and pineal gland" of the body, social and political, owesits existence to labor. Every device of human ingenuity, every flight of human credulity, to discover some other source of the Pactolus has signally failed. The golden fleece, the dreams of the alchymist, the visions of Eldorado, South-sea bubbles, tulip manias, multicaulis manias, stock-jobbing, and up-town lots, are the accumulated evidence which successive centuries have brought to the truth of the maxim, that labor and production are the only real fountains of wealth. The law of labor, as it saw the commencement, is destined also to see the close of every human organization. It ruled man when, as a savage, he knew no stimulus to exertion but the pressure of want; when he emerged into pastoral life, this law of his being went with him, and civilization, which has contributed so much to the amelioration of man, has contributed in the same proportion to render the law of labor perpetual and irrevocable.

There is, moreover, a high dignity attached to labor—it is a part of our moral discipline in this probationary state. In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread, is a curse with which a blessing is mingled. That toil to which we have been condemned, as the tenure of our existence below, is the training by which the body is strengthened, the intellect invigorated, the soul elevated. Effort is the sole means of developing the energies of our nature. It gives force to the will, efficiency, courage, perseverance, self-confidence, contempt for difficulties; while under the dominion of ease, every physical energy is impaired, the mind enervated; it is by labor alone that man can attain the extreme point of progression of which his nature is capable.

We had adduced these considerations for the purpose of showing the large proportion which laboring classes will constitute in every association of mankind, of the high estimation to which they are entitled, of the paramount authority which their interest and welfare should hold in all political systems, and of their claim upon the sympathies of the philanthropic, when suffering from evils which constitutions cannot reach, nor legislation remedy. In spite, however, of the strong claims which laborers present to the protection of the laws, and the sustaining hand of charity, for a long period of years they were only regarded by political systems, that the rights of the master over them as slaves might be defined, and that their lives and limbs, which were of service to the State, might not be sacrificed by the violence of his passion. In the proudest states of antiquity, those by whom every physical want was supplied, every comfort which meliorated the condition of man, every luxury which relieved the *ennui* of ease, were *slaves* in regard to whom, the only speculations of the Statesman concerned, the means of inuring their muscles to the severest toil and perpetuating their servitude for ever.

After the destruction of the Roman Empire, the very first form which European civilization assumed, seems to have been contrived for the express purpose of oppressing and degrading labor. The Feudal system threw its strong and inextricable folds around the laborer. It was the most formidable fortress which was ever reared for enslaving labor; at its summit was the absolute sovereign of all the lands in the realm, demanding from the barons, who were immediately beneath him in rank, those burdensome tenures which were due to him as their liege; in their turn, they not only extorted from their tenants all that the king demanded of them, but the still more exorbitant rights to which, by the law of feuds, they were themselves entitled. But at the very base of this most oppressive superstructure, under the superincumbent weight of king, lords, and vassals, lay, despised and crushed, the laborer. The baron, whose only service to society and to man consisted in disturbing the one and slaughtering the other, was rewarded with castles, principalities, and feudal rights of unlimited extent and immense value. The freeman who aided the lord in services of rapine and bloodshed, held his rights and immunities by a tenure which was honorable and free. But the laborer who devoted his life to the cultivation of the soil, to the multiplication of comforts, to the production of wealth, and the sustenance of society, held the rights of living and breathing by a service whose only limit, in one respect, was infinite extent, and in the other, indefinite degradation.

Nor was the condition of the laborer in any degree inferior where the law of feuds did not prevail. When William the Conqueror introduced that system into England, the condition of the laborer among the old Saxon dignitaries, who refused submission to his authority, and continued to practice the customs of their ancestors, has been portrayed by the pen of an author whose words are authority upon all antiquarian subjects.

"His garment was of the simplest form imaginable, being a close jacket, with sleeves composed of the tanned skin of some animal, on which the hair had been originally left, but which had been worn off in so many places that it would have been difficult to distinguish, from the patches which remained, to what creature the fur had belonged. This primeval vestment reached from the throat to the knees, and served at once all the usual purposes of body clothing; there was no wider opening at the collar than was necessary to admit the passage of the head, from which it may be inferred that it was put on in the manner of a modern shirt, or an ancient hawbeck. Sandals, bound with thongs, made of boar's-hide, protected the feet, and a roll of thin leather was twined artificially round the legs, and ascending above the calf, left the knees bare, like those of a Scottish Highlander. The man had no covering upon his head, which was only defended by his own thick hair, matted and twisted together, and scorched, by the influence of the sun, into a rusty dark-red color, forming a contrast with the overgrown beard upon his cheeks, which was rather of a yellow or auburn hue. One part of his dress only remains, but that is too remarkable to be suppressed. It was a *brass ring, resembling a dog's collar, but without any opening, and soldered fast round his neck*, so loose as to form no impediment to his breathing, yet so tight as to be incapable of being removed, except by the use of the file. On this singular gorget was engraved, in Saxon characters, 'Gurth is the born-slave of Cedric of Rotherwood.'"

Degrading as were the habiliments of this poor laborer of the twelfth century, they but feebly convey the debasement of his spiritual nature. His mind was a blank and a void; the unwritten precepts of his rustic seers—the gleanings of his own narrow experience—a few of the rudest practical arts—constituted the sum of his knowledge. Letters, those mysterious expressions of thought, conveyed no significance to his benighted intellect; books, those depositories of the accumulated wisdom of mankind—those organs of communication between the thoughts of all ages—those imperishable records of all that man has proved, divined, or imagined —disclosed none of their effulgence and beauty to his vision. Loyalty and courage seem to have been the only attributes of his moral nature which were at all developed. His religion was a confused blending of the savage superstitions of his Celtic ancestors, with the scarcely more elevated dogmas which he had imbibed at the mass and the confessional, while *civilly* he was a "born thrall," with his owner's name inscribed upon his collar.

Magna Charta itself, which limited the power of the king, secured the rights of the baron, defined the service of the vassal, relieved merchants from all arbitrary tolls and impositions, and enacted that no *freeman* should "be taken, imprisoned, or dispossessed of his free tenement and liberties, or outlawed, or banished, or otherwise hurt or injured, unless by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land," contained only one meagre provision for the laborer with his hands—a provision which shows clearly that even by minds as enlightened as those who gathered at Runnemede, he was regarded only as a machine whose operations should not be interrupted. "Even a villain or rustic," says this great instrument, after enlarging upon the rights of barons, farmers, merchants, of corporate burghs, and cities, "*even* a villain or rustic shall not by any fine be bereaved of his carts, ploughs, and implements of husbandry." Such was the only article in that memorable declaration of the rights of Englishmen, calculated for the interests of a body of men who were probably at that time the most numerous in the kingdom.

What is true of this first great movement of English freedom is equally true of all that succeeded it. The great rebellion was the uprising of the middle classes against the tyrannical grasp which held both the priestly crosier and the kingly sword—against a subservient aristocracy, an attempt to do in England what even the Norman conquerors had not succeeded in doing. The men who upheld the hands of Pym, Vane, Hampden, Elliot, and St. John, in the House of Commons, and of Cromwell on the field of battle, were small proprietors, landlords, and landlords' sons, or small traders of the towns and cities. The movement did not reach the *laborer*, and when it was consum-

mated (for such was the true consummation of the Great Rebellion) by that "declaration of rights" under which William and Mary took possession of the throne, the claims of the laborer, and the civil disabilities which he suffered, were as much disregarded by the Halifaxes, Shrewsburies, and Danbys of 1698, as by the Fitz-Walters and De Mowbrays of 1215.

Even in the Reform movement of our own day, which has all the importance of a revolution, no statesman was found sufficiently enlightened—no Radical sufficiently bold, to advocate the admission of the laborers to a franchise so infinitely beneath their claims and sufferings as the right to vote for members of the popular branch of Parliament. The most forcible and startling proof that the political system of England, so far from consulting the welfare of the laborer, entails upon him hopeless misery and wretchedness, both physical and moral, is that which breaks from the pallid and diseased victims of her manufactory system, the swarthy artisans in her stithies, the brutal crew who forget all the decencies of humanity in her unwholesome collieries, and the starving operatives which crowd the cellars and garrets of her overgrown metropolis. A description of the woes entailed upon a class so eminently entitled to all the remedial influences of a wise legislation and an enlightened Political Economy as the laboring class, by the blindness, selfishness, and greediness of the political institutions and commercial policy of England, would swell our desultory reflections into volumes. We must dismiss the subject with this brief allusion.

As a comment, however, upon the wretchedness of a portion of this class, we call the attention of our readers to the following extract from the London Times:

SUICIDE AND STARVATION.

We wonder much that, in these reforming days, no philosophical philanthropist had advised the abolition of coroners' inquests. They appear to us wholly unsuited to the refined sensibilities of the enlightened and charitable mortals of these times. They disinter so much wo and misery; they bring to our knowledge so many scenes of starving affliction; they excite our sympathies by such tales of want and trouble—age destitute—youth desperate—the promptings of natural instincts subdued by the frenzy of hunger, that it would be charity to all tender-hearted people,

> Who sigh for wretchedness, and shun the wretched,

if these coroners' inquests were got rid of altogether. It would be a vast relief—just the sort of relief you obtain when you chase away the beggar from your door, or the policeman hurries from your area gate to the station-house the starving Savoyard, whose organ and piteous plaint had stunned your ears.

If there had been none of these plaguey coroners' inquests we should not have been shocked by the sad tale of ELIZA KENDALL. This poor girl, but nineteen years of age, drowned herself the other day in the Surrey Canal: one of her sisters, who sought with her the same fate, was rescued. It appears that these sisters obtained, what it would be a mockery to call a livelihood, by making shirts for the slopsellers. The evidence of the survivor before the jury was affecting enough.

They all worked at home at needlework—slopwork. Her father did all he could for them. The shop payed 1¼d. to 3d. each for shirtmaking. It required four hours' hard work to make one at 3d. The thread and buttons were found out of this sum. At the price of 3d. they must be well made. Could not say how long it took to make one at 1¼d. Could make three in sixteen hours. Deceased had pledged shirts some time previously to her death. The had been redeemed. They had breakfast on Tuesday. It was not a usual thing for them to have dinner. *They did not look for it.* Deceased had no work the last week. They clubbed their earnings together for food. *Deceased had been for days together without breaking her fast. They all had.* She had been fined 3s for an assault on a neighbor in a quarrel, and had been allowed a fortnight to pay the fine. Deceased told the officer, who had called for the amount, that she had not earned enough to pay the fine. Deceased had five shillings from witness to redeem the shirts, and, knowing that it was money left by her father to pay the landlord when he came, she became afraid to see him, if the rent was not ready when called for. He father found it out on Tuesday evening, the landlord having called while he was at home. Her father asked her about it, and she told the truth.

In reference to the five shillings, which was employed in redeeming the shirts, their father stated in evidence,

> He was not angry with them, for he was sure they would not have taken it had it not been for very urgent circumstances. His daughters had the best of characters, and they could have gone to service, had they not been so much distressed, and pawned their clothes.

Alluding to his daughters, he said that

> They worked at slop-shirts, but earned a very scanty pittance. They could not do enough to gain a proper subsistence, the price being so very low, FIVE FARTHINGS only given for making up some. *They have been much in want*, but when he was in work they fared better. He generally earned 8s a-week when in employment. His daughters *have at times fasted for twenty-four hours!*

And this in "merry England;" in that England,

> Where even the peasant boasts his right to scan,
> And learns to venerate himself as man!

The father furthermore stated, that

> His daughters worked for Mr. Forman, a superannuated Custom House officer or exciseman, he did not know which, who got them from a warehouse in the city, and who employed a number of females, as many as 200, to make them up. Mr. Norman's wife had to manage the work girls, who lived in Keating Lane, Bermondsey. She got them from the warehouse to do at a very low sum, but those she employed must do them lower, as she gets a profit on their labor.

Thus are all leagued against the poor children of the needle—the selfish tradesman, the rapacious middleman, and the indifferent purchaser! The jury, with more wisdom than juries usually vince, did note hesitate to denounce a practice, which is the fruitful cause of crime and misery. They found,

> That the deceased committed suicide while laboring under a fit of insanity; and the jury cannot but deprecate the cruel practice of the slop-sellers in London, of employing young females at needlework at so low a rate of wages as to preclude the possibility of a subsistence.

The facts of this case suggest many reflections, but they are so obvious that we will not, by any remarks, weaken their force. England has abolished torture, slavery, and a thousand other abominations; but, it would seem, that the genius of cruelty cannot be conjured out of her nature, and that the atrocities perpetrated by barbarous despotism, the accursed spirit of civilized selfishness is able and willing to emulate.—[New World.

For the Phalanx.

LUIGI CARLINI; OR, THE REDEMPTION.

BY MARY ORME.

ART has a charm for me, that is irresistible. I have a kind of reverence for artists, that common mortals never awaken in my heart. But then, they must be artists in the full sense of that glorious word. Amateurs, delineators, daubers, move me strongly; but it is a movement to throw them overboard; a wicked feeling, that they have no place in the world. I am strangely prone to forget, that all men were once children, that parts make a whole, that genius does not always show itself at once. But then, I make amends for this irreligion, by any quantity of devotion to those whose power enables them, not only to copy, but to create.

How many strange places, lanes, alleys, and by-ways have I not threaded; how many stair-cases, elegant, decent, vulgar, and vile, have I not ascended, in consequence of my passion for the Arts. Many a tale can I tell, and probably I shall tell, if I live long enough, for I am essentially a *story-teller*. Before I went to Florence, I determined to be a painter; but Italy and its pictures cured me. "I'll not daub for the world," said I; "I can never paint." I never took pencil in my hand again. The cure was radical. I came home to our infant country, and looked again at what we have done, and how little it seemed. I speak not this discouragingly, for America has done something, and she will do more. But I forget that I took my pen to tell a story.

I had a friend in Florence, named Luigi Carlini. He was an artist, whom I was compelled to worship. I loved him as I did my own soul; he was abstracted and pensive, and though kind, pure, and holy as the refreshing dews of Heaven, yet he was a moody being. Days he would pass alone, close shut in his chamber, or in lonely walks wrapt in deep abstraction. He lodged with his sister Maria, a good woman, but so ugly, that even Luigo, well as he loved her, could never bring himself to paint her face. He should have taken lessons of Sully; for Sully would paint a Griffin so beautiful, that a Count D'Orsay would agree to marry the—picture. But Maria Carlini was so good, that I never would have told you of her unfortunate ugliness, had I not feared

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that you might question the disinterestedness of my love for her brother. Carlini loved his sister tenderly; I do not believe he ever thought her ugly, only in connection with his art. She made his home the abode of peace and neatness. She never interfered with anything that concerned him. How much more beautiful would be friendship, could friends but be persuaded *to mind their own business.* Maria never said, "Do, Luigo, set your sofa on this side of the room;" or, "your book-case on that." She never annoyed him when he wore whiskers, by teasing him to repudiate them; nor when he had a smooth face, did she tease him to patronise the bears. She was a pattern sister, went her own way quietly, and suffered Luigo to go his undisturbed. I wish I could persuade all women to imitate her. But precept is worth very little. We shall never have a radical change in the meddling, gossiping habits of the world, till the world has something better to do. Open noble and ennobling channels of occupation for woman's powers, and woman will cease to be the trifler she too often is at present. But I shall never tell Carlini's story. When I first knew him, he was near thirty years of age. There was a freshness and beauty in his soul, that in most men, at that age, have been worn away by perpetual contact with the world. He was not sad, but one could never trifle with his feelings. The holy name of LOVE was never desecrated in the presence of Luigo Carlini, by being connected with a jest or a sneer. The arrows of coquetry fell harmless at his feet. The loving wife, the betrothed in soul, loved and reverenced Luigo; while the coquette made up her mind that he was utterly heartless. Meanwhile, Carlini felt too bitterly that he had a heart. I have said that he was not sad; and habitually, he was not so; but there were times when I have intruded upon him too early, or too late, when he looked as though he might have sat for the portait of sorrow; and a very few times his sister arrested my progress to his room, saying, "The cloud is over my brother." Had Maria been young and beautiful, I should have tried to gain her confidence, and learn the secret of her brother perchance. As it was, I left it in the holy care of friendship, and only loved Carlini better, as I pitied him more; and this, to me, proved the unselfishness of my affection.

One day, when my friend seemed entering the shadow of the cloud, I tendered him words of sympathy. I said, "One so good, should not be unhappy." "*Good!*" said Luigo, and he seemed laboring with an inward convulsion. "*Good!* Alvord, how little you know me; but I am not unhappy usually; I have more of peace than thousands, and but for one dark and terrible spot on my life, I might be happy always. O that error! will a life of penitence atone for it? Only ONE in the wide world knows me, Alvord; I am a sealed book to all others. My dear good sister knows not in whom she trusts: did she know: but what will not woman forgive? She would love me were I a "leper white as snow." I sought not to know my friend's secret, I wished not to know it; I trembled greatly, at the thought of a blot on a nature so pure, so lovely as his. How strangely we err in giving all goodness to our friends, and in thinking those we do not love, or those whom the world casts out, irredeemably evil.

There I sat, pale and trembling, by the side of Carlini. I said nothing. My sympathy was too deep for words. He lay like one dead, for a few minutes. At length he gasped for breath, raised himself in his chair, and said, with a strange calmness, "I will tell you all; you will not curse me, for you are at once too good, and too bad to do it. You know that I have been a student; you know, too, the proneness of my nature to look at the abstract right, instead of the concrete, if I may so speak. At twenty, I read English with freedom; I had read Shelly and Goodwin, I had read a host of French writers; I cannot say of the same school, for they were French, and a Frenchman ever thinks and feels differently from an Englishman. But that boy Shelly, standing with his brow and bosom bared to receive, not only the thunders, but the lightnings of the aristocracy in Church and State, awoke in me a reverential madness. Of him I could say, with the poet of Scotland, "With such as he, where'er he be, may I be saved, or damned." I have since learned, that a man may have much truth, and many errors. The young first admire, then worship, then imitate. I had learned the word *expediency*, to despise it, and exclude it from my vocabulary. I have since learned that there is a wise and innocent expediency. Such was my admiration for my boy-god at this time, that I used to pity the poor Florentines, who could not read English, more than those who lacked bread. One day, I had been walking, and meditating on the being who should be noble enough, to despise all forms, and stand by my side, *one* with me; the being who, in the sight of Heaven, should be my WIFE; and, with a nobility, or, as I can now see, madness, equal to my own, should brave the scorn of men. Pity me, Alvord, for I was mad; before God I say it, impurity had no place in my philosophy. In my zeal for the real, I overlooked the actual, as of nothing worth. I saw man and woman everywhere chained by forms, to what they loathed and hated. I said, This is not marriage; I say so now; but I now see, that the precious incense needs its vase; that a sacred union cannot have a too solemn acknowledgment As I walked on, seeing nought but the fair visions of imagination, I jostled against two ladies, busied with their own converse, almost to the same point of abstraction as myself. I looked up, and, for a moment, I gazed upon the younger of the two. Her beauty was more dazzling than my dreams. During my life, I have never seen any one who could compare with her. If I were a madman before, what was I now? I passed on, and seated myself in my studio, with only one image in my mind—that of the fair creature I had encountered. For two days I thought of nothing else, dreamed of nothing else, but the maiden. On the third day, as I sat listless, idling away my time, an old lady called, to engage me to paint her daughter. I settled time, terms, &c. mechanically, and forgot the engagement; and only by accident, was in at the hour appointed. The next day, judge of my rapturous surprise, when the good woman brought my fair one for her picture. Beatrice L—— was truly a magnificent creature. Formed to fascinate, no less by the graces of her mind, than by those of her person; she was the queen of hearts. Wonder not, Alvord, that in my enthusiasm, I became her lover, her slave. And Beatrice returned my love; and I believe, with no shade of doubt, that had our marriage been solemnized amid our friends, had I taken her from the dizzying, bad eminence on which she stood, with numbers doing homage to her charms, she would have been mine for ever. But alas! I asked more of humanity in its feebleness, with no strengthening circumstance, than it could give. But I anticipate. Beatrice lived with her aged and doting mother; their income was small; the father was dead. They managed to live elegantly on their little income. I became the teacher of Beatrice. I say again, Alvord, and God is my witness in all holiness of purpose, I taught this young creature, that LOVE IS MARRIAGE: I believe it now. Man is a soul. The soul is man; but wants he not a body? At first, Beatrice shuddered, and took refuge in forms, in conventionalism, and forbade me her presence. But then she had come to love me intensely; and love is a mighty pleader. My sins against the customs of the world were only in word. My life plead for me; few ever lived more purely. Beatrice felt this; and I was again restored to favor. Steadily, then, I went on sapping the foundation of old prejudices; showing that while two souls were in harmony, there was marriage; solemnized by God, and resulting in a heaven of happiness; that two souls, thus united, were above form, and safe from all license by the very ordination of the Most High. And Beatrice believed this; solemnly we pledged ourselves before Heaven and angels, to guard well our hearts, that it should be no fault of ours if our union should cease, our hearts become estranged. Why did we not thus pledge ourselves before men? Therein consists my deep and damning error. Oh, Alvord, to feel that I am a destroyer. I was strong enough to have stood against the

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world, and its wall of custom, built to the very clouds, that none can scale it. I would have said that the child of our love, is proof of our marriage; but Beatrice shrunk from the world; she was too weak for what she had rashly ventured to undertake. Our union remained concealed, and in that was criminal; for crime asks concealment; virtue is bold, and meets all consequences. I was poor; Beatrice was not rich. She was scorched by the blaze of admiration. I could not remove her from that hell. I could only love, not protect her. She loved wealth, luxury; she loved all beautiful things; I could give her nothing but devotion, and this palled too soon."

Carlini covered his face with his hands. His whole frame shook, as if rocked to and fro by a demon. At length, big tears rolled down his pale face, and he seemed a little more himself. After a few moments, he spoke in a fearful, hissing whisper:

"Beatrice L—— is Countess of ———"

He did not fill the blank; and, in a moment, he said,

"I will not tell you more. The world would say—perhaps you say—that Beatrice *was* my mistress, and *is* the wife of Count ———; but I say, she *was* my wife; what she *is*, I may never speak. But she has wealth, station, everything but purity and peace. Her husband—but no, I will not profane that sacred name—is as heartless as she is. He wished to have the most beautiful woman in Florence for his wife. He has his wish. At least, the Church and the world *say* she is his wife. But I am the destroyer."

"Do not," said I, "take guilt to yourself, for the falsehood of another."

"Talk not thus to me, Alvord; I guarded not the weakness of Beatrice; I took her not from temptation. I who should have been her protector, was her destroyer. I know she is false; God, not I, will visit her for that falseness Thousands are living on, at this moment, a dreary, wintry life, without love. But few in the wide world have such an experience as Beatrice, Countess of ———"

Months passed, and I respected poor Carlini's sorrow. I never intruded a word upon him; and he never once referred to ought that had passed.

One evening I visited him. His sister met me with a glad cry:

"O.," said she, "I hope Luigo will see you; for he is very bad."

She went into his room, and I heard him say, "No," and "Yes," hurriedly several times. At length he said, "Let him come," and she hurried out, lest he should countermand the order.

I entered the room; years seemed to have been added to the life of my poor friend. He held a letter in his hand. It was crumpled in his grasp, and he held it convulsively. He threw it at me.

"Oh that repentance should come so late," said he.

I read the letter; it was blotted and erased, and bore many marks of the deepest wretchedness. It was as follows:

"Best and most injured of men, how can I write to you? I have nerved myself to tell my misery, and I will. For seven years I have been a wretch, too vile to breathe God's air, or press his earth. I gave my *hand* without my *heart*. I have been faithful to the hated bond. My husband has been dead four weeks. I am mistress of his princely wealth. Crowds gather around me to pour their homage at my feet. But I would give wealth, power, beauty, *all things*, for one look of love. Luigo, can you forgive? Can you look on your Beatrice once more? If not, oh! do not write to reproach me." BEATRICE.

I read this letter, and it fell from my hand as if it had been a thing accursed. Truly, Beatrice, Countess of ———, was humbled. I looked at Carlini; his face was blanched, his lips bloodless; his hands were pressed upon his heart, as if to keep it from bursting.

"She talks of her *husband*," said he; "and calls herself *mine*. Oh! horror of horrors!"

"Shall you see her," said I.

Carlini gave me one look, time cannot blot it from my memory. I was answered. I pitied the poor wretch, that she should thus sue for nought. Carlini was not equal to this terrible shock. Fever and delirium succeeded. A few days after his seizure the Countess of ——— called to inquire for him. She learned his state, and I doubt not, rejoiced in it. She told the sister she was an old friend, and as such, she got admission to his bedside. Day and night she watched over my poor friend; and, well as I loved him, for his sake and hers, I wished he might die. But nature triumphed. Luigo awoke to know whose hand tended him, and whose bosom supported him. He started from her in horror. The basilisk would have been welcome, rather than the once cherished of his heart.

"Leave me, Beatrice," said he, "if you will have my forgiveness, and never let me see you again. I will never marry while you live; but you can never be to me aught but a stranger."

I have seen death and misery in many forms, but never have I seen wretchedness that moved me like that of Beatrice, Countess of ———. She stirred not, spoke not, and Carlini added:

"But mine was the blame, the wrong, and I should suffer for it."

"Heaven bless you, Luigo," said the wretched woman, "you have spoken kindly to me."

"And I will never speak otherwise," said Carlini, "you have sinned fearfully, and fearful has been your expiation, I know it by that lustreless eye, that wan and haggard cheek."

"Bless you, bless you," again murmured poor Beatrice.

"Be but my friend, Carlini, and I ask no more; watch over my penitence; be convinced that it is real. Know that virtue can take root in my heart, however vile; and with the Divine blessing, grow and bear fruit."

Luigo was deeply moved.

"I will be your friend, Beatrice," said he, "now leave me."

"Let me be your nurse," pleaded Beatrice. "Henceforth I give myself to the sick."

Carlini was vanqished, and he murmured, "As you will."

Three days after, I was compelled by imperative business, to leave Florence. I was absent three years; when I returned, I sought, and found my friend. He was calm, grave, and apparently in good health. I liked not to ask of Beatrice. But he answered to my look.

"She has given noble evidence of change," said he, "she is all I could ask; if anything can atone for the past, her life must; she is the mother of the sick and the afflicted, the guide and support of the weak, and but for her, the erring——"

While we were speaking, a note was brought to Carlini. He shuddered as he put it into my hand. It was from Beatrice's physician, and stated that she was dying of a malignant fever. She had expressed a wish to see Carlini, and the physician had thus attended to her request. He added, that she had already made her will, and left all her property to the Sisters of Charity, for the relief of the sick.

"Go with me," said Luigo; and he clung to me for support.

We found her calm and resigned.

"Luigo Carlini," said she, as he took her hand, "have I your whole forgiveness?"

"I cannot better answer you," said Carlini, "than to ask, if in death, you will be my wife; Father Anselm will unite us," said he, glancing at the priest, who was present with the sacraments for the dying. Oh, the look of unutterable joy, that beamed from the countenance of Beatrice! But her joy was too great for her strength, and she sunk into a death-like fainting fit. Carlini felt that all was over; but he also felt, that he had in some measure atoned for the great error of his life. But all was not over. Beatrice revived, the good priest united her, to her *husband*. Ten years have since passed, and there lives not in Florence a more exemplary wife than Beatrice Carlini. The happiness of Carlini and Beatrice has taken its hue from their sins and sorrows; but it is *happiness*; for each has faith in the other. They have sinned, they have suffered. They live a life of love and charity.

NOTICE.

We regret the delay which has attended the appearance of this number of the PHALANX, full as much as any of our readers. The number was prepared by the Editors, and the form made up, at the usual time; but owing to causes which it is not necessary to name, the printing has been delayed. We shall take care that future numbers shall appear at the regular day.

A report of the proceedings of the Convention at Rochester, with an account of the Western Associations, will appear in our next number.

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SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS UNITY.

SOCIAL PROGRESS.—SOCIAL REFORM UPON CONSERVATIVE PRINCIPLES.

THE PHALANX:

ORGAN OF THE

DOCTRINE OF ASSOCIATION.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.

ASSOCIATION, ATTRACTIVE INDUSTRY, UNITY OF INTERESTS.

OUR EVILS ARE SOCIAL, NOT POLITICAL, AND A SOCIAL REFORM ONLY CAN ERADICATE THEM.

J. WINCHESTER, PUBLISHER, 30 ANN-ST.

TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM, IN ADVANCE.

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A VISIT TO THE ASSOCIATIONS IN WESTERN NEW-YORK.

Previous to the recent convention at Rochester, we took occasion to visit the following Associations in Western New-York; The Ontario Union, The Sodus Bay Phalanx, and the Port Richmond Phalanx.

The first is located at Bates' Mills, in Hopewell, about five miles from Canandaigua. The Auburn and Rochester Railroad passes through the domain, within a few rods of the mills and workshops of the Association.

The domain, 284 acres in extent, is finely situated upon both sides of the outlet of Canandaigua Lake. The soil is mostly a sandy loam, excellent and easy of cultivation. A field of winter wheat, with much less labor than is required by our crops upon the sea-board, yielded this fall upward of twenty bushels to the acre. The domain, with the old buildings, cost some $16,000: the Phalanx has erected additional buildings to the value of $3000, and is engaged in building a Unitary dwelling, which, when finished, will add considerably to the value of the property.

Agriculture must, in this Association for some time to come, be only subsidiary to mechanical industry, for which an abundant and unfailing water power furnishes great advantages. The grist-mill, which was built some years since, contains 4 run of stone, and does a large business in custom grinding, so large that the tolls supply sufficient bread-stuffs for the use of the Phalanx. The machine shop and blacksmith's shop have also been profitable. Among the members are chairmakers, carpenters, wheelrights, millwrights, edge tool makers, blacksmiths, machinists, carriage trimmers, &c. &c. The Phalanx has also a source of permanent income in its quarries of lime stone, which are inexhaustible. They have, for some time, had one lime-kiln in constant operation, the product of which finds a ready and profitable market. These various branches of industry have, during the last five months, produced nearly two thousand dollars over and above the result of labor expended for improvements, and for the ordinary purposes of the establishment. The whole number of resident members is 150, 50 of whom are men, and upward of 60 children. We were greatly pleased with the earnest spirit which seemed to pervade this little community. We thought we perceived among them a really religious devotion to the great cause in which they have embarked. This gave an unspeakable charm to their rude temporary dwellings, and lent a grace to their plain manners far above any superficial elegance. We have no doubt that they will succeed in establishing a state of society higher even than they themselves anticipate. Of their pecuniary success their present condition gives good assurance. We should think, that with ordinary prudence, it was entirely certain.—[Address, S. W. Lyman, President, Canandaigua, N. Y.

The domain of the Sodus Bay Phalanx, is situated upon Sodus Bay in Wayne county, about forty miles from Rochester. The place is one of the most beautiful we ever saw. It extends around the point of the bay, the clear waters of which come into the land in little coves and arms, and break the line of the shore, which is also agreeably divided into bold headlands and gradual slopes. A little out in the bay are several small islands covered with large trees of the primitive growth, giving a sort of romantic completeness to the landscape.

The bay is navigable up to the very point, and affords a safe harbor; so that the Phalanx might command a large amount of trade from different places on the lake.

The domain consists of 1400 acres, 300 of which are under cultivation. It was formerly occupied by a Shaker community, whose dwellings now accomodate the members of the Phalanx. There are two excellent orchards, planted by the Shakers, which furnish an abundance of the finest fruit. The soil is excellent, and without manuring produces 30 to 40 bushels of wheat to the acre. There are two small creeks running through the domain, upon one of which is a grist mill, and a saw mill, but the supply of water is not so great as is desirable. The Phalanx has the frame of a steam saw mill ready for erection, and a building designed for a furnace nearly completed. They have also built a blacksmith's shop, a dining-hall, and one or two dwellings. They have remarkable conveniences for making brick. Nature herself has prepared a brick-yard for them. Clay and sand are found in it in alternate layers ready to be mixed upon the spot.

The advantages of the location seemed to us very rare, and it was with great pain that we discovered that the internal condition of the Phalanx was not encouraging. We did not find that unity of purpose without which a small and imperfectly provided Association cannot be held together until it has attained the necessary perfection in its mechanism. At the commencement, as it appeared to us, there was not sufficient caution in the admission of members. As far as we could learn, a large number of persons were received without proper qualifications, either in character or industrial abilities. Sickness unfortunately soon arose in the new Phalanx, and increased the confusion which resulted from a want of unity of feeling and systematic organization. Religious differences, pressed in an intolerant manner on both sides, had at the time of our visit produced entire uncertainty as to future operations, and carried disorder to its height. We left the domain with the conviction, which reflection has strengthened, that without an entire reorganization under more efficient leaders, the Association must fall entirely to pieces; a fact which is greatly to be deplored on account of the cause in general, as well as on account of the excellence of the location, and the real worth of several individuals who have passed unshaken through such trying circumstances. We have, however, in the case of this Phalanx, a striking example of the folly of undertaking practical Association without sufficient means, and without men of proper character. No other advantages can compensate for the want of these.

The Port-Richmond Phalanx occupies a large part of the domain formerly in possession of the Clarkson Association, in Clarkson, Monroe county. That Society was

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originally formed in the most imprudent manner. A heterogeneous mass of some four hundred people were brought together, without capital, without industrial ability, without provision for their support, and without the shadow of a qualification for the direction of such an enterprise, in their leaders. The consequence was, that in something less than a month they failed. The founders withdrew, and a new organization took place, with a large reduction in the number of members. A second reorganization has since taken place, under favorable auspices. Two gentlemen of property in the vicinity, have undertaken to furnish the necessary amount of capital, and to assist in the pecuniary management. This they do, from a conviction that it will be a profitable and safe investment. Only those members have been retained, who have shown a real attachment to the cause, and a readiness to suffer in its behalf. This has been fully tested, in the severe trials through which they have already passed. At the head of this Phalanx is Mr. Cannon, a gentleman of tried worth, energy, and practical talent. We hardly doubt, that under his supervision the affairs of the Phalanx will be conducted with great wisdom and success. Mr. D. S. Oliphant, who has for some time been engaged in the translation of Fourier's writings, is also connected with the new organization, and has charge of the department of education The domain is situated within a mile of Lake Ontario, upon a little creek, which was formerly navigable for schooners for a short distance. At present, its mouth is obstructed by a sand-bank, but it is hoped that Congress may pass an appropriation to clear it out, and protect it with piers. In this case, the trade of the lake will be opened to the Phalanx, which will find a market for its products both on the Canadian and the New-York shore. Upon the domain are two good water-privileges, with mills erected which, with some small improvements, will produce a large income. The Phalanx has also a turning shop, a chair shop, and a printing office, besides provision for many other branches of industry. The land is extremely fertile, and easy to be tilled. The dwellings are shanties of rough boards, which, with some care, can be made comfortable for the winter. The number of members, who are to spend the winter on the domain, is about one hundred. We do not doubt that this little company will gradually enlarge into a flourishing and happy community. Indeed, with all that they have suffered, they have found something in their mode of life which only attaches them to it more firmly, and inspires them with a greater dislike of the civilization which they have had such difficulty in escaping from.

Two other Associations in the neighborhood of Rochester we could not visit, greatly to our regret. They are the North Bloomfield Union and the Mixville Association, in Allegheny county. We had, however, the pleasure of seeing some of their members, and of hearing good accounts of their progress. The former has, we believe, over two hundred associates, a large proportion of whom are mechanics. The latter is principally engaged in agriculture, and has a domain admirably adapted to grazing.

From our hasty notes, the friends of the cause can gather the general state of the practical movement in Western New-York. We could not but regret, that these several bodies could not have been originally combined into one. With a judicious selection from their numbers, a quite efficient and complete organization might have been formed. But as it is, we only feel the necessity and duty devolving on them, and on the friends of the cause in their vicinity, of sustaining them during their present period of growth. Plainly, also, no new Phalanx should be attempted in that region, until they have attained a good degree of perfection and vigor. Nor should the failure of any one of them be regarded as a cause of permanent discouragement. They have commenced with very few of the conditions of success; and only wisdom, mutual concession, and tolerance on the part of their members, rigid economy, and zealous and well-directed industry, can carry them through. These things, not only their immediate friends, but the public at large have a right to expect: with them, we are confident they will do even more than they themselves hope for.

CONVENTION OF ASSOCIATIONS.

According to the resolution of the General Convention held in this city in April last, delegates from various Associations in the United States met on the 7th of October. There were present, delegates from Brook Farm, West Roxbury, Mass.; Sodus Bay Phalanx; Jefferson Industrial Union; the Port Richmond Association, the Bloomfield Association, and the Ontario Union. Letters from the North American Phalanx, and from the Trumbull Phalanx, Ohio, to be found below, were also received and read.

When the delegates came together, the Convention was organized by the appointment of Mr. A. M. Watson as President, and Mr. C. A. Dana as Secretary. The subject of devising a plan for the Union of Associations, was then discussed at great length, and with much ability. After a mature consideration of the matter, it was concluded that the various associative experiments in the United States were not sufficiently advanced to enter upon the arrangements contemplated.

A committee, composed of Messrs. Dana, Watson, Boyle, and Godwin, was then deputed to draw up an address; who, after retiring, reported the following, which was unanimously adopted.

ADDRESS.

As, after mature consideration, the present state of the associative movement in the United States, and the condition of the several Phalanxes that have already been formed, do not seem to demand an intimate confederacy between them, this Convention have decided not to form such a union. Nor does it appear that such a national federation should in any event be composed of individual Associations, but of larger bodies, which should first be organized by the union of Phalanxes in different States or districts. The commercial and other relations between neighboring institutions, render their combination necessary; while only more general interests exist between Associations more remote from each other. For these reasons, this Convention would advise the formation of such unions between neighboring Associations, for purposes of business and mutual aid, and also for the purpose of uniting the elements of a future national confederation.

But before even such primary unions can be successfully formed, each Phalanx must attain a certain degree of internal efficiency. This can be accomplished only by the organization of groups and series, and by attaining the economies of combined domestic labor. With the very limited materials, both in men and money, which our Phalanxes now have at their command, complete serial arrangements are impossible. But we would urge upon every Association, the organization of responsible and compact groups, as far as possible. Let every individual function be committed to a distinct corporation, accountable for its careful, thorough, and economical performance. The privileges of different groups must, of course, be determined by the peculiar circumstances of each Association; but let every exertion be given to the incitement of corporative enthusiasm and responsibility. Each group should have the management of the branch of business committed to it, should decide upon the arrangements of it—should, in fine, have the whole care of it, subject to the advice of the Regency, or Board of Direction. By this means, the burden of the directors is lightened, the responsibility is distributed among those who, in the various departments, are best fitted to bear it, the peculiar talents of each individual are called out, and the general harmony is insured.

The subject of education should also be felt by each Association to be of the most pressing importance. Indeed, although not so essential to the very existence of society as the organization of groups and series, the adoption of efficient arrangements in this department cannot safely be deferred. It is due to our children, that something should be done to save them from the sad results of civilized education. It is incumbent upon us, who see clearly the incompleteness and falseness of civilized methods, to approximate at least toward a system of integral

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and universal education. This will, indeed, be found one of the most difficult ends to reach, with the small means we have; but something must be done. In this department, as well as in every other, industry must be made the basis of all proceedings. Let the children be arranged in groups for the prosecution of such branches of industry as they can engage in. Utensils of suitable size should be provided for them, even at considerable cost. Care should be taken to develope the corporate spirit in their groups, without which labor cannot have a charm for children. This will not be found easy; but the best talent of any Phalanx cannot be employed to so good purpose in any other way, and any society in which this work has been done, is from that moment safe, both as to internal harmony and the means of progress. The proper schools will grow up naturally, upon the basis of such a juvenile industrial organization, and will act with a degree of efficiency that cannot possibly be attained if their organization is attempted without it. But if such an organization is found to be impossible, the Convention most earnestly requests each Association to take care that at any rate its children be kept constantly occupied, and under the constant oversight of suitable persons. Let this be guarded as the possible avenue of fruitful disorder. The idleness and irreverence, which in children in civilization are regarded as unavoidable evils, cannot be permitted in Association without the greatest danger.

Having provided for the internal order of the Society, and having realized to some extent the benefits of unitary operations, and industry and education, the next important duty will be to arouse the attention of the world to those truths which have thus been practically demonstrated. For this purpose, it will be necessary to begin a thorough and energetic system of propagation, as soon as the prevailing political excitement shall have so far subsided as to allow the minds of the people to be turned to higher objects. Immediately after the coming presidential election, a vigorous attempt must be made throughont the United States to spread a knowledge of the principles of Association. Every man who is now interested in the subject, must be prepared to take an active and energetic part in the diffusion of our doctrines by every means. This can be done by public lectures, and by the distribution of brief but forcible tracts, which the Central Committee in New-York will cause to be prepared for the purpose. Each Association should render itself a centre of propagation for its particular district, and should use every energy at its command, not inconsistent with the steady prosecution of its own internal movements, for the advancement of the general cause.

The time has arrived, when the progress of social reörganization should no longer depend upon the accidental or isolated efforts of individuals; nor should the direction of a movement involving such momentous interests, be suffered to fall into the hands of ignorant or incapable persons. It must be conducted by one grand and continued effort on the part of those who are penetrated by a sense of its vital necessity, and of the responsibility which they themselves assume. But while the duties of every individual who, while in society, engages in the cause, are of peculiarly weighty character, it is upon the Associations already formed, and upon every member of them, that the greatest obligations are laid. From whatever motive they have embarked in practical operations, they ought to feel that they have laid their hands upon the most solemn interests of this time and this country, and of the whole world. They have assumed posts where the least unfaithfulness, the least carelessness, the least rashness, is treason against the whole of humanity. All eyes are fixed upon them; all men are looking to them for results that shall in some measure confirm the sublime promises of the doctrines of Universal Unity. Let them look to it, that these expectations are not disappointed through any new fault of theirs. No matter what errors they have made hitherto, either in original organization or in subsequent operations. They have undertaken the work, and from it they have no right to retreat. Doubtless, in every Association difficulties will arise that will appear almost insuperable; they are to be expected. No obstacle ought to take us by surprise. We have engaged in practical Association, without the means of certain success. Not a single Phalanx that has been commenced in America has been sufficiently prepared, either in money, in men and women of the requisite character, or in scientific knowledge. We have, nevertheless, undertaken to found the Combined Order of Society, and to supplant civilized chaos by a new world of Harmony and Beauty. We have undertaken the performance of what, with our means, is almost impossible; but, by the blessing of God, it shall be done.

To this end, the consistent care of every Association must be given to the preservation of harmony among its members. As soon as we are able to introduce a complete serial organization, and to give a balanced action to personal tastes and tendencies, this end will be secured by the organization itself; but in our present condition, it depends to a great extent upon the mutual forbearance of individuals. Let them cultivate for each other's weaknesses, a true Christian tolerance. Let them bear kindly and patiently with errors both of opinion and of deed, and in all possible cases trust to the sure influences of Association, rather than to any express measures for their correction. Let them beware of dogmatic and harsh expressions of peculiar opinions, as well as of attempting to enforce their private prejudices as rules of action upon others. And let them, above all, remember that each is engaged in a cause so grand, as in some measure to put his weaknesses out of sight, and to make love and charity toward him peculiarly a duty. And in conclusion, the Convention urges this matter upon every Association, and each individual connected with them. By means of this, all other success is guarantied—without it, any other is impossible.

The subjoined resolutions, presented by Mr. Godwin, were then discussed and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That each member of this Convention will pledge himself to carry out, to the best of his ability, the suggestions of this address, and urge upon every friend of Association throughout the United States, a more decided and self-sacrificing devotion to the cause than has ever before been manifested.

Resolved, That this Convention recommends to the existing Associations in the United States (for the purpose of securing a more uniform system of internal organization), that correspondence be held with the Executive Central Committee of New-York, furnishing the said Committee with details of all plans of internal arrangements, such as the formation of groups and series, classification of labor, and all other objects of general interest and welfare.

Resolved, That the workingmen of this country, in their present disposition to better their social condition, have the deep and ardent sympathy of all the disciples of the doctrine of Association; and that we respectfully ask of them, as brothers in the mighty cause of human regeneration, the calm and unprejudiced study of the subject of Social Unity, founded on the basis of an equitable union of Labor, Capital, and Skill, as developed in the writings of Charles Fourier, who we believe has discovered the laws of Universal Order.

Resolved, That we hear with pleasure of the intention of the Central Committee of New-York, to prepare and publish a series of tracts on the practical and scientific principles of Association, and that we call upon all the friends of the New Order to lend their aid in giving such tracts the widest circulation throughout the United States.

Resolved, That the Associations represented in this Convention will use their utmost exertions to extend the circulation of the Phalanx, which is the organ of associative principles, by procuring as many subscribers for it as they can, and by the gratuitous distribution of it among their friends.

After spending a portion of the day in giving reports of the state of the various Associations, and exchanging opinions as to the best method of meeting practical difficulties, the Convention adjourned. In the evening, a meeting was held at Monroe Hall, at which several addresses were made by different delegates.

A. M. WATSON, President.

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North American Phalanx, Oct. 3, 1844.

Gentlemen of the Convention:

The undersigned, members of the North American Phalanx have been chosen a committee, to address you on the great interests your body have met to entertain.

We would beg leave to premise that we deeply regret that a delegation from our association may not participate in the proceedings of your convention. The urgently pressing cares and labors devolving upon each of our members at this time of the ingathering of our late crops, make us all feel it an imperious duty to remain at our posts.

Yet be assured Gentlemen, our sympathies are with you in the cause of human elevation.

That you may the better understand what we are likely to accomplish, we will give a brief description of our location, and tell you what we have done and are about to do.

Our Domain consists of 673 acres lying in the form of a triangle 5 miles west from the village of Red Bank the landing place of a steamboat plying daily between that place and the city of New-York, a distance of 35 miles. On each of the sides forming the eastern angle is a large brook—one coming from the North West and the other from the South West. They unite at this angle and form the Limaing river, a stream sufficiently large for scow navigation up to this corner of our Domain and affording us, with a little clearing, water communication to the steam boat landing.

Most of our land has a very warm, mellow, loamy soil colored a dark red and brown by the ferrigenous oxides.

As rich fertilizers of inestimable value, we have inexhaustible supplies of green granular Marl, Clay Marl, Calcareous Marl, Peat and Muck.

Our granular marl is contained in what we call Marl sand which consists of about equal parts of the green marl grains, and common sand. A tenth part of these grains is potash, so that twenty loads of marl sand contains one load of that powerful fertilizer. Our Calcareous marl is rich and durable in quality and as to quantity we have millions of cords easily accessible and a source of everlasting aid to the fertility of our soil.

Also 400 acres of our land is under improvement and although it needs enriching it still yields middling crops. Our meadows being a rich formation of the above named substances, and annually overflowed, can never be exhausted by the abundant crops of hay they yield each year. The locust is here a spontaneous growth, and the trees of this kind now ready for the saw mill are valued, standing, at $1000.

Our Domain is handsomely undulating, well watered, and lies high above the level of the ocean, from which it is distant nine miles. The fresh ocean breeze wafted over our hills and valleys affords us a pure atmosphere which it is a luxury to breathe. The broad high ridge stretching along the middle of our domain, the never failing stream running between this and the lawn on which stands our mansion; the luxuriant meadows (along the two large streams) apparently the broad flat beds of large rivers that centuries ago flowed among the still wooded hills; the expanded views, embracing handsome farms, and villages with their spires, a portion of the great Atlantic with the white canvass of its craft, make it an attractive landscape, and a spot eminently fitted to become such a place as every heart yearns to find—a beautiful and a happy home.

The amount subscribed to our capital stock is about $20,000. $18,000 have already been paid in. The original purchase is $14,000. Of this sum $5000 have been paid, leaving a balance of $9,000 to be paid in equal instalments in one and two years, from the 1st January next.

In relation to what we have done and are about to do we will briefly state that we have created and finished a dwelling that accommodates 100 persons, each family having a parlor and two bed rooms. We have built and have in operation a blacksmith's shop, and a machine shop, fitted up with an excellent steam engine, which we hope soon to make a source of income.

We have built in connection with the last a saw-mill which is nearly ready for operation. We leave to your consideration the propriety of recommending to the associationists throughout the country to concentrate their means upon the associations already existing.

In our operations thus far we have demonstrated the important fact that association is founded not upon a fancifully devised theory but upon principles existing in nature and brought to light by the genius of one who devoted his life to the improvement of his race; and with you gentlemen and the now numerous associations in this country and in Europe, we rejoice that we are privileged to behold the dawning of so bright and glorious a morn as now opens upon the darkness of the civilized world. With you we rejoice that the old world in its agonies of corruption and woe has already begun to pass away and that the votaries of human weal, guided by lights divine and that late star of the east, the immortal Fourier, have laid the foundation deep and everlasting of a new world resplendent in beauty, and virtue, and glorious and happy in destiny.

Wishing you God speed in the momentous movement you are called to represent we subscribe ourselves gentlemen,

Yours devotedly in the cause of human elevation. T. M. Caulkins,
Albert L. Smith.

Trumbull Phalanx, Braceville, Trumbull Co, Ohio, October 1, 1844.

To A. M. Watson, President of the Union of Associations.

Sir:—We should have sent a delegate to your Convention, or written sooner, were not the assistance of each of our members daily demanded, as also all our time, in the building up of Humanity's Home. In common with the inhabitants of the region round about (it is supposed on account of the dry season), we had many cases of the fever and ague, a disease which has not been here known for many years. This has prevented our executing various plans for organization, &c., which we are now entering upon. And now, with each day, we have abundant cause to hope for a joyous future. We have harmony within and sympathy without; and being persuaded that these are sure indications of success, we toil on, "heart within and God o'erhead."

Farther, our pecuniary prospects brighten. Late arrangements add to our means of paying our debt, which is light, and accumulations of landed estate make us quite secure. Nevertheless, we feel that we are at the *transition* period, using varied and noble elements not the most skilfully, and that we need more than man's wisdom to guide us.

The Union of the Associations we look upon as a great and grand idea, without which the chain of Universal Unity were incomplete. When we shall have emerged from the sea of civilization, so that we can do our own breathing, we shall be able to coöperate with our friends throughout the world, as members of the Grand Phalanx. Meanwhile, our hearts would be with you, urging you not to falter in the work in which all the noble and *healthy* spirit of the age is engaged.

Accompanying is a copy of our Constitution. Our number is over 200. We have 1500 acres of land, half under cultivation, and a capital stock of $100,000. The branches of industry are sufficiently varied, but mostly agricultural. We have two excellent water powers, a grist-mill of two run of stone, oil-mill, clothing and carding works, two saw-mills, a shingle-machine, &c. We are five miles from the Pennsylvania & Ohio Canal, Newton Falls being the nearest point, surrounded by a rural, agricultural district. A few years of labor, where the idler and the non-producer are unfelt and unknown, will give us, with many others, a blessed home.

By order of Yours truly.
BENJAMIN ROBBINS, President.
H. N. JONES, Secretary.

The following letter from Mr. Robert Owen, addressed to one of the editors of the Phalanx, will be read with interest by our friends; and as Mr. Owen has given us permission to publish it if agreeable, we do so gladly, with a few notes upon passages indicated by figures.

New Harmony, Indiana, 25th October, 1844.

My dear Sir:—I have read with great interest almost all the numbers of the Pha-

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lanx which you gave me, and the remainder I will read so soon as time will permit. The result of what I have read, has been to increase my respect and affection for Fourier and his disciples, and to wish the latter speedy and full success, to the extent that the discoveries of the former will lead when advocated by so much talent and disinterestedness as appears in these papers. The system impressed on the mind of Fourier and pursued by his disciples, is an excellen transition system from the extreme of irrationality toward a rational condition of the human mind and of society; and the disciples of this transition system are better prepared for pioneers, to lead many out of the old system, than those persons generally who have hitherto professed to be members of the full rational system—a system which so far has been little understood by them or the public. Hitherto there has been no efficient preparation made in the general mind of what is called the civilized part of the world, to comprehend the full rational system of society. There have been no individuals trained through a sufficiently extended practice in all the *natural departments* of society, to enable them to analyze it into its original elements, and to put them again together in accordance with their utility, in their due proportions, and in unison with the eternal laws of human nature. Fourier had the conception; but from his want of practical knowledge in the various departments of life—from his misconception of the powers of society acquired within the last century—from his inexperience of the feelings and emotions created by the present system of society, in the various classes of which it has been composed—and his want of depth in penetrating to the real causes of the misery of mankind, arising from the inexperience stated, and thus deriving his notions from an enlarged and over-heated imagination instead of unchanging facts or the divine laws of humanity, he was unequal to devise a "Science of society" based on eternal laws, and simple and consistent throughout all its parts, and equal to the eternal wants and progress of the human race.(1) Yet Fourier had qualities of mind and desires for the happiness of man, exclusive of creed and clime, which place him greatly in advance of all former reformers; and he is well entitled to be regarded by his disciples with the feelings which they entertain for him.

After reading Fourier's writings as translated in the Phalanx, and the writings of his very talented disciples, the impressions formerly made on my mind respecting the science of human nature and the science of society remain unchanged, except that these writings have made them, if possible, more clear and distinct, as confirming them in every particular. *But Fourierism must precede Rationality. The step from the extreme of irrationality in principle and practice, to full rationality in both, is too long a stride for the present race of men to make at once, and the intermediate step is laying beautifully and I trust effectually by Fourier's disciples.*(2) But to produce universal peace, cordial affection, one interest, and permanent happiness among mankind, all the religions of the world and all desire for private property, or inequality of education or condition, must cease. Until then justice, virtue, and happiness will remain unknown. If I mistake not the signs of the times, even this period is not very far off.

On my way here, where I have been impatient to arrive, I visited the Ohio Phalanx, and saw Mr. Van Amringe and the friends who aid him in that establishment. The site is beautiful and full of capabilities; but it is yet, as you know, in its extreme infancy, as I imagine all the Associations and Communities hitherto commenced are. My notions of a scientific arrangement of society, formed of the due proportion of its elements, and these crude beginnings, are indeed very far apart from each other; nevertheless, I am much gratified to see these early efforts to escape out of the pandemonium which the errors on which old society has been based could not avoid producing. Great good must arise from every one of these attempts; but the friends of the cause have been wise in recommending enthusiasm to be, not checked, but aided by prudence and caution. Success to each of them; and to insure it, there must be charity and love, based on a knowledge of our natural industry, directed by practical knowledge and a sound judgment. I should have been gratified to have seen more of Mr. Van Amringe, who could remain but a short time after my unexpected arrival, for he had an engagement to lecture that day about twenty-two miles distant from the establishment. The other members were very attentive, kind and friendly. I promised to see them again the first opportunity, and make a longer stay. I should indeed like to visit all the Associations and Communities now in the States, if, after my visit to Washington City, circumstances may be made to admit me to do so.

May I request my kind regards to Mr. Greeley and Mr. Godwin, and to the friends of the cause whom I met at your house?

It had nearly escaped me to say how much I was indebted to Mr. Urner of Cincinnati, and to Dr. William Price, for their kind attentions during my stay in that city, which has grown into a place of great importance since my last visit to it.

Yours, my dear sir,
very faithfully,
ROBERT OWEN.

COMMENTS OF THE PHALANX.

(1). We are sorry that Mr. Owen should labor under so erroneous an impression of Fourier. The opinion expressed of his want of practical knowledge and experience would at once be dispelled by reading his life, which we hope Mr. Owen will take the earliest opportunity of doing. Fourier was eminently practical; he was in every sense a *business man;* and as a collator of facts, nothing escaped his observation. And in this respect he fully answered the character of the individual which Mr. Owen, just before, has intimated to be *the man* who was needed to reconstruct society.

