

SPIRIT OF THE AGE.

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Poetry.

For The Spirit of the Age.

THE IDEAL IS THE REAL.

"God never yet permitted us to frame a theory too beautiful for his power to make practicable."

Men take the pure ideals of their souls
And look them fast away,
And never dream that things so beautiful
Are fit for every day!
So counterfeits pass current in their lives,
And stones they give for bread,
And starv'ingly, and fear'ingly, they walk
Through life among the dead,
Though never yet was pure Ideal
Too fair for them to make their Real!

The thoughts of beauty dawning on the soul,
Are glorious Heaven-gleams,
And God's eternal truth lies folded deep
In all man's lofty dreams:
In thought's still world, some brother-tie which bound
The Planets, Kepler saw, [there
And, through long years, he searched the spheres, and
He found the answering law.
Men said he sought a wild Ideal,
The stars made answer, "It is Real!"

Aye, Daniel, Howard, all the crowned ones
That, star-like, gleam through time,
Lived boldly out before the clear-eyed sun,
Their inmost thoughts sublime!
Those truths, to them, more beautiful than day
They knew would quicken men,
And deeds befitting the millennial trust
They dared to practice then;
Till they who mocked their young Ideal,
In meekness owned it was the Real.

Thine early dreams, which came like "shapes of light,"
Came bearing Prophecy:
And Nature's tongues, from leaves to 'quiring stars,
Teach loving Faith to thee.
Fear not to build thine ærie in the heights
Where golden splendors lay,
And trust thyself unto thine inmost soul,
In simple faith alway,
And God will make divinely Real
The highest forms of thine Ideal.

A. P.

For The Spirit of The Age.

METHOD OF TRANSITION.

FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF THE TRUE FRIENDS OF HUMAN RIGHTS
AND HUMAN PROGRESS.

The ground is now generally conceded by those who seek a change in our social order, that the monopoly of the soil and currency, resulting in rent and usance, are the main, if not the only obstacles of an external nature to a scientific and harmonious reorganization of society. Attempts to realize association, subject to these exactions, have resulted in failure. To succeed with them would only serve to prolong and intensify the reign of Mammon. But still the question arises, What must be done? Shall we wait till legislation or revolution has removed these obstacles? Legislation moves slow in curtailing the prerogatives of wealth, and prefers the other course. Revolution may be long delayed, or come like the tornado, sweeping away much good as well as evil. Besides, revolution may be prevented and legislation hastened, by our own example in commencing the work ourselves practically. And there is no way to do this, but to begin at the *beginning*. To do this there is needed but a little self-sacrifice on the part of a score or two of individuals. And when I think how much is suffered and expended for nominal philanthropic objects, I cannot believe that the individuals will be wanting.

The land, sufficient to commence with, can be had gratuitously. Then all that is wanted is a few families who are willing to migrate, and, in company, subject themselves to hardships which thousands of families do every year, alone. As there will be no capital to build a mansion at first, the working of the plan will be early developed, in the alacrity with which they will cooperate in the construction of *log cabins*. By beginning at the commencement but little capital will be needed. And what was not possessed by the individuals could be obtained without interest. Some two or three hundred dollars to each family would be enough. Not that we would refuse the advantages of capital if capital could be satisfied with a return of value for value, a simple conservation of its worth. But it cannot be ever admitted as a tyrant and extortioner, for that is the thing which makes existing society intolerable, and which we seek to remedy.

By proper exertions and economy the products of our industry will enable us to employ labor-saving machinery in a short time, provide for the thorough education of all our children, and, when outward and internal arrangements are completed, rear ourselves a unitary and commodious building. Association will then be allowed to develop itself under the most favorable circumstances for its purity and simplicity. For in this organization labor will be free, and soon will become attractive. No distinction will be made in respect to the riches or poverty of any one. "Every man will be rewarded according to his work." A mutual guaranty will be provided for the attendance of the sick, the support of the aged and the infirm,

and the support and education of the young. By co-operating with organized commerce, we should be able almost entirely to separate ourselves from the system of imposture and extortion, which now goes under the name of business. Embracing mechanics and manufactures in our numbers, we could commence operations in different branches of industry, as wisdom suggested and the successful elaboration of capital allowed. As capital would be permitted only a *conservation*, it would become invested in the most useful business, and of course in the most safe, whereas if per centage were allowed, it would be invested as now, where it could extort the most, without reference to the justice or utility of the operation.

Thus will a demonstration be given to the world, that labor is adequate to its own employment, and that none need longer submit to the tyranny and exactions of the swindler and speculator in the products of others toil. The example would be speedily followed by others who would break away from the slavery of wages, and assert their independence of capital. Men of wealth who wish well to mankind, would bestow land for similar objects, and invest capital with a simple security for its due return. And thus a foundation would be laid for a quiet and peaceful transition from a state of industrial feudalism to one of fraternal and equitable co-operation. The power of wealth to oppress would gradually diminish, and the foes of Reform left without weapons either to oppose it or longer oppress man.

But the organization would be enabled to prosecute the change by active co-operation with the movements out of the body. It might hold the donation of land as a debt to humanity, and so by extending its own domain, or freeing another of corresponding worth, facilitate the emancipation of as many more, transmitting thus the obligation, till the laws of the land made the earth as free as the air or sunshine. Through the medium of Protective Unions, Land Reform, and Mechanics' Organizations, there might be established in almost every place a fund for freeing the earth from monopoly, and enabling persons elected by such organizations to "go out and possess the land." As in their improved condition, they would soon be enabled to return the money, the land would increase, and thus enable increasing numbers to avail themselves of its assistance. This would react favorably on the condition of such as remained. The competition for wages and tenements would decrease, while the demand for labor would not be lessened. Thus better wages and lower rents would be the immediate benefit.

If in a manufacturing village, there are a dozen workmen in one branch, while there is only a permanent demand for ten of them, the two superfluous hands must underbid in order to get employment at all. Then they must overbid in order to secure a dwelling. But suppose the twelve would contribute to a fund to aid the settlement of such upon the land as might be mutually agreed upon, to join the practical Association, or settle in townships on the individual principle, subject to Land Reform restrictions, then, in the course of a year or so, they might aid the two to migrate, who in a few years more would be able to return the loan to be added to the accumulating fund, and thus the process go on, until labor could be organized under the very walls of monopoly. The working-classes, seeing the practical operation of emancipation, its equal justice and entire success, would no longer ask what measures were best for them, or doubt as to whom were to be trusted. But abandoning their blind servility to party and sect, would leave the base impostures under which they now suffer without a foundation to rest upon.

The association of capital for the purposes of industry and humanity once commenced on just and mutual principles, and demonstrated as practical, there would follow a movement unparalleled in the history of Man. Again *Crusades* and a *Holy War* would be preached, and the glory and chivalry of the na-

tions rush to the fields of industry, where service to humanity would determine the degree of honor and authority conferred on each. The bitterest foes of progress and most selfish worldlings would then beg the guaranty to preserve from decay and diminution of value the very wealth they now glory in as a means to extort profit, rent, and usury from the plunder of the toiling.

But, to return to the organization, it would be enabled by commencing without capital to keep free from arbitrary conditions and influences. The voice of Labor, of Man only would be heeded. Thus some difficulties in the science might be determined by practical tests, to which, at last, indeed, all science must be brought. The members would not be compelled to associate any farther or faster than they discovered an internal attraction, and external fitness. An Association growing up thus free and gradual, would undoubtedly present a true model, and the only question is as to its success. This is the great point, and to it let us direct our attention:

Success depends mainly on two things: on the practicability of the thing to be done, and the fitness and capacity of the agent employed. Is the plan capable of being realized? Let us consider all the difficulties that are likely to arise: To go out, construct suitable dwellings, and provide ourselves with food and clothing. Is this so difficult a matter as to preclude a rational consideration? Do not thousands and tens of thousands migrate to the West, to California, &c., under circumstances far more adverse? Do not many individuals go alone with their families, and almost destitute of means, settle in the wilderness, pay for their lands, and in a few years become comparatively wealthy? Would not a number be able to succeed as well with perseverance? Much of the loneliness and suffering connected with the isolation certainly would be obviated. Production could be greatly facilitated by combined operations, and many of the comforts and enjoyments of society could be realized from the first. Our school, reading-room, and some other arrangements could be made unitary at once, and the rest as fast as we became prepared. Interest and rent being unknown, who would question the ability of any man of ordinary industry and prudence to meet his obligations? The inducing cause of all failure and bankruptcy avoided, what should prevent success? But it may be replied, that people cannot be found to unite on such a basis; that unless advantage is given to present wealth, or what may be accumulated in the association hereafter, neither the rich nor poor will be induced to join. From this remark, however, must be excepted those individuals who are informed with regard to the rights of man and property, and who are willing to be governed by equal and just principles. The very thing, then, that will retard our initiatory movement, will prove its permanent salvation. As none will come into it who are seeking selfish ends, no danger will be encountered from the scheming or disruptive, from the ambitious and refractory. As the general good—in harmony with strict justice to all—will be the moving principle, confusion of aims and tendencies need not be feared. As self-sacrifice and persevering toil will be exacted of all, none disposed to shrink from useful industry or to share the avails of labor they will not share, will be attracted or remain, to create jealousies or discontent. And when it is remembered how much self-devotion is now practiced to accomplish objects of questionable philanthropy, to promulgate superficial systems and build up narrow and exclusive institutions, it can hardly be questioned, that in due time a sufficient number with means will be obtained, to give the first impulse to a movement which will regenerate the world, turn aside the dark clouds of impending revolution, and speed the realization of truly democratic social institutions, in the place of that system of partisan corruption and plunder which now reveals in our political organizations.

The beauty of this movement consists in the fact, that not

numbers or wealth are necessary to its success. Only true hearts and persevering hands are requisite. In the Shaker communities the thing has already been demonstrated. Had they left out a strange religious infatuation, they would ere this have changed the whole aspect of business and society. It is not necessary to wait till political parties take up our measures, or capitalists subscribe "two hundred thousand dollars to our stock." If Association is not able to move without these, the working-man has little interest in it. With political favor, with capital in hand, persons can get along well enough without Association. If it be not able to do something for man without these and in spite of them, let us follow it no longer as *the* thought of the age; let us turn to something better, that will enable the industrious poor to take care of themselves, as well as teach the wealthy how to live to the best advantage.

The peculiar form of organization cannot now be given in detail. Much must be left to the combined wisdom of the body after it is organized, and which will undoubtedly be developed with the progress of life and elaboration of means. The individuals who shall be agreed on the great principles of Man's freedom, equality, and brotherhood, who acknowledge the indubitable right of labor to its whole product of property, to a comprehensive guaranty of conservation, and the general truths promulgated by the social school, have only to come together, fully understand each other, and the thing is done. First agriculture, then mechanics and manufactures, and then trade, finance, and commerce must feel the force of a combined mutualism, which will only pay the expense of replenishing the soil and keeping good the improvement, the wear and tear of machinery, the actual cost of transportation and delivery, and of keeping the account of loan and deposit. In some such way the movement must be made, if the blessings of a social reorganization are to be realized in our day. If left alone the world will ultimately arrange itself after the divine plan, but then what immeasurable suffering might be saved to the race, by demonstrating practically what we know to be the right principles, in the place of leaving the world to learn by such horrible experience as poor Ireland and other nations are passing through at the present time.

