THE INTERNATIONAL.

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PARIS, Sept. 20, 1871.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD:—

My letters of the last few weeks have shown the relative principles, motives and positions of the two parties to the late civil war at Paris. On the one side we have seen a royalistic Parliament which had been sprung upon the nation by the rural priests, meditate the political emasculation of the great centres of intelligence as the only permanent security for monarchy in France. On the other hand we have beheld the capital, alarmed none too soon at this conspiracy to subjugate the cities, draw the sword, and appeal to the country in favor of communal independence and republicanism. We saw it keep the field with 200,000 men for two months, without reinforcements or supports, its sister cities having been induced to leave it to its fate, through the adroit lying of the royalists, who reported that Paris intended to assume the dictatorship of France, and also through the still blacker perjury of Thiers, who kept swearing to Marseilles, Lyons and Bordeaux that, if allowed to deal with ambitious Paris as he wished, the republic should be held intact. We then saw Versailles recruited by the Prussians from the German prisons, and Paris murdered by their aid. No sooner was this black treachery performed than Thiers, despising his oaths, proclaimed monarchy to be his choice. He at present adheres to the vain form of a republic only because his ambition has taken a new slant.

MORE ABOUT THE PARIS MASSACRE.

This is an epitome of what has gone before. In the first place all the monarchies of Europe were in the plot to humiliate France, because they perceived that the period had again come around for its democratic energies to act. They therefore stood coldly aloof until her power had been broken, and then cheerfully patronized the subordinate job, undertaken by Thiers and the legitimists, of rooting out the International. They feared that growing terror more than they dreaded the undue aggrandizement of any special State. And that is the true reason why they permitted the "balance of power"—that cherished fruit of the "Holy Alliance"—to be destroyed by the dismemberment of France; and also the reason why not one of them raised a finger against the suppression of the laws of civilization in the massacre of Paris. As for Paris herself, her fight had been for liberty. On this theme she was a unit. Before her struggle was over, however, and after she had endured the indiscriminate barbarities of Versailles, she became wholly a convert to the International. In the face of the new armament of Europe and the fresh compacts of its kings she saw that her only hope was in a Holy Alliance of the people.

THE CARDINAL DOCTRINE OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY.

The International is an organization of the working classes of all nations, who believe that the present form into which society has worked itself is a false, artificial and unjust state of things, which has inverted all the original conditions upon which man was entrusted with the possession of the earth. They hold that land, water, air and all natural elements are common gifts; and that even these depend for their value upon the application of labor; that labor, therefore, is the great source of all the wealth and production of the world, and, as such, is entitled to an equitable distribution, not only of what it produces, but of the political power necessary to insure a just distribution and watch over its own safety. It does not deny the right of individual acquisition of property, or bearudge to honestly acquired wealth any lawful luxury it can command; but it insists that the common gifts of the Creator shall not be monopolized by small bodies of men, through governmental charters, or a system of special legislation tolerated which confers the opportunities of acquiring wealth only on favored classes. To use the language of one of their most gifted defenders:—

They say that where in a common work labor is no less necessary than capital, and laborers are as worthy of the profits as managers, the system by which the gross result is appropriated by capital, and under which the self-indulgence of wealth soars to yet unimagined heights, while the area of misery, ignorance and degradation sinks ever deeper, is a system which is doomed to end. And this their claim is good. Let us turn to the remedy they propose. The whole social force, which so long, they say, has been directed by capital in its own interest, shall be directed by workmen in the interests of workmen. The laws shall no longer be made so as to handicap the laborer in the race of industry. The power of the State shall step in to neutralize competition and to restrain the selfish abuse of capital. Such is the faith which has seized the foremost minds of the workmen of Europe, which, in some form or other, receives the devotion of a religious creed. Can any one doubt its strength compared with the conscious corruption of the opposite creed? Does the selfish cunning of competition, in its heart, think it can stand a social energy like this, with all its errors and all its dangers? Does a society which lives in its equipages and tolls only in amusements match itself seriously with men who are ready thus to die for a cause, however mistaken? The claim of capital to amass wealth by what means it chooses and to spend it how and when it pleases is so vile—the claim of the workman to have his part in the social result is so unanswerable—that in the end the issue is not doubtful. And since this social problem must some day be faced by all it seems time for serious men to reflect what other solution remains.

AMERICAN ECHOES OF THE CREED OF LABOR.