Mr. Owen, too, thinks Fourier was unequal to the task of devising a Science of Society, because, as is supposed, he was deficient in practical knowledge and experience. But this expression, "unequal to *devise* a Science of Society," exhibits in a very remarkable and striking manner the radical difference between Mr. Owen and Fourier in their philosophy of society. Mr. Owen relies on the ability of MAN to "devise a science or system of society" competent to satisfy the wants and fulfil the destiny of mankind. Fourier, on the contrary, denies to Man the power of Social Legislation, which, as he says, is the prerogative solely of Divinity, and relies on the providential foresight of the Creator, for a "social code" in every respect adapted to the nature of man, his creature. He believed in and taught that there was a Divine Order of society, *pre*-composed by the Supreme Legislator, the laws of which it was necessary for man to discover before he could organize or enter into it. Fourier professes only to have *discovered* these laws, and to have pointed out their application to the institutions and practical arrangements of society.

This is indeed a wide difference of views respecting the constitution of society, which accounts satisfactorily for the marked distinction between the two systems of Owen and Fourier; they lie at the very foundation of the philosophy of each, and the doctrines of each take their character accordingly.

In our last number we referred to Mr. Owen's doctrine of Marriage, which illustrates forcibly what we now wish to point out as the distinguishing characteristics of the doctrines of Owen and Fourier—the one deriving all his institutions of society entirely from certain universal Laws of Nature, while the other gives us arrangements of his own invention, which rest only on his individual authority.

We invite the strictest attention to this, for these characteristics do indeed constitute the most important features of the two systems, and *fix their respective value and title to consideration.*

(2). This is a very important acknowledgment for Mr. Owen to make, and we are very much indebted to him for it. It secures him certainly as a co-operator, if not as a direct partizan, in the advocacy of *our* doctrines. As "Fourierism" must *precede* that state of society which he calls "Rationalism," it becomes expedient and obligatory for every one to aid in establishing it *first*. This is what we have constantly urged upon our community-of-property friends,

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and now, in courtesy, we are willing to concede the possibility of the time arriving, when mankind, regenerated and purified, will enter into a state of such holy spiritual communion, that individual distinctions in the rights of property will to a great extent be extinguished, and, like the primitive Christians, "all men will live in common." That first attempt of the Apostles and early Christians may have been a prophetic "type" of a truly Christian brotherhood, which will one day be realized on earth. But, as Mr. Owen says, there is too much "irrationality," as well as too little "Christianity" in the world, to attempt it now. We find the elements of property in society; it is almost the only basis of our laws, and as *rational* men, we must make an expedient if not a scientific use of it. Wherever and in whatever form property exists and is recognized by society, it has rights which must be provided for, or we do violence to principles of policy and justice. Wherefore, "Communism" or Rationalism cannot now be established, and, as Mr. Owen has said, "Fourierism must precede it."

By the way, is it not a little inconsistent for Mr. Owen to say that Fourier wanted *practical* knowledge, and in the next breath to confess that Fourier's system is more *practicable* in the present state of affairs than his own?

ON THE PRESENT COMMERCIAL SYSTEM—ITS KNOWN DEFECTS AND ITS UNKNOWN DANGERS.

TRANSLATED FROM FOURIER'S WORKS.

CONCLUDED.

IV.

SPOLIATION OF THE SOCIAL BODY BY STOCK-JOBBING.

Stock-jobbing is the (twin) brother of monopoly. Both have placed public opinion so much in subjection to them, as to compel even sovereigns to yield; they openly attack the operations of princes, who, abused and deceived by sophisms, do not dare conceive the idea of resistance, nor propose a research for another commercial system.

The following is an example of this tyranny which Stock-jobbing exercises over sovereigns. I make choice of an act of recent date, the last prank of the French Stock-jobbers.

During the last war against Austria, an obscure mercantile confederacy balanced the trophies of Ulm and Austerlitz. At the period when France was manifesting the most unlimited confidence in the operations of the chief of the Empire, the Stock-jobbers succeeded, by means peculiarly their own, in discovering symptoms of universal distrust. They gave forth the impression that a Varroth commanded our armies. Within two months the speculators of Paris committed the most unheard of ravages in French industry; and it was only the torrent of successful and miraculous victories which at last stayed the evil of Stock-jobbing; an evil which threatened (at one time) to overwhelm all public credit; and we may well tremble at the thought of the depth of financial distress into which France would have been plunged, had the campaign been merely neuter in character, without success or reverse.

The pretexts of the alarmists were founded upon an advance which was said to have been made by the Bank of France for the opening of the campaign; this advance was estimated at 50 million francs, not the 100th part of the territorial revenue of France. And when this advance had only the security of the capital of the Bank and the commissions of the revenue, was it not fully guaranteed in the eyes of the French people by the confidence reposed in the sovereign? How could those, who laughed at heaven and hell combined when they saw Napoleon at the head of their armies, become alarmed at an advance which amounted to only the 100th part of the territorial revenue. Far from conceiving fears of the overthrow of a campaign, the French would have voluntarily pledged a portion of their capital as an assurance of the victory of their Emperor; they did not conceive the least doubt about the reimbursement of the small loan in question. However, Stock-jobbers knew well how to indicate signs of universal distrust, and how to shake the credit of the Bank, because she fulfilled the hearty wish of every Frenchman by seconding the efforts of their victorious chief.

There is then a power which enjoys an ascendancy over heroes, as well as over the united opinion of the people; it is Stock-jobbing, which directs at will the whole industrial mechanism. It renders Empires subject to the mercy of a parasitic class, which being neither proprietor nor manufacturer, and possessing no property but the portfolio, and being able to change its residence at a day's notice, is interested in disorganising every country, and alternately overthrowing every branch of industry. And when we see our economic theories sustaining such scourges as Stock-jobbing, Monopoly, Bankruptcy &c., which unceasingly convulses the whole Industrial body, which sport with sovereigns even, and with the confidence they inspire in the people; when we see, I say, these infamies and the host of others which commercial licence engenders, no writer has had the courage to denounce this ridiculous science of political economy, to condemn in the mass the whole commercial system, and to propose a research for a new system of industrial relations. They all bend basely before commercial vices which they hate in secret, and sound in unison the praises of commerce, without thinking about the means of throwing off the yoke, so terrified are civilizees at the idea of a reform which would require a degree of political contrivance of which they deem themselves incapable. Without doubt the modern philosophers have a secret shame at the results of their mercantile system, but through self-love they suffer the evil to grow worse and worse; they flatter the political pigmies, stock-jobbers and monopolists whom they know not how to restrain; they habituate the public mind to tremble and bend at the very name of Commerce. How do such scandals belie the reason which boasts itself of perfection! Into what a slough has political economy plunged modern Empires! Were we not less abased, and was not civilization less despicable when mercantile philosopny and economic science were yet unborn?

Does any one desire to be convinced by details, that these gamblers, so much admired under the name of speculators, are nothing else than a milder sort of Clubbists, a set of industrial Jacobins? Like the Clubbists they have the property of affiliation, and a perfect concert in poisoning every wound which happens to industry. As the Clubbists knew how to interpose between the Government and the People, to master both the one and the other, so the mercantile gamblers know how to make themselves the mediators between the Government and Industry, to render both subordinate to their intrigues, to circumvent and deceive all the world by a feigned solicitude for the wants of agriculture. Without legal authority like that of the clubs, they came to have the direction of everything according to their interests. The edicts of the authorities in favor of agriculture or manufactures are commonly, but the expression of the secret will of Stock-jobbers; and these most frequently reap the fruit of the favors which the Government thinks it is bestowing upon honest Industry. The Commercial gamblers, like the clubs, possess to an eminent degree the art of dividing their rivals and fighting them in detail; the modes of attack are the same with both. Both have their secret inquisitorial committee to prepare the acts of political disorganization. Both wrap their designs in the garb of concern for the public good; on the one hand the pretext is the hastening the spread of knowledge, and on the other the increase of produce or capital; while in reality their designs are entirely the opposite of these pretences. And in their great, their final movements, the same tactics are observed. With the Clubbists, the phantom of a great conspiracy is shadowed forth, through which a thousand victims are arrested, robbed, and put to death, while plotting a new conspiracy to end in the sacrifice of still other victims. Just so the Commercial gamblers; they pretend some great distress or scarcity, the appearance of which they contrive by the monopoly of the particular commodity upon which they operate; they raise it all upon a sudden to an excessive price and thus harass a thousand artisans whose employ-

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ment depends upon it; after which they monopolise another article to spoliate still other manufacturers and operatives.

Thus the clubbists and commercial gamblers have but one and the same system of tactics, that of disorganising and plundering under the shelter of pretended calamities; in fine the clubs or leagues of poor agitators who seek to despoil the rich, and the monopolies or leagues of rich agitators who seek to rob the poor, offer a complete similarity in all their proceedings. Here then are two species of Jacobinry, the one terrific in form, the other amiable in its appearance. And we shall become yet more convinced of this fact, when I shall have made known the advance and regular march which these disorders will make in the 4th phase of civilization to which we are tending. *The proprietors will then become the slaves of commerce*, which differs but little from Stock-jobbing, because all the rich merchants are more or less implicated in the trammels of Stock-jobbing and monopoly, spite of their affected sorrow for these scourges of which they are all the favorers and copartners.

As I have already observed, the political vices of a profession are not individual vices: an attorney in living upon his clients, a stock-jobber in spoliating the social-body, incur no blame, individually; the fault falls back upon civilization alone, which engenders so many branches of hurtful occupations, and upon Philosophy which would fain persuade us that this infamous civilization is the social destiny of man, and that God has designed no better plans upon which to organize the social and industrial relations of mankind.

V.

SPOLIATION OF THE SOCIAL BODY BY COMMERCIAL "PARASITISM."

The vice of which I am about to speak, is not so scandalous as the preceding, but it is not less prejudicial.

In an age when economy has been pushed into the most minute details, such as supplying the place of coffee with the juice of chickory, of sugar by the juice of the beet, and other savings which only serve to favor the trickery of the merchants, and trouble travellers who cannot obtain good articles at any price; in an age so niggardly, how is it, I say, that the principal economy has never been discovered, I mean the economy in labourers, in superfluous agents, who might well be spared, and who are prodigally employed in unproductive functions like those of commerce.

I have observed upon a preceding page, that our methods employed frequently a hundred persons in a labor which would require but two or three if Association existed, and that in the 7th period, 20 men would suffice to supply the market of a city to which at present a thousand peasants resort. We are as ignorant in respect to the industrial mechanism as are those people who, unacquainted with the use of grist-mills, employed 50 workmen to pulverize the grain, which in one day a single mill would grind. The superfluity of agents is every where frightful, and amounts, commonly, to four times the number which are necessary in all the employments of commerce.

Since Philosophy has preached up the love of traffic, we see merchants increase even in the villages. Heads of families renounce agriculture to take up with a pedlar's life; if they have only a calf to sell, they will lose days in wandering about the markets, public buildings and taverns. This evil is specially predominant in wine growing districts. Every where *free competition* raises infinitely the number of merchants and commercial agents. In Paris, for example, there are reckoned as many as 3,000 grocers, when 300 would suffice for the regular trade. The same profusion of agents is seen in the small boroughs. A small town which in our day is visited in the course of a single year by a hundred travelling merchants, and a hundered colporters, (commercial agents) in 1788 received perhaps but ten, and there was then no deficiency of either clothing or subsistence at very moderate prices, although the traders were not a third of their present number.

This multiplicity of rivals, drives them into the exercise of foolish and ruinous measures towards the social body; for every superfluous agent, like the monk, is a robber of Society, in which he consumes without producing any thing. Is it not easily perceived that the monks of Spain who number five hundred thousand, might produce a subsistence for two millions of people if they would return to the cultivation of the soil? Just so there is a superfluity of merchants whose number is incalculable; and when you come to understand the commercial method of the 6th Period, (*Social* competition) you will be convinced that Commerce can be carried on with one fourth part of the agents now employed, and that there are in France alone, a million of inhabitants, taken away from agriculture and manufactures, by the superabundance of agents which *free* competition creates There is, then, in France alone, an annual loss of the subsistence of four millions of inhabitants, in consequence of an error of the Economists.

Besides the loss of labor, the existing order causes the loss of capital and commodities; I will cite, for an example, one of the most common abuses of the day, called "failure."

Since the Revolution, the every day report is of *failure* among the merchants. Having become too numerous, they contend with sharp avidity for the sales, which daily become more and more difficult, by the increase of competitors. A city which consumed a thousand hogsheads of sugar, when she had ten dealers (in that article) will consume but a thousand hogsheads, if the number of dealers be increased to forty instead of ten; an increase that has occurred in all the cities of France. And now we hear these swarms of merchants complaining of the languor of commerce, when they should really complain of the superabundance of merchants; they ruin themselves by costs incurred in deception and rivalry; and they involve themselves in the most foolish expenses, for the pleasure of crushing their rivals. It is not true that the merchant is devoted to his pecuniary interest alone; he is the bound slave of his jealousy and pride; some ruin themselves for the poor honor of devising immense schemes of business; others for the mad desire of ruining a neighbor, whose success torments them with jealousy and anger. Mercantile ambition is not the less violent for being obscure; and if the trophies of Miltiades troubled the sleep of Themistocles, we may also say that the sales of a shopkeeper trouble the sleep of his neighbor shopkeeper. From hence arises that phrensied competition by which so many merchants drive themselves on to ruin; and involve themselves in expenses which in the end must fall back upon the consumer; for every loss must at last be borne by the Social body; and if a new commercial system (*Social Competition*) shall be able to reduce the number of mercantile agents and commercial expenses one fourth, you will likewise see the price of commodities reduced to the same degree, since production will be increased in proportion to the new demands which this diminution will occasion, and in proportion to the mass of labor and capital restored to agriculture by this diminution of commercial agents.

One abuse springs from another; this is true in Commerce as well as in Government. For example, the prodigality of agents, causes Stockjobbing and Bankruptcy; of this, we have a striking proof in the rivalries of the owners of public conveyances, who, to destroy each other, will sometimes willingly carry travellers gratis. To see them lower their prices to such a degree to destroy each other, we say that *they will soon pay us a premium to travel in their conveyances.*

[What Fourier conceived of in 1807 '8 as likely to be the result of an insane competition, has really occurred, it is said, in this country, on board of some of our Steamboats on the Hudson and the Sound—"passage free, and found." And the fact is worth noting, that at this very time, (November 1844,) the competition between the boats running between New York and Red Bank N. J., enables our friends of the North American Phalanx to go to and fro for *nothing*.—Eds. P.]

There is no need of farther details, to prove that the Economists were greatly

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deceived, in believing that interest was the only motive of the merchant. What man in his senses, would conceive the idea of carrying passengers in a public conveyance from Paris to Rennes, for 18 livres tournois. [about 100 miles for about $3 75.—Eds. P.] What follies have not the mania for ruining competitors given rise to. The result of these amusing contentions for the benefit of travellers, was the bankruptcy of the several champions, who were in a few months broken the one by the other; their bankruptcies were borne by the public, which always interests itself in the most foolish enterprises, and notwithstanding their want of success, they give profit to the bankrupt by the spoliation of copartners whom he does not reimburse for their supply of funds. Hence it happens that the merchants, secure of saving themselves in case of reverse by a bankruptcy, hazard every thing to ruin a rival and enjoy the misfortune of a neighbor. Like the Japanese, who put out an eye at the door of an enemy, to cause him to lose both his eyes by process of law.

The old commercial houses, disconcerted by these wars of extermination, every where renounce a profession which has become dangerous and debased by the intrigues of the newcomers, who often sell at a loss in order to obtain repute.*

The old merchants, who do not wish to lose, find themselves abandoned, deprived of custom, and not able to meet their engagements. Very soon, both parties become exhausted in means, and have recourse to the Stockjobber, whose usurious interest augments their embarassment and insolvency, and hastens the fall of both parties.

Thus it is that *Free Competition*, by causing bankruptcies, furnishes a constant aliment for Stockjobbing, and gives it that colossal growth to which it has now attained. Stockjobbing is even carried on in the small boroughs. We every where meet men who, under the name of bankers, have no other trade than lending upon usury,* and helping on the wars of competition.

By their advances they sustain a superfluous multitude of tradesmen, who enter largely into the most ridiculous speculations, and who after losses, demand assistance anew from the bankers, and subject themselves to new exactions at their hands. These latter, placed in the mercantile arena to urge on the combat, resemble those hordes of Arabs, who ride about (contending) armies and rejoice while awaiting the spoil of the vanquished, whether they be friends or enemies.

In view of so many robberies and absurdities which Commerce engenders, can we doubt that the ancients excelled us in wisdom in devoting it to disgrace? As to the moderns who compose theories in its praise, should they not be considered shameless charlatans, and can they hope to see the reign of truth and good order in the industrial mechanism, when they have neither condemned the Commercial System, nor invented a mode of Exchange less vexatious, less degrading to the Social body?

VI.

CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING COMMERCE.

I have established in the four preceding chapters, that Commerce, while professing to serve Industry, tends only to spoliate it in every way; I have cited four examples drawn from Bankruptcy, Monopoly, Stockjobing and Loss.

1st. Bankruptcy spoliates the Social body to the benefit of the Merchants, who never sustain the damage, for if the merchant be prudent, he has calculated the risks of Bankruptcy and fixed his profits at a rate which will secure him from the supposed risk; if he is imprudent or a knave, (qualities very nearly allied in commercial affairs) he will not himself hesitate to commit bankruptcy, and indemnify himself by his own failure for the losses which twenty other failures may have caused him. Hence it follows, that the loss of Bankruptcy falls upon the Social body and not upon the Merchants, as a class.

2d. Monopoly spoliates the Social body; for the rise in the price of Monopolized commodities is borne ultimately by the consumers, and before them by the manufacturers, who, obliged to sustain their factories, make sacrifices, work at small profit, to keep up, hoping for better times, the establishment upon which their very living depends, and succeed only too late in overcoming the rise which the monopolists had so quickly caused them to submit to.

3d, Stock jobbing spoliates the Social body by turning aside capital to be employed in gambling upon the rise and fall of stocks, which furnish enormous profits to the most skillful players. So that agriculture and manufactures cannot obtain, except at an exorbitant price, the capital necessary to conduct them, and useful enterprises which only return a slow and toilsome profit are disdained for the games of stock jobbers which absorb the largest share of profits.

4th. "Parisitism" or a superabundance of agents, spoliates the social body in two ways; viz; by withdrawing an infinite amount of force which it employs in unproductive labor, and by the immorality and disorders engendered by the bitter strife of these innumerable agents, whose perfidy sometimes imposes hindrances equivalent to a prohibition.*

* Let me explain this term "*selling at loss.*" A merchant often loses when he gains 10 or 15 per cent; for it may happen that the amount of his expenses will balance the amount of his sales, and oblige him to gain 25 per cent in order to make a net profit of 10 per cent upon his capital. But if he limits himself by reason of Competition, to a gain of 15 per cent, he will not have a farthing of profit at the end of the year, and he will have lost the interest on his capital and the fruit of his labor and risk. This happens alike in wholesale as in retail commerce, which does not give so great profits as Monopoly; and this is the reason why we see so many honest merchants who are prosperous for a time, at the end of some years become ruined by the effect of this immoderate competition which does not allow to each and every one profits and sales proportioned to their expenses.

* One could hardly believe what a number of usurers France contains at the present day. We have begun to perceive this upon the banks of the Rhine, where the Jews have gotten into the possession of a large portion of the property. The scandal is less evident in the interior, because the usury is practiced by the natives of the country. At the present day, the only lucrative profession, except Monopoly and Stockjobbing, is to lend upon pawn, upon mortgage, and to trade in the notes and obligations of borrowers. Skillful men, retire from Commerce to carry on this pretty trade, which the revolution has favored by the changes it has made in property rights.

I do not pretend to blame the usurers; every political vice is attributable to circumstances only and not to the citizens who profit by them. It is happy in such a conjuncture, that the Jews are not yet further spread in France, for this nation, specially given to usury, would have seized upon the greater part of the property, and the influence which is attached to it. France would become one vast synagogue, for if the Jews held only a fourth of the property, they would have the greatest influence by reason of their secret and indissoluble league. This danger is one of the thousand symptoms which attest the social degradation, the imperfection of the industrial system, and the necessity of its reorganization upon an entirely new plan, in case civilization shall be greatly prolonged, from which may God deliver us.

* I will cite one instance of this among a thousand. We have known the trickeries of the Russian and Chinese Merchants carried to such a point, as to prevent, for a time, the trading relations of the marts of Kiatka and Zuruchaitu. The Russians, says Raynal, gave the Chinese poor peltry; the Chinese gave the Russians base coin, [a fair picture of Merchants and Civilizees.] Mutual distrust increased to such a point, that Mercantile intercourse ceased, and business for a long time was almost entirely suspended, although the demands were as great as ever, and the authorities far from hindering had rather assisted the caravans.

The interruption just mentioned, was only perceived because it had a bearing upon a great mass of business; we have seen one branch of commerce decline while enjoying untramelled freedom, because of the influence of knavery alone. How many other

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It will suffice, I think, in this short digression, to show that Free Competition has only produced empiricism in the industrial relations, not only in Commerce, but in all the mechanical and liberal professions to which it has extended. For example: In less than ten years, this anarchical competition has nearly annihilated the great theatres of France. The second city of the empire cannot even sustain its own, which very soon will answer only for mele-dramas or travelling comedians. In a short time, strangers visiting our great cities and seeing only arenas of literary vandalism, will demand what revolution has banished the French stage from the bosom of France. The answer will be that it has fallen a sacrifice to a dogma of the Economists, rivals of Robespierre, who said, "Let the colonies perish to save a principle;" so they, in imitation, say, "Perish the lyric and dramatic arts, to save the principle of *anarchical competition*."

Undoubtedly such was not their intention, but they have acted as if they thought thus, and they have thought of none of the measures necessary to ward off the blow which Free Competition will necessarily aim at the great theatres.

All the professions have been more or less disorganized by the same system of Licence which obtains in Commerce; as in law and medicine, for instance. During the years of absolute liberty, we saw charlatans perambulating the country and assassinating the credulous peasants by hundreds, under shelter of the maxim, "Let competition alone." On the other hand, the Advocates, imitating the noble usages of Commerce, are in the habit of hunting for practice, and of stopping and soliciting the country people in public places and at the doors of the court-houses, to gain their patronage. This prostitution of an office hitherto honorable attracted attention, and obliged them to think about means of repression, such as reforming the mode of matriculation, in perfect opposition to the principle of *Free Competition*.

With regard to this liberty, as well as political liberties, the mode of action has been rash, without foreseeing whither philosophic theories, pretty as they may be, would eventually lead. We are now just beginning to see the error, and in attempting its remedy, we commit errors of a yet grosser nature; such as confounding the interests of commerce with those of manufactures, of which it is the positive enemy [in present society].

Let us draw a comparison between the parasitic nullity of the merchant and the real importance of the manufacturer, whose interests they wish to confound. The manufacturer can very easily perform the operations of the merchant; he can directly buy the raw material, can directly export his manufactured goods, or send out his agents to make sales and distributions. The merchant cannot in any way replace the manufacturer, nor manufacture in his absence. If a city loses its merchants, as happened in Marseilles in the time of the plague, it is repeopled immediately with new merchants, little adapted as it may be for commerce in respect to situation. If a city loses its manufacturers, as happened in Louvain, we do not see new manufacturers transporting thither their factories. Merchants may establish themselves anywhere in affluence, provided the means of free and lucrative traffic exist; factories cannot thus be established, even in places which are favorable and promise success. The departure of the manufacturers of a country would reduce to a state of inactivity all the merchants in raw material, and the commission-men who transacted the business of the factories; while the departure of all the merchants would not necessarily cause any stagnation in the manufacturers, whose directors and agents might, as I before said, supply the want of merchants. Thus the French Protestants who emigrated to Germany, were not replaced by Catholic manufacturers. Industry was expatriated with them; and if Louis XIVth had proscribed merchants and bankers only, excepting the manufacturers, he could have established in a single year new Catholic merchants in the place of the Protestant merchants. France would only have experienced a loss of men and money, which could be repaired, instead of a loss of industry, which was irreparable.

We see all Powers striving to establish their merchants among the Oriental nations, and yet no Power thinks of establishing the European manufacturers in the East. They seek, on the contrary, to attract the Chinese and Indian artisans from their own countries, but care little to draw the merchants and seamen of the same countries towards Europe. The farther we carry out the parallel, the more we shall be convinced that the merchants and bankers ought to be strictly watched and restrained to the useful functions I have mentioned. If unbounded licence is granted them, according to the advice of the economists, they will turn their capital against industry; they are like the undisciplined soldier, who, delivered from the fear of punishment, will forthwith pillage the country whose good order it is his duty to preserve. It will be a long time before the moderns shall have come to suspect their idol, and perceive that the entire commercial system must be changed, being vicious throughout.

I shall be told, no doubt, that it would be much better to announce the remedy for these vices, instead of speaking so much about the evil, and that I ought to hasten to bring forward this theory of *social competition*, which is to extinguish all kinds of commercial disorder.

To this I answer, that my aim is not *to ameliorate civilization*, but to confound it and cause a desire after a better *social mechanism*, by demonstrating that the civilized order is absurd in all its parts as well as a whole, and that, far from having perfected Reason, the moderns are becoming daily more and more politically insane; witness, for example, their late dreams about paternity and the commercial spirit, against which both reason and nature cry aloud.—[In allusion to the theories of Malthus and other economists on Population.]

Nature is never deceitful in the general impulses which she gives to the human race. When the great body of the people despise such a profession as commerce, and when this aversion is dictated by natural instinct, be sure that the object of their disdain conceals some odious and hidden character. Which of the two are the wisest, the moderns who honor commerce, or the ancients who consigned merchants to disgrace? "*Vendentes et latrones*," said the Evangelist, who confounded these two classes. So thought Jesus Christ, who armed himself with whips to drive out the merchants, and said to them, with evangelical frankness: "*Ye have made my house a den of thieves.*"

"*Fecistis eam speluncam latronum.*"

And in agreement with Jesus Christ, all learned antiquity confounded the merchants and robbers, placing them pell-mell under the patronage of the god Mercury. It appeared that at this epoch the mercantile office was deemed almost infamous; for Saint Chrysostom assures us that *a merchant cannot know how to be pleasing to God.* Thus they excluded merchants from Heaven, although they have admitted the elect of every other profession there—even a lawyer, one Saint Yves by name. I mention these particulars only to show forth the opinion of the ancients, in order to place it in parallel with that of the moderns. I am far from approving this exaggeration of the ancients; it was as ridiculous to proscribe and abuse the merchants, as it is ridiculous in our day to exalt them to the clouds. But which excess is the most absurd? I decide in favor of the ancients.

If it is true that modern Philosophy is the friend of *honesty*, how has it happened to bestow its favor upon the class of merchants which is the most deceitful in the social body? Let us judge them by the picture which is presented of them at the present

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hindrances does knavery in general create in every kind of relation! How much expense, travel, anxiety, and loss of time does he not incur, who buys a thing of which he does not know the value. And if after all, these expensive precautions, journeys &c, we are continually liable to be cheated in our purchases, calculate how great would be the economy of time and means, in case exchanges should be carried on, the world over, without dishonesty. This effect may occur in the 7th period; and even in the 6th it would be a rare thing to experience any deceit in commercial business transactions.

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day even, and in a country where they enjoy the highest favors.

"The Armenians, says Peuchet in his *Dictionary of Commercial Geography*, possess an active and profound dissimulation, an industrial meanness, manners as false as they are persuasive, all the little means which fraud and artifice can suggest. Habituated to despotism, humiliation and perjury, they suffer no hindrance to prevent their attaining their end: religion, even, is only an additional instrument in their hands for cementing their interests and their deceit. In Russia they conform to the Greek ritual; in Persia to Mahometanism, etc., etc."

These few lines will suffice to give an idea of commercial manners, and the salutary influence, which they will exert upon the social order when they are dominant. The merchant of our day may repudiate the beautiful traits of Armenian character. In truth the rich merchants are far enough removed from so odious a character, because it is easy to be honorable when one is the possessor of an hundred thousand crowns, but it is not the less true that the commercial spirit corrupts the policy and manners of a people. Carthage and England furnish proofs of this. Their deceitful policy, *Punica fides*, has become proverbial; and as to the mercantile character, that can only be seen in its true colors among the inferior classes, that of the Jews for instance, of whom the *Tableau de Londres*, thus speaks:—

"Two thousand, five hundred Jews, who go about the streets and public places, exciting children to rob their fathers, and servants to rob their masters, and who pay for the stolen articles in base money."

Notwithstanding so many commercial turpitudes which ought to rouse the indignation of all honest minds, and spite of the testimony of analytical reasoning which demonstrates that the interposition of the commercial functions is subordinate parasitical, and disorganizing. Commerce has been elevated to the throne of modern public opinion. This has happened as a matter of necessity, since civilization is essentially favorable to perfidy; and by the influence of commerce it is tending toward an industrial system, yet more perfidious, the germ of which I am about to describe.

And now I conceive that my critics ought to seem displeased and even in revolt (déplacies et même revoltantes) until I have unfolded the mechanism which may replace the present system of commerce and cause truth and good order to reign instead of perfidy and commercial folly. And in this stage of my subject, I lay cowardice to the charge of the Savans who have not dared to enter upon such a research, and who boldly call themselves the friends of virtue while apologizing for Commerce.

While the savans have failed in this respect, some governments have tried remedies for commercial anarchy, but only to fall from Scylla into Charybdis; the fixed number of Directors which they have substituted for anarchy is a remedy worse than the disease; they are, next to the clubs, the most dangerous leaven of resolution which they could introduce into the civilized order.

WORKINGMEN'S CONVENTION.

Pursuant to previous notice, the delegates from the various Associations of workingmen in New England assembled in convention at Faneuil Hall, Boston, on Wednesday, October 16th. There were probably more than two hundred delegates present. The meeting being called to order, Mr. Hatch, of Lowell, was called to the chair, and Mr. Almy, of Fall River, appointed Secretary *pro tem.*

A committee of one from each Association represented was then appointed by the meeting, to nominate officers to govern the Convention. The committee made the following report, which was unanimously adopted:

For President, A. J. Wright, President of the Boston M. B. Association.

For Vice Presidents, Wm. B. Munroe, of Lynn; J. T. Spofford, of Lowell; D. S. Roberts, of South Andover; Geo. H. Evans, of New-York; J. C. Coles, of Stonington, Ct.; Alonzo Smith, of Manchester, N. H; Samuel Goodwin, of Marblehead.

For Secretaries, E. A. Allen, of Lowell; L. Cox, jr., of Boston; Thomas Almy, of Fall River.

Mr. Wright then took the chair, with a few appropriate remarks, which were cordially responded to.

A committee was appointed to draft rules for the government of the Convention.

A committee of one from each Association was also appointed, to prepare Resolutions and an Address to be presented to the Convention.

Then adjourned to half-past two, P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Convention was called to order by the President. On motion, ordered, that no one but a delegate from some organized Association should be permitted to take part in the proceedings, except by express permission of the Convention.

The committee on resolutions presented the following draft, which was accepted, and the Convention adjourned to half-past six:

Whereas, All men being endowed with the same natural capacities, and possessing in common with each other the same physical, mental, and moral wants, are therefore entitled to an equal exercise and gratification of them.

And, whereas, The existing relations of society, which deprive the laborer of the wealth his own industry creates, which compels him to wear out his existence exposed to the degrading influences resulting from constant, unalleviated toil, which excludes him from an indulgence in the graceful recreations and cultivated pleasures of social intercourse—which discourages mental exertion, and closes up the paths of *intellectual* pursuits—and which inevitably tends to crush the most generous aspirations, and to wither up and debase the sweetest and noblest affections of the heart;

And, being persuaded that that social organization which produces results so pernicious and demoralizing—which acts so injuriously upon the interests, and violates so flagrantly the most valuable rights, of those engaged in the useful, necessary and honorable occupation of manual labor, is founded in neither justice or reason—is required by no essential law of human association, far less can be sanctioned by any Providence of God; and assuming as self-evident that the cruel hardships to which the laboring classes are subjected are continued only through the indifference, ignorance and lethargy of themselves; that the remedy for these abuses is apparent and simple, and is to be found in a general and thorough organization of the laboring classes, for the purpose of defending their interests and securing to themselves the wealth which their own honest and honorable industry produces: with a view to the attainment of these objects—

1. Resolved, That the time now devoted to manual labor is unreasonable and unjust, is equally destructive to physical health and mental vigor, and by requiring long continued and excessive physical exertion, amounts to a denial of the invaluable right every man should possess to an opportunity for recreation, social enjoyment, and intellectual culture, and is an abuse which demands immediate correction.

2. Resolved, That we deem it expedient to memorialize our legislatures to pass a law that shall prohibit any corporation from employing any person more than ten hours per day.

3. Resolved, That we recommend to our brother mechanics and laborers throughout the country (who are not already associated) immediately to organize for the purpose of defending our common interests—to vindicate labor from reproach—to secure to the laborer a more just equivalent for his toil—for moral and intellectual improvement—to investigate the causes of the present and still daily increasing disparities of social condition, and to inquire why it has been and is that the workingman in society, by whose labor all wealth is produced, on whose industry rest the arts of civilized life, are condemned to occupy the meanest position in that society, are stigmatized as ignorant and inferior, and universally regarded as the Helots of capital.

4. Resolved, That as by the present system of labor, the interests of capital and labor are opposed, the former now securing the reward which should only belong to the latter; that we recommend the formation of practical associations, in which workingmen can use their own capital, work their own stock, establish their own hours, and have their own price.

5. Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, the present inequality and injustice of society, the abject dependence of honest, willing industry, upon idle, non-producing capitalists, is a great source of crime, misery, and degradation on earth; and that all attempts to elevate and redeem the poverty-bowed millions who toil and starve, can, at best, but partially tend to the accomplishment of that great end, until the shameful and sacrilegious monopoly of the soil is entirely abolished, and the public lands which are now held by the government are returned for actual settlement to the people, for whom they are but kept in

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trust, and thousands of whom now actually pine in want from an inability to obtain a sufficient amount of compensated labor.

6. Resolved, That while we pledge ourselves as workingmen to spare no just effort for the reduction of the hours of labor, we look forward to the time when, by the introduction of a system of attractive industry, a system in which every laborer has a direct personal interest in the fruits of his labor—in which all the faculties of human nature are called into exercise—an amount of leisure, together with ample means for its wise, orderly, and beneficial employment, shall be guaranteed to every man, woman, and child, such as, under the present arrangement of society, is neither practicable nor desirable.

7. Resolved, That we believe it of the utmost importance that those papers which are exclusively devoted to the workingmen's cause should be promptly sustained, and that we hereby pledge ourselves, our money, and our influence, to secure that result.

8. Resolved, That this Convention, deeming it proper and expedient that there be a New England Workingman's Association organized for the purpose of uniting the efforts of all who are engaged in the great interests of the real producers, choose a committee of one from each delegation present, to draft and report a constitution and bye-laws to be presented for the consideration of said Association, at a meeting to be called by said committee at such time and place as they may decide.

On the next day the following Address was reported by the appropriate Committee, and adopted:

ADDRESS.

Of the Mechanics and Laborers, assembled in Convention at Boston, October 16—17, 1844, to their fellow Mechanics and Laborers throughout the United States.

There is no subject which claims our more serious and candid attention than that which refers to our condition as laborers.—What this condition is; if correct, how it may be maintained; or if not, how it may be improved, are questions which we are imperatively called upon to decide. To a consideration of these questions allow us to call your candid and immediate attention.

What is the present condition of the workingmen of America? By the declaration of rights which our fathers made, and which they maintained with their fortunes and their lives, we are instructed to believe that ALL MEN are born EQUAL, possessed of equal natural rights, and designed to enjoy equal civil and social privileges. The propagation of this self-evident truth formed an important era in the world's history, and was designed, first and foremost, to affect the condition of those in whom the feudalism of former times had recognised only serfs and dependents on the will of the crown or the aristocracy. To ensure the prevalence of this truth, care was taken in the structure of our government, to secure co-operation throughout the civil body, by giving to every member of the body an equal voice in the selection of rulers and the formation of laws. To what extent democracy has been realized, it is not our present object to enquire; upon the practical bearings of the question we can each speculate and decide for ourselves.

To another feature of this matter we would more especially call your attention. What is the present position and condition of the workingmen of America, considered as the actual producers of wealth? Labor is the only creator of value. Making use of the materials furnished by the God of Nature, it gives utility to what was before worthless, or increases value where it before existed, supplying the necessities and adding to the comforts of human life. If the position to which we have previously reverted be correct, then have all an equal right to labor, and to enjoy the blessings which such labor may create. A given amount of labor produces a given amount of value, which, according to the position we have assumed, should belong to the producers. Do we find this to be the fact?

If there are those in the community who are not actually engaged in manual labor, or in other words, who are not producers, who do nevertheless receive value, it must follow that by some means they obtain a part of that which is produced by others; and we do actually find that a large portion of the value which is produced by labor, is, in some way secured by those who are not engaged in productive industry at all. It is then evident that the greater is this amount, the smaller must be that retained by the actual producers; or the greater the number of the non-producers, the heavier will be the burthen upon, and the smaller will be the reward of the industrious laborer. With the given amount in the case, we have little to do at present; it is of the principle we complain, which we see illustrated in the self-evident fact that the reward of the producers diminishes, with the increase of the non-producers.

The division of society into the producing and non-producing classes, and the fact of the unequal distribution of value between the two, introduces us at once to another distinction—that of capital and labor. And here we find a wide difference to exist, involving on the one hand the idea of dependence, and on the other of independence.—Labor now becomes a commodity, wealth capital, and the natural order of things is entirely reversed. Antagonism and opposition of interest is introduced into the community; capital and labor stand opposed; the non-producing classes wage war with the producing, and excessive and deadly competition incite the producers against each other. Money becomes power in the hands of the capitalist; disunion and competition become weakness on the part of the laborer. The interests of the few become permanent those of the mass are neglected; the few are affluent, while the many are miserable.

We would not have it supposed that the ultimatum has been reached by us, or that our condition as working men is reduced to that extreme of wretchedness to which the laborers of Europe have long since arrived. But we do mean to assert that our present system of labor is *false in principle and in practice unjust and oppressive to ourselves, and injurious to the community.* In England the system has done its utmost; it has raised the few to more than kingly wealth, while the many at the same time are sinking to the lowest degradation of utter misery and wretchedness. In our own land similar results are beginning to show themselves, and must be seen as inevitably as like causes produce like effects.

We believe our present system of labor is false in principle. In the decree "In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread," we trace the original design of the Creator. Not that one should toil and another eat but that the fruit of industry should be enjoyed by him who exercised it. Not that the few should rule while the many serve, since God has revealed himself as the ruler, and all men are brethren. So far as we are able to discover the destiny of man from his organization, it is not merely to buy and sell and get gain, but to bring out and strengthen those exalted natures with which he was gifted; while our present system of labor would assert the former, but deny the latter. Thus does it deny in principle the evident facts of his nafure, and entirely disregard those laws to which we are to look for the indications of his destiny.

It makes labor a commodity to be bought and sold in the market, and man a mere machine. It deprives the man of all the power of an agent, and binds him as a helpless victim in the shambles, to become property in possession of the highest bidder. Deprived of the LAND, we had almost said of all those facilities and materials with which the God of Nature has furnished man for the exercise of industry, the laborer has no longer an opportunity to rely upon his own hands as capital; he can no longer at will create value which, when created, is to be his own; but he must sell his commodity—his labor—his manhood—to another, to receive therefore the miserable pittance which but reveals his degradation, without increasing his store.

The present system of labor is in practice unjust and oppressive to ourselves, because—

1. It introduces false standards of judgment. It separates the capitalist from the laborer—placing the former with his wealth and respectability on the one side, or rather in the foreground, while the latter, with his care-worn face and calloused hand, is left to occupy the rear. It gives to the one power, to the other no alternative but to submit. It crowns the one with honor, the other with disgrace. The one, though he may never have produced a single cent's worth in value, is honorable; the other is despised though he may have added thousands and tens of thousands to his country's wealth.

2. It deprives the actual producer of value, of a fair proportion of the same, and the reward for his toil which is justly his due. This it does by the introduction of excessive competition among mechanics, caused by the increase of facilities for production, which every year are throwing hundreds if not thousands of mechanics out of employ—thus bringing man in direct competition with the inanimate machine, and giving to the latter the reward which should only and of right belong to the former.

3. The present system of labor not merely dooms the laborer to excessive and overprotracted toil, but by consequence denies to him the cultivation of those social and mental natures with which he is endowed. Receiving, as he does, but so scanty a pittance for his toil, he is under the necessity of protracting the same to procure for himself the comforts or necessaries of life. If four hours' labor should be sufficient for the satisfaction of human wants, provided all would bear an equal share of toil, if but half the community bear it, the burden is increased to eight hours, if only one third, to twelve. Then, worn with the labor of the day, drawn out through twelve, fourteen, or even sixteen hours, he has little heart to engage in mental labors, or, however greatly he may desire it, he has no opportunity—no time for social intercourse.

4. The present system of labor disregards the great tie of brotherhood which should

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unite all men, and brings into the most deadly and hostile competition parents and children, brothers and sisters, the child and the man, the male and the female. It dooms the weak, the young, to bear the most grievous burden to gratify its own cupidity.—Through the introduction of labor-saving machinery, it is constantly supplanting the labor of the male adult, introducing instead that of the helpless female, or the still weaker child. In fine, the present system of labor introduces utter isolation, opposition and competition, destroys the very life's blood of industry, makes it the slave of capital, and tramples on the laws of our being, the plainly defined laws of the Creator.

Again, the present system of labor is injurious to the community, because—

1. It encourages crime by compelling idleness. The two, it is said, go hand in hand; and our own observations will assure us that if honest industry will not procure a livelihood, dishonesty or immorality must. As we have previously shown, by our present system of labor intelligence is discouraged, or rather, forbidden; idleness is encouraged, and even compelled, and destitution and misery the inevitable result. A people were never known to be ignorant, idle, and miserable, still virtuous. The statistics of England, France, and other countries of Europe, abundantly prove this; and even among ourselves we are compelled to admit that intemperance, dishonesty, and licentiousness, find no where a stronger support than in the present derangement of the social system, and the discouragements and difficulties under which labor exists.

2. It creates great disparity in the fortunes of men, and great inequalities in the interests of the State. Look at those nations where industry is truly the slave of wealth, and side by side you will behold the most princely rich and the most miserably poor; nay, a nation wealthy, but a people wretched! The commercial interests rise, moneyed institutions prevail, and all the instability accompanying overtrading is the inevitable result.

3. It causes a great waste of industrial power, checks the productive effort, discourages honesty in labor, deteriorates the race.

And, need we ask, if a system, thus fruitful in the most deadly evils, is what it should be; by no means. A reform is demanded. The only question which remains is, how may it be secured. This is one which demands our most serious consideration. It is that grand problem which is now presented for solution to the workingmen of the nineteenth century. We do not propose at this time to enter upon the work. It must be the business of years, and prosecuted by every person who has an interest in industry. It demands the attention of every lover of his country and humanity, and he who gives the means is evidently the benefactor of his race. To a few points allow us to call your attention.

One of the first things at which we should aim is the spread of a more general and loftier intelligence. As working-men, it becomes us well to investigate our present position, the relations we sustain to capital, and the causes which have already operated to reduce us to the condition in which we are at present. Knowledge of the laws of cause and effect, and a candid examination of facts, are absolutely indispensable to the conduct of a reform.

We must rely upon ourselves in this matter. Too long have we allowed others to think and act for us: and submitting to their guidance and dictation, we may expect still to toil on in our present hopeless state. The work before us is mighty, and the preparation needed is great; but confidence in ourselves should be manifested, and more than half the preparation for the mighty effort is secured.

We should ever distinctly remember our object; not to elevate ourselves by depressing others—not to subvert at all society, but to establish a correct one—not to war with any man or class of men—but to elevate ourselves—to strengthen the bonds of our brotherhood, to remove oppression, to assist the weak, to befriend humanity, and to emancipate man. For these purposes we should endeavor to promote unity of action among ourselves. Frequent assembling together, that we may become acquainted with each other's wants, permanent associations, and all worthy efforts for our common good, should be diligently attended to. At present we are divided, isolated, and opposed. Frequent associations and confidence will to a great extent remedy these evils, and secure for us in action that unity without which it is impossible to accomplish any portion of the object we have ultimately in view.

Now is the time for some action. A beginning must be made. Every day disunion and competition are increasing our weakness, while the evils which oppress us are accumulating in number and magnitude.—Not a moment is to be lost; while we have some power let us use it. However small may be the commencement, time will reveal the tremendous result.

True, we have many obstacles to oppose; but these should serve as no cause for discouragement, but rather to incite us to the higher and more determined action. Other movements, it is said, have failed, but the present is based upon a broader platform—the eternal principles of right; so long as these are maintained we have the best assurances of success.

The numerous associations of working men which have already sprung up throughout New England, are most encouraging signs of promise. The deep interest which is being awakened througout the community, and in special the ground which is assumed by the working men give us the greatest cause for hope. The spirit of liberty is again revisiting the earth; the undaunted zeal of the fathers once more reanimates the sons; and the marshalled hosts gathering for a glorious contest and a bloodless victory.

Through the once darkened future the glow of hope is seen, which tells of the coming of the broad day of freedom, when man shall stand erect in all the dignity of his nature—when violence and oppression shall hide in the darkness of the past—when labor shall be disenthralled—the supremacy of humanity asserted and the Working Man stand forth confessed as EARTH'S TRUE NOBLEMAN.

We have presented briefly the organization and incipient proceedings of this important Convention, which occupied principally the first day of its sitting, and the Resolutions and Address adopted. We do not propose, as we cannot spare space for, a detailed account of the debates and subsequent proceedings. The Convention continued in session during two days and evenings, when it adjourned *sine die*. We were present, although on account of the exclusive nature of one of its rules, which allowed Delegates from societies only to speak, except by special permission, we did not take part in the discussion; and we were highly gratified by the display of the zealous and resolute spirit of reform which now animates the workingmen of New England, that powerful element which we are well satisfied will shortly work out the grandest and most stupendous social changes ever witnessed on the earth. The right *sentiment* pervaded all minds present, but, of course, coming up to the Convention with so little previous preparation and communion of ideas, the delegates entertained widely dissimilar views as to the measures to be pursued; and the disparity of opinion produced much useless and time-consuming discussion. But the greatest good order and kindly feeling constantly prevailed. In the early part of the proceedings, when the discussion upon the rules threatened to run into disorder, an electrical effect was produced on the assembly, by a member stepping up behind the chair and turning the beautiful banner of the Fall River delegation, so as to present to all eyes, in golden letters on a rich ground, the glorious motto, "IN UNION THERE IS STRENGTH." The incident was beautiful, and its influence was felt during the whole sitting of the Convention. The *principle* was acknowledged as the true one, which should govern all their actions, both in and out of the Convention. We think the Resolutions and Address, so excellent on the whole, are speaking witnesses of the fact just mentioned, that the principle of union and concert of action was the ruling principle, which gave tone to all the measures adopted. And, indeed, we were highly gratified with the evident tendency of feeling among the members of the Convention toward *associative* principles, and the ready avidity with which all expressions of sentiment derived from these principles were received. The indications of ripeness among the workingmen of New England augur well for the future movement of social and industrial reform.

Old Faneuil Hall, dear to every American, and especially to the men of New England, as the sacred nursery, if not the very birthplace, of American Freedom, may have been the scene of prouder pageants and more brilliant demonstrations, but it never rung to truer words, higher principles, nobler sentiments, or more burning eloquence. A new era has arrived, and with it a new duty. As our forefathers declared for political liberty and national independence, we must now declare for social liberty and industrial independence.

We hope much from the New England Workingmen's Convention.

BROOK FARM.

We stated in our last that this Association had issued a second edition of their

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Constitution, as revised, together with an account of the progress and aims of the Institution. It affords us great pleasure to republish the introductory statements, as we have no doubt it will our readers also to peruse them.

If it were advisable, at the present moment, to add our testimony to the high claims and good works of Brook Farm, we could do so from personal observation during a short sojourn there lately, in the most emphatic manner. We now refrain from giving vent to our own impressions. Brook Farm is, indeed, a child of Heaven, and Providence smiles upon it.

We omit the Constitution, which is for sale at J. S. Redfield's, corner Nassau and Beekman sts. New-York.

NOTICE TO THE SECOND EDITION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE BROOK FARM ASSOCIATION.

Since the publication of the first edition of our Constitution and Introductory Statement, the public interest in Association, has greatly increased both in this vicinity, and throughout the country generally. With the conviction now beginning to pervade all classes of society, that in the incoherence and conflict of interests which characterize civilization, there can be no permanent security either for private rights or public order, the doctrines of social unity, and attractive industry, are taking a sure and deep hold. Already the Phalansterian movement in the United States embraces persons of every station in life, and in its extent, and influence on questions of importance, is fast assuming a national character.

In this state of things, the friends of the cause will be gratified to learn, that the appeal in behalf of Brook Farm, contained in our Introductory Statement, has been generously answered, and that the situation of the Association is highly encouraging. In the half year that has elapsed, our numbers have been increased by the addition of many skilful and enthusiastic laborers, in various departments, and our capital has been enlarged by the subscription of about ten thousand dollars. Our organization has acquired a more systematic form, though with our comparatively small numbers we can only approximate to truly scientific arrangements. Still with the unavoidable deficiencies of our groups and series, their action is remarkable, and fully justifies our anticipations of great results from applying the principles of universal order to industry.

In education also, we have succeeded in introducing arrangements of great value, which would be impossible in a society of isolated families; though this, as well as other departments, is still in process of formation.

We have made considerable agricultural improvements; we have erected a workshop sixty feet by twenty-eight, for mechanics of several trades, some of which are already in operation, and we are now engaged in building a section, one hundred and seventy-five feet by forty, of a Phalanstery or Unitary dwelling. Our first object is to collect those who, from their character and convictions, are qualified to aid in the experiment we are engaged in, and to furnish them with convenient and comfortable habitations, at the smallest possible outlay. For this purpose the most careful economy is used, though we are yet able to attain many of the peculiar advantages of the associated household. Still for a transitional society, and for comparatively temporary use, a social edifice cannot be made free from the defects of civilized architecture. When our Phalanx has become sufficiently large, and has in some measure accomplished its great purposes, the Serial organization of labor and Unitary education, we shall have it in our power to build a Phalanstery with the magnificence and permanence proper to such a structure.

Cheering as are the results of our endeavors, we wish to have it distinctly understood that they have been, and for some time must be, merely preparatory labors. We would then again invite the personal cooperation of all suitable persons, and the investment of the funds necessary to a complete application of Fourier's theory of industrial organization.

We call upon the wise and humane to lend their aid to an undertaking which, in the growing insufficiency and insecurity of civilized institutions bases its promise of a better state of things not on mere human wisdom, but on the science of universal laws. We appeal to those who can perceive that the true road to general well-being, is not to be reached by legislative deliberations, or by political or benevolent expedients, but by reverent investigation of the methods of divine order and faithful application of the same to society;—to those who look with alarm upon the growth of pauperism, and civilized slavery;—to those who in despairing sympathy for the masses begin to feel the necessity of an integral philanthropy;—but more than all, to those who are inspired by the sublime ideas of social and universal unity with a deeper faith in God, and a more assured hope of man.

We appeal to them for assistance in the practical demonstration of a scientific theory, which solves the great social problems that have convulsed the world for the last century, and which discloses to man a destiny worthy of his aspirations and energies, and of that beneficent and infinite Being by whom the universe is forever upheld and renewed.

Brook Farm, Oct. 1844.

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT.

The Association at Brook Farm has now been in existence upward of two years. Originating in the thought and experience of a few individuals, it has hitherto worn, for the most part, the character of a private experiment, and has avoided rather than sought, the notice of the public. It has, until the present time, seemed fittest to those engaged in this enterprise to publish no statements of their purposes or methods, to make no promises or declarations, but quietly and sincerely to realize, as far as might be possible, the great ideas which gave the central impulse to their movement. It has been thought that a steady endeavor to embody these ideas more and more perfectly in life, would give the best answer, both to the hopes of the friendly and the cavils of the sceptical, and furnish in its results the surest grounds for any larger efforts.

Meanwhile every step has strengthened the faith with which we set out; our belief in a divine order of human society, has in our own minds become an absolute certainty; and considering the present state of humanity and of social science, we do not hesitate to affirm, that the world is much nearer the attainment of such a condition than is generally supposed.

The deep interest in the doctrine of Association, which now fills the minds of intelligent persons everywhere, indicates plainly that the time has passed when even initiative movements ought to be prosecuted in silence, and makes it imperative on all who have either a theoretical or practical knowledge of the subject to give their share to the stock of public information.

Accordingly, we have taken occasion at several public meetings recently held in Boston, to state some of the results of our studies and experience; and we desire here to say emphatically, that while on the one hand we yield an unqualified assent to that doctrine of Universal Unity which Fourier teaches, so on the other our whole observation has shown us the truth of the practical arrangements which he deduces therefrom. The law of groups and series is, we are convinced, the law of human nature, and when men are in true social relations their industrial organization will necessarily assume those forms.

But besides the demand for information respecting the principles of Association, there is a deeper call for action in the matter. We wish, therefore, to bring Brook Farm before the public, as a location offering at least as great advantages for a thorough experiment as can be found in the vicinity of Boston. It is situated in West Roxbury, three miles from the depot of the Dedham Branch Railroad, and about eight miles from Boston, and combines a convenient nearness to the city with a degree of retirement and freeom from unfavorable influences, unusual even in the country. The place is one of great natural beauty, and indeed the whole landscape is so rich and various as to attract the notice even of casual visitors. The farm now owned by the Association contains two hundred and eight acres, of as good quality as any land in the neighborhood of Boston, and can be enlarged by the purchase of land adjoining to any necessary extent. The property now in the hands of the Association is worth nearly or quite thirty thousand dollars, of which about twenty-two thousand dollars is invested either in the stock of the company, or in permanent loans to it at six per cent., which can remain as long as the Association may wish.

The fact that so large an amount of capital is already invested and at our service as the basis of more extensive operations, furnishes a reason why Brook farm should be chosen as the scene of that practical trial of Association which the public feeling calls for in this immediate vicinity, instead of forming an entirely new organization for that purpose. The completeness of our educational department is also not to be overlooked. This has hitherto received our greatest care, and in forming it we have been particularly successful. In any new Association it must be many years before so many accomplished and skilful teachers in the various branches of intellectual culture could be enlisted. Another strong reason is to be found in the degree of order our organization has already attained, by the help of which a large Association might be formed without the losses and inconveniences which would otherwise necessarily occur. The experience of nearly three years in all the misfortunes and mistakes incident to an undertaking so new and so

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little understood, carried on throughout by persons not entirely fitted for the duties they have been compelled to perform, has, as we think, prepared us to assist in the safe conduct of an extensive and complete Association.

Such an institution, as will be plain to all, cannot, by any sure means, be brought at once and full grown into existence. It must at least in the present state of society, begin with a comparatively small number of select and devoted persons, and increase by natural and gradual aggregations. With a view to an ultimate expansion into a perfect Phalanx, we desire without any delay to organize the three primary departments of labor, namely, Agriculture, Domestic Industry, and the Mechanic Arts.

For this purpose additional capital will be needed, which it is most desirable should be invested by those who propose to connect themselves personally with the institution. These should be men and women accustomed to labor, skilful, careful, in good health, and, more than all, imbued with the idea of Association, and ready to consecrate themselves without reserve to its realization. For it ought to be known that the work we propose is a difficult one, and except to the most entire faith and resolution, will offer insurmountable obstacles and discouragements. Neither will it be possible to find in Association at the outset the great outward advantages it ultimately promises. The first few years must be passed in constant and unwearied labor, lightened chiefly by the consciousness of high aims and the inward content that devotion to a universal object cannot fail to bring. Still there are certain tangible compensations which Association guarantees immediately. These are freedom from pecuniary anxiety, and the evils of competitive industry, free and friendly society, and the education of children. How great these are, those who have felt the terrible burdens which the present civilized society imposes in these respects will not need to be informed.