Whoever are inclined to aid or join a movement of the description above, are invited to correspond with the writer. A meeting will be called in New-York some time during the winter and preliminaries agreed upon, and perhaps the location determined. Any information respecting location, or suggestions with regard to the movement will be cheerfully received, and such explanations as are desired will be readily communicated.

J. K. INGALLS.

SOUTHINGTON, Conn.

THERE EXISTS A SOCIAL LAW,
OR
A DIVINE ORDER OF HUMAN SOCIETY.

BY W. H. MULLER.

WITHIN the present century there has been uttered a grand and beautiful truth, one which the world, though long preparing was not ready to hear before; yet a truth, withal, sublimely simple, and all but self-evident viz. this—"There exists a natural law of society established by God, or rather grounded in man's very nature, which when applied, will place men, as to their natural powers of mind and body, in true, or harmonious relations to each other, and to outward nature." It is, in other words, a law of natural order or arrangement of human society, by whose operation persons will find themselves placed in conditions of outward life, perfectly in accordance with the inward powers which God has given them. A law by which every man, whatever may be his peculiar character, genius or

industrial taste, will find a sphere perfectly adapted to give it healthy, harmonic and lawful development; and which, moreover, will so closely bend his own life with that of others, that the very fulness of his own existence will but afford the means of the same completeness of development for others. It is a law that will put every individual in his proper place as to externals, in relation to all other individuals, and to all the variety of objects and pursuits in the natural world around him; for it will enable man to produce a universal abundance of all the means necessary to the complete education of the physical, social, moral, intellectual and industrial nature of every member of society. It is in fine, a law of adaptation of human powers to spheres for their legitimate exercise, and will thus give to man that fulness of natural life which is already enjoyed by all the tribes of creation below him; by animals and plants; nay, by the very inorganic and mineral substances of the planet itself.

Throughout all creation, all beings, except man, however diversified their nature, enjoy external conditions, in which the forces that constitute their life, have full scope to develop and act them out. It is in this that the happiness of sentient beings consists: while the repression of their ever-active springs of life, is misery, proportioned to the number and force of the impulses thus represented by want of outward opportunity to act. But can we believe that man is really and necessarily, through the very constitution of his being, an exception to this law of adaption of innate powers to outward spheres of action? Certainly not. He is only an apparent exception, for reason to be presently given. Nevertheless the assertion that there is a natural law of society that will place every person in true relations to all around, and to outward nature, so that all his natural powers of mind and body shall find free room for exercise—this assertion, we say, will hardly be appreciated by one who is ignorant of the primitive or fundamental faculties of the human mind. There is need then of a philosophical or scientific analysis of the mind, in order to exhibit man to himself; to show him what powers he possesses, what these powers crave, and in what way they may be satisfied. Such an analysis, however, is involved in the very social law itself, whose existence it will be attempted to prove. Such a law must necessarily reveal man to himself, since thus only can it show his relations to his fellow men, to nature, and to God; just as chemistry reveals the nature of elementary substances by the very act by showing the relations of each to all. Thus, e. g. the properties of hydrogen gas can be shown only by exhibiting its relation to air and other gases—that it is lighter than them all; its relation to heat, that it is inflammable; that with oxygen it forms water; with sulphur and carbon, various compounds of peculiar character with nitrogen, ammonia, &c. So too, the analysis of the mind, like that which phrenology has made, imperfect as it is, consists solely in showing the relations which man holds to all things external to himself. Thus to the physical world he stands related according to phrenology, by his perceptive faculties, form, size, color, weight, locality, order and other powers. To his fellow men he is related as a husband, a father, or a friend, and as a member of a corporate body, or a citizen; to certain states and conditions of outward existence, by such faculties as cautiousness, combativeness; to the relations of things, by causality and comparison; to God and the spiritual world, by veneration, marvelousness, spirituality, hope, &c.

In proportion, therefore, as we advance towards an exhaustive analysis of the mind of man, do we approach to the discovery of one portion of the social law; while on the other hand, we advance towards the other portion by a similar analysis of the laws of nature, or of the world external to man. Thus the social law rests upon a double basis, viz, a knowledge of man and a knowledge of nature.

But as nature, the great world or *microcosm* is but a transcript of man, the *microcosm*, or little world; and as both man

and nature are the transcripts of Divine Being, images of the Divine Nature, it necessarily follows, that the laws of nature and the laws of man's being, must be perfectly analogous or correspondent, so that the social law must rest upon a science of universal analogy, or which is the same, a science of universal unity.

The arguments then, in favor of the existence of a natural law of society, will, as was stated, have the most weight, in fact occur almost like spontaneous intuitions, to those who have the clearest ideas of man's nature, (draw from what mental philosophy we have,) and what the nature demands, in order to be in harmony with itself and with the universe. It is to such only, that the monstrous perversion of present social life appear in all their revolting deformity. It is only by knowing what is good that we can know its opposite, evil; only by seeing the true can we appreciate the false; and so it is only by knowing how men ought to live, only by having the idea or standard of a true society, that we become painfully sensible of the hideousness of a false one.

A knowledge of man's nature shows the absurdity of saying that such or such a man has talents for a carpenter, a watch-maker, a teacher, a farmer, &c. and the absurdity consists in supposing, either that any one person is fit for all the details of any profession, or that he can or ought to be content to follow for life, nay for a week together, a single pursuit, much less any one or more of its details. Man has a various nature; consequently he craves a varied activity. A daily variety of mental and bodily employments is essential to his happiness and health, and this he can have only by minutely dividing every branch of human industry, whether it be domestic employments, or agriculture, or manufactures, or commerce, or education, or the study of the sciences, or the cultivation of the fine arts, into as many details as they are capable of, besides opening up by the aid of science and improved machinery, new fields of industry in any of these departments. By this means, every person may have all the variety of employment to which his varied tastes may attract him.

Such a multitude of occupations, however, as well as the relations between the individuals who pursue them, must be arranged in a certain order; and this, to secure the results at which it aims, must be a perfect imitation of the law of order that reigns throughout all nature, viz. the law of the series. As long as this law of order, or natural law of a true society remains undiscovered or unapplied, men must continue to be thus falsely placed; must continue to pass life under external circumstances at variance with, and repressive of, their eternal, God-given impulses.

In its onward course of exploration, the mind of man will at length successfully lay open the secrets of its own nature. There will then be science of man, just as there is a science of chemistry, of geology, of astronomy, &c. And what may now be expected from a science of this elevated character? If the study and application of the laws regulating all inferior natural existences, has so greatly contributed to human advancement, will not a scientific and complete analysis of the elements which constitute, and of the laws which govern the mind of man, who is the crown of creation, and the complex of all nature, a microcosm, or little world in himself—will not such an analysis abound in results as much more noble, and rich in blessings to humanity, as man himself is more noble than an element, a mineral, a plant, or an animal?

If thus, in all lower spheres, science discovers the relations of things, and the laws of their harmonious relationship, what shall the sciences of man be, but the science that discovers to him not only the relations which the various powers of his own mind bear to each other, but the relations which he as an individual bears to all other men, and also to nature; and as the sum of all, it will show him the relation which as an individual man, as a

member of humanity, and as connected with outward nature, he holds to God the third term. The science of man then, must be a science of humanity; it must show him the entire circle of his relations to his fellow men; for he cannot be studied alone. His life, his whole nature is involved in and bound up with that of others. He can no more be contemplated insolatedly, than the brain, or the lungs, or the heart, or any one member of the body, can be studied as to structure and function, aside from its connection with every other part. The science of man, as it is a science of humanity, since it will discover to each man the laws of his harmonious relations to his fellows, will and can be nothing more nor less than a science of society, revealing the crown of all natural laws, (or those within the scope of man's reason to discover,) viz. the natural law of a true social order; and this when we discovered and applied, will as already stated, confer benefits on mankind, as greatly exceeding those drawn from the application of the inferior natural laws, as man himself exceeds in worth and dignity all nature below him.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

THE PRESENT AGE.

BY J. G. FIGHT.

The Absolute State* is in its form, according to our opinion, an artistic institution, intended to direct all individual powers towards the Life of the Race, and to transfuse them therein; and thus to realize and manifest in individual life the general form of the Idea, which has been sufficiently described above. Since we cannot here calculate upon the inward life, and the original activity of the Idea in the minds of men—all life in Idea being of this latter kind, as we have seen in our former lectures—and since the State rather operates outwardly upon individuals who feel no desire, but on the contrary a reluctance to offer up their individual life for the Race, it follows that this institution must be one of constraint. For those individuals in whom the Idea has assumed a real inward life, and whose wish and desire is nothing else than to offer up their lives for the Race constraint is necessary, and for them it disappears; and the State remains, with respect to them, only that comprehensive Unity, which continually watches over the Whole, and points out and explains at all times the first and nearest purpose of the Race, and arranges the willing powers of man in their appropriate sphere of action. It is an artistic institution, we have said: but it is so in the strict sense of this word, as an institution of free and self-intelligent Art, only it has scientifically penetrated to its complete and perfect purpose, and the means for the attainment thereof, in the Age of Reason as Science, and when the Fifth Age of Reason as Art has begun. But there is also a higher order in Nature, that is, in the destiny of the Human Race, through which it is led towards its true end, without its own knowledge or will; which order might be called the Art of Nature; and in this sense alone I call the State, in the first Ages of the Human Race, an artistic institution. What we have already set forth as the dedication of all individual powers to the purpose of the Race, is the Absolute State according to its form; that is, merely that individual powers shall be dedicated to a purpose of a Race;—but what that particular purpose of the Race may be, depends on whether there is an actual State in existence or not. It remains quite undecided however by this determination of the State, how many purposes of the Race, to the attainment of which the individual power is to be dedicated, can be prosecuted in particular States;—and it remains just as undecided by the

*The word State is used here for a whole Community in organized action. Its elements are human. The Church sphere of motives—The College Sphere of Laws of Order—The Commonwealth, Sphere of Votes.

some determination, what is the absolute purpose of the Race, by the discovery of which the *material* of the State, and the true meaning and purpose of it, might be described.

And now, after these preliminary definitions, to examine more closely the Idea which we have announced:—In the first place, the State which has to direct a necessarily finite sum of individual powers towards the common purpose, must regard itself as a completed whole, and, as its common purpose is identical with that of the Human Race, it must regard the aggregate of its citizens as the Human Race itself. It is not irreconcilable with this view, that it may also entertain purposes connected with others who are not numbered among its Citizens; for these purposes will still be its own, undertaken merely on its own account—those, namely, to the attainment of which it directs the individual powers of its own Citizens;—and in every case, therefore, it devotes these powers to itself, considered as the Highest, as the Race. It is therefore the same thing whether we say, as above, that the State directs all individual powers *towards the life of the Race*; or, as here, that it directs them *towards its own life as the State*: only that this latter expression first acquires its true meaning through the former, as we shall soon see.