This eloquent voice, which rises above the roar of selfishness and wealth in England, is echoed by the programme of the "National Labor Union" of the United States, which has recently issued a preliminary address to a Labor Convention, to be held at Columbus, Ohio, in October next, with the view of framing a platform of principles and nominating a labor candidate for President. The working of "the American government," say these earnest men,

Is wholly perverted from its true design; the sacred names of democracy and republicanism are synonyms for tyranny, and the parties bearing these names, as now organized, are engines of oppression. Although the country has unlimited resources, and groans beneath the product of human effort, the mass of the people have no supply beyond their daily wants, and, by unjust conditions, are compelled in sickness and misfortune to become paupers and vagrants. How far pauperism and crime are connected with the abuses of labor, a superficial statesmanship seems not to perceive; yet it is with these we have to deal. Chattel slavery has been abolished, yet the rights of labor stand just where they did before emancipation in respect to the division of its products. The difference lies only in the methods of abstracting the results and concentrating them in the few capitalists who are now the masters and dictators of terms, and that all labor is still practically in the condition of the slave before his emancipation. Being thus placed, the interests of all labor are concerned, and the working classes must fight the battle in unity if they would succeed.

ENGLISH REPUBLICAN MANIFESTOES.

In direct sympathy with this manifesto the following programme has just been issued by the London republicans. Setting out with a preamble which states their object to be the promotion of the intellectual, moral and material welfare of mankind, they declare the best means to realize this aim to be, in their judgment:—

1. The application of the federative principle to all republican States.
2. Abolition of aristocratic title and privilege.
3. Suppression of all monopolies.
4. Abolition of standing armies.
5. Compulsory gratuitous secular and industrial education.
6. Obligation of the State to provide suitable employment for all citizens able to work, on remuneration for the industrial outlay now in use upon the labor of women.
7. Public adjudication of land.

These pronunciamentos and demonstrations afford a fair general insight into the principles and programme of the International; but the two propositions which have earned for it the deepest hostility of the ruling classes in Europe are its uncompromising reforms in the ownership of land and compulsory secular education. The first of these has drawn upon it the unsparing denunciation of the landed aristocracy of all nations, and the latter exposes it to the special opposition of the clergy. The amount of living which has been invested at it by these two hostile interests is perfectly amazing, and I do not know that I can convey a better idea of its shameless measure than by referring to the infamy in which these two agencies temporarily succeeded in drowning the Commune—a fact which sprang from the holiest patriotism, was actuated in everything it did by the purest motives, and which, after a generous, moral and forbearing life, died without a crime. At any rate, if it committed any—any, at least, in the forms of adulterous sacrilege, social immorality or murder—its persecutors, who dragged it to the throat before military tribunals of their own, were unable to brand it with a single case. Of course I leave out of this category the shooting of the hostages and the firing of certain public edifices during the last hours of its struggle, believed that I have already exhibited sufficient legal justification upon those points.

THE LIFE OF THE POPE OF THE COMMUNE.

It is not safe to accept the representations of any of the organs of European society or their press followers in the United States as to what are the doctrines and aims of the International. The policy of society, organized as it is to-day, is simply to hoot at it in the dump, and to attribute to the International all the foul and wicked purposes which base and terrified imaginations can conceive. During the struggle of the Commune all sorts of forged documents, purporting to be issued by the International, were scattered throughout France, in order to bring down on the association, and every once in a while the English journals would publish false programmes of its principles, in which the denial of a God, the abolition of the marriage tie and the redistribution of all property were ponderously paraded as the cardinal points. Most of these precious fabrications are now in regular course of circulation and reprint in enlightened America. Only two weeks ago an assumed proclamation of the International found its way into the Paris papers, threatening all the members of the government at Versailles with death if it should execute any of the Communist prisoners then on trial, and this morning I find in Galignani an extract from the *Union Française*, of Turin, giving the platform of

THE ALFIERI SOCIETY, OF ROME

(an acolyte of the International), pretending that the sixth article declares that, in case of a war between Italy and a foreign Power, it will have to descend to the ground of action, and burn as many churches as possible—especially the Vatican—and revive in the recollection of the people the tradition of the Sicilian vespers. All this is the kind of trash these reactionary conspirators expect the world to believe of an association named after one of the most celebrated poets of Italy, and notoriously combining among its members some of the first artists and originest intellects of the eternal city. But this is just the trash that is readily believed, and most readily by Americans.

MARRIAGE AS A PROFITABLE BRANCH OF RELIGIOUS COMMERCE.

The International, as I have said before, is simply an organization of the working classes of the world upon a platform of the rights of labor. Declaring the political equality of man it knows where to find its enemies, and, as a means of defeating them, it asks for universal compulsory "secular" education—that is to say, the compulsory education of both sexes in the general rudiments of knowledge, without the infusion of religious creeds. On the subject of religion it inculcates nothing and rejects nothing. It satisfies itself solely with so enlarging the intellect with wholesome and vigorous instruction that the mind is capable of acting as a free agent and judging for itself. So far from being atheistic, therefore, the International proclaims free trade in religion, and the only restrictions which it places on its doctors is that they shall have no share in the legislation of the State. As to its estimation of the household relations (in regard to which it has been so wickedly maligned), its programme promotes marriage by liberating the desirable act of wedlock from the forms and upon it by the law and the fees put upon it by the church. In other words, it proposes to facilitate marriage between young persons by making a simple acknowledgment before a magistrate a sufficient contract, as in the United States. This sweeping decree against one of the most profitable branches of religious commerce could not be tolerated by the merchants of either the Catholic or English Church; and hence all the calumnies we have heard about the dreadful social theories of the International. So far from these accusations being justified by facts, the truth is just the other way. The home of female chastity, of manly confidence and of the sound domestic virtues is with the laboring poor. They know nothing of the luxury of wealth or of its debauchments. They rise with the lark. Their humble morning meal, sweetened with the kiss of her who spreads it, sends them to the toil which makes the earth habitable; and they return at night to clasp the blossoms of their love upon their breasts, with an honest joy which in itself the deepest gratitude to heaven. These are not the people who commit crimes or harbor utter immorality; and those who can believe they are know nothing of mankind.