Those who may wish to further this cause by investments of money only, will readily perceive that their end is not likely to be lost in an Association whose means are devoted mainly to productive industry, and where nothing will ever be risked in uncertain speculation.

The following Constitution is the same as that under which we have hitherto acted, with such alterations as, on a careful revision, seemed needful.

All persons who are not familiar with the purposes of Association, will understand from this document that we propose a radical and universal reform, rather than to redress any particular wrong, or to remove the sufferings of any single class of human beings. We do this in the light of universal principles, in which all differences, whether of religion, or politics, or philosophy, are reconciled, and the dearest and most private hope of every man has the promise of fulfilment. Herein, let it be understood, we would remove nothing that is truly beautiful or venerable; we reverence the religious sentiment in all its forms, the family, and whatever else has its foundation either in human nature or the Divine Providence. The work we are engaged in is not destruction, but true conservation; it is not a mere revolution, but, as we are assured, a necessary step in the course of social progress, which no one can be blind enough to think has yet reached its limit. We believe that humanity, trained by these long centuries of suffering and struggle, led onward by so many saints and heroes and sages, is at length prepared to enter into that universal order, toward which it has perpetually moved. Thus we recognize the worth of the whole Past, and of every doctrine and institution it has bequeathed us; thus also we perceive that the Present has its own high mission, and we shall only say what is beginning to be seen by all sincere thinkers, when we declare that the imperative duty of this time and this country, nay, more, that its only salvation, and the salvation of all civilized countries, lies in the Reorganization of Society, according to the unchanging laws of human nature and of universal harmony.

We look, then, to the generous and hopeful of all classes for sympathy, for encouragement, and for actual aid, not to ourselves only, but to all those who are engaged in this great work. And whatever may be the result of any special efforts, we can never doubt that the object we have in view will finally be attained; that human life shall yet be developed, not in discord and misery, but in harmony and joy, and that the perfected earth shall at last bear on her bosom a race of men worthy of the name.

GEORGE RIPLEY,
MINOT PRATT, } *Directors.*
CHARLES A. DANA,

Brook Farm, West Roxbury, Mass., January 16, 1844.

HIRED LABOR,

Is the civilized phase and last form of slavery. It is an advance upon chattleism and feudalism. It is better for the slave and also for the slave-holder.

Barbarian fetters, and whips, and rifles, and blood-hounds, for this age of cupidity, are instrumentalities of oppression altogether too costly, to say nothing of their cruelty. He is but a fool, who does not adopt a more refined and successful mode of bondage. 'Tis nonsense to invest capital in human beings, to be used as chattles, running the risk of their escape, or sickness and death; while the naked interest on their market value, will hire starving, voluntary slaves, to perform double their work. Yankee mammonites are too keen and grasping to commit such a blunder. Neither will they saddle themselves with the expense of providing for their servants when they are old and worn out, as they would be compelled to do if they were legal chattles. No, 'tis far better to pay them wages, though they steal it all back again by mortgages, rents and store-bills, and thus be relieved of all responsibilty in their support: or if they provide for them at all, get the credit of being Christians, by charitably sending them to the alms-house, or selling them at public auction, to the competitor who will *starve them the cheapest*. Cupidity will not *own* slaves so long as by *hiring*, it can secure such advantages.

Besides the Lust of Power can gratify itself quite as successfully with hired menials. No plantation can boast of such perfect obedience to executive will, as can be found under our factory despotism. Here, so pecuniarily dependent is the operative, that no greater calamity could befall him than to be commanded to "run away." The privilege of laboring fifteen hours per day, from childhood to old age, for nothing, in reality, but the pay of a slave or the reward of a horse, awakens the humblest gratitude. "Was I not allowed to work, and to give my employers all I produced over a scanty subsistence? And were not some of my fellows "turned loose" into the streets, when they stuck for higher wages, and never permitted to have any thing to do afterwards? And shall I be ungrateful? Have I not good and sufficient reasons for being obedient?" Certainly! certainly!

Is not the very principle of slavery involved in the system of hired labor? For a day, a month, or a year, the operative absolutely sells himself. He agrees to sacrifice his own right of private judgment—to annihilate his own voluntary agency—to put himself under the control of another individual, into the leading-strings of another man's mind, become the passive instrument of another man's will, and make his time, his limbs, muscles, and soul, another man's property. He resigns his individuality. He mantains no longer a separate existence, but becomes the appendage or circumstance of an external controlling power. He is a slave.

In conversation upon this point a few days since, a gentleman questioned the correctness of this position, and spoke of the lawyer in the employment of his client, as an illustration of the freedom of hired labor. And the case is directly to the point, though it but illy serves the purpose for which it was adduced. By the sanctity of an oath, the lawyer swears adherance to the interests of his employer, just or unjust, conscience or no conscience. Has he committed a crime? he is under legal obligations to do all he can to prove him innocent. He becomes himself a criminal if he does not use his utmost endeavors to shield the criminal from justice. The lawyer is a hired tool, with no more freedom than the veriest slave.

And but little better is the hireling minister. Rumsellers hire him to preach the *gospel* and explain "hard texts," not to "dabble with temperance" and destroy their business. Slaveholders employ him to save souls, raise money to send the gospel to the heathen, and tell their servants to be obedient to their masters, not to open the prison doors, break every yoke, and proclaim deliverence to the captive. Retired bankrupts hire him to prove their salvation, and preach against petty larceny, or against sin in such a general sense, that it pleases even the devil; not to tell them they are legal highwaymen, robbers of God's poor, and more worthy the Penitentiary than half of its inmates. "You must be *good*. It is a *good* thing to be *good*. *Good* men are always *good*. I exhort you, therefore, to be *good*." "*Sin* not, my friendly hearers. It is naughty to *sin*. *Sin* is the cause of all our evils. I pray you abstain from *sin*, as far as *expedient*"

Other than their position as hirelings, what reason can be given why the clergy of our country, as a general rule, have preached upon every thing but the specific sins of the people, and been the last in every reform? Would they temporise, concede, evade, and cover up the truth, if they had no sinner to please, no salary to save? To be hired is to be a slave, whether in a factory, the forum, or the pulpit.

The hired system of labor does not confine its servitude to the specific business in which one is employed. 'Tis such a favor to be allowed to work for a man, that, of course, we are under obligation not only to yield strict industrial obedience, but also not to "*vote* against his interest," nor to support a rival church. A mass of facts under this

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head might be adduced, demonstrating that political and religious slavery are incident to the hired system of labor.

In a certain commercial town of this State, there lives a man extensively engaged in ship-building, who, at different kinds of labor connected therewith, gives employment to a very large number of men. In 1842, report says, he became offended with some of his political leaders, and just before election was very officious in circulating Liberty party tracts. At that canvass, there was a gain for the Liberty party, in that town, of 130 votes. At the next annual caucus, the gentleman of "property and standing" used his influence in behalf of his old "men and measures." Election came, and the Whig party had its accustomed number of votes. And this is American freedom—the fruits of our glorious right of suffrage. Native Americans, ye need no new party. Our country is *safe* while the hired system of labor prevails.

Hired slavery has also its atrocious punishments. It is rarely so brutal as to inflict physical tortures with the Cain-like bludgeon or the gory lash; though on the decks of our naval and merchant vessels, the degrading practice of "flogging" is still kept up; and in Fall River, and some few *factory hells* of our country, the operatives are beaten, and bruised, and kicked about like vicious dogs. (So says the Fall River Mechanic.) But if the servile whip is not generally used, the lash is applied in another way.

With the majority of the laboring population, the command to "*work*," and work for the wages the employer is pleased to pay, must be obeyed, under penalty of seeing loved ones condemned to misery and want. Monopoly has taken the right of labor away, and made them dependent, for the means of subsistence, upon the caprice of the lordly few. At any day, they may be turned out of employment, out of the houses they rent, out of the stores where they purchase their living, and *out of the world*. There is no security for the future. "Life hangs in doubt before them." And, Heaven knows, I would sooner welcome the flaying scourge, till the blood runs down in a pool at my heels, than see those whom I love pining in want and wretchedness. Such are the means of tyranny in the hands of individual and corporate employers. Theirs is a *lash* that may be laid upon the soul, till the heart bleeds for very anguish, and till the eyes are a fountain of tears.

Hired men and women generally are *despised* as slaves, and *treated* as slaves. They are considered unfit to associate with the do-nothings that live upon the fruits of their industry. The miss of the parlor and piano would consider herself degraded by the society of the mechanic or farmer, upon whose labor she lived.

A plebeian governor of this commonwealth, in old republican times (long since past), was visited by certain *exquisites* from the city, whom he invited to dine with his family. They were very much offended because his hired men were permitted to sit at table with them, and bitterly complained of their ill treatment to the good woman of the house. She acknowledged the wrong, and remarked that she and her husband had conversed upon the subject, and came to the conclusion that, in strict justice, the laborer, who had earned his living, should eat *first, and be served at table by the non-producers;* and that the next time they came, *justice* should be done them.

Now, however, governors, ministers, lawyers, bankrupts, gamblers, and loafers, don't often disgrace themselves by permitting their help to eat at their tables, [or disgrace their help, I should have said]. The domestic eats alone in the kitchen, where she is imprisoned. She never enters the parlor, unless it be in the capacity of *waiter*. She is denied all social intercourse with the family, and is considered the lawful prey of every graceless libertine. She is a slave. She is criminally guilty of laboring for her bread, and is therefore despised. Truly, this is a free country. All men are created equal, and are endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are death, slavery, and the pursuit of wretchedness.

The system of wages is false in other respects. It professes to pay the laborer an equivalent for his industry. And if what a man creates is his own against the universe, the laborer should have the wealth of the country in his own hands. So far from this, idleness has waxed fat, and industry begs for its daily bread. The employer, who sits at ease with his family, feeds on the fatted calf, and is clothed in purple and fine linen, heaps up his piles of shining dust. The employed, who toil so early and late that they scarcely see and know their own children, are pursued with lean and bony phantoms of want, and dogged with anxious fears of a pennyless, homeless future. The laborer does not receive the equivalent for his labor. Wages are therefore a falsehood, a cheat, a robbery. 'Twere better to work for nothing, to refuse altogether the miserable pittance *called* pay, and to demand support as an inalienable right, than to accept under the name of wages a mere nominal equivalent for industry, scarcely sufficient to feed one comfortably from day to day. It matters not though a hired laborer may have produced for his employer thousands of dollars more than his wages amount to, if he has been *paid* (?) every Saturday night, 'tis thought all responsibility is discharged. The idler who has robbed him of the productions of a life, could *conscientiously* see him die of starvation, or his family driven to the poor-house. Away with your system of wages! The wealth of the country belongs to those who do the country's work, and the lazy monopolist who absorbs it is no better than a robber and an industrial pirate.—*Boston Social Reformer.*

ASSOCIATION IN FALL RIVER.

The friends of Association met at Mechanics' Hall on Tuesday evening and organized a Society by adopting the following Preamble and Constitution:—

PREAMBLE.

Man is a progressive being. Society must therefore be progressive. History demonstrates this fact. And the present Social System being productive of great inequalities and misery, must therefore give place to something better. And the system of Association, professing to be that better thing, the undersigned agree to unite together for the investigation of the same, with a view to its practical adoption, and for the more orderly conduct thereof, ordain the following

CONSTITUTION.

Art. 1. This society shall be called THE SOCIETY OF INQUIRY INTO THE SCIENCE OF ASSOCIATION.

Art. 2. The officers of this society shall be a President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall perform the usual duties of such officers.

Art. 3. This Constitution may be amended at any regular meeting of the Society.

It will be seen that the object of this Society is to acquire and disseminate information upon a subject that is now engaging the attention of some of the strongest and best minds of the country—we wish them abundant success. Their meetings are open to all. The ladies are particularly invited to attend.—[F. River Mechanic.

NEW ENGLAND FOURIER SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting of the New England Fourier Society, will be held in Boston, on Wednesday, January 15, 1845, at 10 o'clock A. M. A general attendance of the friends of Association is earnestly requested.

GEO. RIPLEY, Pres't.
JOHN ALLEN, Sec'y.

CALL

Of the Executive Committee of the New England Fourier Society, to the friends of Social Reform and Progress throughout the United States.

Brothers and friends,—We wish your attendance to our first Annual Meeting, to be holden in the city of Boston, on Wednesday, the 15th day of January, 1845.

The time has arrived for a closer union with each other, for the attainment of that wisdom which is the fruit of combined counsels, of that strength which proceeds from unity of purpose, and a common devotion to a noble cause.

The interest in the principles of Association which has been awakened during the past year, the deep and ready enthusiasm with which this integral reform has been welcomed by the wise, the earnest, the hopeful in all classes of society,—the increasing discontent, so profoundly felt, so loudly expressed, with the present organization of industry,—the demand, on the part of the working classes for those guarantees, which are essential to the development of human nature, which are justly claimed as a portion of the inalienable birthright of man,—the spirit of anxious inquiry which has been aroused so extensively among the most intelligent and conscientious men in the more favored classes, as to their own personal obligations to strive for the realization of a better order of society,—the deep conviction of many, and the resistless presentiment of others, that a new age is about to open upon the world, an age of justice, truth, and fraternal co-operation, instead of the present systemof selfishness, deception, and heartless competition, the bitter experience that political struggles and partial reforms, are inadequate to meet the stern uncompromising demands of Humanity for a complete emancipation from oppression and wrong, for a speedy and effectual restoration to its inborn rights;—all these sig cant

facts in the aspect of the times, prompts us to issue our earnest summons to our brethren, to all who sympathise with us in our principles and our purposes, to aid us by their presence on the approaching anniversary, to instruct us by their counsels, to inspire us with their zeal, to share with us their hopes, and to engage with us in the measures which faithful and friendly deliberation may suggest as best adapted to the exigencies of the times, and the progress of the peaceful social revolution, which by the organization of industry, in accordance with universal laws, is to confer the richest blessings on the whole family of man.

Let the friends of industrial reform, everywhere, be with us then on this occasion. Let those who look for a higher social good, than any political triumphs can achieve, be with us in our councils. Let the workingmen of our land come to the discussion of methods, that promise to make labor attractive, and to guarantee to the laborer his rights. Let our men of wealth unite in the furtherance of a plan which shall combine industry and capital in amicable relations, and destroy for ever the growing feud between the rich and the poor. Let us welcome to our first annual gathering, all those true and dear friends with whom we have labored in common for the cause of reform, all those who have faith in a future condition of humanity, more just, more happy, more lovely, more divine, than the present; all those who are watching for the dawn of a brighter day, in the serene and cheerful hope that the harmonies of Nature, as displayed in the material universe, are to be triumphantly reproduced in the divine order and beauty of human society.

Executive Committee.

Oliver Johnson, John Sawyer,
Rebecca B. Codman, J. Butterfield,
J. K. Porter, Josiah Walcott,
Henry P. Trask, Henry W. Williams,
Mary A. W. Johnson, John Allen,
Frederick S. Cabot.

Editors friendly to the Association movement will confer a favor by giving the above notice one or two insertions in their respective papers.

Boston, Nov. 1844.

THE SOUTH-WESTERN FARMER.—The prospectus of the fourth volume of this excellent *agricultural journal* has been received; and if by directing the attention of our friends to it, as the medium of valuable information to the cultivator of the earth, as well as the most liberal and advanced ideas on all subjects, we can aid it in obtaining a well-merited support, we shall be most happy. Mr. N. G. North, the principal editor, has warmly espoused the doctrines of Association, and we look to his judicious advocacy of them with much solicitude. We need such advocates in the South, and should help to sustain them. The paper is to be published in the form of an *octavo* of 16 pages. Terms, $8 per annum for single subscribers; $5 for two subscribers. Address N. G. North, Raymond, Mississippi.

☞ The friends of Association should now everywhere prepare for an active and vigorous propagation of our doctrines. The political storm which has darkened the horizon for a period, has now happily blown over; the mists of delusion which have beclouded the minds of the people will soon be entirely dissipated; calm and cool reflection will succeed the fever of political excitement; and we may reasonably hope once more for a favorable hearing from the bewildered and misguided people. Let us rally all our forces, and enter upon a grand and brilliant campaign against the powers of evil which desolate the social world. Come, friends, let us unite bravely in the work of social reform, and we shall soon reap an abundant and glorious harvest.

POSTSCRIPT.

As our paper did not get to press until after the arrival of the mail by the Caledonia, we change our announcement of the expected arrival of Mr. Brisbane by that steamer to say that he has been detained until the steamer of the 4th December, by which, as he writes, he will probably return to this country. We regret to state that the cause of his detention was a slight attack of varioloid, from which, at the date of his last letter, the 15th November, he had nearly or quite recovered. He left his room on that day for the first time, and thought he should be well enough to leave Paris for London by the 22nd or 23rd of November. If no further accident has prevented, he is therefore now on the ocean, and will be here about the 20th of this month.

Mr. Brisbane has assiduously employed his time while in Paris in studying, and in examining the unpublished MSS. of Fourier, copies of all the most important parts of which he has obtained. To the student of Social Science and the laws of Universal Unity, these documents left by their immortal author are of inestimable value.

THE LAY OF THE LABORER.

BY T. HOOD.

A SPADE! a rake! a hoe!
A pickaxe, or a bill!
A hook to reap, or a scythe to mow,
A flail, or what you will!
And here's a ready hand
To ply the needful tool,
And skill'd enough, by lessons rough
In Labor's rugged school.

To hedge, or dig the ditch,
To lop or fell the tree,
To lay the swarth on the sultry field,
Or plow the stubborn lea,
The harvest stack to bind,
The wheaten rick to thatch:
And never fear in my pouch to find
The tinder or the match
To a flaming barn or farm
My fancies never ream—
The fire I yearn to kindle and burn
Is on the hearth of home;
Where children huddle and crouch
Through dark long winter days,
Where starving children huddle and crouch
To see the cheerful rays,
A glowing on the haggard cheek,
And not in the haggard's blaze!

To Him whosends a drought
To parch the fields forlorn,
The rain to flood the meadows with mud
The blight to blast the corn—
To Him I leave to guide
The bolt in its crooked path,
To strike the miser's rick, and show
The skies blood-red with wrath.

A spade! a rake! a hoe!
A pickaxe, or a bill!
A hook to reap, or a scythe to mow,
A flail, or what ye will!
The corn to thrash, or the hedge to plash
The market-team to drive,
Or mend the fence by the cover-side,
And leave the game alive.

Ay, only give me work,
And then you need not fear
That I shall snare his Worship's hare,
Or kill his Grace's deer—
Break into his Lordship's house,
To steal the plate so rich,
Or leave the yeoman that had a purse
To welter in a ditch.

Wherever Nature needs,
Wherever Labor calls,
No job I'll shirk of the hardest work,
To shun the Workhouse walls;
Where savage laws begrudge
The pauper babe its breath,
And doom a wife to a widow's life
Before her partner's death.

My only claim is this,
With labor stiff and stark,
By lawful turn my living to earn,
Between the light and dark—
My daily bread and nightly bed,
My bacon and drop of beer—
But all from the hand that holds the land
And none from the overseer!

No parish money or loaf,
No pauper badge for me,
A son of the soil, by right of toil,
Entitled to my fee.
No alms I ask, give me my task:
Here are the arm, the leg,
The strength, the sinews of a man,
To work, and not to beg.

Still one of Adam's heirs,
Though doomed by chance of birth
To dress so mean, and to eat the lean
Instead of the fat of the earth;
To make such humble meals
As honest labor can,
A bone and a crust, with grace to God,
And little thanks to man!

A spade! a rake! a hoe!
A pickaxe, or a bill!
A hook to reap, or a scythe to mow,
A flail, or what ye will!
Whatever the tool to ply,
Here is a willing drudge,
With muscle and limb—and wo to him
Who does their pay begrudge!

Who every weekly score,
Decks labor's little mite,
Bestows on the poor at the temple-door,
But robb'd them over-night.
The very shilling he hoped to save,
As health and morals fail,
Shall visit me in the New Bastile,
The Spital or the Gaol!

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SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS UNITY.

SOCIAL PROGRESS.—SOCIAL REFORM UPON CONSERVATIVE PRINCIPLES.

THE PHALANX:

ORGAN OF THE

DOCTRINE OF ASSOCIATION.

SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.

ASSOCIATION, ATTRACTIVE INDUSTRY, UNITY OF INTERESTS.

OUR EVILS ARE SOCIAL, NOT POLITICAL, AND A SOCIAL REFORM ONLY CAN ERADICATE THEM.

J. WINCHESTER, PUBLISHER, 30 ANN-ST. TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM, IN ADVANCE.

VOLUME I. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1844. NUMBER 21

CONVENTION OF THE NEW ENGLAND FOURIER SOCIETY.

The first Annual Meeting of the New England Fourier Society was held on Wednesday, January 15th, 1845, at Boston, Mass. At 10 o'clock, A. M., the meeting was called to order by the President, Mr. GEORGE RIPLEY, whereupon the Society proceeded to business by appointing Mr. Charles A. Dana, Secretary, *pro tem.*, and Mr. John Sawyer, Assistant Secretary, *pro tem.*

The Treasurer made a Report for the past year, showing a small excess of expenditure over the receipts, which was adopted.

Messrs. J. S. Dwight, S. C. Hewitt, and John Allen, were appointed a Committee to nominate officers of the Society for the ensuing year; the following persons were reported and elected, viz: for

President,

GEORGE RIPLEY, West Roxbury, Mass.

Vice Presidents,

FRANCIS G. SHAW, West Roxbury, Mass.
GEORGE W. BENSON, Northampton, do.
WILLIAM BASSETT, Lynn, do.
S. C. HEWITT, Dighton, do.

Recording Secretary.

JONATHAN BUTTERFIELD, West Roxbury, Mass.

Corresponding Secretary.

JOHN ALLEN, Boston, Mass.

Treasurer.

JOHN SAWYER, West Roxbury, Mass.

Executive Committee.

JOHN ALLEN,	Boston,	Mass.	J. K. P. PORTER,	Boston,	Mass.
G. C. JOSLYN,	do	do	WM. A. WHITE,	Watertown,	do
G. C. LEACH,	do	do	JOHN S. DWIGHT,	W. Roxb'y,	do
JOSIAH WOLCOTT,	do	do	JOHN SAWYER,	do	do
JOSEPH CAREW,	do	do	F. S. CABOT,	do	do

When the business of the Society was finished the President stated that a Call had been published for holding a Convention, which, as the time had come, he would read. After the call was read, Mr. Dana moved that all persons interested in the objects of the meeting as expressed in the call, should be invited to participate in the deliberations of the Convention, which was agreed to.

The Society then resolved itself into a Convention, which continued its session for two days, and on Thursday evening, the 16th January, adjourned *sine die.*

A resolution was adopted fixing the times of meeting during the sitting of the Convention, at 10 A. M., 2 P. M., and 7 P. M., and of adjournment at 12 M., 5½ P. M., and 10 P. M.

The following gentlemen were appointed a Business Committee, viz: William H. Channing, J. S. Dwight, J. K. P. Porter, S. C. Hewitt, John Allen, and Albert Brisbane; and John Allen, F. S. Cabot, and W. A. White, were appointed a Committee on the Roll.

William H. Channing, Chairman of the Business Committee, reported the preamble, and the first of the following series of resolutions, which he illustrated and supported by an able address. The remaining resolutions were reported from time to time, and after a discussion, in which various gentlemen took an active and earnest part, and a thorough exposition of the principles and doctrines on which the resolutions were based, the whole were adopted by the Convention.

PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTIONS.

Whereas, The Nation of the United States, by providential events which planted it in this new land—by the religious and social convictions of freedom, which its founders brought from Christian Europe, in the era of its most earnest longing for a higher condition of humanity—by the principles of its Declaration of Independence, and its National and State Constitutions, in which it has announced to the world its end and aim—and finally, by the spirit of Humanity and Liberty which, under the influence of Christianity and modern Civilization, destines it to manifest before the Nations of the Earth, the possibility and reality of a Brotherhood of Freemen, united by Justice, and of multitudes made ONE by Love. And

Whereas, Our crowded penitentiaries—our numerous poor-houses in city and country—our inhuman slavery of the Colored race at the South, andour systems of drudging, oppressive, monotonous, unequal, and ill-requited labor of the North—our imperfect opportunities of moral and intellectual culture of the mass—our spirit of Caste pervading all social relations and intercourse—the indiscriminate distribution of social honors—the narrow sphere allowed to the exercise of Woman's energies, and the partial protection of her civil and social rights—prove how imperfectly, as yet, acknowledged principles are carried into practice. And

Whereas, Our religious desires for Lives made Holy in all details of duty, and for a Charity co-extensive with all social relations—our rapidly multiplying and increasing reforms in every department of social existence—the desire, everywhere strengthening, to raise up all men of all classes to intelligence, virtue, prosperity, and co-operation, prove that the *will* is not wanting, but only a clear knowledge of the *way* to establish Universal Unity in our own nation and among all nations, and so introducing, with God's blessing, the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth; it is

1. *Resolved*, That the attempt now being made to organize Society upon the basis of United Interests, according to the laws of Divine Order which Social Science reveals, deserves the hearty sympathy and co-operation of Capitalists, the Friends of Humanity, the Men of Genius and Science, and the Hopeful and Truthful Servants of God.

2. *Resolved*, That the Social Reform now needed, and the only thing that can be called a Social Reform, must guarantee to every man, woman, and child, these four indispensable things, viz:

First, The right to Labor; *Second*, A just distribution of the fruits of labor; *Third*, Integral Education, or equal chances to all for the development of their whole nature, physical, social, intellectual and moral; and, *Fourth*, Social position, based on character and services, and not on accidental fortune only.

3. *Resolved*, That there can be no Reform in Industry, and hence none in the condition of the laboring classes, unless Labor is rendered ATTRACTIVE; which can be effected only by such an organization of Industry, as shall secure the following conditions, viz:

First. Free choice of varied occupation; *Second.* The opportunity of friendly union and coöperation in the place of lonely isolation, and antagonism of interests; *Third.* A complete adaptation of the material apparatus of Industry—its workshops, implements, and working dresses—to the wants and desires of man's nature; *Fourth.* An equitable division of profits.

4. *Resolved*, That this Reform is altogether pacific, moral, and religious in its character; *First*, It brings capital and labor into

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friendly relations; *Second.* It gives to individual action and character that freedom and equipoise which they can only have under the equal pressure of a pure and high public opinion; *Third.* It guarantees religious liberty to all.

5. *Resolved,* That we deeply sympathize with the movement of the "Workingmen;" its notes of preparation, full of truth no longer to be hidden, of earnestness that cannot be put back, and of hope that must forever triumph, salute us now on every side; while we know, that succeed they *must* in some way, we would, in the best spirit of brotherly coöperation, commend to them the Associative movement, as what we believe to be the destined road to every thing they seek.

6. *Resolved,* That the United States of America present unparralleled opportunities for effecting a Social Reform; that the intelligence, independence and love of liberty, which characterize the great body of the people, are a providential preparation, fitting the Nation to take the lead in the advance of the race toward its Destiny; that freed, in a great degree, from the power and oppression of feudal institutions and priviledged classes, from the deeply rooted prejudices of time honored customs, from the benumbing influence of blind and selfish conservatism, the people of these United States are afforded the signal and high honor of being the pioneer among the Nations of the Earth in the great work of Social Reform and Human Elevation, and that these peculiarly favorable opportunities impose upon this nation, and this people, responsibilities and duties, the fulfilment of which can neither be evaded nor postponed.

7. *Resolved,* That we cannot too strongly urge the importance of abstaining from practical attempts at Association with insufficient means, and of concentrating all available resources on existing institutions.

8. *Resolved,* That in the initiation of an Associated life, no amount of capital to start with, no degree of industrial skill or prowess, can at all compensate for the want of two indispensable conditions of success, viz: *First,* A comprehensive and thorough acquaintance, on the part of its founders, with the Theory or Science of Social Harmony; and, *Second,* A most careful selection of harmonious elements in the personal character of its members.

9. *Resolved,* That although we believe that the comprehensive genius of Charles Fourier has discovered the true Laws of Social Harmony, we welcome every movement which has for its object the remedy of social evils by combined action.

10. *Resolved.* That we recommend to the friends of the movement to promote our principles of Reform by the organization of Societies, the establishment of Lectures, and the support of publications.

After the adoption of the above resolutions, Mr. O. Macdaniel, of New York, offered the following:

Resolved, That this Convention feels the deepest solicitude for the success of all the attempts which have been commenced in this country for the purpose of realizing practically the idea of Association, and entertains the hope that they may overcome every obstacle triumphantly; yet, while this friendly sympathy is felt toward all the infant communities in existence, those which do not recognize the system of Charles Fourier, as well as those which accept entirely and endeavor as far as possible to carry into practice its principles, this Convention regards with peculiar interest the Brook Farm Association, which presents a bright promise of success and affords a healthy germ of that Divine Social Order that is soon to replace the societies of discord and suffering now existing on earth; and believing that the successful establishment of one Model Phalanx is the surest means of hastening the era of this glorious transformation, this Convention recommends to the Associationists of the United States, as far as is consistent with other interests and connexions, to concentrate and direct their efforts, and apply their means and energies to the building up of the Brook Farm Association.

In the afternoon session of Wednesday, Mr. Pearson, of New York, presented himself as a Representative of the National Reform Association of that city, and offered a preamble and resolution relating to the public lands, which, after respectful consideration, were referred to a committee consisting of Messrs. Ripley of West Roxbury, Mass., and Brisbane and Godwin of the city of New York, to report upon at some future time through the columns of the *Phalanx.* (The Report will probably appear in our next number.)

Dr. Nelson of Fall River, Mass., also presented himself as a delegate from a Society of the Workingmen of that place. Dr. Nelson made an interesting statement of the condition of the operatives in his own and other manufacturing places which he said was daily becoming more deplorable; he represented the *ten hour* system of reform as proving itself to be entirely inefficient as a remedy for the evils of the laboring classes, and in fact a complete *failure;* the few hours of leisure per day which the laborer might gain was of little advantage to him in his present situation, but the attempt to obtain even the relief of a trifling cessation from his arduous toil only brought upon him greater evil; for there were always needy fellow-laborers ready to comply with the demands of the employer and fill his place, and thereby throw him out of employment. This had been the effect of the working of the ten hour reform at Fall River; and it had become evident to the Workingmen that some more thorough reform was required; they were turning their attention to the subject of Association as their only hope, and he, Dr. Nelson, had been deputed to attend the New England Fourier Convention to obtain advice and information as to the best way for the Workingmen to proceed. In reference to the wishes of the Workingmen the following resolution was introduced by Mr. S. C. Hewitt and adopted by the Convention:

Whereas the Society of Inquiry of Fall River has expressed through its delegate a desire to aid worthy and efficient individuals, who are without capital, in entering some established Association, by the formation of a society which shall raise funds to be applied to the purchase of such an amount of stock of an Association as may be necessary for admission, which stock, together with the interest thereon, shall be secured to the Society to be converted into cash when convenient, and again applied in the same manner in behalf of other individuals, therefore,

Resolved, That this Convention receive the suggestion of their Fall River friends with much pleasure, and recommend the formation of societies with similar objects in all places where it is practicable.

On Thursday evening, Mr. Charles A. Dana, in behalf of the Executive Committee of the New England Fourier Society, introduced and read the following

REPORT.

Gentlemen of the New-England Fourier Society!

At this, the first anniversary of our Society, the Executive Committee have thought it incumbent upon them to lay before you a statement of the principles to the dissemination and practical establishment of which we are devoted, as well as to give a brief account of the present condition and prospects of Humanity, and of the means and measures which can now be employed for the attainment of our purpose.

We say the condition and prospects of Humanity, because it is no less an interest than that of the whole race which we have in view. This is a consideration which cannot be too often recalled to our minds or too deeply impressed upon them. Our work is universal. It is not in behalf of any fragment of mankind, not for any purpose of partial benevolence, not for the accomplishment of any limited or temporary design that we have united ourselves, or that this meeting is here assembled.

It is the glory of this age, that in it the idea of Humanity, of the collective Unity of Man, has arisen, and that the truth is revealed that we are not unconnected and lonely individuals, but are held together by vital and inseparable bonds. For it cannot be that Man is an exception, or that there are any exceptions to that law whereby all individuals, however complex, are only the elements and members of higher unities. We do not, then, aim at an imaginary and impossible thing, when we labor for the good of Humanity, but at what is highest, noblest, and worthiest of a Man.

And as our efforts do not look to local or partial results as their end, so they are not limited by any narrow period of time. They are for the whole of Humanity, in all the stages of its long career upon the Earth; they are for the fulfilment of Man's Destiny and God's purposes.

Thus it is that we would endeavor to obey that precept of the Gospel—"Love thy Neighbor," in its highest and most universal sense, and with a knowledge of the Laws of Divine Providence, consciously and humbly co-operate with the Deity in the execution of his designs.

For we wish to have it distinctly understood, that we have not the slightest sympathy with that ignorant and insensate unbelief which supposes that even if there be a Divine Providence, it does not extend to the concerns of Human Society—or with that half-faith, which, quite as ignorantly, wraps the Destiny of Man in impenetrable mystery, and affirms that evil and sorrow are the perpetual mis

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tresses of the world and vice-gerents of God. Though all History appear to be, as it has been called, the epoch of one degradation, containing little else than the record of vice and misery, the triumph of depraved and furious passions, innocence and wisdom overborne by cunning and violence, celestial goodness slain by infernal hate, and though in the present the picture seems to be varied but not essentially changed, Might still trampling upon Right, and Fraud and Injustice everywhere celebrating their impudent successes—we do not hesitate to affirm that there is an Order ruling in this terrific confusion, and that in the very bosom of the putrid chaos at which those who ought to be our leaders look with fright and despair, are prepared the germs of that secure individual, social, and political condition which it is our duty even now to foretell and usher in. What matter if philosophy, lost in metaphysical falsities and sophistical nothings, and faith long ago deceived and plundered, are ready to deny the inmost convictions of the soul? What matter if those who have been charged with the most solemn office—the discovery of Truth—in their failure to solve the fatal problems, of which themselves and all of us pay the forfeit, declare that a solution is impossible, and that the great mass of men are forever doomed to the same wretched and pitiable existence? What matter even if the teachers of a religion which ought never to have been polluted by such blasphemous scepticism, dare to say that the benevolent and all-wise Creator has appointed this world and its inhabitants, with their almost infinite capacities for joy and goodness, to perpetual misfortune and suffering? We ought only the more earnestly and immoveably to protest against such errors, and to stand firm on those original intuitions which the heart, in every glow of enthusiasm, instinctively renews and clings to, in spite of the bewilderment of the understanding. There *is* for Man a higher and nobler Destiny on Earth; there *is* a divinely ordained social order of Justice, and Unsullied Honor, and Spiritual Beauty; there *is* for the nations a future of Universal Peace and Unity.

"This is all fine," say the sceptics, "it is beautiful: would to God it were now real. But it is too good by far, it is impracticable, it is impossible." No, it is not too good; it cannot be so. Can anything be too good for God to bestow upon his immortal children? Observe the magnificent abode he has prepared for us. See the beauty with which it is decked, and the means of comfort and happiness it is furnished with. Mark too, the wonderful balances and influences whereby Nature is maintained in harmonious order. Is it possible that so abundant an outlay of the Universal Energies has been made for no results more perfect than those we now see attained? And then, too, look at Man. To what end these restless powers of mind, and these yearning affections? To what end these irrepressible aspirations and hopes? To what end this perpetual discontent, this longing for a good ever ideal and unattained?

And in the past, which shallow philosophers flippantly call a failure, what mean those noble and divine spirits that have now and then appeared? What heroism, what chivalrous purity, what greatness of heart and mind, what devoted love to Man, and what saintly obedience to God! What are these but morning stars heralding the day, all prophetic of its meridian splendor; glorious themselves, announcing a crowning glory that is yet to come? For, can any sober mind imagine that the faculties of the Human Mind are always to be wasted, or that the inborn necessities of the Heart are never to be supplied? Can any sane mind believe that the magnificence of Nature is designed only for uselessness, or that the great examples of the past have been given only to inform us of a greatness that we can never reach? Can it be supposed that the Wisdom which has so prodigally cared for the bodily necessities of Man, and has so wonderfully adapted his physical organization to the natural world for which it is designed, has omitted to adapt his moral and spiritual organization to some social world which our politicians and wise men have not yet discovered, for which it is designed and in which alone it can attain its true end? It is a sad and striking fact, that Men can be found, and those, too, men of sense and learning, who maintain such absurd propositions, and that the majority of the world blindly follow them. So much the more needful, therefore, it is that juster ideas should be promulgated, and the public mind, if possible, made acquainted with a wiser and more religious faith.

The primary article of our creed is *Integral Faith in God and in the Universality of His Providence.* We believe that he has created and ordered the Universe in Infinite Goodness and Wisdom, and all things whatsoever it contains from the least to the greatest, both as to what is general and as to what is particular, and that nothing has been overlooked by Him, but that everything is always from first to last entirely subject to His omniscient care. We believe that as the Universe is the Creation of Infinite Goodness and Wisdom, so it is created in the most perfect form and order, and that this form and order can be no other than that of the Divine Nature itself, because it would be impossible for the Divine Being to create anything in any other order, wherefore the Universe is rightly called the image of God. And as the Universe is formed according to the order of the Divine Nature, so also the smaller Universes or first elements which make up the boundless whole, are formed according to the same, only in an inferior and less infinite degree, and thus down to the least things in Nature, even to those that from their minuteness are imperceptible to our sight. Moreover, this universal and only order is not absolutely the same in all things, but, according to its own principles, is varied in the different spheres of Creation, so that it exists in infinitely graduated ascending and descending degrees of difference, which differences constitute the individual characteristics of particular things, so that while each is formed according to laws common to all, each, by virtue of those very laws, contains somewhat that is peculiar to itself. Now, as in the great Universe, this Divine order, which we term the order of Series, exists in ascending and descending graduations, it also exists in the same manner; that is, in ascending and descending graduations in everything whatsoever; it is, moreover, the primary object of science, and the application and evolution of its laws, the only certain method of investigation in every sphere of science.

Since the Series is the order of all life and nature, modified throughout, according to unvarying laws, it is plain that there exists a law of Universal analogy or correspondence, and that knowing these general laws of modification, we may legitimately reason from one branch of study to another, as from the natural to the spiritual, and, *vice versâ*, from the infinitely great to the infinitely small, from the solar system and its laws to human life and its laws, and especially from the individual to the species or genus, and thus, by sure steps, proceed from the known to the unknown.

Now, the Law of the Series has been discovered in many degrees, and by its application in two or three spheres of science only, a flood of light has been shed upon our ideas of God and the Universe, the Nature and Destiny of Man and the course of the Divine Providence, in comparison with which the wisdom of all the philosophers and theologians from the beginning of thought until now, seems like the guessing of children.

It is evident, then, that the career of Humanity, as well as its elements, such as the lives of Nations, communities, and individuals, and the succession of different orders of society, such as Savagism, Barbarism, Civilization, etc., must be disposed in Series, or else the Providence of God, which acts through and according to this order, and not otherwise, is not universal; though, as was said above, one who looks superficially at the life of Humanity hitherto, as well as at the present state of Society, could hardly see any principle of Divine order in either. This apparent anomaly we will now endeavor very briefly to explain:

All created things pass through successive periods of embryotic formation, birth, infancy, and growth, toward complete maturity, which periods of organization and developement always bear a fixed and definite proportion to each other and to the whole, of which they are a part. From the almost inconceivable grandeur of the starry Universe down to a blade of grass or the minutest insect, everything is subject to this law, which, be it observed, is no other than that law of ascending and descending graduation or progression, the ground of which we have set forth. In the first processes of formation, we always behold disorder and struggle, and except our sight penetrate beneath the surface, and detect the vital principle, as one by one it subdues and subordinates the elements of its future structure, we might suppose the whole to be only a chaotic mass, without law or form. And even after the new creation has assumed its ultimate form and is completely organized, periods of comparative weakness await it, during which it slowly approaches its mature vigor. From this law Humanity could by no means be exempt. It also has had its times of embryotic formation, of birth, of infantile weakness, and of slow and painful growth. These are the past and present ages of ignorance, of war, of falsehood, of infidelity, and of disease. It also approaches the bloom of its youth, and the fullness of its maturity. These are the ages yet to come of wisdom, of peace, of truth, of faith, and of unknown health. Then shall Man fulfil, and more than fulfil the most gorgeous visions that inspired imaginations ever conceived. Think of those glorious periods! Imagine those future ages, when the *Manhood* of the *Race* shall have arrived! The Earth, then the fit abode of such a tenant,

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girdled with serene and genial climates, rich in new creations of unknown worth and beauty in all the kingdoms of Nature, will be covered with the splendid achievements of peaceful Industry! Then beings of such beauty of person, and such grandeur, and tenderness, and symmetry of character, will inhabit the world that Men will seem never before to have been born! Then the sublime Order of the Universe will be completely manifest in man, who in that harmonious and blessed condition, will behold the truest evidences of his Father's Love. Then will Religion appear in all her heavenly radiance. No longer robed in sackcloth, with psalms of penitential sorrow, but beautiful with joy, offering the sacrifices of boundless faith and gratitude.

"The wilderness and solitary place shall be glad,
And the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose,
It shall blossom abundantly,
And rejoice even with joy and singing.
In the wilderness shall waters break forth,
And streams in the desert,
And the parched ground shall become a pool,
And the thirsty land springs of water,
And the habitations of dragons, where each lay,
Shall be grass with reeds and rushes.
No lion shall be there.
Nor any ravenous beast shall go up thereon;
It shall not be found there,
But the redeemed shall walk there,
And the ransomed of the Lord shall return,
And come to Zion with songs,
And everlasting joy upon their heads.
They shall obtain joy and gladness,
And sorrow and sighing shall flee away."

This we believe to be the destiny of Man; this belief is founded, not only on the grounds we have endeavored to demonstrate, but also on many other considerations.

Thus, then, we recognize the law of progressive developement as the law of humanity, and employ it as the interpreter of the past, and as our guide and prophet for the present and future. In the light of this law the phenomena of Human History, and the movements of the human mind become consistent and intelligible. We see how, in spite of disaster, error, and failure, they all tend to the grand results of which we have spoken. Let us look a little more particularly at this progressive developement.

The energies of Man have three great spheres of activity, viz:—Industry, Society, and Science. These are mutually dependant upon each other; but Industry and Society are especially dependant upon Science, which is their appointed guide and director. The developement of these three spheres of activity marks the distinct periods of Human progress, and is the preparation for higher succeeding periods. This developement is remarkable in barbarism, and especially in civilization, the higest existing order of Society. In Civilization, we see the growth of industry in all its branches of agriculture, manufactures, and the elegant and useful arts; and of Society, in the higher tone of moral sentiment, in philanthropic establishments, in the increased purity and freedom of domestic and social relations, and in more liberal political institutions. These improvements are mainly due to Christianity, acting on individuals, though in a social order, whose principles and form are entirely opposed to it. The ultimate design of Christianity will be realized only when Science is brought to the service of Society, and a social order established, in whose form its divine principles can have their full action and effect.

But it is within the last century that the most striking progress has been made, especially in Industry, which has drawn true science almost exclusively to its aid. Consequently, industry, and those branches of science which are subservient to it, have gone forward with unexampled rapidity, while the social mechanism, which has not had the direct benefit of scientific discoveries, has gained comparatively little, and in spite of the endeavors of the Christian spirit, Society has gone sick with most threatening diseases, which now wait to be remedied. Though there has been progress, there has not been integral progress, and partial growth is always unhealthy. This disproportionate developement of Industry, and the kindred sciences, we believe to have been altogether necessary, and founded in the order of things; it results from the universal law of progress. It was essential to the introduction of the new social order, which is to succeed civilization, that these conquests of material nature should be made, and the means of unbounded general wealth prepared, and accordingly it has been done. And now, when this work is accomplished, science has arisen in behalf of society, and the means of integral progress put into the hands of Man. This consists in the discoveries of the universal laws of order, and of the peculiar forms in which they are to be manifested by Humanity in Industry, Society and Science—that is, of a true social organization, for which, under God, we are indebted to CHARLES FOURIER. It is then plain that we do not overlook the past, or propose to throw away anything that it has gained. We wish only to take up the great work of Human progress where the past has left it. There has been industrial progress. By the scientific organization of Industry, we would carry it infinitely farther, and give it a developement which has hardly yet been conceived of. There has been moral progress of individuals and of society. By the formation of a social order, based on the precepts of Christ, we would give a freer scope to the action of the principles he inculcated, and of that Divine Spirit which he sent into the world; at the same time we would secure all that has been attained in the political order, the rights of man, &c., and by the aid of the same great laws, of which we have spoken, advance in this sphere of progress. There has been scientific progress. Here, too, we recognize the worth of past achievements, and pay due honor to the men by whom they have been performed. Here, too, faithful to the law of progress, we would go forward, and, under the guidance of the same principles which direct us in the spheres of industry and social organization, humbly attempt something toward the up-building of Universal Science.

And thus, when Industry—by which we mean art in all its branches, as well as mere labor—has accomplished its object, and surrounded man with beauty and the means of happiness, and when Society is an embodiment of Justice and fraternal kindness, and the laws of universal unity are fully opened to the mind, then the ultimate end of humanity will be realized. Then the soul, brought into harmony with nature, with itself, and with truth, will be prepared to enter into the highest harmony—that is, into harmony with God. Then the great circle of Providence will be completed, and the tendencies which have been working through Industry, Society and Science, on the one hand, and through the religious dispensations and institutions of all time, whereby the highest nature of man has been kept alive, on the other, will meet in the birth of a divine and transfigured Humanity. Then, and not till then, the mission of Jesus will be fulfilled, and that life of God in the soul, for which the wisest and holiest men everywhere long, will be a living reality, and not an aspiration only, and almost despairing hope.

And now to the end that our principles and designs may be clearly understood we will endeavor to state them as distinctly as possible.

First. We devote ourselves to the elevation of the whole Human Race, without distinction of classes or nations, from its present condition of vice, poverty, ignorance and suffering, to a state of general riches, purity, intelligence and happiness. *This is our object.*

Second. We believe in the progressive revelation of Truth to Man in degrees adapted to his condition and intelligence, and under this belief, we endeavor to accept and classify the truths which have been made known by chosen minds during the past, and to use them for the attainment of our object. The progressive revelation of Truth is thus *the rule* whereby we judge the worth of past doctrines.

Third. We accept the Law of Love proclaimed by Christ, and hold it *as our guide.*

Fourth We believe that the discovery of the laws of Universal order made by CHARLES FOURIER, is the grandest achievement of the Human Intellect, and that the system of society he has deduced from them, is the only means of realizing practically the Christian Law of Love, and of giving the highest efficiency to the discoveries and progress of the past. *This is our means of realization.*

Fifth. The final result of all is the establishment of Universal Unity, or of the Kingdom of God on Earth, the Kingdom of Justice, Harmony, and of the indwelling Divine Spirit, in place of universal duplicity, injustice, discord and evil.

Briefly then,

Our object, is the Elevation of the Race.

Our rule, in the judgment of past doctrines and systems, the progressive revelation of truth to Man by God.

Our guide, the Law of Love proclaimed by Christ.

Our means of realization, the system of association discovered by FOURIER.

The result, UNIVERSAL UNITY.

Thus far we have treated the great questions for the discussion of which this meeting is called, in an abstract and general manner.

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We have endeavored to show from universal principles, that great transformations must take place in the condition of man. The same thing may be shown quite as easily, and to the general mind perhaps more forcibly, from the present state of society, and from the intolerable evils with which it abounds.

But as this has already been fully done in many of the publications of the associative school, and especially in the admirable address of the late general convention in New-York, we omit it and pass to the second part of our subject, viz: The present condition and prospects of Humanity.

If our view of Humanity were superficial merely, it would be sad indeed; we might then reckon the world to be only an immense failure, one great misfortune. Nearly three quarters of the globe are sunk in a state of savage or barbarous ignorance and ferocity. Over Asia, Africa, the great Asiatic islands, and a large part of America is spread the most melancholy gloom. Here Man exists only as a higher sort of animal, without intelligence, and without any means of progress. Plainly it is not here that we are to look for the great instruments of Providence in the execution of its plans And if we turn from the savage and barbarous parts of the world to those where real advances have been made, we are struck by the fact, that here poverty, ignorance, and misery are the rule, and independence, happiness, and intelligence the exception, so that we find that not only the larger part of the world is still at an immense remove from that truly human condition which we have spoken of; but that even in the more favored portions, the great majority of individuals are nearly as degraded, and in some respects even more so than those we call savages and barbarians. But let us look a little more closely at the state and prospects of those parts of the civilized world, which are farthest advanced—viz: Europe and the United States.

It is not our design to enter into any detailed analysis of the more general tendencies which are at work in the midst of European institutions. Believing most religiously that the realization of the Combined Order, is the divinely appointed work of the present age, it will be sufficient to show where the greatest facilities are offered for this purpose. In Europe there are almost insuperable obstacles to any radical social movement, of which the following are the more prominent:

First. The poverty and ignorance of the peasantry who compose the great body of the people, who are in the most urgent need of reform, while no appeal in behalf of truth and progress, can be made to them; incapable for the most part of reading, and without any means of instruction; overburthened with toil and absorbed in the lowest cares of material life, no earnest voice can reach them, nor any aspiration be awakened in their minds. This deplorable condition of the people, without whose support and co-operation any general movement is hardly possible, renders it necessary to appeal to the middling and higher classes. But as our experience in this country sufficiently shows us, appeals to any single class are exceedingly slow to take effect, and in Europe where the classes we speak of, are for the most part engaged in operations of personal aggrandisement, their insensibility to elevated ideas is almost inconceivable.

Second. The mean and narrow spirit of the middle classes, whose only thought and endeavor is to escape from falling into the condition of the masses and to achieve fortune and position for themselves. Governed thus only by the most selfish conservatism and by the most limited views on all subjects, they are quite incapable of taking an interest in any question that reaches beyond their own limits.

Third. The strife of the higher classes to maintain their peculiar hereditary privileges, their dread of the people whose instincts and necessities drive them to destructive movements, and their hatred of all innovations which may change existing relations and disturb them in their position.

Fourth. The influence of remaining feudal institutions, which clog in so many ways social progress and all efforts at improvement. The entailment of the soil in the few aristocratic families; the blind and retrogressive spirit which grows out of the long-endurance of a false system, and the routine which old customs and habits fasten upon all, upon the poor as well as the rich.

Fifth. The tyrannical power of governments which interfere in all spheres of political and social life, maintaining the existing order mainly by brute force, and preventing free discussion to a very great extent.

Sixth. The absence of that spirit of Christian benevolence and philanthropy which is roused and kept alive in this country by the numerous independent religious sects, and by the many humane movements which occupy so large a portion of the public attention. A great obstacle is also found in the absence of that spirit of liberty, of free inquiry, and that sense of human rights which, in this country, result from our democratic institutions.

These things, among many others, render the propagation in Europe of principles so broad, so new and so different from prevailing opinions and prejudices as those we advocate, most difficult and slow and to our minds indicate plainly that it is not in Europe that the peculiar instrumentalities of Providence are to be found, or that the great change is first to be effected. Here in the New World, on the soil of America, among this young people, full of hope and vigor, with minds open to every generous thought, and ready for grand enterprises, the sublimest of human labors is to be achieved.

It has been said often enough that the mission of America is to exhibit the spectacle of political liberty and the self-government of intelligent freemen to the world. But we believe that the political liberty we enjoy in this country, bought cheaply too, at almost any cost, is very far from being its ultimate achievement. *That*, is integral *freedom*, the entire enfranchisement of man, and his establishment in more sacred rights than politicians are yet informed of, or any constitutions have guaranteed. The mission of America is to lead in the formation of a social and political order which will do full justice to the nature of man and the laws of God, and which wil spread throughout the world, not with fierce and terrific convulsion and the ruin either of nations or individuals, but peacefully and surely, welcomed by every people with unspeakable gratitude to its Divine Author and to those men of immortal memory by whom it was first discovered and realized.

The immense national advantages of the country—the freedom of thought, speech and action which exists, the general intelligence, the true moral sense, and the desire of the people for progress, and especially the spirit of reform which is so active among many classes are all clear tokens of the designs of Providence, and show us that *here* and *now* is the opportunity and the duty of a great and benign reform.

This is confirmed by the fact that our doctrines have already taken a deep hold on the public mind. It is now about five years since Mr. Brisbane, in his work called the Social Destiny of Man, commenced the associative movement in this country. Since that time it has spread widely and is still spreading. It has also resulted in various attempts at practical association, which are valuable rather as indexes of the public desire and feeling than as exemplifications of the doctrine. They are none of them really entitled to the name of Associations, and neither their failure nor their success upon their present limited scale can be brought as arguments either for or against the system. The associative School, as it does not guarantee their success does not hold itself responsible for their failure. Still it looks upon them all with the most watchful interest and sympathy, and regards them at least as furnishing the most valuable preparatory discipline. These views cannot be unaccompanied by considerations of the most weighty character.

We see that as men we are called to crown all the pains and struggles of Humanity with peace and joy, and to tend and aid the unfolding of that flower which many ages have prepared. As Americans, then, rests upon us the fulfilment of the work so nobly begun by our fathers. Hating arbitrary power and oppression, they judged it better to die than to live, so that liberty might be secured to their country and their posterity. They suffered many hardships, and did many heroic deeds, and left behind them an imperishable monument. It is for us to follow the same path, as it leads into still higher regions, and with more inward and religious heroism, with hearts as unshrinking and aims far grander than theirs, to render to God and Man the great service which it is our privilege to do. We say privilege—but a most solemn responsibility accompanies it. All those who, by the light of the Truth that has been published to the world, or by their own meditations, have faith that a better future awaits mankind, are sacredly bound to devote themselves to the propagation of their convictions, and to the realization of the glorious ideal that now floats before the vision of Humanity.

In speaking of the associative movement in the United States, we must not omit one of the most important events of the past year: the visit of that early, enthusiastic, and faithful servant of the cause, Albert Brisbane, to Europe. Mr. Brisbane was appointed by the General Convention, held in New York, in April, 1844, as a delegate to proceed to France, for the purpose of conferring with the European apostles and leaders of the movement, as to the proper means of effecting a unitary and combined system of propagating our principles in Europe and America, and also for the purpose of

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studying the *MSS.* left by Fourier, and of examining the plans of the edifices of an Association which had been prepared by the associative school of Paris at considerable expense.

Mr. Brisbane left New York on the 17th April, and arrived in Paris on the 16th May, where he was constantly engaged in the objects of his mission until the 26th November. The principal representatives of the school in France were present at Paris. Mr. Doherty, the representative of the English school, was invited to attend, which he did, and a discussion of the interests of the cause and the best means of forwarding it took place. Such measures were adopted as seemed compatible with the present state of the doctrine in Europe and America, and important plans for future development fixed upon.

Mr. Brisbane was received with the greatest friendship and cordiality by the friends at Paris, and every facility for studying and copying the *MSS.* of Fourier and the plans of the edifices was afforded him.

The most important result of his mission, Mr. Brisbane considers the study of the *MSS.* They are quite voluminous, consisting of about 100 regularly bound *MSS.*, containing from one to two hundred pages each, besides three large portfolios, filled with unbound *MSS.*, and separate smaller papers. The great part of the bound *MSS.* was written between the years 1816 and 1824: those in the portfolios appear to have been written mainly between the years 1803 and 1812. Mr. Brisbane read the bound *MSS.*, together with the most important ones contained in the portfolios, and had copies taken of those which were most valuable. He is of opinion that with the aid of these *MSS.*, the associative school of the United States will be able to obtain a clear view of the grand science of Universal Unity, and to establish their doctrines upon a strictly scientific foundation.