Once more:—the nature of the Absolute State consists herein—that all individual powers be directed towards the Life of the Race—in place of which Race the State puts the aggregate of its own Citizens. It therefore becomes necessary, *first*, that *all Individuals*, without exception, should be taken into equal consideration by the State; and *second*, that every Individual, with *all his individual powers*, without exception or reserve, should be taken into equal consideration. In a State so constituted, where all, as Individuals, are dedicated to the Race, it follows at the same time, that all without exception, with all the Rights which belong to them as component parts of the Race are dedicated to all the other individual members of the State. For, to what are the powers of all directed?—to the Race. But what does the State hold as the representative of the Race?—all its Citizens without a single exception. Were there some Individuals either not taken into account at all in the common purpose, or not taken into account with all their powers while the rest were included—then the former would enjoy all the *advantages* of the union without bearing all the attendant *burdens*, and there would thus be inequality. Only where all without exception are taken into account, is equality the result. Consequently, in this constitution, the Individuality of each absolutely disappears in the community of All; and each one receives back his contribution to the common power, strengthened by the united powers of all the rest. The purpose of the isolated Individual is his own enjoyment: and he uses his power as the means of its attainment;—the purpose of the Race is Culture, and the honorable subsistence which is the condition of Culture: in the State, each Individual employs his powers, not for his own immediate enjoyment, but for the purpose of the Race, and he receives in return the whole united Culture of the Race, and therewith his own honorable subsistence. We must guard ourselves, however, against regarding the State as if it were dependent on this or that Individual, or on Individuals in general, and were composed of them:—almost the only way in which ordinary philosophers are able to conceive of a Whole. The State is an essentially unseen Idea;* just as the Race has been described in our former lectures: it is—not single Individuals, but their continuous relation to each other, the living and ever-changing production of which is the work of Individuals as they exist for space. To make my idea clear by an example:—The Rulers are by no means the State,

*The State is an Organized Reality. Here the inconvenience of not recognizing the three degrees of Society appears. The State is the Embodiment of what the College is the Idea and the Church is the Life. Yet in Ficht's meaning of the word it is not.

but merely Citizens like all the rest; and there is absolutely no *individual character* in the State but that of Citizen. The Rulers, as well as other Individuals, with all their individual powers, are taken into account in order to direct the powers of the governed—who no more than they constitute the State—towards the common purpose, so far as they understand it, and to enforce this purpose on all who are opposed to it. Only that result which arises from their guidance and the directed power of the governed taken together, do we call the State in the strictest sense of the word.

The first condition of a State, and the first essential characteristic of our idea of it, as stated above, is this: *That Freeman must at first become subject to the will and superintendence of other Freeman.* Freeman, I say, in opposition to Slaves; and by Freeman I mean those to whose own skill and judgement it is left to provide the means of subsistence for themselves and their families; who are accordingly sovereign heads of families, and even continue to be so after their submission to a foreign will which has other purposes in view. A Slave, on the contrary, is he to whom there is not left even the care of his own subsistence, but who is maintained by another, and in return becomes subject with his whole powers to the arbitrary will of his master; who therefore cannot be the head of a family, but is a member of a foreign family, and a bondsman for life; his master having no other reason for maintaining him but that his maintenance is more profitable than his destruction. *Freemen*, said, as such, and on the supposition that they still remain free, must subject themselves to a foreign will;—and I said so for this reason:—It belongs to the Idea of a State that the subjected may at least *become* a purpose to themselves; and this can only occur when in their subjection they remain free to a certain extent, and the sphere of their liberty afterwards comes within the purpose of the State, whenever the State advances to higher Culture; but the Slave as such, and in the case of his never attaining freedom, cannot become a purpose to himself; he is at best, like every other animal, a mere instrument of his master's purpose; but by no means a purpose to himself. In this subjection of Freeman to the oversight and rule of other Freeman there are then two, or, if we reckon otherwise, three cases possible: and—as this subjection is the origin of the State—there are just as many possible fundamental forms of the State, through which it must pass towards its accomplishment; and I entreat you to observe well, and even to commit to memory, these fundamental forms, as the foundation upon which we intend to rest all our subsequent disquisitions upon this subject.

Namely—after this subjection has been accomplished, the general mass of individuals, who have thereby come into combination, considered as a completed Whole, are either *All without exception subjected to the Whole*, that is, to the common purpose of All—as it should be in the Perfect State; or *they are not All subjected to the Whole*. The latter case, where All are not subjected to the Whole, can only be supposed possible in this way—that as the *subjected* at least are All subjected to the Whole the *subjectors* have not, on the other hand, subjected themselves in return to the necessary purposes which are common to the others and to themselves. The subjectors have consequently subjected the others to their *own* particular purpose; which—as it cannot be, at least cannot be wholly, one of sensuous enjoyment; for in that case they would at once have reduced the subjected slavery, and destroyed their freedom altogether—must necessarily be the purpose of ruling for the sake of ruling. This would be our first case, as it is the first form which the State assumes in time;—namely, *the absolute inequality of the members of the State*, who are divided into the classes of Rulers and Ruled, which can never exchange their relative positions so long as this arrangement endures. It is evident here, in passing, that such a State cannot subdue its vassals *with all their powers* to its purpose, as the State can certainly do when it has a better purpose in view:—for, in so doing, it would make

them perfect Slaves, and would thereby cease to deserve the name even of a nascent State. Our other case was this;—That all the individual members of the State, without exception, are subjected to the purpose of the Whole. This, again, is possible in two ways:—First, all the individual members may be only *negatively* subjected to the Whole; that is, a purpose may be secured to every one without exception, in the prosecution of which no one else dares to hinder him. Such a purpose, secured by the constitution against interference on the part of any one else, is called a *Right*: in such a constitution, therefore, every one has a *Right*, to which all other men without exception are subjected. Equal *Rights* for all men *as Rights*; but by no means equal *Privileges*;—for the purposes secured to different individuals may be very different in extent, and the existing state of *Privileges* was generally taken for the Standard of *Right* when the dominion of *Laws* began. It is evident that the State which occupies this position, since it confers *Privileges* upon some of its *Citizens*, which exceed the *Privileges* of others who are nevertheless able to keep their ground, is far from subjecting all the powers even of these favorites to its purpose: may, since by these *privileges* of its favorites it hinders the others in the free use of their powers—that it even wastes these powers for the purposes of *Individuals*; and therefore, with all its *Equal Rights*, is far removed from the *Absolute* form of the State. The case we have now described would be the second fundamental form of the State, and the second stage upon which our Race would find itself in its progress towards the perfect form of the State. Lastly—that all the individual members of the State are subjected to the purpose of the Whole, may also mean that they are not merely subjected negatively thereto, but also *positively*; so that absolutely no *Individual* can propose any purpose to himself, and devote himself to its furtherance, which is his own merely, and not at the same time the purpose of the whole *Community*. It is obvious that in such a constitution all men are taken into account for the common purpose—this common purpose being no other than the purpose of all men without exception, considered as a *Race*; and that therefore this constitution manifests the *Absolute* form of the State, and a true equality of *Privileges* and *Powers* begins. This equality does not by any means exclude the distinction of *Classes* in society; that is, the different modes in which human power may be applied, which are left to the exclusive cultivation of *Individuals*, who again leave the remaining modes of this application of power to the exclusive cultivation of other men. But no *Class*, and no exclusive application of power, must be permitted, which is not dedicated to the purpose of the Whole, and which is not absolutely necessary for the Whole;—the produce of which is not actually partaken of by all other classes, and by all the *Individuals* who compose these classes, according to their ability to enjoy it. This would be the third stage of the development of the State;—in which it would be perfected, at least according to its Form.*

*It is very clear from this passage that the Idea of Association—Organized Industry, was working in the author a stirring and full expression. But he seems here to allude only to Communism.

From the Anti-Slavery Standard, of Nov. 15.

LETTER FROM HARRIET MARTINEAU.

MY DEAR ———: We can think of little else at present than of that which should draw you and us into closer sympathy than even that which has so long existed between us. We, on our side the water, have watched with keen interest the progress of your War of Opinion,—the spread of the great controversy which cannot but revolutionize your social principles and renovate your social morals. For fifteen years past, we have seen that you are "in for it," and that you must stand firm amidst the subversion of Ideas, Customs and Institutions, till you find

yourselves encompassed by "the new heavens and the new earth" of which you have the sure promise and foresight.

We,—the whole population of Europe,—are now evidently entering upon a stage of conflict no less important in its issues, and probably more painful in its course. You remember how soon after the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars our great Peace Minister, Canning, intimated the advent, sooner or later, of a War of Opinion in Europe; a war of deeper significance than Napoleon could conceive of, and of a wider spread than the most mischievous of his quarrels. The war of opinion which Canning foresaw was in fact a war between the further and nearer centuries,—between Asia and Europe,—between despotism and self-government. The preparations were begun long ago. The Barons at Runnymede beat up for recruits when they hailed the signature of Magna Charta; and the princes of York and Lancaster did their best to clear the field for us and those who are to come after us. The Italian Republics wrought well for us, and so did the French Revolutions, one after the other, as hints and warnings; and so did the voyage of your Mayflower,—and the Swiss League, and the German Zoll Verein, and, in short, everything that has happened for several hundred of years. Every thing has tended to bring our continent and its resident nations to the knowledge that the first principles of social liberty have now to be asserted and contended for, and to prepare the assertors for the greatest conflict that the human race has yet witnessed. It is my belief that the war has actually begun, and that, though there may be occasional lulls, no man now living will see the end of it.

Russia is more Asiatic than European. It is obscure to us who live nearest to her where her power resides. We know only that it is not with the Emperor, nor yet with the people. The Emperor is evidently a mere show,—being nothing except while he fulfills the policy or pleasure of the unnamed power which we cannot discern. But, though the ruling power is obscure, the policy is clear enough. The aim is to maintain and extend despotism; and the means chosen are the repression of mind, the corruption of conscience, and the reduction of the whole composite population of Russia to a brute machine. For a great lapse of time, no quarter of a century has passed without some country and nation having fallen in, and become a compartment of the great machine: and, the fact being so, the most peace-loving of us can hardly be sorry that the time has come for deciding whether this is to go on,—whether the Asiatic principle and method of social life are to dominate or succumb. The struggle will be no contemptible one. The great tarantula has its spider-claws out and fixed at inconceivable distances. The people of Russia, wretched at home, are better qualified for foreign aggression than for anything else. And if, within her own empire, Russia knows all to be loose and precarious, poor and unsound, and with none but a military organization, she knows that she has for allies, avowed or concealed, all the despotic tempers that exist among men. Not only such Governments as those of Spain, Portugal, Rome and Austria, are in reality the allies of Eastern barbarism; but all aristocracies,—all self-seekers,—be they who and where they may. It is a significant sign of the times that territorial alliances are giving way before political affinities,—the mechanical before the essential union; and, if Russia has not for allies the nations that live near her frontier, she has those men of every nation who prefer self-will to freedom.