THE AGRARIAN POLICY OF THE REFORMERS.

But the pretended agrarian instincts of the International, its assumed disposition to take from those who have and divide with those who have not, is the favorite apparition which is constantly conjured up to affright "society" with the prospect of the laboring classes getting the upper hand. Let us see whether this plausible slander will bear the test of an inquiry any better than the falsehoods we have already probed. The doctrine of the International and the Commune on the subject of the redistribution of land is simply a slight advance upon the law of France as it has stood ever since 1793. The republican leaders of that period having found the social organization standing on its head, with none of the land in the hands of those who worked it, devoted themselves to see how this land could be honestly recovered from those who had monopolized it and redistributed among the people—now, in short, the original plan of nature could be reinstated without confiscation or any other violence against the form of law which protected it to the possessor. Though the evil was a crying one, and demanded a quick remedy, these republican philosophers were content to mode the gradual operation of a law which should bear upon the future; and, in this spirit of noble moderation, they devised the statute which has been the source of the wonderful material prosperity which France has enjoyed since its enactment.

THE PRESENT LAND LAWS OF FRANCE.

I speak of that law of France which forbids the devise of property by will and requires estates to be divided among those who are prescribed as next-of-kin. This legislation is already said to the country, "We have no objection to a man becoming rich, for we recognize the necessity of some special stimulation to individual effort, nor will we disturb him in the enjoyment of his property by undue requisitions. On the contrary, we will protect him in its possession; nay, we will even permit him to dispose of it as he pleases, by gift or otherwise, down to the last moment of his life. But, when the breath passes from his body, his control over it shall cease, and it shall then be divided among those whom it was his natural duty to love. Having acquired its possession under the generous protection of the laws, he shall not be allowed to tyrannize over it after he is dead, by aggrandizing one successor at the expense of several equally deserving heirs, who may perhaps become paupers or criminals to burden or perplex the State." This law, which did no one an injustice, knocked primogeniture and entail in the head. Under its operation the large estates crumbled at the death of every proprietor, and the land kept constantly subdividing itself, and working back among the people, as if under the superintendence of its original donor, the Creator. As early as within sixty years of its enactment, this original plan had been so far resumed that there were, and still are, 3,000,000 of landed proprietors in France, against the 32,000 that are to be found in England. I was struck with the physical evidences of this law on my first visit to this country in 1851, in the variety of small patches of contrasted cultivation which were visible in every field. During another visit, in 1864, a wealthy English squire, who was the owner of thousands of broad acres, directed my attention to this fact from the window of a rail car, and deploringly made his comment by remarking, "Ah, sir, with this infinite subdivision of the land there can be no model farming here." "No," said I; "you are quite correct in that; but, after all, a contented man is the most successful of machines; and I beg to direct your attention to the fact that every inch of soil in this country is made to bear a blade of grain." This law of subdivision was the legacy of the old French Revolution, and in noticing its effects in some letters which I wrote in 1851 I remarked that it was the greatest charter of equality that had ever been devised by man, and expressed my belief that no country could long remain republican without it. We have seen what has happened since in the United States and what is the political outlook of America to-day. But of that by and by.

EFFECTS OF A JUST LAND TENURE.

This grand law of land subdivision (through the abrogation of which was the work of the Paris Communists of 1871, and no king or emperor who has since succeeded them in power has dared to interfere with it. Under its influence France has risen to the leadership of the world in production, in manufactures and the arts. The vast material prosperity, which has been erroneously attributed to the sagacious administration of the second empire, and which, through the touchstone of the recent loan, surprised the world by the hidden wealth revealed in the pockets of the people, is all to be credited to the beneficent operation of this law. The loan, doubtless, had one other unseen help, and that was the fact that, through the fraudulent remissions of the imperial War Department, there had been only 300,000 military non-producers under arms during the last five years, instead of 700,000, for which the empire was exacting pay and rations. The annual production of 350,000 men is a vast help, even to a nation of 20,000,000 of inhabitants; and thus France, in addition to the enormous benefits accruing through a general cultivation of her soil, profited unconsciously by the system which so enriches England and America—to wit, the practical reduction of her standing army.

THE "RIGHT OF INHERITANCE."