And now, in view of the vast and magnificent objects to be realized by the triumph of our principles—the fulfilment of the yearning hopes which in every age have inspired the souls of prophets and sages; the elevation of the most numerous and most degraded portions of society, to secure competency, moral dignity, and the highest social order and harmony; the emancipation of woman from a state of pecuniary independence and trivial anxieties, and her establishment in a position in which the purest and noblest capacities of her nature will be devoted to the refinement, the harmonic action, and the moral exaltation of the whole social state; and the prevalence of Universal peace between those members of the human family whose hearts have been divided by the discords, confusion, and perversion of civilization—we have cause for deep and grateful joy in the resources which are presented in our own age and in this country for their realization. Hitherto we have been preserved from the deep misery and degradation in which such immense masses of our brethren in the old world are struggling. Still the tendency of the present false arrangements of society is to produce the same results everywhere. We are daily approaching the awful consummation which ages of ignorance and selfishness have brought upon many of the fairest countries of Europe, where, by the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, the unequal diffusion of intelligence and the tyrannous power with which a wrong social organization invests the grasping and unprincipled, the great mass of men are deprived of the means of justly developing their nature; are made the prey of intense physical suffering and mental despondency, and are thus defrauded of the essential birthright of Humanity.

But as yet *our* social condition is free from these revolting evils, or they exist only in the germ. We are surrounded with a population accustomed to analyze their own rights and the rights of others, in the possession of so many enjoyments of life as to be able to make a just appreciation of their value, and always susceptible to the deepest impressions from the appeals of justice or mercy to the higher sentiments of their nature. The cry of reform and progress with us does not often fall upon ears entirely sealed. A just and holy cause is sure to enlist in its defence a host of fearless and earnest advocates. Within the bosom of our people there still beats a heart of flesh which throbs responsively with every true pulsation of humanity—which leaps with joy and extatic hope at the manifestation of the divine presence in a noble thought, a wise and generous purpose, a universal idea. The mass of our population are not yet brutified by unrequited, excessive toil; our working men, to an extent elsewhere unequalled, are men of reflection and thought—the hand and the head are not entirely divorced. There is "mind among the spindles" in our factories; there is feeling and intelligence at the forge and the work bench; and here too the laborer walks behind his plough "in glory and in joy." Nor are the interests of capital and labor so widely separated as to forbid the hope of an amicable union. Our men of wealth are not all worshippers of mammon; already do they begin to perceive the injustice of the system which gives a superfluity to a few, while the many are destitute; and they are seeking methods which shall reconcile conflicting claims, and enlarge the sphere of enjoyments which are now subject to monopoly and privilege.

It is on these characteristics of our population that we depend for for the practical triumph of our principles, and the speedy and certain progress of the great cause to which we have devoted our lives. Already have the sublime doctrines of universal unity, as set forth in the writings of Charles Fourier, found an enthusiastic response in the hearts of many, whose opinions are never gained except by the force of evidence, and once formed, are not easily surrendered. Already does the system, which classes its discoverer among those chosen instruments which Providence from time to time selects for the accomplishment of vast good to the human race, number among its advocates scholars of rare gifts and attainments, artists whose life is devoted to communion with the brightest forms of beauty, philosophers whose whole being is wedded to the pursuit of truth, and philanthropists of whom we may reverently affirm that they enable us to understand more clearly the spirit of him, who, in the hour of parting from all earthly ties, uttered forth his soul in prayer for the realization of universal unity. Already do those who have been nurtured in the lap of luxury, and who have been led by the promptings of wisdom and humanity, to earnest aspirations for the welfare of the race, welcome this unitary reform as the pledge of the progress of society to the completion of its destiny. Already do the working classes of our land, conscious of a false position in the arrangements of civilization, aspiring after a more secure enjoyment of their natural rights than is now guaranteed to themselves and their children, impelled by a sense of injustice to demand the restoration of true equality, begin to look to our methods as the only certain remedy of their wrongs.

Already those who have been most earnestly engaged in partial movements of reform begin to suspect that their cherished objects can be obtained only in some grand and comprehensive scheme which shall embrace all the interests of mankind, and thus lay the axe at the very root of social evils. And those, too, who have consecrated themselves to the service of religion are becoming aware of the fact that her divine principles are smothered and hindered by the existing forms of society, and that until they are embodied and exemplified in social institutions they cannot produce their true operation upon individuals.

Such is the condition of the country and of the cause. Such are the resources at our command, and such are our duties and our hopes. It remains to speak briefly of the practical measures which seem proper to adopt. One of the most important, doubtless, is the formation of a class of those persons connected with the school who have time and capacity for scientific researches, for the study of the MSS. of Fourier obtained by Mr. Brisbane, and for the investigation of the profounder problems which occupy the attention of the school. The number of those who can labor in this sphere is of course small, but in the ordinary propagation of the doctrines, every individual can take a part: by conversation, by public lectures, by the formation of societies for inquiry, by the dissemination of books and pamphlets, by watching for every opportunity and wisely improving it, much may be done. Let our principles be published everywhere, on every occasion, through every organ that can be obtained. This, and nothing less than this, is the sacred duty of every Associationist.

But the surest and most effectual method of carrying the cause forward to its ultimate triumph is the concentration of our energies, our means and our best wisdom upon one of the associations already established, and thus enabling it to attain a degree of success which shall answer all doubts and objections, and impregnably fortify our arguments and promises. By this means, much can be accomplished which would be lost, if we should dissipate our strength in fragmentary undertakings. But especially we would urge the friends and adherents of the cause not to think of forming new associations even with quite brilliant advantages. Let them, if possible, engage in some of those which are already in existence, but in no case attempt small movements, which, insufficiently provided with men, money and scientific knowledge, are almost sure to fail. The experience of the year is conclusive upon this point. When we consider that for the right organization of a phalanx, there is needed an immense capital, a large number of persons of refinement, energy, harmonious dispositions and earnest devotion to the cause; and besides these a just application of some of the most occult principles of universa

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science—it seems treason to our ideas to run the risk of failure by proceeding without these elements.

And now, in conclusion, the Executive Committee only wish it were possible for them to express to their fellow-laborers that "God-speed" which is swelling in their hearts. But no words of encouragement can be needed; no injunctions of faithfulness, of heroic perseverance, of unshaken trust in God and the Truth are required. The hopes and labors of the past are near their fruition: "Ultima jam venit cumali carminis ætas." A new era approaches in the history of the world. Be it our glory and happiness to labor for its coming, assured that the serene movement of the Divine Providence can never fail.

The interest in "Association" was proved by the fact, that notwithstanding the inclement weather, and the almost impassable condition of the streets, the room was well filled throughout, and on both evenings crowded. The numbers of the merely curious, attracted by the novelty of the subject, were less than at the Social Reform Convention last winter; but the character of the audience was higher—the assemblage consisting of earnest and intelligent converts to the faith, that it is practicable to organize Societies upon the principle of perfect love and justice, and that it is right, timely, wise, to make the attempt. Throughout the country, but especially in New-England, this faith has made great progress during the past year.

Reformers of all kinds are fast coming to the conviction, that their various partial movements are the complements of each other, and all tending to one common result; that prevention is better than cure; and that to remove the *causes* of sin, failure, degradation and misery, it is necessary so to embody the law of brotherhood in social institutions and relations, as to secure for every child and adult, education, opportunity for useful labor, just recompense for service, social advancement according to merit, and access to the most improving and refining influences which the community commands. Associationists show how these undeniable rights can be secured.

Statesmen, too, of all parties, perceive that the fundamental question of policy in these days, and especially in this land, is the establishment of just relations between Work and Wages, so as to remove the unnatural and unnecessary strife between the Capitalist, *who owns past labor*, and the Workingman, *who owns present labor*. This is the question of the ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY, which Associationists profess thoroughly to have solved.

Finally, religious men, of all denominations, sick of sectarian divisions, ashamed at the waste of time, talents, means, in polemics and proselyting, brought together heart and hand in various philanthropic enterprises, hopeless of re-union under any past systems of ecclesiastical organization, are looking forward to the *practice of love*, in all the relations of domestic, industrial, civil life, as the true means of regaining the unity of the Church. Associationists prove that charity may be made co-extensive with all the details of human intercourse; that when men are bound in one by mutual usefulness, they will see the meaning of the various creeds which are partial statements of truth, and so by "doing the will, learn of the doctrine;" and that by thus "loving men, whom we have seen, we may rise to the love of God, whom we have not seen," and make the whole of life worship.

Thus, in various ways, attention and sympathy are directed to the Associative Movement. The history of our Nation, too—the blending of such different races in one people—the growth of our complex and yet simple system of confederated government, from towns, through counties and States, up to one central Legislature, Judiciary and Executive—the great principles of Freedom and Equality professed before the world as our law—the absence of institutions and associations handed down from barbarous ages—lastly, the unequalled physical advantages amid which we can expand our energies, and apply in magnificent enterprises the mechanical means for increasing wealth, which Science each day makes known—seem to point out these United States as commissioned by Providence to exhibit an example of MANY MADE ONE by Justice, of Freemen united by the Law of Liberty, which is Love, and thus of Universal Association.

The privileges of the Nation of the United States were very powerfully presented by Mr. BRISBANE, who passed the summer in Europe, and had an opportunity of studying the state of society there. The result of his inquiries will be presented to the Associationists of the country; and it needs only to be stated here, therefore, that he considers our advantages unspeakably greater than those possessed by any people in Europe; because, first, we have not a class of degraded peasantry and operatives, so ignorant, for the most part, that they cannot read, and too poor to take any periodical; but an intelligent, aspiring, self-respecting and respected body of farmers and working class; secondly, our middling classes, with far better opportunities of intellectual and moral culture open before them, and stimulated to seek for themselves and children social advancement, are less confined to a narrow round of mere business interests; their minds have been developed and expanded by the discipline of our free political institutions, and their aims elevated by the broader field of action which is here thrown open to them: third, our most cultivated and prosperous classes are not tempted by the luxuries, titles, and inherited privileges of an established aristocracy to self-indulgences and pride in their caste, but, on the contrary, are impelled to public spirit and enterprise: fourthly, there is less spirit of intrigue among our literary men and writers, and the freaks of public taste and the influence of government, often so perverting and corrupting in Europe, exercise less influence, so that they are left much freer in the expression of feeling and thought: fifthly, government is not here, as there, deadly opposed to progress, and to reform and innovation of every kind, but as representing the conscience and judgment of the people, is far more flexible and ready to obey popular convictions of right: sixthly, no established church has here the power to govern and direct all movements of reform to its own purposes, but the number and variety of denominations promote inquiry; liberty is not enslaved to government conservatism, and religious association to the conservatism of a long established church: seventhly, the customs, institutions, associations of the Nation are all favorable to the elevation of the masses; and hope, energy, talent, are not oppressed here, as in every nation of Europe, by usages which, though once useful in ruder ages, have long since been outgrown. In this address Mr. BRISBANE gave a very interesting report of conversations with Cousin and Carlyle; and showed in contrast how much more hopeful and liberal are the leading minds among ourselves; a fact which is to be ascribed to the greater stimulus of our free institutions, and the already partial elevation of the masses. Carlyle's want of hope in the future, and his disbelief that any essential amelioration can take place in the condition of mankind, at least for ages to come, grows out of his peculiar melancholy temperament, and the spectacle of ignorance and misery which surround him on the one hand, and of overpowering conservatism and the folly of the great, on the other. He showed one splendid exception, among many others, in Eugene Sue, who owes his Mysteries of Paris and Wandering Jew to the influence of Fourier. That a call comes to us, therefore, from the whole past, and from the struggling nations of the old world, to carry out *socially* what we have begun *politically*; to prove, indeed, the possibility of raising all men to the full use of all their powers, and the full possession of the highest privileges of earthly existence. The address which this meagre outline so imperfectly represents, was a very convincing statement, brilliant in expression, clear in thought, and generous in spirit, and was received by the audience with reiterated applause.

Mr. Channing followed Mr. Brisbane in a strain of the most fervid eloquence on the same subject. He dwelt upon the many advantages and noble opportunities of reform of all kinds, enjoyed by the people of the United States; but whilst he congratulated them on their highly favored position, and gloried with them in the proud honor of being an American, he rebuked the selfish spirit which would abuse the signal favors of a bountiful Providence by a mean and narrow policy, and refuse to share them with their oppressed brethren of other lands, and would not in the broadest and most active spirit of brotherly love, do all that can be done to advance and elevate the whole race. It would be impossible in a few words to do justice to the address of Mr. Channing. He was listened to by the audience with that deep emotion which his lofty and poetic eloquence always produces.

One of the most interesting discussions was in relation to the movement of the Workingmen, who in various parts of New-England, and especially in Boston, are counselling as to the best means of securing the advantages of life, which every man who honors himself should aspire to, and which our laws and manners prompt every one to seek. The chief speakers on this subject were John Allen, the earnest, indefatigable and disinterested propagandist of Association, S. C. Hewitt, who has taken a very active part in the organization of the Workingmen of Fall River and of Boston, George Ripley, and L. W. Ryckman, of Brook-Farm. The wish is to unite means and efforts in some way which shall enable the Workingmen to bring their labor and its products more directly to the consumer, and so prevent the loss of our present expensive modes of distribution; to guarantee each other against losses; and to produce a gene-

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ral spirit of coöperation. This is one of the many movements which indicate how surely and rapidly society is passing into that intermediate state between Civilization and Association, which Fourier called *Garanteeism*, and for which the popular name among ourselves is *Mutual Insurance*. On all sides this tendency is manifest. Mutual and Life Insurance Companies, Societies among Professional men, Ministers, Lawyers, Physicians, for mutual aid for themselves and families—Societies among Merchants for the same purposes—the various Coöperative Societies among the working classes of Europe and of this country—finally the Odd Fellows' Charitable Association, all are signs that the spirit of individualism and isolation is giving way to that of brotherhood. To obtain a knowledge of the rights of man under despotic and feudal institutions, it was necessary to individualize interests to the utmost at the first step; but now it becomes evident that to secure the exercise of these rights men must freely coöperate. The object of the speakers was to show that the Workingmen's movement was an inevitable one, just and timely: that it could succeed only by being Conservative and Peaceful; that every step toward Garanteeism, or general mutual insurance, was a step in advance, and so far good; but that Association only could fully insure the Right to Labor, and the Right to the Products of Labor, and so elevate Work to the position of dignity and honor, which it justly claims.

The discussion as to the Right to Labor brought up the question of the Right to Land, and Resolutions upon the subject were offered by Mr. Pearson, as Delegate from the National Reform Association of New-York. These resolutions, as stated in the proceedings, were referred to a Committee consisting of Messrs. Ripley, Godwin and Brisbane,—as it was considered that the importance of the subject, especially at the present time, demands a full, calm and clear exhibition of the views of Associationists upon this much agitated topic of ownership in the soil. Here again Mr. Brisbane made a most lucid and satisfactory statement. He showed that any Agrarian movement, which seeks an equal division of the land to individuals, will necessarily result in the same disproportionate possession, which is now found to be so injurious to the laborer. According to the Doctrines of Association, the Earth, like the Air and Water, and all the original elements of the material world, are loans from the Sovereign Ruler to the Human Race, to be enriched and beautified to the utmost for the Universal Good. *Only such partition of the land then, as will secure its highest culture, can be right.* The system of individual appropriation has been incidental to the rude modes of industry of past ages. No individual energy and judgment can *most profitably* improve a tract of ground. Combined judgment and energy can alone bring out all its stores and latent energies. Land then should be placed under the charge, not of one person, but of such a number of persons, combined and coöperating, as will ensure its not being wasted, but fully employed and adorned. This can be done only by Association. The *Usufruct* of the land, however, does belong to the individual, for he has full right to ownership in what he produces; what he has made, and so blended his energy with, is his own; and by its system of Joint Stock Ownership, Association secures to every man the full and exact possession of all that his industry has created, or of its equivalent value. Here too the Conservative and Conciliating character of the Associative Movement is apparent. It entirely reconciles the conflicting claims of Landlord and Tenant; and settles peacefully, and with benefit to all, this difficult and threatening question.

Mr. Brisbane was equally successful in showing the just relation between Capital and Labor, and exhibited very clearly the mode by which, in Association, the Capitalist will become a Laborer and the Laborer a Capitalist, and the interests of all be so united that the very sources of existing conflicts will be put away, and all energies combined to increase the common wealth. He gave a very glowing picture, too, of Attractive Industry, as it would be when all our affections and energies were harmoniously combined in multiplying beauty every where. Finally he presented, on the last evening, a sketch of the Progress of Society, through Industry and various Social Institutions, up to Science; and from Science to Religion; closing with a condensed view of of the manner in which Industry, Social Institutions, Science and Religion, as they now exist throughout Christendom, are concentrating in one grand tendency to organize Association, according to the Order commanded by Divine Love, which justified fully the Associationists in their desire for Universal Unity; and proved that they are are as reverent of the Past as they are hopeful of the Future, while their trust is in an Omnipresent Providence.

The members of the Brook Farm Association were at the meeting in full force. Mr. Ripley, who presided, very eloquently described the origin of the Associative movement in New-England, and shewed that it was the inevitable result of the various theological, philosophical, and especially of the humanitary discussions and enterprises, which for many years past have awakened a reverent and hopeful spirit among our liberal minds. He expressed a cordial sympathy with the Workingmen, and welcomed their movement as a sure sign that the times are ripe for Association. In the manner of speaking and thoughts of Mr. Ripley are united great nervous energy, depth and power, and a richness and purity of diction, which always command the highest admiration. J. S. Dwight gave a very interesting sketch, in detail, of the educational processes by which industry and teaching may be made supplementary and instrumental to each other, and showed how, amid the various relations and occupations of an Association, all the powers may be called into harmonious exercise. John Orvis described the sphere of action which our various passions require for healthy and happy development; showed how they now are too often made morbid, and so degraded to evil; and finally, how balance of character may be produced by an Attractive system of Industry, which employs in succession and not to exhaustion, all our affections and energies. Finally, Charles A. Dana offered the Annual Report, in which he set forth with much power and beauty the great Principles by which the Aims of the Association are directed, as will be seen. It is a document deserving the widest circulation, and brings out clearly the high religious character of this attempt to apply to Society the laws of Harmony, in which the Creator manifests his Love and Wisdom through all the Series of the Universe. With the Brook-Farmers too may be classed W. H. Channing, who made an appeal to the community to enable the faithful men and women engaged practically in this great Reform at Brook-Farm and elsewhere, to "prove their faith by their works." Successfully to test Association are needed, 1st—A fair portion of the Capital which the industry of the past has accumulated. 2d.—Pure, devoted, heroic persons, who desire to perfect all social relations. 3d.—Science of the Laws of Divine Order, as ilustrated in the Natural and Spiritual worlds. 4th.—Chiefly and centrally a consecration of the whole being to God, a faith pervading all the members that the end of life is Unity with God, through Truth, and Love, and Beauty, and the presence of the Divine Spirit to sanctify all work. Mr. C. also endeavored to show, that as God in the process of Creation proceeds from Essential Love, through Wisdom, to arrange all His Works in ever-progressive harmony, so in the process of re-creation, which is Man's appointed work, it is necessary by industry and art to produce material beauty, upon these improved circumstances to raise harmonious social conditions, by this material and social culture to ascend to a knowledge of God's truth, and so become fit to love Him with all the strength, and soul, and mind, and heart. Mr. Channing was particularly eloquent and impressive in his closing address on the second evening of the Convention. Those who have heard him when his heart was fired by his vivid conception of the beautiful, the true, and the good, which promise to be realized on this Earth of discord and misery, can form some idea of the character of his discourse.

It was a matter of universal regret that the two devoted advocates of Association, Horace Greeley and Parke Godwin, who have aided so powerfully in recommending the cause to the respectful attention of all persons of judgment, were both detained in New-York, the first by severe illness, the last by an accidental injury. Their presence would have added great strength to the Phalanx of Friends of Association.

One of the most interesting and altogether effective speeches was made by Francis G. Shaw, a young and successful merchant, whose experience of the evils of a competitive state have led him to seek in agricultural employments a higher sphere of mental and moral culture. His calm, clear statement of his views was the more impressive from the tone of strong though repressed emotion which pervaded his remarks. A few such men as Mr. Shaw would ensure all that is needed—*A thorough experiment of Association.*

Among other addresses, two were made, with their usual fervency and point, by Wm. A. White, of Concord, and Henry Clapp, of Lynn, editor of "The Pioneer." These men are specimens of the large body of warm friends of humanity who stand ready to aid the associative movement, and who wish to point for confirmation of their arguments and appeals to one successful application, on a large and complete scale, of the principle of Unity in Variety applied to Social Organization. *Shall not the Means, Men, Science, and Devotedness be found for at least one fully organized Association!* A Society,

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which invests so much in mechanical and commercial enterprises, in Domestic and Foreign Missions, in Hospitals, Prisons, Colleges, Farm Schools, and Galleries of Art, surely owes encouragement to men and women who have given their lives to the work of forming, by God's blessing, a Perfect Society.

Mr. Ripley drew a beautiful picture of the way in which the romantic attachments, the holy and heroic memories, ever greenly entwining the feudal castles, family seats, public buildings of the Old World, will in the New World give place to peaceful affections clustering around the Central Dwelling of Associations, beautified by the contributed work of generations; the Forests stately with age; the Domain beautified by the wise and patient improvements of successive laborers; the Temple sacredly bequeathed from sires to sons; and the Cemetry, where, beneath appropriate monuments, rest the sages and heroes and bards, who knew how to make life beautiful. May such hopes prove prophecies.

One Present.

LETTER FROM A MEMBER OF AN ASSOCIATION TO A FRIEND.

The following letter, from a gentleman residing in an Association, to a friend who had raised some objections to the system, will be found interesting and instructive. It is well calculated to dissipate the prejudices and misconceptions of persons unacquainted with our doctrines:

My Dear W.—I have just finished reading your last two letters, which, by chance, I received together, and hasten to reply to them.

I confess my surprise at the step they inform me of. From the tenor of your recent communications, I had supposed that you were completely converted to the doctrines of Association, and from the dislike to mercantile transactions which you used to express so freely, I should hardly have supposed it possible for you to engage in business. I had, too, looked forward to a renewal of our former intimacy, with the new bond of common devotion to a great cause, and had often pleased myself with imagining the ardor with which you would engage both in spreading the doctrine and in practical experiment.

I fear that I have erred in not making to you more distinct and complete statements of the principles on which the Associative movement is founded, and urging them directly upon your mind. I have refrained from doing so, because you seemed entirely convinced by the expositions contained in the pamphlets I sent you; because I knew you to be, of old, an enthusiast for the progress of Humanity; and especially, because in your long promised visit, I hoped that you would, by conversation and your own observation, be brought personally into the movement. But had I supposed that you would be prevented from coming to see us, or that circumstances would make it necessary for you so soon to decide as to your occupations in life, or that in such a case you would hesitate between Association and commercial, or any other pursuits, I should not have failed to write you explicitly upon the subject. I do not doubt that I might have so far explained what I had before spoken of cursorily, and what others had misunderstood and misrepresented, as well as what you had yourself misconceived, as at least to modify your views essentially, if not to prevent a step which causes me so much regret. For, I cannot but regard the entrance of any sincere and energetic young man, who has ever aspired for better things, into commerce, as it is now arranged, as a very serious misfortune, both for the world and himself. But when, as in your case, he has seemed to have got beyond aspiration, and to be almost ready for action upon a worthy stage, I see him draw back much more unwillingly.

But let us leave these personal considerations.

Do not expect me to make a complete statement of the grounds upon which we stand—for that is impossible. A universal philosophy cannot be expressed in a single sheet. I say a universal philosophy. I should rather say, the true doctrine of Society; for it is of its social aspects that I wish to speak. If, then, what I shall say seem inconclusive to you, do not imagine that I have said all. The servant of Truth is like an archer, who, though he may have discharged many arrows, and hit the mark again and again, has the surest, perhaps, still unused in his quiver. Do not attribute this claim—that I am the servant of the Truth—to arrogance or enthusiasm. When, for example, I say that two and two are four, or state any of the higher facts in mathematics, I speak positively, from positive knowledge, though one ignorant of mathematics may deny them altogether. Nor am I guilty of self-conceit in making the affirmation. So it is with the great social doctrines of which I am a most untaught and imperfect disciple. They rest upon evidence as irrefragible as mathematical demonstration, and in declaring them to be the truth and the only truth in social doctrine, I make the assertion from the coolest reason. In saying that they are the only truth, I do not mean that the subjects are exhausted, and that nothing more is to be learned about them, but that nothing can be learned except by following the path which they have opened. But enough of these preliminaries; let us come to your letters.

We oppose the different orders of Society which now exist in the world, viz., the Savage, Patriarchal, Barbarian, and Civilized, for these reasons, among others: They are neither of them the condition for which Man is destined by his Creator, inasmuch as neither secures his happiness or the integral developement of his nature; neither of them tends to the supremacy of Truth and Honor in social or political relations; and in all of them the comparative well-being of the few is bought at the expense of the misery and oppression, in infinitely minute varieties, of the many. We believe that, under the Divine Providence, higher conditions await the Human Race—states of Society, which shall bear a relation to civilization similar to that it has to barbarism. You, who have been educated in a higher order of society, would not think of defending barbarism, but yet an intelligent barbarian might reply, to one who endeavored to set before him the advantages of civilization, with arguments not unlike those you make use of. *We* see that civilization is moving slowly toward a higher note in the great scale, which, however, is not the note which we are humbly laboring to strike. We aim to strike a still higher note in the Scale of Social Progress. The final order of things, *i. e.*, that for which Man is destined, must exactly correspond to his Nature, for he cannot have been formed by the all-wise Creator with a Nature demanding what it is never designed to have, any more than God could have compelled birds to crawl, when He had provided them with wings. All things are created with precise adaptation to the sphere in which they are destined to live. The reason that Man was not originally placed in this condition, and that he has to arrive at it through such painful processes is, because the race is subject to the same law of growth as the individual. These periods through which it has passed and is passing, are its childhood—the periods of its developement in all the spheres of its life. Now at last the time has arrived for a new and higher phasis in the life of universal Man. Under the Divine guidance, the preparations have been made and the way fully discovered, whereby poverty, oppression, suffering, and unhappiness can be left behind and forgotten, as the whole Race is elevated into that Sublime Order for which these almost infinite faculties of heart and mind were formed. To this state Man has from the first gradually tended, and is now tending. Those to whom the new philosophy has revealed the various phases in the great life of Man, see in the higher forms of civilization the congregating elements of a new and distinct stage of Society, which, however, is not the ultimate condition of the world, but only another step toward it. But as this ultimate Order is precisely adapted to the nature of Man, and precisely analogous to the Divine arrangement of all the fully developed parts of the Universe, it is plain that by a science of the Soul of Man and an understanding of the Universal Law of Divine Order, we can arrive at a knowledge of that perfect social condition in which the Creator designed the Human Race to exist, and which has been obscurely foretold by every seer and prophet for these thousands of years. By means of this, we can avoid the long passage through which the promised land must otherwise be reached, and emerge out of the chaos in which we are now stifled into the New World of peace, and beauty, and happiness. Such a science we are in possession of. The veil which so many ages and so many wise men have declared to hide the destiny of Man impenetrably from his view, is at length removed, and the life of the Race, with its periods and the laws of its growth, made as clear as the life of an individual man. Thus you see that our zeal is not without knowledge. We are not like servants, whose ignorance renders their enthusiasm and love for their master either useless or hurtful, but rather like those who know his designs and can co-operate intelligently in their fulfilment. Of course, I cannot here go into demonstration of these assertions, but I hold myself bound to prove them at any time to the satisfaction of any sane mind of sufficient capacity to comprehend their evidences.

Thus much for the Associative movement in general. I trust my hints have been sufficiently explicit to be intelligible. And now for the particular things in your letters, which are the domestic relations, the position of women, and the education of children. Upon these points you have, I think, failed to grasp the theory of Association,

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both because it has not been sufficiently explained to you, and because you have taken a partial view of what has been said. It is generally necessary in public lectures and in conversation upon the subject, to select some single aspect of the doctrine and make it prominent otherwise we should not be understood. If we endeavored to state universal principles in their universality, but few minds could receive them. But the misfortune is that in thus dwelling upon a particular view of the great Truth, it is often supposed that we cannot take any other, so much are people accustomed to one-sided teaching. Thus, when we say, that the isolated household is a source of innumerable evils, which Association alone can remedy, the mind of the hearer sometimes rushes to the conclusion that we mean to destroy the home relations entirely, and that we leave out of our account all those delicate and beautiful affections which form so much of the best life of man, but which, in the present unfortunate situation of the world, are *possible* only to a minority, so small, that in a general view of Humanity, they cannot be so much as reckoned. When, too, we say, that the existing system of Education is wholly wrong, it is feared that we design some violence to the parental sentiment, or that, in your own words, we would give children "wholly up to the care of others, when only a mother can bear and forbear with a child, and yet love it." Now, my dear W., these are not our doctrines but your misconceptions of them. You say that we "war against Nature." We hold to the most implicit obedience to her, but it must be to the whole of Nature and every one of her promptings, and not to any one or two or more of them, to the exclusion of all the others, or any one of them. This would be to fall into errors similar to those we accuse civilization of, and might be as you say, "to introduce new and greater evils in our hatred of the old ones." You err also in judging the mode of life we advocate by the Shakers or the Zoarites. They, it is true, do oppress the Nature of Man in a manner only somewhat less than Society at large, taken as a whole, but let me assure you that we do not fall into their mistakes. They proceed entirely in the one-sided manner in which most men move. They labor either for the mere improvement of their worldly condition, or for the removal of some isolated evil, whereas we (unless I am entirely mistaken, and this cannot justly be said except by one who knows the whole doctrine, and not a fragment of it,) labor for all things that God has put it into the heart of Man to desire: Wealth, Friends, a Home, Freedom, and the Truth, and we seek them in the reconciliation of all things and the developement of all things, according to the Universal Laws of Harmony, which are primarily the laws of the Divine Nature itself. But let me meet you in the very field where your mind has been led to believe that our ideas are false, and destructive of the beauty and happiness of life.

Although I have not had a home of my own for these many years, still I am not ignorant of what home is; I have seen the most beautiful homes that the world has, and that not casually and transiently, but intimately. But even if I had known nothing of this, I should have learned from the very theory which seems to you to militate against the domestic ties, how absolutely necessary they are to man. Association does not propose to weaken them, but to give them new strength, and to free them from what does really tend to destroy them and mar their beauty. The privacy of domestic life, association aims to render more sacred as well as to extend it to all men. It does this also in accomplishing what benevolence must always wish for, the conciliation of the family interest, with all the other interests of society, so that a man in working for his family, "in caring for his home and loved ones," works for the general good also. Association is not a mere conglomeration of heterogeneous masses, but an orderly arrangement of society. It acts upon families as upon individuals, preserving the freedom and natural affinities, and guaranteeing the rights of all with jealous care. You seem to have confounded the pecuniary independence of individual members of families, with a kind of entire independence or rather a sundering of all the bonds that unite them. We believe that pecuniary independence will tend to unite them closer. Will the father love the child less because he owes him love and not money? Will the husband have less affection for his wife because she does not make a perpetual demand upon his purse? Is love strongest in those families where the father is driven almost to despair by perpetual costs for the support of the wife and children? Is the beautiful attachment which exists between his brother and himself at all indebted to pecuniary dependence for its strength? Ah no! Love, my dear friend, grows in its own atmosphere and needs not to be nurtured, save only by love, free as itself. But I am sure you cannot mean what you seem to say; a little reflection cannot fail to show you that the pecuniary independence of all persons which association promises, is precisely what all desire and thus is the desire of *Nature*, and necessary to the dignity and happiness of life.

The isolated household is wasteful in economy, is untrue to the human heart, and is not the design of God, and therefore it must disappear, but the domestic relations are not so, however they may have been falsified and tarnished by what man has mixed with them. Of these relations the present position of woman is an essential part, and she can be raised out of that position only by purging them of what is alien to their essential character. Now, as we think, the pecuniary dependence which society establishes for woman, is one of the most hurtful of these foreign elements, and we do not doubt that with its removal we shall see social relations generally rise to a degree of truth and beauty, to which they cannot at present attain. In the progress of society we see that the position of woman is a hinge on which all other things seem more or less to turn. In the savage state she is the drudge and menial of man; in the barbarous state she is his slave and plaything, and in the civilized state she is as you confess, his "upper servant." Society rises with the degree of freedom it bestows on woman, and it is only by raising her to "integral independence," and making her as she should be, and as God made her, the equal of Man, though not by making her precisely the same as Man as some mistaken reformers have wished, the world can be saved. You must not judge in matters of such importance from the few facts that your own personal knowledge may give you; your comparatively fortunate education, has shown you but little of the worst side of the world. A few days after I received your letter of September, I was driving through one of the richest parts of the State of New-York, where Nature seemed to have expended her utmost wealth for the benefit of man. I happened to turn my head and saw a middle aged woman bare-foot carrying around the hovel in which she lived, the food for some half dozen swine. "That," said I, "is the position of Woman in civilization." The few women who seem to fill their appropriate spheres are as nothing to the great majority, that toil in poverty, in degradation and in unhappiness, or even to those that drag out a short but wretched life, lost to all that renders life anything but a curse. Of all the foul spots on the face of civilization, the lot of woman in it is the worst. I speak from a knowledge of facts, and not from vague impressions. I could tell you of things that would fill your soul with a horror it has never dreamed of, and almost make you despair of the world. If there be anything which is to me a perpetual incitement to more devoted exertion, and a more generous sacrifice of all things, so that Man may reap some advantages, it is the lot of woman. I could weep the bitterest tears whenever I think of it. I have designed to write an essay upon the whole subject, but I shrink from it. I am not equal to the steady dissection of such awfully diseased portions of the social body as would be necessary to such a purpose. Still I may do it, though it is a duty I would rather not have to discharge.

But it is not possible, as you seem to suppose, for woman by individual virtue and endeavors to rescue the sex from this frightful condition. Individual exertion may in favorable cases rescue individuals, but like alms-giving, private or public, it cannot prevent a recurrence of the very evil it attempts to remedy. What is an essential element in any order of things, can never be altered except by alteration of the whole order. Thus the social position of woman can be generally and surely changed only by carrying society out of civilization into a higher phasis. I might maintain this by very many proofs, but cannot think that it will not already be plain to you. Woman is not an "upper servant," because she "cares too much for earthly things," or because she is not sufficiently educated, but because the whole structure of society makes her an "upper servant." You will see also that it is no opposition to the fulfilment of the "Destiny of Man," nor an endeavor to change that destiny which induces us to labor for the progress of the Race into its ulterior conditions, and as an important element of that progress to labor for the "integral independence of woman," and for her elevation in the social scale. But do not suppose that we hold the notions of the wild declaimers for "Woman's Rights," who have within these few years made so great a stir in some parts of the country. In them we respect indeed the indefinite aspiration for the True mingled with the extravagance of those who are moved by one idea. What they have dreamed of, and in their irregular methods endeavored to realize, we *understand*, and by precise and scientific means, that is, by the way of Universal Divine Order attempt to establish.

As to Education let me first remind you that the theory of association, is the theory of attraction, and not at all of compulsion, as your

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remarks seem strangely to imply. All are made free in association to follow the bent of their own tastes, and to develope their faculties in the methods which God points out in the nature of every individual, and not according to the arbitrary notions of this or that philosopher, or pedagogue. The mother does not consign her child to the care of others because she *must*, nor does the child engage in industry because it *must*. Association delivers us from these miserable necessities, and leaves the whole and not a part of man's nature free to act. In civiliation it is not free, but hampered and choked at almost every point. The mother *must* consign her child to the care, not of beautiful and loving persons in apartments furnished with conveniences and elegancies which a prince's palace is without, but to servants who oftenest are fitted neither by character nor education for the momentous office of influencing an immortal being at an age when it most needs the kindliest cares. But, in association, the word *must* is not known. The mother may keep her children entirely under her own care, if she wishes, even more than in ordinary society. The Association, which is bound as far as possible to satisfy the tastes of every one, would furnish her with the means of doing so at much less expense than they could possibly be procured elsewhere. But let us look a little more into the plan of Nature in this respect. To ascertain what this is, however, we must be careful to divest our minds of prejudices, and not to substitute them for Nature, whose views are formed by a higher wisdom than ours. Now, you will find that every mother has not the constant and tender devotion to her children which is necessary to them, especially in their infancy.

Very many women find other employments more attractive than the care of their children, and consequently the children receive comparatively little attention from them. Now, this seems to me to show the plan of Nature, who does not form every woman to take care of children, but only a certain proportion of women. You will, perhaps, say that these are not good mothers, and that they *ought* to discharge so interesting an office. But is not this to substitute for the method of Nature certain notions which you have formed for yourself, and which Nature does not at all recognise? I think it is, but granting that every mother *ought* to take charge of her children, the fact remains that many do not, and will not, to say nothing of the majority who absolutely cannot. Should the children therefore, suffer? The associationist says no! Let them be cared for, not by menials whom accident furnishes, and who may be the most corrupt persons in the world. Let them be given to the charge of persons of high character and education, in whom the maternal instinct is so largely developed that they discharge with delight the duty which the mother of the child does not, and which Nature may, perhaps, have unfitted her for, in bestowing upon her the most brilliant talents in other spheres. This, as we think, is to be true to Nature, as well as all that is above Nature, instead of warring against it, as civilization does, which, to many persons, may seem so perfect that we need not seek for any other and higher social order. Nor, as the child advances, is it ruled by the poor constraints that are unavoidable in civilization, and which are such a violence to the affection of the parent that they are never applied except from a sense of duty. Neither is it exposed to the misfortune of being separated from its home and parents for purposes of education or of life. You know what the world does for us all, and how it too often utterly overthrows the good character which parents and friends have, with so much care, built up in us. But, in association, this is avoided. The expanding soul is preserved in the same kindly atmosphere, and not, as in the world, exposed by the influence of vicious school-fellows or by bad company to the destruction of the truth and purity that domestic influences have fostered. The education of association has but one *tone* in all its spheres. The family, the school, and society, all breathe kindred influences. In civilization, it is entirely the opposite. The training of home, of school, and of society or the world, are all discordant with each other, and it is impossible that one who has passed through them can, except in rare instances, have anything like unity or consistency of character, to say nothing of being really educated. So deeply is this felt that almost all who can afford it endeavor to educate their children at home or in some other way, to save them from the misfortunes of education in the ordinary method. But association, by bringing these different spheres of education under the influence of one spirit, obviates the difficulty, and makes the developement of harmonious characters at least an imaginable thing. That this is an inestimable gain, I am sure you will not deny. Nor is the industry of children a matter of compulsion. As I said, there is no *must* about it. It is so organized and arranged that they are attracted to it. It is play to them, though they are useful both to themselves and others, and not worse than useless, as children generally are in their amusements. Your fears are equally groundless on the other point you allude to. There is no danger of the "gracefulness" of childhood being displaced by mechanical artificiality, nor that "the angel will be banished from their hearts." On the contrary, he is kept there by being kept perpetually active within them. But I might write a volume, and leave the subject almost untouched. It is enough to say that the associative doctrine of education is founded upon the same undeniable evidences as the other parts of the doctrine. It is not a human device, but a discovery of divine order. It is not Man's wisdom, but God's.

You see, then, that we are not dabbling in mere expedients, but have undertaken the solemn work of applying to society, which is now an infernal chaos, (I speak knowing well what I say,) those supreme laws of Harmony and order whereby the whole Universe is regulated. We aim to change the social and political condition, not of a few hundred souls, but of the whole world; for when the sublime spectacle of a really human society shall once be seen, all men will, even from mere selfishness, desire to partake of such benefits and such happiness. This I say also, knowing well what I say, for I do not speak from enthusiastic hope, but from cool reason and judgment. You will perceive, also, that one who holds these views is quite independent of any attempt to realize them practically in society. Such attempts may fail without disturbing his convictions in the least. In the small associations that have been established in this country, these great principles are applied in a manner so imperfect that they can hardly be recognized, but yet their effects justify our faith in them. These institutions have only made the merest preparation for the accomplishment of our final purpose; they are in a state of transition only, and some of them *may* never get beyond this state for want of means to carry them farther; but that cannot effect the truth of what can be proved mathematically or indisputably otherwise. Still I cannot express the amount of my attachment to the mode of life and the place from which you, with so much kindness, attempt to draw me away. It is my home, rendered dear by enjoyments unspeakable, as well as by a few sacrifices which, in comparison with what I have gained, are not worth speaking of. And as for the mode of life, I assure you, as a man of honor, that I never knew so much general and personal happiness as here, notwithstanding all our trials. Compared with all I ever saw before or elsewhere, it has seemed like a perpetual feast. There have been sorrows and difficulties, and those very deep and serious, but they are nothing in amount to what all have enjoyed. No, my friend, this mode of life is neither cold nor false. It is beautiful, with all its defects, as a day in spring time. Think, too, of the elements of life which are here collected. Here is love of a deeper purity and sincerity than the world knows of; here is friendship that might put ancient heroes to shame; here is faith so high and changeless that common constancy has no lustre beside it, and here are wise hopes so great and inspiring that an old prophet might have thanked God for the joy of conceiving them in his heart. And if I were actuated only by a sagacious selfishness, I should not return to civilization, for whatever be our present disadvantages, I am sure that in those things which a man of the world first of all regards, we shall ultimately gain the approval of men of the world, who yield their sincere approbation to all profitable speculations. We shall, unless some event occurs which I do not now foresee, amass wealth and surround ourselves with comforts which no one of us, single-handed, could hope for.

In association no one "works for a crowd," to use your own expression, nor is any one compelled or expected to love all as brothers; but it is so arranged that while we work for ourselves, we serve the general welfare, and thus even selfishness and cupidity contribute to the common advantage. Association calls for no new affections, and does not demand of men what is impossible. It only tends to develope the better side of all characters, and to make that which in civilization of necessity becomes a horrible vice, a useful servant to the interests of the whole community. Of course I cannot explain to you the means by which these astonishing results are produced in the compass of a single letter, however protracted; but I assure you, as a man of common sense, that it is so. But these things are of course only partially attained, if at all, in our American Phalanxes, where association exists only in the germ.

You will observe that, throughout, I have hardly touched upon the moral bearings of the question. I am, however, far from admitting your assertion that the frame-work of society is right either in the United States or elsewhere. The Declaration of Independence in-

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deed embodies some vague generalities concerning the rights of man, but even those have never actually got incorporated into society. They exist as abstractions, but not otherwise. It must be confessed that our Democracy is hitherto a most miserable and halting business. It has not yet approached the real political problem, which is the realization of social justice—"*suum cinque.*" Nay, it is utterly ignorant of the real nature of this problem; it has hardly learned the A B C of politics. But even the incomplete truths of our democratic theories are opposed and denied by our social arrangements. These are full of oppression and wrong of every degree. Do not, however, attribute to us that doctrine of absolute equality which is so taking to some thinkers. Here, as elsewhere, we appeal to Nature, which is one interpreter of Divine Wisdom, and take her for our guide. It needs only the most superficial glance at her revelations to understand that the inequalities of society are altogether different from those she has established between men, and yet these inequalities belong to the very framework of the social structure. But I cannot think an argument will be necessary to convince you of this, and my letter is already sufficiently drawn out.

I entirely agree with you in the conviction that "let each one do his share in lessening the sorrow and oppression, and in his own good time God will remove the frightful disparity of condition," though I have not your faith in isolated individual exertions. It is in this assurance that I labor, and it is this that could console me, even in the entire failure of what has grown so dear to my heart. I *know* that those laws by which the infinite Universe is kept forever in harmony will at last prevail in Human Society, and banish from it the evils that sin and false philosophy have introduced; "*et portæ Inferi non prevalebunt.*" For the advent of that blessed epoch I work, whether wisely or unwisely, let the future decide.

I have spoken of all these things most weakly and superficially. They rest, however, on immovable foundations, and reach inward to the centre of things. My daily study is given to a better understanding of them in the scientific writings of those illustrious men, Swedenborg and Fourier. These great teachers, the world may think unwise or mistaken, but so it has ever been with the chief apostles of the Truth. They that know them best have the deepest reverence for their genius and learning. They will yet receive their due from a grateful Race, upon whose sublime career they have shed such light.

Even if we finally differ in a matter of so vast moment, we have the consolation that our friendship cannot thereby be disturbed. That is too firmly cemented to be injured by any opposition of our opinions. But I do not fear that we shall differ. I suspect that this distrust of doctrines which had so nearly taken possession of your mind, will only serve to give you a firmer conviction of their truth. And, in any event, believe me as ever,

Most faithfully yours.

REFLECTIONS ON RETURNING FROM A FUNERAL IN ASSOCIATION.

How blessed the privilege of dying in Association! How comfortable to realize, that when the immortal spirit shall leave its tenement of clay, the last sad rites shall be performed by true friends—brothers and sisters. How consoling to know that those, whose hearts swell with the noblest sense of humanity, shall consign the body to its mother earth.

Our sister has left us, and bade adieu to earth and all its ties—and yet she did so with sweet serenity and calmness, conscious of a glorious immortality, and knowing well the deep-felt sympathy of those who were permitted to be with her in her last moments. Though our sister had no kindred near her, yet she knew that the gentle hand of affection would close her eyes, and her memory be cherished when she was consigned to her last resting place. Though distant from her native country, a stranger in a strange land, without wealth to barter for that mockery of friendship which, in society as it is, is purchased by gold, she was not friendless or unprotected. True philanthropy ministered to all her wants. No rude Undertaker was permitted to hustle her body into the grave—but brethren, who seemed to vie with sisters in gentleness, did the last sad office of giving her coffin to the earth. And how plainly spoke the heaving chest, the smothered sigh, of those whose duty it became to fill up the grave, of the deep feeling of the heart within. So salutary was the effect upon the mind of the writer of these few lines, that Death seemed robbed of all its terrors. The idea of its approach had heretofore been the bane of a whole life, especially after becoming a mother—ever fearing that at a moment I might be called upon to leave my tender offspring to the mercy of a cold unfeeling world. But the consolations of Association quiet all my forebodings. And now, let death come when it may, I have the confidence to believe that I leave my children in the hands of guardians: fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, who will extend to them all the kindness they may need. Should that time come, sooner or later, I should hope to be silently and quietly laid in the little grove by the side of my sister, where, unmolested, the forest songsters chant their sweet and simple notes.

Ever shall I venerate the memory of those good Samaritans who first planted the standard of Association upon this domain, for it has convinced one cheerless heart, that humanity has not left the earth.

Brook Farm, January, 1845. S.

Fourier Association.—On Saturday last, a meeting was held in Greenville, to take into consideration the practicability and propriety of forming an association in Bond County, Illinois.

After some discussion of the principles of this "plan for improving the physical, intellectual, social and moral condition of society," Rev. James Stafford was appointed to investigate the subject, and report by a public address at the next meeting, on Friday the 31st inst.

A Committee was appointed to look out a suitable location and receive proposals for a Domain; also a Committee to draft a Constitution, &c.

About fifteen thousand dollars in lands, stock, &c., were subscribed to aid in this object, provided it should be thought advisable, after further investigation, to organize the Association.—[Baptist Helmet.

Lectures in the West.—We observe by the Ohio Statesman, that John S. Williams, Esq., of Cincinnati, has recently delivered a course of lectures on Association, before the citizens of Columbus, Ohio, which are spoken of by that paper in terms of high commendation. Mr. Williams is one of the most active adherents of our cause in the West. He is engaged at present in forming an Association, to be called the Integral Phalanx, and in furtherance of this object, a pamphlet, explaining the principles of Association, has been published at Cincinnati. Although we deprecate and counsel against the commencement of any new and imperfect attempts to start Associations at the present time, we trust no exertions will be remitted to awaken and interest the public mind on the subject.

The *American Missionary Herald* contains an account of an occurrence at Siam, which, it is thought, may probably lead to a repetition in that country of the course which was recently pursued in China. Mr. H. the head of a British mercantile house, having received orders from the King of Siam to purchase for him a small steamer, procured one from Liverpool, of 280 tons. When it arrived at Siam, having astonished thousands of spectators as it steamed up the Menew, the King refused to receive it on any terms to which Mr. H. could listen. After a long and fruitless negotiation, Mr. H., whose patience was exhausted, spoke unadvisedly of his Majesty and his kingdom, and was reported to the King as having said that he would take the steamer up in front of the royal palace and fire on it.

The King, who had imbibed such fearful ideas of a 'fire-ship,' that he had not even looked upon the steamer, decoyed the British merchant to the palace of the Prime Minister, and held him a prisoner until he had delivered up all the powder and gun-carriages, whether in the steamer or on shore, Mr. H. contended that his language had been misconstrued; and his Majesty proposed to forgive the insult, if he would make a written confession that he had done wrong. Mr. H. refused, and was ordered to close up his business speedily, and leave the country forever. He departed in a week, and it was thought that he would proceed to Calcutta and lay his grievances before the general government.

At Singapore, news had been received of the expedition against the pirates of Borneo, under Capt. Keppel, whose ship, the Dido, was accompanied by the steamer Phlegethon. A force went to attack the pirates in their own towns on the river Sukarran: it was at first repulsed; but, eventually, the pirates were discomfited, their fortifications were demolished, and above sixty guns were taken; though not without the loss of Mr. Wade, first lieutenant of the Dido, Mr. Stewart, and several men. The King of Kett, whose people murdered Mr. Erskine Murray, refused satisfaction; and his town was destroyed. The Dutch had also sent an expedition to exact some account of a missing ship, the Charles.

Sketch of the Women.—Ain't it curious, squire, weddin' is never out of women's heads? They never think of nothin' else. A young gal is always thinkin' of her own. As soon as she is married, she is a match-makin' for her companions; and when she is a grain older, her darter's weddin' is uppermost agin. Oh, it takes a great study to know a woman. How cunnin' they are! Ask a young gal the news, she'll tell you all the deaths in the place, to make you think she don't trouble herself about marriage. Ask an old woman she'll tell you of all the marriages, to make you think she is takin' an interest in the world that she ain't.—[Sam Slick.

MISS MARTINEAU ON MESMERISM.

TYNEMOUTH, Nov. 12.

It is important to society to know whether Mesmerism is true. The revival of its pretensions from age to age makes the negative of this question appear so improbable, and the affirmative involves anticipations so vast, that no testimony of a conscientious witness can be unworthy of attention. I am now capable of affording testimony; and all personal considerations must give way before the social duty of imparting the facts of which I am in possession.

Those who know Mesmerism to be true from their own experience are now a large number; many more, I believe, than is at first supposed by those who have not attended to the subject. Another considerable class consists of those who believe upon testimony; who find it impossible not to yield credit to the long array of cases in many books, and to the attestation of friends whose judgment and veracity they are in the habit of respecting. After these there remain a good many who amuse themselves with observing some of the effects of Mesmerism, calling them strange and unaccountable, and then going away and thinking no more about them; and lastly, the great majority who know nothing of the matter, and are so little aware of its seriousness as to call it "a bore," or to laugh at it as a nonsense or a cheat.

If nonsense, it is remarkable that those who have most patiently and deeply examined it, should be the most firmly and invariably convinced of its truth. If it is a cheat, it is no laughing matter. If large numbers of men can, age after age, be helplessly prostrated under such a delusion as this, under a wicked influence, so potential over mind and body, it is one of the most mournful facts in the history of man.

For some years before June last, I was in the class of believers upon testimony. I had witnessed no mesmeric facts whatever; but I could not doubt the existence of many which were related to me, without distrusting the understanding, or the integrity, of some of the wisest and best people I knew. Nor did I find it possible to resist the evidence of books, of details of many cases of bodily and mental effects. Now if it had been possible, could I have thought it desirable or philosophical to set up my negative ignorance of the functions of the nerves and the powers of the mind, against the positive evidence of observers and recorders of new phenomena. People do not, or ought not, to reach my years without learning that the strangeness and absolute novelty of facts attested by more than one mind, is rather a presumption of their truth than the contrary, as there would be something more familiar in any devices or conceptions of men; that our researches into the powers of nature, of human nature with the rest, have as yet gone such a little way that many discoveries are yet to be looked for; and that while we have hardly recovered from the surprise of the new lights thrown upon the functions and texture of the human frame by Harvey, Bell, and others, it is too soon to decide that there shall be no more as wonderful, and presumptuous in the extreme to predetermine what they shall or shall not be.

Such was the state of my mind on the subject of Mesmerism six years ago, when I related a series of facts, on the testimony of five persons whom I could trust, to one whose intellect I was accustomed to look up to, though I had occasion to see that great discoveries were received or rejected by him on other grounds than the evidence on which their pretensions rested. He threw himself back in his chair when I began my story, exclaiming, "Is it possible that you are bit by that nonsense?" On my detailing the amount of testimony on which I believed what I was telling, he declared, as he frequently did afterward, that if he saw the incidents himself, he would not believe them; he would sooner think himself and the whole company mad than admit them. This declaration did me good; though, of course, it gave me concern. It showed me that I must keep my mind free, and observe and decide independently, as there could be neither help nor hindrance from minds self-exiled in this way from the region of evidence. From that time till June last, I was, as I have said, a believer in Mesmerism on testimony.

The reason why I did not qualify myself for belief or disbelief on evidence was a substantial one. From the early summer of 1839, I was a prisoner from illness. My recovery now, by means of mesmeric treatment alone, has given me the most thorough knowledge possible that Mesmerism is true.

This not the place in which to give any details of disease. It will be sufficient to explain in order to render my story intelligible, that the internal disease, under which I have suffered, appears to have been coming on for many years; that after warnings of failing health, which I carelessly overlooked, I broke down, while travelling abroad in June 1839;—that I sank lower and lower for three years after my return, and remained nearly stationary for two more, preceding last June. During these five years, I never felt wholly at ease for one single hour. I seldom had severe pain; but never entire comfort. A besetting sickness, almost disabling me from taking food for two years, brought me very low; and, together with other evils, it confined me to a position of almost entire stillness,—to a life passed between my bed and sofa. It was not till after many attempts at gentle exercise, that my friends agreed with me that the cost was too great for any advantage gained; and at length it was clear that even going down one flight of stairs was imprudent. From that time, I lay still; and by means of this undisturbed quiet, and such an increase of opiates as kept down my most urgent discomforts, I passed the last two years with less suffering than the three preceding. There was, however, no favorable change in the disease. Everything was done for me that the best medical skill and science could suggest, and the most indefatigable humanity and family affection devise; but nothing could avail beyond mere alleviation. My dependence on opiates was desperate. My kind and vigilant medical friend,—the most sanguine man I know, and the most bent upon keeping his patients hopeful,—avowed to me last Christmas, and twice afterward, that he found himself compelled to give up all hope of affecting the disease,—of doing more than keeping me up, in collateral respects, to the highest practicable point. This was no surprise to me; for when any specific medicine is taken for above two years without affecting the disease, there is no more ground for hope in reason than in feeling. In June last, I suffered more than usual, and new measures of alleviation were resorted to. As to all the essential points of the disease, I was never lower than immediately before I made trial of Mesmerism.

If, at any time during my illness, I had been asked, with serious purpose, whether I believed there was no resource for me, I should have replied that Mesmerism might perhaps give me partial relief. I thought it right—and still think it was right—to wear out all other means first. It was not, however, for the reason that the testimony might be thus rendered wholly unquestionable, though I now feel my years of suffering but a light cost for such result;—it was for a more personal reason that I waited. Surrounded as I was by relations and friends, who, knowing nothing of Mesmerism, regarded it as a delusion or an imposture—tenderly guarded and cared for as I was by those who so thought, and who went even further than myself in deference for the ordinary medical skill and practice, it was morally impossible for me to entertain the idea of trying Mesmerism while any hope was cherished from other means.