This corrupted "patriarchal" system of society, (but little superior to that which exists in your slave States) occupies one half of the great battle-field where the hosts are gathering for the fight. On the other, the forces are ill-assorted, ill-organized, too little prepared; but still, as having the better cause, sure, I trust, of final victory. The conflict must be long, because our constitutions are, like yours, compromises, our governments as yet a mere patch-work, our popular liberties scant

and adulterated, and great masses of our brethren hungry and discontented. We have not a little to struggle for among ourselves, when our whole force is needed against the enemy. In no country of Europe is the representative system of government more than a mere beginning. In no country of Europe is human brotherhood practically asserted. Nowhere are the principles of civilization of Western Europe determined and declared, and made the ground-work of organized action, as happily your principles are as against those of your slaveholding opponents. But, raw and ill-organized as are our forces, they will be strong, sooner or later, against the serried armies of the Asiatic policy. If on the one side, the soul comes up to battle with an imperfect and ill-defended body, on the other, the body is wholly without a soul, and must, in the end, fall to pieces. The best part of the mind of Western Europe will make itself a body by dint of action, and the pressure which must bring out its forces; and it may be doubted whether it could become duly embodied in any other way. What forms of society may arise as features of this new growth, neither you nor I can say. We can only ask each other whether, witnessing as we do the spread of Communist ideas in every free nation in Europe, and the admission by some of the most cautious and old-fashioned observers of social movements, that we in England cannot now stop short of a "modified communism," the result is not likely to be a wholly new social state, if not a yet undreamed-of social idea.

However this may be,—while your slave question is dominant in Congress, and the Dissolution of your Union is becoming a familiar idea, and an avowed aspiration, our crisis is no less evidently approaching. Russia has Austria under her foot, and she is casting a corner of her wide pall over Turkey. England and France are awake and watchful, and so many men of every country are astir, that we may rely upon it, that not only are territorial alliances giving way before political affinities, but national ties will give way almost as readily, if the principles of social liberty should demand the disintegration of nations. Let us not say, even to ourselves, whether we regard such an issue with hope or fear. It is a possibility too vast to be regarded but with simple faith and patience. In this spirit let us contemplate what is proceeding and what is coming, doing the little we can by a constant assertion of the principles of social liberty, and a perpetual watch for opportunities to stimulate human progress.

Whether your conflict will be merely a moral one, you can form a better idea than I. Ours will consist in a long and bloody warfare—possibly the last, but inevitable now. The empire of brute force can conduct its final struggle only by brute force; and there are but few yet on the other side who have any other notion or desire. While I sympathise wholly with you as to your means as well as your end, you will not withdraw your sympathy from us, because our heroes still assert their views and wills by exposing themselves to wounds and death in the field, and assenting once more to the old *non sequitur* about Might and Right. Let them this time obtain the lower sort of Might by the inspiration of their Right, and in another age they will aim higher. But I need not thus petition you; for I well know that where there is most of Right, there will your sympathies surely rest.

Believe me your friend,
HARRIET MARTINEAU.

From the Literary Union.

MAGNETISM—ITS HISTORY AND QUALITIES.

It was known to the ancient Greeks, that a certain dark hard stone had the power of attracting and lifting up small pieces of iron, and that these, so in contact, had the same influence upon

other pieces. This stone was called by them the magnet, by ourselves the loadstone, and science has shown that it is an oxide of iron, consisting of iron oxygen gas. The Greeks were therefore acquainted with its *attractive* but not its *directive* power. The latter, however was known to the Chinese, according to their own authentic accounts, as early as the Christian era—it is described as an instrument pointing south.

This knowledge, perhaps was brought from China to Europe during the middle ages, when a considerable overland intercourse was carried on between those widely separated regions. The route was along the Caspian and through Tartary. The great Mongol Empire, rising on the northern Atlay plains, subdued Russia, China and Hindostan, and acted as a bridge to connect far distant countries in the bonds of acquaintanceship and intercourse. This, indeed seems to have been the Providential mission of all greatly extended empires from the time of Alexander the Great until now, when we beheld the Pacific and Atlantic shores of this continent united under that wise fabric—the Federal constitution. The valuable journal of *Marco Polo's* overland tour to China in the middle of the 13th century, is still extant and in every good library.

It is certain, that no mention was made in Europe of the directive power of the magnet until the 12th century, and even this is obscure and doubtful; and it was not until 1420, the same century in which this continent was discovered, that the mariner's compass came into general use. Columbus on his first voyage to America, in 1492, first discovered that the magnetic needle did not point exactly to the north. In 1590 it was observed at Rimini, that a rod of iron, situated on the tower of the church, had become magnetic. In 1630 the same fact was observed of an iron cross which had been struck down by lightning from the spire of the church at Aix. These and other similar facts soon made known the magnetism of the earth. They are worth mentioning to show how slow was formerly the progress of discovery, and how almost entirely we owe the very existence of science to modern times.

THE WORK FOR THE CHURCH TO DO.

What are the precept tendencies of society? The activity and enterprise of our period is often turned to a merely material end. There is a general desire for wealth, a passion for accumulation, a tendency to extravagance and display. Multitudes, with untiring avidity, seek the means of costly indulgence. A spirit of emulation is engendered. The mind becomes absorbed in worldly care, distracted by worldly anxieties, debased by worldly passions. Wealth often becomes with us, one of the chief avenues to station, which by no means lessens the prevailing love of gain; while feelings of envy, covetousness, ambition, pride, are liable to be fanned into a flame; and worldly aggrandisement is considered by many the supreme good.

Christianity and the church have a labor here. What shall be said of the church, if it foster these passions? What shall be said of it, if it does not strive to counteract them?

Wealth may be the means of inexpressible good. But what is all outward accumulation, if a plague-spot is upon the soul; if the love of money leads to the neglect of God? Avarice may corrupt the public heart; and elated by success, man may violate the laws of heaven, and prosperity become his ruin. It is for the Christian church to urge the great principles of the Gospel; to strengthen humility and devotion; and awaken throughout society a true spiritual life. The whole history of the world proves that there is no sure and solid basis for Civilization, but that which has been laid by Jesus Christ.—WATERTON.

PAW says that Father Mathew has recently received a large offer to take up his residence in Wall-street to keep the money market from getting tight.

THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1849.

LETTERS TO ASSOCIATIONISTS.

NUMBER FOUR.

[CONTINUED.]

The integrality of Fourier's system can be best comprehended by studying his table of the Three Unities. What he presented as essential, were the necessary arrangements for one Association, whereby to secure abundant and graduated wealth—a proportional minimum support for each and all of its members—attractive industry—convergence of interests—exact justice—harmony of feeling and unity of action. And nothing finer can be found in literary history, than the example which he set of conscientious study of the Laws of Universal Order, as the means of determining the true material and social dispositions for a single community,—the limitations excepted, which have already been noticed in our Negative Criticism. From the problem of Equitable Commerce, Fourier was led up to that of Domestic, Agricultural Association, and thence to that of Universal Unity, which he claimed to have solved under the following branches:

1. INTERNAL Unity of man with himself by Societary union, spontaneous in all functions.
2. EXTERNAL Unity of man with himself by integral, combined cultivation of the globe.
3. INTERNAL Unity of man with God by fullest movement of all the passions impelled by attraction.
4. EXTERNAL Unity of man with God by bi-composite immortality.
5. INTERNAL Unity of man with the Universe by analogy between the passions and material creations.
6. EXTERNAL Unity of man with the Universe by aroamal communications among the heavenly bodies.

This Science of Divine Order, throughout the whole range of Nature, Fourier concentrated upon the construction of laws for a Phalanstery. Society he represents always as an Organic Whole, a Collective Man, a Type of the Universe, an Image of God. Never did there live a person, more penetrated with the conviction that we are members one of another, and animated by one life hierarchically distributed through every community of the Human Race.

Not in this comprehensiveness alone does the integrality of Fourier's views manifest itself; for equally remarkable is the minute accuracy of his system. When his books and manuscripts are translated and spread abroad,—and there is good reason to hope that this will be done soon, and done worthily,—it will be universally admitted that his analytic descriptions of the Sensitive Passions are alike wonderful, for original suggestions as to the latent capacities of the eye, ear, &c., and proper methods of developing them, and for the consummate common sense with which he has provided for their joyous activity, throughout every department of labor, economy, hygiene and art. Inspire his form of *Attractive Industry* with the Christian Life of *Regeneration*, and it may well be said, that in the domain of the Phalanstery is presented the most masterly commentary ever yet given upon the beautiful texts of the earliest and latest scripture: "The Lord God took man and put him into the garden of Eden, to dress it and to keep it, saying, 'of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat, except the tree of the knowledge of good and evil;'"—"and he showed me that great city, the Holy Jerusalem * * * and in the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river of water of life, was there

the Tree of Life, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month: and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations."

Fourier renders Industry Attractive by the mode in which he makes every sensitive faculty and physical relation minister to the free development of the Social Affections. And here again does his astonishing analytic accuracy appear. In regard, indeed, to the *Minor Affective Passions*, Love and Familism, especially the former, not a few of our master's most patient disciples both in Europe and America are convinced, that he greatly erred by a misapplication of the Serial Law. But errors notwithstanding, his suggestions are always instructive, and many of them such as commend themselves instantly to the purest and most enlightened conscience. And in regard to the two *Major Affective Passions*, Friendship and Ambition, it may be confidently said, that nothing can surpass the keen sagacity and profound sentiment with which he has wrought the richest harmony out of tendencies which have been usually found most prolific in jealousy and strife. The Phalanstery is a full embodiment of the maxim of Each for All and All for Each, where Public and Private good are perfect mutual complements. From the cradle to the grave, every individual is alike ensphered by a genial air of love, within the green enclosures of its paradise. Not a taste however capricious, not an interest however trifling, but is made to minister to the Collective Good; and all refining opportunities of society combined, are opened with boundless liberality, as means of private culture and delight. Fourier's scheme of education is by far the most complete ever yet devised for fashioning a child's whole character to Social Use, and what is equally important, for combining the sympathy and wisdom of a united society to call out in symmetric fulness the special genius of every child. And no poet, romancer, legislator or prophet, ever more successfully portrayed human life as an ideal whole, overflowing with kindness, courtesy, benignity and honor. The myths of the Golden Age are far less beautiful than the future which shines forth with transient gleams from Fourier's magic mirror, while with tantalising hints he lifts and drops the curtain. One feels an unquestioning assurance, as he reads paragraph after paragraph crowded full with novel thought, that here is truly reflected the *Natural* side of Heaven upon Earth.

[Sickness prevents me from finishing this letter, by describing the richly suggestive views of Fourier in relation to the "Distributive Passions and Unityism." I can now add only, that with such exceptions as I have already signified in the Negative Criticism and the Replies to Mr. Godwin, I heartily accept the master's doctrine as to the Law of Series and Attraction. Doubtless much remains to be done in developing, applying, limiting and completing his system; but never do I read a chapter of this always strong and often most eloquent writer, without fresh wonder and delight; and I am gratefully assured, that in the works of this Social Columbus may be found a guiding chart to that New World of *Practical Righteousness*, wherein "God shall dwell with his people and be their God."] w. h. c.

FOURTH QUARTERLY FESTIVAL

OF THE PHILADELPHIA UNION OF ASSOCIATIONISTS.

The regular festivity of this Union took place on the 30th ult. About seventy persons were present on that occasion, among whom were noticed many strangers, attracted thither, probably, by the social atmosphere of the place.