The International of France and the Commune of Paris, which are of each other, had studiously weighed these things and understood thoroughly the workings and benefits of the law for the division of the estates of intestate proprietors. They and their predecessors were the true custodians and defenders of the law; but the International, being men of progress and of bold ideas, have hit upon a mode by which even that beneficent law may be improved. The amendment they propose is, that the abandoned estate (that is to say, abandoned because the owner has not chosen to dispose of it before death), instead of being divided among the next-of-kin of the deceased, should be appropriated by the country, to be sold at auction, the proceeds going into the public treasury, to be distributed among the nation, through the remission of taxes, the improvement of rivers and commercial roads and the establishment of charitable institutions for the helpless and incompetent. At first sight this seems to be a bold invasion of our ordinary notions of the rights of property; but, on reflection, it will be seen that the proposed system touches no rights except those which have been resigned, for the proprietor is always at liberty, even on his deathbed, to sell, divide or give away the estates which, only through his own neglect or selfishness, may become subject to its operation. This is the only amendment which the International propose to what is obviously the best land system in the world; and that it is an improvement on ours no candid reasoner can doubt. I have discussed it with many men of wealth in Paris, and they have all agreed that the proposed amendment is good enough for them. They say that they have confidence enough in themselves to believe that they can only establish their children previous to their death out of the property they have acquired; and the man who is so miserly as not to do that in time, but to let death overtake him while still tightening his grip, is not entitled to much commiseration or respect from anybody else. Besides, they also take the practical and selfish view that they can look out for the crisis of death, and they would rather have the chance to profit by the negligence of those who are less generous or less sagacious than themselves.

ENGLAND VS. AMERICA.

But the best proof of the value of this law as a democratic measure is the contrast which its results afford with the present condition of land tenure and land ownership in England and the United States. In England, through the centralizing influences of the laws of primogeniture and entail, which tie the land to families and fasten its descent from eldest son to eldest son, the entire surface, on which so many millions depend for their subsistence, is owned by the flinchingly small number of 32,000 proprietors; and the number of these proprietors is absolutely decreasing, through laws which surround the transfer of land with so much expense that it has ceased to become a marketable article. Indeed, it has been for several years the settled policy of the governing aristocracy of England to concentrate the land of the entire dominion of Great Britain into as few hands as possible, and to this end the owners of the larger estates are constantly endeavoring to buy up and absorb the smaller ones. As an evidence of this, there were in England, a hundred years ago, 200,000 proprietors for the 32,000 of to-day. To quote from Mr. George Odger, who has recently contributed a very able article to the *Contemporary Review* upon the land question:—

A better notion of the growth of the monopoly may be obtained from the following:—The Earl of Breadalbane can ride on his own property 100 miles from his own house in a stage direction. The Duke of Sutherland owns the county of the same name; this county reaches from sea to sea. The Duke of Richmond holds possession of 340,000 acres at Gordon Castle and elsewhere, and the Duke of Devonshire 95,000 acres in the county of Derby alone. It has been authoritatively stated that less than one hundred and sixty persons now own one-half the land of England and three-fourths of the land. The way in which political power, so largely monopolized by landed proprietors, has been used, may be adduced from the fact that, within the last 200 years, 7,000,000 acres of common land have been added to their estates—that is, to the estates of adjoining proprietors.

The result of this criminal conspiracy to absorb the common inheritance is, of course, to make the people poorer and poorer, and to constitute the monopolists the owners of the population of the country as well as of the land. Hence the aristocracy of Great Britain is the most powerful, wealthy and well organized in the world; and, however much we may hear from them against the imperial systems of other countries, they are the firmest supporters—nay, the chief reliance—of the darkest despotisms of the Continent. In like manner is the English Established Church the stoutest reliance of the papacy at Rome.

THE LAND MONOPOLY IN AMERICA.

In the United States we have been freed from the laws of primogeniture and entail, and it was reasonably supposed when this great liberation was effected that land monopoly in a country so favored as ours, and without so broad, could never reach a point whence it could threaten the public liberties. Yet we have lived to see an insurrection of landed proprietors of the South, who had become so rich that they no longer desired to remain republican; and we have before our eyes to-day the fact that, in face of the principles of the American constitution against land monopoly, the Congress of the United States have, within the last few years, donated away to railway speculators an amount of the national domain equal to the entire area of France. Railway lords are combining together to monopolize the internal carrying trade of the country to an extent that will enable these corporators to say at what rate a bushel of wheat raised in Missouri shall be eaten in New York, and what the West shall pay the East for the things they use and wear. The tariffs they will lay will be more onerous than those of the government, and their combined power will be greater; and the worst feature of the problem is, that when we turn to the only quarter potent enough to curb this rapidly increasing danger we are confronted by a Congress which is equally corrupt—nay, that exhibits an increasing tendency to unite with the conspirators and use the public as its prey.

THE CONSPIRACIES OF WEALTH.