If it had not been so, there was the difficulty that I could not move, to go in search of aid from Mesmerists; and to bring it hither while other means were in course of trial was out of the question. After my medical friend's avowal of his hopelessness, however, I felt myself not only at liberty but in duty bound, to try, if possible, the only remaining resource for alleviation. I felt then, and I feel now, that through all mortification of old prejudices, and all springing up of new, nobody in the world would undertake to say I was wrong in seeking even recovery by any harmless means, when every hope was given up by all: and it was not recovery that was in my thoughts, but only solace. It never presented itself to me as possible that disease so long and deeply fixed could be removed; and I was perfectly sincere in saying, that the utmost I looked for was release from my miserable dependence on opiates. Deep as are my obligations to my faithful and skillful medical friend, for a long course of humane effort on his part, no one kindness of his has touched me so sensibly as the grace with which he met my desire to try a means of which he had no knowledge or opinion, and himself brought over the Mesmerist under whom the first trial of my susceptibilities was made.

Last winter, I wrote to two friends in London, telling them of my desire to try Mesmerism, and entreating them to be on the watch to let me know if any one came this way of whose aid I might avail myself. They watched for me; and one made it a business to gain all the information she could on my behalf; but nothing was actually done, or seemed likely to be done, when in June a sudden opening for the experiment was made, without any effort of my own, and on the 22d I found myself, for the first time, under the hands of a Mesmerist.

It all came about easily and naturally at last. I had letters,—several in the course of ten days,—one relating a case in which a surgeon, a near relative of mine, had, to his own astonishment, operated on a person in the mesmeric sleep without causing pain;—one from an invalid friend, ignorant of Mesmerism, who suggested it to me as a *pis aller*;—and one from Mr. and Mrs. Basil Montagu, who, supposing me an unbeliever, yet related to me the case of Ann Vials, and earnestly pressed upon me the expediency of a trial:—and, at the same time, Mr. Spencer T. Hall being at Newcastle lecturing, my medical friend, went out of curiosity, was impressed by what he saw, and came to me very full of the subject. I told him what was in my mind; and I have said above with what a grace he met my wishes, and immediately set about gratifying them.

At the end of four months I was, as far as my feelings could be any warrant, quite well. My mesmerist and I are not so precipitate as to conclude my disease yet extirpated, and my health established beyond all danger of relapse; because time only can prove such facts. We have not yet discontinued the mesmeric treatment, and I have not re-entered upon the hurry and bustle of the world. The case is thus not complete enough for a professional statement. But, as I am aware of no ailment, and am restored to the full enjoyment of active days and nights of rest, to the full use of my powers of body and mind; and as many invalids, still languishing in such illness as I have recovered from, are looking to me for guidance in the pursuit of health by the same means, I think it right not to delay giving a precise statement of my own mesmeric experience, and of my observation of some different manifestations in the instance of another patient in the same house. A further reason against delay is, that it would be a pity to omit the record of some of the fresh feeling and immature ideas which attend an early experience of mesmeric influence, and which it may be an aid and comfort to novices to

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recognize from my record. And again, as there is no saying in regard to a subject so obscure, what is trivial and what is not, the fullest detail is likely to be the wisest; and the earlier the narrative the fuller, while better knowledge will teach us hereafter what are the non-essentials that may be dismissed.

On Saturday, June 22nd, Mr. Spencer Hall and my medical friend came, as arranged, at my worst hour of the day, between the expiration of one opiate and the taking of another. By an accident the gentlemen were rather in a hurry,—a circumstance unfavorable to a first experiment. But result enough was obtained to encourage a further trial, though it was of a nature entirely unanticipated by me. I had no other idea than that I should either drop asleep or feel nothing. I did not drop asleep, and I did feel something very strange. Various passes were tried by Mr. Hall; the first that appeared effectual, and the most so for some time after, were passes over the head, and a little way down the spine. A very short time after these were tried, and twenty minutes from the beginning of the *séance*, I became sensible of an extraordinary appearance, most unexpected, and wholly unlike anything I had ever conceived of. Something seemed to diffuse itself through the atmosphere,—not like smoke, nor steam, nor haze,—but most like a clear twilight, closing in from the windows and down from the ceiling, and in which one object after another melted away, till scarcely anything was left visible before my wide-open eyes. First, the outlines of all objects were blurred; then a bust, standing on a pedestal in a strong light, melted quite away; then the opposite bust; then the floor, and the ceiling, till one small picture, high up on the opposite wall, only remained visible,—like a patch of phosphoric light. I feared to move my eyes, lest the singular appearance should vanish; and I cried out, "O! deepen it! deepen it!" supposing this the precursor of the sleep. It could not be deepened, however; and when I glanced aside from the luminous point, I found that I need not fear the return of objects to their ordinary appearance while the passes were continued. The busts reappeared, ghost-like, in the dim atmosphere, like faint shadows, except that their outlines, and the parts in the highest relief, burned with the same phosphoric light. The features of one, an Isis with bent head, seemed to be illuminated by a fire on the floor, though this bust has its back to to the windows. Wherever I glanced, all outlines were dressed in this beautiful light; and so they have been, at every *séance*, without exception, to this day; though the appearance has rather given way to drowsiness since I left off opiates entirely. This appearance continued during the remaining twenty minutes before the gentlemen were obliged to leave me. The other effects were, first, heat, oppression and sickness, and for a few hours after, disordered stomach; followed, in the course of the evening, by a feeling of lightness and relief, in which I thought I could hardly be mistaken.

On occasions of a perfectly new experience, however, scepticism and self-distrust is very strong. I was aware of this beforehand, and also, of course, of the common sneer—that mesmeric effects are "all imagination." When the singular appearances presented themselves, I thought to myself,—"Now, shall I ever believe that this was all fancy? When it is gone, and when people laugh, shall I ever doubt having seen what is now as distinct to my waking eyes as the rolling waves of yonder sea, or the faces round my sofa?" I did a little doubt it in the course of the evening: I had some misgivings even so soon as that; and yet more the next morning, when it appeared like a dream.

Great was the comfort, therefore, of recognizing appearances on the second afternoon. "Now," thought I, "can I again doubt?" I did, more faintly; but, before a week was over, I was certain of the fidelity of my own senses in regard to this, and more.

There was no other agreeable experience on this second afternoon. Mr. Hall was exhausted and unwell, from having mesmerized many patients; and I was more oppressed and disordered than on the preceding day, and the disorder continued for a longer time: but again, towards night, I felt refreshed and relieved. How much of my case was to be attributed to Mesmerism, and how much to my accustomed opiate, there was no saying, in the then uncertain state of my mind.

The next day, however left no doubt. Mr. Hall was prevented by illness from coming over, too late to let me know. Unwilling to take my opiate while in expectation of his arrival, and too wretched to do without some resource, I rang for my maid, and asked whether she had any objection to attempt what she saw Mr. Hall do the day before. With the greatest alacrity she complied. Within one minute the twilight and phosphoric lights appeared; and in two or three more a delicious sensation of ease spread through me,—a cool comfort, before which all pain and distress gave way, oozing out, as it were, at the soles of my feet. During that hour, and almost the whole evening, I could no more help exclaiming with pleasure than a person in torture crying out with pain. I became hungry, and ate with relish, for the first time for five years. There was no heat, oppression, or sickness during the *séance*, nor any disorder afterwards. During the whole evening, instead of the lazy not ease of opiates, under which pain is felt to lie in wait, I experienced something of the indescribable sensation of health, which I had quite lost and forgotten. I walked about my rooms, and was gay and talkative. Something of this relief remained till the next morning; and then there was no reaction. I was no worse than usual; and perhaps rather better.

Nothing is to me more unquestionable and more striking about this influence than the absence of all reaction. Its highest exhilaration is followed, not by depression or exhaustion, but by a further renovation. From the first hour to the present, I have never fallen back a single step. Every point gained has been steadily held. Improved composure of nerve and spirits has followed upon every mesmeric exhilaration. I have been spared all the weaknesses of convalescence, and carried through all the usually formidable enterprises of return from deep disease to health, with a steadiness and tranquillity astonishing to all witnesses. At this time, before venturing to speak of my health as established, I believe myself more firm in nerve, more calm and steady in mind and spirits, than at any time of my life before. So much, in consideration of the natural and common fear of the mesmeric influence as pernicious excitement—as a kind of intoxication.

When Mr. Hall saw how congenial was the influence of this new Mesmerist, he advised our going on by ourselves, which we did till the 5th of September. I owe much to Mr. Hall for his disinterested zeal and kindness. He did for me all he could; and it was much to make a begining, and put us in the way of proceeding.

I next procured, for guidance, Deleuze's 'Instruction Pratique sur le Magnetisme Animal.' Out of this I directed my maid; and for some weeks we went on pretty well. Finding my appetite and digestion sufficiently improved, I left off tonics, and also the medicine which I had taken for two years and four months, in obedience to my doctor's hope of affecting the disease—though the eminent physician who saw me before that time declared that he had "tried it in an infinite number of such cases, and never new it avail." I never felt the want of these medicines, nor others which I afterward discontinued. From the first week in August, I took no medicines but opiates; and these I was gradually reducing. These particulars are mentioned to show how early in the experiment Mesmerism became my sole reliance.

On four days, scattered through six weeks, our *séance* was prevented by visitors or other accidents. On these four days, the old distress and pain recurred; but never on the days when I was mesmerized.

From the middle of August (after I had discontinued all medicines but opiates,) the departure of the worst pains and oppressions of my disease made me suspect that the complaint itself—the incurable, hopeless disease of so many years—was reached; and now I first began to glance toward the thought of recovery. In two or three weeks more it became certain that I was not deceived; and the radical amendment has since gone on, without intermission.

Another thing, however, was also becoming clear: that more aid was necessary. My maid did for me whatever, under my own instructions, good-will and affection could do. But the patient and strenuous purpose required in a case of such long and deep-seated disease can only be looked for in an educated person, so familiar with the practice of Mesmerism as to be able to keep a steady eye on the end, through all delays and doubtful incidents. And it is also important, if not necessary, that the predominance of will should be in the Mesmerist, not the patient. The offices of an untrained servant may avail perfectly in a short case—for the removal of sudden pain, or a brief illness; but, from the subordination being in the wrong party, we found ourselves coming to a stand.

This difficulty was abolished by the kindness and sagacity of Mr. Atkinson, who had been my adviser throughout. He explained my position to a friend of his—a lady, the widow of a clergyman, deeply and practically interested in Mesmerism—possessed of great Mesmeric power, and of those high qualities of mind and heart which fortify and sanctify its influence. In pure zeal and benevolence, this lady came to me, and has been with me ever since. When I found myself able to repose on the knowledge and power (mental and moral) of my Mesmerist, the last impediments to my progress were cleared away, and I improved accordingly,

Under her hands the visual appearance and other immediate sensations were much the same as before; but the experience of recovery was more rapid. I can describe it only by saying, that I felt as if my life were fed from day to day. The vital force infused or induced was as clear and certain as the strength given by food to those who are faint from hunger. I am careful to avoid theorizing at present on a subject which has not yet furnished me with a sufficiency of facts; but it can hardly be called theorizing to say (while silent as to the nature of the agency) that the principle of life itself—that principle which is antagonistic to disease—appears to be fortified by the mesmeric influence; and thus far we may account for Mesmerism being no specific, but successful through the widest range of diseases that are not hereditary, and have not caused disorganization. No mistake about Mesmerism is more prevalent than the supposition that it can avail only in nervous diseases. The numerous cases recorded of cure of rheumatism, dropsy, cancer, and the whole class of tumors—cases as distinct, and almost as numerous as those of cure of paralysis, epilepsy, and other diseases of the brain and nerves, must make any inquirer cautious of limiting his anticipations and experiments by any theory of exclusive action on the nervous system. Whether Mesmerism, and, indeed, any influence whatever, acts exclusively through the nervous system, is another question.

A few days after the arrival of my kind Mesmerist, I had my foot on the grass for the first time for four years and a half. I went

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down to the little garden under my windows. I never before was in the open air, after an illness of merely a week or two, without feeling more or less overpowered; but now, under the open sky, after four years and a half spent between bed and sofa, I felt no faintness, exhaustion, or nervousness, of any kind. I was somewhat haunted for a day or two by the stalks of the grass, which I had not seen growing for so long (for, well-supplied as I had been with flowers, rich and rare, I had seen no grass, except from my windows;) but at the time, I was as self-possessed as any walker in the place. In a day or two, I walked round the garden, then down the lane, then to the haven, and so on, till now, in two months, five miles are no fatigue to me. At first, the evidences of the extent of the disease were so clear as to make me think that I had never before fully understood how ill I had been. They disappeared, one by one; and now I feel nothing of them.

The same fortifying influence carried me throu h the greatest effort of all—the final severance from opiates. What that struggle is, can be conceived only by those who have experienced, or watched it with solicitude in a case of desperate dependence on them for years. No previous reduction can bridge over the chasm which separates an opiated from the natural state. I see in my own experience a consoling promise for the diseased, and also for the intemperate, who may desire to regain a natural condition, but might fail through bodily suffering. Where the mesmeric sleep can be induced, the transition may be made comparatively easy. It appears, however, that opiates are a great hindrance to the production of the sleep; but even so, the mesmeric influence is an inestimable help, as I can testify. I gave all my opiates to my Mesmerist, desiring her not to let me have any on any entreaty; and during the day I scarcely felt the want of them. Her mesmerizing kept me up; and, much more, it intercepted the distress—obviated the accumulation of miseries under which the unaided sufferer is apt to sink. It enabled me to encounter every night afresh—acting as it does in cases of insanity, where it is all-important to suspend the peculiar irritation—to banish the idea. What further aid I derived in this last struggle from Mesmerism in another form, I shall mention when I detail the case with which my own became implicated, and which, to myself at least, the interest of my own has completely merged.

It will be supposed that during the whole experiment, I longed to enjoy the mesmeric sleep, and was on the watch for some of the wonders which I knew to be common. The sleep never came, and except the great marvel of restored health, I have experienced less of the wonders than I have observed in another. Some curious particulars are, however, worth noting.

The first very striking circumstance to me, a novice, though familiar enough to the practiced, was the power of my Mesmerist's volitions, without any cooperation on my part. One very warm morning in August, when every body else was oppressed with heat, I was shivering a little under the mesmeric influence of my maid—the influence, in those days, causing the sensation of cold currents running through me, from head to foot. "This cold will not do for you, ma'am," said M., "O!" said I, "it is fresh, and I do not mind it:" and immediately my mind went off to something else. In a few minutes, I was surprised by a feeling as of warm water trickling through the channels of the late cold. In reply to my observation, that I was warm now, M. said, "Yes, ma'am, that is what I am doing." By inquiry and observation, it became clear to me, that her influence was, generally speaking, composing, just in proportion to her power of willing that it should be so. When I afterward saw, in the case I shall relate, how the volition of the Mesmerist caused immediate waking from the deepest sleep, and a supposition that the same glass of water was now wine—now porter, &c., I became too much familiarized with the effect to be as much astonished as many of my readers will doubtless be.

Another striking incident occurred in one of the earliest of my walks. My Mesmerist and I had reached a headland nearly half a mile from home, and were resting there, when she proposed to mesmerize me a little—partly to refresh me for our return, and partly to see whether any effect would be produced in a new place, and while a fresh breeze was blowing. She merely laid her hand on my forehead, and, in a minute or two the usual appearances came, assuming a strange air of novelty from the scene in which I was. After the blurring of the outlines, which made all objects more dim than the dull gray day had already made them, the phosphoric lights appeared, glorifying every rock and headland, the horizon, and all the vessels in sight. One of the meanest and dirtiest of the steam tugs in the port was passing at the time, and it was all dressed in heavenly radiance—the last object that any imagination would select as an element of a vision. Then and often before and since, did it occur to me that if I had been a pious and very ignorant Catholic, I could not have escaped the persuasion that I had seen heavenly visions. Every glorified object before my open eyes would have been a revelation; and my Mesmerist, with the white halo round her head, and the illuminated profile, would have been a saint or an angel.

Sometimes the induced darkening has been so great, that I have seriously inquired whether the lamp was not out, when a few movements of the head convinced me it was burning as brightly as ever. As the muscular power oozes away under the mesmeric influence, a strange inexplicable feeling ensues of the frame becoming transparent and ductile. My head has often appeared to be drawn out, to change its form, according to the traction of my Mesmerist, and an indescribable and exceedingly agreeable sensation of transparency and lightness, through a part or the whole of the frame, has followed. Then begins the moaning, of which so much has been made, as an indication of pain. I have often moaned, and much oftener have been disposed to do so, when the sensations have been the most tranquil and agreeable. At such times, my Mesmerist has struggled not to disturb me by a laugh, when I have murmured, with serious turn, "Here are my hands, but they have no arms to them:" "O dear! what shall I do? here is none of me left!" the intellect and moral powers being all the while at their strongest. Between this condition and the mesmeric sleep there is a state, transient and rare, of which I have had experience, but of which I intend to give no account. A somnambule calls it a glimmering of the lights of somnambulism and clairvoyance. To me there appears nothing like glimmering in it. The ideas that I have snatched from it, and now retain, are, of all ideas which ever visited me, the most lucid and impressive. It may be well that they are incommunicable—partly from their nature and relations, and partly from their unfitness for translation into mere words. I will only say that the condition is one of no "nervous excitement," as far as experience and outward indications can be taken as a test. Such a state of repose, of calm translucent intellectuality, I had never conceived of; and no reaction followed, no excitement but that which is natural to every one who finds himself in possession of a great new idea.

Before leaving the narrative of my own case for that of another, widely different, I put in a claim for my experiment being considered rational. It surely was so, not only on account of my previous knowledge of facts, and of my hopelessness from any other resource, but on grounds which other sufferers may share with me; on the ground that though the science of medicine may be exhausted in any particular case, it does not follow that curative means are exhausted; on the ground of the ignorance of all men of the nature and extent of the reparative power which lies under our hand, and which is vaguely indicated by the term "Nature;" on the ground of the ignorance of all men regarding the very structure, and much more, the functions of the nervous system; and on the broad ultimate ground of our total ignorance of the principle of life—of what it is, and where it resides, and whether it can be reached, and in any way beneficially affected by a voluntary application of human energy.

It seems to me rational to seek a way to refreshment first, and then to health, amid this wilderness of ignorance, rather than to lie perishing in their depths. The event seems to prove it so. The story appears to me to speak for itself. If it does not assert itself to all—if any should, as is common in cases of restoration by Mesmerism—try to account for the result by any means but those which are obvious, supposing a host of moral impossibilities rather than admit a plain new fact, I have no concern with such objectors or objections.

In a case of blindness cured, once upon a time, and cavilled at and denied, from hostility to the means, an answer was given which we are wont to consider sufficiently satisfactory; "One thing I know, that whereas I was blind, now I see." Those who could dispute the fact after this must be left to their doubts. They could, it is true, cast out their restored brother; but they could not impair his joy in his new blessing, nor despoil him of his far higher privileges of belief in and allegiance to his benefactor. Thus, whenever, under the Providence which leads on our race to knowledge and power, any new blessing of healing arises, it is little to one who enjoys it what disputes are caused among observers. To him, the privilege is clear and substantial. Physically, having been diseased, he is now well. Intellectually, having been blind, he now sees. For the wisest this is enough. And for those of a somewhat lower order, who have a restless craving for human sympathies in their recovered relish of life, there is almost a certainty that somewhere near them there exist hearts susceptible of simple faith in the unexplored powers of nature, and minds capable of an ingenuous recognition of plain facts, though they be new, and must wait for a theoretical solution.

HARRIET MARTINEAU.

DECLIVITY OF RIVERS.—A very slight declivity will suffice to give the running motion to water. Three inches per mile, in a smooth, straight channel, gives a velocity of about three miles an hour. The Ganges which gathers the waters of the Himalaya mountains, the loftiest in the world, is at eighteen hundred miles from its mouth, only eight hundred feet above the level of the sea; that is about twice as high as St. Paul's Church in London, and to fall those eight hundred feet in its long course, the water requires more than a month. The great river Magdalena, in South America, running for a thousand miles between two ridges of the Andes, falls only five hundred feet in all that distance. Above the commencement of the thousand miles it is seen descending in rapids and cataracts from the mountains. The gigantic Rio de la Plata has so gentle a descent to the ocean, that in Paraguay, fifteen hundred miles from its mouth, ships are seen which have sailed against the current, all the way by the force of the wind alone; that is to say, which in the beautifully inclined plane of the stream, have been gradually lifted by the soft wind, and even against the current, to an elevation greater than that of our loftiest spire.

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TO THE ASSOCIATIONISTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

After an absence of eight months from the United States, I arrived here from Europe on the 19th of December, having accomplished, with complete satisfaction, the object for which I visited France, the birth place of FOURIER.

You are aware that I was delegated by the General Convention of the Associationists, held in New York last spring, to proceed to France to confer with the friends of the cause in that country, and to study the manuscripts left by FOURIER, and obtain all the knowledge possible upon the higher scientific parts of our doctrine. I cannot express too strongly my obligations to our friends in Europe for their cordial reception and the facilities afforded me for accomplishing the object of my mission.

Mr. DOHERTY, the scientific propagator of the cause in England, passed the summer in Paris, and gave a deeply interesting course of Lectures upon the results of his studies of the science of UNIVERSAL UNITY, founded by FOURIER.

The primary object of my visit was to study and obtain copies of Fourier's MSS : and in this I succeeded fully. Our noble friend, VICTOR CONSIDERANT, the leader of the movement in France, and with whom the MSS. are deposited, permitted me to take copies for the use of the American school, of every thing that was new and important. I passed six months in Paris, employed incessantly in the work of examining and copying these precious documents, and employed a person constantly for three months in writing. The MSS. left by Fourier are very voluminous: they consist of about one hundred bound, and three large portfolios, containing unbound ones, and isolated sheets. The bound ones contain from 100 to 150 pages each, and are the most important.

These MSS. were written during the entire course of Fourier's studies and researches upon the great problems of human Destiny and social reorganization. Those in the portfolios were written, as far as I could judge, between the years 1803 and 1812 ; the bound ones subsequent to the year 1815. From the latter were extracted Fourier's great works of *Universal Unity* and *The New Industrial World*, published in 1822 and 1830.

The MSS. are of the greatest value and of indispensable necessity to those who wish to obtain a higher and more complete knowledge of those great scientific problems of Man's Destiny on earth, social unity, &c., which interest so deeply the Associative School. They contain important developements of Fourier's method of investigation, and of the principles which he applied in solving problems of all orders, from the highest to the lowest, from the immortality of the soul to the simplest questions in natural science. With the aid of these principles, and by the application of talent and perseverance, the Associative School can continue in the great career of investigation in the domain of undiscovered truths, and penetrate into the mysteries of Nature, so few of which have been unfolded to the knowledge of Man.

A class will be formed of persons who have time and capacity to prosecute the study of the MSS., and higher parts of Social Science, the result of whose labors it will be a desire as well as duty, to make known to our friends. Another thing which it is desirable to have done as early as possible, is the translation and publication of FOURIER'S works; this translation is in part made, and if arrangements now in progress respecting a publication office for all the writings of the school are completed, they will probably be published during the course of the present year. We have heretofore propagated principally the practical and industrial parts of our doctrine; the time has now come when it is necessary to make known the higher parts—those parts relating to the theory of the passions and faculties of the soul; the theory of Cosmogony; of the Immortality of the soul; of the causes of Evil; the material unity of the Globe, and other great questions which are embraced in the science of *Universal Unity*. It is only *complete knowledge* that can fire the souls of men with an enthusiasm deep and abiding enough to carry out the mighty movement in which we are embarked, and enable them to build up that true and divine Social Order, which, unlike false civilization, shall shelter and protect all the children of men under its Providence.

During my stay in Paris, I also obtained copies of the plans of the Edifices of an Association, which had been made with great labor and at great expense by the best architects in France, under the supervision of the school at Paris, and in part of Fourier himself. They will be invaluable guides to those Associations which are able to construct an edifice of a Unitary character upon a large scale.

Before concluding, I have a few words to say upon practical trials of Associations. From the past year's study and observation, I am convinced that the Organization of an Association is a thing of great *difficulty*, and that it requires, 1st, a very thorough and minute knowledge of the system—far more than is possessed by the great body of the Associationists; 2d—a sufficient amount of capital, to give to Industry a good organization, without which the mechanism of the Groups and Series of Groups cannot be applied; and 3d—Men and women who, in spite of all the selfish influences of Society upon them, have preserved warm social sympathies and generous impulses toward their fellow-beings. "The love of the neighbor," exists at present only as an exception in the hearts of a few, although it is destined, under a true Social Order, to exist in the hearts of all. But as it does not and cannot exist to any great extent in incoherent civilization, those in whom it may be found must be united to carry through the painful process of organizing Associations, which process forms a transitional period, full of difficulties.

I would advise our friends throughout the country, who design establishing Associations, to consult well beforehand with the old friends of the cause in New-York and Boston, who have had time and opportunity to study the science. By this means, they may save themselves a great deal of trouble, or a failure, and the cause from reproach.

A. BRISBANE.

New-York, Feb., 1845.

TERRIBLE DEVASTATION BY LOCUSTS.—On one occasion, however, I myself witnessed their ravages in the neighborhood of Tangier, and can truly say, in the words of the Old Testament, "They covered the face of the whole earth, so that the land was darkened, and they did eat every herb of the land and all the fruit of the trees which the hail had left, and there remained not any green thing in the trees or in the herbs of the field." At the period to which I refer, the locust first appeared near Tangier in the winged form, and did not commit much injury, but settled along the sea coast, deposited their eggs, and died. Some months afterwards in July, if I remember rightly, the grub appeared, and was about the size of what is commonly called the lion ant. A price had been set by several European residents at Tangier upon each pound of eggs that was brought by the natives and many thousand pounds weight by this means, destroyed, but apparently, it was of no avail; it was but the drop of water from the ocean; for soon the whole face of the country was blackened by columns of these voracious insects; as they marched on their desolating track, neither the loftiest barriers, nor water, nor fire daunted them. Quenching with their numbers the hottest fire, the rear of the dreadful columns passed over the devoted bodies of those who had preceeded them. Across ditches, streams, or rivers it was the same. On, on they marched, and, as the foremost ranks of the advanced columns were drowned, their bodies formed the raft for those that followed, and where there seemed the most resistance to their progress, thither did the destructive insect appear to swarm in greatest numbers. One European resident at Tangier, the Consul General of Sweden, who possessed a beautiful garden in the neighborhood, abounding with the most beautiful flowers and shrubs of Europe and Africa, waged, for a long time successful war against them. His large garden had the advantage of a high wall, and outside of this wall he had stationed laborers, hired for the purpose of destroying the invading column. Often did the Moslems shake their heads, and, predicting sooner or later the destruction of his garden, exclaiming against the wickedness and the folly of the Nazerene in attempting to divert the decrees of fate. At one time it had been hoped that this beautiful spot, a favorite resort of the Europeans, had been saved, for, while all around had been rendered bare and desolate, the garden yet rejoiced in a luxuriance of vegetation. But the day soon came in which the Moslem's predictions were to be fulfilled.

The locusts, ceasing to be crawling grubs, put forth their wings and took flight. Myriads and myriads, attracted by the freshness, lighted on this oasis of the desert, and in a few hours every green blade disappeared, the very bark of fruit trees being gnawed in such a manner as to render them incapable of producing fruit the ensuing year. At length, a favorable wind having arisen, the locusts took flight from around Tangier, and the sky was darkened by their countless hosts. Vast numbers of them were driven into the sea, as shoals of their putrid bodies, washed back upon the coast, proved to us. It not unfrequently happens that the stench of the dead bodies of this insect causes very bad contagious fevers. The female locusts, when full of eggs, become an article of food with the Moors. They are boiled in salt water in the same manner as shrimps, which they resemble in taste, but it requires some resolution at first to get the monster into your mouth. When in the grub state they are greedily devoured by the wild boar, jackal, fox, and other wild animals, and on taking wing, they are attacked by storks, hawks, and almost all the feathered tribe.—[Drummond Hay's Western Barbary.

CHANCE FOR THE LADIES.—A Liverpool furrier, advertising in a paper of that town, informs those ladies "who wish to have a *really genuine* article," that he will be happy to make them muffs, boas, &c., of "THEIR OWN SKINS!"

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SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS UNITY.

SOCIAL PROGRESS.—SOCIAL REFORM UPON CONSERVATIVE PRINCIPLES.

THE PHALANX:

ORGAN OF THE

DOCTRINE OF ASSOCIATION

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.

ASSOCIATION, ATTRACTIVE INDUSTRY, UNITY OF INTERESTS.

OUR EVILS ARE SOCIAL, NOT POLITICAL, AND A SOCIAL REFORM ONLY CAN ERADICATE THEM.

J. WINCHESTER, PUBLISHER, 30 ANN-ST. TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM, IN ADVANCE.

VOLUME I. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 3, 1845. NUMBER 22.

Notice to Subscribers and Editors.

On the last page will be found the Prospectus of a new paper to be issued by the Brook Farm Phalanx, in continuation of *The Phalanx*, to which we invite the attention of our friends.

Universalist Quarterly and General Review, January, 1845. Art. V. *Fourierism and similar Schemes.*

Our attention has been called to the above Journal, which is the respectable organ of the religious sect whose name it bears. The article on which we are about to remark is, as we are informed, the production of Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d, a clergyman of some talent and reputation.

We shall not stop to object at any length to the appellation which Mr. Ballou, and perhaps the public generally, has chosen to attach to our doctrines. We do not accept the name of any man as a just designation either for the science of Universal Unity, or for that branch of it which teaches the methods of social and political Unity, or Association. We do not call ourselves Fourierists, nor are we in any manner bound to defend the theories of Fourier except so far as they are founded in reason and scientifically demonstrable. Great as are our reverence and gratitude towards Fourier as our scientific Master and Teacher, we are far enough from supposing him to be infallible. We have no idea that he has exhausted the Truth, or that it is likely to be exhausted at any proximate period. The instructions which we receive from him are of too high a character to allow us to be the merely passive instruments of his genius, transcendant as it is. The earliest and latest lesson which he teaches is entire freedom from prejudice and individualism. To be really his disciples, it is necessary to follow the light of Truth, from whatever quarter it may shine, and to esteem her as immeasurably superior to the human instruments whereby she is communicated to us.

The Reviewer sets out with the remarkable confession that he is not "prepared, either by adequate information, or by sufficient maturity of thought," to review the doctrine, or to "enter into a strictly critical analysis of it." We cannot help suspecting that in such a case it would have been wiser as well as more honorable to the writer, to have refrained from touching the subject at all except in the way of candid inquiry and study. It is at least not altogether prudent, nay it is altogether dishonest, even for a clergyman and a Quarterly Reviewer to attempt to influence the public mind upon matters with which he is unacquainted.

A friend of ours, when requested to write a criticism of a book which had just appeared, replied that he had the essential qualification of a critic,—he "knew nothing of the book," a qualification abundantly exhibited in every *critique* of Fourier's theory that we remember to have seen, from Mr. Brownson's down to the inanities of Blackwood and of the article in question.

But let us hear the Universalist Quarterly.

"That the social arrangements of the civilized world may be greatly improved in the future, as they have been in the past, is, we trust, too reasonable a proposition to be doubted; and that some useful suggestions towards the work may be found in these new theories, as well as elsewhere, is not at all improbable. But in considering the merits of Fourierism and of the kindred schemes, we ought never to forget that such mere improvement is not their object. This fact should be clearly understood at the outset, and kept in mind throughout the examination. We may see, in our existing relations, many evils to be rectified; we may sigh for a better state of things; but all this does not imply any leaning whatsoever towards the hypotheses of which we speak. They stand on separate ground, on ground peculiar to themselves. What they propose, is, not to improve our present system of society, but to abolish it entirely, and to construct a new one in its stead. One of the mottos on the title page of Mr. Brisbane's pamphlet, is the following sentence from Fourier: 'The error of reformers is to condemn this or that abuse of society; whereas they should condemn the whole system of society itself, which is a circle of abuses and defects throughout. We must extricate ourselves from this social abyss.' It will be found that our authors mean, deliberately and systematically mean, all that this motto expresses. What the doctrine of total depravity, in its worst form, is with respect to individuals, these doctrines are with respect to society. According to them, it is a complication of abuses and defects only; it is not to be reformed; it is to be overthrown, and then made up anew, from its very first elements. They who do not go to this length, have no part nor lot in the new doctrines; they are merely old fashioned reformers, on very different principles. Society, which, one might think, must have grown up out of the social wants of human nature, though, of course, with all the imperfections of human nature, has unaccountably happened to grow up in thorough contravention of those wants,—directly against the very demands that gave it birth and form. It came up wrong end foremost, like the beans in the famous abstractionist's garden."

In this passage we have, in spite of the admission with which it commences, the common error of civilized writers, the assumption that Civilization is the ultimate achievement in social order, and that nothing needs to be done but to perfect it to make society every thing that is desirable. They will grant readily enough that Civilization is not merely an improvement of Barbarism, for example, but is an entirely distinct form of society, but not one of them seems able to conceive that any still higher form is possible. They talk in their fashion of the "advance of civilization," the "improvement of civilization," and the "beneficent effects of civilization," as though it were something that enchanted and filled their souls. They cling to it with the same sort of stupid faith with which a Turk or a Chinaman clings to his barbarous institutions. "*They* never imagined any thing different;"—there may be inconveniences; indeed, to tell the truth, they 'sigh for a better state of things,' they will not oppose slight amendments here and there, but any radical alteration is ridiculous,—"a dream of the most fantastic kind" says the learned and excellent Turk or Chinaman. "Our social

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arrangements and customs have grown up out of the wants of human nature, and must be the perfection of reason. How can they be opposed to the very necessities that gave them birth and force? How can they be otherwise than perfectly adapted to the nature of man, and to the fulfilment of the divine end of society?" Has the Reviewer ever been a child? we are tempted to inquire. Has he ever slept in a cradle, or ridden upon a hobby horse? And has not the time arrived in his experience, when the cradle became too narrow, and the youthful breeches too straight for his expanding person, and when the hobby horse would no longer serve his equestrian necessities? While he was a child these things were perfectly suited to his "human nature," but with his growth they had to be laid aside. They could not even be "made up anew;" they would not answer at all with any possible modifications. Something of an altogether different character had to be substituted. Like our Reviewer, society outgrows its childish garments, and as it advances, lays aside its infantile customs. But through the obstinacy and blindness of its teachers and leaders, and through its own stupidity, the necessary changes may be delayed. Imagine our Reviewer clad in boyish jacket and trowsers, too short by half, spotted with the mud and stains of many years, knees and elbows all ragged, with his fond mamma and tutors constantly assuring him that he is a darling, and that new clothes would be nonsense,—and you have a faint image of the ridiculous figure of modern civilization.

We touch here upon one of the most pregnant of universal principles, which solves many problems, that have baffled the human intellect for ages. We mean the Law of Growth. Nothing, from a fly to a universe, is created perfect. The insect that almost invisible flutters its hour in the sunbeam, is gradually developed from incompleteness to maturity, and Sirius and Aldeboran and all the hosts that wheel their great circles in heaven, pass during unknown ages from masses of inorganised, and inanimate matter, to the perfection of their life. And this is not in any respect an accidental or irregular process, but is subject to fixed laws. Human society obeys the same laws, and in its career advances through distinct stages from childish ignorance, weakness, imperfection, and disease, towards wisdom, strength, and harmony. Destined in its degree to embody and manifest the supreme order of the Divine Intelligence, it founds governments, developes industry, subjugates nature, discovers science, and, with the higher sentiments kept alive by the religious institutions which Providence from time to time establishes, gradually raises itself towards its mature condition. It thus goes through many stages, differing from each other in knowledge, wealth, happiness, and especially in their ruling motives. In some parts of the globe, and in some nations, society has passed through several of these stages. Thus the Saxon race has gone through the Patriarchal, the Savage, and the Barbarous states, and is now in Civilization, and is ready, especially the American branch of it, to pass into a distinct and higher condition, the transition into which has already commenced, to a degree of which the Universalist Quarterly is probably not aware. It is from these considerations that we say with Fourier, "We must extricate ourselves from this social abyss." The present form of society, good in its day, has served its purpose and will answer no longer. Indeed, longer use of it would be like keeping the corpse of a friend unburied, because while alive he was dear to us. For the present necessities of Humanity, the existing system of things is a circle of defects and abuses throughout, constantly increasing and becoming more intolerable. Of some of these defects and abuses we shall have occasion to speak below, but if the Quarterly is not convinced that a new social order is needed, we will only ask it to put itself for an instant in the position of our Turk or Chinaman, and to apply its own arguments to the defence of barbarism, a use to which they are admirably suited. We apprehend that from this point it may possibly pass to some slight distrust of its superficial conclusions and to a disposition to decide more wisely and modestly upon doctrines which lie beyond the sphere of its ambitious ignorance.

The Reviewer proceeds to state the general principles on which we propose to organize society, as he understands them, with such incidental embellishments as his fancy suggests. We will notice a single point of this statement.

> "Every thing will be managed on the single principle of attraction. Constraint will be wholly unknown; and at length, there will be no occasion even for self-denial. The law of repulsion is to be abrogated in the practical world, though we suppose it will still continue in the physical."

Our learned Reviewer appears not to know that Attraction and Repulsion are merely opposite poles of the same thing, and that in recognizing the one, we necessarily recognize the other. Attraction is the positive and active force; Repulsion is negative, and merely serves as a counterbalance. Attraction *moves* all things; Repulsion maintains the equilibrium of the movement. In announcing Attraction, the fundamental law of the Universe, as the fundamental law of society, we leave nothing out of our account, but adopt for the government of society a principle which the Deity has judged sufficient for the government of much more extensive and important concerns.

The Universalist Quarterly and all the host of shallow philosophers who utter the perpetual oracles of modern criticism, have the most complete liberty to make themselves merry with the theory of Passional Attraction, or otherwise to exercise their wits upon it. Heaven forbid that we should desire to circumscribe the small circle of their recreations. We can only say to them in the words of Kepler, "Si ignoscetis gaudebo, si succenscetis feram." We cannot forbear hinting to them that all methods of warfare are not sure of victory, and that it is not always safe to make an attack before we have some small knowledge of the ground on which our adversary stands.

What is the foundation of society? we would ask the Reviewer. Whence does it arise, how is it that there is such a thing in existence? To our minds, society appears to proceed from the nature of man. Some of the impulses of that nature lead to the formation of society, just as some other impulses lead the individual to eat, to clothe himself, or to seek a shelter from the storm. Society then exists simply through the force of passional attraction. No higher power constrains man; but the affections of the soul and their delights, attract him to the formation of the social compact. We are then guilty of no heresy, when we say that passional attraction is the very basis of society.

Before we proceed further let us state very briefly what are the impulses of the soul: They are of three kinds,—first, material, or those which lead to the support of the individual, to physical comforts and conveniences, to outward elegance and refinement, thus to Art—music, painting, &c. Second, moral, or those which lead to the formation of social relations; and third, intellectual, or those which lead to science. Though these are distinct tendencies, susceptible indeed of much more minute divisions, they act together. Thus the material desires bring the intellect to their service in order to attain their end, and the social impulses do the same. Now not only is society the result of these impulses, but no human action whatever takes place of which they are not the effective cause. They are thus the motive power of the whole of life and the source of all institutions. In a word, passional attraction is as powerful in human beings and their relations, as material attraction in the planets and their relations. Our astute

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Reviewer will perhaps ask, What are reason and conscience, the sense of duty, &c.? questions we imagine easy for him to ask, but not so easy to answer, seeing that of the ten thousand doctors and high priests of philosophy hardly any two are agreed touching them. Though neither our limits nor our present purpose permit us to go into a thorough analysis of the subject, we will say a word or two of common sense upon it. The intellectual desires, or in technical language, passions, lead, as we have said, to science. In other words, Truth is their proper nourishment and the first object of their activity. They seek to lay hold of it as the senses and their organs lay hold of their appropriate objects. The activity of these passions is what the metaphysicians have confusedly called reason,—making their perpetual mistake, the study of modes and effects, without at the same time studying causes. Thus with pitiable fruitfulness of error they have heaped system upon system, and involved themselves and their disciples in inextricable falseness and confusion. Conscience is the sense of harmony which belongs to every passion. Thus there is the conscience of friendship, the conscience of ambition, the conscience of the religious sentiment, &c.

If nature has not endowed man with the sentiment of reverence, for instance, no voice of conscience within him reproves offences against that sentiment. A delicate musical ear has a musical conscience; a sculptor has a conscience of symmetry of forms, or in other words, a sense of their harmonies. An approving conscience is nothing else than the delight of the passions in their appropriate harmonies, and a condemning conscience is nothing else than the pain of the passions at the want or the violation of those harmonies.

The sense of duty is something which is commonly recognized as belonging to morals and religion. Philosophers and clergymen make a great deal of this sentiment. Kant even found in it the whole of natural religion, and indeed all the evidence he could find for any thing beyond the individual. God, nature, human beings, and heaven and hell, exist for the mind only by virtue of this sense of duty, according to Kant. Nothing else saves them from being mere whimsies and imaginations. Duty is, as we have said, thought to belong to morals and religion. Thus we have the duty of loving and worshipping God, the duty of honesty, of obedience to the laws, of conjugal fidelity, &c. &c. Let us take an illustration to show us the value of this sentiment. A. forms a contract of marriage with B. The marriage is the result of the mutual affection of both parties, in other words, of passional attraction. A. is entirely disappointed, both in the tastes and temper of B., so that the love which originally made the union one of complete happiness, altogether dies out. The relation which was based upon it, still remains, it is no longer a relation of love, it is a relation of duty. The passion which was the life of it is not there; though the memory, impelled by the sense of duty, supplies but the forms it previously assumed, with the sense of duty as their only vivifying principle. And just so in other spheres of life. When the paternal sentiment, from any cause, becomes inactive, the sense of duty steps in and prompts the parent to do coldly and without delight, what, if he were animated by love, would give him happiness. Thus, too, to love God is one thing, but from a sense of duty to perform the actions of such love, is a very different thing. One proceeds from the heart; the other from the intellect and memory. One is life; the other substitutes animated skeletons in its stead.

The sense of duty which may be analyzed in the same manner as the conscience, is that instinct of the soul which asserts the superiority of the spiritual passions which we have distinguished as moral and intellectual, over the material passions. It is that conservative tendency in these passions whereby in the midst of evil and disorder a sort of lifeless order is produced, and the individual, and thus the race saved from utter destruction. It is the principle of spiritual constraint which during the reign of subversion and the continuation of the Fall takes the place of that freedom which shall prevail when men shall lay aside their self-sufficiency and in obedience to the commands of God, expressed both in Nature and Revelation, shall seek the Kingdom of God and His Justice, that is the Divine Social Order, whereof Christ with the Holy Church Universal is the Chief Corner Stone. This principle of spiritual constraint has served in the Divine Providence a purpose similar to that which, material constraint, with its jails, gallows and armies has served in temporal matters. But the time approaches when both spiritual and material restraint shall be done away by higher principles of order. "For behold I create New Heavens and a New Earth, and the former shall not be remembered nor brought into mind."

But while we proclaim Liberty as consistent with perfect order, or rather as a necessary element of perfect order, we are quite as well assured as is the Quarterly Reviewer or any other sapient critic, that restraint both spiritual and material, are for the present absolutely necessary. Freedom lies yet in the distance; and is to be reached only by the discovery and application of the Divine Social Code which God framed for Man in creating the affections of his soul,—that is, by the discovery and application of the true laws of Association as the moral and political means, and by the Christian religion as the spiritual means. The latter is the centre of the circle, the former its radii and circumference; neither is complete without the other.

From these remarks it will be seen that the lengthy criticism of the Quarterly, (pp. 68—73 inclusive,) upon the doctrine of the passions does not need any extended refutation. We do not hold that the material impulses are of equal value with the spiritual sentiments, or that any one of them ought to be indulged without restraint or counterpoise. What we do hold is that the passions, in which we include what the Quarterly means by reason, conscience, &c., being created by God, are primarily good, and in their essential nature do not conflict with each other. They are susceptible of a dual development, harmonic and subversive. In the latter, man is in a state of internal conflict, and the lower passions must be subjected and constrained by the higher. During the continuance of this state of subversion, Christianity is the religion of self-denial, or as it has been rightly called the religion of sorrow; but in the harmonic state, which is the essential destiny of man on Earth, it will be the religion of joy and gratitude, and not of renunciation and penances. It will also be perceived that we do not propose to reform man or society by the force of circumstances, or as our Reviewer has it, "ab extra," but by introducing *both* into that Order for which God designed them, of which Harmony is the necessary result:—and that only as the complement of all the other means of progress that Divine Providence has put into our hands

But let us pass to some of the other points on which our Reviewer expends himself.

"In the first place, its operation, if completely successful, would go directly to sink the individual into a mere creature of the Association,—in other words, to destroy his individuality. He is to begin his life, and develope it, and finish it, only as a component piece of that body, and not as a distinct and complete agent, who has the centre of action and impulse in himself; for he has neither interests nor responsibilities that are *primarily* his own. His interests and responsibilities and pursuits,—all that tends to develope his individuality,—come to him through his relation to the community of which he is a part. He has no separate property, no separate income, has no separate cares, no separate sphere in which he is to contrive, manage, and struggle alone, and take the consequences; he has no fears of loss, sepa-

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rate from that of the community, no hopes of personal independence. The Association stands first in every thing, and is the head, brain, and soul of every thing. From that he receives his influences, to that he returns his avails, in that he lives, moves, and has his being. Now, this is to set the social before the personal; that is, the mere relation before the substance; than which a greater absurdity cannot be conceived, nor a greater violation of the law of nature. Can such a reversion of the natural order of things end in aught but confusion? And can there, indeed, be a more radical injury done to a person, than to destroy his individuality?

"Now, we say nothing, here, of the intolerableness of such an *impersonal* condition, when considered as the permanent one, and not merely as a temporary relaxation. We will suppose, if we can, that we are content with it for life, and that all are content with it. But, to this end, what sort of a character must our minds be reduced to? acting, thinking, and feeling but as component parts of the Association, without personal responsibilities, or a personal sphere of enterprise, exclusively our own, our individuality itself lost in an omnipresent and all-informing, all-directing socialism! One thing is obvious, namely; this is not the order of nature. God made the individual first; society he ordained to come afterwards. The individual is the substantive agent: society, but the relation in which he stands. It grows out of individuals as from so many distinct centres of vital energy; not they out of society. Its only value is that it supplies a certain class of their wants, they still remaining as individuals. They stand first.—Their personal interests and responsibilities and agency, must take precedence. And whosoever attempts to reverse this order, will find that his arrangements work wrong in the result."

We here confess once for all that we find no little difficulty in replying to the statements of the Quarterly. Both their premises and their logic are of a peculiar kind. We are not sure that in answering them we shall hit the just medium between the opposite courses which Solomon lays down for similar occasions, but, nil desperandum!

In the passage we before quoted, the Reviewer asserted that in Association every thing was to be managed on the principle of attraction, that is, that the tastes and talents of the individual were to be brought out and gratified to a degree which he considered impossible. In other words we design to produce too great a degree of individuality; here he says we shall destroy it.

But as this matter of individuality and the relation of the individual to society is one on which the most frequent as well as the most senseless objections to Associative doctrines are made, we will dwell upon it for an instant.

By individuality we mean what distinguishes the individual as a separate person, that is, his peculiar tastes, disposition, and powers, or, if we may speak technically, the peculiar combination of passions in his character. Now the begining of education in Association is the study of the individual character, and the careful development of its germs, to the end that the design of Nature in the child may not be frustrated. Thus each person is trained in the various arts, sciences and pursuits for which he is fitted; that is to say, his whole individuality is developed. Thus the man born to be a painter, a sculptor, a musician, or a gardener is educated in those professions, and not in one only but in several, and that with the best means of society, whether he be the child of rich or poor parents. The Association has no common schools for the children of the poor, with lordly Universities for the children of the rich. It gives to all the highest education which they can receive, and that as an act of simple justice. And when the man is educated and his individuality developed, he is guaranteed an ample field for the exercise of the professions he has acquired and a just recognition of his talents and his labors. Is this to destroy individuality? Is this to merge the man in the mass? We cannot surmise how it will seem to the sagacious Quarterly, but to our minds it appears to be just the opposite. If to develope the man integrally, to give constant opportunities and equitable rewards to his activity, without ever interfering with his freedom, be to injure his individuality, we should really like to know how it is to be preserved. A clear glance at the effects of present society in this respect, will, we apprehend, somewhat surprise, even the Reviewer.

In the first place, to say nothing of the laws and customs by which women are deprived of their personality and reduced to cyphers, in nine cases in ten, yes, in ninety-nine cases in a hundred, it smothers and destroys the peculiar talents of its members. It not only does not inquire for what occupations nature has fitted the child, what are its aptitudes and capacities, but even when these are ascertained it pays no regard to them, except in cases of rare genius, and even then accident and the generosity of individuals, rather than social justice decide the matter. What chance has the resident in such a hut as our Reviewer sets up as the standard of human necessities, (p. 59,) for the development and exercise of his individuality? What opportunity has the child who from infancy is taught to beg or steal his living in our streets, for the cultivation of his essential humanity? Under that pale brow and squalid form may be hidden the genius of a Newton; that tongue so ready in profanity and slang, may have been designed to utter only the pious fires of a Fenelon,—but over the young soul has rolled the horrid car of modern civilization crushing and destroying its precious germs.

But take more fortunate cases. When fortune smiles and all circumstances seem favorable, what sort of individuality is produced? Suppose the man is trained to one of the learned professions; his intellect is developed, but his hands and body are ruined. He may be a good scholar, an ingenious lawyer, an eloquent clergyman, but he is a ridiculous fragment of a man. Every person is designed by nature to discharge several functions in life and not one only, and any form of society which devotes the individual to a single function, or even two or three, knows nothing of individuality. We never hear such men as one encounters now-a-days, speak of individuality, and its fancied destruction in Association, without an emotion of pity. They are like blind men talking about colors.

And when the individual has received his pitiful civilized education, what an admirable sphere is offered for the play of his "individuality!" What kindly aids society extends to him; with what a genial atmosphere it surrounds him; with what loving and jealous care it protects him in the exercise of his powers! Genius struggling for life against poverty, neglect, calumny and false customs, and lowlier energies patiently and sadly submitting to frightful necessities, whose history cannot be told! Is not this "to sink the individual into a mere creature" of society? Is not this "to set the social before the personal?" Let the civilized order answer if it can. Perhaps it will reply with its boasted doctrine, "Each one for himself, Laissez faire!"—a principle false and infernal enough to have come from hell! Our Reviewer seems to hold it: we shall presently speak more at length upon it.

We will now very briefly consider the relation of the individual to society. Mr Ballou, and indeed almost all writers, and talkers, upon the subject, take a very imperfect and false view of it when they say that the elements in this case are of greater importance than the whole,—that the only value of society is that it supplies a certain class of individual wants, &c. &c. Jacob Behmen, three hundred years ago, was wiser than all of them. See his beautiful picture of a true society. "Just as the boughs and twigs of a tree are unlike each other in form, though they grow upon the same stem, and each communicates to the other its own essence and power: together upon one trunk do they all rejoice, and bloom, and bear fruit; nor is there among them any envy or ill will on account of inequality and superior strength, and every bough labors towards its own fruit and harvest: thus might it also be with our unequal gifts."

The truth is that society and the individual are each necessary to the other, just as are the trunk and branches of a

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tree. The branches cannot even exist unless there is the trunk in which they can grow and be supported, and the trunk naturally and necessarily expands itself into branches and twigs with their flowers and fruit. If there be imperfection and disease in the trunk the branches languish, and if there be imperfection and disease in the branches, the trunk rots. One cannot be perfect and beautiful, except the other be so also. Healthy and complete individuals are possible only in healthy and complete society, and vice versa. To attempt to make society perfect by the improvement of individuals alone, is as absurd as for a gardener to attempt to grow a perfect tree, by carefully attending to the branches, leaving the trunk to be barked by careless ploughmen, infested by insects and perforated by worms. An orchestra affords a good illustration of our point. The end of the orchestra is fulfilled only when every instrument is in the proper accord with all the others, and when it performs precisely its own part, and no more or less. Then the music of each instrument, filled out by that of the others and by the harmony of the whole, is really heard and is delightful, even though taken by itself it might seem to be any thing but music. Society is an orchestra, the instruments and laws of which God has created. The discovery and application of these laws, and thus the ordering and attuning of the instruments is left to man, just as is the discovery and use of science in all other spheres of life and nature. Every order of society now existing, is like an orchestra of discordant instruments without scientific arrangement, in which every performer plays according to his own caprice, heedless of all the others. We are told that struggles and difficulties and discords are a necessary and most valuable part of human culture: the Quarterly is not without its quota of this nonsense. We might as well say that an accomplished musician could be formed in the midst of the discord and confusion we have described above, better than where his ear should hear nothing but the harmonies of Beethoven and Handel.

Now in the science of Social Unity, we have the laws of this sublime music of society and the methods of their application. In a word it is the science of Universal Spiritual and Material Harmony, and it is only by the organization of humanity according to this science, that either society or individuals can completely attain the end of their existence. One word more. The Reviewer knows as little of the nature and mission of the collective man, or society, as he does of that of the individual man. Of the relation of humanity to the planet it inhabits and to the universe with which it is connected, he has no conception.

We will notice briefly one or two practical considerations of the Quarterly. It says that in Association the individual "has no interests that are primarily his own. He has no separate property, no separate income, no separate sphere in which he is to contrive, manage and struggle alone, and take the consequences. No fears of loss separate from that of the community, no hope of personal independence."

Association is the union of interests, but not their confusion. It is a partnership in which each partner shares in the profits in just proportion to his capital, skill and industry. His interests are combined with those of the other partners, but never lost in them. The amount of his earnings depends upon himself; the Association merely assures him that he shall not be defrauded by them. His utmost exertions and ingenuity are brought into action quite as much, and even more than if, instead of being in partnership, each member of the establishment were in competition with every other. And not only is the partner animated by personal interest, but he is much surer of obtaining the result he desires, than if he were alone. The capital, skill, and wisdom of fifty men combined, is more likely to be effective, than that of all of them taken singly, notwithstanding the opinion of the Quarterly.

By this arrangement, too, each man is appointed to the duties for which he is qualified, and not compelled, as in our present social incoherence to do what he is utterly unfit for. We have for instance, known an artist of whom America will yet be proud, who was really unable to do many things he could not escape from doing, such as the buying and other cares of housekeeping; of course he was perpetually cheated and harrassed. Now Association would protect him against these false necessities, and set his great talents free to work in their own sphere.

As to the individualism, the 'Laissez faire' principle of modern society, and of our Reviewer, we have a thought or two to express. The aim of the Divine Government and the true tendency of all the human affections is unity. The principle of individualism is altogether opposed to this. Instead of bringing men together in harmonious relations, uniting their interests and calling out the best activity of each, for the good of all and thus of himself, thereby practically realising the Law of Love, it establishes a perpetual conflict of interests and desires amongst them, and makes society not a Unity, not an image of heavenly order, but a mass of selfish indifference and hostilities. This principle is unspeakably false and hateful wherever it appears, whether in the frauds of trade, the degradation of the laboring classes, or the fascinating eloquence of transcendental philosophy, but its subtlest and most fatal influence is in religion. A large proportion of modern Christianity and nearly the whole of modern preaching is mere individualism.

"Love God, love man, flee from sin, seek righteousness,—for thereby alone can *your own soul* be saved." The great motive to every duty is its influence upon the man himself or upon his final salvation, according to his peculiar theology. Men are urged to renounce the vanities of the world, to be good and do good mainly for their own advantage. Thus even in the Christian religion where one might have hoped to find something of the Universal Love of its Divine Founder, this foul individualism has stolen in and got possession. No longer that spirit which gave itself for humanity, no longer that infinite yearning for the salvation of the race, no longer the love of God, embodied and manifested, as alone it can be, in the love of man, but a mournful selfishness, an endeavor to find as it were a private and isolated heaven,—to use the words of Coleridge "an other-worldliness not less selfish and hateful than this-worldliness." Such is modern Christianity.