This Union was organized in April, 1847. It has grown to its present stature without effort and indeed, against some discouragements, necessarily thrown in the way of individuals, who, however worthy, were not of the stamp essential to maintain the character of the Union. When it was organized

dullness and insipidity reigned supreme in the city of Quakers. A thick scum had gathered on the surface of society, unbroken from the stillness of the waters. The only ray of light that broke the horizon, was the socialist society, then so called, which was actively at work demolishing existing institutions, social, political and religious. But from the prejudice existing against it, that society wielded little influence.

Since the Associationists have commenced presenting their views of society, more attention has been paid to it. The French revolution brought the subject prominently forward, and excited inquiry in relation to it. The consequence is, that socialism has become a common topic in the city of Brotherly Love, and people are fast making up their minds for or against it.

This, though a brief, is deemed a fair history of the origin and progress of the cause in Philadelphia, and it may be remarked, that circumstances have conspired to place the Philadelphia Union in a much more prominent position before the public than was at first anticipated. Fortunately it has the talent and the inherent strength necessary for the emergency.

The recent festival was conducted by a committee of which Mr. Alexander Harrison was chairman, and was managed with that ease and tact for which that gentleman is distinguished. The exercises consisted of short addresses interspersed with music. The heavier artillery of the Union, comprising Drs. Elder, Lazarus and others, was not employed on this occasion, from an apprehension that too much sameness would characterize the festival. The addresses were, therefore, assigned to Mr. Jas. Sellers, Mr. Geo. Bayne and Mr. J. Rehn.

Too much credit cannot be awarded the ladies, whose good taste and management presided over the arrangement of the Hall, and the distribution of the refreshments. Under the auspicious, the irksomeness of a public demonstration was entirely removed, and each felt as free and happy as if the occasion were merely a meeting of intimate friends.

By a remarkable coincidence, the speakers severally selected sentiments in nearly the same words :

By Mr. Sellers.—The present and the future.

By Mr. Bayne.—The present as the promise of the future.

By Mr. Rehn.—The present and consummate future.

Notwithstanding this apparent similarity of subject, each occupied a field of his own.

The exercises commenced with a vocal trio, with piano accompaniments, which was neatly executed by Mr. A. W. Harrison, Mr. Samuel Sartain, and Mr. W. R. Harrison.

Mr. Jas. Sellers then addressed the Union on the religious aspects of society, in their relation to the future realization of association, but we were unable to obtain a copy of his remarks, to be published with this report.

The address was followed by a vocal duet, by Mr. A. W. Harrison and Mr. E. S. Smith. This was well received; after which the second sentiment was read, to which Mr. Geo. Bayne responded nearly as follows :

The Present.—The promise of the future.

It was the remark of a German writer, that "every human opinion or belief, to be maintained, must possess the power of establishing its own supremacy. It must predominate or perish."

The affinity of the human mind is for truth. Error is the result of ignorance. Truth is eternal. It is a necessity of existence. It is founded in the fitness of things; and must ultimately survive all shocks and triumph over every delusion.

The Baconian philosophy may be said to have ushered in a new day. It suggested for the first time, a probable connection between matter and mind. Reasoning from facts, it developed principles, and having these to light the way, science has grown into a system of real knowledge, imperfect, it is true, in many of its parts, yet to the highest value in the details of every day life. The error underlying the ancient philosophy,

is its pure intellectuality. It had no material vase. It was a pyramid invested. The crowning glory of the modern philosophy is, that it reigns with matter and ends with spirit. It does not despise crude earth. On the contrary, it freely confesses, that its errors arise chiefly from an imperfect knowledge of earth, its wants, its laws, its destiny.

We assume that the *present* contains the germ and promise of the *future*. But at no earlier period of the modern world, would this have been true. The degree of divergence from the true path of progress, depends upon the end had in view. If the object be too high, we shall stumble over the facts of earth at every step, and fall at last into some unlooked for quagmire. If too low we become mere animals, having no relation to psychological or spiritual existence.

The starting point of nations has usually been war and military renown, ending, of course, in the slavery of one portion of the race and profligacy of the rest. Keeping this fact in mind, it may be observed, that at various periods in ancient history was Association as attainable as at the present time, had public attention taken that direction. The human race has undergone many revolutions. It has often before in detached portions, emerged from barbarism into civilization, and this too, to a point at which it would be extremely hazardous to fix a limit. The raging of Solomon that "there is nothing now under the sun" yet remains to be refuted. With all due deference to our great author, Fourier, I feel bound, therefore to reject his supposition of a gradual growth of humanity from Edenism, upward.

Only within the present century has general attention been directed to the pursuits of industry, and to the influence exerted by institutions and laws on human affairs. The consequence has been a rapid material progress throughout the civilized world, in science, in art, in agriculture. The American continent especially has partaken largely of this progress, and seems destined to be the ground on which the problem of society is to be solved. It is said that on the discovery of the Island of Cowos, in 1460, there was found the statue made of burnt clay, of a man on horseback, he had a cloak on, but no covering on his head: his left hand was on his horse's mane, his right pointing to the West! There were some letters rudely carved on the lower rock, but no explanation could be obtained of them. He seemed to point out America as the land of hope and promise.

We have what will be conceded, on comparison with other governments, an improved political system. The divine right of Kings, is a doctrine, which, so far as we are concerned has passed away for ever. Unlike the varying character of monarchical institutions, we have what is termed a *constitutional* government, recognizing as its basis, and being organized for no other purpose than to secure to each and all the rights pertaining to intelligent beings. In the United States, at least, certain political principles have been reached, and established against all peradventure. They are unchangeable.

I know how common it is, among Associationists, to undervalue political institutions as they now exist, as compared with the great system which they propose to establish. But I must reason on things as they are, not as they ought to be. Our sympathy for the French, the Italians and Hungarians, in their struggles for liberty was a spontaneous impulse, based upon the admitted evils to which they were subject, as compared with ourselves. And we can hardly go amiss, when a tyrant was heard to say, as was the Emperor of Austria. "I shall oppose with a will of iron the progress of liberal principles in my empire.

But not merely in the political sphere, used in its most general sense, but in the social sphere, also, do we find the constructive tendency in a state of development. As a proof of it take the serial arrangement happily adopted for local and mu-

ncipal purposes,—the village, the town, the city, the county, the State. Each is sovereign in certain essential particulars. Those who object to the scheme of Association, are bound in consistency to denounce all local combinations, as they certainly are open to the charge of being merely an enlargement of the same plan. It may be said that the construction of bridges, roads and canals, the lighting, cleaning and paving of the streets, the building and repair of wharves, are matters of public security. But why so, except it would be too inconvenient and expensive for every one to do it for himself? Here then we have the unitary principle distinctly recognized. Our corporators would find it no easy task to divorce themselves from concern in the industry of the people, were they so disposed, and I apprehend, this difficulty will increase from year to year. Should the movement take place here, that is now going on in Paris, an organized city is not a very improbable or very distant event.

The State assumes it, as an axiom, that popular education is essential to the preservation of republican institutions. It goes out of the way in some instances, to invade the private circle, and compel the children to attend the schools, whether the parent be willing or not, because, it is contended, the state is supreme and cannot lightly regard the integrity of its own existence.

For this advance, we feel truly grateful. It is tantamount to an admission, that the State has duties to perform in relation to her citizens, besides the mere negative obligation of catching the thief after the robbery is committed. It is not impossible, that it may some day discover that its interest requires each child to be created *industrially* as well as intellectually. It may take upon itself the unusual task of computing the expense of judges, juries and prisons and the results of them, as compared with the portable cost of a system of agricultural schools, and the results which might be anticipated in the way of the prevention of crime, and the improvement of the waste lands of the State. There is no greater scandal in existence, than those dens of pollution, which we find in every county, in the shape of prisons. It remains for the most able advocates of them, to show the first particle of good produced by them. Are they not usually tenanted by the same individuals from year to year, who become old offenders merely because they can find no better place to move in than the jail or penitentiary?

When an enlightened public opinion shall be brought to bear upon this subject, our political hacks may be compelled to give more attention to the public interest, and less to their own, and then there will be really no predicting the good that may follow.

This lack of an *industrial* education, in connection with the intellectual, is the source of countless miseries. It produces a superabundance of lawyers, doctors and ministers, all miseries themselves, and the cause of miseries in others. Without law, roguery would not be productive; without medicine and divinity, disease and sin would not be so obstinate. An excess of tinkering aggravates them all. There is one good result, however, arises from this one sided education. It makes the honest workman restive under oppression, it arms him with the knowledge of his true position; and confers the power of asserting it. Not the least exciting topic to be discussed here after will be the right to labor, and the right to the soil, and the right of the laborer to the product of his labor, against all the world.

Considerations, such as these, induce me to believe, that society, in the U. S. is on the right track, that taking the present as the basis of judgment for the future, the nineteenth century will not go out, without witnessing great social changes; not produced by violence; not the result of nasty and destructive measures, but by the silent working of ideas in the popular mind, conjoined with the material necessities which are pressing

themselves upon it. Society has the law of being. It will assert its supremacy in due time. Herein is the proof of the doctrine whether it be of heaven or of man. The Social law is founded in the fitness of things, as much as the moral law, it is just as much a necessity of true existence, as air to the lungs and food to the body. It is a movement which is destined to succeed alike without as with a plan, though it be through fields of blood, and years of suffering, on the part of the mass of the people.

The religious feature of the associative enterprise has not been much dwelt on, while it is one of great importance. We have no creed but humanity. We acknowledge no faith that does not comprehend works. Our duties are those of moral and intelligent beings having relation to our fellow man.

How then can we countenance, by mingling with it, the chicanery and duplicity of existing society? Is it not the duty of all who value their moral obligations to "come out from it and be separate," working as best they may, to build up some system whereby existing evils may be remedied?

I believe the day will come when the whole system of brokerage and exchange, as now carried on will be classed with robbery, when our present commerce shall be deemed swindling; and those who cheat the laborer out of his full share of the product of his industry, as Shylocks, who value their pound of flesh for its own sake, regardless of all sentiments of right or humanity.

But I have extended my remarks too far already.

A vocal duet was then performed, and the third sentiment having been read, Mr. J. RENN, made the following remarks.

(Those shall appear in the next number.)

HUMAN PANTHEISM

BY WM. B. GREENE.

"What we commonly call man (says Mr. Emerson) the eating, drinking, planting, counting man, does not as we know him represent himself, but misrepresents himself. Him we do not respect; but the soul, whose organ he is, would he let it appear through his action, would make our knees bend." The man, therefore, who has attained to right knowledge, is aware that there is no such thing as an individual soul. There is but one soul, which is the "Over Soul," and this one soul is the animating principle of all bodies. When I am thoughtless, and immersed in things which are seen, I mistake the person who is now writing this notice, for myself; but when I am wise, this allusion vanishes like the mists of the morning, and then I know that what I thought to be myself was only one of my manifestations, only a mode of my existence. It is I who bark in the dog, grow in the tree, and murmur in the passing brook. Think not, my brother, that thou art diverse and alien from myself; it is only while we dwell in the outward appearance that we are two; when we consider the depths of our being, we are found to be the same, for the same self, the same vital principle, animates us both. (We speak as Transcendentalist.) I create the universe, and thou, also, my brother, creates the same; for we create not two universes but one, for we two have but one soul: there is but one creative energy, which is above, and under, and through all.