The danger which now threatens the public liberties in the United States and its very form of government is the growing tendency to conspiracies of wealth, in the form of land, railway and steamship monopolies and moneyed corporations. It is not the purpose of this letter to suggest legislation on the subject; but it is obvious that, unless the system of land grants and special charters is speedily arrested and the law of France for the subdivision of estates adopted, our boasted institutions will soon cease to be an example to mankind. I am almost afraid to express my conviction as to the amount of monarchical element that now exists in the United States. Twelve years ago a man would have been laughed at for saying that there was any perceptible fraction of our population in favor of abandoning republican for monarchical institutions. Nevertheless, we have seen nearly one-half of the country swing off in bulk and entertain proposals for a king. It is the common impression of the nation—nay, of our lawyers—that the laws of primogeniture and entail have no existence within our boundaries; yet we see numbers of such families as the Astors of New York carefully living their wealth and passing it from eldest son to eldest son by will—a sad example of defeating the spirit of our institutions, which, if not exactly criminal, is deserving of the severest reprobation. This evil example is being followed not only very generally by the ambitious families of the South, but is spreading of late among the wealthy of the Northern States. It will be perceived, therefore, that instead of the monarchical leaven of primogeniture and entail having been eradicated from our land, it is spreading with a new luxuriance and rapidly disseminating future evils.

WE ARE A NATION OF SUPPLE-KNEED COURTIERS.

I wish I could stop here in the enumeration of the dangers which we have to dread; but there is one influence more immediate, more corrupting and more certain to sap the public liberties than any I have glanced at. I allude to the trade of politics, which, under the various forms of parties in the United States, has become a regular national industry, and has converted us to a large extent into a nation of office seekers, or, in plainer words, a nation of supple-kneed, bowing, scraping and time-serving courtiers—aye, courtiers. Think of that as a resulting destiny for the once austere, high-spirited, democratic people of America!

The fruitful source of this national deterioration is the re-elective feature of the Presidency of the United States. Elected for a term, with the possibility of being elected again and again, it is the direct interest of every incumbent of the office to shape his course so as to keep in favor with the politicians instead of laboring to serve the public. To accomplish this object he constantly holds himself ready, under the advisement of his party councillors, to appoint any incapable rogue to place in his own personal interest, instead of selecting merely capable and honest men for the service of the country. The whole vast organization of government thus becomes a mere machine of party, and every piece of legislation, every public movement, is studied in advance, more with a view to the next Presidential canvass than in consideration for the public good. Washington and Jackson saw the dangerous effects of this feature of our system, and in their farewell addresses earnestly advised an amendment to the constitution prohibiting the re-election of a President; and every subsequent aspirant to the Presidential chair has conceded to the universal sentiment of the nation on this subject, by giving out that he would not be a candidate a second time. In every case, however, these pledges have been shamefully ignored, and in nearly every case the politicians have succeeded in triumphing over the repugnance of the people. Of course this deplorable abuse grows worse and worse as time runs on, and, under the increasing patronage of the White House, it will soon be possible for the too powerful occupant to reinstate himself as long as he may live, and be in effect a king.

THE PATRONAGE OF THE PRESIDENT.

Under the revelations of the impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson it appeared that there were 42,000 persons who, directly or indirectly, depended upon the patronage of the President of the United States. For each of these persons in place there were five who were applicants and quite as large a number who had held the place before and hoped to hold it again. For this 400,000 men, whose eyes are fixed humbly and worshipfully upon the central throne, there are five times as many similarly situated as to office under the sub-machinery of the States. So here we have the enormous number of 2,000,000 of men, with families and relatives to the extent of millions more, all constituting among them a public interest which is as much of a national industry as the making of shoes or the growing of wheat and corn. Unlike the bitter wholesome industrial pursuits, however, the industry of politics in the United States is, as every experienced citizen well knows, founded on the sub-industries of lying, cheating and stealing. I wish the worst were told, but it is not; for these corrupting influences permeate every artery and section of society. They make us a "smart" people, liking to get money as we can—a people who lay by their consciences when they attempt to trade; and the leaders of whose society get rich in Wall street by felonious deceptions; thrive at the bar by defending right or wrong for money; sell justice from the bench to the highest bidder, and finally, forgetting God, even in religion, seek only fashion at the church. Such is a true picture of the governing portion of America to-day. It is no fancy sketch, but a deep analysis. While, on this side of the Atlantic, the hearts of the masses are striving to get nearer and nearer to a pure ideal of democratic liberty; on our side, the conspiracies of wealth and power are leading us on the velvet track of monarchical reaction; and the most hopeful of us shudder when we reflect where it must stop. In European nations, where the people are unskilled in politics, they rise periodically against the corruption of their rulers and sweep a dynasty away. For a time all goes well; but by and by the next dynasty becomes corrupt, and that in turn is swept away, and again the atmosphere is cleansed. But let us, while we are surveying the laws of this phenomenon, pause for a moment to reflect, and to ask ourselves the question—What is to become of that country the tendency of whose laws and practices is to make the people corrupt?