The Quarterly proceeds at some length to say, among other things, that the evils which result from different degrees of wealth, refinement, etc. will exist in Association,—envy, toad-eating, contempt of the rich for the poor, hatred of the poor for the rich, &c. We have not space to quote its prolix remarks upon these heads; it is enough to say, they display, in a manner even more striking, the intellectual peculiarities which we have before alluded to. We give its concluding sentences upon labor.

"It is sufficient to remark, that the single fact that some are *obliged* to work, while others are not, lies at the bottom of all the false odium which rests on labor, and of all the discontent connected with it, in the present state of society. For this, and for innumerable consequences growing out of it, Fourierism has no remedy to prescribe. For even if all the members should, contrary to probability, be induced to labor, to the utmost extent that is promised, it would still be under the grand and radical distinction just mentioned. We often see the rich and genteel amusing themselves with a little exercise at work; but we have never heard that this reflected any dignity or honor on the toils of the necessitous working-man, (it would be an insult to pretend it!) or relieved his occupation of any of its disparagements in the absurd notions of the world.

The theory of Association is the science of the laws and motives of the human soul, upon which is based its method of social organization. Now as men are formed with different kinds of talents and character, with different tastes and impulses, it follows that differences of wealth will always exist. A. saves money, B. spends it as fast he gets it, and so

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it will always be. What then is the method of Nature for reconciling these opposite tendencies, and employing them as agents of Social Harmony? How are we to bring the rich and poor together for the advantage of both, and to prevent altogether, the evils which at present universally result from these differences of condition? It is impossible in an article like the present, to explain the means at length, but we will give a few hints upon them. In the first place, though there will be differences in wealth in Association, and though they are absolutely necessary to social harmony, the monstrous inequalities which now obtain will not be known. By combined industry and economies, the production of wealth will be immensely increased, but the distribution of it will be regulated upon just principles.

The great means of uniting the classes now so hostile are,—

Attractive Industry

Unitary Education,

Distribution of Profits according to universal principles of Justice.

In Association all classes have the same interests. Each therefore desires the prosperity of the others, because it is essential to its own. Thus neither can oppress or injure any other, because thereby it would injure itself. In Civilization their interests are opposed; hence conflicts, injustice, hypocrisy, and hatred.

Our Reviewer, in the passage quoted above, says that some are *obliged* to work while others are not; with the poor it is a necessity, with the rich an amusement; and therefore in Association, labor will still be a disgrace, and the quarrel between the rich and poor will still continue. But though the Reviewer has no faith in the possibility of Attractive Industry, we do not find our convictions respecting it much shaken thereby. It is plain that men are born with attractions for different branches of labor. One has a genius for mechanics, another for the culture of flowers, another for the care of horses, &c. Such men, whether rich or poor, engage in these pursuits from the pleasure they find in them; in their case, attraction is sufficient to ensure the performance of the duty. Where such decided tastes do not lead to the performance of any necessary function, it is yet possible to have it done from attraction. Take war as an illustration of this possibility, in itself the most repulsive of occupations; and yet, by certain means, it is rendered most attractive. If an employment like war can be made attractive, the Reviewer surely will not deny that peaceful and useful labors can be made so. Where labor is attractive it cannot be a disgrace; the rich and poor will engage in it with equal ardor. Thus they will be brought intimately together; the bond of common interests will be cemented, and discord will be hardly possible between them.

Another great means of Harmony, will be Unitary Education. As the Association guarantees to every child that is born in it, the utmost advantages of education, there can no longer be a difference between the rich and poor in point of intelligence and refinement; consequently a real equality will exist between them.

Finally, the the division of profits which in the antagonistic state gives occasion for the greatest injustice and the most violent discords between different classes and individuals, will in Association only serve to unite them inseparably. The application of the Universal Law of Direct and Inverse Attraction, to this difficult problem has always seemed to us one of the most brilliant achievements of Fourier's genius. We shall on future occasions explain this beautiful part of the theory of Association at length. At present our limits will not allow it.

The Reviewer devotes two or three pages to showing that alternation in employments will tend to destroy fixedness of purpose, strength of will, self-control, and to produce general disorder and irregularity. As to the latter point we will only say that the most exact order and punctuality will be observed in Association; it is not caprice or whim that we mean by alternation, but simply the necessity of nature for change; change is the law of the Universe, and of industry as well as of every thing else. We hope that even our Reviewer recognizes it in practice, whatever be his theoretical notions. We trust that he does not spend his whole time in writing such articles as that now under our hands, but occasionally alternates into more useful occupations.

On one point beside, the Quarterly is something more than mistaken. We have never said that the Gospel will be "perfected" in Association; we do say that Society will be perfected, that it will be organized according to the principles of the Gospel.

"Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you," "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy mind, and thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Upon these sublime commandments we take our stand as public advocates of the doctrine of Association. In it we find what we have never found elsewhere, the practical means of embodying their spirit in all the relations of men. We believe that Christ came into our world to prepare for the re-union of the torn and warring members of humanity, for the at-one ment of man with man, and thus for the unity of the race with God, and that it is in Associative Unity of man with man, community with community, and nation with nation, the laws of which Fourier has discovered, that this great design of Providence will be fully accomplished. It is this faith which especially animates the labors of Associationists, and lends a solemn joy, even to the trials and difficulties they encounter. Ever before their vision rises in the inevitable Future, the City of God, whose streets are golden, whose gates are precious stones, and within whose walls the glory and honor of the Nations shall be brought. The Quarterly sneers at some of our interpretations of the Scriptures; the inspired writings have meanings of which theologians and critics are not aware, and of which even their immediate authors may have been ignorant. Above all they are filled with symbols and prophecies of the Essential Destiny of man. All their pages are glowing with pictures of Universal Unity. To us this is the highest evidence of their peculiar character. Other books rise and pass away with the progress of humanity. These remain and are true forever.

OHIO PHALANX.

We notice in a recent number of the Pittsburgh Chronicle, an article from the pen of James D. Thornburg, on the present condition of the Ohio Phalanx, from which it appears that the report of its failure which has gone the round of the papers, is premature, and that although it has suffered embarrassment and difficulties from various causes, it is still in operation under new arrangements that authorize the hope of its ultimate success. We know nothing of the internal obstacles of which Mr. Thornburg speaks, and have no means of forming an opinion on the merits of the questions which it would seem have given rise to divided counsels and inefficient action. For the founder of the Ohio Phalanx, we cherish the most unqualified respect, believing him to be fitted, as few men are, by his talents, energy, and scientific knowledge, for the station of leader of the great enterprise which demands no less courage and practical vigor, than wisdom and magnanimity. The original Constitution of this Phalanx, of which we understand he was the author, is a document of rare excellence, admirably adapted to the transitional state of an infant Association, combining great comprehensiveness of view with a delicate perception of the nicest details, providing with remarkable sagacity for the just equilibrium of the various interests which it involves, and needing only to be carried out with the same wisdom and discrimination, that are displayed in its whole structure, to ensure an efficient and equitable government. We regret to learn that from causes unknown to us, it has been laid aside. We are not acquainted with the provisions of the new Constitution, but we can hardly imagine that they will be found to be improvements on the original instrument.

We learn from Mr. Thornburg's statements, that to those who chose to leave the Phalanx, it was proposed to give 33 per cent. on their investments, which is

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all they could be entitled to, in case of a forfeiture of the title to the domain, in which case all the improvements, buildings, crops in ground, &c., would be a total loss to the members. But there is no depreciation in the stock, when these improvements are estimated. The rent has been reduced to one half the former amount. The proprietor is expected to furnish a large number of sheep, the profits of which, it is believed, will be nearly or quite sufficient to pay the rent. At the end of two years, $30,000 in bonds, mortgages, &c. is to be raised, for which the Phalanx will receive a fee-simple title to the Domain. A large share of the balance will be invested in stock, and whatever may remain will be apportioned in payments at 2 1-2 per cent. interest, and fixed at a date so remote that no difficulty will result. There are buildings on the Domain, sufficient for the accommodation of forty families, in addition to a number of rooms suitable for single persons. The movable property on the Domain is at present worth $3,000.

In view of all the facts in the case, as set forth by Mr. Thornburg, we see no reason to dissent from the conclusion, which he unhesitatingly expresses, that the future success of the Phalanx is certain. We trust that we have not been inspired with too flattering hopes by the earnestness of our wishes. For we acknowledge, that we have always regarded the magnificent material resources of this Phalanx, with the brightest anticipations; we have looked to it with confiding trust, for the commencement of a model Association; and we cannot now permit ourselves to believe that any disastrous circumstance will prevent the realization of the high hopes which prompted its founders to engage in their glorious enterprise.

At the same time, it should be clearly understood, that the ill success of this, or of any other Phalanx, now in partial operation, would be no argument against the principles of Association, to which they are devoted. The truth of a theory cannot be tested by an experiment which does not combine the essential elements of success. A thousand failures in the attempt to ignite damp gunpowder would by no means prove the absence of an explosive quality in the compound. Nor should we be surprised, if a social reform, demanding ample capital, scientific organization, and a rare combination of mental and moral powers in its leaders, should meet with temporary obstacles, and in particular instances, experience a total defeat, when commenced with few or none of the practical conditions, without which even the most common operations of business would be attended with fatal disasters.

The causes of difficulty in the Ohio Phalanx, as stated in the article before us, are as follows: Want of Experience; Too much Enthusiasm; Unproductive Members; Want of Means. But in spite of these formidable evils, the result of the whole experiment shows that Association in itself is practicable; that men, women, and children, can live in one house in harmony; that under a wise organization, even bad men may be brought into social concord: and that, with all the necessary conditions in action, the loftiest hopes that have been formed of the Combined Order, would not fail to be realized.

The causes just alluded to, must always produce difficulty and discouragement; and at the same time, can scarcely be avoided in the commencement of every attempt at Association. Hence the need of unwearied patience, of indomitable resolution, and of far-sighted caution on the part of those, on whom any movement of this kind depends. Let them do every thing in the power of man to set aside these evils; but let them not be astonished, if to a great extent and for a long time, they suffer under their baleful influence. The Harmonies of the combined Order are not to be arrived at in a day or a year. Even with the noblest intentions, great mistakes in the begining are inevitable, and many obstacles of a formidable character are incident to the very nature of the undertaking. A want of sufficient means must cripple the most strenuous industry. Ample capital is essential for a complete organization, for the necessary machinery and fixtures, for the ordinary conveniences, to say nothing of the elegancies of the household order; and this in the commencement, can scarce ever be obtained. Restriction, retrenchment, more or less confusion, are the necessary consequences; and these in their turn beget a spirit of impatience and discontent in all but the heroic; and few men are heroes. The transition from the compulsory industry of civilization to the voluntary, but not yet attractive industry of Association is not favorable to the highest industrial effects. Men who have been accustomed to shirk labor, under the feeling that they had poor pay for hard work, will not be transformed suddenly into kings of industry by the atmosphere of a Phalanx. There will be more or less loafing, a good deal of exertion unwisely applied, a certain waste of strength in random and unsystematic efforts, and a want of the business like precision and force which makes every blow tell, and tell in the right place. Under these circumstances, many will grow uneasy, at length become discouraged, and perhaps prove false to their early love. But all these we are fully persuaded are merely temporary evils. They will soon pass away. They are like the thin mists of the valley, which precede, but do not prevent the rising of the Sun. The principles of Association are founded on the eternal laws of Justice and Truth; they present the only remedy to the apalling confusion and discord of the present social state; they are capable of being carried into practice by just such men and women as we daily meet in the usual walks of life; and as firmly as we believe in a Universal Providence, are we sure that their practical accomplishment is destined to bless Humanity with ages of abundance, harmony, and joy, surpassing the most enthusiastic dream.

CLERMONT PHALANX.

We are glad to learn by the following notice, taken from a Cincinnati paper, that the *Clermont Phalanx* still lives, and is in a fair way of going on successfully. We had received no account of it lately, and as the last that we had was not very flattering in respect to its pecuniary condition, we should not have been surprised to hear of its dissolution. The indiscretion of starting Associations without sufficient means and a proper selection of persons, has been shown to be disastrous in some other cases, and that we should fear for the fate of this one, was quite natural. But if our Clermont friends can, by their devotion, energy and self-sacrificing spirit, overcome the trying difficulties of a pioneer state, rude and imperfect as it must be, they will deserve and will receive an abundant reward. We bid them God speed!

To THE FRIENDS OF ASSOCIATION.—The members of the *Clermont Phalanx*, wish to call the attention of the friends of Industrial Association, to the experiment which they are making to carry into practice an Association, on the principles discovered by CHARLES FOURIER. This Association was called into existence by a Convention which met at Cincinnati on the birth-day of the immortal WASHINGTON, last year, which was adjourned until the beginning of May. A Constitution was then adopted, and a President and Council elected, to carry into existence its resolves.

The domain was purchased on the 7th day of May. It is situated in the south-east corner of Clermont County, Ohio, on the Ohio river, about forty miles above Cincinnati. It consists of upwards of nine hundred acres of excellent land, two hundred and fifty of which is Ohio bottom; the hill land is as rich as the bottom, and capable of any kind of cultivation. The view up and down the river is extensive, and only needs to be seen to be admired. The location is healthy and salubrious, and entirely free from fever and ague, or any endemic disease. The pioneer band, with their friends, took possession of the domain on the 9th day of May, since which time we have been engaged in cultivating our land, clearing away the forest, and erecting buildings

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of various kinds for the use of the Phalanx.

The amount of capital stock paid in is about ten thousand dollars; three thousand of which has been paid for the domain. We have a stock of cattle, hogs, and sheep, and sufficient teams and agricultural utensils of various kinds; also a Steam Saw and Grist Mill. Shoe, Brush, Tin, and Tailor's Shops are in active operation. There are on the domain thirty-five able bodied men, with a sufficient number of women and children.

When we first entered on our domain, there were no buildings of any description except three log cabins, which were occupied by tenants. We have since erected a building for a Saw and Grist Mill, a frame building 40 by 30 feet, two stories high, and another, one story high, 80 by 36 feet, and one 36 by 30 feet, together with a kitchen, wash-house, &c. These buildings are, of course but slightly built, being temporary. We have since commenced a brick building 80 by 30 feet, three stories high, which is ready for the roof; all the timbers are sawed for that purpose; and we expect soon to put them on.

There are about 2,000 cords of wood chopped, part of which is on the bank of the river. There are thirty acres of wheat in the ground, in excellent condition, and it is intended to put in good spring crops. We are also preparing to plant out large orchards this spring, Mr. A. H. Ernst, having made us the noble donation of one thousand selected fruit trees. We call the attention of our friends and the public to the fact, that we are improving our domain and providing for an increase of members. We wish to be aided in our undertaking by an increase of subscription to our stock; and we shall also be ready to receive a few more members, provided such are of the right character. It will also be necessary that they have some funds, and if their families are large, the amount must be in proportion, and the members must be such as can make themselves useful. They must of course, expect to meet many privations at the outset; but we trust we shall continually improve our condition, so as to realize vastly greater advantages, in moral, social, and educational points of view, than are generally enjoyed by farmers and mechanics living in isolation, here and there in the West. If we are true to the noble cause in which we have embarked, all the members, having constant employment and united interests, will soon be placed above want, with the means of giving a good education to their children.

By a provision of the Constitution, we make a yearly dividend, which, last year, was 7 per cent. for seven months, being at the rate of 12 per cent. per annum. There is reason to believe that the dividend will not be much less for some years. The amount paid to capital being one-fourth of the product. Pamphlets fully illustrating the doctrines of Association, can be had at the Type Foundry of Mr. James, Baker Street, Cincinnati. For further particulars we would recommend to all who wish to join our Association, to pay us a visit personally; such as cannot make it convenient to do so, are desired to write to us, post paid, directed to George Sampson, Secretary, at the Cincinnati Post Office.

George Sampson, Sec'y.

Every day reveals the fact in some shape or other of a rapid deterioration going on among the producing classes of the United States—the rewards of labor, the profits of production in all branches of industry are daily diminishing in amount and value for the real laborers and producers, and the consequent suffering that ensues is very generally commanding attention. Scarcely a paper can be opened that does not contain some acknowledgement or deprecation of the fact. In New England the laboring classes have long felt the growing evil, and their eyes having in some degree become opened to its threatening magnitude and the causes which generate it, a powerful counteracting movement has been commenced. In New England the subject will henceforward be unceasingly agitated; there will be no rest until the evil is thoroughly corrected. In our large cities, the increase of poverty, wretchedness and vice, on account solely of want of employment and a beggarly compensation of labor, is forcing the suffering and the sympathising into various kinds of relief movements,—mere palliatives and even abortive efforts, perhaps, but still showing the urgent necessity of doing something, and the irresistible tendency every where to radical and organic changes in industrial and social arrangements. It is gratifying to observe from time to time able and noble minded men come forward to point out the real nature of those social evils to which we refer, and the only true and effectual cure for them.

We quote an article from the Louisville Daily Democrat confirming our remarks, and showing that the cause of social reform and *Association* has found another advocate who will render it important service. We have the pleasure of knowing the gentleman, Dr. Buchanan, of whom the Democrat speaks, and entertain for him great esteem and respect. His talents and character make him a most desirable and efficient co-laborer.

Labor—its Reward.—We published on Saturday an account of a meeting of female laborers, in New York. It seems from their account, that females get only from $1 50 to $2 00 per week, for their labor, although they work fourteen or fifteen hours per day. It is obviously impossible for them to live—to keep soul and body together, at such wages. Various expedients are suggested to remedy this monstrous evil. To enlarge the sphere of female employment, by employing females as salesmen, in mercantile houses, promises as much perhaps, as any other expedient. Although that, as we can easily see, will be only temporary in its benefits. Some suggest that these ladies be sent, by means of charitable contributions, to the vacant territory of the great West, where they will have a better opportunity to provide for themselves.

Any thing which will give immediate relief is desirable; but it must be confessed that the evil lies deeper than is imagined. We listened to a part of a lecture by Dr. Buchanan, Friday evening last. It consisted in a great part of accounts of the laboring masses in older countries. Every intelligent man is aware that they are horrible. Pass through any of the crowded cities of Europe; look only at the surface, and all is wealth, prosperity and happiness; but—ah, the mighty current of squalid poverty, and wretchedness which rolls along beneath this guilded surface, unseen by the superficial observer. It is vain to dream of the happiness and comfort of the laboring classes in a crowded population whilst society is organized as it is. It is not to be hoped for. The laws of trade will bring about in this country in the course of time just the same state of things which exists in Europe. Our institutions will not prevent this deplorable result. It is driven on by causes over which political institutions have no control. It is as true in America as it is in Europe, that the prices of wages is regulated by the supply of laborers and the demand for labor. It is true likewise, that the former is constantly, surely gaining upon the latter. Wages are falling, and must fall. They will ultimately come, and the day is not many centuries distant, in the United States, when the wages of labor will be reduced by the laws of trade, which are just as uncontrolable as the law of gravitation, to the point of a bare subsistence. A farther reduction will then be impossible, for any overplus of laborers must perish from absolute starvation. The minimum of wages is the point at which they will just afford a subsistence. They are approaching that in this country with fearful rapidity; and they will soon reach it, as sure as the sun rises and sets, unless the calamity is averted by a different arrangement of the social system. The earth is capable of supporting an almost indefinite increase of population, and each individual laborer is capable of producing enough by working one-sixth of his time: and yet, by the present order of things, he must labor fourteen hours per day and then starve.

Man has an inalienable right to liberty, life, and the pursuit of happiness; but there is a right which has precedence of these—the right to meat and bread. Already the laborer in this country begins to find it necessary to contend for this right. It will sometime absorb all other contentions. For this, men will barter away all others. Those who have the means of supplying food and clothing, will ultimately play havoc with the maxim that all men are born free and equal. The institution of domestic slavery is now a great bug-bear. The day will come when the labor of the white man will supplant that of the negro, and the latter will starve,—will not dream about the want of liberty and equality, but the want of bread. Some scheme by which the laborer shall have the profits of his toil, ought to be; and we are enthusiast enough to hope will be devised; that before our vast domain is filled up, a remedy for the innumerable ills of a dense population may be discovered.

On the question of the monopoly of the land, I am decided that it is the master evil in our political condition.—*R. Carlyle.*

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LECTURES ON ASSOCIATION.

An earnest wish has been expressed in different parts of the country, that the principles of Association might receive that thorough, systematic, and popular exposition, which should enable earnest and inquiring minds every where to form an intelligent judgment upon their merits. Amidst the wide-felt prevailing dissatisfaction with the present order of society, men are directing their attention to the remedy of the evils under which they suffer; and nothing is wanting, but the spread of the doctrines of Association to show them that a future condition of harmony on earth is not only practicable, but is guaranteed by the universal laws of Providence. We publish below the Circular of the New York Central Committee, setting forth a plan for a more systematic propagation of the doctrines of Social Science, than has hitherto been attempted. We need not bespeak for it the attention to which it is entitled from the friends of our holy cause. Let it be received with the deep and glowing enthusiasm from which it had its birth. Let it be met promptly and efficiently with a true and generous sympathy. The time has fully come for vigorous action, for action in every direction, and not the least important, in the direction indicated in the subjoined

CIRCULAR.

Dear Sir:

The Central Executive Committee of the Associationists of the United States, appointed by the General Convention held in New York in April last, have decided upon organizing a system of vigorous and extensive propagation of the Doctrines of Associative Unity. And we call upon you and all friends of this grand movement of our age, to give your early and efficient aid to the enterprise.

We thus emphatically call the Associative Movement, *the Grand Movement of our Age*, because every day makes it more evident that what the Christian and civilized world now urgently needs, is that Union of all interests, that Reconciliation and harmonious co-operation of the now conflicting elements of society, which are shown to be perfectly practicable in Association. And experience is constantly proving that the Moral Reforms, which the Spirit of Humanity awakens on every side to such fervent zeal against prevalent evils, can be permanently secured only by this very Union and Reconciliation of the practical interests of society, the guarantee of perfect Justice to every man, woman and child, of general abundance and universal education, and the extension of the highest social privileges and advantages to all, which are the certain results of Association.

Impelled by these convictions and the hopes they inspire, we feel that Association claims from its friends and advocates the most strenuous exertions to secure a full and wide dissemination of the doctrines of Social Science on which it is based. Only such an indoctrination of our whole people can fitly prepare the way for a broad, liberal, complete and satisfactory application of the principles of Association—principles which rest on the eternal truths of Nature, which are in obedience to Providential Order, and which must command the confidence of the world when they are known and understood.

To test fully the principles of Association, Capital, Science, and Devoted Men are requisite. But we sincerely believe that the people of the United States are ready for the undertaking; and that if the right appeal is made, the heart of the Nation will respond and supply the means, both spiritual and material, which are needed worthily to show that societies may be organized on the principles of Justice and Love, of Fraternity and real Liberty and Equality, and mankind thereby elevated to Goodness, Intelligence and Happiness.

We propose, therefore, to send out a corps of Lecturers to arouse the attention of our whole people to this great social and religious movement; to exhibit its admirable character, at once so Conservative and Reforming; to interchange views with men of various parties and faiths; to attract the sympathies of the wise and influential of every class; and to devise methods of general co-operation among all who have the higher interests of humanity at heart. And we shall select for this mission men fitted by study and experience, by conviction and enthusiasm, thoroughly to teach the system of Association, to plant deeply in the popular mind the truths in which it is rooted, and to urge upon the conscience and good sense of the Nation, the necessity and timeliness of a Social and Industrial Reorganization.

It is proposed that this corps of Lecturers shall consist of George Ripley, of Massachusetts, and Wm. H. Channing and Albert Brisbane, of New York, who will serve if nothing intervenes to prevent.

The plan contemplated is that the lecturers shall commence their tour in the New England States during the summer, visit the northern and western States in the autumn, and middle States on their return. Some of their number will also traverse the southern States during the winter. They will lecture together or separately, and give longer or shorter series of addresses, according to the opportunity of usefulness. They will take with them books, pamphlets and tracts, explanatory of the doctrines and plans of Association, and chief among them a translation from the works of Fourier, which will be put to press immediately, if a liberal response to this appeal is made, and sufficient encouragement to the enterprise is manifested.

The sum which it is thought necessary to raise for these purposes is, at least, $ 1,500.

We call then upon you, confiding in your cordial sympathy, to aid this noble undertaking. Rouse your friends every where to give it their best support. Speedily send in to the Chairman of the Executive Committee at New York, the fullest contributions you can raise, due credit for which shall be given in the *Phalanx*, the organ of Association. Prepare the public mind, and that of your own community and neighborhood especially, for the coming of the Lecturers. Arrange plans for enabling them to address the largest audiences with the least expenditure of time and means. In every way aid us by your counsel and co-operation to make this mission the most effective possible for the accomplishment of its important objects. The time has come, when all partial movements of Reform must fulfil and complete each other, and flow together in one, onward, mighty movement towards Universal Unity:—

Unity of Man with Man in true Society:

Unity of Man with God in true Religion:

Unity of Man with Nature in Creative Art and Industry.

Our flag is given to the breeze; its three-fold Motto is full of the power of Faith and Hope and Charity. Let all true hearts join in its benediction, and aid in its fulfilment!

Parke Godwin, *Chairman*.
O. Macdaniel, *Secretary*.
New York, March, 1845.

THE NEW ENGLAND CONVENTION AT LOWELL, MASS.

We give below the Preamble and Resolutions adopted by the New England Convention of Mechanics and Working Men assembled at Lowell, March 18. The occasion was one of great interest, not only to those who are bearing the scourge which modern society inflicts on the laboring classes, but to all who have faith in the redemption of man from evil on earth, and in the coming reign of social justice, charity, and truth. The working men are every where waking up to a sense of oppression and wrong under the existing arrangements of society. The wail of indignation which has been sent up to Heaven by poets and philanthropists, like Shelley and Carlyle, now finds an echo in the breasts of the toiling masses, and, bravely taking their own work into their own hands, they will not rest till they are put in possession of all the rights which man claims in virtue of his humanity. Believing, as we do, without a doubt, that Association presents an effectual means for accomplishing the objects which the working men are in pursuit of, and deeply convinced of the intrinsic justice of their cause, we shall not only watch their movement with the warmest interest, but do all in our power for its speedy progress and final triumph.

PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTIONS.

Feeling deeply sensible of the evils to which, as a class, we are subjected—being compelled to toil a number of hours per day entirely inconsistent with the faithful discharge of the duties we owe to ourselves, to society, and our race; and for which we by no means receive a fair proportion of the value our industry creates; and viewing with alarm and regret the anti-republican tendencies of our present legislation, and the many evils, which have sprung from political abuse; and believing that these evils and abuses demand our immediate and united exertions for their correction or abolition; therefore,

Resolved, That the time has arrived for the workingmen of New England to form with each other that intelligent and comprehensive union, which alone is strength, and that they are called on in justice to themselves, to their country, and their race, to make use of all just and honorable means, social, moral, and political, to secure the great objects for which this Convention was assembled; and

Whereas, In order to procure an efficient Lien Law, an abridgement of the hours of labor, with such other salutary measures

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as will secure to the workingmen of New England their rights, it is necessary for us to send such men to the General Court as do best know and feel our wants; therefore,

Resolved, That this Convention recommend to the several Associations to form such arrangements as shall seem to them most efficient in carrying these measures successfully at the BALLOT BOX.

Resolved, That an abridgement of the hours of labor is indispensable to secure the moral, social, and physical well-being of the producing classes, and all who oppose this salutary measure exhibit a gross and pernicious disregard of the essential principles of justice, morality, and religion.

Resolved, That this Convention recommend to the several Associations, at once to commence raising a fund against the time when one or more Associations, on mature deliberation, shall attempt the adoption of the Ten Hour System, for the purpose of aiding such persons as would be prevented by pecuniary embarrassment.

Resolved, That the present Lien Law of Massachusetts is a disgrace to the statute book, and unworthy of an enlightened people; inasmuch as it tends to disorganize society, by discouraging honest industry; by arraying the poor against the rich, by oppressing the producing classes, by reducing them to poverty, pauperism, and crime, and enriching, at the expense of honest labor, the designing and unscrupulous, whose fraudulent practices it invites and screens from justice, contrary to the letter and spirit of the "Declaration of Rights," embodied in the Constitution of this Commonwealth.

Resolved, That all chartered monopolies are contrary to the letter and spirit of the Constitution, tending to gather the wealth of the community into the possession of the favored few, thereby establishing a dangerous, oppressive, monied oligarchy on the ruins of the Constitution; it is therefore our imperitive duty to urge the repeal of all partial laws touching the same at the earliest practical period.

Resolved, That on the morals and intelligence of the whole people depend the perpetuity of our republican institutions; it is therefore the duty and interest of the State to secure to all children in the community an education that will fully develope their physical, moral and intellectual powers, and render every citizen of the Commonwealth, worthy and capable to perform the sacred duties of a freeman.

Resolved, That the present policy of the State with reference to the labor of the convicts in the State prison, is unjust to the honest mechanic, injurious to the State, degrading to labor, hostile to humanity, and demands immediate revision or abolition

Resolved, That government is instituted for the common defence; that our present expensive law system does not promote good government; and should be so altered and revised as to afford cheap, prompt, and efficient protection to all.

Resolved, That in our State legislatures as well as in Congress, and all departments of the government, labor should be represented as well as capital; and that the interests of the people of the States—those of the workingmen not excepted—are entitled to full and equal representation.

Resolved, That the question of the freedom of the public lands is one which keeply interests the mechanics of New England; that the present monopoly of the same in the hands of speculators is opposed to national prosperity and natural rights; and that the freedom of these lands to actual settlers, is a matter which demands, and shall secure, our immediate and energetic co-operation.

Resolved, That the oppression and degradation of the producing classes in Europe, caused by the accumulation of capital in the hands of a few, by the spirit of commercial monopoly and the influence of machinery, in favor of wealth and in hostility to labor, present a terrible example of the tendencies of modern society to sink the masses in poverty and ignorance, and loudly call upon every friend of humanity in our more favored land, to aid in the discovery and adoption of measures which shall secure the American laborer from the impending fate to which he is exposed, and which timely precaution and vigorous action in defence of the inborn rights of man alone can avert.

Resolved, That in view of the approaching evils which threaten to involve the producing classes of this country, in the serf-like dependence and misery, which present so foul a blot on the fairest portions of the old world, it is hereby earnestly recommended by this Convention to their brother workingmen throughout the land to establish an annual Congress, which shall have for its object to propose and adopt such measures as shall be found necessary to secure the rights and interests of honest industry, and to hasten the accomplishment of the grand industrial revolution which is alike demanded by the nature of man, the mission of free America, by the hopes of Humanity, and the laws of eternal truth and justice.

The discussion of these resolutions was carried on in a most spirited and interesting manner. The principal object in view was to elicit the best method of carrying on the reform. All the delegates appeared deeply sensible of the necessity of *action*, and of some system of action which should insure the united support of every workingman. The Ten Hour resolution, and that with reference to the Lien Law were discussed in turn, with special reference to the means by which they were to be carried out. "One thing was strikingly evident;" (In the language of the speakers,) "if we will have laws to protect and secure our rights, we must have law-givers who can appreciate them, and can sympathize with the people."

The following Resolutions were offered by Mr. Brisbane, of New York:—

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Convention, the evils which oppress the producing classes are not the result of the selfishness or perversity of individuals; but that they grow out of the false organization of industry and of erroneous political and social principles, and that for this reason we attack *Principles* not *Men*.

Resolved, That to eradicate effectually these evils, and elevate the producing classes to their true position, we must not consume our time and waste our efforts in attacking partial and fragmentary abuses and evils, and in merely breaking down without building up, (which is a negative policy and barren of result,) but must bend the efforts of our combined intelligence to the devising of such new and fundamental measures and principles as will establish justice and right in industry and all its interests, and strike at the root of existing evils and abuses.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention the great primary evils which are now operating throughout all civilized nations to sink the producing classes in poverty and ignorance—which are the parents of servitude, wretchedness, and crime—are,

First, Antagonistic and depressing competition among the producing classes themselves, which arrays them collectively and individually in perpetual strife and conflict with each other, and leads to a gradual reduction in the price of wages as also to the prolongation of the hours of work, and engenders general distrust, envy, and opposition of interests and action.

Second, Monopolized machinery, or machinery in the hands of a few, which works against the producing classes instead of working for them, and adds the competition of iron and brass to that of bones and sinews.

Third, The present complicated, wasteful, and grasping system of Commerce, which absorbs nearly one half the profits of honest productive industry for the comparatively trifling service of carrying on the exchange of products.

Fourth, The divorce and separation between capital and labor, which arrays the capitalist against the laborer, and the laborer against the capitalist and produces reciprocal hostility, aggression, injustice and hatred, widens the distinction and division of classes, and leads to the subjection and oppression of the one by the superior management and advantages of the other.

Fifth, The non-recognition and non-guarantee of the two great fundamental rights of man—*the right to labor*, *and a right to the soil*, without which all other rights are rendered to a very great extent unavailable and worthless.

Resolved, That we hold the above five evils to be the fundamental and primary causes of the disadvantages under which the producing classes labor; but there are others of a secondary importance which apply with different degrees of force to different parts of the country and which in many cases may be discussed at the same time with the above fundamental evils, and that in the opinion of this Convention, different sections of the country be left free to agitate such secondary measures as they deem proper, but that in all parts these fundamental ones be discussed and kept constantly before the people.

Mr. Brisbane sustained these resolutions in a very able speech of some length, in which he illustrated the workings of the five fundamental evils mentioned in the resolutions, and showed the absolute importance of an industrial revolution, or an entire reorganization of our present system of labor. The competition of labor—the monopoly of machinery—the maelstroom of trade—the division of labor and capital—and the denial of the fundamental rights of man, were brought out in bold relief, calculated to awaken every mechanic to a sense of the evils that surround him.

Mr. Ryckman, of Brook Farm, introduced the following resolution, which he sustained in an able speech illustrating the necessity of a prompt, immediate, and

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thorough revolution in Industry, and the formation of an Industrial Congress analagous to that which fostered the liberties of the American Republic. His remarks were most enthusiastically received A more definite account of the "Congress" recommended, may be found in another place.

Resolved, That this Convention recommend to the N. E. Association to organize as promptly as possible, a permanent Industrial Revolutionary Government, upon the model of the confederation of the States in 1786, which shall be pledged to direct the legal political action of the workingmen so as to destroy the hostile relations that at present prevail between capital and labor, and to secure to all the citizens without exception a full and complete developement of their faculties by a thorough education, physical, mental and moral, and the practical enjoyment of the only inherent and inalienable right of man —THE RIGHT TO LABOR.

The following resolutions were presented by Mr. Wright, of Boston, and supported by him as well as by Messrs. Allen, Cox, Brown, Robinson, and Ryckman. The matter was felt to be one, as it really is of importance to the success of the movement. The Press must be our grand engine for carrying on the Reform. We trust the feeling excited and expressed at the Convention will not be allowed to die away, but that as a most practical reason, as one indispensible to our harmonious action, individually the workingmen will aid to extend the means of information, and support their own press.

Resolved, That an indispensable means of accomplishing our reform is the dissemination of information among the people; and for this purpose it is of the utmost importance to sustain those papers now established, devoted to the cause; and that the manner in which these publications are sustained may be considered as an index of the interest felt in national reform.

Resolved, That every man and woman engaged in our reform, is earnestly exhorted to extend the circulation of such papers as are devoted to our cause, by becoming personally subscribers and obtaining the subscriptions of others within the reach of their influence.

The following resolution was presented by Mr. Pierce of Fall River.

Whereas, The present Secretary of the U. S. Navy very severely condemned the course of his predecessor for increasing the number of hours for labor in the U. S. Navy Yards; therefore

Resolved, that in the opinion of this Convention, if that officer be consistent he will exert his whole influence to have the number of hours for labor in the U. S. service reduced to the same number they were before, that is, ten hours per day.

WORKING-MEN'S MEETING AT BOSTON.

On Thursday evening, the 10th of April, a mass meeting of the working-men of Boston was held at Faneuil Hall, to respond to the proceedings of the Lowell Convention. Mr. A. J. Wright acted as Chairman, and Messrs. Leonard Cox and S. Eddy, as Secretaries of the meeting.

The Chairman and several other gentlemen addressed the meeting and explained the objects for which it had been called. The Lowell Convention marked an epoch which the working-men of New England would crown with glorious results, if they were to carry out its resolves, and achieve Industrial Liberty, as their forefathers had Political Liberty, in 1776. Mr. Lewis W. Ryckman, very happily compared the position of the working-men of this country at the present day in regard to the oppressions of Capital and Monopoly, and the abrogation of their rights by political jugglery to that of the *whole people* before the Revolution, and showed that as the American people had instituted a Political Congress to assert their rights, and relieve them from a galling subjection to foreign *political* oppression, so also the working-men should institute an Industrial Congress to assert their rights and protect them from a more oppressive and degrading subjection to *industrial* oppression. Mr. Ryckman eloquently enforced upon the working-men the necessity and the feasibility of this project, and showed them that they had the power in their own hands to accomplish through this and other instrumentalities, all that they could desire as men, for themselves and their posterity. They had never yet used the power which the political revolution of their fathers had conferred upon them through the right of suffrage—this right was a dead right, a useless right to the working-men now; by indirect means they had been cheated out of it, and the true and only valuable thing in it, the principle of *representation*, had been destroyed, or stolen from them entirely. The working-man might vote, but he was not represented in the councils of the Nation or the State. There were influences and powers unseen behind and above him and his vote was a *blank*. So far as he and *his* interests were concerned, it was more than thrown away—it was hurtful to himself, serving only to bind him tighter in the chains of industrial bondage. This must not be; the working-man must recover and really possess the right of representation, and not the mockery of the right—the right of suffrage without being represented. It was through the right of suffrage, however, that he was to gain the substance itself; but as a primary means there must be independent organization among the working-men, not only of New England, but of the whole United States. They must unite in primary assemblies, form Societies in their respective towns, and send Delegates to the Boston Convention in May. Here measures would be taken for a thorough organization of the working men: an Industrial Congress would be constituted, and the great Industrial Revolution which was to emancipate the laboring classes from their industrial bondage, give them independence, a true social position, and political importance, would be commenced in earnest —a revolution, peaceful but radical, which would consummate and perfect the objects of our political revolution.

This is not a report, but merely a brief and imperfect sketch of the thoughts embodied in Mr. Ryckman's remarks.

The meeting warmly responded to the appeals and sentiments of the speakers.

The following Resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That we have read with sentiments of heartfelt approbation, the proceedings of the Working Men's Convention held in Lowell on the 18th ult.; that we honor them for the manly and decided course there taken in behalf of the oppressed Industrial masses, especially in those Resolutions proposing as a remedy the institution of a peaceful Industrial Revolutionary Government, with a Constitution, Congress, and Laws, adapted to the wants of the age, and calculated to secure to each and all free access to the employment which the God of nature offers to the human race, with a just share in the distribution of the earth's products, and that we *here*, in *Old Faneuil Hall*, cordially pledge our faith and our sacred honor, to aid in carrying into effect this glorious enterprise.

Resolved, That L. Cox, Jr. and L. W. Ryckman be hereby appointed an organizing Committee, with power to add to their number or to appoint assistants, and that this meeting recommend to the Working Men of New England to rally at their call, and to extend to them such aid as may be required to ensure the success of the undertaking.

CELEBRATION OF FOURIER'S BIRTH DAY IN NEW YORK.

The 7th of April was observed by the friends of Fourier in New York by a public dinner. An excellent entertainment was prepared at the hotel of Mr. Barnard, at which the principal admirers of Fourier were present. When the cloth was removed Mr. Frederick Grain was called to preside, and Mr. Slocum occupied the chair at the other end of the table. On taking the chair Mr. Grain remarked:

GENTLEMEN,—It is customary on the celebration of the birth day of a great man, to enumerate his deeds, and develope the greatness of his genius, but to what purpose? When once a man is raised to the pinnacle of everlasting fame, to what purpose, I say, are these eulogiums? The name alone of the immortal Washington brings to mind the Father of his country; and that of Napoleon the greatest general and statesman; and when I pronounce the name of Charles Fourier, I bring before you the great discoverer of God's laws, and the benefactor of the human race. What more can I add to his praise. I offer as a sentiment:

CHARLES FOURIER.—May the spirit of Fourier, like an electric flash enlighten the path to the sanctuary of Harmony, where Unity and Love preside.

Mr. Channing, from the committee appointed for that purpose, then rose and read the following regular toasts, which were each received with the warmest expressions of enthusiasm.

The Passion of Taste.—Now the pampered slave of sensuality and excess, the tempter of the drunkard and the glutton—but destined in a true condition of society to become a source of physical health, rational enjoyment and a beneficent Art.

The Passion of Smell.—The flowers yield their incense in gratitude to the Sun Under the warm sunshine of Universal blessedness, may Human hearts at last, over the wide earth send up their tribute of thankfulness.

The Passion of Sight.—God has scattered the objects of it over the Universe in boundless and beautiful profusion—in the forms and colors of Flowers, Trees and Mountains, in the fresh Green of the Earth—in the deep

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Blue of the Heavens—far as the eye can reach and the rays of the Sun penetrate.

"Survey its empire and behold its home."

May the time soon come when the Painter's glorious ideals of pictorial Beauty shall be the transcripts of our actual Globe, redeemed by universal and integral Cultivation.

The Passion of Hearing.—Music is the Prophetic Art; Handel, Mozart, Beethoven, and their glorious band of compeers, announced the era, when Society, in one sublime Oratorio of concordant hearts shall sound forth in ever varying relations of purity, generosity and noble emulation, the harmonies of united creatures, reformed in the image of their Creator.

The Passion of Touch.—Its emblem the Hand—its result Labor. Poor, despised, squalid, heart-broken Labor! having suffered for six thousand years the penalty of the original curse, it will yet be rescued from Duplicity and Discord, and transformed into attractive, wholesome, Divine Work.

The Passion of Friendship, which leads to true and universal democracy, when all the institutions of society shall recognize the inviolable rights of man, and worship in every human form, though under the roughest exterior, the soul made in the image of its Creator.

The Passion of Love.—May Cupid at last find Psyche; and proud as innocent may the meek pair ascend to the skies, to take their places among the Immortals, and from heaven, to guide true lovers no longer blind, but open-eyed, to happy union.

The Passion of Paternity.—The spring of so much heart-felt happiness, and so many delightful ties; but too often alas, an occasion of hypocrisy, selfishness and licentiousness. God has promised us a Future, when all the families of the Earth shall be blessed in the practical reign of Freedom, Truth and Love.

The Passion of Ambition.—Demanding a perfect Humanity as its sphere of action;—a Humanity of Nations united under one Head; Communities members together in each Nation, and every man, woman, and child, taking rank and fulfilling functions according to their measure of Goodness, Wisdom, and Power. It is the only source of Universal Loyalty, and of Willing Reverence. Its glory is to be a minister of Good; its badge of eminence is Usefulness.

The Passion of Cabalism.—In its subversion, the fearful agent of petty diplomacy, cruel intrigues, and bloody wars; in organic society, it will be the Inspirer of a generous ambition, the Refiner of Industry, the Friend of Order, and the Patron of Universal Peace.

The Passion of Alternatism.—The Balance-wheel of universal Nature, preserving perpetual order in the midst of perpetual variety, like ever young and beautiful youth, treading in the footsteps of decay.

The Passion of Compositism.—The Apollo in the Olympus of the Soul; too long has the Slayer of Discord borne the Shepherds' robe in the court of Admetus; too long has Art been the slave of the World; may the time of deliverance come, when once again amidst the Muses, the Power of Productive Beauty may strike the lyre of joy, crowned with its radiant diadem of light.

The Passion of Unity—Love, Justice, and Order in thought, Universal Good in action. May the day now dawning soon become full noon, when beneath the White Banner of Perpetual Peace a United Race shall glorify God on a Redeemed Earth.

When the fifth toast had been read, Mr. Grain responded to it in the following language:

GENTLEMEN,—When we reflect that the class of men by whom all the wonders of the world have been achieved, from whom the comforts and luxuries, nay, the very means of existence emanate, have ever been poor, should not our very souls be grieved? Must those beings to whom the most is due partake the least of the advantages resulting from their own industry? Must millions among them be deprived of the first necessaries of life? Nay, must myriads of human beings fare worse on this glorious planet than the brutes, with no ray of hope left them in their agony but death? No, gentlemen, no. This is a severe reproof of those on whom the charge of society has devolved, but it is no less true. None have ever fulfilled their duty, none have ever thought of the great responsibility imposed on them by the acceptance of the task placed in their hands, on which depends the happiness of their fellow beings—a task for the performance of which they are responsible to God and man!

Honor then to the memory of the noble philanthropist, who at the sight of such a barbarous state of things, devoted his whole life in researches for the remedy of the evil, and whose labors have been crowned with success. Honor to you, his followers, for your devoted efforts to complete his glorious work, and to place man in his true rank, giving to all mankind abundance, high intelligence and refinement, and the moral and intellectual pleasures of Combined and Attractive Industry.

The toast to Love was replied to by Mr. Channing, who spoke upon the true relation of the sexes in a strain of fervent, impassioned and beautiful eloquence, which we have seldom heard surpassed. His remarks upon the nature of Woman, and the destiny which would be opened to her in a harmonic state of society, fell upon the ears like strains of rich music, softening and elevating the soul by their depth and purity. The company listened to the speaker with wrapt attention and admiration, and were loth to allow him to quit when he sat down. On the close of his address Mr. Granger offered the following sentiment:

Woman—The time is not far distant when, by means of the system of Fourier, will commence thy emancipation from all thraldom, and the full development of the genius and intelligence with which Heaven has so richly endowed thee. May Heaven speed the time.

Mr. Giles then gave,

The health and prosperity of all our dear friends who are now engaged in the attempt to organize practical harmony.

Mr. Godwin here rose and said that he could not suffer this occasion to pass without saying a word. It had, perhaps, been expected of him to speak of the character of Fourier: but his veneration for that distinguished man was so great that he could not find words to convey his meaning. Yet the character of Fourier's mind was one that he did not understand. He towered so magnificently above his race that an ordinary man could hardly comprehend his true proportions. His history, like his intellect, was unlike that of other men. Born in the midst of a ferocious revolution, when the spirit of destructive reform had seized every mind, both great and small, when all the influence of his age and country, and of his own earlier education, tended to the wild radicalism of the Terrorists, this man, alone, unfriended, immovable,—calm in his majestic self-confidence,—yet burning with a vehement enthusiasm,—sympathizing almost to agony with the distresses of the people, yet thoroughly despising the pretended leaders of the people,—a follower of Christ in an age of almost universal atheism,—uniting the loftiest genius with the noblest heart and the most humble virtues,—this man arose solemnly, like a messenger from another world, to rebuke the spirits of misrule, to calm the agitated chaos, to call the selfish philosophers of the world to an account, and to build up for the hopes and hearts of mankind, a structure of society founded upon the eternal laws of God.

Mr. Godwin, after speaking in this way for some time, continued: But I am straying away from the toast. That speaks of the disciples of Fourier,—not to the theoretical believers, but to those who show their faith by their works. Mr. G. then spoke in detail of several of the Associations, and particularly of Brook Farm. In the men who were gathered there the cause had one of its surest guarantees of success. Referring to Mr. Ripley, Mr. Dana, Mr. Dwight, Mr. Ryckman, &c., and to Mr. Brisbane and Mr. Macdaniel, now on a visit there, in the warm terms of personal friendship. Mr. Godwin also paid high compliments to the Women of the new Associations. His remarks were received with the strongest marks of applause.

Mr. Hempel next addressed the company in a brief address, in which, after cautioning the disciples of Fourier against the spirit of narrow and slavish submission which had too often characterized the followers of distinguished men, proceeded to say, that the failure of practical experiments, should they occur, ought not to diminish our confidence in the truth of Fourier's principles. He illustrated his position by several interesting analogies drawn from the process of organization in the natural world.

Mr. Foster then gave,

The Philosopher of France,—whose philosophy more than realizes the most brilliant visions of Prophets and Poets.

But our space will not allow us to dwell upon all the good things said. The occasion was a happy one, and our hearts were rejoiced by the festivity. None of our friends were forgotten, and we have received fresh courage for the cause from this meeting.

CELEBRATION OF FOURIER'S BIRTH DAY AT BROOK FARM.

The members of the Brook Farm Phalanx commemorated the birth-day of Fourier by a festival of unusual interest.

The disciples of Fourier have met for years past in various parts of the world, to commune together and offer up the homage of grateful hearts for his advent upon the earth, and these meetings have been signalized by an atmosphere of lofty and pure sentiment, brilliant wit, and soul-stirring eloquence, seldom if ever excelled on similar occasions; but they were *simplistic* meetings after all—the meetings merely of theorists, of receivers

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of a doctrine, who could pay but a *simple* tribute to the memory of Fourier,—the tribute of intellectual conviction; at Brook Farm, however, a practical Association, the meeting assumed a higher and more impressive character. It was a meeting not of theorists alone, convinced of the truth of the doctrine of Association, but of workers who illustrated them in practice; and their offering was a *compound* tribute to the memory of Fourier,—the tribute of the mind and of the hands together. This was the feeling of those who had participated in former festivities, and it was one which deeply impressed all present.

An Association, indeed, seems the only fit place for the celebration of Fourier's birth-day, where old and young, men and women, can join in the delightful service of rendering a respectful and affectionate tribute to his memory; there all can unite in offering up the incense of hearts overflowing with gratitude to him who consecrated his life to the holy purpose of elevating mankind to their destiny on earth, in admiring that exalted genius which has comprehended and revealed the sublimest truths of nature, and in invoking with hope made confident by partial experience, the speedy coming of that era of Harmony and Love and Peace which all the Prophets have announced, and which will be realized in Association.

The company assembled in the evening in the dining-hall of the Association, in which the taste and skill of the members had been displayed in numerous beautiful decorations and appropriate emblems. The ceilings and the walls were festooned with evergreen, and the tables in the centre and corners of the room ornamented with the richest and most fragrant flowers from the green-house of the Association. At one end of the hall stood the bust of FOURIER in plaster lately received from Paris; his brow wreathed with myrtle; and on the wall behind it, extending nearly across the room in large Roman letters of evergreen, was inscribed the name of FOURIER. Under the name the date of his birth, 1772. On each side of this inscription were the emblems of Industry and Hope,—the bee-hive and the anchor. At the opposite end of the room hung the banner of Association, composed of the primary colors, and bordered with white, the emblem of Unity. Over the banner a plain tablet of azure was placed, on which the words UNIVERSAL UNITY, were emblazoned in letters of silvery white. The Lyre, intertwined with flowers, as an emblem of harmony, the frame of which was white, and the strings of the seven prismatic colors, corresponding to the scale of the seven spiritual passions, occupied a conspicuous place on one side of the room; and opposite to it an inscription from the New Testament, containing the promise of the blessed Comforter as confirming the hopes which swell with rapture the breasts of those who have faith that Association will fulfil the glorious prophecies of inspiration, and bring down upon earth the kingdom of Heaven. Another tablet was inscribed with the fundamental law of Fourier, *Les Attractions sont proportionelle aux Destinees*. The tables offered a simple and elegant repast. The scene received an indescribable charm from the perfect social equality of all present, alike of the servers and the served, and the cordial friendship which animated every bosom and sparkled in every eye.

After an hour spent in social converse and enjoyment around the festive board, the President, Mr. Ripley, addressed the company in a short speech, calling their attention to the relation in which, as members of an Association, they stood with regard to Fourier, the discoverer of the laws of Universal Unity. Mr. Ripley gave a rapid sketch of the character of Fourier, his claims to the gratitude and reverence of the world, and the influence he was destined to exert upon the prospects of humanity. He then stated that he should read some select passages from the Scriptures, as being more appropriate to the spirit of the occasion than any language which he could command. These passages, selected from various portions of the Old and New Testament, presented an exalted view of the divine wisdom which was ever flowing into the hearts of the chosen leaders of the human race,—of the assurance of support from the Providence of God to every sincere and faithful effort for the elevation of man,—and of the sublime harmonies which the earth and its inhabitants are destined to enjoy in the progress of the ages.

When Mr. Ripley had concluded, there followed a beautiful chant by the choir, which enlivened the evening by occasional strains of delightful music.

Mr. Brisbane then passed upon Fourier a glowing eulogium, and described in graphic and thrilling language the noble old man as he had personally known him.

Mr. Dana followed in some eloquent and inspiring remarks upon Universal Unity, happily alluding to the tablet on which the words were inscribed.

Speeches and sentiments of great brilliancy were delivered in the course of the evening by Messrs. Ripley, Dana, Orvis, Cabot, Westacott, Allen, Ryckman, and Dwight, members of the Phalanx, and Francis G. Shaw, Brisbane, and Macdaniel guests.

Before the company separated, they united in singing Old Hundred. The scene altogether was one which will long dwell in our memory. A GUEST.

We give below an extract from the European Correspondence of the Philadelphia Ledger, which shows that the idea of social reform is at work in the German mind. This is but a confirmation of what we knew from other sources, but it is valuable as forming the principal topic in the letter of a mere observer, who speaks not from sympathy or peculiar opportunities of information: the fact is a prominent one and of public notoriety is the inference. Next to the American, the German people are best prepared to receive the idea of social reform, although they may differ in their mode of treating it. The Germans will speculate and philosophise upon it a good while before they reduce it to practice,—the Americans are rather disposed to do exactly the reverse; but they will both fully adopt it and carry it out in their own way, eventually coming on the same ground,—a perfect union of theory and practice. We hope much from Germany.

The writer speaks of Communism particularly, but although we are aware that this erroneous form of social reform has taken some hold in Germany and Switzerland, we are inclined to the opinion that he confounds with it the doctrine of Association through ignorance of any difference.

LONDON, January 26, 1845.

In Germany and Switzerland, (I speak here particularly of the German part of it.) the Communist ideas have, as yet, made the farthest progress. The German mind is so constituted and tutored, by a systematic education, that it seizes with greater facility a general principle than a particular advantage, however great. For this reason the Germans fought for the liberty of a boon which, after all, is more or less an abstraction,—while they neglected their political organization, and surrendered one practical privilege after the other to their princes. What could not be classified and arranged under a general head, was deemed of little or no value, and therefore wasted. They formed, in this respect, the very antipode of the English, who, since 1740, did not establish a single general principle of government, but defeated their political tormenters in so many details that the sum of their victories forms a very respectable historical progress. What the Germans gained, they gained for all nations,—for the progress of humanity in general; they themselves remained without a special benefit for their sacrifices.

But it is even this inclination towards speculative philosophy and to generalization, which renders the Germans the most dangerous depositories of the Communist ideas of the present day. These ideas are just general enough to take hold of their whole moral and intellectual energies; and as they propose a remedy for an evil which the rapid progress of manufactures in the States of the German Zollverein, has brought home to almost every family, their spreading cannot for a single moment be doubted. The whole modern literature of Germany is siding

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with the Communists, and, what I deem of infinitely greater consequence, the employers in the municipal manufacturing districts of Westphalia, the Rhenish provinces, Silesia, &c., are siding with the laborers. Property being not yet amassed in such quantities as in England and France, there is as yet a common feeling among the industrious classes which favors the adoption of the principles of Communism. This important truth, it would seem, was perceived by the King of Prussia himself, and hence, to establish a counterpoise to the Trades' Unions rapidly forming in the different provinces, he proposed himself a Union for the improvement of the condition of the laboring classes, and subscribed liberally towards it. For a while the Germans were again deceived. They believed in the King's sincerity, but the constitution of that Society has since shown its veritable object. The principle of reform is entirely lost sight of, and savings banks, schools, and other specific ameliorations and palliatives proposed instead of it.