This is no new theory: this doctrine was well known in the East, before history began; no man can tell when it arose, for it is as old as thought itself. "Rich, (say the Vedas) is that universal self, whom thou worshippest as the soul." We should strive, therefore, to disentangle ourselves from the world of matter, from the bonds of time and space, that we may take our stand at once in the "Over-soul," which we are, did we but know it. We are the Over-soul, and we come in our own native home, when we attain to our true point of view, where the whole universe is seen to be our body. Then do we know of a truth that it is we who think, love, laugh, bark, growl, run,

crawl, rain, snow, &c. &c. Mr. Emerson has given a beautiful expression to this thought ;

“ There is no great and no small
To the soul that maketh all :
And where it cometh, all things are ;
And it cometh every where.

“ There is one mind,” says Mr. Emerson, in his Essay on History, “ common to all individual men. Every man is an inlet to the same, and to all of the same. He that is once admitted to the right of reason, is made a freeman of the whole estate. What Plato has thought, he may think ; what a saint has felt he may feel ; what at any time has befallen any man he can understand. *Who hath access to this Universal Mind, is a party to all that hath or can be done, for this is the only and sovereign agent.*”

It may easily be seen that this amounts to an identification of man with God ; yet this system is by no means Pantheistic ; perhaps, indeed, we may be permitted to coin a new term, and call it *Human Pantheism*. Pantheism sinks man in God—makes him to be a phenomenon of the Divine existence—but this system, so far from being an absorption of humanity in God, is an absorption of God in the human soul. What is the invisible world of the Orientals ? This invisible world, is identical with the world of potential existences, it is identical with the abyss of Jacob Behman and John Fordage. These three expressions, the invisible world, the potential world, and the abyss, (which last term we prefer as being more expressive,) are names indicating one identical thing in the universe of reality—we do not say in the universe of actuality.

What then is meant by the term, *the abyss* ? Suppose, in thought, this visible universe to be broken. Let all the qualities by which we distinguish the differences subsisting among the different bodies of nature, cease to manifest themselves. Let all properties, all activities in nature, re-enter into themselves. Let all that by which each man feels its own proper existence, re-enter the virtual state, so that all properties, all activities, exist no longer in act, but only in the power of acting. Like a circle that contracts more and more till it vanishes in its own center, let all extensions contract. Let all qualities derived from extension, or which are manifested to us through extension, enter again into themselves. Let, in short, all properties of things be only in potentiality of manifestation. The reader must endeavor to effect those operations in thought.

But perhaps it will be well to define some of our terms. What is *essence* ? What is *existence* ? What is the difference in signification between the terms essence and existence ? Essence is pure being, without *efflux* or *manifestation*. Existence involves out-going or manifestation. The soul of man, and every other substance, according to the foundation of its being, according to its center or root, is ; but according to its out-goings, manifestations, or operations, it *exists*.

What is *potential* existence ? What is *actual* existence ? What is the difference between potential and actual existence ? A thing exists *potentially* or *in potentia*, when it is *possible* only. This same thing exists *actually* when it has not only this possible (potential) existence, but also a real existence *in act*.

A thing is, when *in potentia*, or when possessing only a possible existence ; but it *exists*, when it has not only its root of substance or being, but also an actual manifestation.

When all outward things exist only in potentiality of manifestation, or, in short, when all things exist only *in potentia*, man also must cease from all actual existence ; and must re-enter the potential state.

Man and the universe will be effaced together—all things will enter the potential state simultaneously ; for the *human intelligence reflects the universe*, and the re-entering of the universe into the potential state will be marked by the smooth surface of the mirror (the mind of man) which gives thence

forth no reflection, which marks thenceforth no change.

Thus beings become one being, in potentiality of manifestation. Yet when we say *one being*, our words must not be taken with too much strictness. Nature and man have re-entered into themselves, and all things exist only *in potentia* ; they have become *one being*, insomuch as each is now a cause existing in potentiality of operation—*one being*, inasmuch as these causes are undistinguishable the one from the other, since all that can effect a distinction is swallowed up in the abyss of potentiality. But they are many beings, insomuch as they are the potentiality of a world involving diversity and change.

The Orientals held, as a very general thing, the Abyss to be God. The visible universe is nothing other than the Abyss itself, proceeding from the potential state into actual relations—proceeding from invisibility to visibility. Hence the invisible world, if it have a substantial existence, (which it must have, if it be identical with God,) is the *substance* of the visible, so that there would be but one substance or being in the universe ; for the Abyss, as has been already shown, is *one*. The universe, therefore, while in the potential state would be God, but after it has proceeded forth from invisibility or visibility, it is the actual world. Thus God is supposed to be the substance of the visible world. While things are in their actual relations, they are not God, but when they return into their primordial source, they are God ; for each thing according to its potential existence is of the Abyss, and it is the *whole* Abyss, for the very being of the Abyss consists in this, that all which distinguishes one thing from another is swallowed up, destroyed. It is probably for these or similar reasons, that some of our subjective Idealists affirm that “ they are God when they are out of the body, but not God when in the body.”

Man is dependant, for the continuance of his life, upon that which is not himself. There is no life in the Abyss, where all relations have vanished ; there is no life in pure essence, but only in existence. Life ceases when man enters the Abyss : it commences when he emerges from the Abyss, and enters into relations. *Man's life is in concurrence, in relations*. The activity of the soul, whereby it enters into relations, is the life of the soul. The act of passing from the state of essence into that of existence, is life. Life, therefore, depends upon the soul, and upon that which it is in relations ; for the activity, which is the life, changes its character according as it is in relations with different objects. Man lives in order of the natural life, by eating food ; he lives, by being brought, through the operations of the organs of sense, into relations with this visible and tangible world. Deprive man of nourishment, and he dies. Destroy his organs of sense, and he sinks into the condition, described in the quotation from Dupuis.—But this body will be dissolved, this earthly tabernacle must be withdrawn ; when therefore we lose this body, which is the instrument whereby we are brought into relation with that which is not ourselves, how do we know that we shall not be cut off from all concurrence, from all relation ? The man who has no life higher than that of the body, has no well grounded hope of immortality ; for the body, will one day be disorganized, and will return to its original elements.

Is there any life different from that of the body, and, if there is such a life, how shall man obtain it ? Is there a spiritual world with which we may be in immediate relations, even as we are in relation with the natural world mediately through the body.

If there is a spiritual world with which the soul can come into immediate relations, then the soul can live two lives at once, one natural in the body, and the other spiritual in communion with this spiritual world. If the body is destroyed this spirit-life will not cease with the life in the body ; for, by the hypothesis, it is independent of the body, consisting in an immediate concurrence with spiritual things. When the body decays, the

soul will not return into the Abyss, for it will continue in actual though spiritual relations. As the body is sustained by natural nourishment, so the soul will be sustained by spiritual nourishment.

EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

FOR THE WEEK ENDING DEC. 15.

Latest Date Dec. 1.

THE news from the old world by the latest Steamer is not of an interesting character. Great preparations were making in ENGLAND for the Industrial Exhibition in 1851. The sum of £20,000 to be given away as prizes, has been deposited, and stands now in the hands of trustees for the objects intended. Mr. Lea, of Astley, Worcestershire, formerly a large manufacturer, has put the workmen of Kidderminster into training for the contest. He has issued an address to them, in which he calls their attention to the projected exhibition as a means by which the trade of Kidderminster may be promoted—requests them to form Committees of the men at the principal firms, and endeavor to make some improvements in their staple manufacture which may call the attention of foreigners to them—and offers the munificent prize of 100 guineas for the man or set of men who may invent a new article of any description, provided it is done in Kidderminster, and adapted for general use.

IN FRANCE, the proceedings in the Assembly on the 22d were opened with a long defense by M. Pierre Bonaparte of his conduct in Africa. He complained in strong terms of the decrees of the Minister of War, which deprived him of his rank in the army. He declared that it was not only arbitrary, but an attack on his independence as a representative of the people. He then attempted to complain of the deplorable and anti-republican influence exercised by M. de Persigny over the President of the Republic, but the President of the Assembly refused to allow him to proceed.

On the 23d, in answer to a question from M. Leon Faucher, the Minister of the Finances stated that the question of an increase in the issue of notes by the Bank of France was under the consideration of the Government, and that he would communicate the result with the least possible delay. After some other business had been gone through, the Chamber passed the order of the day on another proposal brought forward by M. Thouret, and signed by one hundred and forty members, censuring what had passed in the Assembly on Wednesday. The Assembly then adjourned. On the 24th the proceedings offered no interest, saving that the Assembly passed to the order of the day on a petition demanding the re-establishment of the statue of the Duke of Orleans in the Court of the Louvre.

The scenes which took place on Wednesday in the Assembly, led to two duels on Thursday morning. The first was between MM. Brives and Berard, and the second between M. Segur d'Anguesseau and M. Bertholon. In both cases pistols were the arms chosen, but no injury was done on either hand, and the belligerents afterwards appeared in the Assembly as if nothing had occurred. A duel was fought on Saturday between M. Pierre Bonaparte and the Duke of Rovigo, editor of the legitimist journal Corsaire. The police having interfered, prevented the meeting in the morning; but in the afternoon they repaired to the wood of Boulogne, where the duel took place. The weapon chosen was the sabre.

M. Bonaparte was slightly wounded in the hand and breast. He, however, succeeded in disarming his adversary, who asked to continue the combat with small swords. To this the seconds of M. Bonaparte objected, and proposed pistols. But an understanding having been come to by the friends of both parties, a declaration was signed, and they left the ground. Another duel took place on Sunday, in a field near the railroad station at St.

Germain, between M. Pierre, Bonaparte and M. Adrin de la Vallette, principal Editor of the *Assemblée Nationale*.

Two propositions have been presented to the Assembly with the object of putting down duelling; one of which suggests that any Representatives who shall provoke or fight a duel shall forfeit his seat, and shall not be eligible for election for one year from his dismissal. The other proposition is, that both the principals and the seconds shall be prevented from the exercise of their civil rights for not less than one, and not more than two years, without reference to the penalties at present provided for by the law.

A letter lately received from Naples contains the following strange statement: "The Government has become extremely sensitive all at once. An order has just been issued to all the theatrical managers directing that the wardrobe keeper (*chef du vestiaire*) shall be held responsible for all the dancers' dresses in the ballast being of proper length, height and breadth so that too much of the person be not immodestly exposed as heretofore has been the case.

"This new march of delicacy has extended to the statues in the Bourbon museum; a quantity of new plaster has been added in certain places, and it is seriously talked of, that the Apollos, Mercurtes, Cupids and Venuses are to be so attired that the visitor will only be able to see their head and arms. This has been recommended by some wise Jesuites who, I think, would have done better had they, before clothing marble statues (who have hitherto stood the Winter without catching cold) have had some consideration for the miserable human beings who, almost in a state of nudity, crowd the streets.

"I have further to notice an act of Vandalism still more deplorable than this, because it effects not the degradation but the destruction of some of the most precious objects of art. The Queen Mother, on her recent death, left a fine collection of valuable engravings, and the inventory of her property is being made out; you will scarcely credit that the legal functionary who has this charge has ordered the destruction in his pretence of all the plates where the females have their necks uncovered.