AMERICAN SOCIETY WRONGLY ORGANIZED.

But thus far there is nothing the matter with the great bulk of our people; the real trouble is, that

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is wrongly organized, and the wrong classes are in power. It is organized, in short, on the European aristocratic plan, and is more in need of the purification of a thorough revolution than even the society of Europe. Our railway magnates are our Marquises of Westminster, our Earls of Bredalbane, and our Dukes of Richmond; and our re-eligible President is every inch a king. More than a king, for he has a wider power; and worse than a king, for while a hereditary monarch naturally feels a personal interest in maintaining the welfare of the country, a re-eligible president is ready to sacrifice any public measure, however necessary to good government, to secure his re-election. The most corrupting form of monarchy known to the world is that which conceals itself in the constitution of the United States in its failure to prohibit the re-eligibility of the executive. Let the new power which is coming in America rub out this error and inscribe the "One-Term Principle" upon its banners. Under the constitution thus reformed we shall have presidents whose constant impulse it will be to promote the public welfare, to permit honest men to remain in office and to leave a good name behind them when their term is done. Without this chief reform we must plunge on in corruption, and soon drive upon the rocks.

THE SUBDIVISION OF LANDED ESTATES.

The other main reform we need is the adoption of the law of France in regard to the subdivision of the estates of deceased proprietors, as amended by the Internationale. This will effectually root out the seeds of primogeniture and entail, which are being carefully fostered by the purse-proud aristocracy of our country, North and South, and will prevent the villainy of donating away the public domain to monopolists, to the extent of empires, from plaguing us beyond one generation. The constant tendency of the French law is to break up large estates and redistribute the land, under gentle and equitable influences, back among the people. It is a law which will be acceptable to the rich as well as to the poor, for, while by lightening the burdens of taxation, it practically increases the property of every proprietor, it vastly enlarges the opportunities of every landless man to become a proprietor himself. It is, in short, not only essentially a democratic law, but the very fountain of democracy itself; and my convictions are renewed (as expressed several years ago) that no country can long remain democratic or republican without it.

RESUME OF THE REVOLUTIONARY CREED.

I have now sketched, and I believe with fairness, the purposes and acts of the Commune; and, as far as I have been able to ascertain them, the principles of the Internationale. I have shown the first to have been actuated by the noblest motives, characterized by the purest conduct and buttressed at the shrine of liberty unconvicted of a crime. I have examined the second, not with the eyes of a man who hates the poor, but of one who loves his race, and found them to be as honest as their labor, and aiming only to liberate mankind from the tyranny of kings and from that false condition of society which confers all the rewards of life upon the few and imposes all the hardships and sacrifices on the many. I found their creed to be:—

1. The fraternity of mankind to be regarded as a principle paramount to the geographical boundaries of nations.
2. The abolishment of war as a mode of settling national disputes, and the consequent abolishment of the death penalty in any form.
3. The federative principle to be applicable to all States, and to be maintained on a system of international arbitration.
4. The resumption by the State (as the custodian of nature) of all property relinquished by the death of the proprietor, in order that it may be redistributed (through public sale and deposit in the public treasury) to the succeeding generation.
5. The abolition of all monopolies founded upon special legislative charters.
6. Universal suffrage.
7. Marriage contracts to be simplified to a formal acknowledgment before a magistrate, and the trade of public prostitution to be prohibited by a rigorous application of industrial penalties.

A STARTLING CONTRAST.

These are the main doctrines of the Internationale. Will any one assume that they do not form a better programme for the organization of society than the heinous system under which the world rots and groans to-day? Will it be pretended that the miserable slaves of politics in the United States—I mean the hundreds of thousands of poor party dogs who sniff about the public offices for crumbs, who daily crawl on their bellies for some place-giver's smile, and who dare not utter an independent thought, or, indeed, to speak at all except at their patron's nod—I say, will it be pretended that the shoulders of such creatures are a safer foundation for the support of a republican State than the honest artisans who fought for the Commune in Paris, and who died for their principles at the barricades? Think of those bending parasites in contrast with Delescluze and his heroic comrades, excelling all previous example, even of the stern Roman days, with their useless swords put by and their breasts laid bare, calmly exposing themselves to the fusillade of their barbaric foes, with the text of liberty upon their lips—and say which are the fittest to preserve the virtue of a State! It is more likely that the spirit of liberty, which now finds its most numerous worshippers in Europe, will again cross the waters, to rekindle its dying fires in America and save us from the new slavery which, under the present descending progress of affairs, must be regarded as inevitable. The only power which can do this for us must spring from the unpolluted source which has never held power before—from the banded workmen of the New World—the Internationale. It is already preparing for its task, and its first care must be to beware of accepting the old hacks of party among its counsellors or chiefs. The day of deliverance is at hand and all things must be made new.