The sharp criticism which follows, taken from the North American Review, contains many just reflections, and presents a faithful picture of some of the moral perversions and deadly influences in society, springing from the unhallowed spirit of selfishness, in the present system of trade. But such criticisms are of little value, except as historical portraits of the people and the times to which they refer, unless while they exhibit the ends of society, they also point to the means of correction. If the 'spirit of trade' freezes and closes the portals of the heart, blights the social affections, destroys the freshness and poetry of life, and spreads gloom over the face of society; if it engenders cold mock morality, dishonest sobriety, and hypocritical sanctity; is it not evident that there is something wrong in the system which allows the spirit of any institution of society to produce such baleful results? This is very clear, and the critics who feel so keenly and describe so acutely the evils of a false system should see that the only way to get rid of them, is to reform the *system*. It is useless to declaim against the evil merely, and to endeavor to persuade people to connect what circumstances, and so far as the individual is concerned, necessity forces upon them. The 'spirit of trade' takes its character from the system of trade, and to change the spirit, the system must be changed:

It is rare to find a VIRTUOUS American past middle life, who does not regard amusements of all sorts either as childish or immoral; who possesses any acquaintance with, or taste for, the arts, except it be a natural and rude taste for music; or who reads any thing except newspapers, and only the political or commercial columns of those. It is the want of taste for other things than business which gives as anxious and unhappy turn to our minds. It cannot be many years before the madness of devoting the whole day to the toils of the counting-house will be acknowledged: before the claim of body and mind to relaxation and cheerful exhilarating amusement will be seen. We consider the common suspicion which is felt of amusements among thoughtful people, to be one of the most serious evils to which our community is exposed. It outlaws a natural taste, and violates and ruins the consciences of the young, by stamping as sinful what they have not the force to refrain from. It makes our places of amusement low, divides the the thoughtful and the careless, the grave and the gay, the old and the young, in their pleasures. Children are without the protection of their parents in their enjoyments. And thus, too, originated one of the greatest curses of our social state—the great want of intimacy between children and parents.

The impulses which incline to pleasure, if opposed, tend to vice. Nature finds a vent for her pent-up forces. Alas! for what are called STRICT MORALS in this view: when, by an unnatural restriction, innocent and open pleasures make way for secret vices or sins of the heart.

While the commercial spirit in this extravagant form gives a certain sobriety and moral aspect to society, it occasions an excessive barrenness of real moral excellences. This is a very difficult and delicate distinction to render popularly apparent, although of the most vital and substantial reality. There is a very great difference between what are called strict morals, and morals that are really profound in their sources, and pervading in their influence.

We are more strict in our morals in the Northern States than any where in the world, but it is questionable whether our morality is not of a somewhat inferior quality, and in too narrow a view. It is artificial, conventional. There is no quarter of the earth where the Sabbath is so scrupulously, observed, — where religious institutions are so well supported, — or where more abstinence from pleasure is practised. The great virtue of industry prevails. Overt sins are more rare here than elsewhere. As far as morality is restrictive in its nature, it has accomplished a great work in America. The vices or sins which are reducible to statute, or known by name, are generally restrained. We have a large class of persons of extraordinary propriety and faultlessness of life. Our view of morals has a tendency to increase this class. Our pursuits are favourable to it. The love of gain is one of the most sober of all desires. The seriousness of the miser surpasses the gravity of the devotee. Did not every commercial city draw a large body of strangers to it, and attract many reckless and vicious persons, it would wear a very solemn aspect. The pleasure seeking, the gay, the disorderly, are never the trading population. Large commercial cities tend to great orderliness and decency of manners and morals. But they also tend to very low and barren views of moral excellence. And the American spirit of our day illustrates this. Our moral sense operates only in one direction. Our virtues are the virtues of merchants and not of men. We run all to honesty, and mercantile honesty: we do not cultivate the graces of humanity: we have more conscience than heart, and more propriety than either. The fear of evil consequences is more influential than the love of goodness. There is nothing hearty, gushing, eloquent in the national virtue. You do not see goodness leaking out from the full vessel at every motion it feels. Our goodness is formal, deliberate, premeditated. The upright man is not benevolent, and the just man is not generous. The good man is not cheerful. The religious man is not agreeable. In other words our morals are partial, and therefore barren. It is not generally understood how great scrupulousness of character may be united with great selfishness, and how, along with a substantial virtue, there may exist the most melancholy deficiencies. This seems to be very common with us, and to be the natural result of our engrossing pursuits.

Every one minds his own business, to the extreme peril of his own soul. The apostolic precept, mind not thine own things, but also the things of another, is in danger of great neglect. Our social condition makes us wary, suspicious, slow to commit ourselves too far in the interest of others. The shyness of the tradesman communicates itself to the manner of the visiter; we learn to live within ourselves; we grow up unsocial, unfraternal in feeling; and the sensibility, the affection, the cordiality, the forth-putting graces of a warm and virtuous heart, die of disease. For our part we are ready to say, let us have more faults and more virtues; more weakness and more graces; less punctilio, and more affluence of heart. Let us be less dignified and more cordial; less sanctimonious and more unselfish; less thriving and more cheerful; less toilsome and more social.

We want as a people a rounder character. Our humanity is pinched; our tastes are not generous. The domestic and social virtues languish. The dearest relations of life are stripped of beauty; a wretched utility usurps that proper theatre of beautiful sentiment, our very homes. Children grow up unknown to their parents. The mature despise their own youth, and have no sympathy with the romance, the buoyancy, the gayety of children. Enterprise is only enthusiasm. We grow to be ashamed of our best affections. We are afraid to acknowledge that we derive enjoyment from trifles, and make apologies for being amused with anything. Thus is the beautiful field of life burnt over, and all its spontaneous flowers and fruitage destroyed; a few towering trunks alone redeeming the landscape. Happiness is made up of little things, and he who would be happy at all, must enjoy the little things day by day. So fraternal love, benevolence, virtue, consists in small acts prompted by love and binding the day with a chain of delicate moral links. Character, too, is the result of right purposes and pure feelings, and generous emotions, exercised upon trivial occasions day after day; and heroic and high virtue is the necessary result of this mode of life. We fear that the ruling passion of our community, the habits of business which it has established, the anxious and self-concentrated mind which ensues, the morals which it engenders, are very hostile to anything like perfected humanity.—*N. A. Review.*

THE ALPHADELPHIA TOCSIN. Our design of noticing this paper has, from time to time been deferred, and we owe our friends who conduct it an apology for an omission of duty which may look like wilful neglect. We assure them, however, this is not the case; every number has brought with it an increased satisfaction at their successful progress, not unmixed with astonishment at the ability of

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so young an establishment, buried, we might almost say, in the wilds of Michigan, if such an expression can be applied to any part of the *United States*, to issue and maintain so handsome and well-filled a sheet. The Tocsin is a good sized quarto, and in typographical dress and quality of paper, is superior to the Dailies of the Capital of France! This is a strange fact which is true of a great many *country* papers, even at extreme points of the South and West. But the Tocsin is not recommended only by outward appearance: it is an earnest advocate of associative doctrines, and contains a great deal of interesting matter on the subject, original as well as selected, lectures, essays, &c. H. K. Schetterly, Esq. is the principal editor, and he has a corps of able assistants and contributors. We hope the paper is not only a creditable and useful exponent of our views, but is also a profitable branch of the industry of the association.

At the last accounts from the Alphadelphia Association, the condition of things was very favorable and promising. We trust our friends will continue to go on prosperously and soon place themselves in a position beyond the chance of failure.

THE AMERICAN AGRICULTURIST, published at New York and edited by Mr A. B. Allen, is one of the most excellent journals of its kind in this country. Mr. Allen is himself an enthusiastic lover of the art of Agriculture; he has been long devoted to it and all that relates to this great branch of industry and production, and his experience and ability give to his journal a sterling value. The fourth volume commenced with January; they who would desire to possess a complete volume, filled with instructive information upon the science of Agriculture, &c., by subscribing early may obtain the back numbers.

Popular Lectures on Astronomy, by M. ARAGO, *with additions and corrections by* DIONYSIUS LARDNER, LL. D. Greely & McElrath, Tribune Buildings, New York. Price 25 cents.

This is one of the most valuable and popular works on Astronomy ever issued from the press. It covers the whole field of results in Astronomical science, up to the most recent observation, in a very concise and comprehensive form and admirably adapted to the general reader, who, without wishing to enter into a laborious investigation of the subject, desires full and accurate information. The celebrity of the author of these Lectures, who ranks first among the astronomers of France, if not of Europe, stamps upon them a high scientific value; and the labors of Dr. Lardner in preparing them for the American press render them even more instructive and valuable. The Lectures were *reported* as Arago delivered them before the French Academy, not written out by himself, and many omissions and important connecting links omitted by the reporter, have been supplied by Dr. Lardner, and they now present a complete and interesting series of discourses.

It will be seen by the following advertisement, that Arago's Lectures constitute the first of a *new* series of "Useful Books for the People," to be published by Greely & McElrath, of whose claim to public patronage we need not say one word.

IN PRESS, Popular Lectures on various subjects in Physical Science, delivered in the chief cities and towns in the United States, by DIONYSIUS LARDNER, Doctor of Civil Law, Fellow of the Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh, Member of the Universities of Cambridge and Dublin, and formerly Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy in the University of London, &c. &c.

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The Publishers announce that Dr. Lardner having closed his professional tour as a public Lecturer in this country, they have availed themselves of the opportunity of inducing him to prepare for publication a complete and authentic edition of his popular Lectures on Science. The general interest which these discourses have excited for the last four years throughout the Union, manifested by the continued assemblage of audiences of unprecedented numbers and respectability, in every part of the country from Boston to New Orleans, and from New York to St. Louis, afford the publishers good grounds for the assurance that they will thus present to the American public an acceptable offering and a most useful manual of general information. They will also afford that large class of persons who have attended these courses an agreeable means of reviewing the impressions from which they have derived already so much pleasure and profit.

The following is a list of subjects which will be embraced in these Lectures: The Solar System; The Theory of Gravitation; The Moon, (Two Lectures:) The Sun; The Planets; The Plurality of Worlds; The Comets, (Two Lectures;) The Existence and Attributes of God Deduced from the Laws of Nature; Popular Falacies; Light; Sound; Heat; Electricity, (Two Lectures:) The Power of Steam; The Steam Engine; The Present State and Prospects of Steam Navigation in the United States and Great Britian; Railways; Galvanism, (Two Lectures;) The Stellar Universe; Combustion and Artificial Illumination; The Atmosphere, &c. &c. &c. Magnetic Telegraphs; The Alliance of Science and Art, &c. &c. &c.

No expense will be spared to render this work useful and attractive. Wood engravings illustrating the text, will be copiously supplied. GREELY & MCELRATH.

NOTICE TO THE SUBSCRIBERS OF THE PHALANX.

Our subscribers will see by the Prospectus that the name of "The Phalanx" is to be changed for that of "The Harbinger," and that the paper is to be printed in future by the Brook Farm Phalanx. The reasons for this arrangement are many and cogent, but to explain them at length seems unnecessary, as we have no doubt the announcement of it will give perfect satisfaction to all.

The Phalanx for some time past has been very irregular in its publication, owing to circumstances which could not be controlled, for which we trust our readers will make due allowance. One more number will be published immediately, accompanied by an Index and Title page, which will close the volume. The Harbinger will be sent to all our subscribers for the remaining numbers of the paper which may be due them respectively.

Need we appeal to our friends to aid the new enterprize to the utmost of their power by obtaining subscribers to the Harbinger? Its success depends in a great measure on their efforts, and we hope they will feel the responsibility which devolves on them. Let every man make a point to get *one* subscriber at least; and let every one whose term expires at the end of the six months' volume renew his subscription immediately, as directed in the Prospectus.

NOTICE TO THE SUBSCRIBERS OF THE SOCIAL REFORMER.

This number of the Phalanx is sent to each subscriber of the Social Reformer, which has been merged in it to come out under another name, as announced in the Prospectus. To all who have paid their subscriptions, the Harbinger will be continued to the end of their terms, but as many have not done so, we must urgently press upon them the justice and propriety of giving the matter immediate attention. They are earnestly desired to send the amount of their subscriptions immediately as directed in the Prospectus, and it is hoped that as friends to the cause of social reform, they will use every exertion to aid the new paper.

NOTICE TO EXCHANGE PAPERS.

Editors are especially desired to examine the Prospectus of the Harbinger, and requested to aid us as far as they can by copying it into their papers, with such notices as are appropriate. We acknowledge past favors of this kind, and would take this occasion to return our thanks for the continuance of their papers as exchanges in spite of the irregularity of the Phalanx. We believe that this difficulty will not occur again, and that the Harbinger will be a valuable exchange. They will please change the name of the Phalanx to Harbinger on their exchange list, and direct to "Brook Farm, Mass." And they will oblige us by sending marked copies of the papers containing the Prospectus and notices. The same request is made of the exchanges of the Social Reformer.

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THE HARBINGER,

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PROGRESS,

Published simultaneously at New York and Boston, by the Brook Farm Phalanx.

"All things, at the present day, stand provided and prepared, and await the light."

Under this title it is proposed to publish a weekly newspaper, for the examination and discussion of the great questions in social science, politics, literature, and the arts, which command the attention of all believers in the progress and elevation of humanity.

In politics, the Harbinger will be democratic in its principles and tendencies; cherishing the deepest interest in the advancement and happiness of the masses; warring against all exclusive privilege in legislation, political arrangements, and social customs; and striving with the zeal of earnest conviction, to promote the triumph of the high democratic faith, which it is the chief mission of the nineteenth century to realize in society. Our devotion to the democratic principle will lead us to take the ground of fearless and absolute independence in regard to all political parties, whether professing attachment to that principle or hostility to it. We know that fidelity to an idea can never be measured by adherence to a name; and hence we shall criticise all parties with equal severity; though we trust that the sternness of truth will always be blended with the temperance of impartial candor. With tolerance for all opinions, we have no patience with hypocrisy and pretence; least of all, with that specious fraud, which would make a glorious principle the apology for personal ends. It will therefore be a leading object of the Harbinger to strip the disguise from the prevailing parties, to show them in their true light, to give them due honor, to tender them our grateful reverence whenever we see them true to a noble principle; but at all times, and on every occasion, to expose false professions, to hold up hollow-heartedness and duplicity to just indignation, to warn the people against the demagogue who would cajole them by honeyed flatteries, no less than against the devotee of mammon who would make them his slaves.

The Harbinger will be devoted to the cause of a radical, organic social reform as essential to the highest developement of man's nature, to the production of those elevated and beautiful forms of character of which he is capable, and to the diffusion of happiness, excellence, and universal harmony upon the earth. The principles of universal unity as taught by Charles Fourier, in their application to society, we believe, are at the foundation of all genuine social progress; and it will ever be our aim, to discuss and defend these principles, without any sectarian bigotry, and in the catholic and comprehensive spirit of their great discoverer. While we bow to no man as an authoritative, infallible master, we revere the genius of Fourier too highly, not to accept, with joyful welcome, the light which he has shed on the most intricate problems of human destiny. The social reform of whose advent the signs are every where visible, comprehends all others; and in laboring for its speedy accomplishment, we are conscious that we are devoting our best ability to the removal of oppression and injustice among men, to the complete emancipation of the enslaved, to the promotion of genuine temperance, and to the elevation of the toiling and down-trodden masses to the inborn rights of humanity.

In literature, the Harbinger will exercise a firm and impartial criticism, without respect of persons or parties. It will be made a vehicle for the freest thought, though not of random speculations; and with a generous appreciation of the various forms of truth and beauty, it will not fail to expose such instances of false sentiment, perverted taste, and erroneous opinion, as may tend to vitiate the public mind, or degrade the individual character. Nor will the literary department of the Harbinger be limited to criticism alone. It will receive contributions from various pens, in different spheres of thought; and free from dogmatic exclusiveness, will accept all that in any way indicates the unity of Man with Man, with Nature, and with God. Consequently, all true science, all poetry and arts, all sincere literature, all religion that is from the soul, all wise analyses of mind and character will come within its province.

We appeal for aid in our enterprise to the earnest and hopeful spirits in all classes of society. We appeal to all who, suffering from a resistless discontent in the present order of things, with faith in man and trust in God, are striving for the establishment of universal justice, harmony, and love. We appeal to the thoughtful, the aspiring, the generous every where, who wish to see the reign of heavenly truth triumphantly supplanting the infernal discords and falsehoods, on which modern society is built, for their sympathy, friendship, and practical co-operation, in the undertaking which we announce to day.

The Harbinger will be published in New York by Burgess, Stringer, & Co., No. 222 Broadway, and in Boston by Redding & Co., No. 8 State St. Among the leading contributors will be Parke Godwin, W. H. Channing, Albert Brisbane, Osborne Macdaniel, and Horace Greely of New York, George Ripley, Charles A. Dana, John S. Dwight, L. W. Ryckman, and John Allen of Brook Farm, and Francis G. Shaw of West Roxbury.

The price to subscribers will be $2,00 a year, or $1,00 for six months, payable invariably in advance. Ten copies will be supplied for $15,00. Communications and remittances may be addressed to the publishers in New York and Boston, or to the "Editors of the Harbinger," Brook Farm, West Roxbury, Mass.

☞ The subscription lists of the Phalanx and Social Reformer are transferred to the Harbinger and all subscribers to those papers, whose term of subscription has expired, are requested to remit forthwith to the Harbinger, as directed above. The condition of payment in advance will be inflexibly adhered to.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NEW ENGLAND WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

The first Annual Meeting of the New England Workingmen's Association is to be holden in Boston, during the Anniversary week in May. Due notice of the place of meeting will be given hereafter. Let the various Associations make preparations to be represented.

L. W. RYCKMAN, *Pres.*
THOS. ALMY, *Rec. Sec.*

ASSOCIATION IN KENTUCKY.

Pursuant to notice, the friends of associated labor met in the Central City School-House, on Monday evening, 24th inst., and organized with President and Secretary, *pro tem.*, for mutual better acquaintance and inquiry into the subject.

The object of the meeting, set forth by Dr. Buchanan, elicited the remarks of several gentlemen present, when Dr. B. offered a list of resolutions, which were severally discussed and adopted.

The last of these resolutions authorized the appointment of committees to investigate and report in writing upon the following questions, to wit:

1. What is the number of persons who are disposed to unite themselves with a community for co-operation; what are the pursuits which they would be qualified to adopt; and what useful means, or money, can they furnish to the enterprise?

2. What constitution would be best for such a community as is practicable; and what is the general sentiment of those who would unite, as to the principles of its organization?

3. What branches of business could be profitably carried on in such a community; and what prospects of prosperity or independence does it offer to those who might engage as members?

4. Where, and upon what terms, could an eligible site be obtained for an association;—and what are the comparative merits of different locations?

Whereupon the following persons were appointed, to wit:

On Question 1.—Dr. Buchanan, Dr. Leavitt, J. Walter, J. W. Breden, J. S. Rankin.

On Question 2.—J. H. Harney, F. E. Goddard, Rev. J. H. Heywood, Dr. Logue, Dr. Leavitt.

On Question 3.—J. Walter, ——— Gowen, Wm. Lighton, G. Collins, A. E. Drapier.

On Question 4.—B. M. Patten, G. Collins, Wm. Fulton, Dr. Logue, Dr. Leavitt.—*Louisville Journal.*

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SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS UNITY.

SOCIAL PROGRESS.—SOCIAL REFORM UPON CONSERVATIVE PRINCIPLES.

THE PHALANX:

ORGAN OF THE

DOCTRINE OF ASSOCIATION.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.

ASSOCIATION, ATTRACTIVE INDUSTRY, UNITY OF INTERESTS.

OUR EVILS ARE SOCIAL, NOT POLITICAL, AND A SOCIAL REFORM ONLY CAN ERADICATE THEM.

J. WINCHESTER, PUBLISHER, 30 ANN-ST. TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM, IN ADVANCE.

VOLUME I. NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MAY 28, 1845. NUMBER 23.

ROBERT OWEN, ST. SIMON, AND FOURIER.

The recent visit of the distinguished philanthropist, Robert Owen, to this country, in connexion with the lectures, which he has delivered in some of our principal cities, has revived the public curiosity and interest, in regard to him, to a very considerable extent, and we hope, may be the means of still further arousing attention to the necessity of a new organization of the social state. Although we greatly differ from Mr. Owen, in the speculative doctrine of which he has been the zealous advocate, as well as in the practical measures with which his name is identified, we cherish towards him a sentiment of profound respect and lively gratitude, for his unwearied devotion to the cause of humanity, his life-long labors for the improvement and elevation of man, his fearless exposure of the evils of society, and his unfaltering and disinterested efforts for their mitigation and cure. We have recently had the privilege of forming a personal acquaintance with Mr. Owen during a short visit of his at Brook Farm; nor was the esteem which we have long cherished for his character, as an advocate of social progress, at all diminished by the recognition of his admirable and attractive qualities as a man. Mr. Owen is an enthusiast in the high and true sense of that abused term; he is under the influence of a sublime sense of justice and truth, which raises him above all selfish considerations, giving him no rest day nor night, urging him over oceans and mountains, inspiring him with a patient zeal for the advancement of the race and cheering him, in the midst of obloquy, discouragement, and toil, with lofty visions of the future glory and blessedness of man on earth. His heart is filled with a meek charity, as beautiful as it is uncommon. No hostility has been able to call forth a particle of bitterness in his nature. His faith in the destiny of man seems to have quenched every emotion but those of the most expansive and benignant character. He has arrived at a very advanced age, but with no diminution of his best faculties; his manners have all the simplicity of childhood; a gracious courtesy presides over every act; he seems alive to all agreeable impressions; and his conversation, marked by a rare frankness, and freedom from affectation, proceeding from the rich and deep experience of a most active life, and tinged with the mild enthusiasm which hovers over his mind perpetually, cannot be listened to, without an irresistible charm. We parted from Mr. Owen, with the feeling that we had been in the presence of the veteran, who many years ago, took his post on what seemed the forlorn hope of humanity, but who will always live in the remembrance of a grateful posterity, as one of the illustrious pioneers in the work of social regeneration, whom every new age will crown with fresh honor.

The position of Mr. Owen in relation to the two great reformers, named at the head of this article, is happily described in the following remarks on the subject, from the pen of Mr. Doherty, of London, the leading representative of the Associative school in England. It will be seen from the subjoined article, that Mr. Owen and Fourier, although both the advocates of an organic social reform, are separated by several important lines of distinction.—Especially, the religious sentiment is recognized by Fourier; the Universality of Divine Providence is an integral element of his system; and the Deity, with him, the centre, the end and the cause of all harmonic movement; while Mr. Owen, in his zeal against churches and priesthoods, fails to perceive the religious nature of man, and regards all religion as delusion and superstition.

The three leading names in the social sphere of innovation which marks the present century, are, FOURIER, ST. SIMON, and OWEN: and one of the most remarkable facts in these new doctrines is, that, in England, a country famed for religious controversy and Christian faith, the doctrines of associative progress have been connected with, and even based upon downright skepticism; while in France, which is notorious for its sceptical philosophy, religion has been made the fundamental basis of progressive combination!

This, we think, may be partially accounted for in the following manner:—

In England, the conservative party, who think they have most to lose and least to gain by any radical change in society, are intimately connected with the Church of England and other sectarian establishments, as they are now constituted in society; and whenever any social innovation of a serious nature is proposed, they immediately take alarm, and endeavour to enlist the sympathies of the public by appealing to their religious susceptibility, and raising the cry of the "*church in danger.*" This stratagem is not new, for history proves that it has always been resorted to in similar cases; and this blind opposition and false alarm on the part of what may be deemed the *conservative instincts of society*, has, we believe, generally given a sceptical bias to those *progressive instincts* whose natural mission upon earth is to improve society. Nothing less than this determined persecution on the part of privileged conservatism, could, we feel assured, give a sceptical bias to the minds of those naturally religious and enthusiastic individuals who are born with the mission to improve mankind.

It is an apparent anomaly in nature, for a man of genius, having a truly progressive instinct, to be an irreligious man; and nothing, we repeat, less than a system of unwarrantable persecution under the mask of Christianity could force a benevolent man into open rebellion against religion.

The mind of Mr. Owen has been diverted from the principles of religion by being placed in opposition to those who have persecuted him in the name of Christianity; and now it would seem that he has quite confounded religion itself with that system of persecution which is practised by pseudo-Christians.

A similar cause produced a similar effect on the minds of Voltaire and the French philosophers of the last century. Their minds were completely diverted from religion by the intolerable persecution practised under its name, until cordial hatred generated mental scepticism; and the soul at last was sunk in the darkness of sophism, never, in this world, to rise again and expand in that ineffable enthusiasm peculiar to real religion.

The French infidels, however, of the last century effected their dreadful object of destruction: and whatever may be the

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extent of evil which accompanied that revolution, it must be admitted that there is little or no persecution practised now under the mask of religion in France; and to this one fact alone we may in a great measure attribute the religous character of associative doctrines on the Continent; for the inventive genius of modern innovation being there freely allowed to follow its own inspirations, and having had practical experience of the horrible effects of negative and destructive doctrines, has been necessarily confirmed in its naturally religious bias through the whole sphere of philosophic speculation.

St. Simon, it is true, was much less impressed with the real principles of religion than Fourier, but he did not, like Owen, reject Christianity altogether. He contented himself by trying to re-establish a sort of absolute theocracy or politico-religious catholicity, not unlike that which is now advocated in England by Doctor Pusey and his followers.

The system of St. Simon, however, has now ceased to have any notable influence on the minds of thinking men in France, while the truly religious views of Fourier are daily gaining ground in all sects, classes, and parties. The only thing which may be said to retard their progress amongst the illiterate and unthinking multitude, is their scientific abstruseness, and perhaps, too, the strangeness of some of the mere conjectural ideas of Fourier, which are not universally adopted by his partisans. Scientific details, are not necessary to a general understanding of associative principles; and all conjectural ideas have more of a prospective than of an immediate interest; but people who are desirous of cavilling at things which they do not care to understand, are sure to carp at those ideas which appear most strange, without considering whether the practical part of a system be or be not affected by certain speculative notions with which it is connected.

But, returning to the fact of Religion being the basis of progressive theories in France, and Scepticism being the principal feature of innovation in England, we may further remark that the internal character of these doctrines has been respectively stamped by the very different influence of external circumstances in each country, as well as by the intrinsic differences of mind in those who introduced them.

In England, a very considerable portion of Mr. Owen's time has probably been absorbed in analyzing sectarian dogmas, and endeavouring to refute them collectively by sophistical argumentation against Christianity itself, and all doctrines of religious faith The consequence has been a very superficial view of organic principles, and a defective system of social reform; for in our view Mr, Owen's works betray an almost total ignorance of the practical details of *attractive industry*, *distributive equity*, and *passional harmony*.

This result we believe to be the natural effect of sceptical opinions, and the time lost in trying to substantiate those opinions by the strainings of mental ingenuity.

Mr. Owen talks a great deal about "Fourier,s system being based on *thirteen imaginary passions*," and his "whole theory being fanciful and impracticable," and therefore he will excuse us if we take tht liberty of contrasting Fourier's "fanciful theory" with his (Mr. Owen's) plans and principles, without reserve or partiality. For Mr. Owen personally we have the most profound respect, but his doctrines do appear to us both faulty and impracticable; and though we can appreciate the efforts and intentions of liberal-minded men, we deem it not the less our duty to discuss progressive principles in all their bearings, and more particularly those which are held forth as being practically and theoretically superior to all others.

We shall do Mr. Owen the justice, then, of expressing our opinions freely on those parts of his system which appear to be either erroneous or incomplete; and we shall be very happy to see either him or his followers act similarly with respect to Fourier's principles, when they know them.

In the first place, Mr. Owen often speaks of his *science of human nature*, but he has no where fully explained that science;—for what he has put forth on the subject is shallow beyond conception, when compared to the real science of the passions discovered by Fourier, and explained in his works; though it is but just to say that Mr. Owen's science of human nature is not so absolutely incorrect as it is fragmentary and incomplete. His views concerning property are, we think, in absolute contradiction with the natural laws of variety and distributive equity; and as for his method of rendering industry attractive, it is far from being either clear or satisfactory.

These assertions may appear sweeping and unfounded, but our whole time is pledged to substantiate them by explaining the real principles of Social Science in all their practical details. For the present we shall confine ourselves to the contrast between Socialism in England and Social Science in France, and the influence of external circumstances in producing these different results.

In France, Fourier had before him the dreadful effects of mere negative speculation and destructive doctrines. When yet but a very young man, he was in the most imminent danger of being sacrificed to revolutionary fury and sceptical anarchy. These external circumstances naturally led him to speculate on the influence of opposite doctrines; and, as all the horrors he saw in practical life were the natural fruits of Negative Philosophy, he lost very little time in reading sceptical sophistry, but devoted his time principally to the acquisition of positive science, and the discovery of those laws which regulate the harmony of Nature.

As early as the year 1799 he discovered the grand secret of universal movement and social progress, and during twenty years he devoted himself entirely to the completion of his discovery, in all its details and ramifications. In 1808 he published a general outline of his discovery, which shows that he was then in possession of the whole secret; and his whole life has been since devoted to the same subject.

Mr. Owen, on the contrary, has only very lately discovered what he deems his most perfect plans. We have heard him state very lately that he completed his first *cottage plan*, after having had twenty years' experience; his next degree of *associative combination*, ten years later; and the plan he has recently produced, after an additional experience of ten years.

Now we do not hesitate to affirm that the single volume published by Fourier in 1808, contains infinitely more science on the principles of human nature and the details of social science, in every degree of combination, than all the books and plans published by Mr. Owen up to the present time, notwithstanding his forty years' experience.

It is not only in doctrinal points, then, that we deem *Socialism* defective, but in practical science also; and thence it is we solicit public inquiry and impartial examination, particularly on the part of those who feel directly interested in the success of domestic and industrial association.—There can be no danger in entering into this inquiry, for individual opinions will never be able to injure general truths, and if Mr. Owen's views be really practicable, his partisans can defy criticism by practical operations; but if perchance they find their theory incompatible with practice, both they and the public will know that social science itself will not be held responsible for any such failures.

We have no desire to discourage those who are sanguine in their hopes and sincere in their convictions, but we are certainly very desirous of seeing those doctrines of religious unity, and those principles of scientific combination, understood and adopted, which we deem absolutely essential to success in practical operations.

We are convinced, moreover, that nothing short of a genuine spirit of religous faith in connexion with correct principles of science, can generate that intense degree of enthusiasm which is necessary to the general conversion of the masses to the principles and practice of the new doctrines of peace and happiness.

CATHOLICITY is a necessary principle of social progress: not the antiquated theocratic Catholicism of Rome, nor the new-fangled Theocracy of Oxford, but that true spirit of Universality which harmonizes Free-will and Necessity, Equity and Authority, Religion and Liberty.

Any theory of progress which does not fully admit these principles, must be more or less defective. According to our judgment, Fourier's science of associative equity and progressive inequality, based upon the doctrines of Christianity, is the most perfect of all modern theories.

Mr. Owen may disavow many of the notions attributed to him, but his own theory would certainly lead us to anticipate an unsatisfactory result in practice. He has, however, notwithstanding the errors of his theory, the indisputable merit of having roused public attention to the overwhelming influence of external circumstances: and though the organization of society is not, in itself alone, the *positive principle* of progress, still it is the necessary basis of improvement. It is the mould or containing form, or *negative principle*, permitting a development of social refinement, corresponding to itself in all its excellence.

With the present constitution of society, or mould of organization, it is impossible to develope the physical, the moral, the mental, and the religious faculties of youth. In the mills and workshops of our large cities and manufacturing districts, the great majority of children are physically deformed, morally depraved, mentally bewildered, and lost to all religious discipline; nor is it possible for the present constitution of society to mould a better character for the laboring millions, either in the rural or the urban circumscriptions.

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BROOK FARM PHALANX.

In presenting the Brook Farm Phalanx to the attention of the public, we should do injustice to ourselves, as well as to the cause to which we are devoted, did we omit to acknowledge the aid of various kinds that, during the past year, we have received from several quarters. Although we are aware that those through whom it has been rendered, have been prompted by other than merely personal considerations, we presume that the enviable satisfaction which they must experience from an action done for the benefit of all mankind, will not be diminished by the expression of our individual friendship and obligation. They will understand that assistance to a great and difficult undertaking, excites in those who are engaged in it a profounder and more permanent feeling, than any favors that could in any case be shown themselves, and will, we trust, accept this declaration of it, as neither untimely nor improper.

At the last session of the Legislature of Massachusetts, our Association was incorporated under the name which it now assumes, with the right to hold real estate to the amount of one hundred thousand dollars. This confers upon us all the usual powers and privileges of chartered companies. We have introduced several branches of profitable industry, and established, a market for their products; and finally, in the Constitution which follows, we have applied the principles of social justice to the distribution of profits in such a manner, that the best results are to be expected. Nothing is now necessary to the greatest possible measure of success, but capital to furnish sufficient means to enable us to develope every department to advantage. This capital we can now apply profitably and without danger of loss. We are well aware that there must be risk in investing money in an infant association as well as in any other untried business, but with the labors of nearly four years we have arrived at a point where this risk hardly exists. Not that we have surmounted all the difficulties of the enterprise; these are still sufficiently abundant. But we have, though by no means with ease, laid the foundation, and now stand ready to do our part in rearing a superstructure, which will approach more nearly to the ideal of human society than any that has yet existed; a society which will establish justice between all interests and all men; which will guaranty Education, the Right to Labor, and the rights of property to all, and which, by actual demonstration of a state of things every way better and more advantageous, will put an end to the great evils which at present burden even the most fortunate classes. What we have already been able to accomplish, ought to give weight to our words. We speak not from abstract conviction, but from experience; not as mere enthusiasts, but as men of practical common sense, holding in our hands the means of escape from the present condition of society, and from that still more frightful state to which in all civilized countries it is hurrying.

Accordingly, we calmly and earnestly invite the aid of those who perceive how little security existing institutions offer against the growth of Commercial Feudalism on the one hand, and Pauperism on the other,—of those whose sympathies are with the unfortunate and uneducated masses, of those who long for the establishment of more true and genial conditions of life, as well as of those who are made restless and fiery-souled by the universal necessities of Reform.

But by that increasing number, whose most ardent desire is to see the experiment of Association fairly tried, we are confident that the appeal we now make will not be received without the most generous response in their power. As far as their means and their utmost exertions can go, they will not suffer so favorable an opportunity for the realization of their fondest hopes to pass unimproved. Nor do we call upon Americans alone, but upon all persons of whatever nation to whom the doctrines of Universal Unity have revealed the Destiny of Man. Especially to those noble men, who in Europe have so long and so faithfully labored for the diffusion and propagation of these doctrines, we address, what to them will be an occasion of the highest joy, an appeal for fraternal co-operation in behalf of their realization. We announce to them the dawning of that day for which they have so hopefully and so bravely waited,— the up-springing of those seeds that they and their compeers have sown. To them it will seem no exaggeration to say, that we, their younger brethren, invite their assistance in a movement, which, however humble it may superficially appear, is the grandest, both in its essential character and its consequences that can now be proposed to man;—a movement whose purpose is the Elevation of Humanity to its integral rights, and whose results will be the establishment of happiness and peace amongst the nations of the earth.

By order of the Central Council,
GEORGE RIPLEY, *President.*

West Roxbury, May 20, 1845.

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CONSTITUTION.

PREAMBLE.

IN order more effectually to promote the great purposes of human culture; to establish the external relations of life on a basis of wisdom and purity; to apply the principles of justice and love to our social organization in accordance with the laws of Divine Providence; to substitute a system of brotherly co-operation for one of selfish competition; to secure to our children and those who may be entrusted to our care, the benefits of the highest physical, intellectual, and moral education, which in the progress of knowledge the resources at our command will permit, to institute an attractive, efficient, and productive system of Industry; to prevent the exercise of worldly anxiety, by the competent supply of our necessary wants; to diminish the desire of excessive accumulation, by making the acquisition of individual property subservient to upright and disinterested uses; to guarantee to each other forever the means of physical support and of spiritual progress; and thus to impart a greater freedom, simplicity, truthfulness, refinement and moral dignity to our mode of life;—We the undersigned do unite in a voluntary Association, and adopt and ordain the following articles of agreement, to wit:—

ARTICLE I.

Name and Purpose.

Sec. 1. The name of this Association shall be the Brook Farm Phalanx.

Sec. 2. Its purpose shall be the organization and pursuit of Industry in the following departments viz: Domestic Services, Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, Education, the study and application of the Sciences, and the study and application of the Fine Arts; in accordance with the system of Association and the laws of Universal Unity as discovered by CHARLES FOURIER.

ARTICLE II.

Government.

Sec. 1. The Government of the Phalanx shall be vested in a General Council, which shall consist of four branches, viz., first, a Council of Industry, composed of five members; second, a Council of Finance, composed of four members; third, a Council of Science, composed of three members; and fourth, a President, who together with the Chairman of each of the foregoing Councils, shall constitute a Central Council.

Sec. 2. The Council of Industry shall be appointed by the chiefs of the several Series devoted to Manual Industry, and its members or any of them may be superseded at any time by the appointment of others in their place.

Sec. 3. The Council of Finance shall be appointed by the Stockholders. Every Stockholder shall be entitled to one vote for every twenty dollars held by him up to one hundred dollars; to one vote for every additional one hundred dollars up to five hundred dollars, and to one vote for every additional five hundred dollars.

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Sec. 4. The Council of Finance shall be elected annually on the first Wednesday in January; and any member of this Council may be superseded at a special meeting of the Stockholders, called by the Central Council, with the concurrence of the other two Councils.

Sec. 5. The Council of Science shall be appointed by the chiefs of the several Educational, Literary, and Scientific Series; and its members or any of them, may be superseded at any time, by the appointment of others in their place.

Sec. 6. The President shall be appointed by the concurrent vote of the Councils of Industry, Finance, and Science; and may be superseded at any time by the appointment of another in his place.

Sec. 7. No person shall be a member of more than one branch of the General Council, and every member thereof shall be a resident member of the Phalanx.

Sec. 8. The Council of Industry shall choose one of their number as their Chairman, who shall be chief director in that department; and said Council shall have the general superintendence of Manual Industry and all matters pertaining thereto.

Sec. 9. The Council of Finance shall choose one of their number as their Chairman; and said Council shall have the general superintendence of Commerce, Exchange and Accounts, and all matters pertaining to the Financial Affairs of the Phalanx.

Sec. 10. The Council of Science shall choose one of their number as their Chairman; and said Council shall have the superintendence of the theoretical organization of the Phalanx, and the mode of arrangement of the Groups and Series, and generally, of matters of Education, Literature, Science, and the Arts, and all matters pertaining thereto.

Sec. 11. The President shall be Chairman of the Central Council; and the duty of said Council shall be to recommend and suggest such measures, regulations, and industrial operations, as will, in their opinion, promote the interests of the Phalanx; and to see that the ordinances, rules and laws of the Phalanx are duly executed and observed; and for this purpose, they may appoint such deputies and agents as in their opinion circumstances may require. They shall have the final determination of all questions of jurisdiction, and all other disputes and controversies that may arise between the different branches of the General Council. They may also appoint officers to fill any vacant offices in the Phalanx, which appointment shall be valid until two of the other Councils shall dissent therefrom, or until the body vested with the appointing power shall exercise the same.

Sec. 12. Each Council shall be independent in its own department, but any of its proceedings may be set aside and annulled by the concurrent dissent of the other three branches of the General Council; matters pertaining in nearly an equal degree to two of said departments shall be acted on in joint meeting of the two corresponding Councils; and all matters pertaining to the three departments, shall be acted on in joint meeting of the General Council.

Sec. 13. The concurrence of the General Council shall be understood to signify the assent of at least three branches thereof, acting independently; and the concurrence of each Council shall be understood to signify the assent of the majority of the acting members thereof.

Sec. 14 There shall be an Advisory Council called the Areopagus, consisting of the General Council, of the Chiefs of the several Groups and Series, who are members of the Phalanx, of Stockholders to the amount of one thousand dollars, and upwards, of all members of the Phalanx over the age of forty-five, who have resided on the domain at least two years, and of such other persons as may be elected by this Council on account of superior merit, wisdom or devotion to the interests of Association, provided that no person shall vote in this Council who is not a resident member of the Phalanx. The General Council may at any time call meetings of this Council, at which meetings the President shall preside.

Sec. 15. The General Council shall nominate a Council of Arbiters, consisting of seven persons, the majority of whom shall be women; and said nomination shall be confirmed by the Areopagus. To this Council individuals and departments shall bring all complaints, charges, and grievances, not provided for in the 11th Section of this Article. They shall also take cognizance of all matters relating to morals and manners, and they may refer to the General Council all cases wherein their decision is not complied with. The members of this Council, or any of them, may be superseded at any time, by the appointment of others in their place.

Sec. 16. The General Council shall have power to make such ordinances and rules as may be necessary to carry into effect any of the provisions of this Constitution.

Sec. 17. All certificates of Stock, notes of hand, bonds, deeds, and other written instruments issued by the Phalanx, shall be signed by the President and the Chairman of the Council of Finance.

Article III.

Capital Stock.

Sec. 1. The real and personal estate of the Phalanx shall be held in joint stock proprietorship, in shares of one hundred dollars each.

Sec. 2. The Capital Stock of the Phalanx shall be divided into three classes, namely; First, Loan Stock, or that which receives a fixed interest of five per cent. per annum; Second, Partnership Stock, or that whose dividend depends upon the general product of the Phalanx; Third, Labor Stock, or that which represents the Dividend to Labor.

Sec. 3. The amount of Labor Stock shall never exceed one eighth of the amount of the Partnership Stock; and in case the Dividend to Labor should at any time cause such excess, an amount equal to such excess shall be transferred to the Partnership Stock from the Labor Stock of the oldest date.

Sec. 4. The amount of Partnership and Labor Stock for each financial year shall be determined at the commencement of such year. All capital invested after the commencement of the financial year, though intended to take risk as Partnership Stock, shall be considered and draw interest as Loan Stock for the remainder of such year, and not share in the Dividend to Partnership Stock until the next financial year.

Sec. 5. Labor Stock shall in no case be issued, except to the individual by whom the labor has been performed; nor shall it be held by any person who is not a resident member of the Phalanx; and in failure of these conditions, it shall become Partnership Stock.

Sec. 6. Interest on Loan Stock, and Dividends to Partnership Stock and Labor Stock, may at the option of the Council of Finance, be paid in Stock Certificates, of the class to which the sum belongs, on which the said Interest or Dividends accrue; provided that each stockholder may draw on the funds of the Phalanx for the amount of interest or dividends due at and after the third annual settlement from the time of investment.

Sec. 7. No Stock shall be transferred without the consent of the Council of Finance; and every transfer shall be entered on the books of the Phalanx. All Stock shall be liable for any debts due from its holder to the Phalanx.

Sec. 8. The holders of the Loan Stock shall have no claim on any profits accruing to the Phalanx, for the use of their Capital invested in its Stock, except five per cent interest on the amount of Stock held by them, payable in the manner discribed in Section 6. And no holder of Loan Stock shall be liable to any assessment whatever on the shares held by him.

Article IV.

Guarantees.

Sec. 1. The Phalanx shall provide such employment for all its members as shall be suited to their capacities, habits,

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and tastes, and each member shall select and perform such operations of Industry, whether corporal or mental, as shall be deemed best adapted to his own endowments and the benefit of the Phalanx.

Sec. 2. All members of the Phalanx engaging for the regular time in its occupations, shall be guaranteed an advance of the means of a comfortable subsistence, not exceeding a certain fixed amount, to be determined annually by the General Council; and no charge shall be made to such members for support during inability to labor, from sickness or old age, or for medical or nursing attendance, provided that if they shall have the means of paying such charge, from Dividends, Stock in the Phalanx, or other property, they shall be liable therefor. But no charge shall be made to any member for Education, use of Library, Public Rooms or Baths.

Sec. 3. The subsistence of children not receiving dividends sufficient therefor shall be charged to their parents or guardians, at each annual settlement, but so far as said parents or guardians shall not have the means of paying such charges, they shall not be liable therefor.

Sec. 4. Members of families received into the Phalanx on account of each others' claims for admission, shall be mutually liable for any balances against them on settlement.

Sec. 4. All articles advanced under the foregoing guarantees shall be charged at cost, as nearly as the same can be ascertained.

Sec. 5. After the Dividends of any minor shall have repaid all sums which the Phalanx may have advanced to such minor during his infancy and youth, which repayment shall be made to the parents or guardians of such minor, in case said parents or guardians shall have refunded to the Phalanx any sums so advanced, all credits to said minor, as Dividends of Labor or Stock, shall be held in trust for said minor until he shall attain his legal majority.

Article V.

Organization of Labor.

Sec. 1. The Labor of the Phalanx shall be arranged in Groups and Series, as far as practicable, according to the system of Charles Fourier.

Sec. 2. The Central Council shall, from time to time, establish such Groups and Series as may be considered necessary for the efficient, orderly, and successful prosecution of the business of the Phalanx; and any Group or Series which in the opinion of the General Council shall not contribute to that end, may be dissolved by them.

Sec. 3. The members of each Group shall have power to elect their Chief and other officers, and to establish such rules and regulations as may be necessary for the internal government of the Group, and for the distribution to its members of such Dividends as it may receive.

Sec. 4. The Chiefs and other officers of each Series shall be elected by the Chiefs of the several Groups thereof, and all officers, both of Groups and Series, may be superseded at any time by the appointment of others in their place.

Sec. 5. The General Council shall classify all Labor according to its Necessity, Usefulness, or Attractiveness, and with reference to its tendency to the promotion of Social Harmony; and this classification may be varied from time to time so as to prevent an excess of laborers in any branch of industry, and to secure the performance of all such labors as the Phalanx may require.

Sec. 6. Any Group or individual, who, without being duly authorized by the General Council, shall abandon or neglect the performance of any function, which they have assumed, shall be held accountable for any damage or loss arising from such neglect, and an amount sufficient to repair the same, shall be deducted from any Dividends to which they may be entitled.

Article VI.

Division of Profits.

Sec. 1. The total product of the Phalanx shall be ascertained at the close of every financial year; out of this shall first be paid taxes, insurance, the official expenses and services of the General Council, and their agents, the expenses of Education of members and children of the Phalanx, such medical attendance and nursing as are chargeable to the Phalanx, and such other expenses as are incurred on account of both Capitals and Labor; then all repairs and all losses by damage and depreciation of value of buildings, furniture, tools, machinery, livestock, and every other description of property. The remainder shall be divided, one third to Capital and two thirds to Labor.

Sect. 2. Out of the one third allotted to Capital, shall first be paid the interest on Loan Stock, and all sums entitled to a fixed rate of interest, and the remainder shall be divided to Labor Stock, and Partnership Stock, so that Labor Stock, shall always receive an average per centage double that of Partnership Stock.

Sec. 3. The portion allotted to Partnership Stock shall be divided according to the amount of Stock held by each share-holder; the portion allotted to Labor Stock shall be divided as follows, to wit: — All amounts not over twenty-five dollars, shall be multiplied by twenty; all additional amounts belonging to the same person, not over one hundred, by twelve; all additional amounts not over two hundred and fifty, by eight; all additional amounts not over five hundred, by six. And each holder of Labor Stock shall share in the Dividend, in the proportion which the product of the amount of his Stock multiplied as above, bears to the sum of all the products thus obtained. When the holder of Labor Stock shall own more than two hundred and fifty dollars of any Stock, the multiplier of his first twenty-five shall be reduced to twelve; when he shall own more than five hundred, the multiplier of his first one hundred shall be reduced to eight; and when his stock of any kind shall exceed one thousand, the multiplier of all his Labor Stock shall be six.

Sec. 4. The two thirds allotted to Labor, shall be distributed so that labor of the class of Necessity, shall receive the highest Dividend, Labor of the class of Usefulness shall receive a medium Dividend, and Labor of the class of Attractiveness shall receive the lowest Dividend; and the General Council shall have power to establish such graduations in the scale of Labor and its compensations, as may be found just and necessary. Provided, however, that in case the one third of the net product allotted to Capital shall be insufficient to pay the interest on Loan Stock, and on all sums entitled to a fixed rate of interest, the amount of such deficiency shall be deducted from the remaining two thirds allotted to Labor, and the said interest shall be paid therewith.

Sec. 5. Dividends to Labor shall in all possible cases, be allotted to Series, who shall divide to their Groups the share to which each is entitled, and the Group shall divide the same to their members. Where the Series is not sufficiently organized, the General Council may declare the Dividends of Groups, which shall distribute it to their members, and where Labor is not performed in Groups, the General Council may allot Dividends directly to individuals.

Sec. 6. Dividends to Labor shall in all cases be based upon the amount of Labor actually performed, which amount shall be ascertained and determined by the General Council, and so far as they are not represented by funds in the Treasury, may be paid in Certificates of Stock.

Article VII.

Membership.

Sect. 1. All applications for admission to the Phalanx shall be determined by the Central Council; application for admission to membership shall be determined by the Areopagus on nomination of the General Council.

Sect. 2. No person shall be admitted as a member of the Phalanx, who has not

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resided upon the Domain, for a term of not less than two months; and the board of all Applicants shall be considered a full equivalent for any labor or services which they may perform for the Phalanx, during the period of their probation.

Sect. 3. Any person may be dismissed from the Phalanx by the concurrent vote of the General Council and the Council of Arbiters, for such overt acts or omissions of duty as violate the principles of social justice and harmony on which the Phalanx is founded.

Sec. 4. No person over the age of twenty-one years shall be considered a member of the Phalanx, until he has signed the Constitution.

Sec. 5. Any member who shall absent himself from the Domain for one month, without the consent of the Central Council, shall be considered as withdrawing from the Phalanx.

Sec. 6. All rights, privileges, guaranties, and obligations of members expressed or implied in this Constitution, shall be understood to belong equally to persons of both sexes.

Article VIII.

Amendments to the Constitution.

Any amendment to this Constitution may be proposed by either branch of the General Council, who shall give at least four weeks public notice of the proposed amendment, and if approved by two thirds of the members of the Phalanx over the age of twenty-one, shall be adopted, provided that no change shall be made, affecting the interests of Stock, without the consent of a majority of the Stockholders, voting in the manner prescribed in Article II., Section 3, for the election of the Council of Finance.

AGREEMENT.

We the undersigned, in consideration of our admission as members of the Brook Farm Phalanx, do hereby severally agree and pledge ourselves to conform to all the provisions of the foregoing Constitution, and to all amendments thereof, and to all By Laws, and Regulations, which may from time to time be duly made by the Government of the Phalanx; and we also severally agree to surrender, and do hereby surrender to our wives and minor children respectively, (if any we have, or shall hereafter have, belonging to said Phalanx,) the exclusive right to all Dividends which may accrue to them under the provisions aforesaid, so long as they continue members of said Phalanx.

The foregoing Constitution has been prepared with great care, and contains the fruit of much experience in practical Association. It also embodies the principles of social science as completely as at present seems possible. It has been thought advisable to give some explanations of its leading points, both for the benefit of sister Associations, and as a good method of bringing the doctrine before the public more plainly and intelligibly than by merely abstract discussion. We shall briefly remark upon the several articles in their order:—

GOVERNMENT.

The main things to be secured are wisdom and skill in every department, and in all the details of each, Unity of plans and Energy in their execution. The first of these can be had only by committing each department to the care of a distinct head. It is also desirable to distribute the responsibility, so that no officer shall be overburdened, and by appropriate duties to develope the best powers of every individual. But what is most essential is Unity of design throughout. All the operations should, as it were, proceed from one intelligence and one will. This is gained by uniting the heads of the great departments in what we have called the Central Council. To this, as to the supreme brain of the social body, all ideas and impressions are conveyed by their proper organs, and from it all general impulses proceed.

It is in the first elements of an Association, the groups, whether devoted to manual labor, education or amusement, that the government commences. A Group is a little company of from three to twenty persons, engaged in some special division of labor or study. In this sphere it governs and is responsible. It makes its rules and decides upon the management of its own operations. In it the highest talent of its members for its particular duty is called out, and skill, efficiency and thoroughness provided for, so that in its part of the government, the desirable ends are attained. The different Groups engaged in divisions of the same employment. are united into a higher combination called a Series, which through its proper officers, governs and is responsible in that department. Those are again concentrated in the Councils of Industry and Science, which have a like power and responsibility. The Council of Finance, which represents the capital of the establishment, and is elected by the stockholders, has the care of the pecuniary affairs, while all the Councils arrive at their ultimate Unity in the Central Council and President, who are charged with the most general interests of the Association. Thus, by an organization analagous to that which nature employs in the human body, and indeed throughout the whole animal kingdom, the unity, energy and thoroughness so indispensable to the progress of the Association, and the happiness of the members are guaranteed.

The provisions of the next article (Capital Stock) we shall explain in treating of the division of Profits.

GUARANTEES.

The Phalanx guarantees suitable employment to all its members, to each according to his tastes, talents and acquirements, to the end that both the community and the individual may derive the greatest benefit from the services of every person. It also guarantees the means of subsistence, and in sickness or old age, furnishes an ample support, medical attendance and all requisite care, without any charge whatever, except in case of those who have the means of paying such expenses. By this arrangement all the members of the Phalanx are freed from the intolerable cares and the anxieties for the future, which destroy so much of the happiness of life, while at the same time there are sufficient motives for their best exertions. They know that whatever may happen, both themselves and families are safe from want and suffering. In a word, they are no longer each struggling for himself alone, and without protection against a thousand chances, but are united with their brethren, really members of the human family and free recipients of its parental and fraternal blessings. It will be seen that those who are able to pay for support during illness &c. are charged for it at cost. This is only justice. It would not be right that the dividends of a poor woman or a child without property, should be diminished in order to do an act of social charity to one who stood in no need of it.

Education, however, is guaranteed without charge to all, both to members and to their children. No distinction is made between the rich and poor, but the means of the highest culture are freely opened to all. The most complete and liberal education is brought within the reach of every person, and thus every one is enabled to take that position in society which his character and talents entitle him to. By this means the arbitrary distinctions which now pervade society will be done away. Where all are cultivated and refined in accordance with their highest capacities, a real equality will be established, which all the other arrangements of the Phalanx will confirm. The parent will no longer have the pain of seeing his son or daughter grow up without the instruction which both he and they ardently desire, but whatever be his own situation, the best talent and most ample means of the Phalanx are employed for their education. Nor is it limited to mere intellectual training. The Phalanx designs, as far as possible, to produce none of the results of which almost every educated man is a melancholy specimen. It is our opinion that disci-

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pline of the mind is quite too dearly purchased by the ruin of the body. Accordingly Industry makes an important part of the education of the Phalanx, which has for its aim the forming of the whole man, and not of any part of him to the neglect of the rest.

The last section of this article provides that minors shall not be liable to their parents or to the Phalanx, to any greater amount than has been advanced for their support; after that has been paid they are entitled to the whole excess of their earnings over their current expenses.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR.

By the provisions of this article it will be perceived that the different groups and series are, to a certain extent, independent bodies; that they are pecuniarily responsible for any damages that may arise from neglect or carelessness on their part. The arrangement is somewhat analogous to that which would take place if in a village different branches of business should be united and carried on for the common good, each being still under the control of its own corps of managers, who should be answerable to the whole body for the careful discharge of their trust, and should distribute among themselves the shares of the common gains to which each might be entitled.

It is also provided that labor shall be distinguished according to its character as necessary, useful or attractive; its use in the promotion of the harmony of society is also regarded. The purpose of these distinctions will appear from the following article.

DIVISION OF PROFITS.

It is in this article that the difference between Association and all other forms of society appears in the most striking manner and we shall dwell upon its provisions with some minuteness.

Its great feature, and indeed that of the whole document we are discussing, is the reconciliation of the various interests of society which it affects. And in the very particular which economists and learned men of all sorts have given up in despair, namely, the relations of capital and labor, the union is most complete. The old and deep rooted conflict between these two great social powers—a conflict which produces at this moment, more misery in the world than any other cause whatever, is altogether removed by the simple and efficacious method of Association. We commend it to the consideration not only of philanthropists, and those who are the greatest sufferers in the contest—the laboring classes, but of capitalists. It can need no argument to convince them that property must be safer as well as more productive, when the laborers to whose hands it is committed have a direct interest, both in its security and in its profits, than when they are indifferent as to both. We suggest to them, that, as the stronger and more intelligent party, it is their DUTY candidly to investigate a method which promises to obviate the evils universally admitted to result from the ordinary relations of capital and labor, and which increase much more rapidly than the increase of the population.