"I have been informed that among other magnificent proof plates, there was one highly prized, of the 'Enlèvement d'Euryora,' and also a quantity of engravings, extremely rare and valuable, all of which were committed to the flames, in spite of the protestations of the artists, who highly esteemed them, and who even solicited that the fragments should be preserved for the purpose of study and history, after the parts which might be deemed indecent should be cut out with a knife; but all was refused. Will they tell of the Vandalism of the revolutionists after this?"

News of the Week.

THE HUNGARIAN EXILES.—We had the pleasure of passing a good part of last evening with the Hungarian officers from Comorn, who arrived in the Hermann yesterday. They are not at all disheartened by the calamities which have befallen their country, but encounter unfriendly fortune with the same courage and steadfastness as they have been wont to sustain the onset of Haynau's squadrons. The names of those who arrived yesterday are as follows:

Ladislaus Ujhazy, [pronounced Wee-hah-zy] Civil Governor of Comorn.

Theresia Ujhazy, his wife.

Clara and Itka Ujhazy, his daughters.

Wolfgang and Theodor Ujhazy, his sons; the first Captain of Infantry, and the second Captain of Jagers.

Apollonia Jagello, [pronounced Yah-gello.]

Wilhelm Veis, Captain of the Pioneers.

Emerich Radwicz, Captain of the Pioneers.

Heinrich Deahne, Colonel of the Infantry.

Mr. Ujhazy, his family, and the officers accompanying him, including Colonel Pragy and Major Fernet, are the guests of the Astor House. Mlle. Jagello is at the Irving House. Mr. Ujhazy will leave in a day or two for Washington. Though advanced in years, he retains all the freshness and fire of youth. A considerable number of other exiles will arrive here in the spring, when it is proposed to form a Hungarian Colony at some suitable point in the West. The illustrious Klapka will probably join Mr. Ujhazy in its direction.

Mlle. Jagella was received at the Irving House by its popular proprietor. At two o'clock she appeared in the dining saloon, which, on this occasion, was crowded by ladies and gentlemen. The greatest anxiety and desire were felt and exhibited by all present to pay her the most marked deference and attention. On her right and left sat the Hon. Mr. Donelson, lady and daughters, together with the physician of the Hermann, who acted as interpreter.

When the cloth was removed, and the confectionary was placed on the table, a most affecting incident occurred. A quadrangular tower, surmounted by a spire, composed of confection materials, was placed before her. At the base of the tower, cannon, muskets, balls, swords, and other military weapons were intermingled, in front of which was inscribed the following motto:

"Es lebe die ungarischen
Helden
and
Heldinnen."

At the top waved the Hungarian tri-color of green, red and white. On three sides of the tower, emblazoned in gold, were the Lion of England, over whose head rested the crown; the insignia of France on the sides with military devices; and the Stars and Stripes of America waving over all, which emblemized the sympathy and protection, in the time of difficulty and danger, of the three great powers, offered to the Hungarian Refugees. On the fourth side stood a figure of the Heroine herself. She was represented as standing on the colors of Austria and trampling them under foot. In her right hand she carried a staff, on which was placed the Cap of Liberty. In her left hand was a sword. Around her shoulders and person was thrown a red sash, indicative of her rank as Lieutenant in a Hungarian Regiment of Cavalry. In the background, enfolding the figure, were the Stars and Stripes, the Hungarian Tri-color, and Ensigns of France and England. When Mlle. Jagello's eyes rested on this, so chastely and beautifully designed, she started with an irresistible impulse of emotion. Her person became half raised from the chair, and a flood of tears burst from her eyes.

When her emotion had somewhat abated, she called for Mr. Howard (who was close by) and taking him by both hands, she said, in her native language, "A thousand, thousand thanks for my country and unutterable gratitude for myself, to you, Mr. Howard, for this unexpected token of sympathy for the struggles of my liberty-loving but down-trodden people." While she spoke, a simultaneous rising of the company—ladies and gentlemen—took place, and the most intense interest and excitement were visible in every countenance. The scene was, at this moment, one of a peculiarly strange kind. Memories of courage and bloodshed, of deeds of heroism and glory, of frightful butchery and unrelenting tyranny, came over the mind, quickening and heating the blood. Mr. Howard replied that he was more than proud of the honor of having as his guest the greatest and most glorious woman of modern times. After this the ornament was passed round the tables on both ordinaries.

Then gentlemen rose in groups and desired most respectfully the honor of wine, to which she gracefully and cordially assented. She made her response to the challenges standing. At this

particular point, her figure, which is of the medium size, appeared to much advantage. Her head and neck are finely formed, her countenance having a remarkably sweet expression. Her person is full, but of delicate and graceful symmetry. Her hair is of light brown, the masses of which are parted in plain and simple folds upon her forehead. Her eyes, naturally mild, are sometimes lit up with a most brilliant and piercing expression. In her demeanor she is exceedingly amiable, kindly, retiring and modest. She wore a dress of light blue silk, with a tri-color scarf gracefully thrown across her shoulders. Her ornaments were but few, but of the rarest kind and workmanship.

After dinner she went into the public room accompanied by Miss Donelson and family, when the other ladies surrounded her in groups, and bade her welcome to this land of liberty.

Through the kindness of Mr. Howard we were enabled to see the Polka coat worn by this brave creature, when, for the benefit of her country, she exposed her life, and went as a scout into the Austrian camp. It is of white cashmere, thick and strong of texture, lined with red cloth, and braided with cording of the same color. The sabretache, or leather pocket, slung over the shoulder by a leather belt, was likewise shown us.

During the evening the drawing-rooms of the Irving House were crowded. The tower which had been displayed at dinner was placed on a centre table, and the general wonder was how so magnificent a thing could be got up so soon, as it was not thought of till after 10 o'clock. Some one happening to touch the tri-color flag surmounting the tower, it fell, when Col. Pragy, who was present by invitation, happily remarked that this was proper for the flag had really fallen. The ladies seemed particularly to observe the dress in which Mlle. played the soldier, as also her scarf and bonnet, the latter of which is made up of the tri color. We may add that the report of being engaged to a Hungarian officer is not true. It was stated by some Editor in England who had been imposed upon by some of the passengers when the Hermann was at Southampton.

THE PAREMAN MURDER.—The verdict of the Coroner, pronouncing Professor Webster guilty of the murder of Dr. Parkman, does not seem to have occasioned much surprise. For some days the public mind had been prepared for such a result, in consequence of developments, to which we have already alluded, tending to show that the murder was premeditated. The Coroner's Jury have spoken their convictions freely and fully, without bias, we believe, from any opinion outside of the room, where their protracted and careful inquiry was conducted. It now remains to extend to the prisoner a fair trial before the high legal tribunal of the State. And we trust that the agitation which has existed upon this melancholy subject may be stilled during the interval.

We learn that Professor Webster's appearance to-day is precisely the same which it has been of late—that although he has read the finding of the coroner's inquest, it has not disturbed him in the least, and he remains perfectly calm and self-possessed. He is in good health, and apparently quite contented in his situation and satisfied with the treatment which he receives from the officers of the Jail. It has been reported that his cell was better furnished and his fare more sumptuous than other prisoners. We are informed that his accommodations are only improved by the allowance of some footmats, but it is true that his food is furnished by his friends from a restaurant in Court Square. Professor Webster's time is wholly employed in reading and epistolary correspondence with his friends. Although it is understood that Hon. Franklin Dexter has declined to act as counsel for defence, he is still admitted at the Jail as such, in common with Edward D. Sohler, Esq.

[Boston Transcript, Friday.]

The Journal has the following remarks on the same subject: It will be noticed that the Jury affirm that the remains were

those of Dr. Parkman, and declare their conviction that he came to his death in consequence of wounds inflicted by Dr Webster; but no opinion is expressed as to whether the act was one of wilful murder or manslaughter. The evidence upon which this verdict is based has been very properly withheld from the public, and the Coroner and his advisers are entitled to much credit for the firmness with which they have resisted the cravings of an idle curiosity for a public examination. Had a different course been adopted and the evidence against the prisoner been made public at this stage of the proceedings, without that rebutting testimony which it is fair to presume he is prepared to produce, an unprejudiced Jury to try the case could not have been empanelled in the State. The accused would have been prejudged and condemned, and the first impressions of the Jury would have exercised an influence over their deliberations, unsuspected, perhaps, but none the less prejudicial to Dr. Webster.

The public should not hastily jump at a conclusion of guilt from the verdict of the Coroner's Jury. The evidence adduced before these tribunals is generally of an *ex parte* character, and it is not considered necessary, neither is it usual, for the suspected party to make his defence. In this case it is not known even that any defence was attempted by Dr. Webster. It is obvious, therefore, that the verdict of the Jury can be regarded only as indicating that *circumstances which are unexplained*, but which may admit of an explanation, furnish evidence satisfactory to the Jury that the deed of violence was committed by the accused. We make these remarks with a view of keeping the public mind unprejudiced, so far as in our power lies. If Dr. Webster is guilty, we entertain no fear that he will not receive his deserts: if innocent, he is entitled to an impartial trial, and to a fair hearing before the tribunal of public opinion.

A WHITE GIRL NEARLY SOLD INTO SLAVERY.—The *New Orleans True Delta* relates the following startling incident:

One of the most revolting, and at the same time, touching scenes, it has ever been our lot to witness, occurred yesterday in the Auction store of Mr. N. Vignie, on Conti-st. The estate of Mr. Benvenuto Duran, lately deceased, consisting chiefly of slaves, was to be sold for the benefit of a creditor. The negroes were brought up, as is usually the case, one by one, and exhibited to the bystanders, before being put to the hammer. On the presentation of the third, advertised as "Madeline, an orphan quadroon, aged about nine years," every one present was horrified to behold before them a lovely girl, delicately formed, white as the purest of the Circassian race, her face buried in her hands, and her slender frame convulsed with sobs. There was a pause of some minutes. The crowd could not realize that one of their own race could be thus led up among negroes to be passed into a long bondage. Amazement was succeeded by indignation, as several gentlemen set about enquiring as to the manner in which the child had been thrust into such degrading associations.

Mr. Duran, it appears, was a Spaniard by birth; was some years since in affluence in this city, but latterly, his circumstances declining, he moved from the First to the Third Municipality, where he kept a small grocery store, and struggled through comparative poverty. None of the negroes knew anything of the early history of the girl, except one old man, who, dying when her child was yet but an infant, Mr. Duran took the orphan in charge, to rear as an adopted child. This was when he was in prosperity. For some years after the death of the mother, a lady was in the habit of visiting Mr. Duran's House regularly to see the child, and continued her visits until about the time he moved into the Third Municipality, since when, four or five years ago, she has never been seen. Whether this lady was a relative or friend of the mother, interested in the fate of her

offspring, the old man knew not, nor did he know who the lady was, or whence she came.

Upon this information the sale was stopped, and Madeline was taken possession of by Mr. Charles Lovenskiold, to whose humane exertions in her behalf, she is perhaps indebted for her liberty. Mr. L. has kindly installed her in his own family, and will bring her up as a member of it if the law does not defeat his benevolent intentions. The girl, though of late years mingling almost exclusively with the negroes of Mr. Duran's household, is intelligent beyond her years, speaks both French and Spanish fluently, and understands English.