THE EUROPEAN REACTION.

It may be thought that I am attributing an undue importance to the Internationale, and crediting it with too great a forwardness towards the objects of its mission, but everything on this side of the Atlantic justifies my expectations. Since the great crimes of Prussia in plundering Denmark, surprising Austria, and secretly plotting a system of universal armament (which enabled her to deluge France with bayonets, and must have the effect of reorganizing Europe on the basis of the Middle Ages), the masses of all the continental States have been pouring into the organization. Steam, the electric telegraph, the rapid progress of science, and those suggestive conventions of the mechanic arts known as the World's Fairs, where the genius and labor of man are instituted in their true supremacy, have, during the past twenty years, done more to set the European masses to thinking in their own behalf than in a hundred years before. The organization of the Internationale, however, has been more accelerated during the last five years by the audacious crime of Bismarck, in endeavoring to roll civilization back and set the world again on bayonets, than by any other influence. It has forced every man to think, and it has at the same time made every man afraid. They perceive that the natural instinct, which is known as love of country, has been artificially and craftily developed, in order that the trade of murder may be universally reinstituted in the interest of kings. Hence, then, the text as to the "fraternization" of mankind, and hence the assumption of the Commune that the casting down of the column of vendome, that symbol of war and murder, indicated that there was to be a new patriotism for the future—a patriotism which should overflow the mere geographical boundaries which marked the ups and downs of war and be co-extensive with the human race. That lesson was not lost upon the masses of Europe nor upon the German mind, and a vastly accelerated activity of all the affiliated societies sprang from the fall of the Commune.

BRITISH ARISTOCRACY TO BE PUFFED AWAY.

Meetings of the Internationale are now being held, under various titles and pretexts, all over Europe. The most notable of these took place in London a few weeks ago, which had been forbidden by formal notice of the authorities, backed by an array of nearly four thousand policemen and a large reserve of military. The meeting was held, however; and the first thing which the first speaker said to the tens of thousands of people who were swarming around him was:—"We are here to-night because the government has forbidden us to come." That was the finishing stroke to the present government of Great Britain, and when the Internationale are ready to proceed further they will puff the form of it away. It is announced in the *Presse* of this city that the Internationale of Brussels will give a banquet on the 24th of this month to *fête* the anniversary of the foundation of that society, and their advertisement states that one of their objects is "to protest against the celebration of the September festivals in Belgium, and to efface the ignominious reconsecration of the demarcations of frontiers which imposed peoples in the vain name of country, in armed groups, always ready to devour each other as the slightest warlike whim of their royal masters." It is plain from this, and from all these signs, that the true hope of France lies not in the reorganization of her military system and the increase of her army to the Prussian standard, but in the Internationale. She has better dismiss all of her soldiers and send them to the plough, and address herself, through her people, to the masses of Germany and England, and see if, by taking hold of hands, they cannot heave off this superincumbent mass of steel which a handful of despots have imposed upon their chests. One brain respiration and the world is free. France will then flow back to her natural boundaries through the votes of her communities, and the harsh memories of war will be fraternally effaced. If we are to have an era of universal bayonets instead of universal suffrage, let the bayonets for once exercise the privilege of thinking; and then the kings will disappear.

LAST WORDS.

That the despotic Powers of Europe do not underrate the importance of the Internationale, and are prepared to grapple with it, is evident from a variety of signs that appear in the journals of the day. The perfidious government of M. Thiers proposes, through its Minister of Justice, to make membership in it, or in any other secret association, a penal offence. The correspondent of the London *Times*, writing from Salzburg on September 7, on the subject of the meeting at that place of Bismarck and Beust, and the Austrian and Prussian Emperors, says:—"One of the subjects discussed by the Austrian and German statesmen was the international Society, as much with the object of defence against its machinations, should necessity arise, as with the view of possibly arriving at a positive solution of social questions." And the *Courrier Diplomatique* of the same date publishes the following news:—"At Salzburg, Count Beust and Prince Bismarck have resolved to maintain the peace of Europe against all aggressors. A protocol has been signed concerting measures to be taken against the Internationale. Other Powers will be invited to give in their adhesion." In the face of these signs it is to be hoped that the crisis will come soon, and that the result of it will be a pact of fraternal republics, founded on universal suffrage, among which the heaviest crime will be the attempt to raise a military force—a crime not to be punished by the penalty of war, but by excluding the offender from commercial intercourse until he shall conform to the peaceful regulation of the whole. A decree of this sort would be more terrible to the delinquent than a visitation of armed legions, for it would operate instanter in the stoppage of all trade, and thus bring the interests, as well as the common sense, of every citizen to bear in protest against the belligerent action of his government. Surely this peaceful principle of coercion, in the form of non-intercourse, is more worthy of the civilization of the age than the barbaric diplomacy of war. Then will the French maiden not have sung in vain:—

Oh, if I were king of France, or, still better, Pope of Rome,
I'd have no fighting men abroad nor weeping maids at home;
All the world should be at peace, and if kings must show their might,
Let those who make the quarrels be the only ones to fight.