In order to give the laborer and capitalist a direct mutual interest in each others' prosperity, the first means is the division of the profits of the establishment in fixed proportions to each. The share of each bearing an unvarying relation to that of the other, each at once becomes desirous that the share of the other should be as large as possible, and vice versa. Thus these interests now so inimical are not only reconciled but brought into friendly alliance. It will be observed, that before the division of the total product, certain general expenses are paid, and the property of the Phalanx made good by the payment of all damages and depreciation of value. This payment being deducted from the total product, falls upon capital and labor in the proportion in which they share the remainder. Thus both are alike interested in the preservation and most careful usage of all property, or to speak more exactly, labor is interested therein to a greater extent even than capital. On the other hand, labor has even more signal advantages. It has all the guarantees of which we have before spoken; it is not subject to the control of the capitalist; is not hired or discharged by him; and in no way is subject either to his caprice or his cupidity. The laborer is also assured that the largest share of the profits of his work will not go into the hands of the capitalist, who has merely furnished the materials and tools, but only a just portion thereof. This apportionment, it will be seen, is in no case based upon the results of special branches of labor in which the labor may be very great and the capital very small in amount, or the capital very great and the labor very small, but upon the whole operations of the establishment, in which all particular discrepancies of the kind we have spoken of, balance each other. Labor has also other remarkable advantages as will presently appear.

By Art. III. (Joint Stock), three classes of stock were provided for. The first, which runs no risk, and is liable to no losses, receives a fixed interest of five per cent. The second is called Partnership stock, which, with the third class, Labor stock, shares in the risks of each year's business and receives a large or small dividend or none at all, as the case may be.

The labor stock which represents dividends allotted to labor, and can be held as labor stock only by the laborer to whom it was allotted, never exceeds in amount one eighth of the sum of the partnership stock. By the second section of the article it is provided that it shall receive an average per centage double that of partnership stock. Suppose, for example, that the whole dividend to partnership stock and labor stock were ten per cent on the sum of both, and that labor stock existed to the full amount possible, viz: one ninth of the whole,—in that case partnership stock would receive nine per cent. and labor stock eighteen per cent. Thus by a slight deduction from the dividend to partnership stock that of labor stock is doubled.

To the holder of partnership stock this arrangement must seem highly desirable, because the deduction is trifling in itself, being made from a sum comparatively so large, but especially because it operates as a perpetual stimulus to the industry on which the amount of his profits depends, so that it is directly for his advantage. Besides, this new relation is a most potent bond of union between the capitalist and the laborer. It becomes the desire of the laborer that the amount of partnership stock should as large as possible in order that the amount of labor stock may be large also. Thus too, he comes to regard capital and the capitalist as no longer objects of hostility or even indifference. They no longer in any way oppress or wrong him, but confer upon him the greatest benefits. His interest and theirs have become the same and his constant wish is for their permanence and prosperity. In a word, the laborer, who by the action of a false system, is, especially in those countries where industry is the most advanced, often driven into acts of open violence, and is always filled with a sullen sense of injustice, is enlisted on the side of those very interests, for which before he felt only jealousy and hatred. He becomes a true conservative and is zealous in the cause of public order,—a public order indeed, which conduces to the happiness and well being of all,—the only public order that ought to be preserved, or even tolerated. Thus, by a most simple method, which works for the benefit of all classes and all persons, growing and most dangerous evils are altogether removed. Nor, we wish to say, is this method an arbitrary device of intellectual dexterity. It is the application to society of a scientific principle; it gives to a LAW, which in various forms, rules throughout the Universe, its legitimate action in some of the fundamental relations of society. This is not the place for the exposition of abstract doctrines, but we have thought proper to mention thus much, as we desire nothing so little as to be supposed to have brought forward any mere contrivance of our own. The principles of the Constitution of which we are speak-

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ing, are matters of positive science, though modified in their application by the circumstances of the case.

In the distribution of the portion of the dividend allotted to labor stock, there is a still further and more complete action of the principle that regulates the distribution of which we have just been speaking, with similar results. The provisions of the third section can, perhaps, best be illustrated by an example. Suppose that there are $1,000 00 of this kind of stock, and that it receives an average of 18 per cent. Suppose that A. and B. own each $25 00, C. and D. $50 00 each, E. $100 00, F. $250 00, and G. $500 00, and that they own no stock of either of the other classes. In this case, according to the rule laid down in this section, A. and B. would receive each $8,41 or about 33 1-3 per cent. C. and D. would each receive $13,46 or about 27 per cent.; E. would receive $23 55 or 23 per cent.; F. $43 74 or about 17 1-2 per cent. and G. would receive $68 97 or about 13 3-4 per cent. The whole design of this arrangement is to favor those who have only the smallest amounts of property. A poor woman or a child, who had by economy or great exertions, saved a part of their dividends for labor, would be entitled to receive the benefits contemplated. It will be seen, however, that as the stock of the individual increases, and he enters more and more into the ranks of the capitalists, his dividend gradually diminishes; when he owns $1,000 or upwards, in the stock of the Phalanx, his labor stock will receive a per centage, as has been proved by very careful calculations, very slightly exceeding that of partnership stock. The effect which will be produced, will be to make every one a proprietor, and thus to inspire a sense of ownership, a spirit of independence, a love of order and a real interest in the rights of property, which are so indispensable to the peace and happiness of society.

The dividend to labor is to be so distributed, that the class of labors which, in ordinary society, are ge erally worse paid, and are more disreputable than others, on account of their disagreeableness, shall receive the highest reward, while those which are more attractive and afford a certain compensation, in the pleasure of their performance, receive the lowest reward:—an arrangement by which only justice is done, though the methods of *civilized* society are in it altogether reversed.

Dividends to labor are, when possible, to be assigned to series;- then the series divide to their groups and the groups to their members. The Council which assigns the dividend, is governed in so doing: First, by the rank in the scale of labor of the function which the series performs, and second, by the amount of work accomplished.

In a word, the Phalanx deals with each series as if it were an individual, the series with its groups, in the same manner, and the group with its members.

The dividends of individuals are thus assigned them by the various groups in which they are engaged. This divides the burden of keeping the accounts of labor, and produces a corporate feeling and a sense of unitary responsibility in the groups. It has also another great advantage. In case any individual has not, or imagines that he has not received complete justice in the allotment of the compensation for his labor, he has no complaint against the Phalanx, or against the General Council, but only against this or that group, and the general harmony is not disturbed, as it might be, were he brought into such collision either with the General Council or with any large part of the Phalanx.

By the last section of this article, it is made the duty of the General Council to ascertain the amount of labor actually done, as the basis of the dividend. This is to check an inclination on the part of any group or series to claim to have done more than is really the case. In a complete association, where each person engages in a great variety of groups, his interests are thus completely balanced, for if one group gets too much, another in which, from greater skill, he may be entitled to a larger dividend, will get too little, so that his only desire will be the exactest justice, but until we are enabled to make a complete application of the doctrine of Association by the full establishment of Attractive Industry, a check to the possible cupidity of groups is necessary.

The remaining articles are we believe sufficiently clear without special explanation.

FAILURE OF ASSOCIATIONS.

"Fourierism, and other associations on similar principles, as we predicted a year since, are already falling into fragments. We learn, by a friend, acquainted with the fact, that the Association at Mixville, Allegany county, is not in a very prosperous condition, and that many are becoming dissatisfied, and others leaving. We hear similar reports concerning the Sodus Bay Association, located in Monroe county. The Skaneateles company, an Association on a little different principle from those mentioned, is also reported to be in a bad state. Men who had become too lazy and indolent to rely upon their own exertions and resources for a living, pitched headlong into this wild chimera, originating in Fourier's brain as they would into almost any whimsical measure. They will soon be—if, indeed, they are not already,—paid off for their hastiness and folly. It is truly surprizing that such men as Greeley, Brisbane, &c, should urge men into an utterly impracticable measure,—however well it may appear in theory."—*Western New Yorker.*

"Fourier Associations.—These Associations are what may be called a second edition of Mormonism, and are generally composed of just such material,—men who are too indolent to gain a livelihood by their own individual industry,—each and every one thinking his support will come out of the 'general fund,' therefore he will have 'nothing else to do' but ride, fish, hunt, and sleep, at the expense of others,—the consequence of which will be a general flare-up before any "improvements" will be made by the squatters.

"We do not believe that the Creator ever intended that every man, or different grades of men, should have a cave set apart for them, but, on the contrary, that all should contribute to the comfort of the great mass of his species. But hair-brained theorists and selfish men wish to break over these barriers, and live in some out-of-the-way barracks, or hospital, where they can lounge and sleep out the life which was given to them for nobler purposes."—*Columbus Daily News.*

The failure of many of the Associations which have sprung up within the last year or two, in different parts of the country, is what any sensible man might have foreseen. Hastily and rashly organized, without money, without business talent, with leaders in many cases, who were least of all things fit for such an enterprise, and made up in a great degree, of men and women who should have been most carefully excluded, they of course fall to pieces as soon as the little capital raised for the commencement is consumed, or else pass through the difficult process of expelling the indolent and hurtful among their members, and struggle along in doubtful existence until they receive aid from friends without, and go on upon a wiser and better footing.

We wish to repeat most emphatically, what we have already said again and again, that we do not hold ourselves in the smallest degree responsible for the success of these feeble efforts at association. An association cannot be founded without certain conditions, and if foolish and shiftless people undertake to do without these conditions we can only regret it.

Union is power, but if there be no power in the elements which are brought together, and if they are not wisely arranged, the combination will be worthless. A skillful machinist with the necessary tools and materials can make a steam engine for instance, but an ignoramus with no tools and miserable materials, will probably not succeed in making one at the first attempt, especially if he be lazy.

The principle of Association however, or joint stock partnership and social guarantees, commends itself too surely to all men who are endowed with common sense, to be compromised by unsuccessful attempts to carry it into practice, particularly if they are made by the class of persons spoken of in the above extracts. It is a principle too, that in various forms is rapidly gaining ground in this country; we shall hereafter take op-

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casion to discuss the present extent of its application in society. But it is the complete application of it to all the relations of life and business which we contend for, and we agree entirely with the News, that the Creator does not intend men or any classes of men to live in separate caves, as every body does in existing society, or to lounge or sleep away their lives, still less to apply them to worse purposes. We are also quite as free from admiration for fantastic theorists or selfish conservatives as any one could desire. The theory we advocate is based upon universal philanthropy and common sense on the one hand, and the mathematics on the other, and completely satisfies the head as well as the heart.

Our chief purpose in this notice, is once more most earnestly to caution the friends of Association against any new practical movement without absolute guarantees of success. Let them either attach themselves and contribute their means to some of the Associations already existing, or else wait. In the one case they must bear a little longer the burdens of civilization, in the other, they run the risk of hindering the progress of the cause by failure, an evil of infinitely greater magnitude.

THE DOCTRINE OF ASSOCIATION —ITS AIMS AND ITS CHARACTER.

It is generally known to the American Public, that a body of men calling themselves *Associationists*, have been engaged for some years past in this country in advocating a Social Reform, and the establishment on earth of a new Order of Society, based upon the grand principle of *Universal Association*,—association of interests, of efforts, of industry, of families, of classes, of nations,—in short of all that is sociable and associable in Man, and the elements of the material world in which he dwells; and this new Order of Society based upon this great principle of Unity, Justice, and Solidarity, is the reverse—the opposite of the present Social Order, based upon general antagonism and isolation—antagonism and isolation of interests, of efforts, of families, of classes and nations, engendering throughout the world and in all ages, wherever it has existed, the nine following permanent scourges, the opposite of the permanent benefits and blessings, which a God of love and justice *must have destined* for *Man*, and which will be his reward when he establishes a Society, based upon those primordial attributes of the Creator.

TABLE OF THE NINE PERMANENT SCOURGES.

1. Indigence.
2. Fraud.
3. Oppression,
4. Carnage,
5. Derangement of Climate by a bad cultivation of the Globe.
6. Contagion and other diseases artificially produced.
7. Reign of blind Prejudice and Error, hostile to Improvement and Progress.
8. *Universal Selfishness and Distrust.*
9. *Duplicity of Social Action.*

TABLE OF THE NINE PERMANENT BLESSINGS.

1. General Abundance,
2. Practical Truth in all relations,
3. Real Liberty,
4. Constant Peace,
5. Progressive improvement of Climate.
6. Preventive system of Medicine and extirpation of the sources of epidemic disease,
7. True Progressive Spirit and an Opening offered to all Ameliorations and Improvements.
8. *Individual and Collective Philanthropy.*
9. *Unity of Social Action.*

This Doctrine of Association has been assailed quite violently from various quarters,—by the Press and the Pulpit,—particularly in the large Atlantic cities, and a majority of Conservative minds regard it, and very candidly no doubt, as extremely dangerous, as hostile to Christianity and religion, and subversive of social principles and institutions which appear to them all right,—the evil, in their opinion, lying in the individuals or in human nature, and not in the Institutions. The *Courier* but a few days since, spoke of the doctrines of Association in connection with some other reforms, as "*infamous*;" and the *Herald*, by its repeated attacks, pointing out what it shudders at as its infidelity and its hostility to Christianity, has prejudiced a great many minds against it particularly in this city, where its circulation is the largest. Men are so little accustomed to independent reflection and examination, to careful analysis of statements that are presented to them, that they accept with deplorable heedlessness any assertions which are put forth through the press as an apparently impartial source.

Now we wish to meet some of these objections and prejudices, and to do so, we will enter into an examination of some of the higher aims of the doctrine of Association, and explain some of the more abstruse principles on which it is based. We will do so in a short series of articles, and we would particalarly invite those minds that take an interest in Social questions, and the great problems of Social Progress and Destiny of Man, to examine what we have to say, and to judge whether the principles which we advocate are so "infamous," and so very anti-Christian" as is pretended.

We have heretofore written mainly upon the practical parts of the system of Association. We have refrained from entering into its deeper and more philosophical parts, because we know that the great majority of persons turn with indifference from the study of abstruse philosophical principles. And in entering this field, we shall, in the few articles which we write, touch very briefly upon, —giving the octaves merely—of the subjects which we shall treat. We shall particularly endeavor to explain what we have to say in the simplest and clearest manner possible, so that those who will take the trouble to read, may understand.

The great question of a Social Reform has occupied the attention of a large number of superior minds during the present century, which may claim the honor of having given birth to this most mighty of all problems; and at present in Europe a large number of the really advanced thinkers and writers have their attention strongly called to, and are engaged in discussing it. In this country, where politics and commerce absorb so completely public attention, the leading men, who have acquired a general reputation and are looked upon as the lights of the day, have not yet been induced to pay any attention to it, and the Associationists, who have struck this chord rather strongly, have modulated so abruptly out of the tone of public opinion and discussion, that they are looked upon as a strange and non-descript class of intelligences, very discordant and quite "infamous" and "anti-Christian."

Among the minds that have devoted genius, energy and patience to the great and sacred cause of a Social Reform,—and we call it great and sacred, because it aims at the happiness and elevation of the whole human race, and the establishment of Divine Order upon earth, and that by practical and efficient means,—and who have been animated by a true love for Man and full faith in God, we believe that the Future will award a most high and conspicuous place to CHARLES FOURIER.

The powerful and penetrating genius of this man, so wonderfully synthetical and analytical at the same time; his great perseverance and application, continued for forty years with unabated and untiring vigor, and the practical character of his mind, fitted him peculiarly for the arduous and intricate work which he had undertaken,—the discovery of the true Laws on which human Society should rest.

The Associationists refer to him constantly as high authority, and believe that he has given more practical solutions of problems belonging to the *Science of Society* than any man who has written on the subject. It is for this reason that the term "Fourierism" has been applied by persons, who could not understand the Principle, but caught merely a name, to this grand plan of a Social Reform, this great idea of Universal Association, and that its advocates are called "Fourierists." This appellation is entirely misapplied and false; as well might you call

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the science of Astronomy "Keplerism" or "Newtonism," in allusion to two great men who made discoveries in its domain.

There is such a thing as a *Science of Society*, or a Social Science, as there is a science of mathematics, of chemistry, &c., and to dub this science with the name of "Fourierism," betrays an ignorance of the very existence of such a Science, — which is probably the case with most of those who use the term. Fourier may be accused of having speculated falsely upon this science, or it may be said that he put forth some true and some erroneous views; this would be speaking with rational discrimination; but to give the name of "Fourierism," to the science is to us particularly obnoxious, as it bestows the fleeting name of an individual upon a principle which is eternal and universal, and which should bear its own name and no other.

We have made these remarks to show that we hold that there is a *Social Science*, based upon immutable laws, which is above individuals, who should be its servants, and not dress it up in the livery of their names, and to dissuade candid minds from applying to so high a subject an individual name, which lowers it in public estimation. The Associationists are the servants of this science, endeavoring to discover and apply for the benefit of all their fellow men as many of its laws as possible, and they seek for information and light wherever they can find it, in the works of a Swedenborg or a Fourier, of a Krause, or a Ballanche, and of any other gifted mind that has devoted conscienciously his intellectual energies to the subject. But as the science is a new one, the Associationists are aware that the Pioneers in it may be subject to errors, and for that reason they are not fanatical and fixed in their opinions and judgments, but are constantly studying and are open to all new views and developments; and as all discoveries and progress in this science must come from and be made by *human reason*, which is fallible, and are not communicated to man by *Revelation*, which is infallible, therefore they do not by any means attribute infallibility to the men who have been working in this field, but judge them as men of genius, of vigorous reasoning powers, who by the side of their discoveries of truth, may have committed errors. This leaves the Associationists free to accept parts or the whole of the views of any able thinker, without binding them to the name or the authority of any one man. They are bound only to the science itself, and the sacred cause which it has in view. — *N. Y. Tribune.*

CARLYLE says that every battle is a bloody conjugation. I kill, thou killest, he kills, we kill, you kill, they kill.

RICH AND POOR.

Human Wisdom and Divine.

Why are some men rich and others poor, or rather why are all men rich and poor at once, in various gifts of Providence? What is the plan of Providence in so directing men on earth that those who are the richest deem themselves the poorest, and the poorer, rich? Is it not clear that fancy and delusion have more empire in the minds of men than reason and true light? And, being so, in fact, what are the reasons of Divinity for giving empire to delusion over human reason? It is an interesting subject of inquiry, and though we cannot fully solve the problem here, we may discuss the elements of a solution, and conjecture something in the sphere of probability.

Providence is universal; infinitely great and infinitely small in individual minuteness. "Every hair upon our heads is numbered," we are told, to show the infinite minuteness of especial Providence. There is a reason then, a Providential reason, for the present state of things on earth; and this has been revealed, in part, to man, by Genius and Prophecy. The Scripture tells us that the destiny of man is twofold here on earth: exceptional and general; the first being subject to the reign of evil and division, and the Prince of darkness in the "Fall;" the last being subject to the reign of Christ, the Prince of Peace and Unity, when righteousness and justice shall have been established in society. The universal law of God and righteousness on earth, is that of *unity* and *peace;* its opposite forms an exception then, or a law of *individuality* and *strife* to govern men while they are subject to the Prince of Darkness and the judgment of the "Fall:" but both are under the control of Universal Providence, and thence it follows, that as God is infinitely wise and good, he must make partial evil more or less subservient to universal good. This is a mystery, at present, more or less obscure, which will be brought to perfect light, at last, as we are told in Scripture, but the light is growing daily more and more intense, already, to dispel the mist which hides the ways of Providence from man.

In God alone resides the law of perfect justice universally: in man, the law of consciousness alone, or individual justice. The consciousness of man is at a loss to understand the usefulness of partial evil which the Love of God permits in His Divine arrangements of the Universe. This is a stumbling block to many, who are not endowed with faith in Providence and His supernal wisdom. They cannot understand why life should be in contradiction, for a time, with human feelings of propriety and justice, though the Word of God has told us plainly that such must be the case, and is, as long as we are subject to the "Fall," which is the reign of individual evil, to continue for a period, but not forever: It being the exceptional or accidental destiny of man on earth, and not the final destiny of God's creation. When man has merited Redemption from the empire of iniquity through Faith in Christ, and prayed in works as well as words, that the kingdom of righteousness be here established, and "the will of God be done in earth as it is done in heaven," then the law of God and universal justice will be harmonized with individual consciousness of right and wrong; but not before: for human wisdom in the sphere of discord is inferior to Divine, as we shall now endeavor to make manifest by analysing "facts,', and placing them in a new light of faith and understanding.

The present state of civilized society in Europe and America is not in harmony with individual views of truth and goodness, for Injustice is the ruling law of human actions. This is not the final destiny of man, for it is not in unison with those imperishable feelings God has written on the hearts of men. It is, then, an exceptional state of things intended as a transitory state to lead to higher ends. In universal wisdom it is good, for it leads rapidly to better things; but in the individual sphere, it is a world of strife and suffering, delusion and depravity. It is exceptionally good, in universal wisdom, but, generally bad, in individual delusion. We will now explain more definitely, what we mean.

The present state of things is bad; as bad as it can be, when viewed in actuality and instantaneous results, oppressive to the feelings and desires of human nature; and we wish to bring about a total change as soon as God permits us in His wisdom to effect that change for general good, but, in the interim, we are prepared to show that every thing is for the best as things now stand, when viewed from higher grounds than those of actuality and individual suffering, and with a view to universal progress and refinement in society on earth.

The British empire is now suffering more than any other nation in the world, perhaps, from poverty and misery, and yet it is the richest nation in the world, and more especially endowed with gifts from God than any other people. This may seem strange at first, but it is true, as we shall presently make clear. It is especially the object of Divine protection and high favor. Its destiny is high amongst the Nations of the Earth, but we should ever bear in mind, that much will be required from those to whom great gifts have been awarded. What the rulers of the nation ought to know at present, is the use which they should make of all that is entrusted to their care. This is what we wish to show them in the principles of universal peace and unity, attractive industry and moral Harmony, but we must waive the end we aim at, for the present, and justify the means which God has used through men in their delusions to prepare the way for higher destinies and universal unity.

The laws of unitary combination are the laws of peace and harmony, and those of individualism involve a state of poverty and strife. The one is general; the other but exceptional, as a condition of society; and that which would be wisdom in the one would be sheer folly in the other. This is why the wisdom of Divinity is not at one with that of man, in disassociative life; while both agree on higher grounds of principle and action.

The human race can never be emancipated from the reign of evil until it is raised above the common drudgery of brute activity, and this can never be effected without wealth and knowledge to secure us from the dread of suffering and privation, bodily and mentally; and this necessity of gaining wealth and power is constantly opposed by unattractive industry and individual love of ease and pleasure, in the present state of incoherence in society; nor would it have been possi-

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ble to harmonize the feelings of mankind in unity, so long as riches and abundance were wanting to supply the riches of all, collectively and individually. The first thing to be realized by Providence in governing the human family, was to provide abundantly for all the wants of nature, then, that men might live in peace together and enjoy the pleasures of true holiness, instead of being tempted to destroy each other, like mere animals, from want of common necessaries; but as all that was not done at first for man in the creation, must be done through him, in Time, assisted by his Maker, it was necessary to conduct him from a state of ignorance and discord to a knowledge of his destiny in the creation, and the laws of his activity in peace and unity. God is teaching man to imitate divine economy, creating or producing that which he requires for life and happiness; and it is during this short period of infancy and education that God governs man by laws which are superior to human wisdom, until human knowledge is increased and human wisdom harmonizes with Divine.

God is teaching man, then, to create the things which are required for his own welfare, temporal and spiritual, first the physical and then the moral, as the former is the basis of the latter practically, though the latter is the basis of the former, theoretically.

The problem, being then, to benefit mankind by riches and abundance for the wants of nature; and the scarcity of both proceeding only from the ignorance of man amidst the treasures which surround him every where in Nature, we will now examine whether human wisdom (if it be not mockery to use the word), is not inferior immeasurably to Divine; or whether, under such a state of things, the human family would not have been much deeper sunk in misery and wretchedness, if left to act on principles of justice such as human feelings and desires conceive, instead of being subject to a higher law of justice which is commonly deemed quite unjust and horribly oppressive to the generality of men.

In examining this question, we must not forget that human ignorance at first involves a want of mere material abundance which it has not power to create, and that this scarcity of food and clothing and material comfort, in its turn, necessitates the individual separation of mankind and their material interests, to prevent them from being tempted universally to spoliate and massacre each other, in their moments of privation and despair; and that the human family in these exceptional conditions is to be instructed gradually in the arts of industry and general production, that it may be able to supply its wants abundantly, and live in peace and unity as angels live in heaven, in the joy of spiritual light and love and purity. The problem, then, is, to enrich humanity with wealth and knowledge, that it may ascend from ignorance and poverty and strife in its exceptional condition in the "Fall," to its essential destiny of peace and happiness on earth in the "Redemption." It is in this exceptional condition of humanity that injustice is exceptional, and the apparent evil or injustice, is supremely just and beneficial to the human family collectively, however hard it may appear and contradictory to the feelings of true justice in the hearts of individual man.

We will take the common notions of the people with regard to justice, and the facts which they complain of, generally, in society as it is constituted at the present time in France and England and America respectively. Every where the people are complaining of injustice in society, and clamoring for a state of things adapted to the notions of equality of right, and civil and religious liberty, etc. etc. Our object is to prove that providence has brought about the present state of things on earth in spite of human wisdom, and that all is working for the best according to Divine economy. We do not mean to say however that the rulers of society are conscious of the wisdom they are working out as instruments of providence; far from it; we believe that they are blind and selfish mortals guided by the mere necessities of their position, like the multitude who clamor for relief from what to them is positive oppression; an exceptional condition from which God will in due time relieve them, but from which they cannot yet relieve themselves, nor can their rulers; nor would any of the nostrums they propose, as remedies, relieve them from distress and misery so long as these delusive schemes are based on the false principles of individualism and disassociation. This has been demonstrated by practice in the nations we allude to; for that which is demanded in the one, has been experimented in the other, without any adequate improvement in the state of mind or body, comfort or refinement in the general mass of people who inhabit these deluded countries, which are deemed the most advanced in Freedom and false civilization.

England stands preeminent for aristocracy or false association and confederacy; France for philosophical equality or false hierarchy; America for constitutional democracy or false authority and independency amongst the people. Each of these varieties of civilized delusion and false principles of action, has its own exceptional advantages, adapted to the people and the country over which it has been called by chance, as it is termed, or Providence unseen, to rule, but all are equally unjust, exceptional, and false, in contrast with the principles of peace and unity; and what is more remarkable in these varieties of constitutional delusion is, that any one of them exchanged for any other, would inevitably ruin and dissolve the nation or collective body thus tormented with its spirit. Suppose the spirit of democracy, for instance, which animates the people of America were engrafted on the constitution of this country, as the multitude of politicians seem to wish for in their schemes of "universal suffrage etc." what would be the consequence! The people would send men to Parliament who would comply with popular opinions, and make laws to satisfy, as far as possible, the pressing wants of nature and the general love of ease and pleasure. All privileges would be soon abolished, and the working population would require to be relieved from the necessity which now constrains them to work hard and long and well to earn the common necessaries of existence. Capital would be dispersed in many hands immediately, and nothing grand could be supported either individually, or collectively, by such a state of weakness and division in the wealth and the authority acquired in unitary action. A little ease would be acquired, at first, by those who are now suffering from ignorance and privation, and general laxity of habit and of industry would follow, until mediocrity was rendered universal, and then, want of territory to admit of individual families spreading on the land to form small independent groups of farmers, would involve a state of brutal strife amongst the people to obtain a share of those productions of the soil which could not be sufficient for the population on its surface, without manufacturing productions, to procure from other countries what the territory of our own country is too limited in climate and extent to give us; and mediocrity of capital would deprive us of our manufacturing superiority, as it became dispersed in many hands; so that the country would fall into ruin and inevitable anarchy, in a frightfully short period of time.

In America, this danger is less imminent, because the territory is immense; and having started with the view of organizing unity in constitutional existence, they advance in centralizing tendency as democratic incoherency is found to be oppressive; but in England we should have an inverse tendency, if democratic principles were introduced; for we have not sufficient territory to locate our people on a principle of spreading individuality upon the land, acting as a safety valve for individual discontent, by forming groups of independent little families to cultivate the earth, with manufacturing industry, subordinate and secondary in consideration; and, instead of having in the government a tendency to organize a growing power of unity, the tendency would be to split up and dissolve the power of capital and privilege which now exists, until it was reduced to atoms and chaotic insignificance. It is the vast extent of territory and the growing principle of centralizing unity which save America from the dissolving principle of false Democracy, and ere the land has been located and reduced to general cultivation in that country, a New spirit will have grown up in the Nation, and organic unity, combining, liberty with order, and individual independency with vast amounts of wealth will supersede the principle of incoherency, which now is kept in check by twofold action; the spread of individual families upon the land, and the growing power of unity in wealth and governing authority. The spirit of Democracy in its one sided false development as it was first proclaimed in the United States, would ruin any country but America, in half a century; but God has not permitted it to be established in that form in any other country; and even there it was established under circumstances of a very extraordinary nature, quite exceptional in civilized communities, and with a power of growing rapidly from the dissolving nature of a fluid principle to that of concrete unity, the principle of form and organized existence. Extremes are said to meet, and so the fluid principle of what is called democracy, though more or less dissolvent in its active tendencies, may be established in extreme conditions; the one containing elements of dissolution in a declining movement, and the other, elements of unity in an ascending movement, like the fluid of an egg which may bring forth new life, but when that life has been brought forth, it would be drowned or suffocated by immersion in a fluid element exactly similar in nature. England

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exists already as a living unity which would be suffocated and dissolved by the dissolvent principle of false Democracy, but when that principle was first established in America, the nation was not organized as a political existence independently; it was merely what may be compared to an egg, of national existence, brought forth by England to be hatched in time and grow up like its parent, with a difference sufficiently remarkable to constitute its individuality.

These movements in the growth of various nationalities are Providential and conducted by the hand of God, but we are now alluding to them on the common principle of analyzing "facts" as they are termed, as if they had proceeded from mere "chance:" a word invented as a mask for human vanity to hide its ignorance of Providence, and stand as proof of infidelity or want of faith, in all who use it.

But how is England to advance, it may be asked, if liberty and equal rights would stifle its existence? England will grow in wealth, and power, and peace, and unity, and liberty, and equal rights, but not by the dissolvent principles of false Democracy. It is already far beyond the life of such a principle. It is now laboring under the disease of plethora, and only wants a better atmosphere of industry and equilibrium in circulation of its life blood to enable it to grow in health and strength, but false Democracy would not relieve it from its suffering state: it would destroy it. Association and attractive industry are what it wants to give it health of body, and the principles of universal unity and peace in Christ, are what it wants to give it spiritual health and life. And God has given us wealth and power in great abundance and religious light to aid us in this work of progress, when we feel oppressed by our exceptional condition and impelled to seek that relief in unitary principles of life we cannot find in false association and disunity.

SELF-DENIAL

Self-denial is the essence of religion, the principle or bond of universal unity. According to Fourier, it is the seventh note or element of every principle of action in the soul of man in true development, and every corporation in associative unity will contain a group of votaries devoted to the service of religious unity and self-denial, temporal and spiritual, corresponding to the Sabbath, or the seventh day of every week which God has set apart for worship and religious contemplation.

The law of life and universal unity, according to Fourier, is this, that "God distributes to his creatures, their particular attractions and desires in due proportion to their destinies respectively," and the exception to this law of distribution is, that man, while here on earth, aspires to heaven and a higher destiny than he can here enjoy. This being the exception to the law of life which binds him to the earth in his attractions and desires, is then the link of universal unity which binds the soul of man to heaven while yet on earth, and every seventh function in material and spiritual life, should be religious, and diverge from earthly satisfaction to immediate heavenly aspiration, as an act of self-denial and devotedness, or sacrifice of self to God and universal unity. This is the principle which leads Fourier to organize a group of self-denial in every corporation of industrial activity in a united body, as well as an especial corporation of the Clergy as the Spiritual pastors of the flock. It universalises the religious aspiration and reduces it to practice as a principle of self-denial and devotedness in every sphere of action in society; and all the special groups and corporations of religious self-denial in both temporal and spiritual life, in every sphere of art and science, industry and education, commerce, government, and general economy, will be controlled by the established clergy; so that self-denial and religious purity will run through all the veins of social life, and purify existence in its very source.

This would be impossible in false and individualized society, as it exists at present, but in genuine associative unity according to the principles ordained by Providence, it is not only practicable, but essential to the purity of life, both individually and collectively. It is the bond of universal unity, the Christian principle of truth and heavenly self-denial manifested in all mankind, as Christ himself was manifested individually in the flesh. The ministers of Christ would then be universal in their functions: they would have direct control in every sphere of action, high and low, material and spiritual, and that control would always be divine, and through the medium of self-denial, organized in every corporation as an active element of life. The divine spirit of Christ would be in every thing, and every thing in it; but now the Pastors of the people have no hold on them: they cannot penetrate the darkness and the falsehood of material life; and spiritual destitution is as general as worldly want throughout society.

And this must ever be the case so long as civilized society is based on incoherency and competition. The very elements of science and of progress only tend, in such a state of things, to generate corruption and depravity. It is the duty of the clergy then, especialy, to aid us in our work of self-denial, to promote the practice of associative unity and neutralize the elements of dissolution in society.

THE BIBLE.

Why do rational Philosophers reject the Bible as a "monstrous fable," while they willingly accept that Book of Nature, the creation, as a living Scripture from the hand of God? "It is" say they, "because the facts related in the Bible are in many cases too repulsive to the sense of justice in the human heart, to be ascribed to God, who, being infinitely good and merciful, could not have countenanced such horrid deeds."

This is a specimen of the general reasons which philosophers or sceptics give for not believing in the Bible as the Word of God. In support of this negative assertion they adduce many arguments against the authenticity of scripture, but these secondary syllogisms are manufactured to support the great negation which arises from the vanity of human reason, measuring by its own contracted power the extent of universal reason and Divinity. This we believe to be the cause of scepticism, generally, but not to take the rational philosophers beyond their depths, we will admit their sphere of argument, and ask them in our turn, what better proof they find in Nature than in scripture, of justice on the part of God in his unbounded Providence? Did not God create the lion and the tiger, the dread serpent and the crocodile, and all the wild ferocious animals that prey upon the rest of his creation? And if philosophers contend that certain facts related in the scriptures are too monstrous to be other than the fables of mere human fancy, "because they are not consonant with human reason and affection," can they say that monsters in the visible creation are not "facts" that must have been created by supernal power and not by human fancy? Is a crocodile a monstrous fable, or a living fact? And if it be a living fact, it is not as hideous as the facts related in the Word of God? It is a living fact, and like all other living monsters in the visible creation, it is out of harmony with man's small notions of pure goodness in Divine Providence; and rational philosophers admitting Nature as the book of God and not the Scriptures, are less logical than Atheists denying both, and arguing against the laws of order and of harmony in Nature. Both are equally presumptuous and illogical in measuring the wisdom of Divine intelligence by human notions and perceptions of the good and true.

The book of Nature, is however, not a fable; and the subversive facts which it contains are not less various and repulsive to our feelings of humanity than those which are recorded in the Word of God; nor are the beauties of the visible in the creation more attractive than the principles revealed in the invisible creation of the Word. The mysteries concealed in both are deep; and it is madness on the part of man to judge of either without understanding. Faith in Providence is the true road to knowledge, for it leads us to investigate the laws of truth; to "seek that we may find" the laws of justice, and abide by them as we have been commanded in Scripture and the instincts of our nature. As men improve in wisdom they will find that "judgments are the strange works of the Lord; and mercy his darling attribute;" and that injustice, in a transitory and exceptional state of things, is a necessity which leads more rapidly to universal unity and justice than its opposite in similar conditions. The universal harmonizes with itself, and the exceptional, with the exception; and hence, injustice is superior to justice as an element of progress in a sphere of general falsehood and delusion. This explains apparent contradictions, both in Scripture and in Nature; the visible and the invisible Creation.

A Legal Fiction. At a late meeting of the Court of Common Pleas in this country, two of the Attornies having some altercation, commenced bandying epithets, by no means complimentary to each other, (so these good men do occasionally,) when his honor the Presiding Judge, interfered, and remarked, that "it was presumed the members of the bar were gentlemen, and that they should treat each other as such."—"Yes, your Honor," said one of them, "I so understand it, but it is one of those legal fictions not *always borne out in practice.*—*Maumee Times.*

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THE BRIDGE OF SIGHS.

One more Unfortunate,
Weary of breath,
Rashly importunate,
Gone to her death!

Take her up tenderly,
Lift her with care,
Fashioned so slenderly.
Young and so fair!

Look at her garments,
Clinging like cerements:
Whilst the wave constantly
Drips from her clothing:
Take her up instantly,
Loving, not loathing.

Touch her not scornfully;
Think of her mournfully,
Gently and humanly,
Not of the stains of her;
All that remains of her
Now is pure womanly.

Make no deep scrutiny
Into her mutiny,
Rash and undutiful;
Past all dishonor,
Death has left on her
Only the beautiful.

Still, for all slips of hers,
One of Eve's family—
Wipe those poor lips of hers,
Oozing so clamily.

Loop up her tresses,
Escaped from the comb,
Her fair auburn tresses;
Whilst wonderment guesses
Where was her home?

Who was her father?
Who was her mother?
Had she a sister?
Had she a brother?
Or was there a dearer one
Still, and a nearer one,
Yet, than all other?
Alas! for the rarity
Of Christian charity
Under the sun!
Oh, it was pitiful!
Near a whole city full,
Home she had none.

Sisterly, brotherly,
Fatherly, motherly
Feelings had changed;
Love, by harsh evidence,
Thrown from its eminence!
Even God's providence
Seeming estranged.

Where the lamps quiver
So far in the river,
With many a light
From window and casement.
From garret to basement,
She stood, with amazement,
Houseless by night.

The bleak wind of March
Made her tremble and shiver;
But not the dark arch,
Or the black flowing river;
Mad from life's history,
Glad to death's mystery,
Swift to be hurl'd
Anywhere, anywhere
Out of the world!

In she plunged boldly,
No matter how coldly
The rough river ran—
Over the brink of it,
Picture it—think of it,
Dissolute man!
Lave in it, drink of it,
Then, if you can!

Take her up tenderly,
Lift her with care:
Fashioned so slenderly,
Young and so fair.

Ere her limbs frigidly
Stiffen too rigidly,
Decently—kindly,
Smooth and compose them;
And her eyes, close them,
Staring so blindly!

Dreadfully staring
Through muddy impurity,
As when with the daring,
Last look of despairing,
Fix'd on futurity.

Perishing gloomily,
Spurr'd by contumely,
Cold inhumanity,
Burning insanity,
Into her rest.
Cross her hands humbly,
As if praying dumbly,
Over her breast!

Owning her weakness,
Her evil behaviour,
And leaving, with meekness,
Her sins to her Saviour!

Hood's Magazine.

LAST SUNDAY MORNING.

Sunday morning, as every pore of every human being in New York will remember, was of a deliciousness to make the soul swoon in a man. The temperature was of an intoxicating softness and sweetness. Having leaned out of our window awhile, and, like a vicar of Nature, interpreted for the dumb trees in St. Paul's church-yard,—blessing God for their verdure and beauty,—we went out and took our way to the spot that most "rests on the seventh day"—the hushed wharves of the city. Here one can walk on the Sabbath and (blessed in meeting only the poor, who, have no impertinence in their eyes,) turn one's thoughts at will, inward or outward. With this luxury before us, we were taking our way enjoyably through John-street when, from a shut-up shop, came a hundred discourses on the beauty of sunshine and the sweetness of life,—discourses that we often go to hear, with a sweet child who comprehends *them*, though as yet ignorant of the alphabet. A hundred birds imprisoned behind the shutters of a crowded bird-shop, were keeping their dark Sabbath upon what light stole to them through the crevices! Poor things! how they sang! We heard the sounds dying away behind us till we turned out of the street and went on our walk, sadder for what these children of nature think of the Sabbath,—for, in what they found it, we could not but see a symbol of the shutters made elsewhere for religion,—Sabbaths known most, if not only, by additional gloom and privation.

Having finished our 'morning exercises'—(prayer with the trees, sermon with the birds, and self communion in the solitude of the wharves,)—we joined a friend in attendance at the hall of the Lyceum. Here Mr. Channing preaches—to no sect. We have often heard thinking men speak of these discourses, on truth rather than on creed. About a hundred persons sat on the bare seats when we entered, and the first glance showed us that bold thinking would pick a community from no particular class. Aristocrats, writers, hatters, shoemakers, belles and sempstresses—two or three of all classes, whose faces we knew—mingled in the uncushioned congregation. Mr. Channing sat behind the table on the platform, and, as a man who follows no lamp of another's lighting, we looked upon him with both respect and curiosity. He has the countenance of 'outness' which the Germans speak of,—that of one who leaves himself at home when he goes abroad in the world, unconscious of any interest but in his subject or his pursuit,—the countenance, in short, of a self-forgetting enthusiast. We thought, as he read the opening chapter of the service, that some slight desire to be personally impressive would be an aid to his usefulness, for his delivery is plain to the degree of barrenness. He read, like a stream running over sand, his mind sinking apparently into the chapter as he went on,—forgetful of the necessity of keeping above ground to be followed by his congregation. Sincerity and purity, however, were too legibly written on his forehead, to let a word fall from him unlistened for.

Mr. Channing took no text. He commenced at once with an outline view of the movement of the day, of which the past Anniversary Week was the strong exponent,—as the blossom is of the year's life in the tree. He regretted the Infidel Convention, and he regretted the effort among the Boston Unitarians to check the free inquiry of the Infidelity in their midst, believing that Infidelity was the natural result of the un-Christ-like life of Christians of all denominations,—of their pomp of wealth, pride and covetousness, and of their bigotry of sect,—men naturally turning from a religion which produced such fruits. Speaking of the present raging battle between Catholics and Protestants, he called attention to the silent industry, and admirable patience and management with which Catholicism extended its influences, and the contrast between that and the noisy inefficiency of other creeds. The close parallels in this city, of streets of showy mansions, backed by alleys of horrible poverty, were made the theme of eloquent comment, and the manifest application to us of the taunt, 'Physician, heal thyself!' from savage nations whom we would evangelize by the introduction of such fruits of Christian charity and mercy. Mr. Channing seemed to think it possible, as well as all-desirable, that all Christian sects should be built together in love and charity, and have at least a common basement of co-operation in first principles,—points of difference in belief left, like the Gothic pinnacle, to be shaped or altered without.

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staying the usefulness of the great body of the church. He thought that by mutual charity, deference, and removal of points contested, or unessential, from the common path of common duty, this great harmony might be brought about, to the great furthering of Christ's kingdom.—And to this we said, with him, Amen.

We came away impressed strongly with the benevolent nobleness of Mr Channing's religious nature, and certainly doing sincere homage to his power of generalizing and truth-seeing. It would be well for the country if he were more followed, or if there were more such men.—*N. Y. Mirror.*

Hard-Working Farmers, Read This! Dr. Duncan, in his speech on the Army Appropriation Bill, exposes the profligate policy of the government in relation to war expenses. The major general receives $7,144 88 per annum in salary or perquisites; equal to the income of twenty-four farms, capital and labor included. A brigadier general receives $4,600, equal to the proceeds of 15 farms, each worth $5,000, and labor included. An adjutant general receives $3,884, a sum equal to the proceeds of 13 farms, worth each $5,000 and labor included. An inspector general receives $4,133, equal to the proceeds of 14 farms, worth each $5,000, and labor included. A quartermaster general receives $3,767, equal to the proceeds of 12 farms, each worth $5,000, and labor included. A commissary general receives $3,568, equal to the proceeds of 12 farms, each worth $5,000, labor included. A surgeon general receives $3,628, equal to the proceeds of 12 farms, worth each $5,000, labor included. A colonel receives $3,916, equal to the proceeds of 13 farms; a major $2,307, equal to the proceeds of 8 farms; a captain $2,181, equal to the proceeds of 7 farms, worth each in all cases, $5,000, labor included.

Now, honest farmers, do you wonder that this country is perpetually in danger of "foreign invasions and domestic insurrections," when it is to be defended at such a price! Who can wonder at the patriotic reluctance of these military gentlemen to "beat their swords into ploughshares and learn war no more," when as good and as brave men as they have to drive the ploughshare to the tune of $300 a year, and defend the country besides!—*Christian Citizen.*

The Present Season.—Business promises to be good for the present and coming seasons; there is considerable demand for labor, and for a time everything with the workingmen, we suppose, will go as "merrily as a marriage bell." Perhaps it would be well for those associations which have been trying to do something by way of investigating the causes and nature of the evils from which we suffer, to suspend operations for the present; or, as a large portion of the religious societies do, make no attempt to get up a "reformation," until winter shall bring a scarcity of employment and plenty of time. It is not to be supposed that men who can get "nine shillings a day," even if they do take some of it in bills of the "Promise-to-pay Bank," would trouble themselves greatly with "Industrial Reform." For one, we think rather differently of the matter, and believe that no seeming prosperity of to-day should deter us from all effort to avert the evil which threatens us to-morrow. Howbeit, as we may be almost alone in our notions, we do not know that they will carry much weight. What do the workingmen say!—*N. E. Mechanic.*

Working for a Living. We find the following excellent article in the "Offering," edited by the factory Girls in Lowell. It breathes the right spirit, and every mother and daughter, father and son, should read it.

"From whence originated the idea that it was derogatory to a lady's dignity, or a blot upon female character, to labor!—and who was the first to say, sneeringly, 'Oh, she works for a living!' Surely, such ideas and expressions ought not to grow on Republican soil! The time has been when ladies of the first rank were accustomed to busy themselves in domestic employment. Homer tells us of princesses who used to draw water from the springs, and wash, with their own hands, the finest of the linen of their respective families. The famous Lucretia used to spin in the midst of her attendants: and the wife of Ulysses, after the siege of Troy, employed herself in weaving until her husband returned from Ithaca."

CIVILIZATION.

There are few operations more painful than the perusal of a newspaper, or general diary of the occurrences passing in the civilized world. In these periodical columns the eye may trace, either in its general outline or minute figures, all the charms and perfections of civilization.

Under the head Foreign News, we are greeted with interesting intelligence of wars in Greece, victories of Christian over Turk, Turk over Christian, insurrections in Spain, consternations in Portugal, persecutions in England, sedition in Canada, movements in India, revolutions in Mexico, disturbances in Buenos Ayres, dissatisfactions in Chili, usurpations in Columbia, with every variety of violence, intrigue, false faith, pretensions, presumption, open ambition, and subtle treachery that ingenuity can devise, or imprudence dare. Do we look to Domestic Intelligence, what find we but old laws without justice, new laws without meaning, legislators without knowledge, lawyers without honesty, long speeches and little sense, founding of churches and enlarging of jails, improvements in machinery and distress in the population, ordination of ministers and condemnation of criminals, conversion of the heathen in Ceylon and deaths by intemperance in New York, donations for printing Bibles and children dying of famine, petitions from the Lord's treasury for widows' mites, and maidens driven to prostitution for lack of bread. Oh! civilization! ill hast thou done thy work as yet! Surely the heathen hunter is wiser than the civilized Christian, and the ignorant Hottentot under his cocoa palm, with or without a vestment, than the sons and daughters of industry in scientific Europe, or "enlightened" America, bowed down under burdens too hard to bear, and afflicted at once with all the wants invented, and all the privations induced by civilization!

"What a triumph of art is the steam engine," says the capitalist, who supplants a thousand young women by a spinning jenny, a thousand men by a fly wheel, and grinds down the wages of a twelve hours' worked infant to sixpence a day! "What a noble system is civil law," says the attorney, "which prevents men from settling their own quarrels, and offers justice to all who can pay for it!" "What a glorious invention is religion," says the priest, "which builds large houses, on which they levy contribution by fear of the devil and in the name of Almighty God!" "What a noble principle in competition," says the merchant, "which lays the producer at my mercy, and gives every man a chance of ruining his neighbor!" "What a transcendent contrivance is a circulating medium," says the economist," which facilitates accumulation, encourages speculation, substitutes wealth for enjoyment, and imparts an ideal value to objects the most worthless!" "Oh! what a compound of blessings," shouts the civilized world, "is civilization!"—*F. Wright.*

There is no widow so utterly widowed as she who has a drunken husband.

THE HARBINGER,

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PROGRESS,

Published simultaneously at New York and Boston, by the Brook Farm Phalanx.

"All things, at the present day, stand provided and prepared, and await the light."

Under this title it is proposed to publish a weekly newspaper, for the examination and discussion of the great questions in social science, politics, literature, and the arts, which command the attention of all believers in the progress and elevation of humanity.

In politics, the Harbinger will be democratic in its principles and tendencies; cherishing the deepest interest in the advancement and happiness of the masses; warring against all exclusive privilege in legislation, political arrangements, and social customs; and striving with the zeal of earnest conviction, to promote the triumph of the high democratic faith, which it is the chief mission of the nineteenth century to realize in society. Our devotion to the democratic principle will lead us to take the ground of fearless and absolute independence in regard to all political parties, whether professing attachment to that principle or hostility to it. We know that fidelity to an idea can never be measured by adherence to a name; and hence we shall criticise all parties with equal severity; though we trust that the sternness of truth will always be blended with the temperance of impartial candor. With tolerance for all opinions, we have no patience with hypocrisy and pretence; least of all, with that specious fraud, which would make a glorious principle the apology for personal ends. It will therefore be a leading object of the Harbinger to strip the disguise from the pre-

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vailing parties, to show them in their true light, to give them due honor, to tender them our grateful reverence whenever we see them true to a noble principle; but at all times, and on every occasion, to expose false professions, to hold up hollow-heartedness and duplicity to just indignation, to warn the people against the demagogue who would cajole them by honeyed flatteries, no less than against the devotee of mammon who would make them his slaves.

The Harbinger will be devoted to the cause of a radical, organic social reform as essential to the highest development of man's nature, to the production of those elevated and beautiful forms of character of which he is capable, and to the diffusion of happiness, excellence, and universal harmony upon the earth. The principles of universal unity as taught by Charles Fourier, in their application to society, we believe, are at the foundation of all genuine social progress; and it will ever be our aim, to discuss and defend these principles, without any sectarian bigotry, and in the catholic and comprehensive spirit of their great discoverer. While we bow to no man as an authoritative, infallible master, we revere the genius of Fourier too highly, not to accept, with joyful welcome, the light which he has shed on the most intricate problems of human destiny. The social reform, of whose advent the signs are every where visible, comprehends all others; and in laboring for its speedy accomplishment, we are conscious that we are devoting our best ability to the removal of oppression and injustice among men, to the complete emancipation of the enslaved, to the promotion of genuine temperance, and to the elevation of the toiling and down-trodden masses to the inborn rights of humanity.

In literature, the Harbinger will exercise a firm and impartial criticism, without respect of persons or parties. It will be made a vehicle for the freest thought, though not of random speculations; and with a generous appreciation of the various forms of truth and beauty, it will not fail to expose such instances of false sentiment, perverted taste, and erroneous opinion, as may tend to vitiate the public mind, or degrade the individual character. Nor will the literary department of the Harbinger be limited to criticism alone. It will receive contributions from various pens, in different spheres of thought; and free from dogmatic exclusiveness, will accept all that in any way indicates the unity of Man with Man, with Nature, and with God. Consequently, all true science, all poetry and arts, all sincere literature, all religion that is from the soul, all wise analyses of mind and character will come within its province.

We appeal for aid in our enterprise to the earnest and hopeful spirits in all classes of society. We appeal to all who, suffering from a resistless discontent in the present order of things, with faith in man and trust in God, are striving for the establishment of universal justice, harmony, and love. We appeal to the thoughtful, the aspiring, the generous every where, who wish to see the reign of heavenly truth triumphantly supplanting the infernal discords and falsehoods, on which modern society is built, for their sympathy, friendship, and practical co-operation, in the undertaking which we announce to day.

Among the leading contributors will be Parke Godwin, W. H. Channing, Albert Brisbane, Osborne Macdaniel, and Horace Greeley of New York, George Ripley, Charles A. Dana, John S. Dwight, L. W. Ryckman, and John Allen of Brook Farm, and Francis G. Shaw of West Roxbury.

The Harbinger will be published in New York by Burgess, Stringer, & Co., No. 222 Broadway, and in Boston, by Redding & Co., No. 8 State St.

TERMS.—The price to subscribers will be $2,00 a year, or $1,00 for six months, payable invariably in advance Ten copies will be supplied for $15,00. Communications and remittances may be addressed to the publishers in New York and Boston, or to the "Editors of the Harbinger," Brook Farm, West Roxbury, Mass.

☞ The subscription lists of the Phalanx and Social Reformer are transferred to the Harbinger. Subscribers to those papers whose terms of subscription have expired, are respectfully requested to renew their subscriptions, and forward the advance payment, as directed above.

☞ Postmasters, regular periodical agents, and friends of the Associative movement are requested to notice our terms. TEN copies for FIFTEEN Dollars, to one address. The cash in all cases to accompany the order.

WEST ROXBURY, May 3, 1845.

NOTICE TO THE SUBSCRIBERS OF THE PHALANX.

Our subscribers will see by the Prospectus that the name of "The Phalanx" is to be changed for that of "The Harbinger," and that the paper is to be printed in future by the Brook Farm Phalanx. The reasons for this arrangement are many and cogent, but to explain them at length seems unnecessary, as we have no doubt the announcement of it will give perfect satisfaction to all.

The Phalanx for some time past has been very irregular in its publication, owing to circumstances which could not be controlled, for which we trust our readers will make due allowance. One more number will be published immediately, accompanied by an Index and Title page, which will close the volume. The Harbinger will be sent to all our subscribers for the remaining numbers of the paper which may be due them respectively.

Need we appeal to our friends to aid the new enterprize to the utmost of their power by obtaining subscribers to the Harbinger! Its success depends in a great measure on their efforts, and we hope they will feel the responsibility which devolves on them. Let every man make a point to get *one* subscriber at least; and let every one whose term expires at the end of the six months' volume renew his subscription immediately, as directed in the Prospectus.

NOTICE TO THE SUBSCRIBERS OF THE SOCIAL REFORMER.

This number of the Phalanx is sent to each subscriber of the Social Reformer, which has been merged in it to come out under another name, as announced in the Prospectus. To all who have paid their subscriptions, the Harbinger will be continued to the end of their terms, but as many have not done so, we must urgently press upon them the justice and propriety of giving the matter immediate attention. They are earnestly desired to send the amount of their subscriptions immediately as directed in the Prospectus, and it is hoped that as friends to the cause of social reform, they will use every exertion to aid the new paper.

NOTICE TO EXCHANGE PAPERS.

Editors are especially desired to examine the Prospectus of the Harbinger, and requested to aid us as far as they can by copying it into their papers, with such notices as are appropriate. We acknowledge past favors of this kind, and would take this occasion to return our thanks for the continuance of their papers as exchanges in spite of the irregularity of the Phalanx. We believe that this difficulty will not occur again, and that the Harbinger will be a valuable exchange. They will please change the name of the Phalanx to Harbinger on their exchange list, and direct to "Brook Farm, Mass." And they will oblige us by sending marked copies of the papers containing the Prospectus and notices. The same request is made of the exchanges of the Social Reformer.

NEW ENGLAND FOURIER SOCIETY.

A Quarterly Meeting of the New England Fourier Society will be held on *Thursday Evening*, May 29th, at 1-2 past 7 o'clock, at the TREMONT CHAPEL, the hall under the Museum.

J. BUTTERFIELD, *Sec'y.*

WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

The First Annual Meeting of the New England Workingmen's Association will be holden at the TREMONT CHAPEL, the hall under the Museum, on *Wednesday, May* 28th. A full attendance is earnestly desired.

L. W. RYCKMAN, Pres.

THOS. ALMY, Rec. Sec.

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