The affair speedily obtained public notoriety in the lower part of the city, and created an intense excitement. Several free persons of color interested themselves in the case, and in a few hours collected among their own class nearly two hundred dollars, to buy the girl out of the estate and bestow upon her her freedom. This has not been permitted, however, and from present appearances there is little probability of her subjection to the degradation of being included in the chattels of the succession. Mr. Duran has left no heirs, and dying intestate, his property escheats to the State, after satisfaction of the creditors. There is but one creditor, and his feelings were as deeply affected yesterday as those of any person present. M. Lovenskiold and others who have taken the girl's cause in hand, however, have determined upon an entire purification of the girl, and, if it be practicable, will bring the case before the Courts in such a manner that a Jury shall pass upon her blood.

MR. WEBSTER AND THE HUNGARIANS.—Mr. Webster being at the Astor House for a short time, the Hungarian exiles, now the free guests of that hospitable establishment, called upon the distinguished statesman in a body last evening at his rooms.

The venerable Ujhazy, late governor of Comorn, with his family suit, was introduced to Mr. and Mrs. Webster by Count Vass—another Hungarian exile—who in the course of four months has learned to express himself in the English language with perfect propriety. Ujhazy addressed Mr. Webster with much feeling in the following words:

Six—Strangers, and in a strange land, in the midst of our misfortunes we come to America, to seek an asylum here. Power cannot stretch its hands so far as to reach us, in this Western World. Here we are safe, and we feel ourselves secure.

In one of your late speeches you expressed a sympathy for us in the midst of our distress which penetrated our hearts. We thank you. We pray you to encourage the same feelings, to continue in the same sympathy, and so to mitigate our sorrows.

We look to America for kindness and protection. We look to you, sir, for counsel and for consolation; and that Power which sees all things and governs all, will not fail in its reward to your generous mind.

Mr. Webster, taking the Governor by the hand, made the following reply:

I give you my hand with great pleasure. We are glad to see you and your friends. The effort which you have so gallantly made for Hungarian Nationality and Hungarian Liberty has won our hearts. We welcome you to these Western shores. We are honored that you have sought an asylum here from the political misfortunes which you have suffered at home. Our sympathies are with you and for you, and for those objects of your affections which you have left behind you. The whole American people take an interest in your efforts for Liberty and Independence. The blow of power which struck down your hopes fell heavily also on our own hearts. In the midst of your misfortunes, you come far away to a land of strangers in search of safety. Here, you find it. Here, we assure it to you. No enemy's hand shall harm or touch you. Hungarians, you are

all welcome. You who have come, and your friends who shall come, will all find here, sympathy, protection, and security. Again I say, Sir, your gallantry, your love of liberty, and your misfortunes have made you welcome to all Americans.

Ujhazy, when this speech was interpreted to him by Count Vass, was affected to tears, and desired the Count to say that God would not forget such considerate and such generous sympathy.

[Cour. & Enqr.]

Town and Country Items.

FRAUD IN DRY GOODS.—The merchants of New-York are preparing a petition to the Legislature of the State, asking the passage of a law enforcing a forfeiture on the part of the sellers of dry goods, which are short measure, of an amount equal to the quantity short by a fair measurement, in addition to the deficiency. They say it is a common habit of manufacturing establishments in Pennsylvania, New England, and all parts of Europe, to put up dry goods in this way. The N. Y. Courier adds that the evil here alluded to has become very extensive in almost every kind of goods from abroad which find a market in that city. In broadcloths, cotton goods, linens, carpetings, &c. the pieces sent here from abroad are found to fall short by a yard or more of the measure marked upon them and for which they are sold. The practice works a two-fold interest to the commercial public—it defrauds them of their money, and at the same time affects their character. There are also complaints of similar frauds in the quality of goods sent there for a market, especially carpetings. The first part of the piece—that which upon sale is alone exposed—is of a much finer and better quality than the rest. This deception is injurious in the same way, and to quite as great an extent as the one first noticed.

MALBROOK.—When Yaniewick, the musician, first came to England, he lived at the west end of the town. One day, after paying several visits, he called a hackney-coach, and having seated himself, the coachman inquired whither he should drive to:

"Home, *mon ami*; you go me home."

"Home, sir! but where is your home?"

"Ah! me not know; de name of de street has escape out of my memory. I have forgot him. What shall I do? (Coachman smiles.) Ah! you are gay; come now, you understand de musique, eh?"

"Music, what's that to do with the street?"

"Ah! vous verrez, you shall see. (Hums a tune.) Vat is dat?"

"Why, Malbrook."

"Ah! dat is him. Malbro' street, now you drive a me home."

MUSIC AND POETRY.—"Who is there that, in logical words, can express the effect music has on us? A kind of inarticulate unfathomable speech, which leads to the edge of the infinite, and lets us for moments gaze into that. Song seems somehow the very central essence of us; as if all the rest were wrappings and hulls! All inmost things are melodious; naturally utter themselves in song. The meaning of song goes deep. The Greeks fabled of sphere-harmonies; it was the feeling they had of the inner structure of nature; that the soul of all her voices and utterances was perfect music. Poetry, therefore, we will call musical thought. The poet is he who thinks in that manner. It turns still on powers of intellect; it is a man's sincerity and depth of vision that makes him a poet. See deep enough, and you see musically; the heart of nature being everywhere music, if you can only reach it."—[Carlyle.]

THE MEN FOR THE TIMES.—We like an active man, one who has the impulse of the age—of the steam engine in him.

A lazy, plodding, snail-paced chap might have got on in the world fifty years ago; but he won't do these times. We live in an age of quick ideas; men think quick—speak quick—eat, sleep, court, marry and die quick—slow coaches ain't tolerated. "Go ahead, if you burst your boiler," is the motto of the age: and he succeeds in every line of business who has most of the snapping turtle in him; "be up and dressed," always—not gaping or rubbing your eyes as if you were half asleep, but wide awake for whatever may turn up, and you may be somebody before you die. Think, plan, reflect as much as you please before you act; but think quickly and closely, and when you have fixed your eyes upon an object spring to the mark at once.

REDUCTION OF THE NATIONAL DEBT.—The Lords Commissioners of the Treasury for the reduction of the British national debt, at a meeting on the 10th ult., on examination of the amounts of revenue and expenditure for the year ending July 5, certified that the actual surplus revenue of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, beyond the expenditure, was £11,398 0s. 8d. Notice was consequently given according to law, that one quarter of the said sum, £10,349 10s., would be applied to the purchase of stock for the extinguishment of the debt.

At this rate of appropriation it will be extinguished in 80,000 years.

FATAL ACCIDENT.—On the 19th instant, when the Rev. Elipha White, pastor of the Presbyterian church, on John's Island, S. C. was returning from his plantation to the parsonage, on horseback, the horse became unmanageable. Mr. White, finding he had no control of the animal, threw himself off, and in so doing fractured his ankle in a terrible manner. Professional assistance was obtained, and it was found necessary to amputate the limb. The reverend gentleman bore the operation with much fortitude, but, we are pained to say, expired within a few hours after its completion. Mr. White was in the fifty-fourth year of his age, was much respected by his congregation and a large circle of friends, who will deeply regret his loss.

A MODEL CITY.—The city of Utica, N. Y., does not owe a single cent of public debt, and has money in bank, besides taxes due and collectable. It has an abundant supply of water brought into the houses of her citizens, fresh from the mountain springs. It is lighted by gas of pure and excellent quality; has the best appointed and most effective fire department of any city of its size in America, and is the only city in the State which wholly escaped the ravages of the cholera last summer.

LOLA MONTEA.—The *Fomento*, a Barcelona paper of the 20 ult., says:

"Lola has been able to catch her faithless husband, and has brought him back to the conjugal roof. She was enabled to follow his steps through the information given to her by a Frenchman."

It appears, that weak and unstable as water, he quickly repented leaving her, wrote soliciting her forgiveness, returned and was pardoned. He was absent forty-eight hours.

THE LAST OF TWENTY THOUSAND DOLLARS.—On the back of a three dollar bill of the Fairfield county (Ct.) Bank, which passed through our hands the other day, says the *Journal of Commerce*, were written the following words:

"A little while ye have been mine,
No longer can I keep ye,
I fear ye'll no'er be mine again,
Nor any other like ye.

The last of a legacy of \$20,000."

PHILOSOPHY OF DANCING.—An ingenious Frenchman has calculated that the space which a young Parisian belle, who is fond of dancing, traverses in the Saloons of Paris, when only performing *contra dances*, amounts in one season to *four hundred miles!* He has also estimated that a French lady fond of *waltzing*, will spin round in one night as often as the wheels of a steamboat revolve in going from Calais to Dover.

Macaulay says of an occasion in which Somers made a speech: "Somers rose last. He spoke little more than five minutes, but every word was full of weighty matter; and when he sat down, his reputation as an orator and constitutional lawyer was established." Our Congress orators will do well to ponder this five minutes' speech in their hearts.

BURKHARDST'S SMOKE CONSUMERS.—This Western invention which has been thoroughly tested in different factories and foundries in the Western cities, and found to produce a saving of 33 per cent in the amount of fuel ordinarily required for furnaces, is about to be introduced on the great Northern lake steamers.

The *Montreal Gazette* says that Mr. Peter Fleming, of that city, a civil engineer, has succeeded in squaring the circle, and that diagrams demonstrating the fact are about to be forwarded to England. There are, if we mistake not, several legacies premiums &c., left in trust for the fortunate solver of this great problem.

A Liverpool paper states as a proof of increased refinement in this country, that five hundred casts of Shakspeare's bust had lately been shipped for New-York. The truth, however, appears to be that these leaden casts were intended for the melting trough. Uncle Sam charges a duty on lead, but admits works of art free!

The *Boston Post* does not endorse the following story although the editor has seen it in print:

A Connecticut family, on a visit to the South, to save postage drew on the margin of a newspaper a child's face, an awl, and well with buckets, &c., thus interpreted: "We have an infant, all are well."

Humbug Hudson the discredited English "Railway King," is not abashed at the publicity given to his speculations. He is daily seen on the London Stock Exchange lively and jolly as ever. Punch has literally flayed him alive, but he minds it no more than if he were an eel, and "used to it."

WEALTH OF NEW-YORK.—The assessment roll of the city of New-York for this year shows of real estate, \$197,761,919 00; personal estate, \$58,455,174 48; total, \$256,217,093 48. Last year the total amount was \$254,193,527 12, showing an increase of \$2,023,566 36.

The territory of the United States is nearly as large as that of all Europe; its population, including that of the Aborigines and immigrants, may exceed 23,000,000, which is not a tenth part of that of Europe.

The *Boston Post* says:—"The southern papers give accounts of a learned pig, exhibiting in New-Orleans, who can read, write, play cards, &c., and goes by the name of *Byron*."

Everything is high in California, even salaries of public officers. The present Governor of California receives, as salary, \$10,000 per annum, and the Secretary of State \$6,000.

NOTICES.

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

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PROSPECTUS

OF

THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE.

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

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