G. W.

THE TRAVELS OF AN ESCAPED CONVICT.

How One of the Nevada State Prisoners Got to San Francisco.

[From the San Francisco Alta, Nov. 3.]

The arrest of Thomas Ryan, one of the Nevada prison breakers, has already been noted in the *Alta*. Ryan is a young man, only twenty-two years of age, of Irish descent. When first arrested in this city he was very stubborn and declined making any statements, but changed his mind in the course of a day or two. This is the second time he has effected an escape. In August, 1869, he was convicted in Reno of burglary and was sentenced for a term of four years. He was in prison about two years, when one day in the month of May following he sneaked off and was not missed until the following day. He was out of jail but a week when he was rearrested in Virginia City, having in the meantime committed another burglary. He was tried, convicted and sentenced for a term of nine years, and also received an additional sentence of three years for having escaped. He has a very poor opinion of the Nevada Prison. No opportunities for reform are offered, although he says he has been a thief all his lifetime. The discipline is not good, and, with a little strategy, prisoners can escape at almost any time.

His version of the break on the 17th of September does not differ materially from the statements already published. He is very careful to state nothing of his own action in the matter except that he was close to General Denver when a pistol was taken from him, and he does not believe that Bob Deadman exhibited any bravery.

At an early hour yesterday morning he was visited by an *Alta* reporter, and prior to leaving the prison for the boat, in company with Detective Stone, he gave the following narrative of his trip from the Nevada State Prison to San Francisco:—

All the convicts kept together for two miles and then separated in squads of three, four, six and eight; Hurley, Flynn and myself went together; we travelled three miles, when I gave out. I was so exhausted after the fight that I had to lay down with the ague. I had a terrible shake that lasted four hours, and was almost dead for the want of water. I struck out for the river, but daylight came on and still no water could I find. I kept on all the next day, and continued traveling toward a place where I saw some light, in the hope of getting some water. Before I reached the light I found water and drank so much that it made me vomit. I came to again and went on toward the light to get some food, for I had nothing to eat for thirty-three hours. When I got near the house a dog began barking and I had to go away. This was in Carson Valley, nine miles from the prison. I then travelled down the road a mile or so, waded across the Carson River and went toward a farm house. When I arrived there the first thing I went for was for some clothing, as I still had my convict clothes on. There I obtained a pair of pantaloons, vest and coat and a pair of boots, and then I went for some food, because I was very hungry. I found plenty to satisfy my hunger, and enough to last the next day and lots of milk. I was pretty well worn out for want of sleep, so I went into the stable and slept the rest of the night and all next day. During the second night I got up, went into the kitchen, took some food and struck out for the mountains, for a cut-off, and walked for two days and one night with no prospect of getting over. I was very dry, and resolved to turn back toward the valley, about eleven o'clock, and kept on until I reached a ranch, where I partook of plenty of milk. While I was in the mountains I had no rest, so I went to sleep in the stable. I made a hole large enough in the haystack to keep me out of sight. I had heard about noon that day parties talking about the break and about the soldiers scouring the windows after the prisoners, and that they gave it up as a bad job. I thought I was in good luck to be where I was just then in the stable. After I had been there about an hour a man climbed up the haystack, stepped on me, coming down with his whole weight on me; still he did not look to see what was there. My first impulse was to jump up and tell him all, but then I thought it would not do. The man went right along about his business, and I thought then that I was the luckiest man that lived. That night I only got some milk, and walked about fifteen miles to Vansickle's farm. Before I reached Vansickle's I undertook to cross a marshy lot and went to wade across. When out a little way I sunk up to my neck in water, mud and weeds. I began to sink deeper, so I took off my coat and struggled to land. I was pretty well exhausted. I took off my clothes, wrung them out and put them on wet. I felt very cold, and kept on until I reach Vansickle's, where I obtained some food, dry clothes and a blanket. About that time I was sore and stiff, so I thought that I would take a sleep until the next night. I laid down but could not sleep; I was cold and restless. I arose in the morning and took an observation of things, so that I could know which road to take the next night. At night I obtained some food and two six-shooters, and then went into the stable and took a horse and bridle. I took a pride in the horse; rode him 145 miles in two days. I came across the overland route to Placerville. There is more toll on that road than on any I have ever travelled. Early in the morning I eluded four or five of these swindlers, but when I came to the sixth it was no go; the gatekeeper said, "Gold coin or its equivalent." I told him I was broke and that he could not take blood out of a stone. The road agent then spied a pair of gloves sticking out of my pockets. He pulled them out and looked at them. I said to him, "What I do you mean to take them gloves for twenty-five cents toll?" He said he would give in return what they were worth, and he gave me $2 75 in return. I was so well satisfied with the bargain that I shook him for the whiskey and beat him four times in succession. Then I threw the dice for breakf